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W.L.M. KING PAPERS

Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

MG 26 J 4 Volume 329

Pages C227140-C227784

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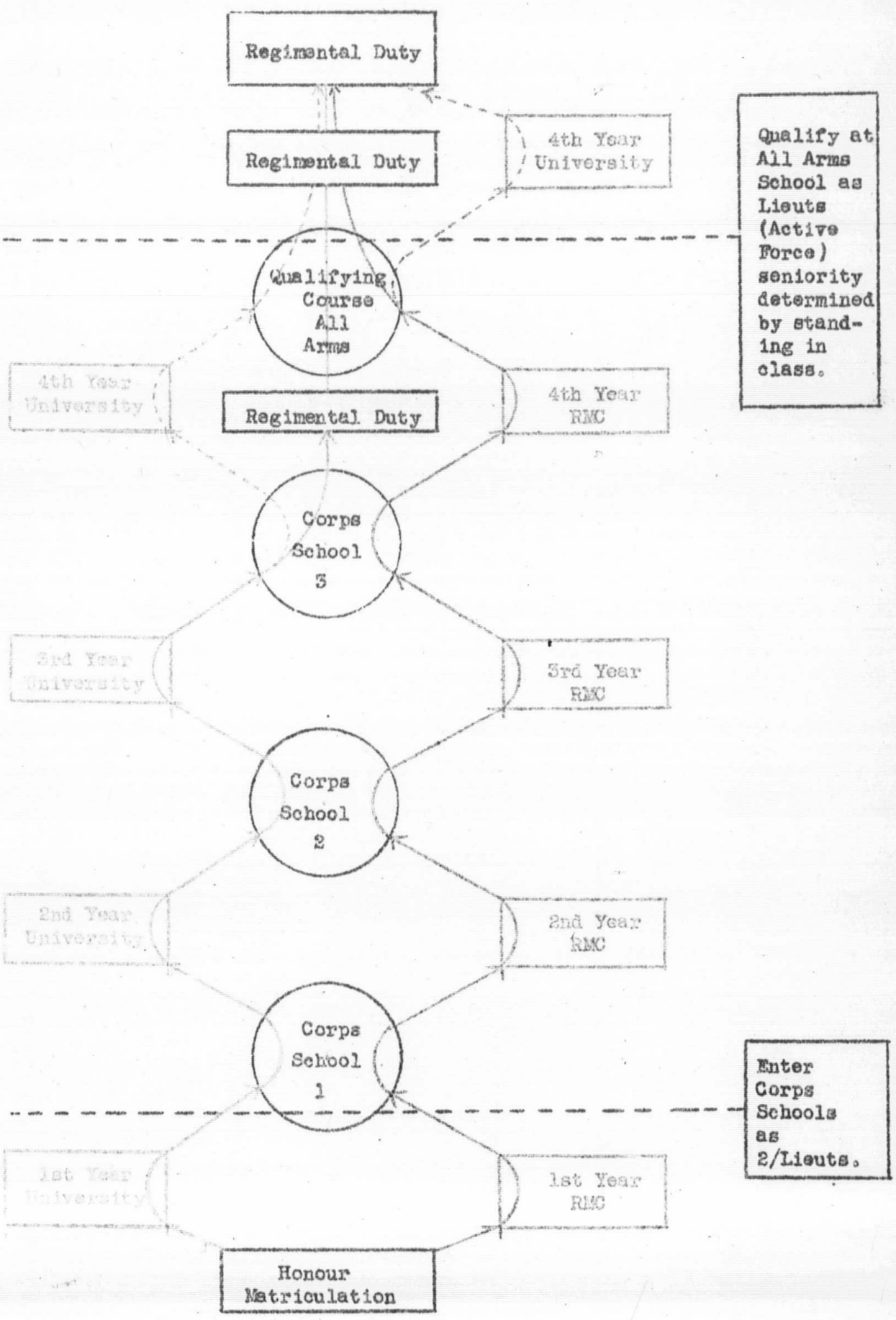
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PAPIER DE COULEUR

APPENDIX "B"

INTEGRATED COTC/RMC PLAN C227547



LEGEND:

——— Three year university course (Pass Arts, Commerce).

– – – – Four year university courses (Honour Arts, Commerce, Engineer).

——— Four year RMC course.

– – – – Graduate of four year RMC course taking final year in Engineering at the university. All graduates from RMC for RCE, RC Sigs, RCEME, follow red course (broken line). A few selected graduates from RMC for RCAC, RCA and CIC also follow the red course (broken line).

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C227548

CABINET DOCUME
(DND) No. D/01
Copy No. 1

HQC 8151-20

3 Jan 47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEFENCE COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET

-- ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE --

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to seek approval for the reopening of the Royal Military College (RMC) in September 1947.

2. The plan for the provision of officers for the Canadian Army is based on an intake from three principal sources:

(a) University graduates who fulfil the requirements of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps (COTC) training programme;

(b) Promotion of Other Ranks (up to 20% of the annual officer requirement) who satisfy the necessary military and academic requirements for entrance to RMC or the university;

(c) Graduates of the RMC.

3. In April 1946 the Minister of National Defence (Army) appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Brigadier Lett to inquire into and make recommendations as to the system by which officers for the Canadian Army should be selected. (For details see Appx A).

4. Among the recommendations made by the Lett Committee was a recommendation to reopen the RMC and integrate the provision of officers from this source with that from the COTCs.

5. On 30 Sep 46 the Chief of the General Staff (CGS) appointed a committee of officers (hereinafter referred to as the Military Committee) to study the recommendations of the Lett Report with a view to their early adoption, if considered practicable and within our financial limitations, bearing in mind that our policy must be to get the most out of the "military dollar".

6. The Military Committee is in agreement with most of the Lett Committee recommendations.

7. It was unanimously agreed by the Military Committee that the recommendations of the Lett Report that all graduates of RMC enter the penultimate year of the university before being posted was not practicable because:-

(a) It would be necessary to pay, during the two years at university, those graduates of RMC, who had been accepted for the Active Force. This would mean an inequality of treatment between the graduates of RMC and graduates of universities entering the Army through the COTC. The latter could quite justifiably claim that they also should be paid during their last two years at the university. If both groups were paid, then approximately 60% of the officer intake of the Army would receive payment, while not performing a direct service to the government at an annual cost to the Treasury of approximately $500,000.00.

(b) It would mean that the Army had established a Military College and would not accept the product of this college as officers in the Active Force without further academic training.

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8. The Lett Report recommended reopening RMC at the existing capacity. This is estimated at 250, the dormitory accommodation being the limiting factor. Since the mess, the classrooms and the laboratories accommodate 400, and the need for a more diversified course to meet postwar Army requirements, the Military Committee strongly recommended that the facilities of RMC would be used to greater advantage, at small additional cost, by increasing the strength. The committee recommended increasing dormitory accommodation to 300.

9. It is recommended that RMC should be reopened in September 1947 along the following general lines:

(a) The ultimate capacity of RMC should be 300 cadets;

(b) The course at RMC should be a four year course, designed to take the majority of the graduates directly into the Active Force;

(c) The RMC course should, in order to be integrated into the COTC Plan now in effect, consist of both an academic phase and a practical phase, similar to the COTC courses:

(i) The academic portion of approximately seven months per year should be a four year course with options in Civil, Mechanical, Electrical and Chemical Engineering and Commerce;

(ii) The practical portion should be given at three successive Corps Schools during the summer, followed by an All Arms School subsequent to graduation from RMC. (For details see Appx B);

(iii) In the academic portion at RMC approximately 15% of the time in the curriculum should be devoted to pure military subjects;

(d) Of the officer intake authorized to come from the ranks (now 20%) those candidates under 21 years of age should be sent to RMC at public expense, and those over 21 years of age to the universities at public expense;

(e) Cadets attending RMC at public expense should be paid at a rate not higher than Private First Class while at RMC, paying for their books, draughting instruments, etc, and clothing out of their pay;

(f) Candidates for RMC not coming from the ranks should be required to pay a reasonable fee for tuition, and pay for their books, draughting instruments, etc, and clothing;

(g) RMC graduates, who are candidates for corps in the Active Force, which require all officers to have a university degree, and a selected number for other corps, should be sent to university for one year at public expense to obtain the technical qualifications required. Such candidates would be given rank and pay of second lieutenant and would be responsible for paying their own fees, board and lodging. Upon successful graduation, such candidates would be promoted to lieutenant with seniority dating from their date of graduation from the All Arms Qualifying Course in accordance with their standing at that time;

(h) A cadet should be required, on admission to RMC, or in any event prior to admission to his second year of studies, to undertake to serve in the Canadian Active Force in commissioned rank, if his services are required by the Department of National Defence. See Note (a)

(j) The facilities of RMC will only be required by the cadets for a period of 8 months a year. These facilities are particularly good for officers courses and should be used to the full capacity during 3 months each Summer for such courses as the All Arms Course, the Militia Staff Course, etc.

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10. The financial implications of the proposal to reopen RMC including the All Arms Course and the Militia Staff Course are estimated to be as follows:

			Capital Cost		Annual Cost
(a)	1947/48	100 cadets	Equipment	$ 75,000	$ 520,000
(b)	1948/49	175 cadets 100 Militia Staff Course	Equipment New Dormitory	75,000 560,000	600,000
(c)	1949/50	240 cadets 100 Militia Staff Course	Equipment	25,000	625,000
(d)	1950/51	300 cadets 200 All Arms Course 100 Militia Staff Course			650,000
(e)	1951 -	300 cadets 200 All Arms Course 100 Militia Staff Course			625,000

Note (a) Since the legality of such an undertaking, especially in the case of a minor, could probably not be established, it is for consideration that this requirement should be reworded to read:

> "A cadet should be required on admission to RMC to undertake upon graduation to serve either in the Active or Reserve Force, whichever he may elect".

The Military Committee recommends this form of undertaking.

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Appx A

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETT COMMITTEE REPORT

1. The following were members of the Lett Committee:

Brigadier Sherwood Lett, CBE, DSO, MC, ED (Chairman)

J.S. Thomson, MA, DD, LLD, FRSC,
President of the University of Saskatchewan.

Monsieur L'Abbe Arthur Maheux, MA, L.Litt, Ph D, D Th, FRS,
Professor, Faculty of Arts, Laval University.

Brigadier S.F. Clark, CBE,
Deputy Chief of the General Staff (B).

Lieutenant-Colonel W.F. Hadley,
Chairman of the Conference of Defence Associations.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. Douglas Watt, OBE, KC,
Representative of the Royal Military College Club of Canada.

Dr. O.M. Solandt, MA, BSc, MD, MRCP,
Director General of Defence Research.

Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, MA, PhD, LLD, FRSC,
Representative of the Minister of Finance.

2. The undermentioned appeared before the committee by invitation;-

Principal R.C. Wallace, CMG, MA, DSc, PhD, LLD, FGS, FRSC,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University.

Colonel Allan A. Magee, CBE, DSO, ED, KC,
Member of the Board of Governors, McGill University.

Major-General E.L.M. Burns, DSO, OBE, MC,
Director General of Rehabilitation, Dept of Veterans' Affairs.

Brigadier D.G. Cunningham, CBE, DSO, ED,
President, Royal Military College Club of Canada,
and former Commandant, R.M.C., Kingston, Ontario.

Brigadier, J.P.E. Bernatchez, CBE, DSO,
Adjutant-General's Branch.

...../2

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3. The Committee respectfully recommends:

(a) That officers for the Active Force should be obtained from four sources:

(i) Graduates of recognized universities;

(ii) Graduates of RMC, who have subsequently obtained a degree at a university;

(iii) Personnel possessing special technical, professional or executive training and experience, considered equivalent to a university degree;

(iv) Men from the ranks, who qualify in accordance with (i), (ii) or (iii) above;

(b) That the educational standard for commissioned rank should be:

(i) A university degree, or

(ii) Training as in para (a) (iii) above;

(c) That the academic and military training should be carried out as follows:

(i) Training in universities;

(ii) Training at RMC followed by the university;

(iii) Training as in para (a) (iii) above;

(iv) Training at Corps Schools and an Officers' Qualifying Course;

(d) The RMC should be reopened, up to its existing capacity, as a cadet training institution, upon the following basis:

(i) The selection of candidates for the College to be made on a broad, democratic basis, and that the constitution of the selection board be modified to include representatives nominated by the National Conference of Canadian Universities and by the Conference of Defence Associations of Canada;

(ii) In the selection of candidates, use to be made of such selection methods as have been successfully employed by the Army;

(iii) The educational requirement for admission to be senior or honour matriculation, or the equivalent;

(iv) A cadet to be required, on admission to the College, or in any event prior to admission to his second year of studies, to undertake to serve in the Canadian Active Force in commissioned rank, if his services are required by the Department of National Defence;

(v) Cadets to be required to pay a reasonable fee;

(vi) Suitable bursaries to be provided for the assistance of successful candidates who might otherwise be unable to attend the College. Steps should also be taken to encourage the establishment of scholarships;

(vii) On completion of their cadet training, graduates of the RMC, if selected as candidates for commissioned rank, to be required to proceed to a recognized university for the purpose of obtaining a degree. During such period, graduates of the College will be granted such status and allowances, if any, as may from time to time be determined by the Department of National Defence;

(viii) The course of instruction at the College shall be designed to fit students, upon graduation therefrom, for the penultimate year in suitable faculties in recognized universities".

4. "The Committee recognizes that the reopening of the RMC, and its use within the plan recommended, may involve somewhat greater cost than reliance on the universities alone. It believes that this greater cost must be viewed in terms of the greater assurance of adequate numbers and high quality of the officer candidates."

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file/Dr J.A.L.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

R-34 1946

C227553

Dr. H.C. Cooke, Treasurer of the Royal Society of Canada, telephoned to ask if you could receive a small delegation from the Council of the Society on any day in the first week of December. The delegation would be headed by Dr. H.A. Innes, President, and would include Dr. J.B. Collip (McGill), Professor Robertson (Queen's) and Dr. Cooke. I understand they would wish to discuss the question of a grant from the Government of Canada to enable the Scholarship Fund of the Society to be continued, and for other purposes.

R-10-C 1946

R-10-C" 1946

R-10-R" 1946

E-30-1 1946

J.A.G.

16/xi/46

Telling see Secretary of State & Minister of Finance re 16-11-46

Dr Cooke to informed 18/XI/46

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Office of the Prime Minister
Canada

Ottawa, January 13, 1940

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

Dear Dr. Skelton:

I can understand the desire of Major Lanctot to complete his Royal Tour records by including in them the invitation from President Roosevelt and the acceptance by the King.

On the other hand, I can equally see the objections to turning over personal communications and I think that Lanctot's purpose would be served by simply putting into the record the dates of the communications exchanged. I have no doubt that the American officials would be glad to provide this information.

Yours very truly,

W. J. TURNBULL

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C227555

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO Heeney

Mr. J. W. Pickersgill.

Why to me?

The Prime Minister also would like to have a copy of "the speeches delivered by Their Majesties during their visit to Canada."

Has not seen them himself.

2/13/40

D.R.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C227556

Laurier House

re attached

12 Pgs.

~~24~~ copies of Speeches by Their Majesties for immediate reference.

(N.B. One copy is being specially bound in leather for P.M., and 2 other copies are being bound into the P.M.'s Royal Visit Papers)

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CRDHEP Folder re Royal Visit

MEMORANDUM

Department of External Affairs Library.

Ottawa, March 30,1940. p.m.

Mr. Handy,

For the Laurier House file from a book just received in the Dept. in case you have not secured a copy.

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Of matters which have taken place since this book was printed, that of prime importance is the visit of the King and the Queen to Canada and the amazing quality of their welcome by the peoples of Canada, whatever their racial origin. If the King found Parliament not ready for prorogation, it proved possible for him to give in person assent to the vital measure to put in operation the trade agreement between the Dominion and the United States, which, like that between the United Kingdom and the States, aims at lowering unnatural barriers to the free movement of trade, and at strengthening the bonds between the two greatest of democracies at a time when democracy has suffered the severest set-back in Europe. The attendance of Mr. Mackenzie King on the sovereign during his brief and most successful visit to the United States was a significant assertion of Imperial unity and the power of each unit on occasion to represent the whole. The episode must unquestionably add greatly to the weight of the views of the sovereign in relation to the conduct of the affairs of the United Kingdom, and may well serve to restore to the throne the prestige acquired under George V.

Keith, A.B. The Constitution of England from Queen Victoria to George VI. (Lond., Macmillan, 1940. 2 vs.)

Preface to Vol.1. p. ix-x.

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S/afr

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Acting High Commissioner in South Africa has reported that he was asked to screen at Government House in Cape Town the film on the Royal Visit to Canada, which is in the High Commissioner's Office. The showing was attended by the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet and the members of a Special Committee which has been set up to handle the Royal Visit to South Africa.

At the close of the evening, the Governor-General and Field Marshal Smuts, as well as a number of Cabinet Ministers, expressed their thanks to the Acting High Commissioner and informed him that they were very grateful for the opportunity of seeing how the Royal Visit to Canada had been conducted.

Ottawa, May 8, 1946.

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CHAPTER IV

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C227561

C H A P T E R IV

For Canada the greatest festive day of all had arrived. To the oldest province, Quebec, also the natural approach to Canada, through its magnificent river St. Lawrence, truly a royal highway fell the honour of being the first North American soil trodden by the King and Queen; and no more fitting landing-place could have been chosen than the City of Quebec, the gate of the St. Lawrence and Gibraltar of America, crowned by its citadel, flying the British flag, and mounting guard, as a grim old soldier, over the whole Dominion of Canada.

At 8.15 on the morning of May 17th, the royal yacht hoisted anchor and, convoyed by the two British cruisers and two Canadian destroyers, moved towards Quebec. On deck, smoking his pipe, a youthful looking man was gazing wonderingly at this Canadian Kingdom which stretched from ocean to ocean. At the same time, from all over the country-side, thousands who had left their homes at sunrise, were converging on the old capital of French-Canada. Within the city, throngs of Quebecers and visitors were swarming the streets looking for vantage points.

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C227141

C H A P T E R IV

For Canada the greatest festive day of all had arrived. To the oldest province, Quebec, also the natural approach to Canada, through its magnificent river St. Lawrence, truly a royal highway fell the honour of being the first North American soil trodden by the King and Queen; and no more fitting landing-place could have been chosen than the City of Quebec, the gate of the St. Lawrence and Gibraltar of America, crowned by its citadel, flying the British flag, and mounting guard, as a grim old soldier, over the whole Dominion of Canada.

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About 9 o'clock, as the royal flotilla neared the city, the church bells of villages and towns on each side of the St. Lawrence could be heard saluting its passage, while three Royal Canadian Air Force bombers were roaring and circling over the river. Then, as if on a signal, a tumultuous welcome arose from marine whistles in the harbour and factory sirens in the city, mingling with the silver peals of Quebec's numerous churches. Ten minutes later, the great white liner hove into sight of Quebec and steamed majestically past Lower Town, the turreted Chateau, Dufferin Terrace and Citadel Heights, all available space overlooking the river being crowded with spectators.

All houses overlooking the river were decorated with banners and buntings, union jacks and tricolours. To the royal party Quebec looked an extremely French city with its narrow streets, steep roofs and dormer windows.

About 9.45 A.M., at Wolfe's Cove, below the Plains of Abraham, the Empress of Australia came to a stop opposite the landing enclosure which was carpeted in red and green. Surrounded by a solid mass of spectators, the space was bright-coloured with draperies and banked with

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hyrangeas, roses and palms on either side. There were waiting Canada's Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, his colleagues of the Cabinet and other distinguished officials. About five minutes past ten, while the ship was being manoeuvered into position, the King and Queen high above the bridge deck, leaning over the side of the rail, a cheer, which they acknowledged by a wave of the hand, went up and suddenly died down as if it were out of place. Instantly, hundreds of children broke through the lines and pushed their way between policemen and constables; the dense crowd followed, almost like a human tide, until they were all stopped by the police cordon surrounding the reception square. Alone, amidst the growing excitement, a group of Lorette Hurons, in feather head-dress and buckskin costumes remained unmoved.

At 10.25 A.M., Prime Minister Mackenzie King, accompanied by Minister of Justice, M. Ernest Lapointe, both in full dress uniform of members of His Majesty's Privy Council, went on board the royal yacht. Received by Lord Eldon and Mr. Alan Lascelles, they were conducted to the main lounge where Their Majesties were waiting. The Prime Minister

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greeted the King with the words: "Welcome, Sir, to Your Majesty's realm of Canada." And to the Queen, he added: "Welcome, Ma'am, to Canada."

After a brief chat during which Their Majesties expressed their regret at the delay in their arrival, photographs were snapped. Then the Canadian ministers, taking leave of the Sovereigns, returned to the quay and stood at the end of the gangway. A few minutes later, having sent a message to the Skeena and Saguenay, thanking officers and men for their convoy of the royal yacht, the King and the Queen came to the head of the gangway and shook hands with the ship's officers.

Then from the deck two Marine buglers sounded a flourish of trumpets and Their Majesties walked down the gangway, the King wearing the blue and gold uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet with the blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter, and the Queen, a pearl grey crêpe-de-chine ensemble. At exactly 10.34 A.M., just a fraction of a second ahead of the Queen, George VI, King of Great Britain and the Dominions overseas, stepped off the gangway on Canadian soil, the first reigning British Monarch to set foot in America. At once, a royal salute of twenty-one guns began to boom from the Citadel, while His Majesty with Mr. Mackenzie King

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and Her Majesty with Mr. Lapointe, walked to the royal dais with its two great oaken chairs and its banks of flowers.

When the King, an arresting figure of distinguished presence and thoughtful mien, and the Queen, radiating grace and charm with her bewtiching smile, took their places on the royal dais, a hush of respect fell upon the vast audience, a symbol of French restraint and homage. Photographers moved excitedly about, cine-kodaks were cranked and cameras clicked, while observers of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation began telling the story which they were to continue every day of the tour.

For a moment, under the light blue sky radiant with sunshine, the historical scene, mingling past and present seemed to pause. There stood the British King and Queen facing the heights upon which Wolfe had led his troops to the conquest of a new Dominion, not quite two centuries ago. There, from the St. Lawrence to the Plains of Abraham, packing the foreground, the roads and the slopes, stood the descendants of those men who

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had defeated Murray's troops on the same Plains and had vainly hoped to re-conquer New France. Now these descendants had gathered from all over their native province, in festive attire and mood, to welcome the Sovereign of the British Empire and his Consort.

At the same time implementing the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster, the royal reception signalised Canada's status as an independent Dominion with its own King, by whom stood the Dominion Prime Minister, his solo adviser in Canadian matters. Thus was here compressed into a brief moment the whole cycle of an evolution two centuries long; an evolution through which a French colonial possession had become a sovereign nation of the British Commonwealth.

First the Prime Minister presented to Their Majesties the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec and his wife, the State Minister and Leader of the Senate, Senator R. Dandurand, the Minister of Mines and Resources and Mrs. Crerar, Mrs. Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Public Works and Madame Cardin, the Minister of Finance and Mrs. Dunning, the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Mrs. Euler, the Secretary of State, the Minister of National Defence, the Minister of Pensions and Mrs. Power, the Minister of

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National Revenue and Mrs. Ilsley, the Minister of Labour and Mrs. Rogers, the Postmaster General and Mrs. McLarty, the Honourable and Mrs. MacKinnon, the Representative of South Africa and his wife, the High Commissioner for Great Britain and his wife, the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons and their wives; the Premier of Quebec, the Mayor of Quebec and his wife, the Dominion officials in attendance during the royal tour; the President of the Canadian National Railways, the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the District Officer Commanding. The gentlemen bowed and the ladies curtsied to both the King and Queen, who graciously shook hands with every one.

Following the presentation, the King preceded by an equerry strode to the "thin red line" of the guard of honour, formed by the 22nd French-Canadian Regiment in scarlet coats and busbies, the only all-French regiment under the British King. The guard presented arms and the band played the National Anthem, for the first time in Canada in the presence of the King in person, who stood taking the salute. It was a moment of tense emotion which thrilled the vast audience. His Majesty then inspected the guard and returned to the enclosure. The King and Queen then entered

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the special automobile which flew the Royal Standard, and the official procession which included the Prime Minister, the Justice Minister and Madame Lapointe, the Pensions Minister and Mrs. Power, the Speaker of the Senate and Mrs. Foster, the Speaker of the House of Commons and Madame Casgrain proceeded towards the waiting city.

The pent-up feelings of the crowd, now so long restrained from a feeling of respect, broke out and great waves of cheering rose behind the royal car, followed by momentary silence broken only by the pealing of bells and excited shouting of children.

From Wolfe's Cove, the procession rode along Gilmour's Hill, the Battlefields Park and Grande Allée, decked with flags and bunting, between two lanes of densely packed spectators from whom rose the cries of Vive le roi, Vive la reine, acknowledged by the King and Queen with a smile or a wave of the hand. At 11.10 A.M. the royal car stopped in front of the Legislative Buildings resplendent with decorations where thousands of French Canadians filled the open square in an impressive manifestation of homage and welcome. The Sovereigns were greeted at the main entrance by Lieutenant Governor Patenaude and Madame Patenaude, from whom the Queen graciously accepted a bouquet of red roses. Then attended also by the Prime Minister and

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followed by members of the royal party, their Majesties proceeded to the Legislative Council's Red Chamber, hung with rich draperies and decorated with bowers of roses and snap-dragons, where several hundred guests were already assembled, including Federal and Provincial Ministers and Members as well as leaders in the professional, religious and business life of Canada and Quebec.

After Their Majesties had occupied thrones at the upper end of the Chambers, the Prime Minister standing on the right of the King, Premier Duplessis, on behalf of the only French Legislature of the British Empire, read in French an address of welcome which expressed to the Sovereigns "the sentiments of joy, respect, loyalty and affection of the entire Province of Quebec and, in particular, of Canadians of French descent." The address specially stressed the innate creed of Quebec: "Always has our Province been faithful to the Crown of Britain; equally has it been faithful...to that mission which British statesmen in 1791 confided to it: to remain altogether French." It also included a happy reference to the Queen Mother and the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose.

After receiving the Quebec address His Majesty handed the Premier his reply written in French. In it,

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the King paid a special tribute to the well-established loyalty of the French Canadian people and added the following message: "The spirit of tolerance in which the two great races dwell side by side in this Province is an example to the entire world. This harmony augurs well for the future of Canada."

Mayor Lucien Borne of Quebec also presented to His Majesty an address of welcome on behalf of the oldest city in Canada. According to the protocol of the royal tour, the latter was not read, but merely handed to the King.

After the reception of addresses, the King and Queen stepped down to the floor of the chamber. The Premier presented to Their Majesties, His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve, the members of the Legislative Assembly and their wives and the high officials of the Provincial Government and their wives. Mayor Borne presented the members of the City Council of Quebec.

When the King and the Queen walked out of the Chamber, the whole assembly broke spontaneously into warm applause. A short drive brought Their Majesties to the old Citadel, where Boy Scouts and Girl Guides formed a cheering cordon along the winding cobble-stone road of the fortress. From the flagpole of the highest bastion, the

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Royal Standard shot its red and gold colours into the Laurentian sky: the King was in residence in Canada.

Being 45 minutes ahead of the programme schedule, Their Majesties enjoyed a full hour's rest, looking round their first Canadian home and admiring the wonderful panorama, which stretched across the sun-shot St. Lawrence, the green Island of Orleans and the distant, blueish Laurentides.

At the Citadel, His Majesty performed his first official duty as King of Canada. The Prime Minister, as Secretary of State for External Affairs, laid before the King his recommendation for His Majesty's approval of the appointment of Daniel C. Roper as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Canada. The King signed the document, according to usage, in the top left corner.

At one o'clock, Their Majesties left the Citadel and proceeded to the Château Frontenac for the luncheon tendered by the Dominion Government. They were met at the entrance by the Prime Minister and, at his request, by Madame Lapointe as Hostess. Preceded by the equerry-in-waiting, the Queen with the Prime Minister and the King with Madame Lapointe walked to the Salon Madeleine de Verchères, where cloaks were left, and thence to the ball room. The Queen wore the same smart ensemble so much admired at the

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morning reception, but the King had changed from naval uniform into morning clothes.

The banquet room was a scene of loveliness with its subdued wall colours and abundance of yellow and pink roses and delphiniums. The assembly of about three hundred distinguished guests were already in their places. They included not only the Cabinet Ministers, but also nearly all the members of the Privy Council for Canada and their wives, as well as the Judges of the Supreme Court and their wives, and high officials of the Dominion.

At 1.15, with the orchestra playing the first verse of the National Anthem, the royal party came in and took their places. On the Prime Minister's invitation, Cardinal Villeneuve said grace, which he prefaced with the appropriate words: "O Lord, bless our Sovereigns and all their loyal subjects."

When fruit and coffee had been placed on the tables, the Prime Minister rose and said:

"Your Majesties, Ladies and Gentlemen, The King," and the Prime Minister bowing to the King and then to the Queen, the whole company rose and honored the toast.

Then the Prime Minister said:

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"Your Majesties, Ladies and Gentlemen, The Queen," and the Prime Minister bowing to the Queen and then to the King, the toast was drunk. The orchestra then played one verse of the National Anthem and the guests resumed their seats for coffee and cigarettes. A few minutes later, the Prime Minister rose again and delivered a much applauded speech welcoming Their Majesties to their Dominion of Canada, epitomizing its historical past, voicing its faith in British institutions and ending by a warm homage to the personal qualities of the Sovereigns. He spoke as follows:
May it Please Your Majesty:

On behalf of the Canadian people, I respectfully extend to Your Majesty and to Her Majesty the Queen a royal welcome to your Dominion of Canada.

We are deeply conscious of the signal honour of being the first of the overseas nations of the Commonwealth to be visited by the reigning Sovereign, and of having the high privilege of welcoming, in person, our King and Queen. We are proud indeed to feel that, in the person of Your Majesty, we have among us, not the symbol, but the living presence of the Head of the whole Empire.

Three and a third centuries ago, unknown, unheralded and unwelcomed, small craft crossed the then uncharted seas

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and sailed up the St. Lawrence to where this morning Your Majesty set foot on Canadian soil. Here, these early adventurers raised the Fleur de Lis of France and planted the Cross of Christianity. That day was the birthday of Canada. Since then, these heights have witnessed other scenes alike heroic and historic.

This afternoon Your Majesty will view the plains where one and three quarter centuries ago the soil of Old France in the New World was won for the British Crown. The transition gave a firm foundation to the British dominions beyond the seas. Your Majesty will also see the memorial which, in a single epitaph, commemorates the virtues of the gallant leaders of the two great races then in conflict - a symbol of the highest chivalry, but, even more, of national unity.

Here, in 1864, after a preliminary conference at Charlottetown, the Fathers of Confederation drafted the resolutions which were the basis of the British North America Act. By this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were federally united under the Crown into one Dominion. On July 1, 1867, with a constitution similar in principle tb that of the United Kingdom, the British Colonies thus united became the Dominion of Canada.

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To aid and advise in the government of the Dominion, the new constitution made provision for a Council to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada.

To-day, all the Privy Councillors of Canada have been invited to meet Your Majesty, including members of both present and past administrations. It is the first occasion since Confederation, apart from the meetings of the first Cabinet, on which all the members of the King's Privy Council for Canada have been brought together. It is the first time in the history of Canada that the Ministers of the Crown and, indeed, all members of Your Majesty's Privy Council, have been assembled in the presence of Their King.

To-day, as never before, the Throne has become the centre of our national life.

Under the shadow of the great rock of Quebec, there has passed, in the course of years, a continuous stream of men and women, seeking and finding new homes and new opportunities in this favoured land. We rejoice in the thought that, for a time, our King and Queen will follow the path of those adventurers and pioneers. Your Majesties will discover not only-as they did-forests, prairies, and mountains, but thriving villages, towns and cities, all eager to extend their welcome. We hope there may be opportunity as well

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for Your Majesties to see and to enjoy something of the natural beauty of Canada's many rivers and lakes, its vast spaces, its clear skies and golden sunshine, its national parks, its quiet countryside and its peaceful homes.

We are not unmindful of the sacrifices involved in your long and arduous journeys over land and sea and in parting for the time being with your children- those cherished children of the Empire, the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose. May the sincerity and warmth of our welcome be some compensation to you during this temporary separation. Your Majesties will find other children in this land longing to press around you, children who in turn will hand on to a future generation the memory of a great moment in their lives. Here, too, you will be in the heart of a family which is your own; a family of men and women of varied stock and race and thought, who, in free association with other members of the Commonwealth, but equally in their own way, are working out their national destiny.

We would have Your Majesties feel that, in coming from the Old Land to the New, you have but left one home to come to another; that we are all of one household. Free institutions and democratic ideals are as dear to the heart of your people in Canada as to the peoples in any other part of the Empire. We regard their preservation and perpetuation

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as the common concern of all.

May I, in conclusion, be permitted to say that the warmth of the welcome Your Majesties will everywhere receive is bound up in a very special way with the admiration that all Canadians feel for the qualities of heart and character which you possess-for what you are in your selves. In your daily lives we see exemplified the things we value most-faith in God, concern for human well-being, consecration to the public service, delight in the simple joys of home and family life. Greater than our sense of the splendour of your state is our affection for two young people who bear, in so high a spirit, a responsibility unparalleled in the world."

Senator Dandurand, Government Leader in the Senate made a short speech in French in which he stressed the common ancestry of those French and British Canadians sprung from the same Norman stock, and asserted the undying loyalty of Quebec to the King's motto: "Dieu et mon Droit." Here is the text of the speech:

"Qu'il plaise à Votre Majesté,

Pour Vous souhaiter la bienvenue dans la capitale de la Nouvelle-France, fondée en 1608 par Champlain et ses héroiques compagnons dont Vous suivrez les traces jusqu' aux contreforts des Montagnes-Rocheuses, la voix de leurs descendants s'impose, comme aussi pour solliciter la faveur de

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déposer aux pieds de Votre charmante compagne le respectueux hommage de toute notre population. La race des découvreurs et des pionniers du Canada Vous est d'autant moins inconnue que Vous Vous réclamez, Sire, et non sans fierté, d'une commune, bien que lointaine, parenté.

En effet, ils sont directement issus de ce grand Duché de Normandie qui donna à son chef, Guillaume, cinquante mille hommes pour vaincre à Hastings et y établir sa domination sur l'Angleterre. C'est la progéniture de ces Anglo-Normands qui est venue rejoindre ici même, en 1760, ses cousins franco-normands.

Ils ne parlaient plus tout à fait la même langue, car dans Votre Île, la langue avait sensiblement évolué au cours des siècles. Aussi éprouvèrent-ils, dès l'abord, quelque difficulté à se comprendre, bien que des milliers de vocables français eussent conservé leur forme. En particulier, deux mots avaient gardé leur aspect original et leur plein sens, deux mots qui restaient profondément gravés dans leur âme normande et qu'ils ne devaient jamais oublier, deux mots qu'ils retrouvèrent dans votre écusson royal: «Dieu et mon Droit».

C'est la fidélité indéfectible à ces deux principes essentiels de vie- «Dieu et mon Droit»- qui a assuré leur survivance.

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Sous l'égide de cette devise, ils ont pu clamer, en changeant d'allégeance, à l'instar des chevaliers du moyen âge: «Le roi est mort, vive le roi».

Aussi aujourd'hui répètent-ils à l'adresse de Votre Majesté, sans aucune réticence et de plein coeur: «Vive le Roi»."

When the King arose to speak, a dignified and distinguished figure, yet so earnest and kindly- a feeling of emotion gripped the whole assembly: here was their King addressing them in Canada and they listened in an almost religious silence. At the same moment, beyond the four walls of the room throughout the country, millions of Canadian hearts were throbbing with the same emotional feeling as they listened to the voice of their King speaking to them over the radio.

Speaking deliberately, and feelingly, His Majesty delivered an excellent address, indicating the deep implications of this first royal visit, the great achievements of Canada's past and present, and the Sovereigns' personal satisfaction at such an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the country, and its men, women and younger generations. Then, without a pause, the King branched off immediately into

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French- in a passage in which he paid a tribute to the pioneer work of the French Canadians throughout America and eulogized the spirit of understanding and union which is the soundest basis of Confederation and Canada's future. Here is the full text of the royal speech:

"I am deeply moved by your words of welcome to the Queen and myself on behalf of the Canadian people.

I recognize that this moment is historic. It is the first time that a British king has crossed the Atlantic. I stand today on the soil of North America.

Here, in the past two centuries, through loss and through gain, the British Commonwealth of Nations has been largely moulded into its present form.

This is also the first visit of the sovereign to one of his oversea dominions. It is fitting that it should be the senior Dominion of the Crown. I am particularly pleased that, on the day of my arrival in Canada, I should have the pleasure of meeting, not only my ministers, but all the leaders of my privy council in Canada.

You in Canada have already fulfilled part of the Biblical promise and obtained dominion from sea to sea. You are engaged in fulfilling the latter part of that promise in consolidating government from the river to the ends of the earth, from the St. Lawrence to the Arctic snows.

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The Queen and I are looking forward, with anticipation too great for expression, to seeing all we possibly can of this vast country. Particularly do we welcome the opportunity of greeting the men and women who are its strength and stay, and of seeing something of the younger generation so soon to become the guardians of its future.

Je veux, Monsieur le sénateur Dandurand, saluer l'ancienne province de Québec et cette belle et ancienne cité, dans la langue des pionniers qui apportèrent la civilisation sur les rives du fleuve Saint-Laurent. C'est ici que s'ouvrit pour la première fois la porte du Canada, et que naquit la nation canadienne.

C'est ici que de grands exploits furent accomplis, laissant des témoignages qui resteront à jamais glorieux pour la France et la Grande-Bretagne. C'est ici aujourd'hui que deux grandes races vivent ensemble et heureuses. L'esprit de Québec est un heureux mélange d'esprit vigoureux et fièrement maintenu.

C'est ici de cette vieille partie du Canada que partirent de nombreux pionniers pour l'Ouest et le Nord-Ouest, où ils se joignirent aux fils des Iles britanniques et des nations de l'Europe continentale pour faire du Canada un pays d'hommes libres.

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C'est l'union de l'ancien et du nouveau qui fait une cité ou une nation puissante.

L'accord et l'union harmonieux des éléments variés qui forment le Canada furent le rêve idéal des Pères de la Confédération. Je ne puis souhaiter pour vous qui m'entendez un destin plus fortuné que la réalisation fructueuse et heureuse de ce noble rêve.

With the last words of the speech hardly spoken, the pent-up feelings of the company burst out in enthusiastic acclaim lasting several minutes. The Queen, joining in the applause, turned to the King with a smile and was overheard to murmur: "It was very good, dear." The spontaneous warmth of the ovation lit up the King's features with discernable pleasure; he felt undoubtedly that he had won the test match and conquered Canada.

Soon after the luncheon was over Their Majesties entered their limousine for a drive through the city. The Quebec of the afternoon was different from the Quebec of the morning. In the morning it was official Quebec which had paid to Their Majesties its dutiful homage with the respect appropriate to the occasion. In the afternoon, it was the plain people who were receiving the King and Queen,

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and the plain people did not intend to hush their feelings when welcoming a King who spoke so excellently of French Canada in French, and a Queen who could lavish such exquisite smiles on her subjects.

The moment the royal car came in sight of the densely packed crowds, which had listened with rapture to the King's French speech transmitted by loud speakers, cheers went up in sonorous waves intermingled with the cries: Vive le roi, Vive la reine. The welcome was taken up and constantly maintained along the nine-mile route thickly lined with enthusiastic spectators, hardly kept in check by soldiers, policemen, cadets and scouts, from the Chateau to St. John's Gate and D'Aiguillon Street, whence the procession entered Lower Town. Lower Town outdid itself, especially from wide Boulevard Charest where the throngs were greatest, to St. Sauveur and St. Malo, the working-class districts, Quebec had never seen a demonstration like it. Decorations were modest perhaps but innumerable, gaily mixing all possible colours, convents and monasteries being especially decorated. The enthusiasm was so continuous that the King laid his top hat on the seat and waved with both hands. On Montmagny Street, the cordon protecting Royalty consisted of diminutive cadets in white uniforms, while further away a body of

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French-Canadian boys and girls stood with quaint pride in Scotch costumes in honour of the Queen who reserved for them her best smile.

The triumphant parade came to a climax at the Battlefields Park. On the vast green stretch of the Plains of Abraham, overlooking the broad river glistening in the sun, were congregated twenty five thousand school children, each holding a small flag, while thousands of spectators had gathered in the background. When the royal car with its escort of motorcycles came to a stop at 3.43 P.M. at the reception stand, shrill cheers rose again and again while a sea of flags kept madly fluttering in the air. After ascending the stand, the King and Queen appeared astonished and pleased at the enthusiasm of the crowd. Then twenty five thousand voices fresh and fervid, sang a French version of God Save the King with a rare beauty of intensity and feeling. A moment later, they sang O Canada in French, with moving crescendo.

After three little girls, one French, one English and one Irish, had presented to the Queen a bouquet of roses. a few leaders in education both Catholic and Protestant, were introduced to Their Majesties by Premier Duplessis. At 3.56 P.M. Their Majesties re-entered their car. Cheers

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rang out again, flags waved and the royal vision disappeared from the children's sight.

A five-minute drive brought Their Majesties to the Lieutenant Governor's residence, "Spencerwood", which commands a fine vista over the St. Lawrence. The King and Queen were met at the entrance by the Lieutenant Governor and Madame Patenaude and escorted to the reception rooms, profusely adorned with hydrangeas of various shades. Tea was served in the state dining room. Before leaving, Their Majesties presented Lieutenant Governor and Madame Patenaude with their autographed photographs. At 5 o'clock the royal party departed for another drive through Upper Town between deep rows of enthusiastic spectators and returned to the Citadel.

From their Canadian residence, Their Majesties caused a thoughtful message to be sent out in appreciation of the numerous greetings received since their arrival in America. It read as follows:

"The King and Queen are deeply touched by the many messages of welcome and goodwill which have reached them on their arrival in Canada from all parts of the Dominion and from the United States. The volume of these messages is so great that it will not be possible for Their Majesties to

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answer them individually. They wish, however, to express to the senders their most sincere thanks for their good wishes."

At 8 o'clock, the Sovereigns left the Citadel to attend the official dinner offered by the Quebec Government at the Chateau Frontenac. Owing to a light drizzle the top of the car had been raised, though the royal visitors could still be seen in the interior. But the rain had not daunted the Quebecers, and the streets were lined with eager and applauding spectators. At Place d'Armes Square facing the hotel, a huge crowd which had been waiting for hours sent up deafening waves of cheers.

Their Majesties were received at the main entrance by Prime Minister King and Premier Duplessis. Entering the dining-room, the Queen was accompanied by the Provincial Premier and the King followed with Madame Patenaude. Her Majesty wore a [illegible] crinoline gown of pale rose satin, with a diamond tiara in her brown hair. The King was in evening clothes with the star of the Order of the Garter on his lapel, while the Queen wore the diamond miniature insignia of the same order. The room was lavishly ornamented with hydrangeas, snapdragons and gladioli, and the tables displayed a profusion of red roses on pale blue table cloths.

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With no formal address, the provincial dinner resolved itself into a brilliant social function chiefly centred round Her Majesty, radiant and regal. At the head table sat Lieutenant Governor and Madame Patenaude, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Cardinal Villeneuve, and other prominent guests, while three hundred notables and their wives were gathered round the other tables. An orchestra played several pieces of French-Canadian music.

At the conclusion of the dinner, the toasts to the King and then to the Queen were proposed by Lieutenant Governor Patenaude. The orchestra struck the first notes of the National Anthem, and the three hundred ladies and gentlemen stood up with glasses raised and joined in the refrain, singing it with a special emotion, as they were singing it in the very presence of the King, for the first time in Canada. The King rose visibly touched, bowing and smiling, the Queen bowed first to the King, then to the guests, and the toast was duly honored.

As the orchestra, next played the opening notes of O Canada, the King and Queen graciously arose and joined the gathering in singing the Canadian anthem.

A few minutes later, at 9.50 P.M. as the royal party walked to the door, a spontaneous ovation broke forth with such warmth that the King and Queen could not help turning round,

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smiling and bowing to the company. The Sovereigns stopped in the foyer, where a few distinguished guests were presented to them, and chatted with this favoured group for about ten minutes. On being escorted to their car by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Premier Duplessis reporters and guests greeted the Sovereigns with a splendid cheer. Outside, in spite of a drizzle, the crowd had not ceased to grow larger, jamming the whole square and adjoining streets. In their eagerness to get closer, the enthusiastic spectators for the third time during the day broke the police lines. For two hours they had waited for royalty, occasionally calling: "Le Roi, la Reine, We want the King, We want the Queen!" When at last the Sovereigns came into sight, the people cheered and a roaring welcome resounded through the streets as Their Majesties drove off to their Canadian home at the Citadel.

At the same time, visible from the royal windows, a fireworks display across the river at Levis lit up the sky with shooting rockets and sparkling flares, while the river was resplendent with the brightly illuminated warships in the harbour. So ended the first royal day in Canada, which left Their Majesties pleased with their Canadian Dominion and Quebec prouder of its loyalty and welcome.

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Next morning, May 18th, the Sovereigns arose early, and were served breakfast before 8 o'clock. An hour later they left the Citadel for the railway station, being acclaimed along the two-mile route by large throngs anxious to catch another look at the royal couple. At the station, the King wearing the undress uniform of the Admiral of the Fleet and the Queen a suit of powder blue shade with a fur wrap, were met by Lieutenant Governor Patenaude, Premier Duplessis and Mayor Borne. After a military band had played the National Anthem, His Majesty inspected a guard of honour mounted by the Voltigeurs de Québec and the Royal Rifles of Canada. The crowd raised a great cheer of farewell as Their Majesties disappeared into the building, walking to the royal train. Here, while a royal salute was fired by the 94th Artillery Brigade from the nearby St. Charles River, the Sovereigns were shown into their car by the Prime Minister. The train pulled out at 9.32 A.M., and as they stood on the observation platform the large crowd swept round the station to the tracks shouting: Vive le Roi, vive la Reine. For two miles out, cheering spectators lined the street crossings and the right of way. When the royal couple entered their car, the Queen was delighted to find, in her drawing room, a large basket of orchids sent by Mayor Borne on behalf of the city.

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The reception accorded to Their Majesties in Quebec was gracefully acknowledged on May 19th, by the following telegram from the King to the Mayor:

"The Queen and I will always have the happiest recollection of our visit to Quebec and of the splendid welcome which its citizens accorded us. Will you please convey to all who were concerned in the arrangements for our visit, our appreciation of the admirable manner in which they were carried out.

GEORGE R.I."

On May 24, the following message was received from His Majesty by Premier Duplessis in Quebec:

"On behalf of the Queen and myself I sincerely thank you for the hospitality shown to us by you and your Government and congratulate you on the excellence of your arrangements for our visit to Quebec."

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CHAPTER V

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C H A P T E R V

For the first time in history a British King and Queen were going to live for weeks in railway cars, so that a Canadian train thus became "a sort of Buckingham Palace on wheels". On board also ten British members of the royal party and a retinue of twenty personal attendants. During the whole tour, the Sovereigns were accompanied by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, as His Majesty's constitutional adviser, and ten Canadian members of the royal suite. To the train were attached thirty secretarial attendants, railway officials and employees as well as maids and valets.

The train consisted of twelve cars provided equally by the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway; these coaches were painted royal blue and silver panels between the windows and a horizontal gold stripe above and below the windows. They were numbered 1 to 12 from the rear of the train. Cars 1 and 2, formerly the Governor General's private cars, now completely renovated, were occupied by the Sovereigns, and bore the royal coat-of-arms in gold in the centre, while the others had the royal cypher and crown. To the roof of each coach were

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fitted powerful floodlights that made the royal train clearly visible at night, for the benefit of localities unfortunately not traversed during day-time.

Car No. 1 contained a sitting room for the Sovereigns and two personal bedrooms with dressing rooms and private baths attached, as well as two bedrooms for members of the staff. The Queen's suite was painted blue-grey with damask coverings and curtains of a dust-pink shade. The King's rooms displayed blue and white chintz. The sitting room was fitted with a radio and contained a small library. There also a set of specially designed maps had been arranged in such a way that any one of these could be moved up and down like a blind simply by pulling it, so that any place in Canada could be instantly located. A special meter was also installed indicating the distance travelled by the train.

Also reserved for the Sovereigns, car No. 2 consisted of a large lounge and a dining room seating twelve persons, with a kitchen attached, as well as a bedroom with bath and an office for the King's private secretary. There was also a bedroom for attendants. No. 3 was occupied by secretarial and personal staffs. No. 4 was assigned to the ladies-in-waiting. No. 5 was the Prime Minister's private car. Nos.

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6, 7 and 8 were reserved for the British and Canadian officials forming the royal party. No. 9 was occupied by the twelve Royal Canadian Mounted Police escorting the Sovereigns, and No. 10 was the dining car of the Canadian officials and general staff, as the British officials had their own dining room. No. 11 contained the baggage room, telephone exchange and pressing room, No. 12 was the baggage car.

Most cars were fitted with radios, while all of them were air conditioned with the exception of the Wentworth, car No. 5, occupied by the Prime Minister who had been warned against such ventilation by his doctor. The blue train, as it came to be known, was equipped with a special telephone system with its own exchange. Each car had a telephone and it was possible to communicate with anybody on the train at any time. At important stops, the train telephone was connected by means of special cables to land lines, with communication to any part of the world.

Moreover, at the personal command of the King, a buzzer system had been installed between the engine and the royal suite with instructions that whenever the engineer sighted a crowd of people at a station not marked for a stop, he was to press the buzzer and slow down, so that Their

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Majesties could appear on their car platform, if it was at all possible at the time.

The royal train was also provided with a post office, using its own postmarks. All letters reaching or leaving the train passed through this office. It was also the task of the train post office to handle the many letters- perhaps a hundred a day- addressed to the sovereigns, most of these by perfect strangers. Most of the writers believed they had some reason- generally very trifling- for writing, and, as a rule, simply tendered their welcome or good wishes for the tour. All over America, there was such a tremendous rush to secure royal tour stamps, bearing the cancellation mark of the royal train, that one day 250,000 letters were mailed from the train, to which they had been sent for that purpose alone. It may be added that the blue train also carried its own barber shop and barber.

Of the twelve Royal Canadian Mounted Police stationed on board the train, four were detailed to act as personal orderlies always in attendance upon Their Majesties. The other Mounties served as a protective cordon thrown on both sides of the train every time it stopped by day or by night. Additional safety measures provided that all railway switches should be spiked before the passage of the royal train and that a guard be stationed at bridges and level crossings. The journey across Canada and back covered a distance of over six thousand miles with numerous bridges, hundreds of stations and thousands of crossings.

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The royal train was preceded throughout the tour by a second train known as the pilot train, travelling an exact half hour ahead of it. Consisting also of twelve cars, it filled the double purpose of protecting the royal train and conveying fifty eight journalists, including seven women, also twelve photographers, seven radiomen, seventeen relief Mounties, and twenty postal, telegraph and telephone officials. A press office was in continual operation in the train, supplying the newspapermen in advance with all details of royal engagements, while in each important city was found a complete press headquarters with typewriters and telegraphic facilities. On some days, 40,000 words were cabled to England and 200,000 wired to Canada and the United States.

Life on board the royal train, if perhaps tending occasionally to monotony, ran even and smooth with a minimum of regulation. The King and Queen would spend most of their time in their drawing room conversing or reading the papers or a book, or listening in on the radio or occasionally playing a game of patience. According to the circumstances, the King would send for the Prime Minister and discuss State matters with him or call his secretary and go over official papers. Meals were taken in the dining car and

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Their Majesties would generally invite in turn members of the British and Canadian party, so as to form a table of six guests at luncheon and dinner.

Of course during the day interruptions frequently intervened. As a rule, there was either a provincial or a big city reception every day. In addition, there would also be short stops with or without ceremony, but with, at least, the King and Queen walking along the station platform. There would also be many appearances of the King and Queen on the observation platform of their cars, when the train would slow down at small stations where large crowds had assembled.

Throughout the tour, the same simple order was observed. A few minutes before a scheduled reception stop, the Prime Minister would proceed to the lounge of car No. 3, next to the royal car. The British and Canadian members of the royal party would move to cars 3 and 4 in order to be close at hand when the train came to halt. Stops were so accurately calculated by the engineers - a remarkable feat in itself- that the rear steps of the last royal car would always be brought opposite the carpeted space of the platform. The moment the train stopped, the Prime Minister would promptly alight and, accompanied by the members of the royal

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party, proceed to the end of the royal car. Thus, according to royal etiquette, as the King and Queen were the guests of the Canadian Government, they would be received at each place by the Prime Minister. Then the latter would present to Their Majesties the official host of the occasion, whether Lieutenant Governor, Provincial Premier, Mayor, Reeve, or some other functioning official; after this, the Prime Minister would stand aside, though constantly keeping near the King and Queen.

At every stop, the four R.C.M.P. constables, serving as personal orderlies to Their Majesties would take post by the steps of the royal car acting as body guards, while the other members of the force would line up at intervals along the train to prevent any unauthorized person entering the cars. When the train stopped for the night, members of the force would mount guard on each side of the line.

When leaving a place after a reception, a kind of reverse etiquette was followed. On reaching the train, the provincial or local host would take leave of Their Majesties, who had the Prime Minister at their side with the members of the royal party. The King and Queen would then enter their car and the Prime Minister would proceed to his own, while the British and Canadian officials would

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hurry to their respective coaches, then the train would pull out immediately.

Leaving Quebec, the royal train sped away through the countryside. It was a clear spring morning with a nip of frost in the air. But it was no ordinary week day: the King and Queen were coming. Sturdy farmers and industrious wives had dropped work and gathered at cross-roads or at stations, small groups at cross-roads, but whole villages at stations. They had come on foot, in buggies, in farm wagons, in cars or in trucks. Each little station had its decorations- Union Jacks, French tricolors, Carillon flags, church banners, all meaning: Welcome to Their Majesties. These people had come to catch a view of the royal train with practically no hope of seeing the King and Queen themselves. They had come all the same to salute their sovereigns and they cheered even when the blue train steamed past without a glimpse of the sovereigns through car windows. But the cheers rose louder and longer when the train slowed down and the King and Queen appeared on the observation platform. At Cadorna, Lorette, Bélair, Pont Rouge, Portneuf, Grondines, Cap de la Madeleine, large crowds had assembled, a special place being as a

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rule reserved for school children. Even the open fields had their spectators, sometimes a small family, father, mother and children, or a group of old people lined along the railway fence, or a lone man with a flag, or a youth on a horse decked out with red ribbons.

Before reaching Trois-Rivières, Premier Duplessis, who was travelling in the Prime Minister's car, was invited to the royal car and the King presented to him autographed photographs of Their Majesties. A few minutes later, at 11.45 A.M. the train drew into Trois-Rivières, the home town as well as the riding of Mr. Duplessis, and a thriving pulp-manufacturing centre on the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the St. Maurice river.

The moment the train came to a halt, the sovereigns alighted from their car and the Prime Minister presented to the King and Queen Mayor Atchez Pitt and Madame Pitt. Then the whole party, accompanied by Premier Duplessis, walked up the steps to a dais which had been built in two sections so as to face the streets on each side of the station, the two parts being joined by a drawbridge over the tracks. Next to the dais, the Trois-Rivières Tank Regiment was drawn up as a guard of honour. In the open spaces on each side a crowd of over fifty thousand people, as closely jammed as could be, had filled every inch of space, while hundreds of

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others stood on neighbouring roofs to get a more or less distant view of the scene. At Their Majesties' appearance, roaring cheers rose from the multitude, with an almost deafening sound. The Queen smiled and waved her hand repeatedly, while the King saluted time after time. Mayor Pitt handed to the King the city's address of welcome, inscribed on parchment, and then presented to the Sovereigns the members of the City Council and their wives as well as a few officials of state and church. When the presentation was over, the Queen noticed that she had been turning her back to the other section of the dais and the spectators facing it, so she motioned to the King and crossing the drawbridge they moved over to the other side of the platform. Whereupon that part of the crowd went wild with delight, and responded with a tremendous roar to the graceful gesture of the Queen. Premier Duplessis and Mayor Pitt having taken leave, Their Majesties, stood on the observation platform, smiling and waving, while the train pulled out of Trois-Rivières, with the crowd still cheering in the distance.

Again, from Trois-Rivières to Montreal, the royal train met with the same welcome from isolated farmers along the right of way, small groups of spectators at cross-roads and large crowds at every station. At Yamachiche two thousand persons were deeply disappointed as the train

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rushed along without slowing its speed, but Louiseville enjoyed an unscheduled stop of two minutes, during which the King and Queen came out to the observation platform and were tendered an enthusiastic ovation by three thousand spectators, headed by the mayor and aldermen. Large crowds had also gathered at Maskinongé, Terrebonne and St. Vincent-de-Paul. At every station from Quebec to Montreal, rural French Canada in festive Sunday clothes had, as best it could, extended its warm greeting to the King and Queen.

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CHAPTER VI

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C H A R T E R V I

Punctually at a quarter past two o'clock, on that sunny afternoon of May 18, the triumphant royal train pulled into Jean Talon station, in the northern section of Montreal- metropolis of Canada and the second largest French-speaking city of the world. On the alert from Viauville in the east to côte St. Paul in the west, Montreal had been eagerly waiting for the royal visitors. Never before this day had such multitudes gathered in a Canadian city. Even before daybreak, people had begun to pour into the city from all over the surrounding region, while thousands had come a day or two ahead, including a large contingent from the United States. From early morning small groups, often with folding stools, steamer rugs or lunch baskets, had streamed along the streets, while thousands of school children marched to their appointed stations. Open spaces along the streets were occupied with grandstands, built for the occasion, with seats that sold, according to the location, for as high as thirty dollars. Even unsightly outside staircases leading to second or third floors were turned to advantage, their steps being used as makeshift seats. On Côte-des-Neiges road, over which the procession

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had to pass twice, a stand owner with more or less of a gift for poetry had set up the following sign:

See the King twice,
Very same price,
Don't sit on stairs,
Just try our chairs.

To guard against the human flood in the business sections, ready made wire fencing had been placed in front of plate glass windows. By the time the procession was scheuled to start every street along the route to be followed by the royal visitors was thronged with spectators, and all of them were in festive mood, beaming with excitement and expectation.

At Jean Talon station, gay with streamers, the sovereigns alighted eager and smiling, the King in undress uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet and the Queen in a pale blue crepe gown and long coat with a blue hat and white fox fur. As they walked to the dais, Their Majesties were greeted with thundrous cheering and shouting by thousands of spectators, then a royal salute was fired by the 2nd Montreal Regiment. The Prime Minister presented the Mayor of Montreal and Madame Houde and all stood at attention as the band played God Save the King. His Majesty inspected the guard of honour, comprised of soldiers of the Fusiliers Mont-Royal, (French-Canadian Regiment) and the Black Watch of Canada (Royal Highlanders

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Regiment). The inspection over, Their Majesties entered the royal motor car; the Prime Minister, the Mayor and Madame Houde, the Minister of Public Works and Madame Cardin, Secretary of State Rinfret, and members of the royal party boarded their cars and the whole procession moved off; a detachment of the Duke of York's Royal Canadian Hussars escorting the royal automobile.

The twenty-three mile drive through the city was a triumphal progress between walls of cheering humanity waving and shouting, completely conquered by the Queen's bewitching smile and the King's genial dignity. Over one million people were packed along the curbs and in public squares, or crowded on stands and vacant lots, or grouped on verandahs and roofs. Spectators were lined five and six deep, and at the best vantage points they stood twenty and thirty deep, with coloured periscopes sticking up above their heads by the score. Along the route some 32,000 soldiers, policemen, veterans, cadets and boy scouts kept the crowds in perfect order. The veterans, 18,000 in all, conspicuous with their light blue berets bearing a golden crown, did splendid work. All the Montreal regiments were on duty, their bands whiling away the waiting hours rendering much appreciated music.

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The royal route was resplendent and colourful with the innumerable decorations: draperies, pennants and streamers mingled with union jacks, tricolor flags and blue carillon banners. Official buildings, public institutions and business houses were dressed in gorgeous colours, with large shields and gold lettered mottoes. Even churches were hung with numerous banners and no house was left without a touch of colour.

Escorted by galloping hussars and warmly applauded by swarming spectators, the royal visitors traversed Outremont and the city's East-End. There the royal automobile rode into the Montreal Stadium, where 40,000 French-Canadian boys and girls were seated, one thousand of them dressed in white, blue and red capes so as to form a hugh Union Jack. When the big maroon car flying the Royal Standard slowly rolled in, here again, as in Quebec, there was a moment of awed silence and hesitation. But the King and Queen waved their hands and a stupendous cheer suddenly burst forth. Then rose the French words of the National Anthem: Dieu sauve le roi, in youthful stirring tones. Among shouts of: Vive le roi, vive la reine, the royal car glided out, so much like a picture from a fairy tale book that the cry went out: "Will they come again?"

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Later on, the royal cortege passed a stand packed with girls and boys all dressed in black. They eagerly waved their flags, but did not cheer. They were deaf and dumb pupils of a neighbouring school.

Next, the procession headed for the high Cartier Bridge spanning the river, from which the Sovereigns were afforded a splendid view of Montreal harbour, the greatest inland sea terminus, which, though ice-bound for five months in the year, is the third ranking port of the world. Retracing its steps, the royal car came to a halt at the City Hall, which was gorgeously draped in red, gold and blue.

With trumpets blaring outside, Their Majesties entered the "Hall of Honour" escorted by Mayor and Madame Houde, and accompanied by the Prime Minister. As the royal visitors passed into the Council Chamber, an orchestra struck up "God Save the King." His Majesty was presented with an address of welcome by the Mayor and Her Majesty with a bouquet of orchids by Madame Houde. After the King and Queen had signed the city's "Livre d'or", the aldermen and a few prominent citizens and their wives, were presented to Their Majesties by the Mayor. The following five holders of the Victoria Cross, resident in Montreal were also

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presented: Air Marshal W.A. Bishop, Lieut. Col. W.H. Clark-Kennedy, Lieut. Col. W.T. Macdowell, Capt. C.N. Mitchell and Corporal Tombs.

At the close of the reception, the Sovereigns resumed their drive through the city. They passed the great Notre Dame church, gaily decorated with flags, its "Big Bourdon" pealing, and the organ strains of the National Anthem drifting through the arched windows. On the parvis sat a picturesque group of monks in brown and white cassocks, priests in black robes and canons with red sashes, the whole group raising their voices in a kind of chant as the King saluted and the Queen smiled.

Pursuing its triumphal progress through crowded streets, the cortege reached and traversed McGill University campus. Here was exhibited a brilliant scheme of decoration by using red posts and white obelisks, garlanded with green foliage and carrying university banners, while buildings displayed heraldic panels and coats of arms in rich colours. In front of the Arts Building stood a group of the University Governors and professors in their academic garb energetically waving the traditional "mortar-board" in answer to the King's salute.

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A few minutes later the royal car drove into Molson Stadium, to the delight of 14,000 children of the Montreal English schools, each of whom held a small Union Jack. Instantly a shout of applause went up with such spontaneous might that it seemed like a roll of thunder from a blue sky. As the car proceeded slowly round the track, the roar of cheers was incessant. At the same time, a whole sea of small flags was excitedly waving, in broken undulating movements, an amazing pattern of moving colours.

The procession, after passing through the western section of the city, went up the wooded Shakespeare Road, closely lined with cheering Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Further up, Remembrance Road, named in honour of Canada's Great War dead, was officially opened by Their Majesties as their car, the first to traverse it, snapped a ribbon stretched across the street. The drive brought the royal party to the Chalet on the top of Mount Royal. Their Majesties strolled out to the balustrade with Mayor Houde and the Prime Minister, and almost from the spot where stood Jacques Cartier four centuries ago they admired the immense panorama of Montreal with its lofty church spires and tall buildings, stretching along the St. Lawrence broad as a lake, with three isolated mountains in the background. Then

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the King unveiled a simple granite block, erected to commemorate the royal visit. As the monument still bore the first scheduled date of the ceremony, May 16 instead of 18, the Queen remarked in French, with a smile: "Aujourd'hui tout est merveilleusement beau, excepté la date." (today everything is wonderfully beautiful, except the date.)

As Their Majesties moved into the Chalet, thirty young girls in pastel organdy frocks lined up on either side of the red carpet and so gracefully curtsied that the King exclaimed: "Well, I did not know that I was going to hold a Buckingham Palace court." After this tea was served by the young girls to the Sovereigns and the royal party in a delightful homelike atmosphere.

Presently the royal party re-entered their cars and the parade retracing its way rode through residential Westmount, ablaze with flags and streamers and fervently acclaiming Their Majesties. Coming along Sherbrooke Street, the procession passed a large group of Caughnawaga Indians drawn up round a totem pole with two banners bearing the inscription: Welcome to the Great White Father and Mother. Next the royal car rolled along Dominion Square, decorated with huge banners and draperies, and brought Their Majesties to Windsor Station and the royal train about five fifteen o'clock- after a twenty three mile drive which was a continuous

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ovation. On reaching the station the King gave instructions to send to Mayor Houde autographed portraits of Their Majesties.

At eight o'clock in the evening Their Majesties drove to the Hotel Windsor, to attend the dinner given in their honour by the city of Montreal. Received by Mayor and Madame Houde, the Sovereigns graciously agreed to appear on the balcony overlooking Dominion Square, where there was an immense multitude of expectant spectators. As the King and Queen came into full view, a roar of wild applause surged up such as few Sovereigns have ever received, and the demonstration was kept up unflaggingly as they stood in the blue failing light of dusk, the King bowing and the Queen smiling with her hand pressed to her heart.

Presently Their Majesties entered the flower-decked and brilliantly decorated banquet hall, the King in evening clothes wearing the insignia of the Order of the Garter and the Queen in a regal model of white and silver satin with a pointed diamond tiara and necklace. One thousand guests including federal ministers, church dignitaries and prominent Montrealers were present, and about half of the company had to be accommodated in the adjoining Rose Room. Although forewarned to observe silence, the guests burst into spontaneous applause when the royal pair took their seats on either side of the Mayor's chair. The royal table carried

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an enchanting display of the rarest orchids in seven low silver bowls. The other tables were profusely decorated with pink roses, while about the rooms were placed large baskets of deep red and clear yellow snapdragons.

At a moment during the banquet when conversation had become a little strained, Mayor Houde seemed to be fidgeting with a piece of paper in his hand, upon which the King said to him: "What's that you have there, Mr. Mayor?" "Sir, it is a list of what I must do and not do this evening." "May I see it?" "Yes, Sir, but it will make me blush."

Mayor Houde then handed over the notes which were in French and, with the Queen listening, the King read them out, item by item, with great amusement. "Did you do this?" the King asked. "Yes, Your Majesty, I did." "But you certainly did not do this," said the King, enjoying himself completely. "I am afraid you have got me there, Sir," admitted Mayor Houde, "but if you wish, I shall start it all over again." And Their Majesties broke out into hearty laughter, as did also the Mayor, who added: "I wish I could talk, but I am supposed to wait until I am spoken to." "Mr. Mayor, I am your King and I order you to tell me what you like." And so leaving formality aside, Mr. Houde kept the royal guests in continuous merriment with his witty sallies and droll stories, some in French and some in English.

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Before the dessert, the Mayor proposed the King's health in the two languages. He said: "The King" and repeated: "Le Roi." Then, rising again, he said: "The Queen" and added: "La Reine." Standing, the company honoured the toasts and sang the National Anthem.

Outside, on Dominion Square, the immense crowd which had been waiting for over an hour and a half, started to chant out: "Le Roi, La Reine," and "We want the King, we want the Queen." Soon the chant grew into a cry, and the cry into a roar so persistent and strong that word of the popular wish was brought to Mayor Houde. He mentioned it to the King and most graciously Their Majesties agreed at once to make a fresh appearance in public. And accompanied by Mayor Houde and the Prime Minister they made their way quickly to the balcony overlooking the square. In this vast place was a solid mass of humanity- perhaps one hundred thousand spectators. From pillars draped in red, white and blue, reflectors diffused a white light silvering the spring foliage. Then on the light-flooded balcony, appeared the youthful and serene figures of the King and Queen. Instantly from that waiting sea of humanity rose wave after wave of cheers. For five minutes they kept rising and rising again with such stirring enthusiasm that the man and woman on the balcony,

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who smiled and waved, now stood motionless, their nerves tingling and their minds entranced by the emotion of the moment.

On their withdrawal inside, Mayor Houde asked Their Majesties if they would like to hear the people sing the National Anthem. When they replied in the affirmative, the message was transmitted to the crowd. Silence fell and, as the Sovereigns were coming back to the balcony accompanied by the Prime Minister and the Mayor, the multitude, joining voice and mind, sang the old words of prayer and loyalty in the presence of the King and Queen. Gathering force and meaning, the words now rose to sky and balcony with such tenseness and fervour that men's hearts vibrated with exultation and the King and Queen, there above the street, were filled by so deep an emotion that irrepressible tears moistened their eyes.

On leaving the balcony, the Prime Minister, remarked that never before, even at the Coronation, had he seen such a wonderful demonstration. Now the royal party returned to the banquet hall for dessert and coffee, but this time took their seats in the Rose Room in order to give the overflow guests the benefit of their presence. During the dinner, between music by a strong orchestra, English and French folk-songs were

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interpreted by a French-Canadian quartet. After a last song in the Rose Room, Mayor Houde rose and said: "Her Majesty has told me, that she is teaching Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose our song: Alouette. I shall ask the quartet to sing it for the Queen." They did and the rendering met with a huge success. The King beat time to the tune, the Queen hummed it with the necessary gestures to nose, head and arms, and soon the whole company was singing it crescendo. The Queen then asked Mayor Houde what was the standing of Alouette in Quebec. "If Your Majesty allows me to be frank" replied the Mayor, "I'll say it is our National Anthem after midnight."

At 10.15 P.M. Their Majesties left the banquet while the guests sang the National Anthem and warmly applauded. They stepped into their car amid thundrous cheers from the crowd on Dominion Square, drove to Windsor Station. There the Sovereigns were greeted by Sir Edward Beatty and other directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The King inspected a guard of honour formed by members of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve and the Royal Canadian Air Force. The band of the Navy League of Canada Sea Cadets played the National Anthem, and amid the cheers of

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spectators in the concourse, Their Majesties, accompanied by the Prime Minister and their retinue, were escorted to the train. Then the Sovereigns sent for Mayor Houde to express to him their thanks for the splendid way in which they had been entertained in Montreal but the Mayor's car was unable to reach the station in time. At 11 o'clock as the blue train started to move, Their Majesties came to the observation platform smiling and waving their farewells not only to the cheering spectators filling the station but to the Greater-Montreal which had welcomed them so wonderfully. At the same time, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired from the Dorchester Street Bridge by the 2nd Montreal Regiment, R.C.A., while on the slopes of Mount Royal a display of fireworks was shooting into the sky Montreal's last salute to the royal visitors on their way to Ottawa. The blue train itself was still acclaimed by row after row of men, women and children, crowding street crossings, yards and galleries overlooking the tracks, even beyond the city limits. At Westmount station, so great was the crowd that the Queen appeared to answer the ovation and still further on, at Montreal West, the Sovereigns came out to acknowledge the cheers of five thousand persons. It was now close to midnight. Even when the shades were drawn groups of spectators still waited at

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stations to take a look at the illuminated royal train speeding through the night.

The wonderful reception in Montreal brought from Their Majesties the following telegram received by Mayor Houde on May 24:

"The Queen and I send our cordial thanks to you and to the citizens of Montreal for the warmth of our reception in your great city. Please congratulate all those whose work in arranging the program, controlling the traffic and lining the streets contributed to the success of this memorable day."

From Ottawa another message from the King was despatched May 19 handsomely acknowledging, in these words, the welcome extended to the Sovereigns by the people of Quebec:

"The Queen and I have been deeply touched by the warmth of the reception which the people of your province have given us everywhere since we landed in Canada. Please express to them our heartfelt thanks for their loyal and affectionate welcome."

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CHAPTER VII

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C H A P T E R VII

It was nearly midnight when the royal train entered the Province of Ontario, the "keystone of Canada", and came to rest with its royal occupants under brilliant northern lights at Caledonia Springs, sixty miles from Ottawa. Quite early next morning, May 19, when the first blinds were raised on the train, it was a surprise to see the station platform already thronged with spectators. They were silent then, but their cheers broke out when the train started off at 8.05 o'clock and they were taken up by waiting groups at each station all the way to Ottawa.

The capital was agog with excitement and anticipation. From the early hours of the morning, thousands upon thousands had been pouring into the city from near and far, from localities both in Ontario and Quebec. At the specially built station at the crossing of the Canadian National Railways line and the Island Park Driveway, more than six thousand spectators had assembled, indifferent to a drizzling rain. As the blue train was slowly pulling in, Her Majesty looked through the window and graciously waved to the crowd which was overwhelmed with surprise and delight.

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Precisely at eleven o'clock, the streamlined engine drew to a halt- just as the rain ceased.

When the King descended, followed by the Queen, to the red-carpeted platform with its canopy draped with bunting, the crowd broke into great cheers, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired by the 1st Field Battery, R.C.A. and the band of the Cameron Highlanders played the National Anthem. His Majesty looked impressive in the full dress uniform of a field-marshal- red coat and white-plumed hat- and Her Majesty was ravishing in a mauve ensemble with blue fox furs.

The sovereigns were greeted by the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir, who were accompanied by Cabinet Ministers, the Speakers of the Senate and of the House of Commons, and other prominent officials. Then the Prime Minister presented to their Majesties the Minister of Transport and Mrs. Howe, the Minister of Agriculture and Mrs. Gardiner as well as the Mayor of Ottawa and Mrs. Lewis, and the members for Ottawa in the House of Commons with their wives. The presentation over, the King went out to inspect the guard of honour formed by the Cameron Highlanders of Canada. On his return to the dais, His Majesty was presented by the Mayor with an illuminated

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address of welcome from the City of Ottawa, and Her Majesty with a bouquet by Mrs. Lewis. The Mayor then presented to the Sovereigns the members of the City Council of Ottawa and their wives. After this the Minister of National Defence presented the Deputy Minister and the Members and Associate Members of the Defence Council.

Their Majesties now entered the state landau; beautifully finished in maroon, with the Royal Arms on the doors, it was drawn by four horses, with coachman and footmen in bright livery and silk toppers. Accompanied by a mounted escort of the 4th Princess Louise Dragoon Guards, with white-plumed brass helmets and with pennants fluttering from their lances, the royal coach moved ahead amidst continuous applause followed by the automobiles containing the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet Ministers and the other members of the royal party.

Island Park Drive was lined with soldiers, cadets, boy scouts (including a group of three hundred from Northern New York State) and, most impressive of all, devoted-looking war veterans in maroon berets. Regimental units displayed the King's colour, while sixteen bands carried the strains of the National Anthem along the route. Rows of spectators were lined along the whole distance,

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vigorously applauding. As during the first day in Quebec, there were moments when the applause seemed to give way to reverent silence, as if this were not quite fitting in the presence of royalty. Then cheers would again break out as soon as the King saluted and the Queen smiled or waved her hand.

They were longer and louder when the royal landau reached the Experimental Farm. There more than thirty thousand children from the Ottawa district were stationed along the drive. Gleefully waving their flags the excited youngsters maintained a continuous cheering as long as the procession was in sight.

Presently the royal parade rolled out of the Driveway into Lansdowne Park, where ten thousand school children had been assembled as well as six hundred inmates of various hospitals and institutions, including many aged and crippled persons. The Sovereigns, smiling and saluting, were greeted with cheers as enthusiastic as they were tremendous. As the royal carriage stopped before the grandstand, the band played the National Anthem and the children sang the words with intense fervour. When the procession moved off, driving slowly round the field, the youthful multitude broke into "O Canada", which was followed by a new outburst of cheering and flag waving as the procession resumed its progress.

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Attended now by a new escort formed by the Royal Canadian Dragoons who had taken over that duty at the Exhibition Grounds, the state landau proceeded along the Driveway between solid lines of cheering spectators. The drive from Laurier Avenue Bridge to Confederation Square revealed to the royal visitors Ottawa at its best: the slope of the green-carpeted grounds, dotted with verdant trees and clusters of bright flowers, led to the towering War Memorial, silhouetting its arch on the sky line; to the left and right, the East Block and the Chateau Laurier reared their lofty architecture, and between them appeared in the distance the blue ridges of the Gatineau hills, while from the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill could be heard between the cheers of the people the carillon pealing forth the nation's welcome in patriotic airs. Round the War Memorial and along the converging streets, tall coloured poles displayed heraldic banners, while flags and bunting decorated every building in sight.

In that colorful setting were massed large crowds of spectators roaring their homage and joy, as the brilliant cavalcade passed with the King and Queen, smiling and bowing. The last stage of the procession took Their Majesties to Rideau Hall, where the driveway in the grounds

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had been reserved for boy scouts and girl guides who made the avenue ring with cheers. The royal coach came to a stop before Government House, over which had just been hoisted the Royal Standard and in front of which sentries of the Royal Canadian Air Force in sky-blue uniforms were mounting guard. When Their Majesties walked into their Canadian residence, no man seemed to be more pleased than the Prime Minister: for him the Statute of Westminster had assumed full reality and the King of Canada had come home.

After the presentations of the members of the Governor General's staff, the King was conducted by Lord Tweedsmuir to his study. Then and there took place a ceremony unprecedented in Canadian history, as a representative of a foreign government in Canada presented to the King himself the credentials usually delivered to the Governor General. This was also the first official function for the King in the capital. At 12.20 P.M., His Majesty, being attended by Prime Minister Mackenzie King as Secretary of State for External Affairs, accepted the credentials of the New United States Minister to Canada, Daniel C. Roper, former Secretary of Commerce in the Roosevelt administration. The ceremony was notable for the warm expressions of goodwill that were exchanged.

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In presenting his letters to His Majesty, the new American Minister, who was accompanied by his staff said:

"Your Majesty:

"I have the honor to place in the hands of Your Majesty the letter whereby the President accredits me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Canada.

"The President asks that I convey to Your Majesty the assurances of his friendship and genuine good wishes for the continued happiness and well-being of the Canadian people.

"At his request, it is also my duty to deliver to Your Majesty the letter of recall of my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Norman Armour, whose term of office in Canada was the source of deep satisfaction to my government.

"It was the privilege of Mr. Armour to assume his duties as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Canada at a time when all British peoples were engaged in celebrating the silver jubilee of His late Majesty King George V. It is a source of equal gratification to me that my mission in this Capital will coincide with the first sojourn of a reigning Sovereign among his Canadian subjects.

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"The American people could not fail to be conscious of the anticipation with which this significant event has been awaited throughout the length and breadth of Canada, and, at the request of the President, I am happy to convey the best wishes of the American people for the unqualified success of Your Majesties' journey.

"The President and the people of my country are likewise looking forward with keen pleasure to the visit of Your Majesties to the United States next month. In addition to personal considerations the feelings of the American people toward their Canadian neighbors will be reflected in the warmth of the welcome which will be accorded Your Majesties."

His Majesty read his reply as follows:

"I am greatly pleased to receive the letter of the President of the United States of America appointing you to the position of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Canada, and to extend to you on behalf of my people in Canada a very cordial welcome to our country.

"Would you convey to the President of the United States my sincere thanks for the assurances of his friendship and his good wishes for the happiness and welfare of the Canadian people, which I cordially reciprocate.

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"I thank you for bringing the letter of recall of your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Norman Armour, who, during his stay in Canada, was held in high esteem and regard.

"It is pleasant to recall that the beginning of Mr. Armour's mission coincided with the silver jubilee of my father. I am happy that your own mission should begin at this time.

"I thank you warmly for the good wishes for the success of our journey, which the President has requested you to convey to the Queen and myself on behalf of the people of the United States.

"I also highly appreciate your references to our forthcoming visit to your country. The close friendship between my Canadian people and their neighbors, to which the President refers, makes us look forward to the visit with particular pleasure.

"I trust that your term of office will be marked by happiness and interest and that the friendly ties and associations between our peoples may be further strengthened by your presence in Canada."

Then Mr. Roper presented to His Majesty the members of the Legation staff.

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The ceremony being over the King received, as they were presented by the Prime Minister, the heads of the diplomatic missions in Ottawa- Baron Robert Silvercruys, Minister for Belgium; Comte Robert de Dampierre, Minister for France; Baron Shu Tomii, Minister for Japan; Sir Gerald Campbell, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom; and Mr. D. de Waal Meyer, Accredited Representative of the Union of South Africa, with whom was also present the new Minister for the United States.

While His Majesty was receiving the diplomatic heads, Her Majesty received their ladies: Mrs. Silvercruys-Farnam, sister of the Belgian Minister; the Comtesse de Dampierre; the Baroness Tomii, Mrs. Roper, Lady Campbell, and Mrs. de Waal-Meyer.

At 12.30 o'clock, the Queen left the reception and was conducted to her room by the Lady Tweedsmuir, attended by Colonel Mackenzie. Fifteen minutes later, the King also terminated his audience and was shownto his room by the Governor General, attended again by Colonel Mackenzie.

Early in the afternoon the Sovereigns, having changed to informal dress, lunched privately at Government House with the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir; the members of the royal retinue and the Governor General's staff were also present.

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At 2.30 o'clock Their Majesties left Government House in their covered car escorted by a mounted detachment of the Princess Louise Dragoons, and drove to Parliament Hill through solid rows of enthusiastic and cheering spectators, held back by a cordon of troops lining the route. As their carriage swung right and circled the wide lawn in front of the Parliament Buildings, a royal salute of 21 guns boomed out over the Ottawa River. At the main entrance at the foot of the Peace Tower Their Majesties alighted and were greeted by the Prime Minister, who escorted the Queen into the building, where she was also greeted by the Leader of the Senate, Senator Dandurand. Meanwhile the King, attended by an equerry, faced about and took the salute from the guard of honour of the Cameron Highlanders drawn up in front of the Peace Tower, while the band played the National Anthem. Then His Majesty walked into the building being met by Senator Dandurand at the entrance.

Preceded by the Governor General's Aides-de-Camp and members of the royal personal staff and escorted by the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Senate and attended by the Ladies-in-Waiting, Their Majesties mounted the stairs, being followed by Senior Officers and Officers Commanding. The procession then walked straight down the Hall of Fame.

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The small group of people in the Hall seemed hesitant for a while, but soon started applauding and presently burst into cheering. The parade turned right to the Senate Speaker's quarters where it halted while the sovereigns removed their cloaks.

In the mean time, the stage had been set in the Senate Chamber for the greatest royal function of all. Desks had been removed and all the floor space had been fitted with benches and chairs. With the Senators in morning dress occupying the two rows of seats on each side of the broad passage-way, the Red Chamber was overflowing also with members of the diplomatic corps and consular services in gold-braided uniforms, Justices of the Supreme Court in scarlet robes, officials in state costumes or full evening dress, and all over the room ladies in evening gowns, while in the galleries, with a sprinkling of gentlemen, sat rows of wives of members, deputy ministers and prominent citizens. The scene was most colorful and brilliant. At 2 o'clock, the Speaker's procession entered the room, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Major A.R. Thompson, preceding Speaker Walter E. Foster, who was followed by the Clerk and the Assistant-Clerk. The Speaker read the prayer. The Government Leader, Senator Dandurand, gave notice of a Bill which was given

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its three readings and passed, and then the Senate adjourned during pleasure, which meant that everybody kept his seat, while waiting for the coming of Their Majesties. During the interval, the Lady Tweedsmuir entered and took her seat with a large party in the Vice-Regal box; the Governor General was not present.

After a while, all being in readiness, the head of the royal procession moved forward and soon appeared at the main door of the Senate. The voice of an assistant announced: "Order," and the Senate ipso facto resumed its sitting. All present stood and a hush fell upon the Red Chamber. Up the aisle, the procession proceeded in the following order:

Honorary Aides-de-Camp to the Governor General

Field Officer-in-Waiting

Commander,
E.M.C. Abel-Smith, R.N.,
Equerry

Lieut-Colonel,
The Hon. P.W. Legh,
Equerry

Captain M. Adeane
Assistant Secretary to the King

Major Andrew R. Thompson
The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod

Mr. A.F. Lascelles
Acting Private Secretary to the King

The Earl of Airlie
Lord Chamberlain to The Queen

THE QUEEN

The Earl of Eldon
Lord-in-Waiting to The King

THE KING

Guy Coté
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Kenneth Greene
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Lady Nunburnholme
Lady-in-Waiting

Lady Katharine Seymour
Lady-in-Waiting

The Prime Minister

The Leader of the Senate

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Members of the Defence Council
Associate Members of the Defence Council

Ending the procession, there followed in dress uniforms twenty senior officers and officers commanding local military units.

With the King lightly holding the Queen's upraised hand, Their Majesties walked together, a resplendent, youthful and captivating couple, the King looking rather serious, and the Queen smiling to the company which bowed as the sovereigns passed in front of them. The King was in the full dress uniform of a field marshal- scarlet tunic, blue trousers and white-plumed hat- his tunic ablaze with medals, decorations and orders. The Queen was radiant in a magnificent robe de style of white slipper satin richly trimmed in gold and embroidered with pearls with a court train of gold lamé. She wore a diamond tiara and a sapphire and diamond necklace, with the blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter draped from the left shoulder and pinned at the right side with the diamond order. The Prime Minister King and Senator Dandurand wore the gold-braided uniform of Privy Councillors.

It was a magnificent and impressive moment, touched with splendour, tense with emotion and capped with a personal spell. Slowly, with a solemnity born of the dignity of

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century-old pageantry, mingling historic and present significance, the procession came to the foot of the throne, its members separating to the right and left, and grouping themselves on either side of thedais. His Majesty, being on the right, passed in front of the Queen, ascended the steps of the dais and stood before his chair on the left. The Queen then moved forward, taking her position before her chair on His Majesty's left. The Prime Minister walked to the left, bowed to the Throne and took his position on the right of the King, and the Leader of the Senate walked straight ahead, bowed to the Throne and took up his position on the left of the Queen. The Ladies-in-waiting moved to their places on Her Majesty's left while the other members of the procession came up and, separating to the right and left, moved to places further away on either side of the dais. Now Their Majesties took their seats on the red-tapestried thrones under their crimson canopy. Then the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod said aloud: "Pray be seated" and all present sat down, save the members of the royal procession, who remained standing on each side of the dais.

The Speaker of the Senate arose from his seat facing the throne, and raising his three-cornered hat,

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bowed to Their Majesties and said: "Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, you will proceed to the House of Commons and acquaint that House that it is His Majesty's pleasure that they attend him immediately in the Senate."

After repeating this command in French, the Speaker bowed to His Majesty and resumed his seat.

The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod moved forward in front of the throne, bowed low, took three steps backwards, turned and proceeded toward the Bar facing the entrance. When he had gone half way he faced about, bowed, took three steps backwards, turned and moved to the Bar. There, he again faced about, bowed a last time, taking three steps backwards and walked out of the Chamber and along the corridor to the House of Commons.

Down in the Green Chamber at the other end of the corridor, the Members had assembled at 2.30 o'clock and were now waiting for the expected royal command. The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod knocked three times at the door with his rod. Carrying the mace on his arm, Major Milton F. Gregg, V.C., Sergeant-at-Arms, went to the door and spoke to the Gentleman Usher. He now returned to the House and walked up to the table. He bowed to Speaker Pierre Casgrain and said: "Mr. Speaker, a message from His Majesty," and the Speaker replied: "Admit the messenger."

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Bowing to the Speaker, the Sergeant-at-Arms, proceeded to the door and returned with the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. The latter came in, and making the three obeisances to the Speaker, one at the entrance, another halfway up the Chamber and the third in front of the table, he said: in English and in French: "Mr. Speaker, His Majesty the King demands the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the chamber of the Honourable the Senate."

The Gentleman Usher then retired making on the way out the three customary obeisances to the Speaker.

Now the Speaker, wearing his three-cornered hat, left the chair and preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms, carrying the mace on his shoulder, the Clerk of the House, Dr. Arthur Beauchesne, and the Clerk Assistant T.M. Fraser, led the way out of the Chamber to the Senate, followed by the Members.

Meanwhile, the Gentleman Usher had returned to the Red Chamber. From the Bar, he bowed to the throne, walked up to the centre and bowed again, and coming up in front of the dais, bowed a third time and took his place to the left of the throne.

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Now, headed by their Speaker, the Members of the House of Commons arrived and took their places at the Bar of the Senate. The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod called: "Order," whereupon, Speaker Casgrain raised his hat to His Majesty, who bowed in return.

Now the Assistant Clerk of the Senate, Dr. L.P. Gauthier, rose from the Speaker's side, bowed to His Majesty, and said:

"May it please Your Majesty, the Senate and House of Commons have passed the following Bills to which they humbly request Your Majesty's assent:

An Act respecting a certain Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America.

An Act to carry into effect the provisions of the Convention of the 15th September, 1938, providing for emergency regulation of the level of Rainy Lake and of the Level of other boundary waters in the Rainy Lake watershed.

An Act to Encourage the Co-operative Marketing of Wheat.

An Act to Assist and Encourage Co-operative Marketing of Agricultural Products.

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An Act to provide for the Supervision and Regulation of Trading in Grain Futures.

An Act to amend the Pension Act.

An Act to amend the Criminal Code.

An Act to provide for the Training of Young People to fit them for Gainful Employment."

The Assistant Clerk then bowed to His Majesty and repeated the same words in French and read the titles in that language. Thereupon the Clerk of the Senate, Major L.C. Moyer, bowed to the King and holding the Bills aloft in sight of the King, said in both English and French:

"His Majesty doth assent to these Bills."

And His Majesty made an inclination of the head indicating assent.

Now from his place at the Bar the Speaker of the House of Commons, raising his hat, bowed to the King and said in both English and French:

"May it please Your Majesty, The Commons of Canada have voted supplies rquired to enable the Government to defray certain expenses of the public service. In the name of the Commons I present to Your Majesty the following Bill: 'An Act for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for

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the public service of the financial years ending the 31st of March, 1939, and the 31st of March, 1940, respectively,' to which Bill I humbly request Your Majesty's assent."

Making the three bows to the throne on the way, the Assistant Clerk walked to the Speaker of the House who delivered the Bill to him. Performing again the three obeissances, the Assistant Clerk came up with the Bill which he handed to the Clerk in Chancery. Then he bowed to the King and read the title in both English and French. Whereupon the Clerk in Chancery, holding the Bill, bowed to His Majesty and said:

"His Majesty thanks his loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence and assents to this Bill." And the King indicated his assent by a slight inclination of the head.

The ceremony of assent being completed, His Majesty's Lord-in-Waiting moved forward, bowed to the King and handed him a copy of the royal speech in English, bowed again and returned to his place.

His Majesty then read his short speech distinctly and deliberately, the intentional slowness making still more impressive the political import of its substantial and far-sighted message.

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"Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

I thank you sincerely for your addresses received on my arrival at Quebec. The Queen and I deeply appreciate your loyal and affectionate messages.

"I am very happy that my visit to Canada affords me the opportunity of meeting, in Parliament assembled, the members of both Houses. No ceremony could more completely symbolize the free and equal association of the nations of our Commonwealth. As my father said, on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee, the unity of the British Empire, is no longer expressed by the supremacy of the time-honoured Parliament that sits at Westminster. It finds expression today in the free association of nations enjoying common principles of government, a common attachment to ideals of peace and freedom, and bound together by a common allegiance to the Crown.

"The Queen and I have been deeply touched by the warmth of the welcome accorded us since our arrival in Canada. We are greatly looking forward to visiting each of the provinces, and, before our return, to paying a brief visit to the United States.

"It is my earnest hope that my present visit may give my Canadian people a deeper conception of their unity as

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a nation. I hope also that my visit to the United States will help to maintain the very friendly relations existing between that great country and the nations of the Commonwealth.

"These visits, like the one recently made by the Queen and myself to the continent of Europe, will we trust, be viewed as an expression of the spirit of our peoples which seek ardently for closer friendship and better relations not only with our kith and kin but with the peoples of all nations and races.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

May the blessing of Divine Providence rest upon your labours and upon my realm of Canada."

In reading his speech, His Majesty slightly inclined his head at the points where he said: "Honourable Members of the Senate" and "Members of the House of Commons," the two Speakers respectively lifting their hats in return. The reading being over, the Lord-in-Waiting bowed in front of the King, received the English speech, handed him a copy in French, and, bowing again, returned to his place. Then His Majesty read the speech in French, the copy of which, after reading, was handed to the Lord-in-Waiting.

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Of course, applause was out of the question, but the feeling of the audience was certainly voiced in the Queen's gracious murmur, with a smile, to the King: "It was very fine, dear." Thus came to an end the most spectacular ceremony in the whole of Canadian history, the ceremony of King George VI, with his Queen Elizabeth, taking his seat on the throne of his Kingdom of Canada. Unprecedented in every way, the event- the most significant of all the tour- marked also the final stage of Canada's constitutional evolution, that of equality of political status within the British Empire, as the King himself, presiding over the Canadian Houses of Parliament, personally assented to not only national legislation but also international agreements passed by the sole Parliament of the Dominion.

It may be noted that the King's speech broke the constitutional custom that the Sovereign does not address the Houses of Parliament except upon the opening and prorogation of Parliament. Again the personal assent given by King George upset the long-standing precedent, that the Sovereign no longer sanctions the bills in person. The last time a Sovereign gave a personal assent was in 1854, when Queen Victoria performed the function on August 13th of that year.

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On the conclusion of the royal speech, the Speaker, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms carrying the mace, and the members of the House of Commons withdrew and returned to the Green Chamber. Now His Majesty being pleased to retire, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod stepped forward and bowed to the Sovereigns. All present stood and the royal procession, re-forming itself, walked down the aisle in the same order as it had come in, the King and Queen again gracefully holding their upraised hands, while the audience bowed as they passed- which the Queen gracefully acknowledged with smiles to the right and left. The procession returned to the Speaker's Chambers and after halting while Their Majesties were given their cloaks, continued its march.

When Their Majesties passed into the Hall of Fame, members and spectators could not resist their impulses, cheers burke out and a spontaneous singing of the National Anthem greeted the Sovereigns, which was repeated, when they came into Confederation Hall.

As Their Majesties appeared on the steps of the Peace Tower, the thousands assembled in front of the Parliament Buildings burst into prolonged cheering. The band struck up the National Anthem, and the King and Queen in their regal attire were a truly splendid and conquering couple,

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eager and friendly, as they stood together, framed in the great Gothic arch of the Tower under the soft blue of a Canadian sky.

At conclusion of the Anthem, the Queen turned and impulsively shook hands with the Prime Minister and Senator Dandurand. The Sovereigns then entered the royal car and departed for Government House amidst renewed cheers, while the strains of "God Save the King" were pealing out from the carillon of the lofty Peace Tower.

Having changed to informal clothes, the King and Queen were at last able to enjoy a quiet tea at Government House. But at 5.15 o'clock their Sovereigns were back on duty. Again breaking tradition and making history, for the first time in British annals they held a reception exclusively for newspapermen and women, On "Their Majesties' commands" the Governor General had invited to a reception at Rideau Hall the newspaper correspondents on the royal pilot train, British, Canadian and American, together with the members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and of the local newspapers. The reception proved absolutely informal and delightful. The one hundred and forty men and women present were drawn up in a circle, when Their Majesties came in unannounced, the King in black jacket and striped trousers, the Queen in a

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lace dress of Regina blue. The Chairman of the Publicity Committee of the royal tour, Walter S. Thompson, presented each guest in turn. First the Queen and then the King shook hands with everybody. Now and then, they asked questions or stopped for a brief talk. All was done with a spirit of friendliness and a charm of manner that conquered every one. The introductions being over, Their Majesties who seemed to have enjoyed this interviewing of interviewers, as well as the American repartee, left the room with a smile to the company, who broke into spontaneous applause. Even the reaction of the 100% democratic Americans was unanimous: they swore that the Queen was a "winner", and the King, "a guy who can take it".

Snatching the first moment of liberty, as soon as they left the reception, the King went out with Lord Tweedsmuir for a brisk walk around the spacious grounds of Rideau Hall, so inviting with its many trees shooting their leafy heads into the soft blue sky. But the respite was not long. Presently, His Majesty received Prime Minister King, who in his capacity as Secretary of State for External Affairs laid before him the Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, signed at Washington November 17, 1938; and the Convention regarding the boundary waters of the Rainy Lake district between the two countries, signed at

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Ottawa September 15, 1938. Both documents had been signed, according to precedent established in 1923, by a Canadian plenipotentiary- in the above cases Mr. Mackenzie King himself, as representing the King "in respect of Canada."

In the case of previous treaties the ratification had beenn signed by the King under the Great Seal of Great Britain. Now, on the present occasion, the whole procedure was to be exclusively Canadian. In order to insure its full validity, the Canadian Parliament, on May 2, had passed a special Bill, the Seals Act, which decreed that "notwithstanding the provision of any law in force, any royal instrument may be issued by and with the authority of His Majesty the King and passed under the Great Seal of Canada." This Act removed all previous restrictions on Canada's action. It empowered its Government to submit, itself, for the King's signature any document, even international agreements approved by Canada exactly as in the case of a British treaty, which is signed by the King on the petition of his British Cabinet.

At Government House the Prime Minister submitted to the King the following recommendation concerning the Trade Agreement and a similar one concerning the Rainy Lake Agreement:

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

Approved
George R I

The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, presents his humble duty to His Majesty the King.

It is expedient that provision should be made for the approval by His Majesty and for the issuing and sealing by and under His authority of an Instrument of Ratification of the Convention between Canada and the United States of America providing for emergency regulation of the level of boundary waters in the Rainy Lake watershed, which was signed at Ottawa the 15th day of September, 1938.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, accordingly, humbly petitions His Majesty to approve the foregoing and to cause His Great Seal of Canada to be affixed to the Instrument of Ratification and to sign the same with His Royal Hand.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs remains His Majesty's most faithful and obedient servant.

W.L.Mackenzie King.

Ottawa, May 19th, 1939.

Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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On this document being submitted to him, the King wrote at the left-hand top of the paper, as shown above: Approved, George R.I. Then His Majesty signed the following instrument of ratification, to which had been affixed the Great Seal of Canada:

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WE, having seen and considered the Trade Agreement aforesaid, have approved, accepted, and confirmed the same in all and every one of its Articles and Clauses, as We do by these Presents approve, accept, confirm, and ratify it in respect of Canada, for Ourselves, Our Heirs and Successors; engaging and promising upon Our Royal Word that We will sincerely and faithfully perform and observe all and singular the things which are contained and expressed in the Trade Agreement aforesaid, and that We will never suffer the same to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as it lies in Our power. For the greater testimony and validity of all which, We have caused Our Great Seal of Canada to be affixed to these Presents which We have signed with Our Royal Hand.

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GIVEN at Our Court at Ottawa, the Nineteenth day of May in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty-nine and in the Third Year of Our Reign.

George R I



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GIVEN at Our Court at Ottawa, the Nineteenth day of May in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty-nine and in the Third Year of Our Reign.

George R.



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Thus a new official procedure was established, which asserted and recognized Canada's equality of political status within the British Empire. The same procedure was repeated in the case of the Convention regulating the level of boundary waters in the Rainy Lake district, His Majesty signing the Instrument of its ratification to which had been affixed the Great Seal of Canada. Then the King also signed the Bills to which he had signified approval in the Senate earlier in the afternoon.

A most brilliant State banquet closed the most eventful day of the capital's history. It was given by the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir in the ivory-walled ballroom at Government House. At the State dinner at the opening of Parliament gentlemen only are invited, their wives being invited to a reception which is held after the dinner. But on this occasion, since the Queen was to be present, the invitation also included the wives of the gentlemen invited. The guests consisted of the Prime Minister, the members of the diplomatic corps, the representatives of the Churches, the Cabinet Ministers, the Chief Justice, the former Prime Ministers, the leaders of the Opposition in the Senate and the House of Commons, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament and the Mayor of Ottawa, together with their wives, a group totalling ninety-one.

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The guests assembled in the Chinese Room. At 8.15 P.M. the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir, attended by Lt. Colonel E.D. Mackenzie, proceeded to Their Majesties' rooms and escorted them to the Chinese Room. The King wore the full dress uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet with the Order of the Garter and the Order of St. Michael and St. George, while the Queen was dressed in a Victorian picture frock of delicate rose satin with diamond tiara and the ribbon of the Order of the Garter.

The guests were then presented to Their Majesties, each guest after presentation moving to his place in the dining room which was profusely decorated with red tuplips. After the presentation, Their Majesties preceded by their equerries entered the room, the Queen escorted by the Governor General, followed by the King with the Lady Tweedsmuir and by the Prime Minister with Lady Nunburnholme, while the string band of the Governor General's Foot Guards played the National Anthem.

Lord Tweedsmuir occupied the centre seat at the top section of the horseshoe table with the King to the right and the Queen to the left. On the King's right was seated the Lady Tweedsmuir and on the Queen's left Prime Minister King.

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After the fruit had been served, pipers of the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa piped round the dining-room; then Their Majesties left the room, followed by the guests arm-in-arm. On crossing the saloon, the ladies proceeded to the Chinese Room while the gentlemen went straight into the Tent Room, coffee and cigarettes being handed round to both.

About 10 o'clock, Their Majesties received at the entrance of the Chinese Room the guests who had been invited to the evening reception only; this group included the consuls-general, deputy ministers and other state officials, with their wives. They were presented to the King and Queen who graciously shook hands with every one. Their Majesties strolled about the rooms and spoke with some of the guests, until about eleven o'clock, when they retired, bowing to the company in general as they left the room.

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CHAPTER VIII

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C H A P T E R VIII

Saturday, May 20, had been appointed by proclamation as the day for honouring in Canada the King's birthday. It had been arranged to celebrate the occasion, according to custom, with the historic ceremony of trooping the King's Colour, with His Majesty- the dominant figure of the pageant- taking the salute, for the King's Colour is never lowered save to the King or his personal representative.

It was a glorious day of late May with the sun bright in a pale blue sky. From early morning festive groups had been steadily streaming from city and suburban homes, from neighbouring and distant localities en route to Parliament Hill, the parade ground of the day. Fifty thousand spectators crowded the adjoining streets, or surrounded in a solid mass the spacious green lawns that face the stately Houses of Parliament flanked by the Gothic buildings of the East and West Blocks. There already stood in full dress uniform the two regiments of Canadian Guards selected to perform the ceremony of the trooping of the Colour. The main streets from Rideau Hall to the Supreme

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Court, were lined with soldiers, and beretted veterans with shining medals, swarmed all over the place. Strains of martial music filled the air, while from the high Peace Tower floated down the silver-toned peals of the carillon.

Shortly before ten o'clock, the Governor General left Rideau Hall and proceeded to his office in the East Block. At 10.05 o'clock, Her Majesty, accompanied by the Lady Tweedsmuir, drove to Parliament Hill, where her arrival was greeted with long cheers, and followed by a rush of spectators eager to get a good look at the smiling Queen wearing a hyacinth blue ensemble. At the entrance to the East Block, Her Majesty was received by the Governor General and escorted by him to the vice-regal quarters. Soon she appeared at an open window on the first floor, from which she could witness the ceremony, having for company the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir. On her appearance the cry: "The Queen, the Queen" went round and cheers went up. For several minutes, the shouts of the crowd continued while Her Majesty stood smiling and waving. When she retired

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from view, other spectators came in successive waves and clamoured for the Queen, and several times she rose again to acknowledge the new bursts of applause.

At 10.15 o'clock His Majesty, attended by Major General T.V. Anderson, Chief of the General Staff, entered an open car at Government House and, accompanied by a mounted escort of the Royal Canadian Dragoons drove to Parliament Hill via the Minto Bridges, King Edward Avenue and Rideau Street. All along the route, the streets were filled with happy throngs lustily cheering the royal car escorted by the galloping Dragoons with their shining helmets and pennanted lances. Then, in front of the main gate of Parliament Hill the royal car stopped and the King stood up, soldierly-looking, in the dress uniform of Colonel-in-Chief of the Coldstream Guards with the blue riband of the Order of the Garter, an instantaneous roar came from the expectant multitude, a roar of welcome tinged with pride, as the Royal Standard was flown from the masthead. His Majesty was met at the gate by Prime Minister King and the Minister of National Defence, Honourable Ian Mackenzie. Walking up the crimson carpet he proceeded to the royal box on the edge of the central walk, his arrival being

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greeted with enthusiastic applause and the playing of the National Anthem. By the side of the royal box were already assembled a group of generals and other high officers in colourful uniforms, while on either side of the central walk, diplomatic representatives, high state officials and distinguished guests occupied several rows of reserved seats. In a special enclosure in the north west corner were seated the families and friends of the soldiers taking part in the ceremony.

Passing through the royal box, His Majesty moved forward a few yards and took his position at the saluting base. Composed of two regiments the Governor General's Foot Guards of Ottawa and the Canadian Grenadier Guards of Montreal, the brigade of Guards formed a vast hollow square- two rank deep- of red and blue uniforms. The command rang out: "Royal Salute, Present arms", and in perfect unison, the thousand men of the two regiments presented arms, and their massed bands played the National Anthem, as the King stood at the salute in his scarlet uniform and tall black bearskin. Colonel F.R. Phelan, D.S.O., M.C., came forward and reported to His Majesty that the brigade of Guards was ready for inspection. The King stepped out, accompanied by Major

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General Anderson, and walking along the line, inspected the regiments passing down the front from the right of the parade to the left and returning in front of the rear rank from left to right, while the bands of the two regiments played "Land of Hope and Glory".

On completion of the inspection, the King returned to the royal box and took his place on the reviewing stand. Then began the imposing ceremony of the Trooping of the Colour, which symbolizes the honour and respect in which a regiment must hold its Colour. The brigade being drawn up on the east lawn, the ceremony began with the band and drums moving in slow march from the west lawn as they played a martial medley. They marched in front of the line from the right to the left and, counter-marching, they broke into quick step back to their original position. With the brigade "at the present" and the band playing solemn music, the escort for the Colour moved out and came to a halt opposite the sentry-guarded stand on the lower end of the east lawn, where hanging on its staff was the King's Colour of the Brigade of Guards, a flag of maroon and gold about five feet square. As the precious Colour was picked up by the ensign,

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the band played "God Save the King." With the ensign holding it taut and high, the Colour was trooped down the line in slow time, to the strains of "Les Huguenots," passing before the eyes of every man standing at the present arms. Then it was trooped again now in quick time to the tune of "The Maple Leaf", and then it came to rest near the right of the line.

When this first part of the ceremony was over, the regiments were formed into columns of Guards and His Majesty moved from the royal box to the saluting base. Now in companies in line, each company forming two ranks of fifty men, the brigade marched past the King in slow time, using the ceremonial toe-pointing stride of the British Guards, with such machine-like ensemble that from the side it seemed that each rank was but one man moving forward. No less impressive was the wheeling at the slow march, which consists of lifting the knee waist-high, presenting an extraordinary effect of precision, rhythm and harmony. After a complete circuit of the parade ground, the troops changed the pace to quick time and marched past again. Each time, when coming to the base where His Majesty stood at the salute, the ensign carrying the Brigade's colour lowered it to the horizontal, the highest honour that can

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be rendered, it was, indeed, the Canadian army bowing its Colour to its King.

After the march past, the Brigade formed up into lines and advanced towards the saluting base in review order. The Guards having halted presented arms to the King, while the Colour was lowered and the band played the National Anthem. Thus ended the brilliant pageant in a symphony of colour and rhythm under the eyes of the King and the blue canopy of a Canadian sky.

The splendid evolutions of the two regiments of Guards during the trooping of the Colour were graciously and handsomely acknowledged by His Majesty who, during the day, had the following telegram sent to the Chief of General Staff:

> "I should be glad if you would express to Colonel Phelan and to all officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Brigade of Canadian Guards my hearty congratulations on the parade this morning which was admirable in every respect."

When the King returned to the royal box, the following Ottawa residents, holders of the Victoria Cross were presented: Lieutenant-General Sir Richard E.W. Turner, decorated for bravery during the Boer War, Major Milton

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F. Gregg, for bravery at Cambrai in 1918 and Private P. Konowal, for bravery at Levis in 1917. Albert Hill, now of California, who won his Victoria Cross on the Somme in 1916, was also presented.

After these presentations, the King, accompanied by the Prime Minister, walked from the royal box to his waiting car at the Centre Gate. Then, with a royal salute of twenty-one guns roaring from Parliament Hill His Majesty, escorted by a detachment of Princess Louise Dragoons, drove east on Wellington Street and through the East Gate to the private entrance of the Speaker of the Senate, where he was joined by the Queen. Their Majesties were met by Major A.R. Thompson, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and Major L. Chare Moyer, Clerk of the Senate, and conducted to the Speaker's quarters. After a ten-minute rest, they reappeared- the King having changed from uniform to morning dress- and re-entered their car for the short drive to the new Supreme Court building, whose corner-stone was presently to be laid by the Queen.

The moment the King and Queen came in view of the spectators, an ovation burst out spontaneously. It kept swelling in volume during the five-minute drive, as the

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car proceeded slowly along the driveway behind the East Block, Wellington Street and the Mall skirting the river. All the way to the Supreme Court, every foot of ground was crowded with people cheering and shouting as the maroon car rolled along the troop-lined route and Their Majesties waved and smiled to the overjoyed crowds.

On the site of the new home of the Supreme Court of Canada, which stands on a rocky bluff rising above the Ottawa River and overlooking the Gatineau hills, a circular covered dais had been erected for the King and Queen. In front of it in the reserved enclosure were some twelve hundred guests prominent in state, political, judiciary and legal circles of the capital, including federal ministers, senators, judges, members of parliament, deputy-ministers and barristers and their wives. All the available space near the building and in the adjoining streets was filled to overflowing by the on-lookers, who had taken up their positions early or had come over from the ceremony of the Trooping of the Colour.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King arrived about 11.20 o'clock, being received by the Minister of Justice and

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Madame Lapointe. Soon afterward, the Governor-General and the Lady Tweedsmuir came up and were escorted to the official platform by the Premier and Mr. Lapointe. At 11.45 o'clock the tones of the carillon playing "The Maple Leaf" were drowned by roars of cheering and soon the royal car halted in front of the Supreme Court's enclosure. Immediately, the Royal Standard was unfurled at the top of the flagpole. Their Majesties were greeted by the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice and Madame Lapointe, the Minister of Public Works and Madame Cardin and escorted to the royal dais, there to be welcomed by the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir, while "God Save the King" and "O Canada" were played by the Capital City Boys' band.

Their Majesties and the official party having taken their seats, the Prime Minister rose and, waiting a moment for silence, said: "May it please Your Majesty: I have the honour to invite Your Majesty to lay this corner stone."

With the grace which accompanies all her movements, the Queen rose and, accompanied by the King and Prime Minister walked towards the flag-draped granite block on which the corner-stone was to rest. There the Prime Minister handed

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the Queen the special gold trowel with which to perform the ceremony. The huge corner-stone being then lowered into position from above by the three white-overalled workmen, the Queen daintily made the gesture of smoothing the mortar with the trowel and said: "I hereby declare this stone to be well and truly laid."

On the stone was carved the inscription: "This stone was laid by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth in presence of His Majesty King George VI on the nineteenth day of May 1939." Under original plans, the corner-stone was to have been laid on May 19, but, owing to the delayed arrival of the Empress of Australia, the ceremony took place a day later. The correct date has since been inscribed on the stone.

Then, always so charmingly thoughtful, the Queen suggested that the workmen should be presented and so she shook hands with two of them and the King joined in the hand-shake and the chat, the refreshing impromptu being applauded by the thousands of gazing citizens. But the third workman, standing ten feet above on a girder, was looking on perplexed and nervous: was he to be left out? But, when the Queen looked up at him, that was as good as an invitation. Down the ladder he came and round

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the corner-stone, where the Queen gave him the long expected hand shake, while the crowd roared with laughter and cheers.

Her Majesty then moved forward to the microphone-desk and made her first speech, not only in Canada, but in her life. At the same time, through a continent-wide broadcast, she also spoke to invisible millions of devoted admirers throughout the Dominion. Naturally brief, the address was much lauded for its appropriateness and references to the site and to legal institutions. Especially was the audience struck with the happy remark, personally penned by the Queen, that it was not "inappropriate that this task should be performed by a woman; for woman's position in civilized society has depended upon the growth of law." Not less interesting was the comparison made in the French part of her address between Scotland and Quebec whose civil laws have "the same fountain-head." The concluding sentence carried a most suggestive historical message when the Queen said that her "fondest wish" was to see in Canada the "two great races with their different legislations, beliefs and traditions, uniting more and more closely, after the manner of England and Scotland by ties of affection, of respect and of a common ideal."

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The Queen's address was a remarkable piece of delivery and elocution, the voice melodious and refined, stressing the intent and meaning of the sentences. With hardly a trace of English accent, her words had a special charm. The Queen's speech won for her new admiration all over Canada, but in Quebec her French talk and her references to Quebec's law and traditions, enshrined her in the heart of hearts of French Canada.

Here follows the text of the Queen's brief address:

"I am happy to lay the foundation stone of a building devoted to the administration of justice in this great Dominion.

"Perhaps it is not inappropriate that this task should be performed by a woman; for woman's position in civilized society has depended upon the growth of law. Canada is rightly proud of being a land governed by the rule of law. Her judiciary and the members of her legal profession have been true to the highest British traditions of Bench and Bar. It is fitting that on these heights above the

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Ottawa- surely one of the noblest situations in the world- you should add to the imposing group of buildings which house your Parliament and the executive branch of government, a worthy home for your Supreme Court. Henceforth, on these river-side cliffs, there will stand in this beautiful capital, a group of public buildings unsurpassed as a symbol of the free and democratic institutions which are our greatest heritage."

"Au Canada, comme en Grande-Bretagne, la justice s'administre selon deux grandes législations différentes. Dans mon pays natal, en Ecosse, nous avons un droit basé sur le droit romain; il sort de la même source que votre droit civil dans votre vieille province de Québec. En Angleterre comme dans les autres provinces du Canada, le droit coutumier l'emporte. A Ottawa comme à Westminster, les deux sont administrés par la Cour suprême de justice. Cela est, à mes yeux, d'un très heureux augure.

"Voir vos deux grandes races, avec leurs législations, leurs croyances et leurs traditions, différentes, s'unir de plus en plus étroitement, à l'imitation de l'Angleterre et de l'Ecosse, par les liens de l'affection, du respect et d'un idéal commun: tel est mon désir le plus cher."

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At the conclusion of her address, the Queen was long and warmly applauded. Indeed, she was given an ovation by the distinguished guests and the large audience surrounding the royal dais. Then Mr. Lapointe voiced the thanks of Canada to the Queen for her gracious act in laying the corner stone. He said that the royal visit to the Dominion justified his hailing Her Majesty as the "first Queen of Canada," while her "compliment to the respect and love of justice predominating in this country will remain as an inspiring message." "Our judiciary and our bar", he added, are greatly honoured and will remain the protagonists of British ideals, of British traditions and of British justice." Then speaking in French the Minister of Justice expressed to Her Majesty the gratitude of French Canada for drawing "such an interesting parallel between the cordial relationship enjoyed in England and Scotland and the bonds of respect, tolerance and affection tending to unite the two great races which make up this country."

Mr. Lapointe closed his address with the following passage: "Proud of having attained to the dignity of a Sovereign State, the Canadian people have deeply at heart the preservation of national unity. More and more do they realize that their dual and sacred heritage of French culture

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and Anglo-Saxon civilization is an inexhaustible source of spiritual wealth and fertility from which the true Canadian's spirit will draw vitality. Our twin legal systems issuing, one from France and the other from England, priceless and jealously guarded contributions of our national inheritance, are justly considered as bulwarks insuring the survival of our racial characteristics. We are confident that this whole noble lesson in unity given to us by our Gracious Sovereign, who personifies the beauty and charm of her native land united to the prestige and lustre of the British Crown will not fall on sterile ground."

Immediately following his address, Mr. Lapointe presented to Their Majesties the Chief Justice, Sir Lyman Duff, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Exchequer, the Chief Justices of several provinces and the heads of bar associations as well as their wives. Then the Minister of Public Works, Honourable P.J.A. Cardin, presented to Their Majesties the Deputy Minister of Public Works and Mrs. Hunter, the Architect of the building, Mr. Ernest Cormier, and some departmental officials with their wives.

The ceremony over, the King and Queen walked with the Prime Minister to their waiting car, while the band

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played the National Anthem. Amidst enthusiastic cheers growing into a final crescendo, Their Majesties departed for a drive through the French-Canadian city of Hull in the Province of Quebec, on the opposite side of the Ottawa River.

The royal procession moving along Wellington Street, passed through Ottawa's west end to Island Park Drive, across the Champlain Bridge, which spans the Ottawa River, to the Quebec side, and thence down the Aylmer Road to Hull. It was an almost informal drive of only four official cars, without troops or bands, and rather restful after the two morning functions, as part of it ran through the country side. A warm sun in a cloudless blue sky beamed on green fields and lofty trees. The procession passed the hamlet of Val Tétreau, gay with flags and bunting, where the whole population had turned out to give the royal visitors a rousing reception. Further along the Aylmer Road, thousands of school children occupied special places and greeted the Sovereigns with enthusiastic shouts.

In Hull, it was a holiday, with its French-Canadian population increased by thousands of visitors

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from the surrounding district, while hundreds of Ottawans walked across the Alexandra and Chaudière bridges to witness again the passage of the popular Sovereigns. Houses along the royal route were profusely decorated with banners and flags and the streets were lined by the Régiment de Hull, the Hull veterans, the Ottawa Imperial veterans and several units of city cadets. During the whole procession, shouts and cheers welcomed the King and Queen, mingled with the cries of: "Vive le roi, vive la reine," which the royal visitors acknowledged, the King with a wave of the hand and the Queen with her entrancing smile. Mayor Moussette and members of the City Council stood in front of the City Hall and warmly greeted Their Majesties as they went by. In front of Notre Dame Church, were lined numerous members of the clergy, while the bells pealed their joyful notes. There was but one stop during the drive. In front of the Normal School, a group of flower girls dressed in white threw flowers at the royal car and a girl ran forward with a bouquet of roses. The King told the chauffeur to stop and the Queen receiving the armful of roses waved her thanks to the delighted students who cheered enthusiastically. Then the royal procession resumed its drive amidst continuous cheering, and, crossing the Alexandra Bridge,

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returned to Government House. In the meantime, at noon, a royal salute of twenty-one guns had been fired from Parliament Hill in celebration of the King's Birthday in Canada.

Following probably one of their busiest mornings, Their Majesties were thoughtfully provided with a quiet interlude, when they came to luncheon with the Prime Minister in the restful atmosphere of Laurier House, which was the gift of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Mr. King as Leader of the Liberal Party. It was the first and only private invitation accepted by the royal visitors during the whole tour. As this was not an official function, no armed troops lined the streets. Order was insured by scarlet-coated Mounties, blue-clad Frontiersmen and city police. They were only needed to keep in line well-behaved onlookers massed at every point of vantage along the route, especially outside of Mr. King's residence. The lawn of All Saints' Church opposite was filled with its parishioners, young and old, while its carillon played religious and national music.

Laurier House had a gala appearance with its green lawns and shrubs and deep pink hydrangeas flanking the door, and from slim white pillars coloured banners fluttered in the breeze. From the curb to the door was

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laid a crimson carpet, above which stretched a canopy of tan and orange. Two Mounties stood at the gate and two on the main steps.

At one thirty o'clock, accompanied by his sister Mrs. H.M. Lay, of Barrie, Ontario, who acted as official hostess for her bachelor brother, the Prime Minister came to the street steps to await Their Majesties. Soon waves of cheering drew nearer and nearer when preceded by a motor-cycle escort, the royal car drew up in front of Laurier House and the Royal Standard was broken out from the garden flag-pole. Their Majesties were greeted by Premier King and his sister and stopped at the main steps, chatting with their hosts; the Queen, noticing "Pat", Mr. King's Irish terrier, strutting proudly with his red ribbon collar, stooped gently and patted his head.

The house was tastefully decorated with iris and tulips in vases, rose trees and hydrangeas. In the dining room, pink roses adorned the table. The only other guests were Lady Catherine Seymour and the Earl of Airlie, in attendance upon Their Majesties and the Rev. Alexander Ferguson, minister of St. Andrews' Presbyterian Church, of which Mr. King is a member, and Mrs. Ferguson.

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After the luncheon, the Misses Jean and Rosabel Lay, nieces of the Prime Minister, who had not attended the luncheon, were presented by Mr. King to Their Majesties.

During the luncheon, the crowd outside continued to swell in numbers. Occasionally they would start shouting: "We want the King, We want the Queen." From time to time their feelings had to burst into song. They rendered "O Canada" in French and in English and the National Anthem was repeated several times. Their waiting was at last rewarded; shortly after three o'clock, Their Majesties left Laurier House, being escorted to their car by the Prime Minister and his sister, and the crowd gave vent to their enthusiasm by lustily cheering the Sovereigns.

Now the unexpected took place. Instead of returning directly to Government House, the Sovereigns decided to grant themselves some relaxation- well deserved- by indulging in a drive in the beautiful country-side. The Queen had certainly more than a suspicion of the adventure, since there was in the car an extra pair of shoes with cuban heels suitable for country walking. At all events, on leaving Laurier House, the chauffeur of the royal automobile was directed to drive out into the country. Crossing the

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Ottawa River, he took the Aylmer Road. Near the Glenlea Golf Club, eight miles from Ottawa, after leaving its motor-cycle escort, the royal car turned into a tree shaded side-road and stopped. The King and Queen quickly stepped out and strolled up the road bordered by half-wild, half-cultivated fields. They fully enjoyed the Quebec country-side, so picturesque with its luxuriant vegetation and its fine oaks, elms and maples set against the blue hills of the Gatineau in the background. The King walked hatless in the northern breeze of the Laurentians, and the Queen was picking dog-tooth violets. They trod over soft spring grass, crossed ditches, talked to farmers and allowed themselves to be photographed. For half an hour, they seemed to enjoy to the full the relaxation and scenery and the exercise in the open air. Then they re-entered their car and drove back, stopping on the way at Dow's Lake, a widening of the Rideau Canal. Here they met a boy fishing, who did not recognize Their Majesties. When he was told that they were the King and Queen he was so excited that he ran for home as fast as he could. Then, to the amusement of Ottawans, the royal car, unexpected and unannounced, dashed swiftly through the city with its lone cyclists' escort on the way to Government House. Driving through a back gate, Their Majesties arrived about four o'clock, refreshed and smiling but nearly late for the Garden Party.

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For Their Majesties had agreed, when the tour's program was submitted to their approval, to attend a garden party during their visit. In fact, the King let it be known that he wished to omit as much as possible engagements of a privileged character, his preference being for functions open to the general public, as it was the Canadian people- men, women and children- that Their Majesties wished to meet. An exception was made in favour of Ottawa, as its three day programme included numerous public appearances of the Sovereigns. Moreover, it is customary for the Governor General to hold a garden party on the King's official birthday in Canada.

Deeply honoured by the presence of Their Majesties, the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir gave the Royal Garden Party in the spacious grounds of Government House as a celebration of the King's forty-fourth birthday which actually falls on December 14. Glorious spring weather again prevailed. The gardens looked their finest with their extensive green lawns, their beds of daffodils and tulips, their clusters of shrubs and their magnificent maples and walnut trees stretching their delicate May foliage. Three white marquees had been erected on the cricket field, where tea and refreshments were served; and in each of these was displayed one of the large birthday cakes weighing

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about three hundred pounds. Throughout the afternoon, military music, national songs and popular airs were played by the two bands in attendance. Five thousand guests representing state, politics, business and society were present, men in formal morning attire, (save a few sartorial intransigents,) and women in afternoon gowns of every bright shade possible.

The party was announced for four o'clock, but long before that time guests began to arrive and went strolling through the grounds. Advised that owing to the dense traffic several hundred guests were delayed, Their Majesties deferred their appearance for some time. About four forty five o'clock, accompanied by His Excellency and the Lady Tweedsmuir and attended by members of the vice-regal staff, they walked out of the doorway leading to the gardens. The King wore a dark grey morning suit while the Queen was gowned in a distinctive yellow ensemble of crêpe Rosalba with pale fox banded sleeves. Pinned to her coat lapel was a diamond maple-leaf brooch, a gift from the King on the eve of their Canadian tour. At once rose the strains of the National Anthem, and the guests pressed forward in a spontaneous demonstration which in

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spite of the semi-formality of the occasion could not be restrained.

Their Majesties strolled together down the main walk between deep rows of excited guests. On reaching the first division of the paths, the King with Lord Tweedsmuir and aides went one way while the Queen with the Lady Tweedsmuir, the Ladies-in-Waiting and aides walked the other way.

This leisurely promenade of the King and Queen, together or separately, was designed to give and actually did give every one among the guests the opportunity of coming close enough to and having a good view of the royal couple. Their eagerness to gaze at the royal visitors seemed never to be exhausted. As Their Majesties slowly moved along, individual guests were singled out and informally presented by Lord or the Lady Tweedsmuir. Thus many hand-shakes were given and many chats exchanged. The King was by turn cheerful, keen and amusing, and the Queen radiant, serious and vivacious. Both plied their interlocutors with questsions in their eagerness to know more about Canada, its institutions and citizens. One thing they did supremely well was to capture the hearts of the guests by the innate ease and simplicity with which

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they met everyone, which result also contributed to the sincerøity and interest which seemed to direct their every word and move. Not less charming was the smile or nod with which they recognized those whom they had seen before.

At tea time, the King walked into one of the marquees where he was asked to cut the birthday cake. At first, with hat in one hand and knife in the other, finding he could barely cut through the icing of the huge cake he remarked: "This is a serious matter. You'd better hold my hat." He then handed his grey topper to an attendant and cut the cake. As he scooped up and ate a handful of crumbs he declared, amidst laughter: "Say, it's jolly good." Later, guests received slices wrapped in cellophane envelopes, on which was inscribed the royal crest with the words: "The King's Birthday."

After tea, Their Majesties resumed their walks separately through the grounds and a further number of prominent citizens was presented. Then, meeting at the foot of the steps leading to the verandah, the King and Queen ascended the steps to enter Government House. Cheers rose once more from the distinguished assembly, mingled with cries of: "Vive le roi, Vive la reine." The Sovereigns now turned round smiling and waving and, as a

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they met everyone, which result also contributed to the sincerøity and interest which seemed to direct their every word and move. Not less charming was the smile or nod with which they recognized those whom they had seen before.

At tea time, the King walked into one of the marquees where he was asked to cut the birthday cake. At first, with hat in one hand and knife in the other, finding he could barely cut through the icing of the huge cake he remarked: "This is a serious matter. You'd better hold my hat." He then handed his grey topper to an attendant and cut the cake. As he scooped up and ate a handful of crumbs he declared, amidst laughter: "Say, it's jolly good." Later, guests received slices wrapped in cellophane envelopes, on which was inscribed the royal crest with the words: "The King's Birthday."

After tea, Their Majesties resumed their walks separately through the grounds and a further number of prominent citizens was presented. Then, meeting at the foot of the steps leading to the verandah, the King and Queen ascended the steps to enter Government House. Cheers rose once more from the distinguished assembly, mingled with cries of: "Vive le roi, Vive la reine." The Sovereigns now turned round smiling and waving and, as a

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kind of unanimous answer, the enthusiastic guests, sang out with one voice "God Save the King"! Their Majesties appeared visibly pleased and moved by the spontaneous demonstration.

After re-entering Government House, the honourary A.D.C.'s who were in attendance upon Their Majesties during the afternoon, as well as their wives and daughters were presented.

In the evening of the busiest and most spectacular day of the whole tour, Their Majesties honoured the Government of Canada with their presence at a royal parliamentary dinner in the ball room of the Chateau Laurier. The invited guests- seven hundred and five in all- were the members of the Senate and the House of Commons, the British and Canadian members of the royal party, members of the Governor General's household, members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and certain officials connected with the royal visit, as well as their wives. Guests had been requested to occupy their seats at seven fifteen o'clock exactly forty-five minutes before the entrance of Their Majesties.

Seating fifty-one persons, the head table ran the whole length of the room on the window side, with twelve tables each seating forty-eight persons, branching out at

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right angles. Fourteen smaller tables had to be placed in the adjoining lobby. The large green and gold ball room was profusely decorated with masses of blue hydrangeas placed below the window sills and with tall standards of pink snapdragons. Masses of pink hydrangeas filled the baloonies and at each end of the room were ferns and pale peach gladioli. On the tables were large bowls of pink and peace-coloured roses, blending with the tablecloths and serviettes of pale gold-coloured damask. In the centre of the royal table was a most beautiful bowl, solid gold, ten inches wide, with a scroll of maple leaves on which was engraved a map of Canada showing the itinerary of the royal tour; this bowl was brimming over with lilies of the valley, the Queen's favourite flower. Chandeliers with golden-yellow bulbs and candlesticks with pale peach tapers gave the room a sort of golden luminosity and its whole appearance was remarkably enchanting and elegant.

Driving along streets lined with troops and between deep rows of cheering spectators, the Sovereigns reached the hotel about eight o'clock and went in by the reception entrance. In the hall, they were greeted by Prime Minister Mackenzie

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King, and Mrs. Crerar, wife of the senior Cabinet Minister, who was acting as official hostess. The royal party proceeded to the drawing room, where the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir were awiting with members of the royal party. At eight forty five o'clock, preceded by an equerry, the Sovereigns entered the room, the Queen being escorted by the Prime Minister and the King walking with Mrs. Crerar. The King wore the formal evening dress with miniature decorations, while the Queen was much admired in a white tulle picture gown with full skirt forming three tiers of tulle. A coronet of diamonds, with a diamond necklace and a diamond bracelet completed the dazzling ensemble. When they took their seats, His Majesty was on the right and Her Majesty on the left of the Premier. Mrs. Crerar was on the King's right and Lord Tweedsmuir on the Queen's left. Guests at the head table included the Cabinet Ministers, the Speakers of the Senate and of the House of Commons, the leaders of the Opposition in the Senate and the House of Commons the Ladies and Lords-in-Waiting and the Acting Private Secretary to the King.

A most formal function with a brilliant setting, the dinner proved to be an unusually enjoyable meeting; throughout it prevailed an atmosphere of ease and bon ton, undoubtedly permeated with a pleasant excitement. The King appeared

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to chat quietly, even seriously with Premier King, while the Queen, radiant as ever, talked with animation to her dinner partners.

After coffee had been served, the Prime Minister rose and said: "Your Majesties, Ladies and Gentlemen, the King," and he bowed to the King and to the Queen and the toast was drunk by the guests standing. Then the Premier said: "Your Majesties, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Queen" and he bowed again to the Queen first and then the King and the toast was duly honoured. Then the orchestra played one verse of the National Anthem.

A little later, the Prime Minister rose again and announced that, owing to the crowded program resulting from the late arrival of the Empress of Australia, it had been decided to omit the presentation of guests to the Sovereigns, to spare them the tedium of such long presentation, but now the King had most graciously expressed his wish that the men and women who are the representatives of the people be presented to Their Majesties. Coming both as a favour and a surprise, the announcement was warmly cheered and applauded. A moment later, the Equerry -in-Waiting having come to His Majesty's chair, the King and Queen left the room, accompanied by the Prime Minister.

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For in the meantime, things had been happening outside. Earlier in the day, a notice had been given out that the Sovereigns, who were due to reach the Chateau Laurier at sven fifty-five o'clock, would appear on the balcony of the hotel. Unfortunately the hour stated was taken to mean the time of the royal appearance when it only referred to the dinner itself. Consequently, the people expected Their Majesties' appearance before dinner, while the officials had fixed it for after dinner. Moreover, Their Majesties were not informed in advance of the proposed arrangement.

At all events, as early as six o'clock, men, women and children began assembling on Connaught Place. By seven thirty o'clock the crowd had swelled to such dimensions that additional troops were brought in to keep in line the good-natured but constantly shifting mass of humanity. Patiently the immense crowd waited and sang repeatedly the National Anthem and "O Canada," part singing in English and part in French. They shouted wildly when the Royal Standard broke out over the hotel and the shout became a roar when, preceded by a motor-cycle escort, the royal car halted at the reception entrance on Mackenzie Avenue. No sooner had the Sovereigns entered the hotel, when all

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started clapping hands in unison and shouting: "We want the King, We want the Queen." It was now a solid mass of humanity aggregating probably 50,000 persons. The press was such that a number of persons collapsed, mostly women, who were attended to by Boy Scouts and veterans.

Slight rain began falling but practically nobody moved away. When the shower stopped, to while away the time, a pipe band paraded with bagpipes shrilling in front of the hotel, soon followed by a bugle band. Another cry of "We want the King" was raised and the crowd sang: "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." Later, hand-clapping started and boisterous shouts went up, louder and louder, as obviously spectators were growing impatient under the rain which was now falling rather heavily.

The shouts were heard inside and officials who several times were hurried from the dining room to the front of the hotel had a last consultation with the result that a message was brought to the Prime Minister and he apprised the King of the situation. Instantly with heart-felt graciousness the King expressed his desire to appear on the balcony as soon as convenient. It was then nine twenty o'clock. Colonel Willis O'Connor, aide to the Governor General, walked to the edge of the balcony and gave the message: "Their Majesties will appear as soon as they have finished dinner." Deafening cheers welcomed

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the announcement.

Fifteen minutes later, at nine thirty five o'clock, accompanied by the Lord and the Lady Tweedsmuir and the Prime Minister, Their Majesties stepped out on the flood-lit balcony, the King distingué in his evening dress holding the hand of the Queen glamorous in her beautiful white gown and white velvet wrap. It was such an impressive and enchanting sight that a hush fell for a moment and then came up a rousing cheer from the vast sea of enthusiastic humanity. For more than four minutes, the ovation rose and fell, a huge wave of human emotion, combining affection, pride and loyalty.

Their Majesties exchanged a few words, looking at the immense multitude from Sussex Street to the War Memorial. They moved as if to leave, but turned around and the King raised his hand while the Queen held out both arms in a gesture of heart-felt gratitude. The crowd were overjoyed and deafening cheers roared again in response, as the sovereigns with a final wave of their hands re-entered the hotel.

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Their Majesties returned to the drawing-room, where the dinner guests were then presented. In their desire to meet their Canadian people, the Sovereigns were upsetting all London precedents. Each guest was called by name and Their Majesties graciously shook hands with all of them, the men bowing and the women curtseying first to the King and then to the Queen.

The presentation was followed by a little impromptu ceremony when Canada offered to Their Majesties personal souvenirs of their Canadian tour. First, the Prime Minister mentioned that the gold bowl decorating the royal table was a gift from the Dominion to its Sovereigns. Then the Postmaster General, Honourable Norman McLarty, presented to His Majesty a beautifully bound book of purple morocco, containing the series of three hundred stamps of Canada all issued since Confederation, as well as complete information about each stamp. The King, who has inherited from his father, King George V, the world's finest stamp collection, highly prized the gift, remarking that it included stamps he had not seen before.

To the Queen, the Postmaster General presented a large silver tray, on which were engraved in relief the three special stamps commemorating the royal visit. Smaller trays

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with a book of stamps were also presented to be given to the two Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose, whom he called "the sweet-hearts of the Empire." The Queen expressed great delight with these gifts for herself and her daughters.

The ceremony terminated with the presentation to Their Majesties by Honourable Charles A. Dunning, Minister of Finance, of a case containing specimens of the silver dollar, and the silver and bronze medallions specially struck to commemorate the visit of the Sovereigns.

From the drawing-room, Their Majesties were to proceed to Nepean Point overlooking the Ottawa River to view a display of fireworks on Parliament Hill. But because of the slight rain now falling, they witnessed from a window in the Chateau the most splendid fireworks ever seen in the Capital, which concluded with the showing of huge likenesses of the King and Queen in a blaze of brilliant colours. From many vantage points, scores of thousands of citizens enjoyed the magnificent spectacle.

About ten fifty, escorted to their car by the Prime Minister, Their Majesties left the Chateau Laurier. On hearing the noise of the motor-cycle escort, the throngs massed in Major Hill Park rushed to the road and lined up, cheering long and wildly Their Majesties on their way to

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their Canadian home, while at that very moment came floating on the air from the Peace Tower carillon the strains of "God Save the King."

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CHAPTER IX

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C H A P T E R IX

Sunday, May 21, Their Majesties' last day in Ottawa, opened in the brightest way for fond parents such as they are. At ten o'clock, from Government House, the King and Queen talked for fifteen minutes with their daughters Elizabeth and Margaret Rose, across three thousand miles of land and water. The little Princesses, who were stopping for the week-end at St. Paul's, Waldenbury, Hertfordshire, the country seat of their uncle the Honourable David Bowes-Lyon, were thoroughly excited and happy. Princess Elizabeth, who took the receiver first, cried delightedly: "Hullo, Mummy, this is me." She assured her mother that she was "looking after Margaret" as she had promised at Southampton. Princess Margaret burst out with the news that she had passed her Girl Guides tracking test like a Red Indian, and she asked her mother if she had seen Red Indians in Canada. To which the Queen replied that she had seen many and would tell all about them on her return. The King spoke feelingly to his daughters, telling them to be good as usual, and promising to call them again next Sunday.

The unveiling today of Canada's National War Memorial by His Majesty proved to be the most remarkable and impressive

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ceremony of the royal visit. Early in the morning a drizzle had set in from an overcast sky, but by nine-thirty rain and heavy clouds had to give way to royalty and Canadian sunshine. The great monument on Connaught Place was the rendezvous to which converged from all parts of the city and the neighbouring district thousands upon thousands of men, women and children, including thousands of outside and American visitors. The throng continued growing from new arrivals to such an extent that before the ceremony the vast plaza as well as Confederation Park and the adjacent streets presented the wonderful sight of a seething sea of humanity formed by nearly one hundred thousand people with a single mind and purpose: to join with the King in tribute to Canada's sixty thousand glorious dead of the Great War.

Occupying the foremost places around the Memorial, as a tribute to their patriotic response to Canada's call to arms, were drawn up more than six thousand Great War veterans, their faces eager and buoyant beneath their maroon berets marked with a royal crown. Forming a distinct group, stood one hundred and twenty overseas nurses wearing purple berets and medals. A special place had

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been reserved also for the meritorious "Amps", the disabled veterans of the Amputations' Association of the Great War, assuring them a comfortable view of the ceremony.

A royal pavilion had been erected and decorated with bunting and next to it were enclosures set apart for Cabinet Ministers and special representatives, as well as for general guests who included Senators, Members of Parliament, holders of the Victoria Cross, judges, state officials, business men, and their wives. Most of the men sported top-hats which were very much in the way of some of the veterans. So the cry went up: "Hats off. Hats off." But the hats not moving, the veterans resorted to a ruse and sang the National Anthem. The toppers came off and a voice said: "Thank you."

To while away the time of waiting, regimental bands rendered military music and at intervals, the veterans rendered old familiar songs such as "Mademoiselle from Armentières," "Pack up your troubles," "Tipperary," "Alouette," etc. Between music and songs, spectators would exchange comments which were mostly words of praise for "our fine King" and "our lovely Queen". Children as usual were asking questions right and left. Puzzled

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by the presence of a woman among all these soldiers, one child asked of another: "Who's that"? pointing to the nurse standing in front of the Memorial.- "That's the widow of the Unknown Soldier", came the positive reply at once. About ten forty-five, four representatives of the army, navy, air force and nursing sisters came out and took up their stations at the four corners of the Memorial. A little later, ten strapping Grenadier Guards marched in and lined up across the top step of the Memorial holding red, blue and white banners. Around the base of the monument were displayed the standards of the military units of Canada.

At ten-forty, Their Majesties, attended by one equerry, left Government House and, accompanied by a mounted escort of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, drove amidst dense and cheering crowds by way of Sussex Street, the Minto Bridges, King Edward Avenue and Rideau Street. On reaching that last thoroughfare, a few minutes before eleven, a fanfare of trumpets of the R.C.A F. followed by a roll of drums announced the approach of the royal cortege. Again fanfare and soon the open car rolled up to the crimson carpet opposite the royal stand, while a thundrous roar of cheers was sweeping over the vast

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multitude. The King was in morning dress with full medals while the Queen looked exquisite in a chalk white crepe ensemble with a white hat.

As His Majesty stepped from the car, the Royal Standard was unfurled and the massed bands struck up "God Save the King", while the King stood at attention. Then the bands played: "O Canada" and His Majesty remained at the salute. This royal recognition, following the precedent created by King Edward VIII at the Vimy Memorial on July 26, 1936, amounted to the elevation of "O Canada", with its beautiful music, to the status of the Dominion's national anthem.

Their Majesties were then greeted by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Ian Mackenzie, and the Minister of Pensions and National Health, Mr. Charles G. Power. Then, while the bands rendered appropriate music, His Majesty inspected a fine Guard of Honour of one hundred veterans representative of all units in the Canadian corps, eighty-nine of whom had served in the ranks during the Great War. Its commander was Major M.F. Gregg, V.C., who attended the King, and the second in command was Captain Braun Langelier, M.C., who served in France with the Royal 22nd Battalion,

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the colours being carried by A. Harness, a veteran of the South African and Great Wars. During the inspection, the Queen remained at the foot of the Memorial accompanied by the Prime Minister.

The inspection over, the King and Queen mounted the steps to the base of the Memorial and heads of the various national ex-servicemen's associations were presented to Their Majesties by the Minister of National Defence. The following associations were represented: the Canadian Legion, Amputations' Association of the Great War, Sir Arthur Pearson Club of Blinded Sailors and Soldiers, Army and Navy Veterans in Canada, Canadian Corps Association, Canadian Pensioners' Association, Imperial Veterans in Canada, Tuberculosis Veterans' Association and British Imperial Comrades' Association.

Next, representing the bereaved mothers of Canada, Mrs. Catherine Lewis of Ottawa was presented by the Minister of Pensions to both the King and Queen who kindly chatted with her for a while. Of the four of Mrs. Lewis' sons who served in the war, two were killed and one was crippled. After this, the Minister of National Defence presented to the Sovereigns Messrs. Walter and Stanley March, the designers of the Memorial.

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The presentations being completed Their Majesties, escorted by the Prime Minister and the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Pensions, proceeded to the royal stand, where Lord and the Lady Tweedsmuir were awaiting them. When the royal party had taken their seats, a choir selected from English and French-speaking choral organizations sang without accompaniment three moving verses of "O Valiant Hearts", the crowd joining in the singing. The singing, as well as the whole program, was relayed to distant spectators by loud-speakers and broadcast to the United Kingdom and the world by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Then the veterans' Guard of Honour opened their ranks and the Pipers of the Cameron Highlanders marched up and played the Lament for the Fallen. After the last notes, loaded with sorrow, had slowly died away, the buglers sounded the Last Post, all heads bowing and hearts sorrowing. After a brief silence, Reveille was wounded, throwing up its message of new light and fresh hope. These moments were tense with emotion, hallowed by grief and gratitude when the soul of the nation remembered, blessed and honoured the greatest of her sons.

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After a short period of silence, Prime Minister Mackenzie King advanced a few steps and spoke the following words: "Your Majesty, I have the honour to invite Your Majesty to unveil the National War Memorial". On the Premier returning to his seat, His Majesty moved forward and gave the signal to unveil the Memorial. Whereupon the ten Grenadier Guards carrying their tall banners moved away from the face of the monument, revealing the large figures carved on its base: "1914-1918". Thus, unveiled by the King, appeared, wrought in ageless stone and bronze Canada's stately monument raising up into the sky her homage to the soldiers who made for her the greatest sacrifice of all.

The Memorial stands in the heart of the capital, on a crest of rising ground, close to the Houses of Parliament and overlooking the Ottawa River and the Gatineau hills, in a remarkably fine setting. It is built in the form of a marble arch, through which march to battle soldiers symbolizing Canada's response to the call of Right against Might. On top of the arch, as if coming from the sky, soar the winged figures of Peace and Freedom inspiring and guiding the onrush of the warriors.

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On the conclusion of the unveiling, the King standing in front of a microphone-desk spoke to the audience and through a broadcast to the whole Canadian nation. In a brief but uplifting speech, which he emphasised by a finely accented delivery, His Majesty declared the Memorial to be an "enduring expression" of "the spirit of Canada", as it depicts Canada's mind and response when freedom was threatened during the Great War. "The very soul of the nation is here revealed", asserted the King in a voice lifted with pride and emotion. This is the message of this memorial, concluded the King, and his voice stressed each word: "Without freedom there can be no enduring peace, and without peace no enduring freedom".

The complete text of the royal speech is as follows:

"It is my privilege, as your King, to unveil to-day, in your capital city, the noble memorial to Canada's spirit and sacrifice in the Great War.

"It is almost a quarter of a century since the beginning of the Great War. Four years earlier my father had succeeded to the Throne. For many, the memories of the war will always have an immediate association with his reign. It has been given to me to-day to recall Canada's part in the great conflict. Fortunately, my task is already largely performed, for in the beautiful work of art which I have just unveiled

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vivid and enduring expression has been given to the spirit of Canada.

"The time and the place of today's ceremony are not without significance. I am not surprised that it has taken many years to bring this memorial into being, and to give it this appropriate setting. On the battlefields of Europe, and throughout the Dominion, there are many memorials to Canada's honoured dead. Today, in her own capital, Canada dedicates her national memorial.

"The memorial speaks to the world of Canada's heart. Its symbolism has been beautifully adapted to this great end. It has been well named "The Response". One sees at a glance the answer made by Canada when the world's peace was broken, and freedom threatened in the fateful years of the Great War. It depicts the zeal with which this country entered the conflict.

"But the symbolism of the memorial is even more profound. Something deeper than chivalry is portrayed. It is the spontaneous response of the nation's conscience. The very soul of the nation is here revealed.

"Surmounting the arch, through which the armed forces of the nation are pressing forward, are the figures of

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peace and freedom. To win peace and to secure freedom, Canada's sons and daughters enrolled for service during the Great War. For the cause of peace and freedom 60,000 Canadians gave their lives, and a still larger number suffered impairment of body or mind. This sacrifice the national memorial holds in remembrance for our own and succeeding generations.

This memorial, however, does more than commemorate a great event in the past. It has a message for all generations and for all countries- the message which called forth Canada's response. Not by chance do the crowning figures of peace and freedom appear side by side. Peace and freedom cannot long be separated. It is well that we have, in one of the world capitals, a visible reminder of so great a truth. Without freedom there can be no enduring peace, and without peace no enduring freedom."

After the King's address, the choir sang three verses of "O God, Our Help in Ages Past". Then His Majesty accompanied by his equerry carrying a wreath, moved forward and, mounting the steps in front of the Memorial, placed his wreath at the base of the monument. Stepping back a few paces the King stood for a brief moment his head bowed

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in silent tribute to the dead soldiers of Canada, the finest tribute from the highest leader to the bravest men.

His Majesty having returned to the royal stand, the Minister of National Defence stepped out and placed a wreath at the foot of the Memorial. Then, singing one verse in French and one in English, the whole multitude led by the choir sang "O Canada" with a deep-souled emotion that expressed their pride and love of their native land. Terminating the impressive service followed the singing of "God Save the King", lifting its fervent cry of loyalty to the British Crown and institutions.

Now took place, not only an unexpected, but also unprecedented departure from ceremony, tradition and officialdom. The printed programme laid down that at the close of the service, Their Majesties would enter their car and return to Government House. But discarding the schedule entirely, the King intimated that after the ceremony he would pass along the ranks of the veterans round the Memorial. Once the service was over, the vast multitude broke into vigorous cheers. Then the King and Queen, escorted by Lord and the Lady Tweedsmuir, the Prime Minister and members of the royal party, walked around the

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pavilion amidst delirious cheers to the veterans on the western side, shook hands over the hedge and chatted with those in the front line. Fearful of being left out, owing to the intermediate guest enclosure, the veterans on the north side crowded past the west side of the Memorial, massing on the steps in front of it, while the Sovereigns began moving along the line of amputation cases, shaking hands and uttering words of comfort and appreciation. As they were about to pass behind the veterans' Guard of Honour standing at attention, the King had a thoughtful, splendid idea: "Turn the guard, said he to the officer, "Perhaps the men would like to see the Queen". The order was given and the men grinned with delight. Now the veterans on the north side started chanting: "We want our King and Queen. We want our King and Queen". Hearing their cry, Their Majesties turned round and, faces beaming with smiles, walked over to their side, the official party trailing behind with unmistakable looks of wonderment. Once again with veterans, needing no other introduction than the eager devotion of their faces and the shining medals on their breasts, the Sovereigns shook hands and talked fully enjoying the occasion.

It was then the turn of the veterans on the east side to get fidgety about their chance of obtaining the

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honour of a word or hand-shake from Their Majesties, and so they began to close in, followed by a solid mass of spectators. Instead of heading for their waiting automobile, the Sovereigns, facing the new advance with a new smile, turned round and walked right into the crowd shaking hands and conversing with the first comers, the veterans soon formed a close, complete circle around them, a circle of admiration, loyalty and devotion. Warm greetings and heart-felt cheers welcomed and followed the royal pair. For a while, officials and equerries felt uneasy, even nervous. They did not apprehend any mishap, but what controul could they extend to a man and a woman lost in a crowd of fifty thousand persons. Even the semblance of order was impossible. But the veterans, the most reliable guard of honour, saw, not to the protection, for it was not needed, but to the comfort of their royal visitors, clearing the way before them. Pretty soon, the whole official party, Governor, Prime Minister, equerries, had been scattered by the way, as well as the high Scotland Yard official in attendance whose unbrella was lifted by a wag who kept it as a souvenir. At one moment, the Sovereigns were absolutely swallowed up by the crowd, the only officials close by being the Minister of Pensions and two Mounties.

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Still, the unconcerned Sovereigns, now walking in the middle of the street towards the Union Station, appeared absolutely delighted with their informal mingling with the veterans. The Queen was always leading the way. Occasionally her white hat would almost disappear surrounded by deep circles of veterans' maroon berets. Once, as she was pushing still further into the crowd, an equerry could not suppress his disquiet: "When on earth is she going to stop"?- "Oh! that I don't know", interjected a laughing voice, which was the King's. But His Majesty enjoyed as much as the Queen this face to face contact with these ex-servicemen who had risked their life for King and country. To such men both the King and Queen were eager to give as much of their time and of their hearts as they could, and they gave them with perfect simplicity, complete spontaneity and winning manners.

The whole incident was a wonderful scene, the like of which had never been seen for generations. It stood as a magnificent tribute to both royalty and democracy, revealing humanity in Kingship and trustworthiness in freedom. It overwhelmed the King's heart, exalted the people's soul, and brought King and people still closer, linking them with a mutual and unbreakable bond of loyalty, friendship and devotion.

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Their Majesties mingling with the veterans lasted close to forty minutes, until finally at twelve ten, Lord Tweedsmuir and the Prime Minister succeeded in coming up and impressed upon the Sovereigns the necessity of keeping up with the programme. So the royal automobile having inched its way through the crowds, the King and Queen entered it and they slowly departed, standing in the car and waving a reluctant farewell to a multitude thrilled by their kindly gesture and shouting a continuous acclaim.

The extraordinary scene at the Memorial was for days and weeks a prime subject of talk throughout the country. The veterans and the plain citizens- the real people- gloated with chuckles of humour over the fact that Their Majesties had turned their backs on the shining toppers and the striking dresses of the reserved enclosures and had gone over to the ex-servicemen. Still more did they appreciate that the King and Queen, disregarding official attendance, mixed with them in the most informal and friendly way. Most of all, they treasured the fact that the Sovereigns entrusted themselves completely to their Canadian people as they had never yet done, which endeared them still more to all.

On returning to Government House from this memorable triumph, King George and Queen Elizabeth planted two maple

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trees in front of the vice-regal residence, between the driveway and the bank sloping to the ravine. The silver spades used for the occasion, which were suitably inscribed, were presented to the Sovereigns to be taken away to England.

At one o'clock, Their Majesties lunched privately at Government House with the Governor General and the Lady Tweedsmuir and members of the royal party and the vice-regal staff. At two twenty, they bade a wistful farewell to their Canadian residence of Rideau Hall after a stay of two days and a half crowded with official functions but also moving memories. All along the troop-lined route thousands of Ottawans, ever anxious to catch a new and a last glimpse of the Sovereigns, thronged all available space. Thousands of persons who had witnessed the unveiling in the morning had patiently kept their places for more than two hours until the arrival of the Sovereigns at the Union station across the street so that Connaught Place was a solid mass of spectators dotted with maroon berets, coloured periscopes and women's bright spring hats. When the royal limousine drew to a stop opposite the red carpet, a thundrous roar of shouts greeted the Sovereigns. Facing about before descending from the car, they stood for a few moments in

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acknowledgment of the hearty farewell. The King wore an informal morning suit, while the Queen was radiantly attractive in a white silk dress with long ~~flowing~~ white coat and plumed white hat. Accompanied by Lord and the Lady Tweedsmuir, they moved through the station to the blue and silver train, where the Prime Minister welcomed them. A Guard of Honour of the R.C.A.F. presented arms and the band played the National Anthem. The King inspected the guard and on his return the Prime Minister presented to Their Majesties the President of the Canadian National Railways, S.J. Hungerford and the directors of the company. Mayor Stanley Lewis and his wife were also present to bid Ottawa's official farewell to the Sovereigns. Mounting a special dais leading to the car, Their Majesties took their places on the observation platform and, as the train began to move, the band struck up the air: "Bonnie Charlie's Now Awa", and cheers broke out as the words leaped to everyone's mind:

Better lo'ed ye canna be,
Will ye no come back again?

Standing on the observation platform the Sovereigns kept waving until the train reached the end of the station platform. The King now turned to enter the car, when the Queen catching sight of the vast crowd massed on the west bank of the Rideau

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Canal drew him back by the arm. As soon as they sighted the Sovereigns the spectators broke into rousing cheers which were maintained by the thousands of men, women and children grouped all the way in an unbroken chain on to Hurdman's bridge, more than one mile out of the station, while as a last farewell from the Capital, a royal salute of 21 guns loudly boomed in the distance.

Before leaving the Capital the King, ever mindful of the real purpose of his visit, which was to meet as many of his Canadian subjects as possible, issued a thoughtful Royal Command. The instructions were given that whenever His Majesty stopped at a hotel, even for as short a time as half an hour, arrangements must be made to permit the King and Queen to appear on the hotel balcony, if the hotel has such a suitable balcony. Indeed, balconies meant an opportunity for more people to see their Sovereigns. The King is even reported to have made the significant remark: "The more balconies, the better."

To Ottawa and its citizens also came a gratifying message from the King. Mayor Lewis, to whom Their Majesties had previously presented autograph portraits of themselves, received next morning the following telegram from Toronto:

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"Our visit to Ottawa will always be a particularly happy memory to the Queen and myself. Please express to your fellow citizens our heartfelt thanks for the loyal and friendly reception which they gave us on all occasions during our stay in the Capital".

Evidently too, the King had a pleasant memory of the loyalty shown and service rendered by the war veterans, for the following message was issued by Colonel W.W. Foster, Dominion President of the Canadian Legion:

"His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to request me, in my capacity as chairman of the National Veterans' Conference, to convey his thanks to the ex-service men and women of Canada for the splendid contribution they are making to the success of his sojourn among us.

"The King said he had experienced particular pleasure at being able to meet so many war veterans, and he appreciated thoroughly the wonderful service they were performing.

"It is His Majesty's wish that this expression of thanks be transmitted to those who have already performed duties relating to his trip through Canada, and also to those whom, in the course of the next few weeks,

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His Majesty will meet".

Leaving Ottawa, the royal train carried an additional passenger; to the Honourable Norman Rogers, Labor Minister, fell the privilege of travelling with the royal party through his own riding. As thh royal tour proceeded, the Cabinet Minister from each section traversed was to accompany the royal visitors.

The blue and gold flyer was speeding out into the luxuriant and green countryside, passing stations thronged by children, women and men shouting their acclamations. The first stop was Alexandria, a Scottish centre, where a skirl of bagpipes welcomed it, under banners bearing the Gaelic message: "Caed mile failte", (a hundred thousand welcomes). Scottish music brought the Queen out first and then the King. Seeing two small children with bouquets of trilliums, the floral emblem of Ontario, the Queen helped them to the platform and said: "Thank you, darlings", the large crowd showering cheers upon the Sovereigns all the while.

The train stopped again at Coteau Junction to swithh to the Toronto line. Thousands in their Sunday best crowded the available space, shouting a hearty welcome to the Sovereigns on the car platform. As a little girl

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slipped through a fence and poised her box camera, the Queen touched the King's arm and they posed for her. The little girl snapped her picture and cried: "Merci", and the Queen said: "Bonjour".

In order to keep up the closely calculated schedule, it was not possible for the royal express even to slow down at all stations crowded with people, but an exception was made for Cornwall and later Brockville where special visits had been planned in the first itinerary. At Cornwall, fifty thousand persons, including thousands of Americans from across the St. Lawrence, were packed for a distance of two miles on both sides of the track and for twelve minutes the train inched its way along under a deafening storm of cheering while the Sovereigns smiled and waved.

Morrisburg rejoiced over its luck as the royal train had to halt for water. For eight minutes, ten thousand people kept acclaiming Their Majesties who came out and waved their hands to the delighted on lookers. At Cardinal, the train, being already eleven minutes late, was forced to rush through notwithstanding the two thousand cheering persons.

Disappointment at the change of programme that deprived it of a full stop did not cool Brockville's loyalty. Twenty thousand turned out to greet Their Majesties standing

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on the car platform as their train crawled at a snail's space through the city. The train having paused for fuel a quarter mile beyond the station, the crowd at once raced pell mell down the line for another look at Their Majesties. The ovation to the waving Sovereigns lasted the fourteen minutes of the stop.

At seven forty five, the royal train drew to a stop at Kingston, once the capital of Canada, and proud to-day of its university and Royal Military College. The first reception programme had arranged for a full day stop here, but the delayed Atlantic crossing had made it necessary to shorten it to thirty-five minutes, which were turned into a triumphant visit lasting more than an hour and a half, thanks to the enthusiasm which brought together seventy five thousand persons (three times the population of the city), to welcome Their Majesties. They included people from points as far away as Brockville, Smiths Falls, and Peterborough, a radius of at least ninety miles and even thousands of visitors from the State of New York, across the river.

As Their Majesties stepped down to the red-carpeted platform, Prime Minister King presented Mayor H.A. Stewart with Mrs. Stewart from whom the Queen accepted a bouquet of mauve orchids. A band struck up the National Anthem and Their

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Majesties having entered their limousine, the royal procession with Mayor and Mrs. Stewart and the Honourable and Mrs. Rogers, moved off towards the city amidst the cheers of the crowd outside the station.

In the failing light of a beautiful day, during an eight mile drive, Kingston extended a warm and hearty welcome to the visiting Sovereigns. Private residences displayed Union Jacks, while business thoroughfares, especially Princess Street, were a blaze of flags and bunting. As the motorcycle escort came along, waves of cheers all the way greeted the King and Queen, who smiled and waved to the throngs lining their passage.

The liveliest scene was staged at the Richardson Stadium, where ten thousand youngsters from Kingston and district were assembled. As the royal car entered the park, bands and voices struck up the National Anthem, but soon uniting their throbbing hearts and shrill voices, the children burst into a delirious ovation and frantic waving of flags which lasted the four minutes that the King and Queen took to circle the cinder track.

In front of the City Hall were grouped civic representatives from Brockville, Gananoque, Napanee,

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Deseronto, Picton, Belleville, Smiths Falls, Peterborough, Campbellford, Tweed and Perth. There also stood representatives from Oswego, Ogdensburg, Syracuse, Watertown and other American towns- Canadians and Americans all cheering lustily.

Then the royal procession wound up its way to Fort Henry, the century old sentinel mounting guard over the St. Lawrence, and rolling through its square proceeded to the Royal Military College, the only point where Their Majesties left their car. On the great quadrangle, the battalion of two hundred gentlemen cadets were drawn up in the failing twilight with their crimson coats and white helmets. After his own presentation, Commandant H.D.G. Crerar presented to Their Majesties the senior staff officers. After this the King inspected the battalion, admiring the faultless grooming and precision of the men, while the staff of the college and their families were presented to the Queen. The Sovereigns appeared sorry to leave so soon, but departed smiling when the cadets gave them three rousing cheers with white helmets surging into the air.

Amidst rows of shouting spectators under the glare of street lights, Their Majesties sped back to the

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station, having extended their visit by nearly an hour. On the platform, the Prime Minister presented to Their Majesties the Honourable Norman Rogers and Mrs. Rogers, after which Mayor Stewart presented the city aldermen and their wives. Their Majesties mounted to the rear platform of their car and a cheer was raised by the onlookers. At once, the crowd which had been kept at a distance of one hundred and fifty feet started moving forward pushing the police line. Just when the train began to pull out, the crowd rushed to the platform and cheered wildly a man in black and a woman in white vanishing rapidly in the distant darkness.

To Kingston next day came the following telegram from the King:

"To the Mayor of Kingston

"The Queen and I hope that you will express to the citizens of Kingston our sincere thanks for the welcome they gave us last night.

GEORGE R. I.

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Leaving Kingston at nine eleven o'clock, the blue train was exactly fifty-one minutes late and began to put on additional speed. Making a service stop near Brighton, twenty miles east of Belleville, it picked up an impromptu passenger. A young girl reporter, Margaret Lapp, running down the railway track to reach the royal train, fell in the darkness into a culvert and injured her leg. Mounties picked her up and put her in the baggage car of the royal train. Surgeon Captain H. White, Medical Officer to His Majesty, attended her and she was carried aboard the train for about a half-mile into Brighton.

Hearing that a service stop for a ten-minute check-over was scheduled at Belleville, a crowd of about thirty-five thousand had assembled in the course of the afternoon and evening. A band struck up the National Anthem as soon as the train stopped and Their Majesties who were rising from their late dinner, appeared on the car platform a few minutes before the train started and were given a magnificent ovation.

Leaving Belleville about ten o'clock, the blue train sped westwards merely catching sight at each station of groups of enthusiastic citizens who had gathered to

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get a fleeting glimpse of the train carrying their King and Queen. No more moving tribute of loyalty could be shown than this silent homage of their presence in the stillness of the night.

Shortly after twelve, the royal flyer pulled in to Cobourg for the night. More than five thousand people were thronging the station and siding. But noting that the blinds of the royal coach were drawn, they completely abstained from cheers and remained silent. So Their Majesties slept undisturbed, thanks to the thoughtfulness of Cobourg.

Very early next morning, May 22, Cobourg's citizens turned out again at the station in thousands, their enthusiasm undimmed by the intermittent rain that was now falling. As the train was due to leave at eight-thirty five, they doubted whether Their Majesties would appear so early in public after going through the very exacting programme of the previous day and retiring to bed rather late. They decided that, at least, they should make their presence known as a token of their loyalty. So children and adults, uniting their voices rendered several patriotic songs. As the train slipped slowly away with its blinds drawn, the undaunted Cobourgers sent up a mighty cheer of homage all the same!

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Under threatening skies, the blue and silver train now rushed on its way to Toronto to keep up its schedule and unfortunately numerous stations gaily decorated and thronged with cheering spectators such as Port Hope were passed at full speed. The train slowed down only twice for special reasons: first at Oshawa, where a crowd of fifteen thousand persons extended a shouting ovation to the King, who appeared alone on the car platform, and later at Agincourt, where more than eight thousand people from York and Ontario Counties had gathered and were rewarded by a close-up view of the Queen waving by herself to the cheering crowd. Motor cars were lined at all railroad crossings and along the fences farmers waved at the royal train.

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CHAPTER X

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C H A P T E R X

May 22 was Toronto Day. Rain came down during the night and early morning, and skies remained overcast the whole afternoon, but in the Queen City there was sunshine in every face, a thrill in every heart. Even before midnight energetic and enthusiastic individuals began occupying City Hall Square and the avenues leading to the Legislative Buildings. Equipped with umbrellas, provisions, folding stools, and periscopes for the children, individuals, groups and families started to fill the streets. After day-break, streams of citizens began coming from every direction. Special trains brought thousands upon thousands of school children and visitors from all parts of Ontario, while other thousands poured into the city by bus, motor car and boat. At the same time, militia units and detachments of veterans were marching all over the place to take up their assigned positions. About nine o'clock the route of the royal procession was lined with troops; before ten, it was everywhere packed with deep and solid rows of expectant humanity, excited and jubilant in spite of long hours of waiting,

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for to-day was being realized for them the most unexpected dream in a loyal Canadian's life.

For the great event, the city was arrayed in gala dress. Streets presented a vista of colours, with a profusion of flags and bunting. Yonge and Bloor Streets were decorated with large red double banners, while large Union Jacks were suspended overhead. On Danforth Street British flags and Scottish standards swung in the breeze and houses displayed decorations in red, white and blue, or in purple and gold. The stage was ready with a million spectators. On schedule, at ten thirty, the royal train rolled to a stop at North Station which was draped with flags, and presently King George VI and Queen Elizabeth set foot in their good city of Toronto. The King wore the undress uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet, while the Queen looked the very picture of charm and loveliness in a dress of soft tone blue with a cape of the same material edged with grey fur. Prime Minister King presented to Their Majesties the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and Mrs. Matthews, the Premier of Ontario and Mrs. Hepburn, and the Mayor of Toronto and Mrs. Day, while a royal salute was being fired by the 21st Medium

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Battery of the R.C.A. The King having inspected the Guard of Honour, composed of the Toronto division of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserves and the Canadian Air Force, Their Majesties took their places in their car, other cars were occupied by the Prime Minister, the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Matthews and the members of the royal party, Premier Hepburn drove directly to the Legislative Building and Mayor Day to the City Hall.

Accompanied by a mounted escort of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, Their Majesties now came into view of the throng crowding all the available space outside the station. Instantly mighty cheers broke loose and continued unabated all the way down Yonge Street, with the King and Queen smiling and waving to the enthusiastic onlookers. Growing with the crowds, the triumphant welcome swelled into astounding outbursts when the royal limousine, turning into Queen Street, drew to a stop at City Hall Square. There a seething sea of spectators- more than fifty thousand of them- crammed all possible standing room from the street to the roof tops; the like of it had never been seen in Toronto before. Their Majesties were greeted by the Mayor and Mrs. Day and escorted up the red carpet to the reception platform, impressively decorated with

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an immense blue drapery bearing the arms of Canada in colour and surmounted by a red and yellow canopy upholding a royal crown. As he passed, the King saluted the cenotaph at the foot of the steps. As the Sovereigns reached their chairs and faced the spectators, the incessant shouts reached almost deafening crescendo of warmth and enthusiasm, and when the band struck up the National Anthem, it was drowned by continuous waves of cheers exploding like thunder.

The Mayor then presented to the King an address of welcome and loyalty on behalf of the citizens of Toronto as well as a copy of it, engraved on a plaque of cloisonnné enamel and chased gold. The Queen accepted a bouquet of flowers which was handed by the Mayor's young daughter, Mary Day. Then Mayor Day presented to Their Majesties the members- controllers and aldermen- of the City Council and their wives. The presentations over, Mayor Day stepped forward and called for three cheers which the King acknowledged by standing at attention. As the Sovereigns moved to leave the King waved, and, the Queen holding up her bouquet to the cheering crowd, instantly the immense multitude broke into a tremendous soul-stirring ovation in a surge of affection and devotion for their King and Queen.

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Their Majesties having re-entered their car, the royal procession moved slowly- being twenty minutes ahead of its schedule- to the Legislative Building. It drove through streets closely packed with half a million of wildly cheering people voicing their loyalty to, and their admiration for, the youthful and smiling sovereigns. Heralded by a fanfare of trumpets, it rolled up the broad Crescent, lined with pine trees, of Queen's Park to the Legislative Building, decked with flying pennants bearing the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George. The edifice was surrounded by dense crowds, who shouted a mighty welcome to Their Majesties. At the foot of the red-carpeted and canopied steps Premier Hepburn greeted first the Queen and then the King, and the royal party walked into the building and proceeded to the Assembly Chamber, where one thousand persons were already gathered. When Their Majesties had seated themselves, Premier Hepburn stepped forward and read an address of welcome on behalf of the Province of Ontario. Extending to Their Majesties the "joyful welcome" of the province, he paid homage to the King's "strong and wise leadership" and "constant consideration for the well-being" of his people. To the Queen the Premier expressed

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the people's "feelings of profound admiration and respect" for the qualities she has always displayed. He concluded in stressing the pride of the province in being a portion of the British Empire and remaining "loyal in word and in deed" to the King and the Crown.

His Majesty received the illuminated address and handed to the Premier his written reply. The King thanked the people of Ontario for their "most friendly welcome" and praised Ontario's "very significant contribution to the material progress of Canada an equally important one to the formation of its national character."

As the King handed to Premier Hepburn his reply to the address, a spontaneous outburst of applause broke out all over the Chamber. Then the Queen graciously accepted a bouquet of lillies-of-the-valley which was presented by Mrs. Ian Strachan, wife of the member for Toronto-St. George. Premier Hepburn then presented to Their Majesties eight Ontario holders of the Victoria Cross. This was no hurried ceremony, for the King and Queen chatted with every one of them for some time. As the name of each presentee was announced, there was a round of applause. Sergeant

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Colin Baron was first presented, and after him came Private Tommy Holmer, Captain B.H. Geary, Major E.J. Holland, Lieutenant William Merrifield, Lieutenant Walter Bayfield, Sergeant H.H. Robson and Captain Charles Rutherford.

Next, the Premier introduced to Their Majesties the members of the Provincial Cabinet, the Speaker and the Leader of the Opposition and their wives. In his turn, the Speaker introduced the members of the Legislature and a few high officials, and their wives. Once the presentations were over, the Sovereigns left the Chamber amid the warm applause of the guests and proceeded to the Lieutenant-Governor's quarters for a period of rest.

The major part of this period was spent in an unofficial meeting with the famous Dionne Quintuplets who had come by special train to Toronto from their home in Callander. The meeting took place in the music-room of the Lieutenant-Governor's suite. While waiting, the five little girls, then five years old less a week, sat in a row on a large couch, being accompanied by their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Oliva Dionne, Dr. A.R. Dafoe, the physician who has attended the children since their birth, and three nurses. They were dressed in long gowns of white organdie with poke bonnets and white lace gloves and each carried

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a little bouquet of her favourite colour- yellow for Marie, green for Annette, blue for Cecile, rose for Emilie and mauve for Yvonne. Premier Hepburn presented Dr. Dafoe to Their Majesties, with the remark: "This is Canada's famous doctor". After asking the sovereign's leave, Dr. Dafoe presented Mr. and Mrs. Dionne to the King and Queen, who conversed with them in French. Now the five little girls clambered down from their chesterfield, lined up before the Sovereigns and made quite successfully their often-rehearsed curtseys. First Yvonne moved forward and presented her bouquet to the Queen who received it with a smile. Her example was followed by Marie, Annette and Cécile. Emilie preferred to be different and, seeing that the King had no flowers, handed her bouquet to His Majesty.

Apparently feeling they had carried out their duties the little "demoiselles" returned to their couch, and sat down in a row again, while the King and Queen looked at them with a smile. Suddenly Yvonne had an inspiration and called out her own name, which impromptu performance was, of course, immediately repeated by each of her sisters. Then, slipping to the floor, Cécile toddled to the Queen and stood in front of Her Majesty, holding up her arms. The Queen knelt down and Cécile put her arms round her

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neck and gave her a kiss. Instantly, the four sisters rushed to the Queen, who most graciously gave them each a kiss. But Cécile thought the King was being forgotten. So she went to His Majesty and took hold of his hand. The King bent down and whispered something to her, at which they both laughed. Then each of the Quints presented to the Queen for the little Princesses an autographed photograph of herself with her name scrawled in large childish letters. On her part, the Queen gave to the Quintuplets white woollen coats, which were gifts from Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose. The interview closed with Her Majesty's repeated remark to Dr. Dafoe: "I think they are wonderful children".

While the King remained at the Legislative Building the Queen, accompanied by members of the royal party, then proceeded to the nearby north campus of the University of Toronto, there to present new colours to the Toronto Scottish Regiment, of which she is Colonel-in-Chief. From the west wing entrance Her Majesty walked across Queen's Park and the adjoining University grounds jammed with thousands and thousands of cheering spectators kept in line by Upper Canada College Cadets. As the Queen

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emerged from the Peace Tower arch on to the parade grounds, accompanied by Brigadier-General R.O. Alexander and Colonel W.A.H. MacBrien, her personal Standard was broken out from the flag-pole and she was saluted by a storm of cheers from the multitude crowding the four sides of the square. There the regiment stood in line with its drums piled in the centre and the new colours resting against them. The Regiment gave the royal salute and the pipe band skirled the National Anthem. Lieutenant-Colonel C.C. Thompson, Officer Commanding, advanced and saluted Her Majesty with the sword and the Queen inspected the regiment.

The inspection over, the three attending ministers, in black gowns with the yellow cross of St. Andrew on their scarves, consecrated the colours. Walking to the drum-altar, Her Majesty handed the King's colour and the regimental colour to two lieutenants, each kneeling on his right knee to receive the previous flags. The colours having taken their position in the line, the strains of "God Save the King" swelled again through the air.

Then Her Majesty addressed the regiment in the following words: "Two years ago I was glad and proud to become your Colonel-in-Chief. To-day I am prouder still, now that I have seen my regiment on parade.

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"Ever since I landed at Quebec I have found many proofs of the ties which unite Canada and my native Scotland.

"In giving these colours to you who are a Canadian Scottish regiment, I like to think that these bonds may be even further strengthened, and I am confident that to you and to those who come after they will always be a symbol of the loyalty and devotion to duty which marked the services of this gallant regiment in the last war. I leave them with you in the sure knowledge that their honour will be safe in your keeping, and with the prayer that they may be an inspiration to you in the future and a symbol of devoted service to your regiment, your country, and your King."

The ceremony ended with the regiment giving three mighty cheers and jerking their Scottish caps into the air in honour of the Queen. Amidst the crowd's ovation, Her Majesty moved on to Hart House, whither the King, now in morning suit, had walked from the Legislative Building. At one fifteen, Their Majesties attended the official luncheon given in their honour by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Council of Ontario. The function took place in the great dining room of Hart House, the students' centre of the University of Toronto. Soberly oranmented, the great Gothic hall with its fine stained-glass windows

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provided all the dignity of a setting becoming a royal function. The high table was handsomely decorated with low bowls of lilies-of-the-valley and blue cornflowers. On other tables were large vases of blue iris, red roses and white sweet peas.

His Majesty the King sat at the centre of the high table with Lieutenant Governor Matthews on his left, then Her Majesty the Queen, and on the Queen's left Premier Hepburn. On the King's right was Mrs. Matthews, then Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Mrs. Hepburn.

About four hundred guests were present, including Provincial Ministers, judges, members of the Legislative Assembly, representatives of universities, foreign consuls, church representatives, newspaper editors, militia officers, high provincial officials and the wives of these gentlemen.

After coffee had been placed on the tables, the Lieutenant Governor rose and proposed the toasts to the King and to the Queen. The toasts were drunk and honoured with a fervent singing of the National Anthem. During the luncheon, the band of the Seventh Toronto Regiment played in the quadrangle.

Following the luncheon, about two twenty, Their Majesties entered their limousine for a drive to Riverdale Park and thence to Woodbine Park. During the noon hour,

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the weather had greatly improved and sunshine now lit up the whole city. As a result, Toronto seemed still more exuberant, if possible, than it was in the morning. Through streets closely packed with insatiable onlookers, Their Majesties rode in a triumphant march, each hand-wave of the King and each smile of the Queen bringing forth new waves of joyful shouting.

Along Winchester Drive, the motor-cycle escort of the royal procession was replaced by a mounted detachment from the Governor General's Horse Guards. Presently behind the gold helmets and bright tunics of the cavalry, the royal coach rolled into Riverdale Park, a vast oblong bowl of the Don Valley surrounded by green slopes crowned with trees, the whole forming a natural amphitheatre, immense and picturesque. There, on the flats, had been gathered- armed with flags- seventy-five thousand children from Toronto and the neighbouring district, while one hundred thousand spectators spread out on the green swards of the gentle slopes. In a magnificent setting of natural beauty, it was the largest assemblage yet seen. It was an amazing pageant of rippling colours and motion. The wonderful spectacle had scarcely burst on Their Majesties'

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view when from everywhere, from the children on the plains and the spectators on the slopes, surged a tremendous acclaim, massive and full-hearted, mingling the shrill voices of the youngsters, with the deeper shouts of the adults in a thrilling, sky-reaching ovation.

With the King and Queen waving and smiling with delight, the royal car began slowly to wind its way through the serpentine lanes, devised so as to give every section of the children an opportunity of seeing the sovereigns, while the flag-waving and the cheering continued unabated, the royal limousine came to a stop by the central pavilion, a boy scout unfurled the Royal Standard at the mast, and the band struck up the National Anthem. Instantly, as if moved by an unanimous impulse, the immense multitude broke into the words: "God Save the King". The song went up, swept across the plains, mounted the slopes and laden with loyalty and emotion, floated through the sky, a truly majestic homage to kingship and a prayer to God. Acknowledging the wonderful demonstration, the King and Queen stood at attention.

The song ended and the royal procession curved its way back along the lanes of feverishly excited and lustily

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shouting youngsters. The King and Queen now stood up in the car the better to see and to be seen, and each smile and hand-wave to the admiring crowds brought forth avalanches of cheering until the royal car moved out of Riverdale Park.

Led again by a motor-cycle escort, the royal couple resumed their triumphant drive to Woodbine Park on the shore of Lake Ontario for the running of the King's Plate. This is the most important racing event in Canada as it is the oldest race to have been continuously run in North America. It carries a $10,000 purse in addition to the King's fifty guineas, first provided by Queen Victoria in 1859. It is reported that His Majesty hesitated for a while before agreeing to attend the King's Plate, since he preferred to reserve his time for functions open to the public, as it was the people at large he wished to meet as far as possible, and announced his intention of visiting Christie Street Military Hospital on his way back.

On reaching Woodbine Park, about four o'clock, thirty minutes late due to the extension of the visit to Riverdale Park, Their Majesties left their motor car and entered the state landau. Escorted by a detachment of the

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Royal Canadian Dragoons, they drove round the track while a record crowd of more than forty thousand acclaimed the King, bowing, and the Queen, smiling to the spectators. At the entrance of the members' stand, gaily decorated with flowers and crimson and yellow streamers, the sovereigns were received by the President of the Ontario Jockey Club, Mr. A.E. Dyment, with Mrs. Dyment, and escorted to the royal box, where also the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Matthews and Prime Minister Mackenzie King took their places. Sitting on the King's left, the Prime Minister was seen to speak to His Majesty, who nodded assent. Whereupon, he walked to the rear of the box and motioned Premier Hepburn to the honoured place.

As the field came out for the King's Plate and paraded to the post, the King kept his binoculars most of the time on a splendid chestnut colt bearing the number 14. The barrier went up and Their Majesties rose to their feet. No. 14 was already beating his way to the front and the King asked Premier Hepburn: "What horse is that"? "Ashworth, Sir". The King's choice, "Ashworth", favorite by two to one, won easily by ten lengths at the finish of the mile and furlong race, over a slow track in 1.54 2/5, just one fifth of a second over the record.

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Their Majesties now walked across the track to the judges' stand. In full view of the applauding crowds, the King presented to "Ashworth's" owner, Mr. C. George McCullagh, the famous King's golden cup with the King's 50 guineas in a purple and gold velvet bag. Their Majesties left the Park in the royal landau, changing to their limousine on Woodbine Avenue.

Through streets lined with rows of cheering spectators, the royal procession then returned to Queen's Park for a brief rest and quiet tea, given by the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Matthews in their official suite in the Legislative Building. Their Majesties sat alone at a table centred by a large bowl of white trilliums, Ontario's emblematic flower, while the other members of the royal party were served in the adjoining room. After tea, the Queen received in the music room three persons whom she had desired to meet. They were David Williamson, shepherd boy by whom she was given her first fishing lesson at Glamis (now a veteran with the French Military Medal), Mrs. Francis MacAndrew French, a former member of the Queen's Girl Guide Group at Glamis, and Mrs. Irving Robertson, President of the Canadian Mothercrafts (of which the Queen is patroness). A delegation of the Black Watch Association headed by Sir William Mullock was also received by the Queen.

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Shortly before six o'clock, Their Majesties entered their limousine for a last drive through the city. Streets were as closely packed with spectators as if the sovereigns had never yet been seen in Toronto. Cheers in undiminished volume followed them from beginning to end, and were graciously acknowledged by the sovereigns with a smile or a hand-wave. On the way, though it was not included in the first official arrangement, the royal car stopped at Christie Street Military Hospital, by command of the King who wished to pay a visit to these most deserving of his subjects, the Great War Veterans in hospital. As the Toronto programme was already running behind time, only five minutes had been allotted for the visit, in the course of which five representatives of the patients were to be presented. But the human kindness and warm-hearted sympathy of the youthful sovereigns soon determined otherwise. Inside the yard, on bleachers on either side of a path, were seated more than three thousand veterans, overseas nurses and Silver Cross mothers, while in front were assembled in wheel-chairs and hosiptal beds more than two hundred disabled ex-servicemen. Down the aisle came the royal couple and the faces of the men who had braved death for King and country were lit up with

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a smile and happiness that was inexpressible and in the feebler cheers of these men vibrated a pathetic soul-wrenching accent. The King and Queen did feel it, for once among these men they thought no more of set shehedule but only of these war-scarred veterans now pouring out to them their loyalty and devotion. For ten, twenty, thirty, forty minutes, Their Majesties walked slowly through the grounds, stopping now and again to speak to as many patients as they could. To them the King and Queen talked gently, almost intimately, with heart-felt words from friend to friend, while the men smiled bravely and uttered quavering cheers, their eyes were shining and their hearts contented. The Queen graciously accepted, with a nod from the King, the charming gift of a petit-point bag worked by two veterans.

But Their Majesties also thought of the bed-patients in the wards who were unable to be present. To them they spoke over a microphone. First the King said to them: "To the many patients of the hospital too ill to leave their beds, the Queen and I take the opportunity to wish you all a speedy recovery". Then the Queen spoke the kind words of a woman's heart: "I am so sorry so many of you are unable to be with us here, I want to send to you my kindest thoughts and best wishes". Amidst cheers that were close to tears,

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the King and Queen waved a last farewell and disappeared, a vanishing vision of human sympathy and deep-felt gratitude.

From the hospital the royal procession continued its drive through the western section of the city on its way to the Union Station. Enthusiastic spectators thronged the whole route, anxious to see and cheer once more the royal couple. The drive took Their Majesties through the Exhibition Park where amazingly large crowds of children and adults greeted their passage with tumultuous acclaim. As the sovereigns drove along the Avenue of Remembrance one hundred and twenty three trees were being planted- one for each school in Toronto- in sight of the royal car.

The drive terminated at the Union Station, Their Majesties having covered in three separate parades thirty two miles in the day and received the loyal and cheering welcome of over one million and a half of their people. As the King stepped out of the car, having extended his visit to Toronto by a full hour, the band struck up the National Anthem and the multitude took up the words in one great song that was in itself an expression of homage and farewell. His Majesty inspected the Guard of Honour of the Queen's Own Rifles, while the Toronto Field Battery fired a royal artillery salute.

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Their Majesties were escorted to the train by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Matthews, the Premier and Mrs. Hepburn, the Mayor and Mrs. Day. As the King and Queen stood on the car-platform the train began to move and a last cheer went up: the King raised his arm high above his head, the Queen made that inimitable gracious wave of the hand, Toronto's greatest day of glory was over.

Next day, May 23, from His Majesty came the following telegram to the Lieutenant-Governor:

"We are most grateful to you and your Executive Council for your kind hospitality during our memorable visit to Toronto yesterday.

George R.I."

To Premier Hepburn, to whom prior to his departure, the King had presented autographed photos, His Majesty's message was couched in the following terms: "The Capital of Ontario gave the Queen and myself a reception yesterday which we shall never forget. Please express to your colleagues and all associated with you our sincere thanks for all that was done to make our visit so happy and so successful".

Finally, another telegram was despatched to Mayor Day, asbeing in fact addressed to the very citizens of Toronto:

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"I should be grateful if you would convey to the citizens of Toronto the heartfelt thanks of the Queen and myself for the wonderfully loyal and affectionate welcome that they gave us yesterday. It was a very real pleasure to us to see so many Torontonians, young and old, and they have sent us on our westward way with the happiest possible recollections. George R.I."

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FOREWORD

War clouds lowered over Europe when George and Elizabeth came to the King's Dominion of Canada, and from ocean unto ocean his loyal subjects with full hearts bade them welcome.

George and Elizabeth went among the people and mingled with the multitudes, and a deep understanding was born between the Sovereign and his subjects that whatever befell they would travel along together, and Canadians pondered over this and fervently said: "Surely our Empire is the hope of all the world".

Day by day tidings of these things went back to ancient London and brought joy to the heart of the realm as it grimly awaited an uncertain tomorrow, and they who abode close to the danger gave thanks unto God for what had come to pass.

To the uttermost ramparts of the King's domains the glad word had been carried, and men and women everywhere rejoiced because a new world had acclaimed an ancient throne, a young monarch and his wife.

So all the King's subjects in every land were of one mind, and the people cheered George and Elizabeth because of the things they had done.

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—Legionary———Cor———Gal. 1———Cor ——————————

FOR nearly three-quarters of a century the Dominion and provincial governments of Canada have got on about as well as any robust, talkative, growing family might be expected to get along. Against outsiders they present a united front, when national interests are affected; among themselves they bicker and bluster and poke out their tongue at one another. Human nature being what it is, and Canadians in particular being what they are, they would no doubt have quarreled under any kind of constitution. That being accepted — or even rejected, it doesn't matter which — we should not be too severe in our criticism of either the British North America Act of 1867, or the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council which interpreted it. All things considered, the former is a mighty fine document and the latter no doubt a great institution.

As a national constitution, the British North America Act worked well when it was first passed. It distributed legislative jurisdiction between the Dominion and the provinces, but it was not long before quarrels started, with the provinces claiming this and that jurisdiction and the Dominion denying it.

So year after year the disputants would sally forth to London Town to lay their disputes at the foot of the throne, that is the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. The law lords ruled this and the law lords ruled that, and it all cost plenty of money, some say millions of dollars, and it is the same set of tax payers who have had to foot the bill whichever way the decisions have gone.

The squabbles became more and more rugged as the years went by. It looked as if we were all set for the biggest family row since Confederation as 1938 wore on its bickering way.

The Dominion was claiming it could not provide all that the people were demanding in social assistance unless it had more legislative authority. The provinces seemed to be taking the position that all borderline questions of jurisdiction should be settled by the simple formula that any governmental activity that increased the public revenue be the responsibility of the provinces and any activity that was a drain on the treasury should be surrendered to the Dominion.

The common people could not understand — they wanted this done and they wanted that done and they did not care whether the Dominion or the provinces did these things. It was rather bewildering that they would have to finance a fight when they did not care who won and put up with delays till it was over.

None of this is intended as criticism of the governments involved. The situation was the inevitable outcome of events as they developed under the constitution. It proved that to regain unity within a nation there must be something more than a written constitution, judicial decisions, and party governments.

And that was the situation when on Saturday night, October 8, 1938, Canada was electrified with a simple announcement issued from Balmoral Castle in Scotland. It was this:

> *"The King and Queen have graciously consented to accept the suggestion of the Prime Minister of Canda that they should visit Canada next year. Their Majesties hope to arrive early in the summer and to spend about three weeks in the Dominion."*

Electrified was the word. The announcement struck the country with a force and effect that left the people gasping. Then the delirium followed. When time has provided a proper perspective in which to weigh the accomplishments of Mr. Mackenzie King, it should not be overlooked that it was he who to a great extent persuaded Their Majesties to undertake the visit.

Canadians felt that the King would reunite them. They often had been asked by foreigners why they needed a king. Wasn't the monarchy old-fashioned and over-costly? Of course, the British Empire could not elect a president as does the United States. India's millions, for example, would outvote the rest of us. But couldn't the British Commonwealth function in much the same manner as the League of Nations either used to function or was pleasantly expected to function, by representatives of the various states electing a head? Perhaps the League of Nations' failure has provided the real answer to that, a devastating one. Canadians were even more than ever convinced how splendid a thing it was to be subjects of King George at this time.

Deep in the hearts of men and women born to the British tradition, regardless of original national affiliations of race and religion, is the unshakable conviction that the British Empire is something wherein are preserved most of the elements that make living worthwhile.

To concentrate those elements in an institution which will express them in all their wholesomeness and simplicity, yet reveal them in their dignity and nobility, Britons have continued the institution of the monarchy. The Throne is the rallying point when the Empire is threatened, the steadying influence when dissensions becloud our domestic affairs. And Canada in 1939 stood sadly in need of that influence.

The prospect of the Royal visit was sufficient to disclose how shallow are the divisions among Canadians in their domestic squabbles. The bickering and the fault-finding, the threatening and the blustering were shelved. Dominion and provinces prepared for a welcome that would show to the world that Canada stood four square for the throne. They far exceeded their fondest hopes.

When the tumult of the Royal visit had subsided, following demonstrations across Canada of affection never surpassed anywhere, the King and Queen once more were approaching the United Kingdom. I had the honour of bidding Their Majesties goodbye. I told them how much I believed that visit would mean to Canada. The King agreed that no more opportune time could have been chosen for the tour. The Queen, her blue eyes filled with sincerity, said: "We do hope that our visit will bring lasting good to Canada". How permanent was the unifying influence of the Royal visit never can be measured accurately because War followed. The great issues at stake in that conflict would have united us without the visit of George and Elizabeth, but because of it Canadians have gone into it with a keener appreciation of what this fight means to each of us, a deeper conviction of the value of the heritage we must preserve.

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—Legionary——10 sur 12—268E——Gal. 2———Cor ————
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Canada figuratively took off its coat and began to get ready to welcome the King and Queen. The Prime Minister requested Lord Tweedsmuir, then Governor-General, to express to Their Majesties the nation's joy over the Balmoral announcement.

Many misgivings were heard that this comparatively young country would fall down on the pageantry. We might be able to do a pretty resourceful job when it came to mining or farming, in fact every manner of nation building, but receiving the monarch was out of our line. It was bound to be a crude welcome, some people said, compared with what older lands could do.

I had heard the same sceptical observations before the Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa in 1932. Canada then had had no experience in such a big undertaking. Well, when it was all over delegates from every part of the Empire agreed it was one of the most perfectly organized conferences they had ever attended.

Mr. Mackenzie King headed the cabinet committee which laid down the general policies that were to govern the visit. An inter-departmental committee was named to put these into effect.

During those early months of 1939 I never tired of admiring the confident manner in which that great machine which we call the Civil Service moved in on the new, unprecedented task that had been thrust upon it.

The organization of all state functions is primarily the responsibility of the Secretary of State's Department. It may be opening Parliament, issuing coronation medals, a state funeral, or the celebration of Canada's jubilee. It may be the visit of the King and Queen.

So the obvious selection for the head of the Inter-departmental committee was Dr. E. H. Coleman, Under-Secretary of State. His job was to co-ordinate the activities not only of all the Dominion government departments, but as well the activities of the provincial and municipal administrations. He went about from one end of Canada to the other during those winter weeks, spending several days in each provincial capital laying the groundwork on which the Royal itinerary would be built.

Associated with him as secretary of the committee was Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, one of the bright minds from the External Affairs Department, and behind those two men moved the senior officials of all departments of government which would have a part in the welcome.

Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, was on the committee. His department is headed by the Prime Minister, so that he was the link not only between the committee and the Prime Minister, but also between the committee and Canada House, and the Hon. Vincent Massey, in London.

A. S. Redfern (afterwards Sir Shuldham) as secretary of the Governor-General was liaison officer for Government House.

The Finance Department played a big part in the preparations. Dr. W. C. Clark, Deputy Finance Minister, and Watson Sellar, Comptroller of the Treasury, held the purse strings, and many a mayor felt aggrieved when he was not able to have troops moved into his town because of the expense it would incur. But I do not think the tour suffered because of these economies.

The Department of Transport was responsible for the Royal train and all other transportation facilities, with Deputy Minister V. J. Smart and Commander C. P. Edwards, chief of the Air Services, co-operating.

Trade and Commerce brought to the committee the skill and experience of its deputy head, Major J. G. Parmalee, who for a score of years, along with L. D. Wilgress, has been organizing trade services in the four corners of the world. It also brought to the committee all the facilities of its motion picture bureau, of which more later.

Commissioner S. T. Wood, head of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, was on the committee. Others were J. B. Hunter, Deputy Minister of Public Works, Major-General L. R. LaFleche and Major-General H. H. Matthews from the Defence Department, Brigadier-General Edouard deB. Panet, W. H. Measures and J. F. Delaute.

Behind the senior officials were hundreds of other civil servants working at an increasing tempo as the organization went into action. It was a grand machine.

The eagerness with which provincial governments and provincial civil servants joined in the work did much to ensure success, and every city and town came forward with guarantees of co-operation. Thus, by all pulling together in towns and cities and in the capitals, preparations moved along. A few months later they again were found working in unison when Canada went into the war.

* * *

One afternoon in March of 1939, while busy in the Press Gallery, for the House of Commons was in session, I received a telephone call that the Prime Minister wished to see me. Wondering what he could be wanting I made my way to his secluded offices behind the chamber.

He told me there would be two newspapermen accompanying Their Majesties on the ship from Britain to Canada. One would report the trip for the Canadian and United States newspapers, the other would cover the papers of the Homeland and those of the rest of the world.

"My colleagues and I have chosen you to be the Canadian newspaperman on this trip", Mr. Mackenzie King told me. "I hope you will accept, because not only would the Government be well satisfied, but Buckingham Palace has also recommended you."

When I had recovered from my surprise I begged a few days to get in touch with J. F. B. Livesay, then General Manager of The Canadian Press, to see whether he would let me go. I realized I had been selected because of my more than 10 years' experience as Ottawa parliamentary superintendent of The Canadian Press, rather than because I had any peculiar abilities for the task.

I was acceptable to Buckingham Palace because my two friends there, Alan Lascelles (later Sir Alan) and George F. Steward, had put in good words for me. I had known Mr. Lascelles as secretary to the Governor-General in Ottawa, and now he was acting secretary to King George. Mr. Steward is Press Liaison Officer at No. 10 Downing Street, the residence of the British Prime Minister and had been seconded to be Chief Press Liaison Officer on His Majesty's staff during the tour.

Mr. Livesay gave his permission to undertake the assignment, which was to take me four times across the Atlantic and twice across Canada. So with a song in my heart I told Mr. Mackenzie King I was able to accept and I sailed from Saint John in the Canadian Pacific liner *Montcalm* on April 21st.

No (3) ————————————————————

Early arrangements had been completed to convey the King and Queen in the battle cruiser *Repulse*, and for several weeks that ship had been undergoing a process of refitting at Devonport. But Europe was in the throes of the international crisis attendant upon the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia by Germany. So menacing did the situation look that there were some in Canada who had resigned themselves to the possibility of Their Majesties not embarking on their visit to the Dominion at all.

I had not been many days out in the *Montcalm* when the steamship's daily news report carried the announcement that the Admiralty considered it unwise to detach the *Repulse* from the Home Fleet for the time being. Other arrangements for the King and Queen held good; but they would travel to Canada in the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's liner, *Empress of Australia*.

Disappointed? Yes, a little. I'd been coaching myself on deportment, on how to get around in a warship without incurring too profund a contempt on the part of its personnel.

"Be sure to salute the quarter-deck when you go on board," a naval officer had informed me before I left Ottawa. That particular piece of ritual involves looking towards the stern and tilting the hat. Easy enough.

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—Legionary———Gal. 3———Cor ————————————
—Suite du No 3 ————————————————————————

I didn,t climb aboard a warship until I boarded H.M.C.S. *Ottawa* at Vancouver some weeks later. It slipped my mind to salute the quarter-deck; but I suddenly remembered. Turning, I solemnly and with great dignity doffed my cap, when a chap following bumped into me and I almost went overboard. So I never did properly salute the quarter-deck. The ship, however, took no offense: it behaved splendidly on the voyage across to Victoria.

As it turned out, the shift from the *Repulse* to a liner was a blessing in disguise for me. I'm not much of a sailor. In the days that were to come I would gaze at the *Repulse* following in the wake of the *Empress of Australia*. When I saw the huge, grey battleship wallowing and plunging in the heavy sea I decided that my proper place was anywhere but on board that fighting machine.

Life aboard a liner follows an easy routine. It varied little during the eastbound crossing. The *Montcalm* slipped quietly into Southampton early on a Sunday morning. When I descended from my berth we were already tied up, with the giant *Queen Mary* a stone's throw away.

War had been remote from the *Montcalm*, but here in England that remoteness vanished. Here the Motherland was quietly, grimly preparing for the worst. The people were hoping, praying for peace; but they were unafraid, confident, and readying themselves for the worst.

"A wonderful sight," I commented to an Englishman as the train rushed through the lush green fields of the Hampshire countryside on its way to London.

"Yes, a wonderful country," he answered. "A country worth fighting for."

They all thought that. At the tea tables in London conversation inevitably turned to the plans for evacuating women and children to the country in the event of hostilities. Everyone seemed to have an assignment of some sort, whether with the Territorials or the Air Raid Precautions. And most of them were getting a big kick out of it all. The English may, as it has been said, take their pleasures sadly, but they manage to invest the dramatic elements of modern life with an unconquerable cheerfulness.

This was England, with so many things to think about it could not afford to concentrate entirely on the departure of the King and Queen, history-making though the occasion was. But the people I met, when they found out I was a Canadian and not an American as they had concluded from my speech, asked eager questions about the approaching trip.

Everyone seemed so sincerely anxious that everything would go well with the young couple when they crossed the sea. "I do hope", a hostess told me as she poured tea, "that you Canadians will like the King and Queen as much as we do. You must be really thrilled to be going over in the ship with them."

I said I was and confided to her that my haphazard Canadian talk would stick out like a spot on a shirt front among all the perfectly chosen Mayfair English that would surround Their Majesties in the *Empress of Australia* where I would be the only Canadian.

"It's not your accent, it's the queer expressions you use," she replied. "But are you certain the tour will be a success?"

"Yes, "I expanded, "Canadians are getting ready to go to town in their welcome of Their Majesties".

This caused her to knit her brows as she asked, "but will not the cities welcome them also?" I never before realized it was so difficult to explain what "going to town" meant.

London, a hustling, bustling metropolis, was reinforced by one more hustling, bustling unit in my own person, for there was a tremendous amount for me to do, and not a great deal of time left wherein to do it.

My first duty was to present myself at Canada House to the High Commissioner, Mr. Vincent Massey. I had an absorbing "visit" with Mr. L. B. Pearson, known to all Ottawa newspapermen as "Mike", who is Mr. Massey's right bower. Then I must call at Buckingham Palace to make sure the *Empress of Australia* wouldn't pull out of Southampton without me.

The Open Sesame which threw the portals of the Royal residence wide was the magic phrase: "I've an appointment with Mr. Lascelles." Now Sir Alan F. Lascelles, private secretary to His Majesty, he had served in Ottawa in a similar capacity with the Earl of Bessborough.

Edwin Johnson, London superintendent of The Canadian Press, and I made the journey together. The guardsman on duty, magnificent in his get-up — scarlet tunic with gold facings, blue trousers, and the whole colour scheme triumphantly rounded off with his black bearskin cap — ignored us entirely. But the policeman at the gate stopped us; so also did the King's Marshalman at the door. But once they'd been assured we were to see Mr. Lascelles, we were treated like potentates. An escort conducted us through the winding corridors of the palace to the unpretentious office of His Majesty's private secretary.

Buckingham Palace would be a marvellous building to get lost in; but an attendant not only accompanies you to where you want to go: he waits until your business is finished, then escorts you back. This is an acceptable convenience, quite unknown on the American continent where, once you're admitted to a building, it's assumed you know your way out again, and often don't.

I'd promised myself to run to earth one or two of London's newspaper mysteries. The intriguing expressions "A Foreign Office spokesman said"; "It was declared in official circles"; "It was announced on high authority", have always figured extensively in the cable news. It interested me to know if there really was such a thing as a Foreign Office spokesman, if the high authority was substantially more influential than the elevator man, if the official circles meant more than an interchange among newspapermen at a cocktail bar. I found out. Actually British Foreign Office officials do meet the newspapermen who cover that beat, every day at noon. It's trouble enough getting tickets for the conference, but Jack Sanderson of the London Bureau of The Canadian Press wangled one for me.

In company with many foreign correspondents — Russian, French, American — as well as British journalists (newspapermen in England are "journalists") I invaded that quiet, unimposing structure that looks out on Whitehall. I'd looked forward to this, having on occasion attended the conferences in Washington which Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, holds. I wanted to compare the two.

The Whitehall gathering is less formal than that at Washington, probably because the Foreign Secretary in London does not attend in person. The interview is carried on by an assistant. If a question is put to which he has no answer, he either just doesn't reply or he telephones a confrère and gets the information.

There was only one big story that day: Maxim Litvinoff had lost his job as Foreign Minister in Russia. Of course, everybody wanted to know all about it, the why and the wherefor. But that was the one question on which the Foreign Office man had nothing to say and he told us so before we had a chance to ask him. So, the London and the Washington conferences add up to about the same — they don't tell you anything they don't want to tell.

In the House of Commons Mr. Neville Chamberlain took just twenty minutes to describe the new conscription bill. I heard him, and marvelled. Why do Parliamentarians take so long to get stuff out of their system in Ottawa, while in Westminster they clip it off short? I figured that the way the members at Westminster are packed together, with no desks to lounge on, may have something to do with it. The man addressing the House looks straight into the eyes of his listeners and can see how bored they are. In Ottawa the victims are too far away.

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—Legionary——Gal.4———Cor ————————————
—No. 3—Concluded ————————————————————

Experienced Westminster Press Gallery reporters disagreed with me. They recalled that in the days of Gladstone and Disraeli, despite crowded houses, speeches often lasted for many hours. Even Lloyd George was wont to occupy half a day on a budget speech. However, the vogue for long-windedness petered out at the end of the horse and buggy days in England. Will time work the same process in Canada? There is always that hope.

With a million cares on its stout old shoulders, war-menaced London put them all aside. The King and Queen were leaving London — not only London, but the British Isles,—for nearly seven weeks. True, they were merely travelling from one part of their home to another, but London is the essence of the Empire.

The Lords and the Commons approved unanimously a resolution that "an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, conveying to His Majesty on the occasion of his departure for Canada and the United States an assurance of the loyal affection of this House, and the deep interest with which it will follow the progress of His Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen during their absence from the country."

Five Chancellors of State were appointed to perform the functions of the Monarch during the King's absence. And so, with the transference of Their Majesties to the *Empress of Australia* and the appointment of this Royal Commission to carry out the King's duties, the stage was all set for the crossing of the Atlantic.

It was a tremendous ovation the King and Queen received when they drove through London to Waterloo Station for that stirring send-off. London was seized with the importance of the tour; but not until the news began to pour back to the metropolitan newspapers of the reception Their Majesties were being accorded in Canada did Londoners really begin to appreciate what an epoch-making tour it was. I have been told that at first they were inclined to frown on the intimate way in which Canadians were taking the King and Queen to their hearts. They thought, perhaps, that this was being a bit too familiar. But later they caught the full significance of this new relationship between the Sovereign and his subjects, and they went "all out" in expressing their joy in the soul-stirring panorama that was unrolling itself across the Atlantic.

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——No. 4 ————————————————————————

JUST SUPPOSE —

Just suppose I should get tied up in the traffic between London and Portsmouth due to the passage of the Royal train, after having come all the way to England for the purpose of attaching myself to the Royal party! My imagination embarked on all kinds of excursions like that. As the sailing date approached, the more active and the less entertaining those excursions became. I decided to take no chances.

The day before Their Majesties were scheduled to sail I pulled out of London and travelled to Portsmouth. There I spent the night with Gordon Young, a Londoner from Reuter's who had been chosen as the representative of the United Kingdom newspapers on the tour. He proved a wonderful companion during the weeks we were together, a journalist of great experience in many parts of the world.

Portsmouth is Portsmouth and nothing else. You can scent the naval might of Great Britain in the very air you breathe. Naval barracks, warships, sailors — and football players. It was a particularly exultant Portsmouth I struck early in May, a city filled with great and inspiring events. On one Saturday its soccer team had carried off the English Cup; the next Saturday the King and Queen were to sail from there on a history-making voyage. Portsmouth was divided on which episode was the more important.

As an introduction to a personal incident, let me retrace my steps to London for a moment. In and around Westminster I had noted, not without some awe, that the men arrayed themselves in sombre black and white. They were extraordinarily consistent on that point. There were no red neckties, no purple ones and no green ones — just black, white and grey. Before I left Ottawa my wife had advised me that my grey suit, with a maroon hairline, needed a spot of colour, needed a bright-hued necktie to enliven it. She bought me one of deep maroon, with white dots. I wore it in London. I wore it when I left London.

The maroon necktie comes in later in the story. Still in London, I was advised that the London Bureau of The Canadian Press would cover the departure of the Royal party at Portsmouth, that my own duties would not begin until I was out at sea, in the *Empress of Australia*. I reasoned that since I was not to be part of the show there could be no sense in my wearing formal dress on the day of the sailing.

So, back in Portsmouth, I busied myself early looking after my baggage, strolling round the city and finally returning to the ship, to my stateroom on "B" Deck. It was here that the first promptings of uneasiness began to bother me. Even if I wasn't any part of Portsmouth's send-off, my blue shirt and maroon tie did stand out like a bump on a log. I decided to change to less gaudy attire as soon as I I had witnessed the departure ceremonies from an inconspicuous spot on the promenade deck. (I would have changed there and then, but I was afraid I might miss something.)

The spectacle was wonderful. The great docks were thronged with enormous crowds, what seemed like myriads of flags waved and fluttered everywhere, the cheers swelled continuously and died away only to swell up again. The ships in the harbour were dressed with flags and bunting. Guards from the Naval Barracks kept the loyal and enthusiastic throngs back along the jetty, where the great *Empress*, glistening white, now no longer a liner but for the purposes of this trip a Royal yacht, awaited her Royal guests.

The King and Queen, with the Princess Elizabeth and the Princess Margaret, descended from the train at the other side of the town. The train continued to the jetty, bringing Queen Mary and the other members of the Royal Family. The stately Queen Mother was greeted with an ovation that demonstrated how warmly she retains the affections of the British people. They came aboard the *Empress*.

The wave of cheering heralding the progress of Their Majesties through the town came nearer. They were on the jetty, the Guard of Honour presented arms, the crowds roared their enthusiasm from docks and rooftops. Soon Their Majesties and the Princesses walked slowly up the scarlet-adorned gangway.

"O Canada", "The Maple Leaf Forever", "Auld Lang Syne"—it was Canada's Day in Portsmouth. How the bands played, how the crowds cheered! No Canadian could witness this scene and, contemplating its significance to Canada, remain unmoved.

At last we were in the same ship as the King and Queen. There were also the two little Princesses, the Queen Mother, the Princess Royal and the Earl of Harewood, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and the Duke and Duchess of Kent. I determined to wander back to my stateroom to make myself familiar with the ship so that I wouldn't be breaking into the wrong places at the wrong time. The enormous liner seemed deserted.

Intent on the lavish furnishings of the *Empress* I walked slowly down the stairway. Suddenly, I found myself making straight for the Royal Family at the foot of the stairs. They were engaged in their farewells. It was too late to change course, too late to back up. I did the next best thing by sliding round the bottom of a companion-way and standing close against the wall.

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—Legionary———Gal. 5————Cor ————————————
—No. 4—Continued ——— — — — — — — —

W. G. Horton, official photographer for the tour, a member of the photographic staff of *The Times*, was taking a flashlight snap. As luck would have it, the first bulb burst. The King laughed. Princess Margaret said she couldn't see after it; but the Queen directed a reassuring smile at the photographer. The next shot worked. Horton, a really great photographer, tried a third for good measure; then the goodbyes continued.

The Queen Mother kissed Queen Elizabeth affectionately on both cheeks, then her son, the King, likewise. So did the Princess Royal. The two ladies-in-waiting to Her Majesty were brought into the group. The Royal brothers shook hands and the Duchesses kissed the Queen.

Their Majesties then took leave of the Princesses. It was just the kind of leave-taking that any other affectionate father and mother would bestow on two daughters from whom they were to be separated for several weeks. The Queen Mother gave Princess Margaret a final hug. The children descended the liner's elevator with their grandmother and relatives, and the King and Queen stood alone, with their suite, on the "A" Deck square.

I turned to leave, as unostentatiously as possible.

"Oh, Carnegie, there you are!"

It was Mr. Lascelles.

"You've never been presented to Their Majesties?"

I replied in a modest negative.

He took my arm and presented me — maroon tie, blue shirt and everything. Then he presented Gordon Young. Well, that was that. Nothing could be done about it then. I still think it was a nice tie — for some occasions!

My own assignment had now begun. I strolled back to the promenade deck and watched the King and Queen come to the rail, saw them wave to the crowds as the liner slowly left the jetty, watched the thousands that lined the shore, saw the great excursion steamers thronged with passengers and glistening in the bright sunshine of the mid-afternoon. They kept abeam of the *Empress*.

The light cruisers *Southampton* and *Glasgow* led the way down the Solent. When the Empress passed the great *Repulse*, that mighty battleship moved ponderously in her wake. She looked for all the world like a colossal channel catfish, with the muzzles of her huge guns pointing towards us.

The King and Queen repaired to their cabins and the Royal squadron headed along the English Channel, into the afternoon sun. The Isle of Wight appeared, and far in the distance could be seen the approaching lines of the Home Fleet. Led by the great battleships *Nelson* and *Rodney* were two rows of cruisers and destroyers, and the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal*. It looked more like a floating dry-dock than a ship. The mighty fleet hove to and waited . . . Ye Mariners of England!

Their Majesties had re-appeared and were now on the bridge. On the promenade deck, a deck steward fussed around the chairs. He drew near to the rail and gazed at the great fleet.

"I'm proud, sir, that they belong to us and don't belong to anyone else," he said with a tear in his voice. There was considerable substance to his pride. He might also have added his unspoken feeling that it was extremely fortunate this should be so, particularly in this day and generation.

Flying the flag of the Lord High Admiral, the Royal Standard and the White Ensign, the *Empress* passed between the lines. On the bridge was our King, our Sailor King, with his beautiful wife at his side. And these all were the King's ships.

The lines wheeled. Once more they passed the *Empress*, then they hove to. The capital ships had bands from whose instruments streamed the National Anthem. Buglers on the smaller vessels sounded a Royal Salute. The sailors "dressed ship" and cheered Their Majesties, after which the reverberations of 21-gun salutes thundered across the waters, taken up by each ship in turn. Overhead roared squadron after squadron of airplanes. Thus did our fellow-Britons overseas bid *bon voyage* to the King and Queen.

Gathering speed, the *Empress* throbbed her way down the Channel. The Home Fleet stayed behind, keeping watch and ward over his United Kingdom while the King was away. As the liner drove through the waves into the westering sun, the fleet, diminishing gradually in the distance, disappeared over the horizon.

Their Majesties stood a long time on the bridge. They held earnest conversation with Admiral Sir Dudley North, who was in command of the Royal squadron — the *Empress of Australia*, *Repulse*, *Southampton* and *Glasgow* — and with Captain A. R. Meikle, master of the *Empress*.

The sun was shooting long fingers of light atop the waves when Their Majesties returned to the promenade deck. They walked close together and alone as they circled the ship. They conversed quietly, earnestly. One could not but reflect upon the burdening weight of responsibility the peoples of the British Empire had imposed on this young, wholesome, serious-minded couple. And now a new duty, something without precedent in the centuries old history of the Empire, had been assumed. Was it of this the King and Queen were talking?

Daylight faded, and twilight marched swiftly along to meet the night. Still conversing, Their Majesties continued to pace round the deck. Brilliant lights punctured the blackness as the *Empress* became illuminated. Then the King and the Queen, yielding to the chill air, went inside. It was Saturday night.

— ———— — — — — — — — — — ———
——No. 5 — — — — — — — — — — ———

> "*Most heartily we beseech Thee with Thy favour to behold our Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, King George.—*
> "*We humbly beseech Thee to bless our Gracious Queen, Elizabeth.*"

The prayers are intoned every Sunday, ascending to Heaven from cathedrals whose architectural grandeur has out-lasted the centuries, from chapels and churches throughout the globe, from ships sailing the seven seas beneath the Union Jack.

On Sunday, May 7th, King George and Queen Elizabeth walked into the lounge of the *Empress of Australia* and joined in worship. They listened to Captain Meikle reading these same prayers. It was a typical divine service at sea, presided over by the ship's master and the Chief Purser, Mr. D. F. Armour.

"Preserve us from the dangers of the sea —" No thought then of the icebergs and the fog which were to retard the passage of the ship and completely upset the time schedule that had been arranged with such care and thought.

"And from the violence of the enemy —"A Europe in turmoil was falling farther astern, a continent disturbed by racial passions which had in the recent past threatened to blaze forth into war.

"That we may be safeguarded unto our Most Gracious Sovereign, Lord and King, George VI, and his Dominions, and security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions."

The King's dominions were still at peace in spite of the swirling maelstrom of hate. The ship bearing the King and Queen was pointed to one whose people strove only to cultivate the arts of peace. In that they differed not one whit from the King's subjects throughout the Empire, not one whit from the King himself.

The hymns sung at divine service were selected by the Queen. At each of the three services at sea in the *Australia* and later in the *Britain*, Her Majesty chose her favourite hymns.

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The King, dressed in a blue lounge suit, and the Queen, in a salmon-pink costume with brown fur and grey suede shoes, walked about the decks after the service. I was able to observe the leisurely manner and the dignity with which the King walked. Many times thereafter, with the eyes of thousands upon him as he moved about Canada, I watched him. The walk was always the same, unhurried, casual, something suggesting that "effortless ease" whereof someone has written, providing the people with an opportunity to see him without betraying any consciousness of the fact that he was the cynosure of all eyes.

Their Majesties left no doubt from the first morning that friendliness was to be the watchword of the voyage and of the whole trip. The King and Queen, and every member of the Royal entourage, were friendly to everyone. Seeing a new face, someone she had not met earlier in the day, the Queen inevitably would walk over to the newcomer. A warm handshake, a smiling question as to how the trip was being enjoyed, sometimes an extended and animated conversation — Her Majesty was interested in everybody.

The gallantry and chivalry with which the King surrounded the Queen were marked not only every day at sea, but throughout the tour in Canada, the United States and Newfoundland. There was the routine lifeboat drill after divine service. Their Majesties lined up like the other passengers when the siren sounded. The King scrutinized the manner in which the Queen's life belt was adjusted. Himself a sailor, and trained in the fashion and discipline of the Royal Navy, His Majesty quickly saw that the Queen's efforts would not pass muster.

"This is the way you do it," said the King, as he adjusted the straps and tightened them.

"Now, I think they will pass you," he added. They laughed heartily. His Majesty's adjustment passed inspection.

There was no question of the King being a good sailor. So also is the Queen. They revelled in the roll and plunge of the *Empress*, which was sufficiently marked to keep others of the party in their staterooms on Sunday and Monday. By Tuesday, the wind was almost a gale.

This was the day when the *Repulse* quit the escort to return home. It was a fascinating sight in mid-ocean, one in which Their Majesties took tremendous interest. Particularly were they engrossed at the dropping of the mail.

A cask, filled with letters, was dropped overboard from the *Empress*. In the heavy seas then running one wondered how that small, bobbing thing could be picked up. The liner herself was pitching and rolling high, wide and fancy; but that was nothing compared with how the mighty *Repulse* was performing.

Naval officers assured me that things weren't quite so bad on a cruiser as they looked from a bigger ship. I hope not, for the sake of the ratings in the *Repulse*. The whole forepart of the battleship would plunge under the waves, then her quarter-deck would disappear. Up she would come, with the water foaming down her sides in a white cataract.

But the crew of the *Repulse* took their stations and manned ship. They cheered Their Majesties. The band played the National Anthem, then broke into, "Here's a health unto His Majesty." Throughout this the King and Queen stood at the rail of the *Empress*, the King taking the salute.

The battleship looked like an elephant trying to catch a grasshopper as it manoeuvred to pick up the cask. The little "bobbing cork" was recovered, however, and the signal was flashed that this was so. Thereupon the mighty mass turned away. Leaving a swirling white wake that boiled far astern, the *Repulse* headed for England. Soon she was only a speck on the horizon. Then she passed out of sight.

The King and Queen continued pacing the deck, even as the gale increased. Word came from the bridge that a 60-mile an hour wind was blowing. That's a gale in any ocean. But Their Majesties were not the least disturbed. They were fascinated by the towering waves.

The wind eventually flattened into a calm. Then came the fog and ice. The fog came first — wet, piercing, chill. It swirled and blanketed the *Empress*. After days it lifted and — what is it that Coleridge has his Ancient Mariner say?

> "*The ice was here, the ice was there,*
> *The ice was all around;*
> *It cracked and growled, and roared and howled,*
> *Like noises in a swound.*"

Even if Coleridge had never been trapped in pack ice, he had the right idea. In the few minutes during which the curtain was drawn aside some of us were at the rail; and there were the bergs and the growlers, in a flat sea.

The Queen came along. Her Majesty wore a blue-grey woollen coat, with a hood like a parka over her head. She was thrilled with the spectacle. It was just like being on an Arctic expedition, she ventured. Had I ever seen icebergs before?

I informed Her Majesty that two years ago I had journeyed in the S.S. *Nascopie* on her annual cruise into the eastern Arctic Archipelago. The ship had made her customary trip to the posts of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Hudson's Bay Company, far beyond the Arctic Circle.

An American newswriter once wrote, "Give the Queen a crowd, and she mows 'em down." In any case, it is a fact that once Her Majesty has been given a lead she is away with a barrage of questions.

What did I tell her? Well, for one thing I had learned on that *Nascopie* trip that three Mounted Policemen were never stationed at one post if it were isolated in the Arctic. Usually there were two, sometimes four — never three.

That aroused Her Majesty's interest. Why was that so? I could only repeat what I myself had been told. It was that two, according to the teachings of experience, would get along in perfect friendliness. When, however, three got together, the triangle led to mischief. One would always get the notion that the other two were "ganging up" on him.

Her Majesty nodded sympathetically.

"That is just an understanding of human nature," she commented. "That is the important thing — to understand humanity. One hears a great deal about how this and that problem should be solved, when all that is needed is to study human nature."

There's a lot in that, quite a lot. Almost seven weeks later Her Majesty's words recurred to me when the tour was over and the King and Queen were being welcomed back to London. At the Guildhall luncheon the King said:

"Even in this age of machines and mass production, the strength of human feeling is still the most potent of all forces affecting world affairs." He quoted Goldwyn Smith: "Over all the world is humanity."

Does it matter whether it was the Kng's influence on the Queen, or the Queen's influence on the King? What really matters is the community of outlook of this Royal couple — one expressing it amid the ice that groaned and swished and drifted around us in the North Atlantic, the other amid the hallowed surroundings of the ancient Guildhall. The truths each expressed are as old as ice and Guildhall, as old as humanity itself.

The strong personality of the King impressed us all. His was the final word. Always his decisions were prompted by a deep concern to be of service to his subjects; and he did not spare himself. Frequently I was with the members of the Royal suite when some plan would come up for discussion. Without exception it would end — "Well, we shall talk it over with His Majesty and hear what he says."

As the ocean trip drew near to a close I felt the impression might spread in Canada that Their Majesties would be landing at Quebec fatigued from the strain of the long delay among the ice packs. In point of fact, Surgeon-Captain H. White, the King's physician, told me that except for the unfortunate alterations it caused in the arrangements

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——Legionary———Gal. 7————Cor ——————————
——No. 5——Continued ————————————————————

and the necessary curtailment of the schedule in Canada, the delay was all to the good. It gave the King an opportunity for rest that would have been impossible anywhere else. I suggested that Captain White give me an interview along these lines.

"I shall have to talk it over with Their Majesties," he replied, as he seemed to agree with me.

Later, however, he said the King and Queen thought that the very fact of their physician having seen fit to give me an interview about their health might give grounds more for anxiety than assurance. Thus it is that every day and all the time, they must weigh the interests of their subjects in everything they say and do.

Almost every night during the trip across the Atlantic Their Majesties had dinner in a private dining-room on the promenade deck with their suite and, usually, two other guests. They sat at one long table, His Majesty seated in the centre on one side, and the two ladies-in-waiting flanking him. Directly opposite was the Queen, with the two guests on either side.

As soon as dinner started, Her Majesty would engage one of the guests in conversation and continue until half the dinner was over, while one of the members of the entourage would make the other guest feel at home. When the half-way point was reached, the Queen would turn to the other guest while the first one would be looked after by his neighbour. This was an excellent arrangement, certainly preferable to the Queen attempting to carry on two conversations with both guests at the same time.

The King joined frequently in the conversations across the table and chatted with members of his staff seated near him. The informality of it all made the guests feel at home.

The guest was invited by a modest, handwritten note on a card bearing the Royal Crest from Lieutenant-Colonel Piers Legh, Equerry-in-Waiting. My invitation, which I found in my stateroom on May 10th, read:

Mr. Carnegie:—

Their Majesties would be pleased if you would dine with them tonight.

Short coat and black tie. 8:25 in the lounge.

It was signed by Col. Legh.

Throughout the tour Piers Legh seemed to manage everything just right. For 17 years he had been Equerry to the Prince of Wales and filled that position on several Empire tours. He met the guests in the lounge and an easy conversation followed with members of the staff before the King and Queen entered.

The other Equerry-in-Waiting was Commander Conolly Abel-Smith, R.N. We had at least a name in common in that his wife was a Carnegie, of the family of the Earl of Southesk. He told me much that I had never known about the history of the Carnegies. When a few months later the aircraft carrier *Courageous* was torpedoed, Commander Abel-Smith was among those rescued.

The Earl of Eldon, Lord-in-Waiting to the King, was to make many friends in Canada. This tall and handsome gentleman was ready to discuss anything from the hotels of Washington to fishing in many parts of the world.

The Earl of Airlie, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, is head of the "Bonnie House o'Airlie". Happy and carefree at times, intensely serious at times, I can still see him taking his daily dozen on the top deck. A man with a stately figure such as his had good reason to preserve it. Frequently, during the tour, his name was suggested as a likely Governor-General of Canada. Perhaps some time it may come to pass. The two ladies-in-waiting, Lady Nunburnholme and Lady Katharine Seymour, came into the lounge with the Queen.

Lady Nunburnholme, daughter of the Marquess of Bath, tall, stately, was frequently referred to in Canadian papers as the most beautiful woman in England. "I shouldn't fight with any one over calling me that, should I?" she laughingly said to me one day on the deck, and I was inclined to agree both with her remark and with the papers. She has an 11-year old son and two daughters.

Lady Katherine Seymour, youngest daughter of the Duke of Abercorn, has a winning smile and never seemed to tire of talking about Canada. Her voice and her diction were charming. She also has one son and two daughters

Reference already has been made to Mr. Lascelles, Mr. Steward, and Admiral Sir Dudley North. The Admiral's flag officer was Lt.-Commander Peter Dawney. Mr. Lascelles' assistant was Captain Michael Adeane, who has many friends in Ottawa where for two years he was A.D.C. to the Governor-General.

The two medical officers were Surgeon-Captain H. White and Surgeon-Captain Joseph A. Maxwell, both naval men.

So this was the party that nightly dined with Their Majesties together with the special guests. The menu the night I had the honour to dine with Their Majesties follows: Consommé Double Juanita; Rouget Sauté Epicurienne; Suprême de Pintade Maryland; Carré de Veau Rôti; Epinards au Jus; Carottes Vichy; Pommes Noisette; Moussé à l'Ananas; Petits fours; Savoury-Crêpes Neluskis; Corbeille de Fruits; Demi-Tasse.

The menus for luncheon and dinner each day were presented to the Queen at breakfast by the chef. The Queen made her choice and the lists were returned to the kitchen.

Frank Severgnini, chef of the *Australia*, told me he thought the King and Queen ate just the right quantities of food and the right varieties. "Most people on a ship eat too much," he said. "I would much rather cook for the King and Queen than for many passengers I have known." Six generations of Frank's family have run the same restaurant in Milan, Italy. He worked in restaurants in Paris, Monte Carlo and London before he went to sea 30 years ago.

The ship's orchestra played during the dinner and, at the conclusion, the entire party went down to the main dining-room to join the rest of the ship's company in watching a motion picture show. Afterwards the party returned to the lounge and, bidding us goodnight, the King and Queen withdrew.

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——No. 6———————— ————————————

When on Tuesday, May 16th, the great white liner was pushing her way up the St. Lawrence and nearing Quebec — not quite so fresh and glistening as when she left Portsmouth ten days before, and with many a spot on her hull where the ice had chipped off the paint — the King sent a message to Sir Edward W. Beatty, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, owners of the *Empress:—*

"The highest praise is due to the Captain of the Empress of Australia, who did his utmost to get us here on Monday, but in the execution of his duty (I as a sailor can appreciate this fact) made the safety of his ship his first consideration. We shall say goodbye to the Empress of Australia with regret and with gratitude."

This must have cheered the heart of that grand sailor, Captain Meikle, master of the *Empress*.

In the United Kingdom, and in Canada, vigorous criticisms had been directed at the ship's master, and more particularly at the Admiralty, for having exposed the liner, with the Sovereign and the Queen on board, to the dangers of the ice track in the North Atlantic. The experienced and weather-beaten Meikle had felt those criticisms keenly.

But the Sailor King did not criticise — he understood. During the three days and a half the ship was in the ice-field Captain Meikle scarcely left the bridge. Every day the King would go to him, telling him not to be worried over the delay. He talked the situation over with the master, sympathetically.

"The King talks our language," Captain Meikle told me when I came on the bridge a few minutes after His Majesty had made one of his visits.

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Admiral Sir Dudley North was actually in command of the Royal squadron. He and Lieut.-Commander Peter Dawnay, his flag officer, both travelled in the *Empress*, with a staff from the Royal Navy whose job was to signal Sir Dudley's orders to the warships.

These signals went on almost continuously — by wireless, by flags, and by powerful electric flashlights which sent the messages through the night.

Once out in the Atlantic, *Southampton* and *Glasgow* ranged on either side of the *Australia*'s stern. The *Repulse* trailed behind until she left us. In naval language this is called "keeping station." In order that the warships should keep in exactly the same station in relation to the liner, any change in speed and any change in direction had to be signalled so that all the vessels might conform.

One of the few restrictions imposed on the newspapermen on board the *Empress* was that we were not to give the position of the squadron. Undoubtedly the reason was that shipping would have altered course so as to pass in sight of the Royal Yacht.

Captain Meikle was therefore quite ready to show me the route he planned to take.

"I am going right along here," he said, drawing his finger along a route that had been plotted on the huge chart on the bridge. It was, he explained, the route he had taken on another occasion when he had carried members of the Royal Family across the Atlantic at about the same time of the year.

At all times when talking to me during the trip, Captain Meikle took full responsibility for the route he was taking. It was, therefore, quite surprising when, on reaching land, I learned that the Admiralty was being chided for the delay.

The *Duchess of York* had left Liverpool on the Friday afternoon; the *Empress of Australia* sailed from Portsmouth on the Saturday afternoon, both bound for the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Since the *Duchess* came through the English Channel, the *Empress* would be 360 miles farther south when the liners breasted the Atlantic on the Sunday.

Captain C. Richardson was master of the *Duchess*. There was something romantic about these two famous captains, Meikle and Richardson, whose lives have had so much in common, being the two to co-operate in the battle against fog and ice. This was particularly so since the *Empress* carried Their Majesties, with the whole world following the progress of the liner, while the *Duchess* was running practically bow on bow. The cruising speed of each ship was between 17 and 18 knots.

Both ships' masters belong to that rapidly disappearing race of mariners who began "in sail." In 1902 "Archie" Meikle went to sea apprenticed in the four-masted barque, *Falls of Halladale*. Richardson was mate. These two men have come a long way since then, Meikle serving during the last war in H.M.S. *Glory*, H.M.S.*Swift*, and finally H.M.S. *Repulse*. He joined the C.P.R. in 1912, and has commanded several ships of that line since.

The North Atlantic is divided into imaginary lanes from Europe to America. These begin with "A", which cuts as far south as 39.30 north latitude, below the ice-track. It is the most southerly route taken in a run between English Channel ports and New York and Canadian ports. Ranging from this northwards are "B", "C", "D", "E", "F", and "G". The last is the lane which runs from the North of Ireland into the Strait of Belle Isle. Westbound ships keep to the north of a lane; eastbound to the south.

The *Duchess of York* started on "F" lane, and the *Empress of Australia* on "D". The reason for the *Duchess* holding so far north, Captain Richardson weeks after told me, was that another ship which had left for the Gulf of St. Lawrence four days earlier had made surprisingly good progress, better, in fact, than the ice patrol reports would have led the navigator to expect. It was, of course, too early for either the *Duchess* or the *Empress* to use the Belle Isle route.

Sir Dudley North had wisely urged the advisability of moving up the date of the King's departure from May 8th to May 6th because of the uncertainty of the North Atlantic passage in the Spring. For the first few days the *Empress* steamed steadily along at 17½ knots. She was compelled to slacken down to 14 knots during the gale on the Tuesday, but that did not last long. All on board were confident that we would make the Gulf of St. Lawrence well ahead of schedule.

When the *Empress* and the *Duchess* hit the fog and ice-field the *Empress* still was about 100 miles south of her companion, yet the *Duchess* made better progress than did the *Empress*. This was one of the fortunes of the sea, just the way the ice-fields opened up.

Of course, the *Empress* could have followed "A" track and missed the ice altogether. It would have meant hundreds of miles longer to go so far south. Capt. Meikle, evidently, decided with the information from the ice patrol that this was not necessary. Then he encountered the fog, and the ice floes drifted down upon him.

I do not think he got into the ice because of any Admiralty orders or, as has been suggested, to give Their Majesties a thrill. It often happens that a ship will drift in one direction while icebergs, much deeper in the water, will drift in an opposite direction in the same sea.

At 7 o'clock on the Thursday morning, the fog settled over us. It was so dense that we could not see the *Glasgow* and *Southampton* following astern. For 20 hours we scarcely moved at all. When dead-still the *Empress* sounded two blasts of the whistle every two minutes. If any headway was possible, one blast would sound. At this everybody would brighten up, but cheerfulness would give way to depression again when the double blast once more screamed through the enveloping blanket.

The warships used their sirens with the same monotonous regularity. So the musical accompaniment to that part of the trip was the whistle overhead and the moan of the sirens.

Early on the Friday morning the fog lifted for a short time. Its brief dissipation revealed the squadron in the midst of icebergs and growlers. The liner started ahead while the visibility was good; but again we became completely shrouded; again the *Empress* stopped. The sea was so still that the wash of the water against the ice could be heard, while the icebergs threw back the echo of siren and whistle.

In the afternoon the fog again dispersed. We proceeded at five knots, weaving our way past those jagged hills of ice. The situation disclosed how justified Captain Meikle had been in keeping the ship dead-still. The King, an ardent motion picture photographer, took many shots. The Queen was intensely interested in these, and also in listening to His Majesty's explanations of the difference between icebergs and growlers.

But soon the *Empress* again became a prisoner of the elements. We stopped, and stayed motionless all through the Friday night. On the Saturday morning, when matters improved, we sighted the "father" of all the icebergs. About a quarter of a mile straight ahead was a white mass which Her Majesty's dresser said reminded her of Windsor Castle. It was a monster. The *Empress* reversed her engines, then went round it. The other side of the berg was no more attractive, for down came the curtain once more. And so the day wore on into Sunday.

Word was wirelessed that the *Duchess of York* had been able to penetrate the ice-barrier after a 14-hours' delay and was now off at full speed. This seemed encouraging for a moment. Captain Meikle turned the bow of the *Empress* north to follow the *Duchess*, but in a short while we came into pack ice. He decided not to venture it, and again the liner came about, moving forward slowly through great fields of pack ice that scoured along the side of the ship.

The cruisers followed dutifully in our wake.

In mid-afternoon, Sunday, we cleared the ice and said goodbye also to the fog. The *Empress* picked up speed and soon we were bowling along at 18½ knots, sometimes 19. We had made only 172 miles in three and a half days.

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Throughout that period Captain Meikle scarcely left the bridge. Now exhausted physically, and greatly depressed, he went to bed. The King understood thoroughly, understood both the exhaustion and the depression; and he was the soul of sympathy. His Majesty's reaction to Captain Meikle's handling of his ship was reflected in the honour he conferred on him. Captain Meikle was made a Commander of the Royal Victorian Order.

The King and Queen made the best possible use of the situation. They dealt personally with the flood of wireless messages that poured in, volumes of official communications in code, messages of good wishes from vessels all across the Atlantic. Every one was answered. Collectively, "Sparks" was the hero of the voyage. The term embraces that splendid group of men under Chief Wireless Operator J. Butler. Contributing to their work were the press messages which increased in volume as the necessity developed to reiterate assurances to the British people that, in spite of the hazards of ice and fog, all was well with their Sovereigns.

Here one must hark back to the Friday. This was the second anniversary of Their Majesties' coronation. As if to ensure proper recognition of the occasion, the fog had lifted. The accompanying cruisers emerged and fired a Royal Salute. Two years before, the King and Queen had been seated amid all the glorious pageantry in Westminster Abbey; that second anniversary saw them wrapped in deck-rugs against the penetrating chill, stationary among the icefields of the North Atlantic. But they were cheerful, smiling.

At night their routine was to attend the cinema. They saw to it that all members of the crew not actually on duty had an opportunity also to be present.

At first both the King and Queen were interested in the ice. However, as Her Majesty remarked, "One ice-floe is pretty much like another." There is no gainsaying that. The interest waned as the days went by.

But one purpose served was that Their Majesties devoted a great deal of this enforced leisure to brushing up on Canada. They saw motion pictures of life in the Dominion, and they read many books on the country.

—No. (7)

"It affords me great pleasure on entering Canadian waters to be greeted by my Canadian Navy. I thank you for the welcome you have given me, and I congratulate you warmly on the fine appearance of your ships."

This message from King George VI was wirelessed from the *Empress of Australia* on May 15th at 5.20 p.m., as, for the first time in history, the ruler of the British Empire rode in Canadian waters.

Two destroyers, H.M.C.S. *Skeena* and H.M.C.S. *Saguenay*, met the Royal squadron as it passed out of the waters of Newfoundland into the waters of Canada. This was off Cape Ray, at the south-western tip of the island.

Canada received the King and Queen in glorious sunshine, a warm contrast to the cheerless days of enveloping fog. Dressed with flags, the ships' companies aligned along the decks, the destroyers churned at high speed up to the liner. They swept past, and three deep-throated cheers rose for the King and Queen. Standing on the bridge of the *Empress*, Their Majesties listened with smiles of gratification to the welcome of the Canadian bluejackets, across the 200 yards of water. The Canadian ships passed in column on the starboard. The signal was run up from the liner: "*Skeena* and *Saguenay* join Royal escort."

In response, the destroyers attached themselves. Passing the cruisers *Southampton* and *Glasgow*, stationed respectively off the port and starboard stern of the liner, the Canadian ships wheeled outward and, at 24 knots, hurried back to take their stations, the *Skeena* off the liner's port bow and the *Saguenay* similarly to the starboard. Thus they led the escort up the Gulf until darkness set in, when they dropped behind until morning.

After many days of fog and ice, what is there more delightful than to emerge into a sea whose rippling waves are kissed by sunshine, to walk along decks dry and warm? A friendly Gulf and a friendly breeze welcomed the King at the portals of his Dominion of Canada. Early in the morning the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon hove into sight, so that the first landfall in North America was the last remaining possession on this half of the continent of Old France.

Aboard the *Empress of Australia* spirits rose high. The very air was instinct with the anticipation of the historic events that now lay in the near future. The King and Queen were on deck most of the day. They watched the *Southampton* and *Glasgow* catapult seaplanes from their decks. The machines soared high in the air and, returning, their observers brought back word that a clear course lay ahead.

Their Majesties sat in the centre of a circle of members of their suite, the press representatives and ship's officers, chatting and laughing over the difficulties that had now been surmounted. These were now part of the history of the voyage, something that had its place in the past. Canadian resourcefulness would adjust matters so that the Royal schedule would be disrupted as little as possible. Of that everyone was confident. The King and Queen joined in the general happiness of the occasion.

The Earl or Eldon and the Earl of Airlie led in the laughter and jokes. Mr. Lascelles felt the relief which the end of the uncertainty brought particularly to him.

The liner was now making full speed towards Canada. Press messages to both continents poured out from the *Empress*. George F. Steward, the chief press liaison officer, passed on our despatches. But, a newspaperman of world-wide experience, Mr. Steward adopted the attitude more of a city editor than a censor. He was himself a greatly appreciated source of news.

For us — the neswpapermen — the days of "sweet-do-nothing" were ended. The duty confronted us of despatching stories every hour. It was a case of waylaying Mr. Steward everywhere and at all times — now on the promenade deck, now in his stateroom, even at dinner. The news couldn't wait and, although to disturb him for the sake of obtaining his sanction to a story while dining with the Royal party sounds like a high crime and misdemeanour, this was done. It just had to be done. For the last few days of the voyage he might as well have been on the City Desk of a daily newspaper.

The King got a lot of fun out of our pursuit of George, especially on the Monday. I had just got one of my stories approved and was high-tailing for the wireless room when round a corner strolled His Majesty.

"Well, well!" The King smiled. "What's all this scurrying for?"

He took the copy out of my hand. He had done so several times before during the voyage. The King read the story carefully, then handed it back with a laugh.

"I don't think there is any harm in that," he pronounced.

The story was not preceded by the phrase "By Royal Approval", but it ought to have been, shouldn't it?

So that was the happy mood on board the *Empress* as the liner ploughed against the current of the Gulf. It was a joyful, infectious sort of day. The sun went down and night came on. The King and Queen attended a "movie". In the morning we had passed the cliffs of Gaspé, the ship keeping close to the south shore. A panorama of spring beauty unrolled before our eyes. The high escarpment just beyond the shoreline, the little farmhouses, the deep green of the fields merging into the deeper greens of the forests beyond presented a picture of abiding charm.

—Legionary——Gal. 9——Cor

—No. (6)——Continued

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—Letionary———Gal. 10———Cor ————————————
——No. (7)!——Continued ————————————————

The day had opened with a 21-gun salute from the cruiser *Southampton*. Rear-Admiral Edward Collins, whose flag flew on that warship, had been promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral and the salute to the King was for that reason.

Their Majesties sat on deck, observing the unrolling of hill and valley, of isolated hamlets and clustering towns. This was the Queen's first visit to Canada, and she was engrossed in the Canadian scene.

And so the *Empress* steamed up to Father Point, then hove to. The little *Jalobert*, which for many years has done duty as pilot boat at this unpretentious port, was crowded with people. Standing at the rail Their Majesties heard the first of those continuous cheers of acclaim which punctuated their entire journey through Canada and back. In the succeeding weeks these were to swell in volume as Canadians vied with each other in demonstrations of affection and loyalty for the King and Queen.

It was a procession of triumph up the mighty St. Lawrence. As night drew on, the liner charted a course closer to the north shore. Every merchantman, every freighter and tug passing down the channel had their salute for the Monarch. From both shores the bright reflection of bonfires reddened the night sky, and myriad lights twinkled on the banks. From the southwestern tip of Newfoundland to Quebec is 551 miles. Surely no country has a more impressive gateway!

This was the last night the King and Queen spent in the *Empress of Australia*. Pleasing little ceremonies were performed. Captain Meikle was honoured; many members of the crew were presented with little gifts. The Queen enjoined the recipients not to stow them away as keepsakes, but to use them.

Well before midnight, with the entire foreshore below Quebec City brilliantly illuminated with the glare of automobile headlights, the *Empress* cast anchor off the Island of Orleans. Save for the little stretch from here to Wolfe's Cove, the voyage was over — a voyage that had not been devoid of anxieties, that had been brimful of fascination, that had seen magnificent pageantry quickly merge into great simplicity, that had focussed the attention of the whole world.

In front of the King and Queen lay a long and exacting period, a program in which every scheduled minute represented a spectacle. But even contemplation of that did not subdue within Her Majesty those endearing qualities which have surrounded the Royal hearth with the simple virtues of home. It was characteristic that her thoughts should be for her children. The Queen made last-minute arrangements for J. Voce Moore, C.P.R. representative aboard the *Empress*, to take back to Buckingham Palace some dolls bought by members of the crew for the Princess Elizabeth and the Princess Margaret. Her Majesty was most specific as to details. It was thoroughly in keeping with her motherly care that next day, as she was about to leave the ship, on that historic occasion when for the first time the Sovereign and his Consort stepped on the soil of any of his overseas Dominions, she should pause just long enough to again speak with Mr. Moore and add instructions which she had overlooked the night before.

Wednesday, May 17th, broke clear and bright.

The *Empress of Australia* had lain off the Island of Orleans. Below her were *Skeena*, *Saguenay*, *Southampton* and *Glasgow*. The warships were to accompany the liner to Wolfe's Cove. They almost didn't.

On the bridge of the *Empress* Captain Meikle and the pilot decided they should hoist anchor at 8.15 a.m. instead of 8.30. This would give a little more time for the few remaining miles up-river. They issued orders accordingly.

They neglected, however, to communicate their decision to Sir Dudley North, or to Commander Dawnay.

Dawnay was shaving when, quite by accident, someone dropped word to him that the *Empress* was about to move. This good-looking, quick-thinking naval officer made a frenzied rush to the bridge. Just in time he got out his signals for the warships to take their stations, the Canadian destroyers on each side of the bow, the cruisers astern. The job had to be done fast, but done it was. And that accounted for Commander Dawnay being on the bridge of the *Empress* clad only in his pyjamas!

Never in its age-old history has the ancient city of Quebec presented so radiant a sight as on the morning of May 17th. A distinguished British newspaper-owner some years ago declared he felt extremely sorry for people born in the city of Quebec, for the reason that they could not view this lovely rock-girt city for the first time from a boat moving up the St. Lawrence. Here was a sight for Royal eyes.

Flags and streamers fluttered everywhere, a glorious vision in the sparkling sunshine. Rooftops were thronged, crowds packed the narrow, winding, steep streets, they massed along Dufferin Terrace in exuberant multitudes. It was a holiday; all Quebec was in holiday attire.

The comment of one newspaperman, prompted by a spirit of banality, was probably true: "I think every woman in Quebec is wearing a new hat."

The *Empress* moved slowly in to the wharf at Wolfe's Cove. Countless newswriters have laboured diligently over the contrast between this arrival of Britain's King at the base of these grey cliffs and that of the great soldier whose name this peaceful little bay bears. One hundred and eighty years of Canada's history became entirely concentrated in the event that was now unfolding.

There was no hitch as the tugs assisted the liner to the wharf, as the huge vessel was warped and the gangways laid ashore.

All was now ready. Their Majesties tour of Canada, in the preparation of which so much time, effort and attention had been devoted, was about to begin. With buoyant heart, and spirits aglow with loyal enthusiasm, the people of Canada waited to give King George and Queen Elizabeth, their own Sovereigns, a welcome to be cherished throughout their lives.

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——No. (8) — — — — — — — — ——————

King George had come to his realm of Canada. In theory, in law, and, above all, in fact, he had been King of Canada from the moment he ascended the British Throne. But this was to be the first occasion when he actually and in person performed functions as the Sovereign of this Dominion.

The resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, approved by the various Parliaments of the Empire, supplemented by the Statute of Westminster of 1930, made the clear King's position in relation to the Overseas Dominions.

"They (the Dominions) are autonomous communities within the British Empire," the resolution says, "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Whether the resolution and the statute changed the relationship between the King and this Dominion, or merely defined it, is a matter for constitutional lawyers to argue about. And they do. But there is no doubt that they did define it.

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After the Imperial Conference has decided on the Statute of Westminster, Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, had an audience of King George V. Is it debatable whether the late monarch should have been properly styled King George I of Canada? While the Union of the Crowns in 1603 is not exactly a precedent, one recalls that James VI of Scotland became James I of England. Certainly he was the first George to reign over the Dominion of Canada. Of course, it would have been extremely inconvenient to have had the late Sovereign the First in one place and the Fifth in other; and, whatever the British peoples may be blamed for, they can never be accused of pressing logic to the point of inconvenience.

In any case, Mr. Mackenzie King had a long talk with King George V on that occasion. Probably few will ever know what it was all about, but anything I've heard of it indicates it was a happy one. The King took kindly to the equal status of the Dominions with the Motherland, even if some of the aristocracy did not.

The Prime Minister is said to have told His Majesty that the Canadian people were as much his subjects as those in the United Kingdom, and the King was pleased that this was so.

Almost a decade had passed since then, another George was on the British throne, and he was to find by personal contacts how true were the words his father had heard from Canada's Prime Minister. Not only were Canadians just as much his subjects as those in the British Isles, but in their unbounded loyalty they gave King George and Queen Elizabeth a welcome that was typical of Canada.

That welcome was wholly different, so far as the masses were concerned, from what Their Majesties were wont to experience at home. But when all is said and done, Canadians are under no compulsion to do things within the same rigid groove as in the Old Country. Our welcome was characteristic of this Dominion; and the charming part of it was that the King and Queen gave us the lead in making it typically Canadian.

Precedent after precedent was set on that tour, by the Monarch and by the welcoming Canadians. The reaction of Their Majesties can be very warmly credited with the trend which their reception took.

But let it not be assumed for a moment that there was an absence of dignity, or that the heart-warming attitude of the Canadian throngs was prompted by any feelings of disrespect or lack of a sense of the fitness of things.

"If any chap had even muttered one word off-colour we'd have torn him to bits," was the comment of a war veteran in Ottawa after Their Majesties had lost themselves deep in the heart of the delirious thousands milling around the National War Memorial. Let there be no doubt on that point. I know our War Veterans sufficiently well to appreciate that that is exactly what they would have done. You can't fool with these fellows. They're a good-natured, jovial crowd, filled with generous impulses; but when they're assigned to a job they have a habit of doing it right, and guarding Their Majesties was something right up their alley.

Coming over in the *Empress of Australia*, the King and Queen seemed to enjoy casting aside that aloofness which the institution of monarchy imposes on them in public. They wanted to have everyone feel quite at home, quite free. They chatted and laughed with the people they met—just a wholesome, friendly pair. When dignity and stateliness were required, the Sovereigns displayed these qualities in full measure.

Let us take a look at that morning when they landed at Quebec, the historic May 17th. The eyes of the whole world were on them. They met that situation in a manner that befitted the ruler of this great Empire and his Royal wife. The King, in the full dress of an Admiral of the Fleet, and the Queen, gloriously gowned, awaited Canada's Prime Minister and the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Justice. They stood in the magnificently appointed lounge of the *Empress*. Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. Lapointe ascended the elevator, both clad in their uniforms of Privy Councillors, accompanied by members of the Royal suite.

The Prime Minister bowed low as he took the King's outstretched hand.

"Welcome, Sir, to Your Majesty's realm of Canada," he said.

To the Queen:

"Welcome, Ma'am, to Canada."

Mr. Lapointe added his greetings. There was a short conversation, the taking of many flashlights. Then they proceeded to disembark. They walked slowly down the gangway.

It was one of the proudest moments in all the history of Canada, a moment that had often flitted like a fugitive thought through the mind of millions of Canadians, who had hoped that some day the Sovereign might visit them. And now that vagrant wisp of hope had become reality. That long line of monarchs from which King George descends had their day—a great, momentous day. They had graced occasions which gleam through the pages of history, which stirred the soul. But who among them had a greater moment than King George VI when, to the delirious acclaim of the whole Empire, he walked down the carpeted path from the *Empress of Australia* and set foot on the soil of Canada?

That was dignity, a kindly, joyous dignity; and it had that touch which went straight to the heart. Properly enough, the Queen provided it. They were mid-way between ship and shore, the guns were thundering their Royal Salute, the thousands thronging every coign of vantage at Wolfe's Cove were cheering in a volume that nearly drowned the roar of the artillery, when Her Majesty was heard to say to the King: "I think they like us." And her eyes gleamed with happiness.

With what acclaim French Canada greeted the Monarch has been recorded and reiterated many times. Newspapermen exhausted their superlatives trying to find words adequate to the occasion. We who strive to follow sympathetically the mental processes of our French-speaking compatriots, who appreciate the endearing qualities of generosity and hospitality which are theirs in great measure and who understand the tenacity with which they cling to a culture which through the centuries developed parallel to our own, which is as ancient as ours and in every respect is the natural complement of ours, beheld in in the warmth of French Canada's welcome the vindication of our own confidence. Quebec touched off the match which fired the whole Dominion.

* * *

When the King and Queen left London, the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Great Britain, was at the station to bid them farewell. When they reached Quebec, the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, was there to bid them welcome. That is the way of the British Empire. King George takes the advice of Mr. Chamberlain in the United Kingdom and of Mr. Mackenzie King in Canada.

The Canadian Prime Minister accompanied Their Majesties throughout their entire tour of Canada and the United States. The agility with which he would hop off the Royal train while it was still in motion so that he would be ready to present local officials to the King and Queen, never seeming to tire, was a constant source of amazement to those who had an opportunity to watch him.

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The afternoon the Royal train stayed over at London, Ont., I got a note from the Prime Minister saying that he wanted to see me later. It was midnight before the train pulled alongside the pilot train on which I was riding. I made my way to Mr. Mackenzie King's car. He was up waiting for me and told me he wanted to make sure I would be accompanying the King and Queen on the return trip in the *Empress of Britain*. There had been a suggestion I would not go back.

It was arranged I should make the return trip and the Prime Minister told me the King and Queen were both anxious I should do so. But what I started out to tell was that, despite the exceedingly heavy day, Mr. King appeared fresh at the end of it. He seemed just as fit when Their Majesties sailed from Halifax on June 15th as he did on this eventful morning when at old Quebec he welcomed them to Canadian soil.

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Since this is not a history of the Royal tour but personal observations, more or less fragmentary, we shall not embark on day-by-day accounts of the welcome Canada extended to King George and Queen Elizabeth. So many vivid descriptions have been given that it is not necessary to repeat them. However, to refresh our memories and form a clothesline on which to hang the chapters to follow, let us hurriedly peruse these glimpses.

May 17th

Quebec—British Sovereign on Canadian soil. Ancient Capital roars a welcome to George and Elizabeth. Dominion government state luncheon. All privy councillors attend. Official greetings by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Senator Raoul Dandurand. King George broadcasts to Dominion. Premier Maurice Duplessis presides at provincial state banquet.

May 18th

Royal train starts long journey. Bands and crowds at Trois-Rivières.

Montreal—Two millions cheer along 22-mile tour of city. Mayor Camilien Houde, presides at Civic banquet. Tremendous ovation on Dominion Square.

May 19th

Ottawa—King and Queen in Senate Chamber. King gives Royal Assent to bills. Their Majesties meet the Press. Royal couple stay at Government House.

May 20th

Ottawa—King views trooping of colour on Parliament Hill. Queen lays corner stone of Supreme Court building. Garden Party at Government House. Parliamentary Banquet.

May 21st

Ottawa—King unveils National War Memorial. Uproarious farewell as Royal train pulls out.

Alexandria, Cornwall, Morrisburg, Prescott, Brockville—everywhere great crowds. Kingston in the early evening. (Kingston had so many things to show the visitors they overstayed the schedule). Belleville, and the night at Cobourg.

May 22nd

Toronto—Premier Mitchell Hepburn extends Ontario's welcome at Queen's Park. Their Majesties meet the Dionne quintuplets. The King's Plate is run at Woodbine. Toronto's parade is 23 miles long. Cheering crowds all the way. Queen presents colour to Toronto Scottish.

May 23rd

Royal train heads north into lake country. Ontario highlands just bursting into spring. Groups of people at every crossing and crowds at every station.

White River—George Freethy is elected "Mayor" on station platform when a tour official said the King and Queen would meet the mayor, and White River hadn't any.

Schreiber—King gets word the Queen Mother was in a motor accident.

Port Arthur and Fort William—Twin cities gave lusty welcome. Ojibway Indians join. American visitors from Duluth form motorcade.

May 24th

At Kenora 5,000 people stand silent at 2 a.m. as Royal train moves through.

Winnipeg—King and Queen unheed the rain. Civic welcome at City Hall. Manitoba's welcome read by Premier John Bracken at Legislative Buildings. King George broadcasts to British Empire on Queen Victoria's birthday. Patrick Ashley Cooper, Governor of Hudson's Bay Company, pays ancient Royal rent—two elk heads and two black beaver pelts.

Brandon—Picturesque welcome at night.

May 25th

Regina—Great arches covered with sheaves of golden wheat. Premier W. J. Patterson extends Saskatchewan's welcome in Legislative Buildings. Their Majesties have tea at R.C.M.P. barracks with Asst. Commissioner C. D. LaNauze, his officers and their wives. Dinner at Government House. Moose Jaw late at night

May 26th

Medicine Hat in the morning.

Calgary—A bright afternoon. Indians, cowboys, cowgirls, and a great cheering populace join in the greeting. Mayor Andrew Davison extends a civic welcome. Their Majesties meet Indian chiefs. Royal party now deep in the west and the informality of the prairie welcome delights the King and Queen.

Through the foothills and into Banff late in the evening.

May 27th

Banff—Their Majesties enjoy first rest since leaving Quebec. Bracing air and awe-inspiring scenery of towering Rockies.

May 28th

Church service at Banff, then the Royal Couple again are on their way. Revelstoke, Kamloops.

May 29th

Vancouver—Restless, ambitious city of the Pacific, with its great bridges, its world-wide shipping, its parks and flower gardens, give the Royal visitors a truly Royal and spontaneous welcome.

Canadian destroyer escort accompanies the *Princess Marguerite* in which the King and Queen set sail for Victoria. Great flotilla of small boats give the liner demonstrative send-off as far as Active Pass. Victoria late at night. The King and Queen spend the night at Government House.

May 30th

Victoria—Premier T. D. Pattullo extends British Columbia's welcome in stately Legislative Buildings behind flower-edged lawns. King George presents the colour to the Western Command of the Royal Canadian Navy—the first presentation of a colour ever made by a British sovereign to naval forces outside United Kingdom. Government luncheon at Empress Hotel.

May 31st

S.S. *Prince Robert* carries Their Majesties back to Vancouver. "Could I buy one of those islands," the Queen asks Captain H. E. Nedden, the ship's commander, as it passes through the beautiful scenery of the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

The Royal couple motor to New Westminster and again take Royal train. At Chilliwack late in the afternoon. Then begins the long climb to Jasper.

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Here let's have an interlude.

The Royal train was climbing through the mountains from Chilliwack to Jasper. Night had fallen when it pulled into a station to be serviced. A little group of people from many miles around in that almost uninhabited district had collected, knowing the train would stop. Perhaps they would see the King and Queen. Their hope was gratified.

The King and Queen stepped down from their car and the group sent up a cheer that echoed back from the grim mountain-side. Their Majesties shook hands with each person and made conversation. Then stillness gripped the situation. It was so still the noise of the men checking the coaches could be heard the length of the train

On every side in the darkness could be seen the shadowy outlines of the towering peaks which cluttered up the skyline. Then from behind one of the peaks the moon drifted out. It was so beautiful that all turned to watch it. A young man with a rich tenor voice broke the silence as he started to sing softly "When the moon comes over the mountain." It sounded sweet in that great calm. Others joined in the refrain and sang louder when they noticed the King and Queen were singing. The Royal couple bid the group good-bye, the train moved on while the moon shone on the little group that waited behind.

* * *

Now back to the glimpses.

June 1st

The King and Queen up early to see Mount Robson in distance. It's the monarch of Canadian rockies. It rears its glacier-capped head 12,972 feet. As if resenting the presence of another monarch, its peak is enveloped in clouds.

Jasper in the forenoon. The King and Queen occupy a long cabin, the "Outlook." They drive up to Edith Cavell Glacier and see a snow-storm. Bear, moose and mountain sheep wander about in this game preserve.

June 2nd

Back on the prairies.

Edmonton—Premier Aberhart extends Alberta's welcome. Two six-tier grandstands, each 2¼ miles long, on Edmonton's broad but houseless avenue, a reminder of more prosperous days, accommodates 68,000 cheering Canadians.

June 3rd

Wainwright in the morning.

Melville—a great night show.

June 4th

Portage la Prairie—Divine service.

A short stop at Winnipeg, and the Royal train is in Sioux Lookout in the evening, back in Ontario. A marvellous send-off.

June 5th

Coppercliff—The King and Queen descend nickel mine here. Sudbury in the evening.

June 6th

Possibly more people see Their Majesties this day than any other on Canadian tour. They pass through rich farming and industrial communities of Western Ontario — Guelph, Kitchener, Stratford, Windsor. Back to London late at night. At all these and many intervening stations crowds mass along the tracks. Windsor has one of the greatest crowds of the visit.

June 7th

Another big day—London, Ingersoll, Woodstock, St. Catharines, from where the King and Queen motor to Niagara Falls. Here, within sound of the great cataract, is a welcome in which American citizens join with the King's own subjects. Late at night the Royal train crosses the border on its way to Washington.

June 8th to 10th

In the United States.

June 12th

Royal train returns to Canada. Sherbrooke, Lévis, Rivière-du-Loup.

June 13th

Newcastle, N.B., in the forenoon. Their Majesties motor to Fredericton—a glorious ride amid the far-famed lakes and rivers. Premier Dysart welcomes Their Majesties in the name of New Brunswick. Luncheon at Beaverbrooke Hall.

Saint John—Their Majesties arrive on a specially provided train. This ancient city does itself proud. Back on the Royal train. Sussex.

Moncton—A tremendous crowd. Dorchester, Sackville, and Cape Tormentine for the night.

June 14th

On the destroyer *Skeena* to Charlottetown.

Charlottetown—Premier Thain A. Campbell delivers Prince Edward Island's welcome in the historic Legislative Chambers, a gem of a building. Luncheon at Government House. In afternoon Royal party leaves on the *Skeena* for Pictou. Arrive in early evening. New Glasgow.

June 15th

Truro in the morning, where Lord and Lady Tweedsmuir join the Royal party.

Halifax—Always this proud city does things well. Its historical pageant, its street decorations, its natural beauty and its historical background make a glorious ending for the Canadian tour. Premier Angus L. Macdonald extends official welcome of Nova Scotia. The Queen broadcasts to Canadian people. The visit is over. This world-famous harbour give the King and Queen on the bridge of the *Empress of Britain* a truly historic send-off.

* * *

The Dominion cabinet ministers accompanied Their Majesties on the Royal train through their respective provinces in accordance with the following schedule:

The Hon. Senator Dandurand—Quebec to Ottawa.

The Hon. Fernand Rinfret—Quebec to Montreal.

The Hon. Norman Rogers—Ottawa to Kingston.

The Hon. C. D. Howe—White River to Fort William, Ont., and from Winnipeg to Sudbury.

The Hon. T. A. Crerar—Winnipeg to Brandon, Man., Portage la Prairie to Winnipeg and at Banff.

The Hon. James G. Gardiner—Broadview to Moose Jaw, Sask., and from Biggar to Melville, Sask.

The Hon. J. A. MacKinnon—Medicine Hat to Banff and Jasper to Edmonton.

The Hon. Ian Mackenzie—Field via Vancouver and Victoria to New Westminster.

The Hon. W. D. Euler—Sudbury via Toronto to Stratford.

The Hon. Norman McLarty—Stratford via Windsor to St. Catharines.

The Hon. P. J. Arthur Cardin—St. John's to Lévis, Que.

The Hon. C. G. Power—St. John's to Rivière-du-Loup.

The Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe—Lévis to Rivière-du-Loup.

The Hon J. E. Michaud—Rivière-du-Loup via Saint John to Moncton.

The Hon. Charles A. Dunning—Cape Tormentine, N.B., via Charlottetown to Pictou, N.S.

The Hon. J. L. Ilsley—Pictou to Halifax.

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Now for some of the great moments on that history-making pageant that rolled across Canada and back again. The eyes of the world were on this Dominion. News of the progress of the Royal tour went to the uttermost marches of the King's empire. It brought joy and pride wherever the Union Jack flies.

"I think I know as much about Canada as if I had been there," said a woman who waited at Buckingham Palace to welcome their Majesties back. "I read so much in our own papers and then I was sent Canadian papers. Wasn't is all so wonderful?"

It was a moment of historic significance when the King and Queen at 10.30 a.m. on May 17th stepped on Canadian soil—at Wolfe's Cove, overlooked by the grim citadel at Quebec. George VI was the first British monarch to place foot in any British Dominion.

Also at Quebec was the first state function of the tour, the luncheon in the lavishly appointed dining-room of the Chateau Frontenac where the Privy Councillors of the Dominion and their wives were assembled about Their Majesties.

Members of a Dominion cabinet become Privy Councillors, but when a cabinet resigns, its members retain their Privy Council status. Accordingly, at this luncheon were men who had served as ministers of the crown under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Robert Borden, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Rt. Hon, Mackenzie King in his first government, Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, and the present cabinet. The doyen of the Privy Council, Sir William Mulock, could not attend. This veteran jurist was indisposed, but he met Their Majesties in Ottawa.

The function was completely bilingual. To the boundless delight of French Canada, His Majesty's response to the Royal toast was couched in both English and French. His words went far beyond the walls of the Chateau Frontenac. They were broadcast throughout the world. With pleasure one listened to the King's clear-cut phrases, his rich, resonant voice. They brought a wistful recollection of those addresses which his father, King George V, was wont to deliver from Sandringham on Christmas Day.

In the galleries many wealthy Americans, who had made reservations at the Chateau Frontenac, looked down on this historic event. An American correspondent seated beside me murmured, "I never thought I'd see the day when I would be seated at a luncheon with Royalty, with the cream of New York's Four Hundred having to look down from the galleries."

A tour of Quebec followed; then a dinner by the Provincial Government, presided over by the Hon. Maurice Duplessis; then the night spent in the famous old Citadel which is the summer home of the Governor-General of Canada.

It had been a day which Their Majesties said they would long remember, one in which they began to feel the spirit of Canada, to grasp the extent to which their visit had seized the imagination of the people and has removed all the barriers that pent up their emotions.

It was fitting that this first day in Canada should have introduced the King and Queen to the prime, inalienable fact of this Dominion — the fact that it is peopled by two predominant races, living harmoniously side by side, moved by ideals which are common in every respect, but approached along avenues so acceptably different.

Bidding farewell to Quebec, the King and Queen on May 18th embarked on the Royal train for that long tour of Canada.

Another great occasion was the 22-mile procession through Montreal.

More than a million of their subjects greeted them in the eastern metropolis. Doubtless never before had Their Majesties seen such a variety of flags and uniforms. They saw soldiers attired very much as those in England—white-helmeted, clad in scarlet tunics and blue trousers; Canadian Highlanders in feather bonnets and kilt; but they also saw thousands of other—Knights of Columbus with black capes and scarlet linings, Papal Zouaves, a score of school cadet corps each in distinctive dress, impressive uniforms of French-Canadian societies, Nurses, Boy Scouts, Sea Scouts, Girl Guides, and Great War Veterans wearing distinctive berets.

There was no disunity among French and English in the cordiality of the welcome here. The King was the common bond. At the civic dinner in the Windsor Hotel Montreal's vigorous and colourful mayor, Camillien Houde, presided. Volumes could be written of that evening in Dominion Square, packed with citizens—and some estimates have soared as high as 75,000—who went delirious with delight when Their Majesties made their appearance on the balcony of the Windsor Hotel. It was an exhausting day.

Late at night the Royal train pulled out and, after a short run, rested until morning on the siding at Caledonia Springs, Ont., on the way to Ottawa. I was informed that both the King and Queen rested comfortably: they were pleased with the conveniences of those fine, air-conditioned coaches.

Their Majesties were to spend many nights on that train. As far as possible the train stood on some siding as the King and Queen slept. On a few occasions however it ran throughout the night.

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The elaborate program originally planned for the visit to the federal capital had to be somewhat curtailed because of the delay in arrival at Quebec. At that the King and Queen were in Ottawa from Friday forenoon until Sunday afternoon, and several other cities voiced the complaint that the Dominion government had planned it so that Ottawa would grab off more than its share of the time Their Majesties would be in Canada.

Without going into that complaint all Canadians will agree that the Ottawa visit furnished not only all the stateliness with which the federal capital was able to surround the occasion, but drama as well. The whole city was transferred into a fairyland.

British peoples surround their monarchs with a wealth of dignity, with a pageantry which the centuries have enriched, old but always new. Tradition is woven into the whole fabric of their institutions. In Ottawa all that these things mean was emphasized to the full. The high-water mark was reached when in the afternoon the King and Queen rode to the Parliament Buildings. There, in the stately Senate Chamber, on his Canadian Throne, the King performed, for the first time in this Dominion's history, one of the functions associated with Parliamentary government. He gave assent to several pieces of legislation, among them the Canada-United States Trade Treaty.

It had been hoped that His Majesty might prorogue Parliament; but this could not be done. There was too much business to be dealt with, and Parliament was not disposed to be too much pushed. This, to some degree, illustrates what lies behind that annual gesture of independence that Parliament makes on the day of the Opening. After the Royal Speech from the Throne has been read to the assembled parliamentarians in the Senate, and both Houses are once more seated in their separate chambers, the Speaker of each announces that he has received a copy of the Royal Speech. Before he can do anything about

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it, however, the House Leader rises and asks for leave to introduce a bill. Permission is granted, the bill is introduced and given first reading. That bill is no more heard of during the session; but the gesture is there: Parliament asserts its right to attend to its own affairs before proceeding with the King's business. Of course, it is merely a gesture, quite empty for all practical purposes; but it is one of those interesting things that have descended through the centuries.

During these three strenuous days the King and Queen had established many precedents. This was naturally so, consequent as it was upon the first visit a ruling Sovereign had made to one of his overseas Dominions. In every way they had acted in conformity with the customs and procedure of the Motherland. Now they were to do things that cut through custom and tradition.

It was a happy combination of circumstances which found Alan Lascelles in the role of the King's Private Secretary. Few Englishmen were better acquainted with Canada. When he came to this country in the winter of 1939 with the object of planning the tour, the question of a meeting between Their Majesties and the working newspapermen of Canada was broached. Such a function was unknown in the United Kingdom: the Sovereign just didn't meet the press. But a great deal of earnest thought was applied to the suggestion.

The Governor-General, Lord Tweedsmuir, pondered the matter. Canada has had few incumbents of that high office who grasped with such sympathy and understanding the thoughts and motives of the Canadian people, who gave such a wholesome stimulus to Canadian life. His Excellency held the King in warmest affection; and that feeling was reciprocated with equal warmth. In the Lady Tweedsmuir, Canada has a friend the cordiality of whose sentiments are not second to that of her late distinguished husband. Lord Tweedsmuir's wealth of world experience and his concentrated study of Canada since he came here in November, 1935, made his advice on matters affecting the Royal visit especially valuable. In no phase was it more so than in the relations between Their Majesties and the press.

And so the newspaper correspondents were invited to a reception all their own at Rideau Hall. Nearly 120 newswriters attended. Members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, the local newspapers and the passengers on the Pilot train drove down to Government House. Some wore formal attire, others did not. Many of the reporters were obliged to take time off their daily "beat" to be present.

It was all delightfully informal. The newswriters formed a circle in one of the big salons of Government House. The King and Queen came among them, with introductions performed by Walter Thompson, who had charge of press arrangements. Their Majesties chatted, the Queen asking innumerable questions, the King making passing comments that indicated he was not unfamiliar with the stories the reporters were sending out. Mr. Thompson's uncanny memory was revealed there. Without a slip he presented every one, giving the name and the newspaper, or the news agency, in each case. Quite a few of them he had met that day for the first time.

The King smiled when Dixon of the New York News voiced his admiration in the language of the tabloid. "You're right in there punching," said Dixon. "I don't know how you can take it." The expression was entirely foreign to His Majesty, but he appreciated that the New Yorker was paying him a compliment.

This reception clinched the relations between the Sovereign and the newspapermen.

"Let Adolf bring on his war," commented a war veteran correspondent from Western Canada. That seemed to be about it. The engaging personality of the King and the vivacious charm and naturalness of the Queen sank deep into the hearts of the press men. The Canadians were proud to listen to the warm praises of their United States confrères, proud to have it thus demonstrated that the good people below the international boundary have no corner on Democracy.

The reception was also an eye-opener for the "little men of little soul" whose attitude towards the press is the measure of their own insignificance.

Saturday, May 20th, was the King's Birthday—or, to put it more accurately, it was the day on which by Royal Decree His Majesty's birthday was celebrated. King George was actually born on December 14th. In London one of the spectacular displays which feature the celebration is the ancient military pageant of "Trooping the Colour." Not to be outdone by London, Ottawa decided to give His Majesty a little home touch by staging this ceremony, and two regiments of Canadian Guards were called upon to carry out the exercise.

For the capital city it was a magnificent exhibition. From Montreal came the Canadian Grenadier Guards, commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. R. Phelan, D.S.O., M.C., to reinforce the Governor-General's Foot Guards of Ottawa, whose Commanding Officer was Lieut.-Colonel W. C. Wurtele, M.C. In charge of the Brigade was Colonel Gilbert S. Stairs, M.C., Montreal, while in attendance upon His Majesty was Colonel C. Beresford Topp, D.S.O., M.C., commander of the troops in the Ottawa District.

Parliament Hill—the majestic sweep of greensward which forms the foreground to the Parliament Buildings—was the *locale* of the ceremony. It had been turned into a veritable fairyland with clustering banners and streamers and standards, and around the parade ground assembled the citizens in their thousands. The setting was ideal for such a happy occasion. Conscious of the fact that the eyes not only of Canada but of the whole world were on them, the soldiers carried out the intricate evolutions of this time-honoured ceremony with a precision that merited and received the warmest praise from the King.

It is commonly known that some members of His Majesty's entourage were frankly incredulous, that they thought they were being spoofed, when told that the troops were militia regiments—the equivalent in Canada of the British Territorials—and not regular soldiers.

"I have rarely seen the ceremony done better," was the King's observation to Colonel Topp. His Majesty, being the First Gentleman of the Empire, would naturally say something courteous; but unquestionably he meant it, for the manner in which the Guardsmen rose to a brilliant occasion was one of the enduring memories of an altogether great show.

In the afternoon, following the placing of the corner stone of the Supreme Court by Queen Elizabeth, the Royal visitors lunched with the Prime Minister at historic Laurier House. It was a cheery, homelike little function, followed by an unheralded motor drive beyond the outskirts of the city. The King and Queen wanted to see something of Ottawa's famous driveways and of the surrounding countryside. This pleasant interlude preceded the return of Their Majesty's to Rideau Hall where five thousand of the city's notables were assembled for the Royal Garden Party.

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This was one of those many delightful occasions when, without formality of any kind, the King and Queen mingled with their guests and chatted freely with all and sundry. His Majesty cut his own birthday cake—all three of them. They were magnificent pieces of the confectioner's architecture, products into which had gone all the art of Morrison and Lamothe. The guests were thoughtfully given pieces to take with them, and many an Ottawa home continues to preserve the vestigial crumbs of what was the Royal Birthday Cake.

* * *

The King and Queen had caught the spirit of the Canadian welcome; and they liked it. Everything so far had paved the way for that tremendous break with tradition which followed the Unveiling of the National War Memorial on Sunday, May 21st. The ceremony had been impressive in its simplicity—one of the most beautiful services ever to have taken place in Canada. It is now no secret that, at its close, His Majesty was to walk round the Monument, passing along the ranks of about 2,000 war veterans who had been posted there for that purpose. Before the ceremony he had informed Brigadier W. W. Foster, Dominion President of The Canadian Legion, that he would do so, and requested the veterans' leader to accompany him.

Conforming so far to the schedule, the King and Queen circled the Monument. They walked among the amputation cases, shaking hands, chatting, uttering words of appreciation and encouragement. This was all right. The veterans, roused to great heights of loyal enthusiasm, began to surge forward.

Their Majesties walked slowly down the broad steps of the Monument, alone, the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, other cabinet ministers and members of the Royal entourage at a respectful distance in rear. The Royal car had been drawn up, and expectation was that Their Majesties would ascend and drive off.

Nothing of the sort. A cheering, happy throng of many thousands of beretted war veterans beckoned them. The King smiled to Her Majesty. Instead of embarking in their automobile, they walked slowly across the square in front of the Monument, heading straight for the crowd. As soon as it became apparent what was afoot, the throng went delirious with delight.

Straight into the multitude they went. The veterans cleared their own laneways, constituted themselves the Royal guard. Flustered attendants tried to make their way to the King and Queen; but their efforts were in vain. Alone Their Majesties lost themselves in the dense crowd, enjoying the tremendous cheers and the shouts of delight.

A Minister of the Crown, his brows furrowed with anxiety, turned to the Governor-General.

"It's these darned Scotsmen who're doing all this," he growled. "As soon as the Queen hears a Scots burr she's off like a shot."

His Excellency beamed contentedly and nodded:

"That's right," he replied, "the woods are full of them."

His Excellency's understanding of the Canadian idiom was comprehensive.

But even in the midst of this happy crowd the King was thoughtful of Her Majesty. All through the ceremony the veterans' Guard of Honour had stood stiffly at attention. They had seen the King pass along their ranks, but had had little opportunity to see the Queen, who was now behind them.

"Turn your Guard about, Gregg," he said to Major Milton F. Gregg, V.C., Commander of the Guard. "Perhaps the men would like to see the Queen."

This was done.

The King and Queen were enjoying their escape from rigid formality. That was obvious. It was equally obvious that those responsible for Their Majesties' safety were not enjoying themselves one bit. Not that they contemplated any untoward happening; but individuals who get lost in a throng of approximately 75,000 people are not so comfortable as those who don't. Many of the attendant staff were nearly distracted.

"Where on earth is she going now?" moaned a gorgeously uniformed member of the Royal entourage, who had lost sight of the Queen in the crowd.

"I don't know," replied a voice immediately beside him, and a soft chuckle accompanied it. The staff officer looked round to expostulate. It was the King.

The Earl of Airlie battled his way valiantly through this good-natured, cheering crowd to the Queen's side.

"May I suggest that Your Majesty turn back now?"

Her Majesty bestowed on him a gracious smile—and continued straight ahead.

Nothing Their Majesties had done since they arrived in Canada so thrilled Canadians as this spectacle. No one thought of any mishap for, as one newswriter aptly put it, Their Majesties were then right in the middle of the most loyal and most devoted Guard of Honour they had ever had—thousands of cheering war veterans. The King and Queen entrusted themselves to their people; and that gesture of trust and confidence strengthened one thousand-fold the attachment of Canadians to the Throne.

In the afternoon they left for Kingston. It was a simple leave-taking, just like two ordinary folk saying goodbye to friends before embarking on a journey. Nothing could have been more moving. They stood on the rear platform of the railway-coach, leaving Ottawa with the strains diminishing in the distance of that song of yearning, "Will ye no' come back again."

* * *

The Royal Party were in Toronto next day.

While they were receiving the Dionne Quints in the Parliament Buildings I stood behind the place. A woman emerged from the west entrance. She was dressed in white and moved with simple dignity. Ascending the side-car of a motor bicycle, she drove away, the vehicle operated by a police officer. They speeded along the Queen's Park driveway in the direction of Hart House.

Since the Queen was expected at Hart House, the soldiers and cadets lining the route were waiting patiently. The lady in the side-car whizzed past. The band played the National Anthem, the soldiers presented arms, and the crowd cheered. But it wasn't the Queen; it was Mrs. Ralph A. Day, wife of Toronto's Mayor!

The mistake discovered, the inevitable discussions followed. In front of me were two men. Said the first, disgustedly:

"Imagine these guys thinkin' the Queen would ride in a side-car."

"Sure she'd ride in a side-car," retorted the second. "Didn't ya see what she done in Ottawa."

The incident revealed that Canadians were now prepared for anything; and if Her Majesty had driven past in a side-car they wouldn't have batted an eyelash. Furthermore, I'm convinced that if the program had called for the Queen to ride in a side-car, she wouldn't have batted an eyelash either.

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People from one end of the Dominion to the other sensed the intimate relationship which had developed between Their Majesties and their Canadian subjects and all were delighted. When the Sovereign left his capital and proceeded through his provinces he went forth to a people well content with their Monarch and his smiling Queen.

The rich and proud city of Toronto welcomed them among its skyscrapers. Where stateliness and dignity were required, George and Elizabeth were regal in every move. When they went to the races at Woodbine Park to see the King's Plate run the ceremonial would have done credit to Ascot. The horses ran for the King's Guineas, the oldest race on the North American continent to be run annually.

The Queen presented Colours to the Toronto Scottish Regiment with the dignity that befitted the occasion, yet with a warm-hearted smile. In stately manner they proceeded through the gaily-decorated streets for 23 miles, with many a happy greeting, many a wave of the hand. But down among the people they were a friendly young couple who liked their subjects and wanted their subjects to like them.

Right across Canada it was the same. The King and Queen responded naturally to the typically western, open-hearted welcome they received in Winnipeg, where men and women, and particularly children, of many racial backgrounds greeted them.

In Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton, big clear-eyed westerners cheered themselves hoarse and exchanged happy greetings with the Royal couple. The pretty girls and the sturdy boys of the prairie cities fitted so well into the picture of the great open spaces. The King and Queen enjoyed going among them and talking to them.

The ambitious, cosmopolitan city of Vancouver, where East to some extent meets West, presented a rather different reception—a buoyant, confident determination to show their Majesties a devotion that nowhere could be surpassed. Victoria's reception was more "English". One writer said it was the most typically "English" surrounding they had encountered since they sailed from Portsmouth.

Everywhere, however, the readiness of the King and Queen to come in close contact with the crowds, to mix with men and women of every walk of life, of every race and religion, to shake hands with the poor and the timid as well as the rich and powerful, won the hearts of their subjects. But strangely enough, it was in the little prairie town of Melville, Sask., that this friendliness reached its most amazing peak.

From a hundred miles around the settlers had gathered in Melville. The Hon. James Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, who was present, assured me that of the 40,000 persons present, more than 60 per cent were of Central European descent.

The Royal train arrived late in the evening and soon Their Majesties were on a platform centred in a spotlight with masses of smaller lights illuminating a sea of faces on every side. After the administrator of the town, R. C. Lane, had presented the notables and the people had cheered and cheered, the King and Queen suddenly descended the steps and moved into the crowd. Of course, the War Veterans were present in large numbers, their beneficent activities directed by Brigadier-General Alex. Ross of Yorkton, whom His Majesty had asked specifically to meet.

The Mounted Police did their best to clear a path. Chief Inspector Cameron, the King's bodyguard, and Divisional Inspector Giles, caught unawares, rushed towards them. To those of us standing on the railway platform only the heads of Their Majesties were visible among the men and women who thronged about them, as the spotlight followed their progress. Never throughout the tour did I see such unbridled enthusiasm as then.

Inspector Giles, tall, handsome, with reddish hair and more like a movie star than a Scotland Yard man is expected to look, returned smiling.

"Weren't you nervous?" I asked.

"Not a bit—not in that crowd," he replied. "They'd have torn to pieces anyone who dared to molest Their Majesties."

Some conception of the cosmopolitan make-up of the crowd was gathered after midnight when, with the aid of loud-speakers, the thousands were sorting themselves out and families were being called to collect at various points to go home. The names were Ukrainian, Polish, Lithuanian, Magyar, Slovakian—more than 50 per cent typical of Central European countries.

"Little girl, are you lost?" I enquired of a young miss standing on the station platform, as the crowd continued to mill around, collecting their families.

"No, I'm not," she replied pertly. "But my father is, and so is my mother, and all the other boys and girls I came with."

So the Royal tour proceeded, a triumph for the King and Queen, a triumph for Canada and the Canadian people. The intimacy engendered between Sovereign and subject was such as had never before been dreamed possible in a British country. It was as if people who had beheld a spectacle on a distant stage were now admitted to the wings to meet the actors and express their appreciation for the beauties and the significance of the play.

The Royal train rolled back into old Ontario, to the populous industrial cities as far west as Windsor where Detroit people joined with their Canadian neighbours in shouting for George and Elizabeth. Everywhere the same intimacy between Monarch and people was to be found.

At length, having completed their United States visit, the King and Queen reached the Maritimes. No part of Canada was better equipped to give Their Majesties a memorable welcome than those provinces down by the Atlantic. The scenic beauty of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia, their history so intimately linked with that of the British Isles, a sea-faring people welcomed their Sailor King and his Scottish Queen.

Certainly no other city in Canada could have added just the touch to an unforgettable farewell as the intellectual Halifax, with a keen sense of what the Monarchy means, was able and glad to provide. The wonderful historic pageant, and then that demonstration along the water-front when the *Empress of Britain* circled the harbour and a hundred boats of all sizes and uses joined in, provided a fitting end to a great occasion.

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Here, at the end of the Canadian itinerary, it would be indeed unfortunate if we failed to salute those mayors and city councils across the Dominion who worked with so much harmony and so much enthusiasm to suitably welcome the King and Queen. At each of the cities visited, among the first to be presented to Their Majesties were the mayor and his wife (mayoress in England) and the mayor presented an address of welcome on behalf of the municipality he headed.

At several points unscheduled stops were made and mayors presented whose names are not available. At least one municipality which did not have a mayor, elected one on the station platform.

Following are the lists of stops formally scheduled and the mayors who led their people in welcoming the King and Queen.

Brandon, Man.—W. H. Young.
Brantford, Ont.—R. J. Waterous.
Calgary, Alta.—Andrew Davison.
Charlottetown, P.E.I.—E. A. Foster.
Chilliwack, B.C—Charles A. Barber.
Copper Cliff, Ont.—E. A. Collins.
Edmonton, Alta.—J. W. Fry.
Fort William, Ont.—C. M. Ross.
Fredericton, N.B.—C. Hedley Forbes.
Guelph, Ont.—W. G. Taylor.
Halifax, N.S.—W. Mitchell.
Hamilton, Ont.—William Morrison.
Ingersoll, Ont.—A. H. Edmonds.
Kamloops, B.C.—C. E. Scanlan.
Kingston, Ont.—Dr. H. A. Stewart.
Kitchener, Ont.—George W. Gordon.
Lévis, Que.—Louis Sylvio Durand.
London, Ont.—J. A. Johnston.
Medicine Hat, Alta.—Hector Lang.
Melville, Sask.—R. C. Lane (Administrator).
Moncton, N.B.—W. E. McMonagle.
Montreal, Que.—Camilien Houde.
Moose Jaw, Sask.—W. P. Johnson.
Newcastle, N.B.—D. S. Creaghen.
New Glasgow, N.S.—N. W. Mason.
New Westminster, B.C.—F. J. Hume.
Niagara Falls, Ont.—C. D. Hanniwell.
Ottawa, Ont.—Stanley Lewis.
Pictou, N.S.—T. H. Hooper.
Port Arthur, Ont.—C. W. Cox.
Quebec, P.Q.—Lucien Borne.
Regina, Sask.—A. C. Ellison.
Rivière-du-Loup, Que.—Antonio Paradis.
St. Catharines, Ont.—Charles Daley.
Saint John, N.B.—D. L. MacLaren.
Saskatoon, Sask.—Carl Niderost.
Schreiber, Ont.—E. J. Sheehan (Reeve).
Sherbrooke, Que.—M. T. Armitage.
Sioux Lookout, Ont.—J. L. Moran.
Stratford, Ont.—Thomas E. Henry.
Sudbury, Ont.—W. J. Laforest.
Three Rivers, Que.—Atchez Pitt.
Toronto, Ont.—R. C. Day.
Vancouver, B.C.—Dr. J. Lyle Telford.
Victoria, B.C.—A. McGavin.
Windsor, Ont.—D. A. Croll.
Winnipeg, Man.—John Queen.
Woodstock, Ont.—J. A. Lewis.

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Developments made it impossible for me to continue with the Royal tour into the United States. To give me time to make preparations for the return trip in the *Empress of Britain* to England I left the tour at Niagara Falls, Ont., and joined up again when it returned to Canada at Sherbrooke, Que.

So I shall confine myself to Canada's reaction to the glorious welcome the United States government and people extended to George and Elizabeth. Canadians, with tears of thankfulness in their eyes, listened to the radios and read newspaper accounts of the Royal Progress. In spirit they, too, were in Washington when the President and Mrs. Roosevelt welcomed the young couple, and at the reception given Britain's monarchs in New York and at the World's Fair.

Canadians had been worried about this part of the tour lest some untoward incident might mar everything. They knew Englishmen and Americans sometimes get under one another's skin. Within the space of 12 hours I have listened to an Englishman unburden himself about those "damned Yankees" and an American tell me in vivid language what he thought about those "dumb Limies". So I was one of the many in Canada who was just a little bit dubious about the King and Queen travelling south of the border.

I should have known better. I should have appreciated that the differences between the people of the United Kingdom and the United States are superficial. Their deep emotions are the same. On the great principles—liberty, justice, fair dealings, honesty, defence of the weak—their convictions are parallel. It is only the frosting on the cake that is different; the substance is the same.

A private visitor from Great Britain may find himself buffeted about in the United States, particularly if he is a lecturer. The Americans have come to the conclusion that they have had enough lecturing from Britons. Even then he will be treated with unfailing courtesy by the circle within which he moves, but he may hear some powerful language from the men in the street that he will not enjoy.

However, with the King and Queen it was different. This occasion aroused those deep emotions which are common to the race. The basic laws of the English-speaking world, its literature, its customs, its aims, its hopes and its ambitions—in the gradual growth of all these through the centuries to the present day the Royal line, from William the Conqueror and Robert the Bruce to George VI, have exerted an influence that never can be measured. Sometimes it has been for good, sometimes for ill; always it has been potent.

I like to picture the mother in Michigan who could trace her American ancestry to the Revolution. The blood of many races flowed in her veins. She held her son on her knee and told him nursery rhymes:

"*The King was in the counting house, counting out his money;*
The Queen was in the parlour, eating bread and honey."

Of course, that mother would think of an English king and queen, living and reigning in London. It would never occur to her it might be a Prussian or an Italian king. So with "All the King's horses and all the King's men". And again, "London Bridge is falling down—" and "Ride a cock-horse to Banbury Cross"

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The British throne and the person who occupies it form part of the heritage of every mother and every child in every corner of the United States; no Declaration of Independence can do anything about it.

So the American people cheered the young King and his Queen. They liked George, the man, and Elizabeth, the woman; and they honoured the Sovereign sworn to defend those things which American citizens and British subjects alike hold dear.

The King and Queen of the story books had come to visit them and won their hearts.

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Taking the lead of the Canadian Legion and such other national organizations as the Legion of Frontiersmen, Canada mobilized a veritable army of public-spirited citizens who worked gratuitously with the police forces and the militia to handle the unprecedented crowds which flocked to every city and town where the Royal train stopped. The problem of how to control the multitudes was one which had given those responsible for preparing the tour the biggest headache.

At the Coronation in London 20,000 policemen were on duty along the short route taken by the Royal procession, while other thousands of troops stood shoulder to shoulder throughout its length. Canada could scarcely muster 10,000 trained policemen in the whole Dominion. And the Royal processional route was in the neighbourhood of 9,900 miles in Canada and a further 1,100 miles in the United States.

Yet the protective job was done, effectively and efficiently. When, at the close of the tour, King George said goodbye to the members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who had accompanied him, His Majesty was able to say that not anywhere had there occurred a single incident "that could be considered unpleasant."

Take Montreal. In the Place d'Armes the crowds were so dense it did not seem possible for one more person to squeeze in. Not a soul left the kerb, although the only guard along the roadway was a line of Girl Guides.

Superintendent V. A. M. Kemp of the R.C.M.P., who travelled the Royal routes prior to the tour and accompanied Their Majesties also, estimated that the crowds at Moncton, N.B., were the densest—even more so than at Melville, Sask., and Windsor, Ont. But everywhere the citizens upheld the police. They co-operated with the law to a degree that merited, and received, the boundless plaudits of the authorities.

This was as it should be. Many years ago I reported the celebrations attendant upon the Tercentenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain. A great military demonstration at Burlington, Vt., featured this event, and the whole pageant was graced by the presence of President William Howard Taft. Thousands of soldiers—among them the Governor-General's Foot Guards of Ottawa and the 5th Royal Highlanders of Montreal—contributed a martial show. But when the Governor of Vermont drove past he was surrounded by a splendidly mounted escort, all in civilian clothes. I asked why so. An official replied curtly that this was to emphasize that "the real safety of the state lies in the keeping of the citizens themselves." That was a good answer. So far as it related to Canada and the visit of Their Majesties, it is the best answer that can be given to any question which asks why, apart from the spot of colour given to the proceedings by the detachments of militia here and there, the main protective services were voluntary efforts of civilians.

The police themselves were the last word in courtesy. The whole country seemed to have caught a spirit of helpfulness and co-operation which needed only this great occasion as a vehicle of expression. As liberty-loving citizens, the people came gladly to the assistance of the authorities. That was Democracy.

After the Calgary parade an Old Country pressman who has gathered news in most countries of Europe, who has been accustomed to the methods employed by the German Police in handling crowds, said:

"Well, I was embarrassed today. I was trying to move up where I could see some Red Indians when a Mountie stopped me. That nettled me. 'Look here, old man,' I said, 'I've got a job to do.' 'I know that,' said the Mountie, 'but so have I.' What can you say when chaps are as polite as that? I'm getting to enjoy being shoved around by these lads—they're so courteous about it."

I shall be forever grateful to one member of the scarlet-and-gold brotherhood. Two assignments fell to me—one, an important dinner at which Their Majesties were present; the other, the tour of the city. The Royal procession took up so much time that when I repaired to the Pilot train to tumble into my evening clothes and dash to the hotel, I was 30 minutes late.

Strict orders required all guests to be in their places a quarter of an hour before Their Majesties, consequently I found my entrance to the dining-room barred. That was disturbing. Even more disturbing was the reflection that not only were the Canadian morning papers depending on me for coverages, but the Associated Press as well.

I put my predicament up to one of the Royal Mounted. Obligingly he ferretted out the official in charge of the dinner arrangements, suggesting that if it would be all right with him, he could spirit me inside through a rear entrance. The official consented and, the Mounted Policeman producing a key, opened the door, escorted me through the kitchen and into the banquet hall where I wormed my inconspicuous way to a chair. So all was well.

Responsible for the safety of the Sovereign, the R.C.M.P. had made themselves familiar with every nook and cranny of the building, even to the extent of knowing the devious paths that led from the outside into the dining-room. More than that, the Mounted Police had locked all the doors and pocketed the keys.

Perhaps in Canada we are too close to the wood to see the trees. We take the R.C.M.P. pretty much for granted. In the United States, however, the Royal Mounted have been heroized and are intensely popular. Between adventurous stories in the American pulps and pictures like "Rose Marie" and "Eskimo", a glamour has been cast over the R.C.M.P. which frequently is found embarrassing.

However, I was not surprised to find in the quarterly publication of the Force a very excellent article by Superintendent Kemp which set forth the lessons of the Royal tour as follows:

"One of the principal lessons learned was that large crowds can be most effectively controlled when courtesy and good humour are employed. Crowds of law-abiding citizens can invariably be led where they cannot be driven. Every member of this Force was lectured on the question of tact and courtesy; and the result of such training, together with the inherent good manner of police personnel, generally obviated any complaint of over-officiousness."

Assistant Commissioner C. D. LaNauze, also writing in the same publication, told of Saskatchewan farmers who volunteered to guard railway-crossings when the Royal train passed. These men, often unnoticed and alone, did their bit to make the tour a success. Every crossing in Canada was covered, and no accidents resulted.

A Manitoba farmer elicited that the Royal train would stop for the night alongside his hen-coop. Gathering up his entire flock he transported them to another part of his farm so that Their Majesties might sleep on, undisturbed in the early morning by the crowing of the roosters.

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Equally courteous and painstaking were the Provincial and Municipal police. During the long delays, they chummed up with the crowds, saw to it that children were given coigns of vantage — which pleased the parents mightily — and established a spirit of fellowship which operated to the advantage of everybody.

During the trip to Canada in the *Empress of Australia* the Royal Marines were responsible for safeguarding the Royal Persons. They performed the same duty on the homeward journey and made a thorough job of it. Once in Canada, however, at the special request of the King, the R.C.M.P. took over.

Even before the *Empress* docked at Wolfe's Cove the little *Detector* — one of the tiny motor-cruisers of the R.C.M.P. whose normal job is to chase smugglers and rum-runners — met the Royal Squadron off the Island of Orléans. She dipped her little Blue Ensign, whereat the great White Ensign of the *Empress* was dipped in acknowledgement. The *Detector* led the flotilla into Quebec harbour.

The Metropolitan Police — Scotland Yard to everybody — assigned three men to the tour. They were Chief Constable Albert Canning, Chief Inspector H. Cameron, who was the King's police officer, and Divisional Inspector J. Giles, the Queen's officer. The Yard was kept constantly in touch with developments of the tour, Canning frequently telephoning to London.

Always immaculately dressed in morning clothes and silk hat for formal occasions, Canning was described by a United States newswriter as looking "more like a successful banker than a cop." From the frequent and lengthy conversations I had with him I was left in no doubt whatever that Canning was a police officer every moment of his life.

Someone stole his umbrella one day. That was a good story, and Canning had to stand up under a barrage of "kidding". But he took it all in good part. No doubt somebody on this continent is telling his friends how he pried the gamp away from the great Canning, with many embellishments to the tale. The incident didn't ruffle Scotland Yard in the slightest.

Reaching Canada weeks before the arrival of Their Majesties, Canning traversed every inch of the Royal route, both here and in the United States. Thoroughness was his watchword. He got on well with the Canadian police, who welcomed what counsel and guidance he gave them. For his part, he acquired a comprehensive knowledge of Canadian police technique. I extracted from him the view that it would be a mistake to disband the various provincial police forces and leave the entire work to the Royal Mounted.

"Canada is too vast a country to have one organization covering it all," he said. He did not think horses would disappear entirely from police-work. "There's nothing to take the place of well-trained horses in handling crowds," was his comment.

While Canning travelled on the Pilot train and kept general watch and ward over the whole situation, Cameron and Giles were in personal attendance on Their Majesties. Always in civilian attire, these two handsome men, Cameron with black hair, Giles somewhat reddish, rode on the Royal train. They remained close to the King and Queen at every stop. Both had seen long service with Royalty, and they reported regularly to Scotland Yard.

Responsibility for personal supervision of the whole tour fell, however, to Commissioner Stuart T. Wood, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who himself travelled on the Pilot train, while Assistant Commissioner C. H. King accompanied the Royal train. A total of forty-seven members of the Force were attached for duty. The four personal orderlies to Their Majesties were Sergt. H. H. Williams, Constable J. Coughlin, Constable R. Portelance and Constable J. A. Langlois.

When one writes of the protective agencies upon whom fell the responsibility of guarding the persons of Their Majesties one's tribute must be shared also by the military, naval and air forces of the Dominion. Equally so by the veterans of the Great War — and even of those conflicts fought in distant fields years prior to 1914. They were all the King's Men, from the last joined bugler of the militia to the high-ranking officers whose duty it was to keep the machine running in gear.

The chain of military responsibility was complex, extending from the Chief of the General Staff, Major-General T. V. Anderson, through his various branches to the Officers Commanding the Military Districts and so down to the unit commanders of the militia. Similarly Rear-Admiral Percy Nelles, Chief of the Naval Staff, whose job began when his trim destroyers, *Skeena* and *Saguenay*, rode through the Atlantic swells to join the King's ships as they entered Canadian waters, directed the sailors' end of things, while Air Vice-Marshal G. M. Croil, Chief of the Air Staff, tied up the triangular service with as smart a corps as ever mounted guard. This, of course, provides the opportunity for recalling that for the first time in history a military guard stood sentinel at Rideau Hall. They were drawn from the Royal Canadian Air Force and performed their duties during the residence of Their Majesties.

This Guard Mounting, not quite so spectacular as the ceremony which takes place daily at Buckingham Palace, was something new in Ottawa's life. It was a pleasant thing to watch, pleasant to reflect that, although separated by thousands of miles from his London home, the King was nevertheless being cared for in the same fashion at his home in Ottawa. The pageant-loving citizens of the capital feasted their eyes proudly on this, the birth of a new tradition. It was with regret that they saw the Government dispense with this colourful function on Their Majesties' departure.

The non-permanent regiments of the militia measured up to their jobs magnificently. For Commanding Officers who had been worried about their attenuated ranks — thinned by a combination of apathy on the part of young fellows and by a distressing absence of money — the Royal visit came as a gift from the gods. Recruits began to flock to the colours the minute the announcement of the projected trip to Canada was broadcast. The result was that many militia units were well up to strength when Their Majesties arrived, and, the opportunity having been presented to put in considerable training during the winter months, the youngsters were in creditable condition and eager for their duties.

They had to be of good heart, for they were moved and shoved around all over the place in valiant efforts to achieve the impossible — the trick of being in two places at once. However, everything worked out satisfactorily. The spirit which enveloped Canada throughout the Royal visit was well reflected in the troops. Everybody enjoyed them.

Much the same has to be said for the War Veterans. This ageing body of Canada's citizens jumped into their job from the start. There was no need to appeal to them, no need to ask them if they would do this, that or the other thing. It was just felt naturally that when Their Majesties were in Canada the War Veterans would be required to do something, and, having regard to the distribution of Canada's normal protective forces over the great geographical distances, the logical thing was for the ex-Service personnel to constitute themselves the guardians of the Royal party wherever and whenever the circumstances warranted. And these circumstances arose in every town and city which Their Majesties visited. Always the Veterans were there, beretted and bemedalled, back in their own voluntary army for as long as they were required.

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At the head of this group were the national leaders of the various ex-Service men's associations. With its hundreds of branches all over the Dominion, the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League was responsible for the arrangements in most places. Generally speaking, however, the Veterans pooled their activities. Local committees were formed by the organizations, officers were appointed and registrations of the Veterans were made. Duties were detailed, many of them extremely onerous and imposing on the elder warriors protracted stands, swift marches hither and yon, and many hours without food.

But they were cheerful about it all. Nothing can kill the bubbling good humour of the old soldier when he has a real job of work to do. In Ottawa he stood for hours in the broiling sun; in Winnipeg he stood for hours in the drenching rain. Whether in rigid, silent ranks as required by the occasion, or crowding with enthusiastic cheers round the King and Queen, the Veterans had their responsibilities uppermost. Even in what to the nervous outsiders seemed to be a confused turmoil, with Their Majesties in the centre of delirious old soldiers, the beretted warriors of the past generation never lost sight of their first duty — to guard the persons of their King and Queen.

The hearty laughter of His Majesty, the winning, easy smile of Queen Elizabeth, the firm handclasp, the sympathetic enquiry, the word of thanks were the rewards which the Veterans treasured.

Hospital wards in which were men who had already passed a lifetime, suffering from the wounds of more than twenty years ago, were brightened when Their Majesties entered. The men had waited longingly, patiently for those great moments. And they passed all too quickly. In one or two cases, due to indifferent arrangements for which the local authorities were responsible, a veterans' hospital here and there was not visited. When word of those lapses finally reached His Majesty, it is reported he was far from pleased.

The men at Deer Lodge Hospital in Winnipeg were dejected when the King and Queen passed through the city without calling upon them. No sooner was the word conveyed to His Majesty than he ordered that, on his return from the Pacific Coast, the veterans be transported to the station where he would greet them. This was done, to the delight of all. But not in every case could the arrangements be altered to take care of the omissions of the local authorities.

What has been said of all others must also be said of such national organizations as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. A Canadian Boy Scout is a lad in whom a high sense of honour, an aptitude for duty, a spirit of lofty patriotism and a willingness to work in a good cause are sedulously fostered. They had many tasks to perform during the Royal visit: they were the "handymen" of the country; and nobly did they fulfill everything that was demanded of them. The boys and girls of Canada who are linked up with these organizations have every reason to be proud of what they achieved.

Mention should also be made of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, whose members did fine work in all the larger cities by attending to fainting cases and other minor casualties which are inevitable wherever large crowds congregate.

And it all adds up to this, that in spite of the scattered character of Canada's various and varied protective services, when something has to be done which puts the nation on its honour, one need have no misgiving about it. The thing will be done, and done well and creditably.

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—No. (16) — — — — — — — — — — ——

The Royal train was blue and silver and gold. Who did not know? Never before had a train been so publicised. Every newspaper on the continent told of its beauties. The broadcasters, day in and day out, described its entrances into cities and towns, and its exits therefrom.

This glorious vehicle carried the King and Queen 5,625 miles in Canada, in addition to the mileage in the United States. It never was in danger of an accident. It pursued its majestic course through town and city, through woodland and prairie, through the Rockies and the lake country. It was always on time, with the exception of the arrival at Windsor, Ont., when the great crowds in the intervening Ontario cities extended for miles and slowed up its progress more than had been expected.

It was to the credit of the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways that they were able to assemble this 12-car train from equipment regularly operating in Canada. No new cars were built.

Car No. 1 was at the rear end and provided the sleeping quarters for the King and Queen. No. 2 contained the dining-room, sitting room and other rooms for the daytime use of the Royal couple. These two cars previously were those used by the Governor-General.

No. 3 was a C.P.R. standard chambrette. No. 4 and No. 6 were private cars normally known as "Pacific" and "Atlantic", belonging to the C.N.R. and available for public charter. These three cars were used by the King's staff.

Coming between No. 4 and No. 6 was No. 5, the "Wentworth," used by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and members of his staff. It was a C.P.R. private car. No. 7 in everyday life was "Business Car 99" used by the C.N.R. president.

No. 8 was a C.P.R. chambrette; No. 9 a C.P.R. sleeper; No. 10 a C.N.R. diner; No. 11 a C.P.R. combination baggage and sleeper, and No. 12 a C.P.R. baggage car.

The cars were connected with telephones and at each station where the train stopped for any considerable time the system was cut into the city telephone exchange.

When the train was on C.P.R. tracks it was hauled throughout by the latest design C.P.R. locomotive, No. 2850, which created a world record for continuous haulage of a train during the tour. On the C.N.R. tracks locomotives of the new 6400 C.N.R. series were used. It employed two of these big engines and a slightly smaller type on stretches of the track where servicing facilities were insufficient.

All the cars and locomotives were specially painted and certain structural changes in the cars were necessary. After the tour all were repainted and went back to the humdrum of ordinary railway traffic, unnoticed and forgotten. How fleeting is fame!

The crews for the trains were selected according to seniority in each railway district, the personnel changing when the train passed from one district to another. It showed that in every part of Canada there were men capable of giving the Royal train the expert handling it received.

Half an hour ahead of the Royal train went the Pilot train which carried the press correspondents, the press photographers, some of the broadcasters and telegraph officials. The Mounted Police had a car on each train. Half an hour ahead of the Pilot train went the gas cars patrolling the tracks. Both trains moved at deliberate speeds ranging from 30 to 50 miles an hour.

The trains were under the direct control of Colonel V. I. Smart, Deputy Minister of Transport, and the staffs of both railway lines worked for weeks before the King and Queen reached Canada perfecting arrangements, planning every detail of servicing, inspecting the trains at intervals so that nothing would be left to chance.

When Niagara Falls was reached *en route* to the United States, American railway inspectors throughly inspected each car and signed certificates that they were mechanically correct. Then American locomotives were hitched on to haul the trains across the border.

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——Legionary———Gal. 22——————Cor ——————————
——No. (16)——Concluded — — — — — — ———

The only important delay encountered was when one of the cars of the Pilot train developed a hot-box between Niagara Falls and Washington, with the result that for the first time the Royal train arrived ahead of the Pilot train — much to the disappointment of the press men and women. It led to considerable good-natured banter, the Canadians pointing out there had been no such trouble all across Canada, and the Americans replying that after all it was a Canadian car that was giving the bother.

Four motor cars were carried across the country on regular trains to accommodate the King and Queen and the Prime Minister in the Royal processions. They were leap-frogged from city to city so that two would always be at the station when the Royal train arrived.

The only points where these cars were not used were Banff and Jasper. For these mountain roads chauffeurs acquainted with the districts drove the Royal visitors in cars with which the drivers were familiar.

Two women had real grievances against the arrangements on the Royal train. They were the Queen's dressers, Miss Catherine Maclean and Miss Christina Willox. The Queen's dresses and jewels were in Car 12 and the Queen dressed in Car 1, so they had to make their way the length of the train several times each day.

The following senior officers of the railways were on duty in their respective territories throughout the Royal tour:

Canadian National — F. L. C. Bond, A. E. Warren, W. U. Appleton.

Canadian Pacific — H. J. Humphrey, W. M. Neal.

The mechanical superintendent was R. Meadows and the superintendent of dining and sleeping car services, W. W. Swindon.

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No. (17) ——————— — — — — — — — ———

Covering the Royal tour was on of the greatest tasks that ever confronted the newspapers of Canada. Hundreds of reporters played their part in presenting to the world word pictures of those momenteous events. The 58 newswriters who travelled on the Pilot train were only a small part of the army of men and women engaged on the work.

On the Royal train were two press liaison officers — George F. Steward, who, as mentioned previously, is regularly press liaison officer for the British Prime Minister, and Walter Turnbull, secretary to Mr. Mackenzie King.

Since no newspaper men were permitted to travel on the Royal train, it was the business of the press liaison officers to provide the news from this train to the press men and women who travelled on the Pilot train. As the Pilot train proceeded half an hour ahead of the Royal train it was often necessary for the liaison officers to telegraph the news ahead to stations where it could be picked up and disseminated in the Pilot train.

This arrangement had many shortcomings, particularly due to the fact that the Pilot train pulled out of each station, where Their Majesties stopped, half an hour ahead of the Royal train and, therefore, if the Royal stop was less than half an hour, which frequently was the case, the reporters on the Pilot train missed it altogether.

It is difficult, however, to see how it could have been arranged otherwise. The Canadian Press and many of the larger Canadian dailies met the situation by posting roving reporters at each station where the Royal train was scheduled to stop, well in advance of its arrival, and they stayed until after the Royal party had left. In the larger cities where processions were held, the Canadian Press and the local newspapers turned their entire reportorial staffs on the assignment and often more than 100 reporters would be covering the visit.

The visiting correspondents did not have these facilities, but as far as possible the Canadian Press news and the stories collected by the local papers were made available to them. This helped out the situation for them to a considerable extent.

From May 18th until June 15th, with the exception of a few days off here and there, the Pilot train was the only home we knew. It got to feel just like home. After a day in a big city, buffeted by crowds, rushing here and there, always in danger of being absolutely tied up in the masses, it was wonderful to get back to the security, the comfort and good fellowship of the train and feel oneself rolling along to another city, another procession, and another day of strenuous work.

Maybe those correspondents didn't tell the world plenty about that Pilot train! It inspired every conceivable variety of comment — witticism, sarcasm, contempt and downright admiration.

After all, it was the nerve centre of the news-reporting of the trip. It was the headquarters of Walter S. Thompson, director of publicity for the Canadian National Railways, whose place of business was in the club car at the rear. Mr. Thompson was loaned to the Inter-departmental committee for the purpose of supervising the press arrangements.

His selection was a master-stroke. Mr. Thompson knows nearly every working newspaperman and newspaperwoman in Canada by their first names. For his own general staff purposes he had pressed into service his own colleagues of the C.N.R. Press Bureau — Herb. Lash, James Hanratty, Bruce Boreham, and others. Their job was to make quickly available all the facilities necessary for the correspondents who were covering the tour. It would be difficult to imagine anything more complex.

As a start the two railway companies co-operated in preparing a book entitled "Across Canada." This well-produced volume gave not only the Royal itinerary, but the historical background and word pictures of every city, town and even the villages through which the Royal train would pass. The descriptive writing was particularly well done.

Throughout the trip the Pilot train was inundated with publications, ranging from unassuming pamphlets to book-size souvenir programs and beautifully printed and illustrated magazines. Every provincial capital poured in a flock of them. For the most part the newspapermen, rushing along with their minds on editorial deadlines, participating in receptions in new cities with new Royal parades every day, had scarcely time to even glance at those masterpieces. But they did keep "Across Canada." It became their "vade mecum", especially for the British and United States correspondents. Time and again the book demonstrated its supreme value to them.

Also prepared in advance were printed copies giving details of the Royal visit at each stop. The newspapermen got them at least 12 hours ahead of schedule, with full particulars showing how the correspondents were to be fitted into whatever scheme was on hand.

With several functions in the course of a forenoon it would be impossible for one correspondent to attend them all, and get his work done. If there were four ceremonies, the hustling newspaperman might be able to cover two. So the press party would reach a city and, with the advance copy of the arrangements, the correspondent would decide which function he wished personally to cover. He would thereupon communicate his decision to Jim Hanratty and receive the special tickets essential to admit him. No one could attend without those tickets.

That did not, of course, mean that having elected to be present at one out of two or three, the newswriter would be stranded in the matter of covering the others. Reciprocity among newspaper reporters — known to the profession as "syndicating" — is a practice widely used, its ethics honourably adhered to, and its convenience universally admitted. Syndicating does not preclude the possibilities of a "scoop" or a "beat" in the matter of news stories where the reciprocal arrangements do not hold. But no newspaperman holds anything out on a confrère with whom he has agreed temporarily to syndicate. They also had the C. P. and local newspaper stories with which to fill in.

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In each city a special press room was provided, with typewriters and telegraph fyling facilities, where the visiting correspondents might prepare their copy. And even when the Royal party travelled by automobile or steamer from one place to another, special arrangements were made for the newsmen.

Wherever the King and Queen visited it was a public holiday. Usually the route of the Royal procession was closed for hours in advance. To crash the barriers was out of the question. But again the newswriters were provided for. They themselves had armbands and badges, special buses carrying stickers on the windshield were permitted along the processional route, and thus the correspondents were everywhere given points of vantage. All these arrangements were completed before the tour started.

Fifty-eight newswriters, seven of whom were women, comprised the Pilot train's passenger list when the locomotive puffed out of Quebec on May 17th. Aboard also were Mr. Thompson and his staff of four. There were 12 press photographers, seven radio operators, 17 members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, nine railway officials, three postal officials, two telegraph officials and a few others.

For the most part Chief Constable Albert Canning of Scotland Yard travelled on the Pilot train, whose population varied from 110 to 120 throughout the tour.

The coaches were standard sleepers, supplied by the two railways, and all were air-conditioned.

The press men covering the Royal assignment were correspondents whose names are well familiar to the great newspaper public of Canada, of, indeed, the whole English-speaking world. Allied to high professional attainments were a wealth of experience and an instinct for news which derive only from long years on the job.

The Associated Press of the United States, the great co-operative news-gathering agency on which The Canadian Press is modelled, sent Frank H. King. For many years he had served the A.P. in London before being appointed superintendent for the State of Texas.

The United Press sent Webb Miller, of its London staff, a well-known commentator on international affairs.

Gordon Young of Reuter's travelled with Their Majesties from the start. He had just returned to London after three years in Berlin. He was assisted by Alaric Jacobs, detached temporarily from the Washington Bureau.

The International News Service assigned Walter Kiernan and that colourful woman writer, Inez Robb.

L'Agence Havas of Paris was represented by Jean Gauchon, a French journalist with a wealth of experience in several European capitals, and now stationed in Ottawa.

Ira Wolfert accompanied the party for the North American Newspaper Alliance and the Australian Consolidated Press.

Individual British newspapers sent their top-flight writers. Michael Byrne was "eye-witness" for The Times, London; G. Ward Price, The Daily Mail; The Times also assigned John A. Stevenson, Ottawa, its own Canadian correspondent. There were Arthur J. Cummings, The News Chronicle; the Marquess of Donegal, for The Daily Despatch; A. L. Easterman, The Daily Herald; Douglas Williams and Roger V. Machell, The Daily Telegraph; G. V. R. Thompson, The Daily Express; Sholto Watt, The Sunday Times.

United States newspapers had their own staff men on the assignment. For The New York Times were F. Raymond Daniell and the Ottawa correspondent of that great journal, John MacCormac. Edward Angly represented The Herald Tribune; John I. Barry, The Boston Globe; Miss Grace Davidson, The Boston Post; Edward T. Polliard, The Washington Post; Miss Dixie Tighe, The New York Post; George Dixon, The New York News.

Similarly the Canadian newspapers had many representatives. There were Harry Morden, The Montreal Star; Frederick Griffen, Gregory Clark and Miss Jessie MacTaggart for The Toronto Star; Harold Dingman and Douglas Oliver, The Globe and Mail; Andy Lytle, The Star Newspaper Service; Norman MacLeod, The Windsor Daily Star; Charles B. Pyper and his wife, Nancy Pyper, The Toronto Telegram; Thomas Wayling, The Vancouver Sun; A. C. Allen, The Southam Newspapers; Francis H. Stevens, The Winnipeg Free Press; Mrs. Evelyn Tufts, The Halifax Herald; J. N. Crandall, the British United Press; Jean-Charles Harvey and Real Rousseau, Le Jour, Montreal; S. J. Dornan of The Almeda Despatch represented the weekly newspapers, and Kenneth Wilson the Maclean publications.

The Canadian Press was represented by Miss Muriel Adams, A. E. Fulford and myself.

That was a terrific line-up of newspapermen. The extraordinary thing about it all is that in this highly competitive profession, engaged on a highly competitive assignment, these newswriters lived almost continuously for a month, packed in this Pilot train; and they broke up in Halifax at the end of it all the very best of friends. There wasn't a feud in a car-load, far less a train-load. Stack that beside the average ocean cruise where passengers have lots of room and nothing to do. The explanation probably is that the newspapermen were so busy scrapping for news they had no time to dissipate their energies scrapping amongst themselves.

As I explained earlier, only a small portion of the news coverage of the Royal tour was furnished by this group. The bulk of the work was done by the local reporters in the cities and towns visited. But their was not the long, sustained effort. It was "new stuff" at each succeeding stop for the local men; we had to watch that it did not become "old stuff" for the party on the Pilot train.

However, Frank King, from his wealth of experience in handling reportorial staffs on big stories, told me the standard of the Canadian newspapers, as demonstrated on this assignment, was exceedingly high. And he ought to know. Throughout the journey co-operation of The Canadian Press and the local reporting staffs produced satisfactory and gratifying results.

An assignment like this is a great leveller. Few "big shot" newswriters can coast along on their reputations. A man with a nationally known name may have written a world-throbbing story a week ago — but that, in any editor's mind, belongs to history; it's in "the morgue." What he's concerned with is the story that's going to be turned in today, what's being done this hour, this very minute. In fact, give him the news before it happens, and he's all the happier. So the fellow with the impressive reputation has to keep on delivering the goods. In that respect he is equal with the most obscure news-hound. Quite frequently the "big shot" has to depend a great deal on the "cub" in the firing-line, so there is no room in the newspaper world for anything savouring of "high hat."

Pilot train life was a problem. Each one had a sleeper-section, and everything had to be stored in it. A man had to be a quick-change artist to do things right. This morning, formal clothes; in the afternoon, sack suits; tonight, full evening-dress. It was a bit difficult. But everybody managed.

The resourceful porter in the sleeper which was my abode fixed a clothes-line across the wash-room and we hung our suits on it. There must have been 20 suits. Little room was left to shave, hardly room to wash, certainly none to sit down.

The situation had its embarrasing moments. It not infrequently happened that crowds waiting at the stations for Their Majesties would be treated to an unscheduled spectacle of a reporter, seen through the wash-room window, scantily dressed — if at all — grouping frantically among a score of hanging garments and not enjoying the joke a bit.

There was one shower for all the men. The women fared better, for they had one for the eight or nine on board.

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The correspondents from the United Kingdom voiced amazement at the solicitude with which the two telegraph companies attended to the newspapermen's needs. T. H. Holmes of the C.P.R. and J. F. MacTaggart,of the C.N.R. telegraphs, and their staffs, were always on call. They could locate typewriters, dig-out fresh copy-paper, find a store where one could buy a clean collar in spite of there being public holidays everywhere. This type of co-operation is so usual to Canadian correspondents that they have come to expect it as a matter of course. But for the visiting Londoners, who use the telephone far more than the telegraph, the service was a source of continued admiration. There was nothing comparable to it in the Homeland.

Adding it all up, some reporters found fault, others expressed nothing but praise. ,Twas ever thus. It depended largely on what one had been accustomed to, and the length of one's real experience. Newswriters from the great metropolitan centres, used to press facilities that have been built up for generations, were dissatisfied. The Canadians, trained since they were cubs to fend for themselves, found the whole business absolutely luxuriant.

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——No. (18) ————————————————————

If the Canadian broadcasting organization which Major Gladstone Murray has build up ever had an inferiority complex — and I would be the last man in Canada to suggest such a thing — its achievements during the Royal tour were calculated to effect a permanent cure. Stacked up against such experienced services as the British Broadcasting Corporation, the N.B.C. and Columbia systems of the United States, the C.B.C. men might reasonably have been expected to suffer occasional attacks of stage-fright. But they didn't.

I saw them clutching their mikes atop swaying poles, like modern devotees of the ancient Stylites. One beheld them peering from the Gothic arches of church belfrys, unimpressed by the dim religious light and intent only on turning out a workmanslike job. They were the swift-moving figures silhouetted against the sky on precarious roof-tops, or in the thick of cheering crowds. And all the while they unburdened themselves of their running story in English and French—a vivid word-picture of the progress of the King and Queen.

Little wonder that from all over the United States, from the British Isles, from all parts of the world, in fact, wherever the broadcasts were heard, letters of appreciation and praise have since poured into the headquarters of the C.B.C.

What it sounded like to the listener I'm not qualified to judge. When these commentators — or "observers", as they were immediately rechristened at the opening of the tour — were pouring their "descriptive" into the ears of the world, I myself was ducking in and out the length of the route in search of my own copy. However, so many appreciative patrons of the radio have spoken to me about the entire proceedings, and I have had so many chats with E. L. Bushnell, general supervisor of programs, and Charles Jennings, in charge of exchange features, who were with me on the pilot train, added to which were my own observations of the work, that I have acquired quite a comprehensive knowledge of their difficulties and the way these difficulties were overcome.

My berth on the Pilot train was across the aisle from Richard Dimbleby, commentator for the B.B.C. He was a big man, round-faced, with red cheeks and laughing eyes. His voice struck the ear pleasantly. It was a delight to receive a bawling-out from Dimbleby, something that occurred with great frequency. I never interrupted him: that would have spoiled my own pleasure.

His pet peeve was that I disturbed him too early in the morning with my typing.

"Awoke me at five o'clock this morning," quoth Dimbleby, trying to simulate wrath.

"Eight o'clock," I would rejoin — actually the correct hour, for I have as much of an aversion against working at 5 a.m. as Dimbleby has at being wakened at that hour. His statement, I charged, was characteristic of B.B.C.'s inaccuracies. Whereat Dimbleby laughed. There were so many time zones in Canada, he retorted, that it must at least have been five o'clock somewhere.

By trans-Atlantic telephone Dimbleby gave a daily description of the tour for listeners in the Homeland. Usually his broadcasts were direct, unless, due to the time-margin, his public overseas were abed before things began to happen in Canada. On such occasions records were made and were re-broadcast at a more convenient hour.

After his first broadcast at Quebec objections were voiced by Canada House, London, to the B.B.C. because of some of his remarks. However, his enthusiasm grew as the tour progressed, and I am reliably informed that he gave some wonderfully vivid interpretations of the significance of the welcome. Dimbleby laughed and joked himself into the hearts of all his colleagues on this side of the Atlantic.

He is, I'm told, the "chief fixer" for the B.B.C. Before the present war, at a time when there was trouble with the Polish broadcasting organization, Dimbleby was sent from London to Warsaw to iron things out. If the Russian agency and the B.B.C. locked horns, Dimbleby's job was to fix things with the Muscovite. We nicknamed him "Bumble-bee." That, of course, was too obvious to be clever. It wasn't even original, for there is scarcely a capital in Europe in which he is not hailed as "Bumble-bee."

The United States chains had their own commentators in the professional entourage on the Pilot train; but the backbone of the whole thing was the C.B.C. Nine observers were divided into two parties, one directed by R. T. Bowman and the other by T. O. Wiklund. They leap-frogged across Canada. One party would take Winnipeg, then hop to Calgary; the other Regina, with a hop to Vancouver. Any gaps were filled by local commentators.

In Quebec City twenty observers manned the mikes on the day of the arrival of Their Majesties. Eight pick-up points had been established across the city, each with two mikes. The second was for use in the event of the other failing. Each pick-up point handled both English and French descriptions.

The control was in the Prince of Wales' Bastion, where the man in charge was directly connected with every commentator by an individual telephone connection. The commentators, wearing head-sets, received their instructions by phone, and they alone heard them. This is known as the "cue system." It was used for the first time in Canada during the Royal visit. One commentator could be stopped and another started as the situation required, without interrupting the broadcast.

Early in the morning of the Royal arrival at Quebec the C.B.C. decided to hold a full-dress rehearsal. Every pick-up point was manned. The belfry of l'Eglise du Sacré-Coeur was one of them.

At the central control Bob Bowman began to call in each point, in accordance with the routine that would be observed later in the day. Every one responded — that is, every one but the man at the Church of the Sacred Heart.

Patiently Bob summoned his "negligent" observer. Nothing doing. Again, and yet again the call went forth, growing more peremptory, sharper, a shade snappier each time.

Finally a plaintive voice quavered across the wires from Frank Willis, high up on the belfry.

"I can't hear a damn thing," it said. "They're having a funeral here. The bells have been ringing all morning; I'm nearly deaf, and besides these things have about knocked me out of the steeple."

The Reverend Father who presides over the spiritual needs of the parish of Sacré-Coeur had given permission for the use of the steeple for the period of the Royal procession, when, it was arranged, the bells would be mute. But no arrangements had been made for early morning rehearsals, and ecclesiastical duty came before any preliminary canter by broadcasting concerns!

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One of the most popular features of the C.B.C. service was the nightly re-broadcasts, when the best of the day's offering was taken from recordings, pieced together and reproduced over the air. More letters of praise were received for these than for any other part of the C.B.C.'s work.

In piecing the records together certain connecting passage had to be spoken to preserve continuity. This led to an amusing episode at the close of the day when Queen Elizabeth officiated at the laying of the corner-stone of the Supreme Court Building in Ottawa.

As was required of him, Mr. Bushnell at his home was listening to the re-broadcast. He heard the announcer say his piece:

"A Royal summary of a morning in May, of a bird that sang to a Queen, and a King who had a birthday."

The re-broadcast was a delight. Bushnell listened raptly to the Queen's words — a graceful and gracious address, well fitted to the occasion. And in the midst of it, as if to provide the orchestral accompaniment to this happy concerto, came to twittering of a bird.

Bushnell started. He listened hard. Again came the melodious chirping, breaking into Her Majesty's speech.

This was just too much — far too much; that was all. Bushnell thought so, and he said so. To crash in with sound effects in ordinary programs was something one had to do at times — banging doors, the white-spumed combers breaking on the ledges of the Atlantic, the rear of airplane engines. These things were all right; but to paint the lily, to seek to add an additional facet to the diamond by using a conventional prop to reproduce the melody of a bird in the middle of a Queen's speech was going just that much too far.

"On a historical occasion like this," muttered Bushnell grimly, "there's got to be no faking."

No faking, or he'd know the reason why. So stamping forth from the hearth and fireside, Bushnell stormed his way to the C.B.C. studio.

The story is soon told. Peremptorily he ordered the original record to be re-run. There it was — bird and everything. High on an elm by the banks of the Ottawa River, surveying curiously the pageantry that was being enacted below, some feathered songster had rounded off this propitious day by adding its own contribution, a cheery, carefree twittering of which the record is now preserved forever in the archives of the country!

Three times during the Royal visit Their Majesties came unexpectedly close to the C.B.C observers, with the results that one likes to read about. At Quebec, Wiklund had his place on the roof of the pier at Wolfe's Cove. Quite without warning he suddenly beheld Their Majesties, standing at the rail of the *Empress of Australia*, level with him and not ten feet away. A marvellous chance. But the words just wouldn't come.

Another top-flight observer, Reid Forsee, had much the same kind of experience at Hamilton.

The Canadians weren't alone, weren't the only radio-men to be non-plussed by the psychological effect of being thrown unexpectedly into the presence of the King and Queen. At Niagara Falls one of the commentators of a United States chain was similarly muted for a few moments.

Approximately sixty per cent of all the broadcasting done by the C.B.C. was carried on one or other of the three American systems. Mutual took the most. Quite frequently all three networks were cut in, and the B.B.C. as well.

Radio actuality, as this broadcasting of "spot" descriptive is termed, is a queer business — queer for some folk. A commentator "ad libbing" into the mike can get fellows into wierd jams.

Now, there's my old friend Bob Anderson, one of those covering the Royal departure from Halifax. Bob has ideas of what radio reporters should report. I was standing on the promenade deck of the *Empress of Britain* as the ship was about to leave with Their Majesties on board. The seething crowds, the singing, the music, the cheering — all contributed to a spectacle that can never be forgotten. It had been a full day, so full that I had not had one moment wherein to say goodbye to my friends and colleagues ashore. A pang of remorse struck me as I recalled that Albert E. Fulford and Miss Muriel Adams, my confrères of The Canadian Press, had been with me throughout the tour: and I was leaving them without a word.

Would I see them before the *Empress* pulled out? No, in those milling throngs the thing was impossible. But I had reckoned without Muriel. Lithe and athletic, Muriel had clambered to the roof of a pier-shed, and just as the ship began to pull away she came dashing to the edge, blowing kisses. I reciprocated.

Laughing into the mike, Bob duly unburdened himself of this incident, and away into the eternity of space went the record of Muriel's farewell. Into the eternity of space — but, of course, into every receiving set from Halifax to Kingdom Come.

Of course, I was in blissful ignorance of it at the time. Two days later, in Newfoundland, I attended the Garden Party at Government House. Always with a view to informing myself with respect to local conditions, I asked of a lady with whom I spoke if all the pretty girls I saw lived in St. John's.

"Yes," she admitted, with disarming frankness. "Don't you think they're nice."

I confessed that I did. She continued:

"Are they as nice as the girl who threw you the kisses at Halifax?"

That, of course, was a poser. What girl? What kisses? She told me of the broadcast.

Muriel was similarly bantered. In Ottawa, on her return, the stock question was: "Is Mrs. Carnegie still speaking to you?"

The radio observers are opportunists of the best type. At least on two occasions their quick thinking and just as quick action stood out above all others. During the unveiling of the National War Memorial at Ottawa the commentator was timed to go off the air just as Their Majesties took their unscheduled and historic stroll among the crowds. Swiftly the commentator sensed the significance of this wholly unprecedented event. He kept on going, and for the next half hour gave Canada and the world a description of a spectacle which those who witnessed will never forget.

At Toronto the appearance of Mrs. Ralph Day, wife of Mayor Day, in a sidecar had the observer baffled for a few moments. He thought it was Queen Elizabeth. And so also did the troops on the parade.

With quick wit he talked himself out of that jam, and if anyone noticed the slip, nobody has said anything about it — except myself!

The Royal tour taught the C.B.C. a great deal. Before it ended the Corporation's mechanical arrangements were well-nigh perfect; the observers had developed a technique which prompted them to talk at the right time and, at the right time, to let the cheers of the multitudes and the music of the bands speak for themselves.

Their Majesties came to recognize the observers in due course. Many of them cherish a cheery wave of the hand from the King, or a flashing smile from the Queen. After the broadcast at Government House in Winnipeg, Their Majesties came "behind the scenes" to congratulate the technicians on the split-second accuracy with which the greetings from the various parts of the Empire were picked up.

When it was all over, Bill Grant, engineer of the new Watrous station in Saskatchewan, CBK, who was in charge of the central control that day, was down on his knees in a corner, taking up wires. Cigar between his teeth, he was humming a tune, highly pleased with the day's work. A soft footstep fell behind him. Glancing over his shoulder, he saw the King stepping into the room. Bill snapped to attention, while the cigar went behind his back, although the tell-tale smoke-cloud hovered above his head.

"Carry on," His Majesty said cheerily, "I just happened to come back for something I left here."

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Captain Frank C. Badgley, M.C., veteran of the first Great War and rich in experience of life in general, is the Director of the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau. He has been taking "movies" and stills for the past two decades, and few men are better known in Canada than Frank Badgley.

He has known what it was like to follow Royalty around and, for the sake of preserving a historical record of Royal visits, he has taken shots at every conceivable angle and on every conceivable occasion.

In 1936, when Frank Badgley represented his department of Government on the Pilgrimage of the Canadian veterans to Vimy Ridge, he attended the Royal Garden Party at Buckingham Palace. There he was presented to King Edward VIII.

"May I present Captain Badgley, Sir?" said the Hon. Vincent Massey, Canadian High Commissioner in London, as he conducted the Government's camera-man to His Majesty.

"Why, hullo, Badgley," greeted King Edward cheerfully. "Are you still taking pictures?"

The King remembered his own tour of some years previously when Badgley was a member of the entourage and accompanied him throughout, to his ranch at High River, Alberta, and back.

On the occasion of the visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth the job of straightening out all the problems of the army of news photographers assigned to this duty was turned over to Frank Badgley. He was to see that everybody got a square deal — a Utopian condition which no news camera-man has ever believed to exist prior to this year of grace, and is doubtful of its being at all attainable at any time in the future. However, that was Frank's job.

Chiefly, he had to make sure that a complete set of pictures portraying every feature of the tour should become the property of His Majesty's Government in Canada.

There was a time when I was wont to think that press telegraphers, working a high-speed Morse wire in the old days, were the most irritable men who ever trod this earthly footstool. They were always about one degree below the fusing point. I think I was right, too. But that was long before press photography was ushered into the scene, long before this sphere of journalistic activity became the highly competitive thing it is now.

If a reporter misses a story, he usually has some chance of picking up later: when a press photographer falls down on a shot, it's gone forever. The show is just one split second after another.

Being wise, Frank decided to insist on all pictures being pooled. He had his own staff, who could of right have been given a monopoly as officers of the Government. The newspapers and the motion-picture people could have been given a wide selection from what was taken — and it would all have been good. But Badgley knew that newspapermen and the others have their own predilections for the stuff taken by their staff men: and the thing to do was to give them a show, but always requiring that they observe the obligations of the pool.

He called on the four picture agencies — Associated Press, Acme, Times World-Wide and International News, as well as the Toronto Star — asking that they each provide their best photographers for the pool. To them would be assigned all the best positions along the route, and each agency was entitled to all the pictures taken by the others.

The Czar of Russia never dreamed of the powers which Frank Badgley exercised on this Royal tour. If the Czar had exercised them one fraction as wisely, the word Soviet might never have appeared in our lexicons. The pool moved forward from one end of Canada to the other, and back again; and so well did it function that when the Royal party entered the United States, Frank was invited by the State Department at Washington to go along in an advisory capacity. Within the Republic the pool operated as smoothly as in Canada. And that's a tremendous compliment to Frank Badgley.

The first real test came when the *Empress of Australia* docked at Quebec. The aristocrats of the Canadian and United States press photographers were there. It was appreciated that the most significant picture would be at the foot of the gangway, when, for the first time in history, a British King and Queen set foot on Canadian soil.

Carl Nesensohn of the Times World-Wide had the job of taking that picture. While he waited, a Quebec police car, with motor running stood by the wharf. He snapped the picture and dashed into the car, The police had cleared the way and the car sped to the foot of the funiculaire which took him from the bottom of the cliff to the Chateau Frontenac. All arrangements had been made so that Carl would not be stopped. Rushing to the dark-room which had been fixed up, experts developed the pool pictures, and in seventeen minutes from the time the shot was taken, the negatives were ready and handed to the agency representatives. Almost immediately they were being tele-photo-ed to New York and from there to the United Kingdom. It takes about half an hour to wire a five-by-seven inch picture.

In little more than an hour from the moment the King stepped ashore, that first picture was in the newspapers in 200 cities of Canada and the United States, and in Britain.

An interesting personality was Frank Noel. He is one of the A.P.'s top-flight photographers. My first contact with him was in the winter of 1939 when he came to Canada from Albany. He had had a spot of bother about getting his equipment across the Border and appealed to me by telephone to straighten it out with the National Revenue Department in Ottawa. That was easy, for it was good publicity for Canada to have a staff photographer of an organization like the A. P. taking pictures of our country.

I next heard of him, again by telephone, from Quebec. Once again he was in a jam. He had gone to photograph the Citadel; but the caretaker had positively refused to give him access without orders from Government House in Ottawa. My good friend Colonel Eric D. Mackenzie, then Comptroller of the Household at Rideau Hall, unscrambled that one; and Noel took his pictures.

Later he reached Ottawa, this time to photograph the Governor-General in his study. His Excellency had been so harrassed by that sort of thing that the staff had decided to spare him further experiences of this nature. They refused Noel's request; but eventually I was able to assist him and he achieved his objective.

Then Noel wanted a picture of the Prime Minister. I didn't think that could be done, for Mr. Mackenzie King was a busy man. Lady Luck was still with Noel and myself, however, and in a few spare minutes the thing was done. Frank's bag included the Hon. Dr. Manion and several other notables.

All this exalted my own humble self in the eyes of Noel as Fixer-in-Chief. I was beginning to believe it myself, but yet I was profoundly shocked when somewhere between Father Point and Quebec I received, on board the *Empress of Australia*, a wireless from him. It asked in matter of fact terms that I was to be sure to have the King and Queen on the shore side of the ship when it reached Quebec. He had a powerful lense, and if I'd do this favour for him he'd be eternally grateful.

That, in the language of the street, was something. Could I see myself in that role? I could not. But, and this is the real story, as the *Empress* approached the city Their Majesties, of their own accord, did walk to the rail, just as Frank Noel had asked, and he took his shot. It wasn't a good one, due to atmospherics. However, that did not prevent Frank from bestowing on me his most lavish praise and his profundest thanks for having the King and Queen just at the right spot at the right time!

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The pool took about 5,000 pictures during the Canadian tour. Of these approximately 1,500 were actually released for publication. Some 600 were transmitted by telephoto — quite a few several times. Of course, many hundreds of other photographs were taken by local pressmen, while many efforts of amateur photographers found their way into the newspapers.

Greatly interested in photography, His Majesty found time aboard ship to practise his art in motion pictures and stills. The King was always generously disposed toward press cameramen. He chatted many times with W. G. Horton, the representative of The Times, London, and official photographer for the tour.

"Bill" Horton had been photographing Royalty for years. He knew when and how to dress for the occasion. Morning clothes became "de rigueur" with the cameramen, and even the United States bulb-artists succumbed after the first few days of the tour. This brought upon them some tremendous joshing.

"My idea is to be as inconspicuous as possible," Bill Horton told me when I asked why he seemed always to be pouring himself into his morning clothes. "I wear the dress worn by the majority of the party."

Horton worked in with the pool, but he frequently wired exclusive pictures direct to The Times.

The greatest photographic trouble during the trip was the occasion when the Dionne Quintuplets were presented to Their Majesties in Toronto. It began in the morning when the little girls were photographed by the use of a powerful lens as they peered from the window of the railway coach. That picutre received wide distribution. One of the agencies had exclusive contractual rights to photograph the children, and this picture was declared to be an infringement of the contract. But nothing came of it.

The authorities at Buckingham Palace had insisted there should be no photographe taken in connection with the meeting of the quintuplets and the King and Queen. Frank Badgley had the task of ensuring that no cameras were smuggled into the Legislative Chamber, where the "quints" were to appear afterwards. He enlisted the assistance of Provincial Police, who searched all those gaining admittance. Thirty-one cameras were temporarily confiscated.

Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn insisted that one picture be taken of the girls in the Chamber, as they walked across it accompanied by their nurses. Unfortunately it was a flop. The nurses came between the quintuplets and the camera.

The explosion of a flash bulb in the Empress Hotel at Victoria was another unfortunate occurrence. The people in its vicinity got a scare. Some glass had been sprayed over them and into the food, they said. The food was replaced. In point of fact, no glass was sprayed for the bulb was covered with cellophane, which was a protection against any such misadventure.

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No. (20) — — — — — — — — — — ———

A visiting lecturer whose assignment it was some years ago to deliver addresses at social clubs, whereof Canada abounds, gave it as a ground for complaint against this Dominion that never had he met a people who served chicken so consistently.

"From Halifax to Vancouver," he said, "I've been beset by chicken — roast chicken. It's got so that I hang my head in shame whenever I pass a barnyard."

He added that he'd never liked chicken: after his Canadian experience he positively loathed it.

I don't at the moment recall how this came to my mind one day on the promenade deck of the *Empress of Australia*. Perhaps it was just a fugitive thought inspired by an excellent luncheon. At all events I was in the presence of Her Majesty, looking over the ice-fields and wondering when we should reach the St. Lawrence. We were speculating on the reception awaiting the King and Queen in Canada. One thing was certain, I ventured to remark, and that was that the Royal visitors would be given plenty of roast chicken and chicken in innumerable skillful variations.

The Queen smiled. If she were asked to select one food for a continuous diet, she said, she thought it would be chicken. Canadians couldn't serve enough to suit her, declared Her Majesty. With pardonable enthusiasm I informed her that my compatriots simply couldn't help serving chicken when they were bursting with hospitality — not because they did not vary their food or were not adept at cooking other things, but because they themselves had Royal tastes so far as roast chicken went.

Roast chicken was traditional. The pioneering forbears started it. That was in the days before railways, good roads or rural mail deliveries. Families were rarely notified by letter when friends or relatives were coming to visit them. The newcomers just broke in upon them and took pot-luck. And pot-luck meant that the head of the house had to invade his barnyard, select his best fowl and conduct an onslaught upon them which ended with one or two chickens finding their way into the broiler or the roasting-pan.

Canada had come a long way since then, I informed Her Majesty. They had everything from vitamins to calories, and from corn on the cob to spinach juice. But there was not a home in His Majesty's far-flung Dominion that didn't stake everything for a real, grand occasion on roast chicken.

Perhaps I was over-enthusiastic. I sent a story from the ship broadcasting to Canadians that they needn't be backward about serving chicken for the Queen.

QUEEN'S FAVORED
DISH ROAST FOWL

Thus said the headlines. And, both headlines and Canadians being what they are, if Her Majesty liked roast fowl then roast fowl she would have.

When the tour was over I made a check. Had Canada let me down? Or had Canada played up? Let the record speak.

QUEBEC:	Luncheon at the Chateau Frontenac, *Breast of Chicken*. Dinner at the Chateau Frontenac, Breast of Island of Orléans Snowbirds. (*Chicken consommé* was served).
MONTREAL:	Dinner at the Windsor Hotel, *Squab Chicken*.
OTTAWA:	Parliamentary Dinner, *Mousse of Chicken*. State Dinner at Government House, *Young Pullet*.
TORONTO:	Hart House Luncheon, *Fried Chicken and Mushrooms*.
WINNIPEG:	Government House Luncheon, *Halves of Chicken*.
REGINA:	Government House Dinner, *Breast of Saskatchewan Chicken*.
VANCOUVER:	City Luncheon, Lamb.
VICTORIA:	Empress Hotel Luncheon, Breast of Pheasant.
JASPER PARK:	Dinner, Alberta Lamb.
EDMONTON:	Government Dinner, *Breast of Chicken*.
FREDERICTON:	Government Luncheon, *Combination of Chicken*, Truffles and Mushrooms.
CHARLOTTETOWN:	*Broiled Breast of Spring Chicken*.
HALIFAX:	Government Luncheon, Baby Lamb.

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These were, of course, the official meals only. I know chicken was often served when Their Majesties dined privately; and Her Majesty was so delighted with the Chicken à la King served to her on the Royal train that she had the chef give her the recipe.

Excellent wines featured most of the official luncheons and dinners; but there were exceptions. None were served at the Ontario Government luncheon at Hart House, none at Fredericton or Charlottetown. At Toronto and Fredericton the functions were set within the precincts of universities, whose regulations forbade the serving of alcoholic beverages. So far as Charlottetown is concerned, Prince Edward Island is officially "dry."

Some Prince Edward Islanders were indignant at the failure of the Government to provide wine. Many communications were received at the Governor-General's office in Ottawa, complaining against this apparent lack of hospitality.

"Just imagine—drinking the King's health in water, or soda-pop!"

Consistency, however, demanded that that be so. The King's representative had himself given Royal authority to the statute which imposed prohibition against the use of liquor. His Majesty could not under any circumstances be placed in the position of violating his own laws. It isn't a case of "The King can do no wrong," but rather that the King should not by the advice of his counsellors impose upon his subjects a restriction which he himself did not observe—this notwithstanding that the King is above the Law.

However, there is no constitutional issue here. The luncheons were brilliant successes. Neither the food nor the wine was the element that made them thrilling occasions. The triumph lay in their being graced by the presence of a happy Monarch and his gracious, smiling Consort. Nothing else seemed to matter much.

Two footmen, the embodiment of dignity and possessed of all the grace of well-trained ballet dancers, waited upon Their Majesties at formal meals. Not always, though. There were occasions when hotel waiters had the honour; and they performed that assignment with credit to themselves and to the satisfaction of the Sovereigns.

In Montreal the footmen had to remain so long after the dinner at the Windsor Hotel that they nearly missed the Royal train. This was noted by the King. He saw to it that at Regina, where the time-margin was again narrow, the footmen were not required to serve.

Elsewhere Their Majesties gave the footmen a holiday and entrusted the serving to hotel waiters.

I wonder if Canadians really appreciate the splendid hotels we have in this Dominion? English and United States visitors regularly expanded on the quality of the service and the lavishness of the equipment and furnishings. The Chateau Frontenac at Quebec, Montreal's Windsor Hotel, the Chateau Laurier at Ottawa, the magnificent new hostlery in Vancouver, the Empress at Victoria, the Canadian National at Charlottetown and the Nova Scotian at Halifax, all of which were hosts to the Royal party, are a credit to any country.

Granted several of them are financially in the red, that these and other such institutions throughout Canada were built when Canadians saw before them a future filled with industry and a century that belonged to them. Extravagances? Perhaps they were; but foolish or not, we have them and we may as well pride ourselves on them.

Admittedly there were parts of the country that did look a bit out at the elbows. In these districts the flags were, or seemed to be, just a spot more numerous, fluttering just a bit more bravely, ruggedly, independently. Their marks of poverty could not be wholly concealed, but neither could their robustly courageous spirit. These were at the other end of the scale from the luxurious hotels, which also spoke of confidence and courage in the future of Canada.

The Royal party rested at Banff and Jasper, high in the Rockies. Here were panoramas of snow-capped mountains, fretting the sky. The high altitude and the crisp, invigorating air send the blood pulsating through the veins. A region of rare and impressive beauty, it found the newspaper correspondents unanimous for once—they were agreed the tour should have been so planned as to give them all a week at both Banff and Jasper.

* * *

Strange how one thing will lead to another. When getting ready to set out from Ottawa I was gathering some pointers from a naval friend about Sir Dudley North's staff and he told me one of the officers was an enthusiastic fisherman. "I hope to give this chap some fishing while in Canada, but I am afraid of mosquitoes. They are generally bad in late May and June."

This led to an argument as to whether Englishmen suffered more from these pests in Canada than a native-born Canadian would. My naval friend said they did and I countered that some Canadians I knew are just as invulnerable to mosquitoes as any Englishman ever was.

We agreed, however, that the Royal visit had been timed with absolutely no regard to the mosquito menace and it would be a pity if the Royal couple were to be plagued with those insects while crossing this country. I began to think I should do something about it.

By coincidence a chap had been telling me of a new preparation called "Sta-Way" just coming on the market, which was the most effective lotium for keeping mosquitoes away that had yet been produced. I obtained a dozen bottles, packed them in my luggage and took them to England.

I still had my store of "Sta-Way" intact when I boarded the *Empress of Australia* and a few days out I confided in Dr. White, the King's physician, about my supply. He was delighted and carried away most of the bottles to keep by him. Later he took them on the Royal train.

Strangely enough, the only places during the entire trip where the mosquitoes were really bad were Coppercliffe and Sudbury. They worried most of us no little. The King and Queen were rushing about, going down into the nickel mine and in the procession through the town, but, although the mosquitoes seemed to bite everyone else, the physician later assured me that not one bit either the King or the Queen, with the result he had no occasion to use the preventive. Anyhow, he had left the "Sta-Way" on the train. Which all goes to show I put myself to a heap of bother for nothing.

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For the homeward voyage of the King and Queen—a journey that began at Halifax on the evening of June 15th, to Newfoundland two days later, and on to Southampton, which was reached on June 22nd—the Atlantic behaved splendidly. There were, of course, one or two exceptional moments. The air was cool; there was not much sunshine, and never enough fog to stop the ship and her cruiser escort, although they had to slow down on occasion.

The great white *Empress of Britain* circled Halifax harbour to the farewell of a hundred ships, ranging from little fishing smacks which had come up from Portuguese Cove, Ketch Harbour and all the other little inlets down the South Shore, to large ocean-going freighters. At the rail of the *Empress* stood the King and Queen, waving goodbye to the thousands thronging the wharves and piers, and crowding the foreshore past Point Pleasant Park to where the waters of the harbour

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stretch their long finger up into the North-West Arm. Slowly the Royal squadron steamed majestically to the open sea, past Devil's Island. Darkness was falling as the liner turned away from the Sambro Lightship and hotfooted for Conception Bay, near St. John's, the capital of the Ancient Colony of Newfoundland.

Admiral Sir Dudley North and Captain C. H. Sapsworth, the weather-beaten master of the liner, were none too optimistic that we would reach St. John's, for plenty of ice had been reported off the island. However, Captain Sapsworth is known as a "good luck captain", and his luck held.

With fair weather the ship stepped along at 24 knots. One advantage of a speedy ship like the *Britain* is that she can cut loose when the weather is fine and eat up the distances. We made Conception Bay late on Friday, without having encountered any ice worth mentioning.

The cruiser *Berwick*, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney J. Meyrick, Commander-in-Chief of the America and West Indies station of the Royal Navy, had joined the *Southampton* and *Glasgow*. As the sun was setting, we cast anchor off Bell Island, whence comes the iron ore.

Next day it rained. It was raining heavily when Vice-Admiral Sir Humphrey Walwyn, Governor of Newfoundland, boarded the *Britain* to welcome Their Majesties. The program for the day called for a great deal of sea-travelling.

The King and Queen left the *Empress* in a barge for the little fishing village of Holyrood, some nine miles away. We—that is to say, Gordon Young, Bill Horton and myself—had preceded them in another barge and were ashore when Their Majesties received the typically Newfoundland welcome given them here. The fishing craft and government ships made a laneway to the landing-place, and through it came the Royal barge.

It was appropriate that the King, a descendent of the Scottish Stuart kings, and his Scottish wife should land at Holyrood. One's mind reverted to that ancient, dour-looking pile at the base of Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh from which this fishing-hamlet derived its name. What were the words of Sir Walter Scott:

"What reck a chieftain if he stood on Highland heath or Holyrood!"

Little more than an hour's drive took us to St. John's, the procession passing under 12 arches as it moved through the charming villages *en route*. Mayor Andrew Carnell, chief magistrate of the Island capital, presented the King with an address of welcome as His Majesty entered the city. From a platform on the side of the street His Majesty broadcast a message to the people of Newfoundland.

The King and Queen each planted an oak tree in front of the War Memorial, trees that had been brought from England two years before.

"I hope it will grow," said the King as he wielded the silver spade. "Isn't it rather late to plant a tree?"

A. E. Canning, parks superintendent, assured the Monarch that the time of the year was propitious.

There was a garden party in the afternoon, on the lawns of the grey-stone Government House, when the King held an investiture in a small pavillion. Here, as the Hon. John Puddester, a member of the Commission which administers the affairs of the Island, knelt, the King took the Governor's sword, touched Mr. Puddester with it on each shoulder and, with the words, "Rise, Sir John," conferred on him the style and dignity of Knight Bachelor. This was the first occasion during the tour that the public were able to see the bestowal of the accolade.

This might seem a convenient point to interject something on the matter of titles and other non-title bearing Royal honours in Canada. But why gratuitously get tangled up in that? At all events, the present attitude of the Canadian government furnishes every man with a good excuse for not being a knight! We'll let it go at that.

Newfoundland has undergone some depressing experiences. Some years ago the Island's general economic position become so bad that the people simply threw up the sponge. Their system of representative government was thrown into the ashcan for a while, and they are now administered by a Commission appointed by the Government of the United Kingdom.

The cure seems to have had as many disadvantages as the malady. I heard some outspoken criticisms of the new order during the few hours I was in St. John's.

"The situation was entirely financial and economic," one prominent resident said to me. "It was one that called for an experienced businessman to straighten our. But they appointed a retired Admiral as head of the Commission."

I couldn't comment, for I didn't delude myself into believing that this was the whole story. However, he continued, "The only hope I see for Newfoundland is for us to enter the Canadian confederation. I've lived here many years, and I think we've got to come to it. Canada snubbed us terribly years ago, and it's taking a long time for the people of Newfoundland to forget. But they're forgetting it."

This was news to me. I didn't know Canada had even given Newfoundland the streamlined eyebrow; and I don't suppose there's one Canadian out of ten thousand who knows when, or what it is all about. Certainly Canadians would never intentionally cut the feelings of these sturdy Islanders. Unfortunately, I had no chance to explore the matter further.

Whatever Newfoundlanders might think of the Commission form of Government, they were united in two things. One was a determination to give Their Majesties a welcome that revealed the profound loyalty and affection of the people. The other was an appreciation of the excellent arrangements, for which they unreservedly gave the Governor and Lady Walwyn a major portion of the credit.

The King and Queen captured the hearts of the people of Newfoundland. Said one of the St. John's newspapers editorially:

> "No one could fail to be impressed with the kingly bearing and personality of His Majesty, with his friendliness, with his keen interest in everything, and with the very real desire he showed to learn at first hand as much as he could of the people and conditions. By her charming presence, by the remarkable way, even by the wave of her hand, of conveying to a crowd that she was on intimate terms with each and all of them, by her delightful informality, so appropriate to such an occasion, and by her queenly grace, Her Majesty in the few hours spent in the country aroused such a feeling of affection as to leave many inarticulate."

When the Royal party descended the steep hill that led to Portugal Cove, whence they were scheduled to take a barge back to the *Empress of Britain*, some nine miles out in the bay, a westerly wind was whipping the broad expanse of waters, increasing in velocity every minute.

Sir Dudley North decided that Their Majesties should not be subjected to the punishing experience of that trip in the little motor-launch. He ordered the *Glasgow* to steam as close to Portugal Cove as possible. It was also decided that instead of using the barge the King and Queen should embark on the *Maneco*, a substantial local passenger boat. So the *Maneco* hoisted the Royal Standard, and Their Majesties embarked.

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Nearing the *Glasgow*, the King and Queen got into the pinnace, but almost immediately the little boat's propellor fouled a salmon-fishing net. Another pinnace was rushed up and Their Majesties transferred to it—no easy feat in the high seas. They reached the *Glasgow* in safety, jumping from the buoyant pinnace to the cruiser's companion ladder with the assurance of people accustomed to the sea.

Arrangements had been made for the King and Queen to visit the *Southampton* and *Berwick* that evening, to enable His Majesty to confer honours on the cruisers' officers. When *Glasgow* rejoined the squadron the King insisted on going through with the program. Indifferent to the freshening wind and the lashing seas, Their Majesties went from ship to ship by pinnace, and not once did they make a mis-step as they jumped from barge to companion ladder and from companion ladder to barge. They timed their jumps as the pinnace bobbed about. Later in the evening they returned to the *Empress*, and the story of their adventures thrilled everyone.

Gordon Young, W. G. Horton and I had also had quite a pounding. The Navy had told us to be ready to embark on the pinnace at 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon from Portugal Cove—an hour before the departure of the King and Queen. We were there. A barge from the *Glasgow* chugged up to the pier. Was this, we asked, the pinnace that was to take us?

No. The officer in command had had no instructions about us. However, since it was 4.30 p.m. and there was no other launch in sight we decided to take it. The barge had been sent to pick up three of the *Glasgow's* officers and two from the *Southampton;* but there was room also for us.

We started out. Anyone who has ventured in a small launch over heavy sea knows just how uncomfortably these little things can treat you. We had no regrets when about eight miles out, we approached the *Empress*. But by then the *Glasgow* had hoisted anchor and started for Portugal Cove. As she passed she signalled the pinnace to follow. A motor-launch can't argue with a cruiser, so back we went, all the eight miles.

When we drew alongside the *Glasgow* the officers belonging to that ship left us. There was some consultation about what to do next. But there seemed to be no other way of getting rid of us, so the pinnace was ordered to return to the *Southampton*, deliver its officers, then proceed to the liner and drop us at our proper address. Eventually we reached the quietness of the *Empress*.

This mix-up wasn't quite in keeping with the usual efficiency of the Royal Navy. As a matter of fact, these fellows had forgotten all about the pressmen in the sudden changes that took place. We didn't mind particularly. A reporter lives in a world of slip-ups and unexpected happenings. The worse the tangle the better the story. But the Navy was sorry for it all. Sir Dudley North personally expressed his regrets to us, which perked us up quite a bit and made us appreciate what a splendid chap he is.

What did embarrass the Navy, however, was the fact that the Mercantile Marine was looking on. And the two kid each other unmercifully, despite the fact that most of the Mercantile Marine officers are on the Naval Reserve. The *Empress* men got the better of the exchanges, for the Navy was too polite to go "all out."

It was not through lack of admirals that the mix-up happened, that the Navy had nodded. Admiral Sir Dudley North was in the *Empress*, Vice-Admiral Sir Sydney J. Meyrick in the *Berwick*, Vice-Admiral Sir G. F. B. E. Collins in the *Southampton*, and Admiral Sir Humphrey Walwyn on shore.

When we three bedraggled newspapermen came up the liner's companion ladder one of the *Britain's* officers approached with a smile.

"Never mind," he said, "if they send us over a few more admirals we'll all be drowned."

The Mercantile Marine was exultant that Their Majesties were crossing the Atlantic eastbound on a liner instead of on a warship. Westbound the *Empress of Australia* had flown the White Ensign, which somewhat tempered the enthusiasm of the merchant sailors; but on the *Empress of Britain* the King ordered the Red Ensign of the merchant service to be flown. Their joy was complete.

So, early in a clear night, the great liner steamed out of Conception Bay, driving up to 24 knots. The cruisers found the going difficult, for there was a heavy roll, and they signalled the *Britain* to ease up. Speed was reduced two knots. Next day we were well out of the ice track.

The liner seemed deserted. Eight tables were being used in the dining-room where there must be at least 100. No passengers were aboard, only the Royal party and those who had accompanied Their Majesties from the start.

We became acquainted with the crew. They talked a lot about the rigid investigation that had been made of the liner's personnel before they sailed from England. Home Office officials had examined the record of every man, woman and boy on board. Irish Republican terrorists were giving trouble in England: great care had to be taken to ensure that none seeped in among the *Britain's* crew. A steward told of one man who sought to sail with a Discharge Book he had bought from another chap. The Home Office people spotted it and put him ashore. Special guards protected the ship from stowaways.

Their Majesties did not appear much on deck the first day, except for a brisk walk. They had completed a tour that had tried their endurance, and for the most part they rested indoors. As the voyage progressed they appeared oftener on deck, but the entire trip was one of relaxation.

On the second day out His Majesty spoke to me on the Promenade Deck. The two of us circled the great deck alone three times.

"I think we must have seen everybody in Canada," he said.

I replied that it was hard to appreciate, after all the crowds he had seen, that Canada had only a population of 11,000,000.

"Well," said the King thoughtfully, "we must have seen at least 9,000,000."

At this point he gave an indication that he might some day return to Canada. The first tour, said His Majesty, must necessarily be long. Another visit to Canada, however, need not take in so many cities and towns.

I told His Majesty that he had seen many United States citizens who had crossed the border. The King mentioned Windsor, among other places.

"Oh yes," he said, "that was where we lost our engine."

(It will be recalled that when the Royal train was ordered to leave Windsor it was found the locomotive had been detached and had to be hurried up.) Another time, in Nova Scotia, the locomotive was detached when His Majesty wished to take a bath. The cook came to the rescue with some hot water from the kitchen.

The fast-footing *Empress of Britain* rushed over the Atlantic and, nearing England, loitered the remainder of the way, so that the slower-moving *Empress of Australia* passed close to us.

Their Majesties were greatly pleased with the entire tour; they were well content they had made it.

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June 22nd—the last day of the tour. And this is the approximate time-table:

1.00 a.m.—*Empress of Britain* travelling slowly through heavy mists in the English Channel.
8.00 a.m.—Sir Dudley North, Commander of the Royal Squadron, consults with the Admiralty
8.30 a.m.—Review of the Home Fleet cancelled on account of the mists.
9.00 a.m.—Mists begin to disperse. Speed of the *Empress* accelerated.
9.45 a.m.—His Majesty takes a turn round the Promenade Deck.
10.00 a.m.—Their Majesties together present gifts to personnel on the ship.
10.30 a.m.—H.M.S. *Kempenfelt* (now H.M.C.S. *Assiniboine*) approaches the liner off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, with the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret on board.
10.45 a.m.—The Princesses board the liner and go immediately with their father and mother to the Royal Suite.
11.15 a.m.—Their Majesties conduct their children on a tour of the ship.
1.00 p.m.—The King and Queen have a gala luncheon, with their daughters, members of the Royal Party and guests.
2.15 p.m.—The King invests Captain C. H. Sapsworth, Master of the *Empress of Britain*, with the insignia of Commander of the Royal Victorian Order.
2.35 p.m.—The *Empress of Britain* reaches Southampton.
3.25 p.m.—Their Majesties disembark.
3.31 p.m.—The King and Queen leave for the civic centre in Southampton.
3.55 p.m.—The King and Queen enter the Royal train which starts immediately on its way to London.
5.25 p.m.—Their Majesties arrive at Waterloo Station.
5.30 p.m.—The Royal procession leaves for Buckingham Palace.
6.00 p.m.—The King and Queen arrive at the Palace.
6.15 p.m.—Their Majesties appear on the balcony.
8.40 p.m.—Their Majesties again appear on the balcony.
9.30 p.m.—Mr. Neville Chamberlain arrives at the Palace.

What a day! Surely there is no job in the world comparable to that of being Ruler of the British Empire—one hour bursting toy balloons to the glee of his daughters, and shortly afterwards receiving the plaudits of more than a million people in the crowded streets of London.

This soul-stirring, history-making day opened with the *Empress of Britain* barely making steerage way because of the dense mist that engulfed her after she entered the Channel. I made my way to the bridge, and there was Captain Sapsworth, shrouded in oilskins, leaning on the rail, peering ahead. The whistle was growling. Intently we listened to the moaning of the cruisers' sirens and to the distant warnings of other shipping.

Sir Dudley North arrived. It had been decided, he said, that the weather was too thick for a review of the Home Fleet, as had been planned. Following a consultation with the King, the show had been called off. But no sooner had this decision been reached than the weather began to clear. His Majesty came out on the Promenade Deck and looked over the peaceful sea.

For my own part, I was busy getting off wireless messages when a steward approached to say that I was to report at the Royal state-room. The King and Queen were standing alone when I entered. After presenting me with a set of cuff-links, which Her Majesty warned me I should wear and not put away as keepsakes, the King told me how much he and the Queen had appreciated the assistance of the Canadian newspapers in making the tour a success.

"They were simply splendid," commented the Queen. "You all were; and I hope you will tell them how thankful we are."

I said that, in common with other Canadians, I considered Their Majesties' visit had come at a most opportune time. The King agreed.

Shortly afterwards H.M.S. *Kempenfelt* hove in sight. This destroyer was scheduled for sale to the Royal Canadian Navy some months prior to the war. It was retained until after the outbreak of hostilities, then released. Re-christened, the ship is now the flotilla-leader of the R.C.N., rejoicing in the name *Assiniboine*. (All destroyers of the R.C.N. are named after Canadian rivers).

The King and Queen stood at the rail, anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Princesses. They had not seen the children since May 6th, although frequent conversations had been carried on with them by trans-oceanic radio-telephone.

The little girls were transferred from the destroyer in a pinnace and were soon scrambling up the liner's companion ladder.

"Hello, Papa! Hello, Mama!"

Their shrill cries of joy were smothered in the affectionate hugs, as they dashed into their parents' arms. It was a happy reunion. And children being what they are, a barrage of questions followed. The Royal Family disappeared for a few moments into the Royal cabin, then re-appeared as Their Majesties conducted the children on a tour of the ship.

It did not take the Princesses long to elicit that on the previous night the Royal party had followed the time-honoured custom at sea of having a gala dinner, with balloons, festoons and paper hats. They begged for an encore at luncheon, and their supplications were granted. It was a merry little party.

Meanwhile the liner and her cruiser escort were nearing Southampton. On either side the sea was gradually filling with every sort of small craft. Little gasoline launches, side-wheeled excursion boats, all sorts and conditions of vessels bobbed up and down in Southampton Water. The sail-boats were anchored and formed a lane through which the Royal squadron passed.

Crowded with passengers who were resolved to make a day of it, the excursion steamers were a pandemonium of noise. The cheering was endless, the strident screaming of the sirens continued in one riotous bedlam. And so, like a hen with several hundred motley chickens, the towering liner came into Southampton harbour.

Before entering the dock, Chief Inspector Cameron, learning from Sir Alan Lascelles that I should proceed to London in the Royal train, invited me to ride in his car in the procession through the metropolis. Needless to say, I accepted; and with considerable enthusiasm.

However, after the liner docked I did a foolish thing. I had a great wad of copy which I wanted to telegraph to the Canadian Press Bureau in London. At the same time I very much wanted to accompany the Royal party on the final leg of this tour. So, before Their Majesties stepped ashore, I descended the gangplank in an effort to locate a telegraph messenger. None was in sight. Telegraph boys aren't allowed the liberties which their opposite numbers enjoy in Canada.

Still trying to spot one, my eye lit on Mr. Penman of Reuter's, standing behind a line of soldiers. Walking through the line I asked Mr. Penman to get my copy off, and he generously undertook to telephone it. Then I suddenly realized that I had nothing wherewith to identify myself, not even my passport. Nothing could get me back through that line of troops until and unless they were completely

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satisfied with me; and I possessed nothing wherewith to give them that satisfaction. In Canada I'd had an arm-band, a numbered metal badge, a numbered ticket and other documents. On these I had relied implicitly, and they had been my "Open Sesame" everywhere. But, standing in the tightly crowded throng at Southampton Dock, just one of scores of thousands, I had nothing whatever—not even an engaging smile, for I was in a panic.

For a minute, a desperate minute, I tried to figure the situation out. Then I saw Inspector Cameron descending the gangway. Tilting my silk topper at a rakish angle, I moved into the line of soldiers where I would be close enough to the Inspector to have him extricate me from the jam I myself had unwittingly created. But to my relief the soldiers let me go through unquestioned.

As an aside, I would say that a silk hat is a wonderful "laissez passer" in England. If I lived there I'd like to wear one all the time. Some hours later, when I left Buckingham Palace and became once more engulfed in the London crowd that crammed the narrow streets of that neighbourhood, I heard a woman say to her escort:

"How are we ever goin' to get through that crowd?"

"That's easy," was the response. "We'll just keep behind this silk hat."

I don't know if they did or not, but personally I had no trouble whatever. And the greeting extended to me by the staff of the hotel where I was putting up was—well, it was simply something, that's all.

An experienced English traveller told me that a silk hat among your luggage is the hall-mark of a gentleman. You're expected to double the volume and quantity of your tips. That would be a drawback, of course.

You have read of the glorious reception accorded Their Majesties in Southampton, so why seek to describe it anew? I reached the Royal train without further misadventure and enjoyed a compartment with Gordon Young and Bill Horton. Our spot of tea came along as we rolled up to London. At every station crowds of cheering people thronged every point of vantage, glad to have the King and Queen back home.

The Queen Mother had travelled to Southampton, and with Her Majesty were the King's brothers and their wives, and the Princess Royal and her husband.

At Waterloo Station Their Majesties were greeted by Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, and Sir Thomas Inskip, then Secretary for the Dominions.

It was delightful to see Princess Elizabeth whisper instructions into the ear of Princess Margaret. The latter may have followed them, but I doubt it. Margaret is a lively, whole-hearted child. By the way, some time ago the King asked that the name "Rose" be deleted from the Princess Margaret's name in any reference to that Royal lady, and that she be known simply as the Princess Margaret. This is one of the "Don't's" of the B.B.C., and is in the style-book of the United Kingdom newspapers.

Finally Margaret edged up to Mr. Joseph Kennedy, the United States ambassador, who had just greeted the King and Queen. Mr. Kennedy had not noticed her, but chanced to look down and saw the little Princess standing in front of him. Smiling, he extended his hand, which Her Royal Highness grasped eagerly.

Their Majesties entered their landau, drawn by four Windsor greys ridden by outriders. With them were the Princesses. Preceded by an escort of Lifeguards, the little procession moved off. From tremendous crowds a volume of cheering was raised which outdid anything I'd heard—even in Canada; not so vigorous, perhaps, but in greater volume because more people contributed to it.

In the front seat of our car sat Inspector Giles. Inspector Cameron sat beside me in the rear. We followed the Royal procession, across Westminster Bridge and on towards the Palace. The occupants of each car were cheered with delightful catholicity, and when I smiled at them they waved their hands enthusiastically.

"Mr. Carnegie, London is giving you a reception," commented Inspector Cameron.

I looked at him, and then at Giles. Both were seated rigidly, staring straight ahead, their faces statuesque under their silk toppers. I took the tip. One doesn't fraternise with the "hoi polloi" when riding in the King's procession. So, accepting London's reception with dignity, I sat up and looked straight ahead, too.

Later in the night, when I had arrived at The Canadian Press Bureau on Tudor Street, Jack Sanderson was writing his comments on foreign affairs.

"Well, Andy," he said, "you certainly put on a lot of dog when you're part of a Royal procession. I was three feet from you, and you didn't deign to look." So, you, see!

As we swung round by the Houses of Parliament I noted many world figures. It was easy to pick out Lloyd George, in a snappy blue suit that emphasized the silver of his white locks. Winston Churchill and Malcolm MacDonald were there. I'd "covered" them at various times in Canada. I recognized Sir John Simon from his photographs, and also the Archbishop of Canterbury, who seemed to be acting as cheer-leader among a group of peers with whom he was standing.

We swung out of the procession shortly after and went direct to Buckingham Palace so as to be there when the Royal party arrived. Entering the quadrangle behind the big gates, we noted a crowd that must have numbered from 50,000 to 60,000. Inside there could not have been more than 500 people, the *crème de la crème* of British society. I daresay I was the only one who didn't really belong there by right of birth or whatever it is that carries the right.

The cheers rose like thunder along the Mall as the procession approached. Soon the gates were opened and the Royal party came home.

The evening among the crowd was a repetition of the scenes to which I had now become accustomed in Canada.

"We want the King—We want the King." The chant went on endlessly. The King and Queen, accompanied by the Princesses, appeared on the balcony almost immediately.

This looked like the end of my job. Their Majesties had left for Canada from Buckingham Palace. They had now returned home. It was getting near time for me to write "30" to the story.

I braved the London crowd to get to my hotel, where I at once requested a porter to go to Waterloo Station for my grips.

The man was dismayed.

"Have you any tickets, Sir—anything to show you have luggage coming here?" he asked.

"No, I came in on the Royal train," I replied casually. I tried to make it sound as if I was accustomed to coming in on the Royal train every day. "There was no room for my baggage, and the people at Southampton said they'd send it along. It'll be at the station—I hope."

The porter had me sign a letter giving him authority to get the luggage. He set out for the station; and now, shorn of all Royal dignity, I proceeded to go to the C.P. office. But all was well. My confrères helped me with my story; the porter rescued my grips. What could be nicer?

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King George broadcast to the Empire from Winnipeg. It was a momenteous speech given on the birthday of Queen Victoria, his great grandmother.

"We often talk of the old world and the new," the King said. "It is one of the greatest services of the British Empire that it serves to link and harmonize the two."

The King proceeded: "For a long period in history it was the mind of Europe which led the march and fixed the aims of progress in the world. But that tide of inspiration is no longer running as it did in times gone by. The Christian civilization of Europe is now profoundly troubled and challenged from within. We are striving to restore its standards, though the task is long and hard. Asia, too, is changing fast, and its mind is deeply disturbed. Is not this a moment when the old world in its turn might look for hope and guidance in the achievements of the new?"

So the King spoke, and in amplification of his noble words, humbly I give you the tale of two cities—Vancouver and London.

* * *

Vancouver looks out on the Pacific, sure of herself, audacious, given to moods of irritation at the things that would baulk her. She typifies the new city of the new world—the new world of the Far West.

London looks out on Europe. Venerable, calm, wise with the wisdom that has persisted and triumphed over the futilities of the centuries, London is indulgent, timeless.

Both of these so very different cities give allegiance to the same Sovereign. Both welcomed King George and Queen Elizabeth in this year of grace, 1939. The superficial elements of difference in the manner in which each went about the ceremonies of welcome merely served to emphasize the community of feeling to which each strove to give expression. In those varying aspects of the same thing one saw reflected the bonds which tie in harmonious unison that equanimity which derives from age and experience to the impetuousness characteristic of adolescence.

Canada was revealing to the world a new relationship between the Sovereign and his subjects. In that relationship less emphasis was being placed on the institution of Monarchy as such, more upon the personalities of the King and Queen. Nowhere was this more in evidence than in Vancouver.

Each of the two cities tendered Their Majesties a civic luncheon. The ceremonies were as opposite as the poles and almost as far distant; but they sprang from the same desire to honour the King and Queen for their precedent-breaking journey and to voice appreciation for a job well done. On the Pacific Coast the function was staged in the new Hotel Vancouver, a brand new structure so recently free from the builders' hands that the walls were little more than dry. "Modern" is the word—the hackneyed word—properly applicable to this institution. All the innovations and inventions and new-fangled gadgets which make life in a big hotel more like a visit to the Never-Never Land are present in the Hotel Vancouver. Perhaps the word should be "ultra-modern", and I apply it here, no matter what the philological purist says or thinks.

Here, then, in a gloriously adorned banquet room of this "ultra-modern" hotel, amid native blooms which would have baffled the conception of even a Hollywood director, the King and Queen sat down to lunch. In such a setting nothing was to be left to chance. The staff of the old Vancouver Hotel, which had automatically expired when the new building was opened, were reinforced by personnel from similar institutions elsewhere. Many of the key-men and women had been "conscripted" from the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa.

Typical of Canadian resourcefulness this make-shift staff had been grabbed up and quickly moulded into a smooth-working machine. These men and women had little experience in caring for the needs of Royalty, but they were widely experienced in extending royal hospitality to all guests after the accepted manner of a first class hotel. Unmindful of tradition or precedent they went along their customary way and the service they provided was all-sufficient. The same can be said of the other great hotels in Canada which provided accommodation for the Royal couple.

Idling around the place just prior to going into the luncheon, I wandered into a room on the first floor. Here were congregated the gentlemen-guests, all being arrayed in the order in which they would enter the hall. In another room were the ladies, subjecting themselves to a similar drill.

The last-minute instructions were being carefully digested. The men were told how they were to line up, what each one was required to do after his presentation to Their Majesties, in what order he was to enter the banquet hall. Presumably across the corridor the women were receiving the same type of coaching.

It was all very serious; all very necessary. Vancouver had never before played host to the King and Queen. The procedure had to be devised, perhaps even improvised. But the city went about it with an assurance and an aplomb that were delightfully ingenuous—and typically western. One writer said there was "nothing particular about the luncheon." That was it. There were no flaws in the service, nobody got off on the wrong foot or spoke out of turn. Everything ran smoothly. There was nothing to report. Vancouver might have entertained her Sovereigns once a week, so confidently was the function arranged and with such engaging insouciance was it carried out.

His Worship W. Lyle Telford, Mayor of Vancouver, and Mrs. Lyle Telford were the perfect host and hostess. The Queen distributed her conversation between the Mayor and Mr. Ian Mackenzie, the Minister of National Defence. The King chatted with his host and hostess. When His Majesty's health was toasted, Queen Elizabeth smiled and raised her glass in his direction. Her eyes twinkled merrily. This Royal gesture was reciprocated by the King when Her Majesty's health was toasted. There was no swank—that's the word—no swank.

A "Master of Ceremonies?" No, there wasn't any. The luncheon just drifted easily, cheerfully, happily along. The guests sang the National Anthem after the King's toast. It was spontaneous. Canadians always do that. They were just a friendly people seeking to impress on their Royal Guests how much they appreciated having them—not only as King and Queen, but as George and Elizabeth, two gracious persons who were performing an exacting and highly responsible job efficiently and acceptably.

* * *

Let us now visit the Guildhall. In Canada we would call it the City Hall. But, away back in the dim mists of antiquity, London was administered by the merchants' guilds—hence the name. It is as if the Canadian Manufacturers Association were the executive authority for Toronto, or the Canadian Livestock Producers Association had the run of things in Calgary.

We shall attend the luncheon tendered to Their Majesties by the City of London—not the whole metropolitan area, but that comparatively small section extending from Temple Bar to Tower Bridge. No last-minute instructions there. Everything had been done before—many, many times.

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There were a multitude of things to interest me at the Guildhall, but one feature attracted me above all others. The crypt of the building is an old Norman church, dating back almost to William the Conqueror. Although smaller, its pillars so closely resemble the pillar in the main entrance of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa that one would think the Ottawa pillar was copied from the Guildhall.

The building is ancient, dignified, self-possessed. London has had organized government for more than a thousand years. Kings and Queens attending luncheon at the Guildhall is no new thing. It is no new thing historically, yet, paradoxically enough, it is always new, always refreshing, always impressive.

The City of London is jealous of its prerogatives. On one occasion when King Charles the First descended upon the City and demanded admission, the City Fathers turned thumbs down on the Monarch. And they won out. Thus, when the King wants to visit the City, he has to get permission. The *laissez passer* is given at Temple Bar.

On the present occasion the Royal carriage, drawn by four Windsor greys, halted at Temple Bar where a silken cord, held taut by two policemen, barred the route. The Lord Mayor, Sir Frank Bowater, stepped forward with a deputation of Aldermen, Sheriffs and Members of the Court of the Common Council. His Worship surrendered the pearl-handled sword of the City, with point lowered toward the King. Smiling, His Majesty returned the sword to the City's civic head, and the procession entered.

Long before this, however, the Lord Mayor had held his reception for the guests in the great library at Guildhall—a chamber about the size of the Senate Chamber in Ottawa. I attended with Mr. A. T. Penman of Reuter's Agency, an experienced newspaperman who has worked in many parts of the world and whom I had known intimately during the Imperial Economic Conference in Ottawa, in 1932. I was fortunate in having Mr. Penman as guide, philosopher and friend. He is a Londoner, a Freeman of the City, and a walking encyclopaedia of London. We were joined by Mr. A. C. Cummings, who represents the Southam newspapers in London; so I had a Canadian on one side and a native Londoner on the other.

From a balcony we watched the presentations of the 200 guests. It was a coign of vantage for a ceremony which, except for the coronation of the Monarch, is unsurpassed in stateliness borne of a venerable tradition. It will bear detailed description.

On either side of the main floor of the library were tiers of seats occupied by the members of the Court of the Common Council and their ladies. The entrance was at one end of the chamber, the dais of the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress at the other.

A piercing fanfare by trumpeters, adorned in uniforms simply plastered with braid that makes one wonder whether England is on or off the gold standard, heralded the arrival of the Chief Magistrate. He and the Lady Mayoress were preceded by the Mace Bearer, and the Sword Bearer. His Worship was a perfectly gorgeous figure in his rich crimson robe, with a cape or ermine and wearing his ancient badge of office—a cameo studded with diamonds. The two walked with stately tread and slow between the two tiers of Councillors. Reaching the dais they took their seats on red plush chairs, beautifully carved and gilded. The presentations started.

The Master of Ceremonies—known as the Chief Remembrancer—was enmantled in a black gown. A flowing grey wig adorned his head. There were two Toastmasters, one at the entrance, the other in the middle of the floor. When a guest entered, the first Toastmaster boomed his name, which was taken up by Number 2. The guest walked the length of the room and, ascending the dais, shook hands with the Lord Mayor and his wife. He then greeted the Sheriffs and waited on the side of the dais for the others.

Uniforms. Colour. Aldermen in crimson gowns faced with sable; Common Councillors in blue robes; Privy Councillors in Court attire; uniforms of ranking Naval, Army and Air Force officers; the blue plush uniforms of parliamentarians. It was all dazzling. In Ottawa when the Governor-General opens Parliament it is a case of "place aux dames." All eyes are on the dresses of the women. At the Guildhall presentation a woman could have attended in a calico dress and it would never have been noticed. The men's clothes were the eyeful.

I was fascinated by the spectacle. I had become quite unconscious of the fact that any particular person was being presented, knowing none of the guests except by reputation, when all at once I was called back to myself.

"The Right Honourable R. B. Bennett!"

The name rolled out sonorously and reverberated up from the first Toastmaster to the second. It was repeated. I gazed towards the entrance. Sure enough—there was our own "R.B." Large as life, Juniper Hill's new squire strode vigorously along the red carpet, accompanied by one—or maybe it was two—blue-gowned Councillors, bearing wands tipped with the City's crest. They bowed. Resplendent in his uniform of a Privy Councillor, Mr. Bennett walked up the steps and was presented. He was greeted with resounding applause. I was proud of him.

Speaking generally, this Guildhall function isn't very considerate of people's feelings. They make no bones about how important they rate their guests, these City of London people. The thing has been worked out mathematically. If they have it figured that a guest doesn't amount to much, no Councillor accompanies him to the dais as he walks up the centre of the Chamber. The Forgotten Man has to make the grade alone.

If a person is important, but not *very* important, one Councillor accompanies him. The higher up in the scale of importance a man is, the larger the number of Councillors he gets to attend him. Beyond a certain rating of Councillors, a fanfare is added. Mr. Neville Chamberlain got nothing less than a long fanfare and eight Councillors. It's a good system for disclosing to a fellow just how important other fellows think he is!

I remember that the first man to achieve four Councillors was the Bishop of London.

The only foreign ambassador to attend was the Hon. Joseph Kennedy of the United States. He came in full evening dress, with Mrs. Kennedy. He rated a fanfare and six Councillors.

There was a great deal of applause throughout the function. Viscount Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, was warmly greeted; but the hand-clapping was just a bit louder when the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill came along. The Hon. Vincent Massey, Canada's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, and Mrs. Massey were well received. Mr. Massey's rating was a couple of Councillors.

The cheers really broke loose when Mr. Chamberlain and his wife entered. As they were approaching the dais Mrs. Chamberlain dropped her handbag. Not the least bit flustered, she turned and picked it up. The Prime Minister looked a bit surprised to find himself marching up alone, as if he was wondering what on earth had happened to his wife. But she soon caught up.

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A London friend of mine told me of a presentation he attended some years ago when the Guildhall staged a party for some visiting foreigners. The Belgian ambassador drew a fanfare and half-a-dozen Councillors; but the fanfare for the Italian ambassador was somehow overlooked. This was a terrible break. It nearly caused international complications. Everything means something at the Guildhall, but you probably don't know just what it is.

Half-way through the presentations the Lord Mayor had to leave for Temple Bar to let the King into the City. One of the Sheriffs took his place. To me he seemed to do just as nice a job of it as the Lord Mayor.

This part of the function ended, the Chief Remembrancer announced the 20 persons from among the guests who would proceed to the main entrance to welcome Their Majesties. Out they went in pairs, the Roman Catholic Mrs. Kennedy with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mrs. Massey with Sir Thomas Inskip, the then Dominions' Secretary.

The Common Crier, who isn't a bit common but is a dignified mortal in black gown and white wig and has a voice like Big Ben, told us to find our places in the Great Hall, where luncheon was to be served. What a stately room! Someone hinted there was a cool million dollars worth of gold plate at the head table. No, you can't prove it by me! The most imposing trinket was the massive gold candelabra.

Amid a demonstration of warm affection Queen Mary and her attendants arrived and took their places at the head table. Soon after, a fanfare announced the arrival of Their Majesties. The band of the Royal Artillery played the National Authem, and the King and Queen were welcomed to this ancient Guildhall after their tour of the New World in a manner so sincere and heartfelt that one could not but feel how deep were the love and pride in which old London held the Sovereign and his consort.

On either side of the hall, about midway, is a pulpit some 10 feet high, built against the wall. In each was a man dressed completely in white, brandishing a long, keen-bladed knife. Before him was a baron of beef—the roast beef of Old England. The gentleman in white carved it on the pulpit, laying the portions ceremoniously on plates which were handed down to the waiters.

I sat almost under one of these pulpits. That was the only thing that dimmed for me a terrific occasion. When later I got back to The Canadian Press office, I found the back of my morning-coat plastered with grease spots. Was I sore? Certainly I was! But it was no use complaining to the Lord Mayor about the slipshod way his functionaries do their job. I just had to get the thing cleaned. But I'm against carving barons of beef on pulpits in banquet halls!

The Archbishop of Canterbury said grace, before and after the meal. Then followed the welcoming speech of Sir Frank Bowater and the address by His Majesty, which is regarded generally as the most comprehensive speech of his Royal career

* * *

Months have passed since those inspiring circumstances. The Empire is at war. Back in Canada I turn aside to listen to the radio. The program is coming in from Old London.

The First Canadian Division is at Aldershot. Many of the boys, on leave, are up in London seeing the sights. I hear the voice of "Bob" Bowman interviewing these Canuck soldiers. "What's your name?" Bob asks. "Where do you come from?"

They come from many parts of Canada. One voice is heard—clear, confident, self-assertive, audacious. It says, "From Vancouver, British Columbia, sir."

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Speech of Prime Minister Mackenzie King at the luncheon given by the Dominion Government on Their Majesties' arrival in Canada at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, May 17th, 1939.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

On behalf of the Canadian people, I respectfully extend to Your Majesty and to Her Majesty the Queen a royal welcome to your Dominion of Canada.

We are deeply conscious of the signal honour of being the first of the overseas nations of the Commonwealth to be visited by the reigning Sovereign, and of having the high privilege of welcoming, in person, our King and Queen. We are proud indeed to feel that, in the person of Your Majesty, we have among us, not the symbol, but the living presence of the Head of the whole Empire

Three and a third centuries ago, unknown, unheralded and unwelcomed, small craft crossed the then uncharted seas and sailed up the St. Lawrence to where this morning Your Majesty set foot on Canadian soil. Here, these early adventurers raised the *Fleur de Lis* of France and planted the Cross of Christianity. That day was the birthday of Canada. Since then, these heights have witnessed other scenes alike heroic and historic.

This afternoon Your Majesty will view the plains where one and three quarter centuries ago the soil of Old France in the New World was won for the British Crown. The transition gave a firm foundation to the British dominions beyond the seas. Your Majesty will also see the memorial which, in a single epitaph, commemorates the virtues of the gallant leaders of the two great races then in conflict — a symbol of the highest chivalry, but, even more, of national unity.

Here, in 1864, after a preliminary conference at Charlottetown, the Fathers of Confederation drafted the resolutions which were the basis of the British North America Act. By this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were federally united under the Crown into one Dominion. On July 1st, 1867, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom, the British Colonies thus united became the Dominion of Canada.

To aid and advise in the government of the Dominion, the new constitution made provision for a Council to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada.

To-day, all the Privy Councillors of Canada have been invited to meet Your Majesty, including members of both present and past administrations. It is the first occasion since Confederation, apart from the meetings of the first Cabinet, on which all the members of the King's Privy Council for Canada have been brought together. It is the first time in the history of Canada that the Ministers of the Crown and, indeed, all members of Your Majesty's Privy Council, have been assembled in the presence of Their King.

To-day, as never before, the Throne has become the centre of our national life.

Under the shadow of the great rock of Quebec, there has passed, in the course of years, a continuous stream of men and women, seeking and finding new homes and new opportunities in this favoured land. We rejoice in the thought that, for a time, our King and Queen will follow the path of those adventurers and pioneers. Your Majesties will discover not only — as they did — forests, prairies, and mountains, but thriving villages, towns and cities, all eager to extend their welcome. We hope there may be opportunity as well for Your Majesties to see and to enjoy something of the natural beauty of Canada's many rivers and lakes, its vast spaces, its clear skies and golden sunshine, its national parks, its quiet countryside and its peaceful homes.

We are not unmindful of the sacrifices involved in your long and arduous journeys over land and sea, and in parting for the time being with your children — those cherished children of the Empire, the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose. May the sincerity and warmth of our welcome be some compensation to you during this temporary separation. Your Majesties will find other children in this land longing to press around you, children who in turn will hand on to a future generation the memory of a great moment in their lives. Here, too, you will be in the heart of a family which is your own; a family of men and women of varied stock and race and thought, who, in free association with other members of the Commonweath, but equally in their own way, are working out their national destiny.

We would have Your Majesties feel that, in coming from the Old Land to the New, you have but left one home to come to another; that we are all of one household. Free institutions and democratic ideals are as dear to the hearts of your people in Canada as to the peoples in any other part of the Empire. We regard their preservation and perpetuation as the common concern of all.

May I, in conclusion, be permitted to say that the warmth of the welcome Your Majesties will everywhere receive is bound up in a very special way with the admiration that all Canadians feel for the qualities of heart and character which you possess — for what you are in yourselves. In your daily lives we see exemplified the things we value most — faith in God, concern for human well-being, consecration to the public service, delight in the simple joys of home and family life. Greater than our sense of the splendour of your state is our affection for two young people who bear, in so high a spirit, a responsibility unparalleled in the world.

Translation of Speech delivered in French by the Hon. Senator Raoul Dandurand, P.C., Leader of the Government in the Senate, at the luncheon given by the Dominion Government on Their Majesties' arrival in Canada, at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, May 17th, 1939.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

It is fitting that you should be welcomed in the capital of New France, and that the respectful homage of our whole population should be offered to your charming Consort in the language of Champlain, who founded Quebec in 1608, and of the descendants of his heroic companions whose pathways of exploration, as far as the Rockies, will be followed by Your Majesties. The explorers and early pioneers of Canada belonged to a race which is not unknown to Your Majesty, since you claim, not without pride, a common though distant ancestry.

Indeed, they came directly from that celebrated Duchy of Normandy which gave to its leader, William, fifty thousand men for the battle at Hastings which established his dominion over England. It was the descendants of these Anglo-Normans who, in 1760, came to join here their Franco-Norman cousins.

They no longer spoke quite the same language for, in your island, the language had evolved considerably. At first they experienced some little difficulty in understanding one another, although some thousands of the French words had retained in English their original form. In particular, two words had kept their full significance, two words which remained deeply impressed in the Norman consciousness, and which men of the Norman race can never forget, two words which they found ony our escutcheon: "Dieu et Mon Droit."

It is their unswerving fidelity to these two essential principles of life, "Dieu et Mon Droit", which has assured their survival.

Under the aegis of this device, they were able, in changing their allegiance, to exclaim, like the knights of old: "Le roi est mort, vive le roi."

So, to-day, without hesitation and from loyal hearts, they greet Your Majesty with: "Vive le Roi."

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Speech of His Majesty King George VI at the luncheon given by the Dominion Government at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, May 17th, 1939.

I am deeply moved by your words of welcome to the Queen and myself on behalf of the Canadian people.

I recognize that this moment is historic. It is the first time that a British king has crossed the Atlantic. I stand today on the soil of North America.

Here, in the past two centuries, through loss and through gain, the British Commonwealth of Nations has been largely moulded into its present form.

This is also the first visit of the sovereign to one of his oversea dominions. It is fitting that it should be the senior Dominion of the Crown. I am particularly pleased that, on the day of my arrival in Canada, I should have the pleasure of meeting, not only my ministers, but all the leaders of my privy council in Canada.

You in Canada have already fulfilled part of the Biblical promise and obtained dominion from sea to sea. You are engaged in fulfilling the latter part of that promise in consolidating government from the river to the ends of the earth, from the St. Lawrence to the Arctic snows.

The Queen and I are looking forward, with anticipation too great for expression, to seeing all we possibly can of this vast country. Particularly do we welcome the opportunity of greeting the men and women who are its strength and stay, and of seeing something of the younger generation so soon to become the guardians of its future.

(*The following passage was delivered in French.*)

I wish, Senator Dandurand, to offer my tribute to the ancient province of Quebec and to this beautiful old city in the language of the pioneers who brought civilization to the shores of the St. Lawrence River. It was here that the door to Canada was first opened and that the Canadian nation was born.

It was here that great exploits were accomplished — leaving records that will ever remain glorious for France and Great Britain. It is here that to-day two great races dwell happily side by side. The spirit of Quebec is a happy fusion of a progressive spirit and a proud tradition.

It was also from this old section of Canada that great numbers of early pioneers set out for the West and Northwest and joined with the sons of the British Isles and of continental Europe to make Canada a land of free men.

It is the blending of the old with the new that makes for a powerful city or nation.

The union in harmonious accord of the various elements which constitute Canada was the ideal envisaged by the Fathers of Confederation.

I cannot wish for you who hear me a more fortunate destiny than the fruitful and happy accomplishment of this noble dream.

Speech of King George VI to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, on the occasion of the Royal Assent, Ottawa, May 19th, 1939.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

I thank you sincerely for your addresses received on my arrival at Quebec. The Queen and I deeply appreciate your loyal and affectionate messages.

I am very happy that my visit to Canada affords me the opportunity of meeting, in parliament assembled, the members of both houses. No ceremony could more completely symbolize the free and equal association of the nations of our commonwealth. As my father said, on the occasion of his silver jubilee, the unity of the British Empire is no longer expressed by the supremacy of the time-honoured parliament that sits at Westminster. It finds expression to-day in the free association of nations enjoying common principles of government, a common attachment to ideals of peace and freedom, and bound together by a common allegiance to the crown.

The Queen and I have been deeply touched by the warmth of the welcome accorded us since our arrival in Canada. We are greatly looking forward to visiting each of the provinces, and, before our return, to paying a brief visit to the United States.

It is my earnest hope that my present visit may give my Canadian people a deeper conception of their unity as a nation. I hope also that my visit to the United States will help to maintain the very friendly relations existing between that great country and the nations of the commonwealth.

These visits, like the one recently made by the Queen and myself to the continent of Europe, will, we trust, be viewed as an expression of the spirit of our peoples which seek ardently for closer friendship and better relations, not only with our kith and kin but with the peoples of all nations and races.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

May the blessing of Divine Providence rest upon your labours and upon my realm of Canada.

Speech of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, on the occasion of the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Supreme Court Building, Ottawa, May 20th, 1939.

I am happy to lay the foundation stone of a building devoted to the administration of justice in this great Dominion.

Perhaps it is not inappropriate that this task should be performed by a woman; for woman's position in civilized society has depended upon the growth of law. Canada is rightly proud of being a land governed by the rule of law. Her judiciary and the members of her legal profession have been true to the highest British traditions of Bench and Bar. It is fitting that on these heights above the Ottawa — surely one of the noblest situations in the world — you should add to the imposing group of buildings which house your Parliament and the executive branch of government, a worthy home for your Supreme Court. Henceforth, on these river-side cliffs, there will stand in this beautiful capital a group of public buildings unsurpassed as a symbol of the free and democratic institutions which are our greatest heritage.

(*The following passage was delivered in French.*)

In Canada, as in Great Britain, justice is administered according to two great dissimilar legislations. In my native land, Scotland, we have a law founded on Roman law; it springs from the same fountain-head as your civil law in the old Province of Quebec. In England, as in Canada's other provinces, common law prevails. At Ottawa, as at Westminster, both are administered by the Supreme Court of Justice. To me, this is a very happy augury.

To see your two great races with their different legislations, beliefs and traditions, uniting more and more closely, after the manner of England and Scotland, by ties of affections, of respect and of a common ideal, is my fondest wish.

Speech of His Majesty King George VI at the Unveiling of the National War Memorial, Ottawa, May 21st, 1939.

It is my privilege, as your King, to unveil to-day, in your capital city, the noble memorial to Canada's spirit and sacrifice in the Great War.

It is almost a quarter of a century since the beginning of the Great War. Four years earlier my father had succeeded to the Throne. For many, the memories of the war will always have an immediate association with his reign. It has been given to me to-day to recall Canada's part in the great conflict. Fortunately, my task is already largely performed, for in the beautiful work of art which I have just unveiled vivid and enduring expression has been given to the spirit of Canada.

The time and the place of to-day's ceremony are not without significance. I am not surprised that it has taken many years to bring this

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memorial into being, and to give it this appropriate setting. On the battlefields of Europe, and throughout the Dominion, there are many memorials to Canada's honoured dead. To-day, in her own capital, Canada dedicates her national memorial.

The memorial speaks to the world of Canada's heart. Its symbolism has been beautifully adapted to this great end. It has been well named "The Response." One sees at a glance the answer made by Canada when the world's peace was broken, and freedom threatened in the fateful years of the Great War. It depicts the zeal with which this country entered the conflict.

But the symbolism of the memorial is even more profound. Something deeper than chivalry is portrayed. It is the spontaneous response of the nation's conscience. The very soul of the nation is here revealed.

Surmounting the arch, through which the armed forces of the nation are pressing forward, are the figures of Peace and Freedom. To win peace and to secure freedom, Canada's sons and daughters enrolled for service during the Great War. For the cause of peace and freedom 60,000 Canadians gave their lives, and a still larger number suffered impairment of body or mind. This sacrifice the national memorial holds in remembrance for our own and succeeding generations.

This memorial, however, does more than commemorate a great event in the past. It has a message for all generations and for all countries — the message which called forth Canada's response. Not by chance do the crowning figures of peace and freedom appear side by side. Peace and freedom cannot long be separated. It is well that we have, in one of the world capitals, a visible reminder of so great a truth. Without freedom there can be no enduring peace, and without peace no enduring freedom.

Speech of Queen Elizabeth at the presentation of Colours by Her Majesty to the Toronto Scottish Regiment, May 22nd, 1939.

Two years ago I was glad and proud to become your Colonel-in-Chief. To-day I am prouder still, now that I have seen my regiment on parade.

Ever since I landed at Quebec I have found many proofs of the ties which unite Canada and my native Scotland.

In giving these colours to you, who are a Canadian Scottish regiment, I like to think that these bonds may be even further strengthened, and I am confident that to you and to those who come after they will always be a symbol of the loyalty and devotion to duty which marked the services of this gallant regiment in the last war. I leave them with you in the sure knowledge that their honour will be safe in your keeping, and with the prayer that they may be an inspiration to you in the future and a symbol of devoted service to your regiment, your country and your King.

Address of King George, broadcast to the Empire from Winnipeg, May 24th, 1939.

To-day is Queen Victoria's birthday, as well as Empire Day, and I am glad that I can speak to your on this day amid surroundings eloquent of the Empire's achievement since Queen Victoria was born. Winnipeg, the city from which I am speaking, was no more than a fort and hamlet upon the open prairie when Queen Victoria began to rule. To-day it is a monument to the faith and energy which have created and upheld the world-wide Empire of our time.

The journey which the Queen and I are making in Canada has been a deeply moving experience, and I welcome this opportunity of sharing with my subjects in all parts of the world some of the thought and feeling which it has inspired in me.

We often talk of the Old World and the New. It is one of the greatest services of the British Empire that it serves to link and harmonize the two. That part of the British realm which lies in Europe and in Asia looks back upon many centuries of civilized life and growth. That part of it which lies in America, and Africa, and the two great sister nations of Australia and New Zealand, has made its place in world society within the last hundred years.

For a long period in history it was the mind of Europe which led the march and fixed the aims of progress in the world. But that tide of inspiration is no longer running as it did in times gone by. The Christian civilization of Europe is now profoundly troubled and challenged from within. We are striving to restore its standards, though the task is long and hard. Asia too is changing fast, and its mind is deeply disturbed. Is not this a moment when the Old World in its turn might look for hope and guidance to the achievements of the New?

There is one example in particular which North America can offer to other parts of the world. A century ago, when Queen Victoria began her reign, a great constitutional struggle was in progress in the Canadian provinces. But soon after this time the provinces of Canada achieved responsible self-government. Freedom and responsibility led them gradually to compose their differences and to cement this noble federation from sea to sea.

The sense of race may be a dangerous and disrupting force, but English and French have shown in Canada that they can keep the pride and distinctive culture which it inspires, while yet combining to establish a broader freedom and security than either could have achieved alone.

Nor is that the only chapter in North-American history that deserves consideration. Canada and the United States have had to dispose of searching differences of aim and interest during the past hundred years; but never has one of those differences been resolved by force or by threat. No man, thank God, will ever again conceive of such arbitrament between the peoples of my Empire and the people of the United States. The faith in reason and fair play, which we share with them, is one of the chief ideals that guide the British Empire in all its ways to-day. It is not in power or wealth alone, nor in dominion over other peoples, that the true greatness of an Empire consists. Those things are but the instrument; they are not the end or the ideal. The end is freedom, justice and peace in equal measure for all, secure against attack from without and from within.

It is only by adding to the spiritual dignity and material happiness of human life in all its myriad homes that an empire can claim to be of service to its own peoples and to the world.

I would end with a special word of greeting to those of my listeners who are young. It is true — and I deplore it deeply — that the skies are overcast in more than one quarter at the present time. Do not on that account lose heart. Life is a great adventure and every one of you can be a pioneer, blazing by thought and service a trail to better things.

Hold fast to all that is just and of good report in the heritage which your fathers have left to you, but strive also to improve and equalize that heritage for all men and women in the years to come. Remember too, that the key to all true progress lies in faith, hope and love. May God give you their support and may God help them to prevail.

Speech of King George VI at the luncheon given by the Government of British Columbia at Victoria, May 30th, 1939.

The Queen and I have crossed Canada from east to west, from ocean to ocean, and stand now on the shores of the Pacific.

Your kind words, Mr. Premier, have set the seal on the wonderful welcome that has been given to us at every stage of our long westward journey.

I thank you for them; and here, at Canada's western gateway, I thank all those thousands of Canadians whom we have seen since we landed at Quebec, for the loyalty and affection that they have offered so generously to us both.

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To travel through so grand a country is a privilege to any man; but to travel through it to the accompaniment of such an overwhelming testimony of good-will, from young and old alike, is an experience that has, I believe, been granted to few people in this world.

We are deeply grateful for it; we shall never forget it; and the inspiration it has given us will hearten and encourage us for the rest of our lives.

In the course of this journey I have seen the old, settled parts of the Dominion which have a long history behind them, and I have seen the newer parts, of which the first settlement is still within the memory of living man. When I remember that here I am as far from Ottawa as Ottawa is from London, I realize something of the vastness of Canada. When I saw the broad plains, changed by the pioneers to the uses of man, and the mighty mountain ranges through which they cut their roads, I began to understand the qualities of the Canadian people.

For most of you, the present task must be the development of the heritage already secured by those who have gone before. Nevertheless, in this vast land, you have also still before you the rewards of pioneering and the prizes of exploration. You have only touched the fringes of the great North. Once those northern wilds were considered of little value except as the home of fur-bearing animals. Now they are being surveyed and mapped, and settled so far as settlement is possible.

Valuable mines are being worked right up to the Arctic Circle. There in the North is a field of enterprise for youth which it will take generations to exhaust. I could only wish that it had been possible for me to make a trip into that region which holds so much of Canada's future.

Here, on the shores of the Pacific, I can realize the position which Canada occupies. Her Atlantic windows look to Europe, her Pacific windows to Asia and the Far East. As science reduces the barriers of space, this country will become a thoroughfare between two hemispheres. Some day the peoples of the world will come to realize that prosperity lies in co-operation, and not in conflict. With the dawn of that brighter day, I look to Canada playing an increasingly important part in furthering friendly relations between the East and West. With the widening of her role of international interpretation will come corresponding benefits to mankind.

Speech of King George on Their Majesties' departure from Canada; Halifax, N.S., June 15th, 1939.

The time has come for the Queen and myself to say good-bye to the people of Canada.

You have given us a welcome of which the memory will always be dear to us. In our travels across your great country, we have seen not a little of its infinite variety of natural wealth and natural beauty. We have had the privilege of meeting Canadians, old and young, of many proud racial origins and in all walks of life. We hope we have made many friends among you.

We have had the opportunity, also, of crossing your border and paying an all too brief visit to Canada's great and friendly neighbour to the south. Our minds and hearts are full. We leave your shores after some of the most inspiring and illuminating weeks in our lives.

(The following paragraph was delivered in French.)

My first duty is to thank you all from the bottom of my heart. In a very short time you have enabled us to see many things. We have to thank you not only for your personal kindness, but for the perfection of your arrangements. I must say, I think we have almost performed a miracle in surmounting the many difficulties presented by covering so vast a space in so limited a time.

I return to England with a new sense of the resources and of the responsibilities of our British Empire. I am confident that Canada has before her a development far beyond the most optimistic dreams of her pioneers. Her growth in material wealth is fully assured. For her sons and daughters, I wish her an even graeter growth in the stature of mind and spirit.

I go home with another thought, which is a comfort and an inspiration. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the tropics to the Arctic, lies a large part of the earth where there is no possibility of war between neighbours, whose peoples are wholly dedicated to the pursuits of peace, a pattern to all men of how civilized nations should live together. It is good to know that such a region exists, for what man can do once he can do again. By God's grace yours may yet be the example which all the world will follow.

Speech of Queen Elizabeth on Their Majesties' departure from Canada; Halifax, N.S., June 15th, 1939.

I cannot leave Canada without saying a word of farewell to you all, and thanking you for the wealth of affection that you have offered us throughout these unforgettable weeks.

Seeing this country, with all its varied beauty and interest, has been a real delight to me; but what has warmed my heart in a way I cannot express in words is the proof you have given us everywhere that you were glad to see us. And in return, I want particularly to tell the women and children of Canada how glad I am to have seen so many of them. Some, I know, came scores of miles to meet us, and that has touched me deeply. There were many others, I fear, whom distance, or illness, prevented from coming: to these I should like to send a special word of greeting — they have been always in my thoughts.

This wonderful tour of ours has given me memories that the passage of time will never dim. To the people of Canada and to all the kind people in the United States who welcomed us so warmly last week—to one and all on this great friendly continent, I say: "Thank you. God be with you and God bless you. Au revoir et Dieu vous bénisse."

Speech of the Rt. Hon. Sir Frank Bowater, Lord Mayor of London, at the Luncheon to King George and Queen Elizabeth at the Guildhall, June 23rd, 1939.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIES, YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR GRACES, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have His Majesty's permission to rise in order that I may attempt to express the feelings which I know are in the hearts of all His Majesty's subjects to-day. They are feelings of deep gratitude to The King and Queen for the historic journey they have undertaken and of great joy upon Their Majesties' return.

May I say, at the outset, how thankful we are to know that Queen Mary has recovered from the effects of the accident which occurred during Your Majesties' absence, and how delighted we are that Her Majesty has been able to honour us with her presence to-day.

Nearly twelve years have passed since the Corporation of London had the honour to entertain Your Majesties, as Duke and Duchess of York, upon your return from the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand. On that occasion Your Majesties left England in the early part of January and we were separated from you until your return six months later. But I can almost say that on Your Majesties' recent historic visit to the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States of America we were not separated from you for a single day. The determination of Your Majesties to undertake such a heavy responsibility in these confused and difficult times has, I know, profoundly stirred the feelings of the Nation, and if only for this reason there is not one of us who has not followed with the deepest interest every stage of Your Majesties' journey. Fortunately, modern science has enabled us to receive in our homes from day to day a detailed account of the long list of engagements which Your Majesties have fulfilled and, more than that, to hear Your Majesties' voices across the Atlantic Ocean.

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C227784

These things serve to remind us how much closer is our contact with all parts of the world to-day, and they have given us the exhilarating experience of hearing for ourselves the wonderful demonstrations of loyalty by our fellow subjects in Canada and Newfoundland and the characteristically generous and warm-hearted reception accorded to Your Majesties in the United States of America. I would like to say in the presence of His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America and the High Commissioner for Canada how deeply we appreciate the warmth of the welcome which Your Majesties received.

We are gathered here to-day, amid the rejoicings of Your Majesties' subjects, to welcome Your Majesties on your return and to offer our humble congratulations on the success which has marked every stage of your journey.

Here in the heart of the Empire we feel especial pride that Your Majesties have been graciously pleased to pay this visit to our ancient City so soon after your return, when we know full well that you must still be feeling the strain of the heavy programme you have fulfilled.

I am deeply conscious of the honour of being permitted, in the name of the Citizens and the Corporation of London, to address these words to Your Majesties upon your return. In so doing, we desire most respectfully to renew the heartfelt assurance of our loyal and dutiful regard and to pray that it may please God to promote Peace and Good-will amongst mankind, that Your Majesties may be given years of happiness to reign over us.

Before I resume my seat I would like to read the following cable which has been sent to me by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King. It reads as follows:—

> "The Citizens of Canada desire to join with the Citizens of London and indeed of all parts of the British Empire in their rejoicings upon the safe return of The King and Queen after the voyages of Their Majesties across the Atlantic, and their visit to the New World. At no time has such a welcome been accorded a reigning Sovereign as that which marked the progress of King George and Queen Elizabeth across Canada, and Their Majesties' visits to the United States and Newfoundland. In the personalities and purpose of The King and Queen the peoples of the countries visited have found the expression of the ideals which they hold in common and which they long to see prevail. It will be the prayer of one and all that Their Majesties may long be spared to further among men and nations the understanding friendship and good-will which with such evident sincerity, they everywhere manifested, and on which, more than all else, depends the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

Speech of King George at the Luncheon to the King and Queen at the Guildhall, June 23rd, 1939.

I thank you, my Lord Mayor — I thank you, ladies and gentlemen — for the manner in which you have honoured this toast.

I thank you also for your recognition of the significance of the long journey that the Queen and I have just completed. To us personally it was a momentous and happy experience. Historically it was unique in that no reigning Sovereign has in time past entered one of the sister Dominions that constitute our British Empire. It is my earnest hope that it may also be of some importance in its influence on the Empire's future destiny.

We left these shores almost exactly seven weeks ago. During that time we have travelled many thousands of miles by land and by sea; we have seen great cities, noble rivers, and vast mountain ranges; we have been welcomed, with a sincerity that stirred us profoundly, by millions of our fellow human beings, in Canada, in the United States of America, and in Newfoundland. In the last twenty-four hours that welcome has been re-echoed in the land which to us, as to so many of our kindred overseas, will always be home.

The detailed story of our travels is familiar to you through the daily press, the news reels, and the broadcasting corporations which, on both sides of the Atlantic, have reported it with accuracy and sympathetic understanding. I shall only try here to-day to tell you some of the impressions of my journey that remain in my mind.

The first, and deepest, is that, even in this age of machines and mass-production, the strength of human feeling is still the most potent of all the forces affecting world affairs. "Over all nations"—as a North American historian has written — "over all nations is humanity." In no part of the world, perhaps, is that truth more evident than in the continent from which I have just returned. Within its geographical limits live men of almost every race, of many creeds, of divers political faiths; yet first and foremost they are human beings — over them all is humanity.

I found inspiration, too, in the realization that we in these islands have made a helpful contribution to the gradual weaving of that fabric of humanity. That is evident, of course, from the pages of history; but which of us has not found that history, and geography too, never really live for us until we travel? I was deeply impressed, for example, to find our great political testament, Magna Carta, an object of keen public interest in the World's Fair at New York, and at every turn of my long journey it was constantly brought home to me how closely interwoven are the threads of our own story with those of the development of that newer continent across the sea. Especially was this true in Canada. Were you, my Lord Mayor, to find yourself in the City Hall of Vancouver, you would see there, on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, some 6,000 miles from this Guildhall, an exact replica of the mace which, in this old City of London, is the symbol of your civic authority. The sight would stir the imagination of any man who holds your high and ancient office.

So it was with me. In Canada, I saw everywhere not only the mere symbol of the British Crown; I saw also, flourishing as strongly as they do here, the institutions which have developed, century after century, beneath the aegis of that Crown; institutions, British in origin, British in their slow and almost casual growth, which, because they are grounded root and branch on British faith in liberty and justice, mean more to us even that the splendour of our history or the glories of our English tongue.

To see them thus vigorous on Canadian soil could not but be a source of pride to me; and I counted it a high privilege to be the first of my line to play some personal part in giving them practical effect. In person I presided over the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, and assented to legislation; in person I received the credentials of the new Minister of Canada's great and friendly neighbour, the United States; in person I signed the Trade Treaty between the two countries.

And, even in the loyal enthusiasm shown to the Queen and myself by hundreds of thousands of my Canadian subjects, young and old, I thought I detected too the influence of those institutions. For it was not alone the actual presence of their King and Queen that made them open their hearts to us; their welcome, it seemed to me, was also an expression of their thankfulness for those rights of free citizenship which are the heritage of every member of our great Commonwealth of Nations.

It was the desire to serve the ideals of that Commonwealth which led me to undertake my journey; to foster its sane and wholesome faith; to show, if I could, that its headship, which I have been called upon to assume, exists to-day as a potent force for promoting peace and good will among mankind; these were the objects that I, and the Queen with me, set out to fulfil. It will be a source of thankfulness to us all our lives long if we have in some sort succeeded.

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C227785

The Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League

DOMINION HEADQUARTERS
OTTAWA CANADA

THE BROOCH OF THE BADGE OF THE CANADIAN LEGION IS A TOKEN OF THE LEGION'S GIFT, WHICH WILL CONSIST OF FOOD PARCELS TO BE SENT TO THE BRITISH LEGION FOR DISTRIBUTION AMONG EX-SERVICEMEN AND THEIR DEPENDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The wedding gift to H.R.H. Princess Elizabeth is an expression of good wishes from approximately 300,000 ex-service men and women Members of The Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, in the 2,700 Branches, Commands and Ladies' Auxiliaries in Canada and the United States.

It represents not only best wishes for the happiness of Her Royal Highness but also expresses the sympathy in the hearts of Canadian ex-service men and women for the British people who are meeting their present difficulties so staunchly, and gratitude for the hospitality accorded them while serving in the British Isles. It also expresses our affection and respect for the Royal Family and recognizes the unity that exists between Canada and Britain under the Crown.

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C227786

MADE OF GOLD

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DIAMONDS AROUND FLAG

DIAMOND LEAF STEM

PHOTO IS ACTUAL SIZE

DESIGNED AND MADE BY

MAPPIN'S LTD. JEWELLERS

MONTREAL

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C O P Y

C227787

CARD TO ACCOMPANY WEDDING GIFT TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS
PRINCESS ELIZABETH

To our gracious Princess Elizabeth, with earnest good wishes for life-long happiness, from the Members of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League.

This little gift is a token of our wedding present which will consist of food parcels to be sent to our brothers-in-arms of the British Legion for distribution among ex-servicemen in the United Kingdom. We hope that the fact that British veterans' families are being remembered by their comrades in Canada will add, in a small way, to Your Royal Highness' happiness and in some measure repay the wonderful hospitality extended by the British people to the men and women of the Canadian Forces who served in Britain during the recent conflict.

May we ask you to convey our loyal greetings to Their Majesties the King and Queen and assure them that they, with our fellow subjects in Britain, are in our thoughts and prayers in these difficult days.

C. B. Price

Dominion President.

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C227703

Memorandum.

re Gift of silver by the Government on behalf of the people of Canada to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth

The gift of silver made by the Government of Canada on behalf of the people of Canada to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth consisted of:

1. A George I plain two-handled Silver Cup and cover, made in London in 1720 by Paul Lamerie.
2. 4 Silver Salvers, made in 1734 by Paul Lamerie.
3. 2 single Silver Candlesticks.
4. 4 Silver Candlesticks and 3 Silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie).
5. 24 Silver-Gilt Dinner Plates (formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland).
6. Case of Table Silver.

The Cup is intended to be used as a centre piece between the Candelabra. As a collector's piece, it was considered inappropriate to engrave the Cup itself and arrangements have, therefore, been made to mount the Cup on a base engraved with an inscription indicating that the silver is the gift of Canada.

As has already been indicated in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, on December 8, 1947, H. R. H. the Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, ascertained that it was the wish of H. R. H. the Princess Elizabeth that, if possible, the gift might take the form of silver for a table service, which would be of assistance in entertaining and in carrying out some of the duties Her Royal Highness and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, would have to discharge.

The personal gift to Her Royal Highness, as has already been announced, was a Canadian Mink Coat.

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~~SUGGESTED PRESS RELEASE~~

OTTAWA, Oct. --In view of the many food collections being organized by cities and towns across Canada as a wedding gift to Princess Elizabeth, it is suggested that ~~such~~ communities would **do** well to communicate with the Division of Voluntary War Relief, Department of National Health and Welfare, ~~which is able to render them valuable assistance in sending shipments to the United Kingdom.~~

The Voluntary War Relief Division is responsible for clearing with other government departments and agencies, such as ~~WPTB~~, the acquisition for shipment abroad for relief purposes of food and other supplies. The Division is also in a position to suggest what foodstuffs ~~are~~ best to collect in view of the domestic supply situation. It ~~is~~ emphasized that restrictions do not affect individual gift parcels sent by mail ~~but~~ only shipments of goods and food in quantity.

At the present time many items of foodstuffs are in relatively good supply ~~and~~ if municipal and other authorities will communicate with the Division of Voluntary War Relief, they will be provided with a list of ~~such~~ items which might be collected without interfering with minimum domestic requirements. ~~In certain cases free transportation of supplies collected for Britain can be obtained.~~

The dollar value of shipments made by voluntary

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overseas relief societies this year has been in excess of ten million dollars. About half of this amount represents the value of shipments to the United Kingdom.

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C227931

In considering what present should be made to The Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of the marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, the Cabinet felt that no gift could be quite so acceptable as one which would meet with the wishes of Princess Elizabeth herself.

Through the good offices of Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, with whom the Government communicated, it was learned that Princess Elizabeth ~~was short of~~ silver for setting up house and would particularly welcome silver for ~~a large~~ table. The ~~Government~~ has accordingly authorized Princess Alice ~~to make~~, on behalf of the Canadian Government, a selection which will accord with the wishes of Princess Elizabeth. The gift will be suitably inscribed to indicate that it has been presented by and carries with it the best wishes of the Government and people of Canada.

The Government has also decided to present Princess Elizabeth with a mink coat made of Canadian wild mink skins and to be of Canadian workmanship. The firm of Holt, Renfrew & Co., one of the very few Canadian firms which had a Royal Warrant as supplier of Furs to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, has been commissioned to supply the coat which will be made in accordance with a design to be approved by Princess Elizabeth.

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C227792

Statement I - from the Office of the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister makes the following statement:

In considering what present should be made to The Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of the marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, the Cabinet felt that no gift could be quite so acceptable as one which would meet with the wishes of Princess Elizabeth herself.

Through the good offices of Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, with whom the Government communicated, it was learned that Princess Elizabeth was in need of silver for setting up house and would particularly welcome silver for her table. The Cabinet has accordingly authorized Princess Alice, on behalf of the Canadian Government, to make a selection of antique silver which will accord with the personal wishes of Princess Elizabeth. The gift will be suitably inscribed to indicate that it has been presented by and carries with it the best wishes of the Government and people of Canada.

The Government had also decided to present Princess Elizabeth with a mink coat made of Canadian wild mink skins and to be of Canadian workmanship. The firm of Holt, Renfrew & Co., one of the very few Canadian firms which had a Royal Warrant as supplier of Furs to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, has been commissioned to supply the coat which will be made in accordance with a design to be approved by Princess Elizabeth.

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C227733

Statement III -- from the Office of the Minister of National Health and Welfare

The Minister of National Health and Welfare made the following statement today:

In view of the many food collections being organized by cities and towns across Canada as a wedding gift to Princess Elizabeth, it is suggested that communities interested would do well to communicate with the Division of Voluntary War Relief, Department of National Health and Welfare.

The Voluntary War Relief Division is responsible for clearing with other government departments and agencies, such as the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, the acquisition for shipment abroad for relief purposes of food and other supplies. The Division is also in a position to suggest what foodstuffs, in view of the domestic supply situation, it is best to collect. It may be emphasized that restrictions do not affect individual gift parcels sent by mail. They affect only shipments of goods and food in quantity.

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At the present time many items of foodstuffs are in relatively good supply. If municipal and other authorities will communicate with the Division of Voluntary War Relief, Department of National Health and Welfare, they will be provided with a list of items which might be collected without interfering with minimum domestic requirements.

The dollar value of shipments made by voluntary overseas relief societies this year has been in excess of ten million dollars. About half of this amount represents the value of shipments to the United Kingdom.

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C227795

filed with Wedding Gift

H.R.H. PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF CANADIAN GIFT OF SILVER.

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PHOTO
ILLARD
EYMOUTH STREET
WELDECK CODD
C.42.

Paul Lamerie Cup with Cover	- £900
2 single silver Candlesticks	- £100
4 silver Candlesticks and 3 silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie)	- £720
24 silver-gilt Dinner Plates (formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland)	- £850
Case of table silver	- £495

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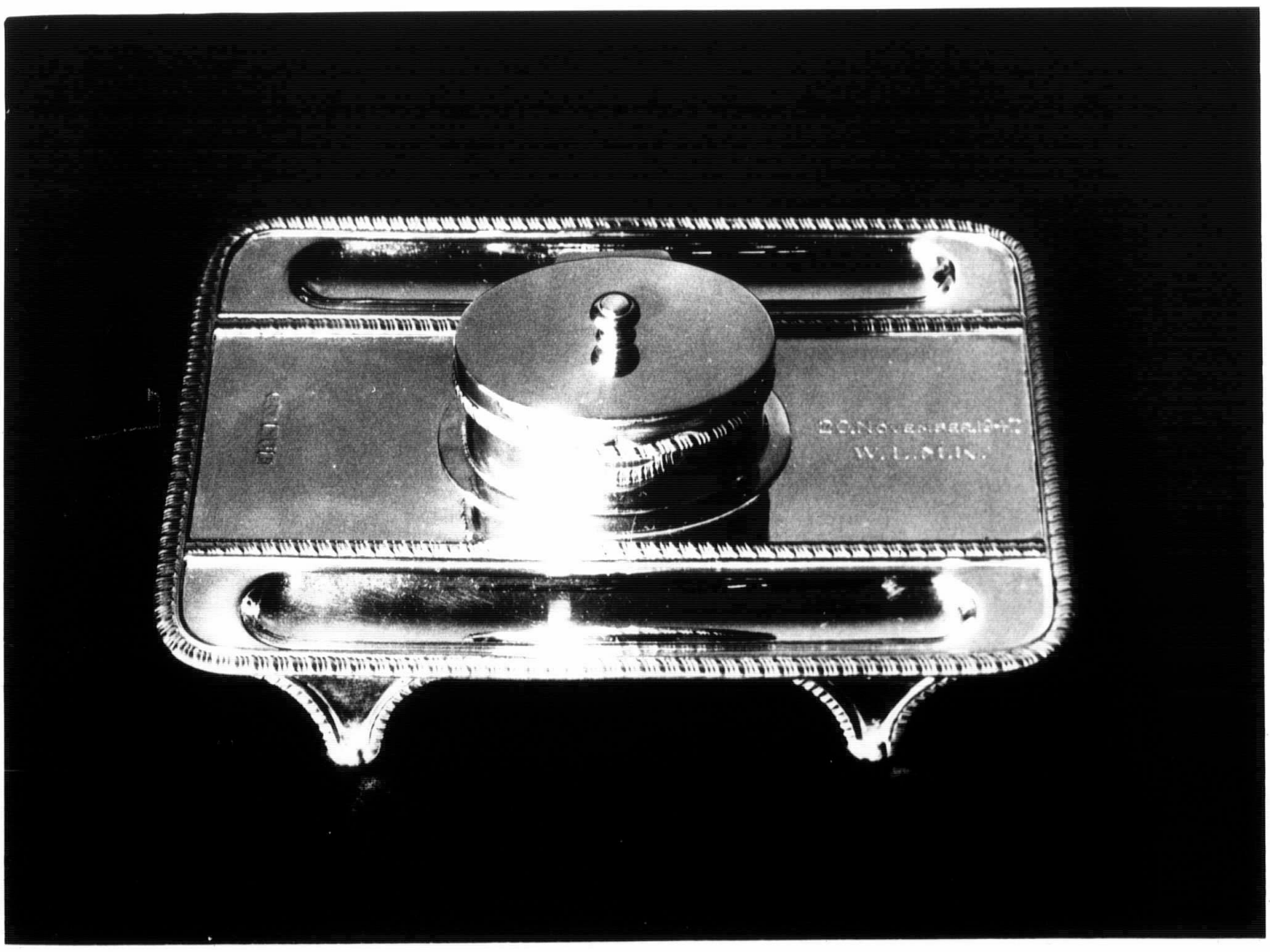
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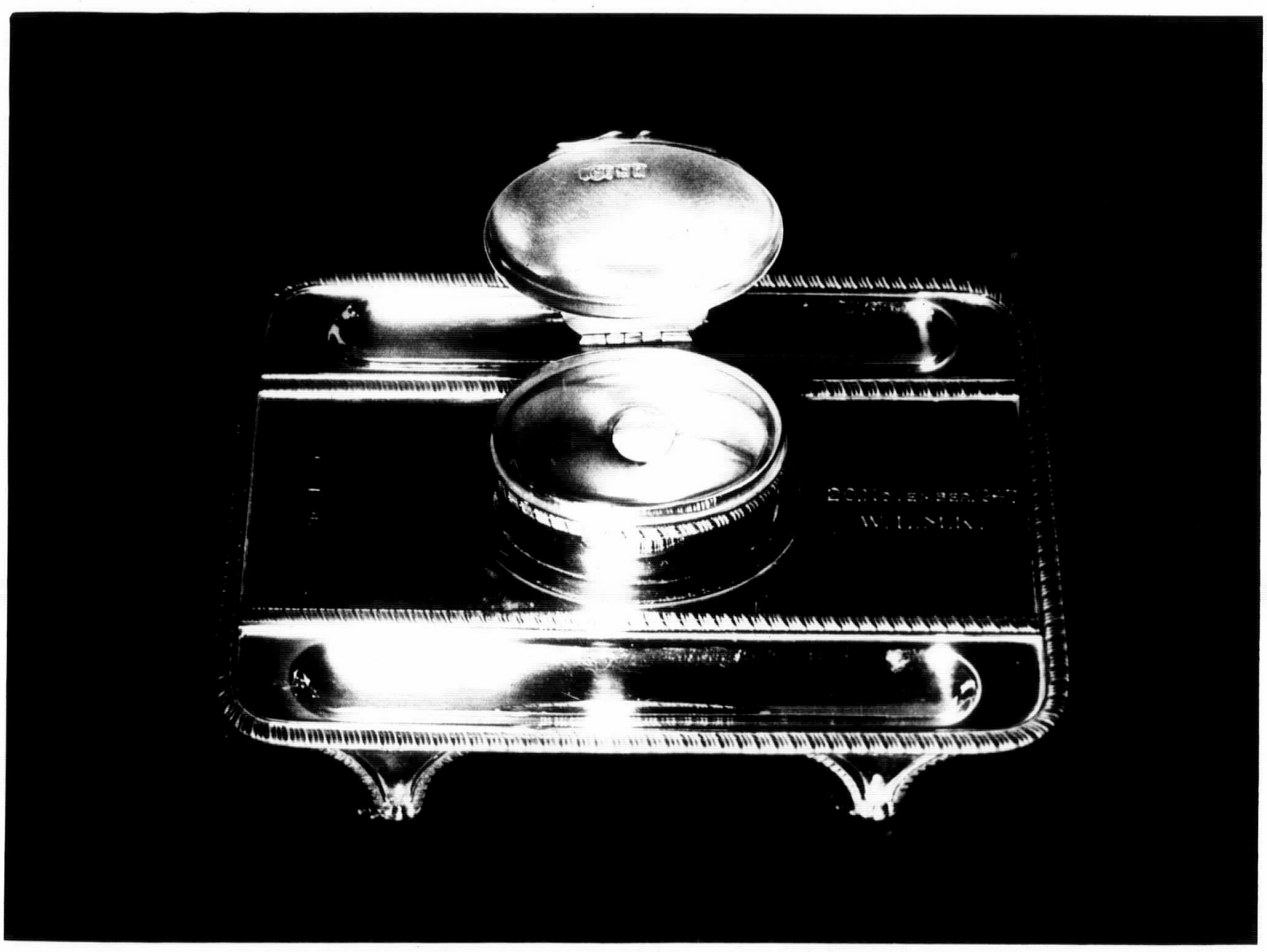
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Silver Ink stand

C227802

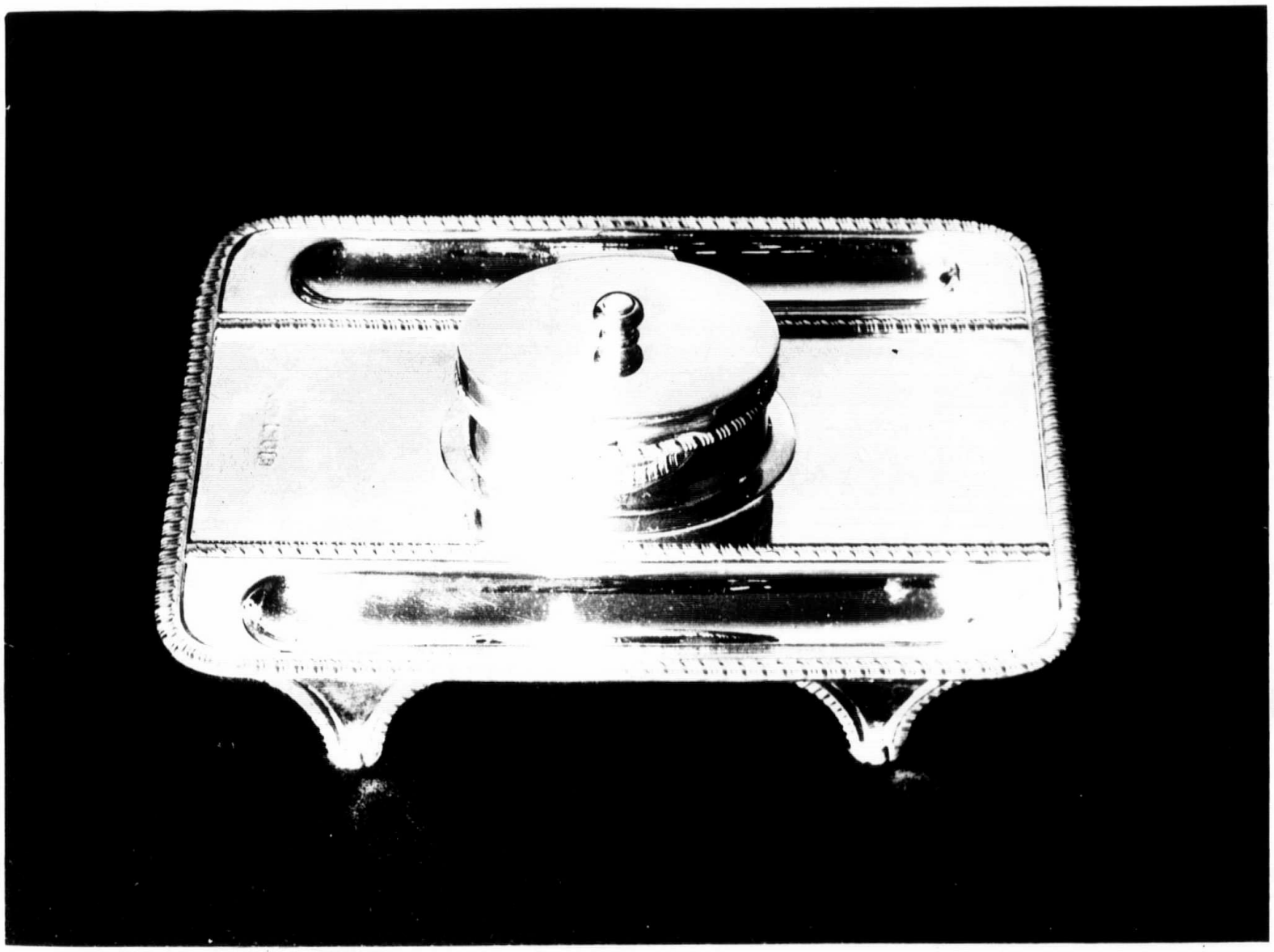
Mr Kings personal
wedding gift to
HRH Princess Elizabeth
& Prince Philip

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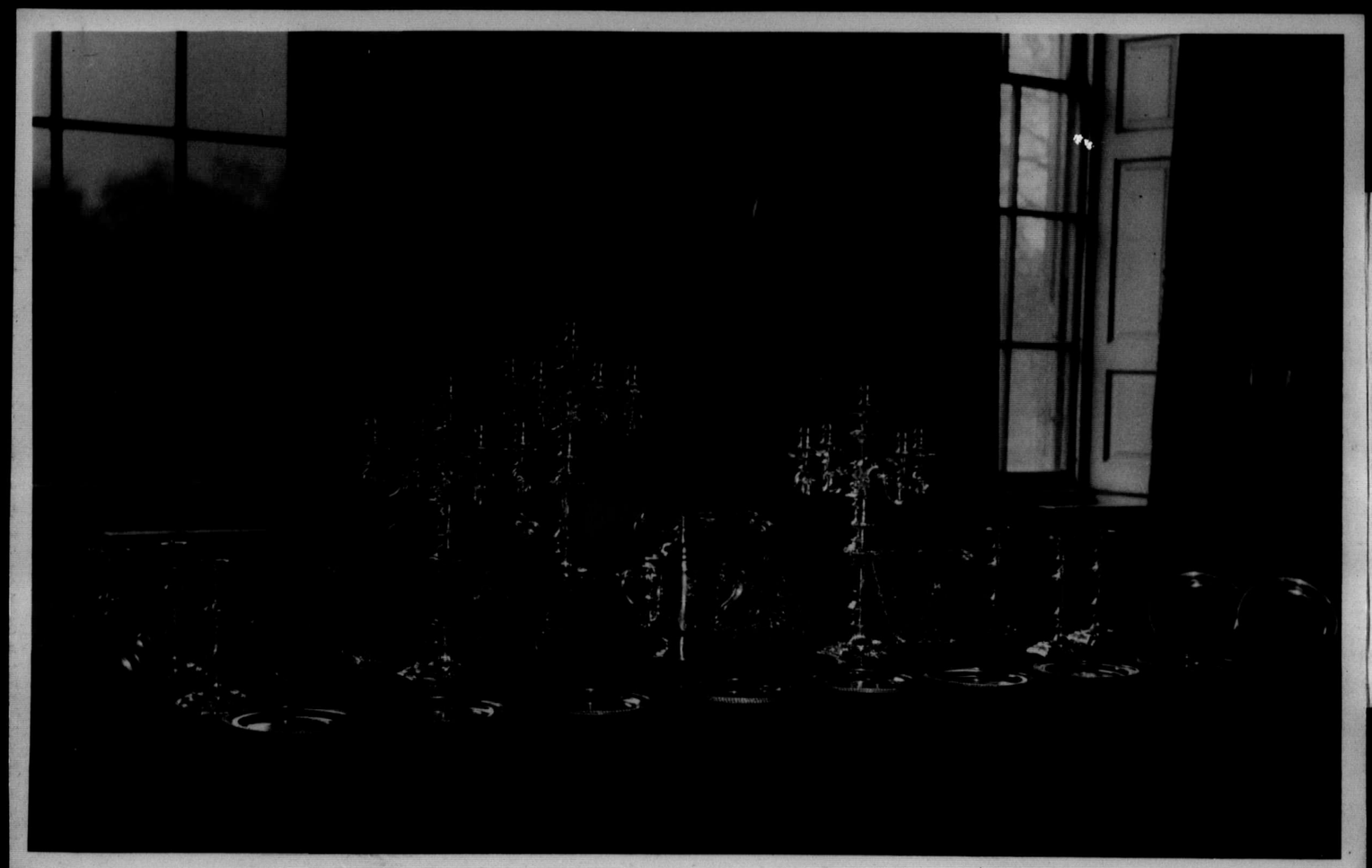
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WEDDING OF H.R.H. THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH

Gift of the Government and People of Canada. C227803

Paul Lamerie Cup with Cover

4 silver Candlesticks and 3 silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie)

2 single silver Candlesticks

24 silver-gilt Dinner Plates (formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland)

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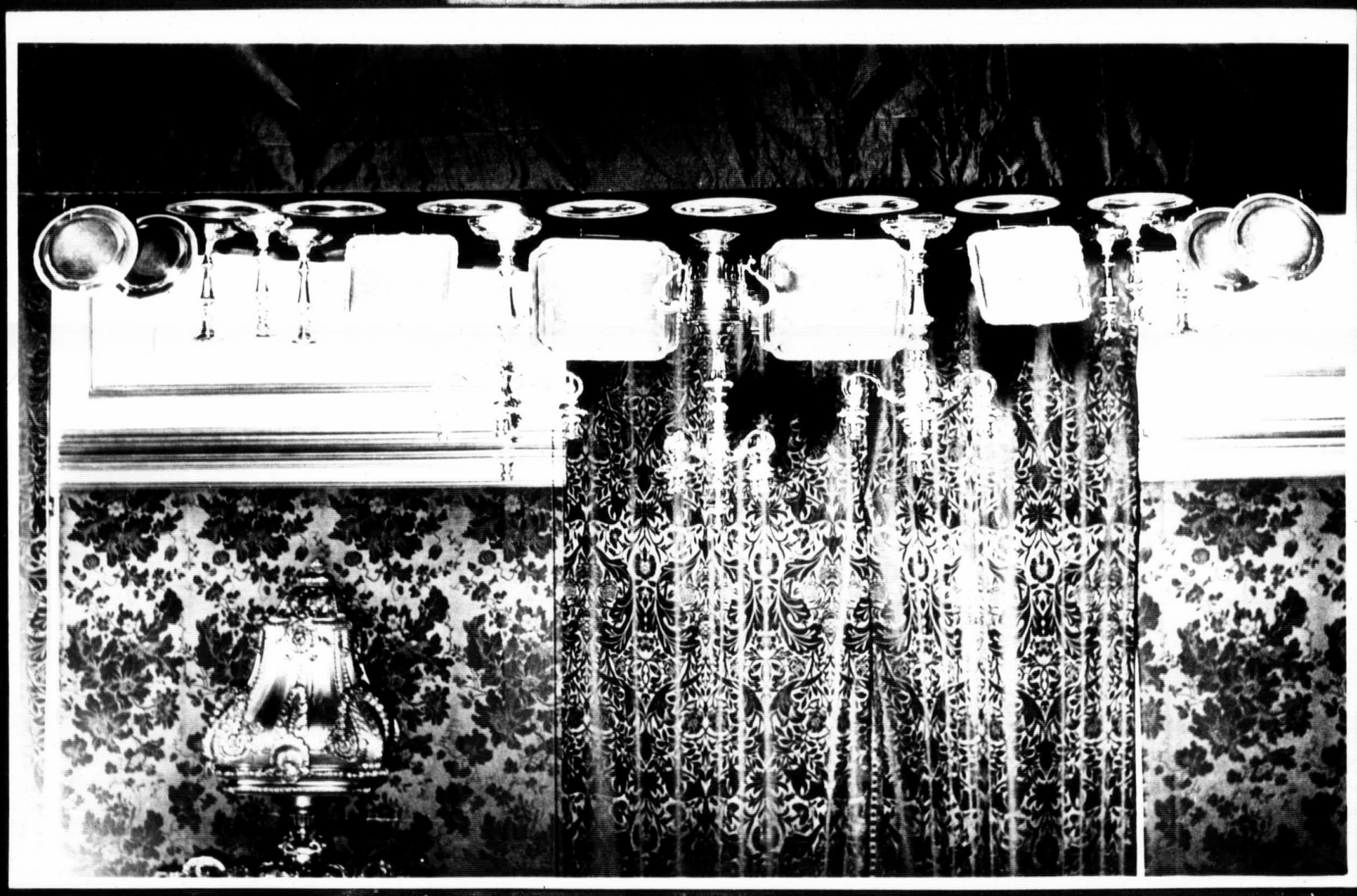
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Mr King C227807 File

MR TAYLOR This was given to me by Taylor of the Toronto Star

TELEGRAM HAS OTTAWA STAFF STORY SAYING KING MAY ATTEND THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS IN LONDON. CONFIRMATION MAY BE ISSUED FROM HIS OFFICE LATER TODAY. SAYS PLANS BEING MADE IN OTTAWA FOR A WONDERFUL CANADIAN GIFT TO THE ROYAL PAIR AND THAT MR KING MIGHT TAKE IT WITH HIM AND PRESENT IT TO THE COUPLE. ALSO TALK OF POSSIBILITY OF INVITING THEM TO COME TO CANADA ON THEIR WEDDING TRIP.

Naturally I made no comment whatever WLM

LYTLE June 10/47

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Prime Minister

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C227033

Ottawa, July 17, 1947

MEMORANDUM Re: Royal Marriages Act.

Attendance of a Member of the Privy Council for Canada at meeting in London to be presided over by The King - (July 31, 1947).

In telegram No. 1156 of July 16th, addressed to Sir Alan Lascelles, the Prime Minister stated that it was intended that a member of the Privy Council for Canada, who is also a member of His Majesty's Privy Council for the United Kingdom, would be present at the meeting at Buckingham Palace, at which the King is to "declare in Council" his consent to the marriage of Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth.

The members of the ministry from whose number such a representative might be designated include:

Rt. Hon. L. S. St. Laurent
RtHon. J. L. Ilsley
Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe

J.A.C.

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Ottawa, July 17, 1947 C227809

MEMORANDUM Re: Royal Marriages Act.

Proposed meeting of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, July 31st ?, 1947.

The Prime Minister mentioned that the Members to be summoned by His Excellency the Governor General might perhaps be drawn from the following names:

Right Honourable Sir Allen Aylesworth
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
Right Honourable Sir Thomas White
Right Honourable Arthur Meighen
Honourable E. L. Patenaude
Honourable C. C. Ballantyne
Honourable A. B. Copp
Right Honourable Vincent Massey.

Since it was intended that the Governor General should himself preside, this meeting would probably take place at Government House.

J.A.C.

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C227810

Ottawa, July 30th, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Special Privy Council meeting,
July 31st, 1947

1. Attached for your approval or further revision is a draft press release which Robertson tells me you wish to have issued as from this office following tomorrow's meeting.

The King's message will, of course, be added.

2. Robertson has told me that you have approved the draft form of minute which I sent you with my memorandum of earlier today.

3. The following Ministers are expected to attend:

Mr.Ilsley
Mr.MacKinnon
Mr.St.Laurent
Mr.Mitchell
Mr.Bertrand
Mr.Claxton
Mr.Abbott
Dr.McCann

A.D.P.H.

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C227911

Deputy Governor General's Statement to Council

Members of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada:

In the absence of His Excellency the Governor General and on instruction from His Majesty the King, I have the honour to acquaint the Council with the following message sent today by His Majesty to the Governor General:

"Most Immediate, Buckingham Palace,
31st July, 1947.

The Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa.

July 31st. I should be glad if you as my personal representative in Canada would convey to my Privy Council for Canada that I have today, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Marriages Act 1772, declared in Council my formal consent to the marriage of my daughter the Princess Elizabeth to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

George R.I. "

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C227812

Office of the Prime Minister

Press Release July 31, 1947.

The Prime Minister announced that at 12.00 noon today (the same hour of the day as His Majesty the King met members of His Privy Council for the United Kingdom in London), the Honourable Mr. Justice Kerwin, acting as Deputy Governor General, in the unavoidable absence of Viscount Alexander, met with Members of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada who had been specially summoned, and, on the instructions of His Majesty, conveyed to them the following message, which had been sent this morning by the King to the Governor General:

"Buckingham Palace,
31st July, 1947.

Most Immediate

The Governor General of Canada,
O t t a w a.

July 31st. I should be glad if you as my personal representative in Canada would convey to my Privy Council for Canada that I have today, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Marriages Act 1772, declared in Council my formal consent to the marriage of my daughter the Princess Elizabeth to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

George R.I."

Sir Allen Aylesworth and Sir Thomas White as senior Privy Councillors were among those summoned to be present with members of the Cabinet for the special meeting of the Canadian Privy Council.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

C227813

Feb

-- Attached is copy of the cable to Sir Alan Lascelles as sent out at 12.35 this afternoon.

I have informed Mr. Pereira of this telegram. He, in turn, stated that, in order to acknowledge His Majesty's instructions to his personal representative, the following telegram was being sent as from the Deputy Governor General:

> "My humble duty to Your Majesty. In accordance with Your Majesty's command I duly conveyed Your Majesty's message to Your Privy Council for Canada at a special meeting held at 12 o'cleek noon today".
>
> Signed Patrick Kerwin
> Deputy Governor General"

R. G. R.

31st July, 1947.

RGR:McK

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C227814

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

THE KING'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR CANADA

At the Privy Council Chamber, Ottawa, on Thursday, the 31st day of July, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon, a meeting of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, summoned by His Excellency the Governor General, on His Majesty's instruction.

Present:

The Honourable Patrick Kerwin,
Deputy Governor General,

The Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister,

The Right Honourable J.L. Ilsley,

The Honourable J.A. MacKinnon,

The Right Honourable L.S. St.Laurent,

The Honourable Ernest Bertrand,

The Honourable Brooke Claxton,

The Honourable D.C. Abbott,

The Honourable J.J. McCann.

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C227815

The Deputy Governor General, the Honourable Patrick Kerwin, acquainted the Council with the following message from His Majesty the King to His Excellency the Governor General:

"Buckingham Palace,
31st July, 1947.

The Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa.

I should be glad if you as my personal representative in Canada would convey to my Privy Council for Canada that I have today, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Marriages Act 1772, declared in Council my formal consent to the marriage of my daughter the Princess Elizabeth to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

George R.I."

The Council, having heard the above message, took note accordingly.

(Sgd) W.L. Mackenzie King

(Sgd.) P. Kerwin

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C227816

Memorandum

re Mink Coat

General Walford, who communicated on behalf of Henry Morgan & Co., Montreal, is on vacation. I found that Mr. Henry Morgan, however, was acquainted with the contents of General Walford's letter to the Prime Minister and I had a telephone conversation with him. At Mr. Morgan's suggestion, Mr. Dodman, the head of the Fur Department, came to Ottawa and saw me today, Wednesday, August 20th. Mr. Dodman impresses me as a very intelligent and dependable man. I told him that I was only discussing the matter on the basis of a possibility.

If an order is placed, it is understood that the skins are to be of Canadian mink and that the coat is to be of Canadian workmanship.

1. The first point raised was whether it would be wild mink or ranch mink skins. I discovered that at the moment wild mink is in favour with the ultra-fashionable people but, so far as I could ascertain from Mr. Dodman, this may be only due to the fact that the wild mink skins are more expensive. Having regard to the fact that many of our returned soldiers have invested their gratuities in mink farms and that there has existed in Canada for many years a mink industry with ranches in nearly all the Provinces of Canada and, in view of Mr. Dodman's statement that the ranch skins, in his judgment, were equally as fine if not finer, it seemed to me that we should proceed on the assumption that ranch skins would be used.

Mr. Dodman states that he has a supply of beautiful skins immediately available, that a coat of specially selected skins would be a very dark brown. His suggestion is that the coat might be of full length, 45 or 46 inches. This would enable Her Royal Highness years hence, if she so decided, to have it converted into a shorter coat.

2. I told him the question of price was a factor which we should consider frankly. He says the maximum required would be 80 dressed skins, at a top price of $50 each, which would be $4,000. In respect to the number and in respect to the price, he stated that he was quoting the maximum figures and that he might not require 80, but

only ---

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only 65 or 70, and that the price of $50 might be cut. This price would include, for 80 skins, federal taxes amounting to approximately $300. The labour he estimates at $1,000, making a total cost to his company of $5,000. On top of this, there is the 8% federal sales tax, which would be approximately $400, making a total cost to Morgan's of $5,400. He wished to make it quite clear that the question of any profit was a negligible factor to his company, although I fancy if this coat were sold in the retail store it might sell for $7,000 or $8,000. I suggested that it might be done on a cost-plus contract, allowing 10%, which would make the coat cost approximately $6,000.

3. Mr. Dodman stated that if the order were placed he would, naturally, like as long a period of time as possible, but that he felt he would require a minimum of four weeks from the time the order was placed until the coat was in condition for delivery.

4. I find that Morgan's have had business relations with Norman Hartnell, the head of the dressmaking firm in London which is making H.R.H.'s wedding dress, and which supplied the clothes for the Royal Tour. If it were desired to present the coat as something in the nature of a surprise, Morgan's feel they could obtain the necessary particulars as to sizes, etc., from Mr. Hartnell and that they might also confer with him as to details of style. In relation to style, I emphasized to Mr. Dodman that I felt he should keep away from any ultra-extravagant style of the moment, as no doubt Her Royal Highness would desire to use the coat for a considerable number of years and it would be unfortunate if it were designed in a style which might become obsolete in a year or two. He quite agreed with this view of the situation.

Mr. Dodman offered to bring the skins to Ottawa for inspection if he had a few days' notice. I told him that I personally was not qualified to express any opinion on the quality of the skins but that it was possible, if the order were placed, the Government might ask some competent person, perhaps some lady residing in Montreal, to have a look at the skins before they were made up.

E. H. Coleman
Under Secretary of State.

Ottawa, August 20, 1947.

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not sent.

TELEGRAM

C227813

FROM: THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

TO: THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN, BUCKINGHAM PALACE, LONDON

Ottawa, September 3, 1947

Code

Replying to your telegram of yesterday, I shall be grateful if you will convey most my humble duty to the King my ~~warm~~ deep appreciation and ~~very~~ humble cordial acceptance of His Majesty's gracious invitation to me to be present at the marriage of Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, in Westminster Abbey, on November 20th.

W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister

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Memorandum re gift for
Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth:

In conversation with Mr. Coleman this morning, he advised me that he had, in preparation, a memorandum regarding estimates for a mink coat from different firms. The one he would recommend is Holt, Renfrew & Co., of Quebec. Their estimate is some $500. less than that of other Quebec firms. Their price is: $8,500. Also he stated that Mr. Walker who is the Manager of the Firm would be prepared, if they secured the order, to fly to England with samples, to take measures, etc. They could do the work in three weeks; the other firms would require four weeks. He also stated that the Hudson's Bay Company would not undertake the task.

Mr. Coleman states that the Hudson's Bay deals in domestic skins. It was the wild skins that were required.

In conversation with Mr. Coleman about the amount to be allowed for plate, Coleman agreed that £5000 equals $20,000. plus $8.500. for mink coat, totalling $28,500., and with possible additional expenses for inscriptions, etc. would equal a round figure of $30,000. which was what we had thought of allowing.

W.L.M.K.

OTTAWA, September 19, 1947

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CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

MEMORANDUM

re Mink Coat for H.R.H. Princess Elizabeth

1. On August 20th I forwarded a memorandum, a copy of which I enclose, concerning the suggestion made by Henry Morgan and Company, Montreal. You will observe that the suggestion of Morgan's is based on the supply of ranch skins.

2. After having a conversation with the Prime Minister on Monday I communicated with P. A. Chester of the Hudson's Bay Company at Winnipeg. Mr. Chester replied that his company had not on hand sufficient skins of quality and standard required and that the new collection would not be available before next December. He stated that while it might be possible for the company to get the required collection in New York it would probably be quite expensive to get a matched collection of dark wild Canadian skins which it would think advisable for such purpose. He incidentally remarked in his wire that the Newfoundland Government had also apparently been making inquiries. The general effect of Mr. Chester's telegram was that he doubted if a suitable coat could be provided within the time limit.

3. I communicated with Alvin J. Walker, President of Holt-Renfrew Company, Montreal. Mr. Walker stated that his company could supply, within three weeks after obtaining the measurements, a Canadian Labrador wild mink coat, stating that his company had on hand a high grade first quality bundle of skins and that his company could offer a coat made to measure of outstanding quality for $8,500.00. Mr. Walker also stated that if it would not be presumptuous he would be prepared to fly to England with suggested styles so that H.R.H. might make her own selection and that this would be without any additional cost to the garment.

4. I had one of my officers go to Quebec and interview Mr. Alain, the head of P. A. Alain Limitee which, I am told, is the outstanding firm of furriers in Quebec City. It developed that at the time Mr. Alain had written Mr. St. Laurent early in August he had in his possession 77 choice skins of wild Labrador mink collected from his own posts in that area. Subsequently he sold the skins but I am now advised that he has repurchased them,although he was definitely advised that he was only asked for a quotation and suggestion. I had a telephone message from him on Thursday afternoon that he could make up a mink coat of the best skins available in Canada, in his opinion, at a price approximately $9,000.

I am impressed by the fact that Mr. Chester of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Walker of Holt-Renfrew, and

Mr. Alain ---

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C227821

Mr. Alain of P. A. Alain Limitee, who are the heads of probably the three outstanding fur houses in Canada, are unanimous in recommending wild rather than ranch mink.

If it should be decided to place the order with Holt-Renfrew, I shall appreciate it if I may be advised at the earliest possible moment, in view of Mr. Walker's offer to fly to England to submit styles. I have ascertained that H.R.H. Princess Alice is well acquainted with Mr. Walker, since she had several transactions with him when she was resident in Canada. If the order should be placed and if it should be agreed that Mr. Walker should fly over, I should like authority to cable our High Commissioner in London, asking him to communicate with H.R.H. Princess Alice, asking if she would receive Mr. Walker at some fixed date and place in London, or even in the country if she should be absent from London. I should also like authority to ask the High Commissioner to facilitate with the United Kingdom Customs the admission of any samples Mr. Walker might bring with him.

E. H. Coleman
Under Secretary of State.

Ottawa, September 20, 1947.

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Copy of scroll

C227785

To our gracious Princess Elizabeth, with earnest good wishes for life-long happiness from the members of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League.

This little gift is a token of our wedding present which will consist of food parcels to be sent to our brothers in arms of the British Legion for distribution among ex-servicemen in the United Kingdom. We hope that the fact that British veterans' families are being remembered by their comrades in Canada will add in a small way to Your Royal Highness's happiness and in some measure repay the wonderful hospitality extended by the British people to the men and women of the Canadian Forces who served in Britain during the recent conflict. May we ask you to convey our loyal greetings to Their Majesties the King and Queen and assure them that they, with our fellow subjects in Britain, are in our thoughts and prayers these difficult days.

(Signed) C.B. PRICE
Dominion President

Montreal, October 1947.

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PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

C227923

MEMORANDUM

For Mr. Heeney:

Dr. Coleman said:

"I have heard from Morgan's and they have some very fine wild skins and could make a coat for between $6,000 and $7,000 and would require a minimum time of three weeks".

Dr. Coleman is still here if the Cabinet wish to discuss it further.

Gen. to phone call
Oct 1-1947

M.R.

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C227824

FOOD PARCELS FOR GREAT BRITAIN

Suggestions have been made that an appropriate gift to Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of her marriage to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten would be a free postage concession by the Post Office Department on gift food parcels sent from Canada to the United Kingdom,

In this connection the Postmaster General desires to make the following statement:

The suggestion has been given exhaustive consideration by the officials of the Department. It is doubtless actuated by the very worthy motive of providing a measure of relief for the people of Great Britain during these days of austere living conditions. Nevertheless a thoughtful study indicates conclusively that the number of people in the United Kingdom who would benefit by such a scheme would be comparatively small. The scheme would set up a system of preferred treatment which would only apply to a favoured few.

It is estimated that out of the large number of relief parcels which are being sent to the United Kingdom, about 800,000 a year are gift food parcels. In many cases the same individuals are receiving a number of parcels a year. At a conservative estimate, each of these favoured addressees would receive approximately four parcels per year. It is therefore apparent that not more than 200,000 families in the whole of the British Isles would benefit from the proposal - a very small percentage indeed.

It is suggested that it would hardly be in keeping with the occasion to develop a scheme whereby only a few would benefit instead of the great majority.

There is, further, the question of cost. The postage involved in sending food parcels for a period of one year would be over $1,500,000., based on the present volume.

This amount would undoubtedly be greatly increased under any free mailing arrangement. It would be an actual out-of-pocket loss to the Dominion and would have to be made up in some manner or other, since it comprises expenditures to cover costs of mail handling, including payments to transportation companies, and also payments which have to be made to the United Kingdom Postal Administration to cover their handling and transportation. The public in general, therefore, would in effect be taxed for the advantage of a few.

There is a further aspect which, while it is not of overwhelming importance, deserves consideration. The number of items sent in these food parcels are not in the nature of staples but could almost be described as luxuries. Nobody would deny persons in the United Kingdom the

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pleasure of receiving ~~any~~ items which would improve the unattractive diet ~~which is~~ forced upon them by present-day conditions, ~~but~~, at the same time, the sending of such goods ~~does~~ not meet with the underlying object of the proposal, which is to afford a measure of relief to the people of the United Kingdom as a whole.

~~Everyone has the most profound sympathy with the proposal, but it~~ must be studied in a practical manner. The parcel post systems of both the United Kingdom and Canada are not geared to provide relief measures of this kind - their facilities would not bear the strain. ~~Therefore,~~ While the ~~Department~~ is deeply conscious of the necessity of adopting any practical measure which will alleviate the present situation, it is felt that the ~~solution~~ is entirely beyond the scope of the parcel post system.

~~To return to the question of postage and the cost of handling, let me illustrate by taking~~ a food parcel, weighing between ten and fifteen pounds, originating at a central point in Canada. The amount paid the United Kingdom for handling and delivery charges is 51¢, the maritime transit, on a space basis, would be 75¢. The total postage collected is $2.00, ~~which~~ leaves only 74¢ for the handling, transportation to seaboard, recording, and other necessary expenditures. This is much less than the normal charge on a domestic parcel between ~~the~~ two points ~~and~~ indicates that the Department has already gone to extreme limits to give the public the benefit of the lowest possible rates.

2-10-47

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MINISTRE DES POSTES
CANADA

The Prime Minister
for approval
or revision
W.L.M.K.

C227826

URGENT

Mr. Pickersgill:

I understand that on an arrangement made with you by Mr. Bertrand, Postmaster General, the attached statement is to be submitted to you for o.k. by the Prime Minister, Would you please return it to me at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely.,

David Adamson

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

Press Statements re Royal Wedding Gift.

I attach hereto drafts of Statements II and III incorporating your revisions and one or two slight additional revisions I made myself. I thought you might wish to look them over as re-typed to see whether any additional changes were desirable.

O.K.
8-10-47
J.L.I.

October 8, 1947

Please hold for release at right moment. Copies will be made
8-10-47

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C227828

Statement II - from the Office of the Postmaster-General.

In connection with the suggestions which have been made that an appropriate gift to Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of her marriage to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten would be a free postage concession by the Post Office Department on gift food parcels sent from Canada to the United Kingdom, the Postmaster-General made the following statement:

Exhaustive consideration has been given by the officials of the Post Office Department to the suggestion of a free postage concession by the Post Office Department on gift food parcels sent from Canada to the United Kingdom. The suggestion is actuated by the very worthy motive of providing a measure of relief for the people of Great Britain during these days of austere living conditions. Nevertheless a careful study indicates conclusively that the number of people in the United Kingdom who would benefit by such a scheme would be comparatively small. The scheme would set up a system of preferred treatment which would only apply to a favoured few.

It is estimated that out of the large number of relief parcels which are being sent to the United Kingdom,

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about 800,000 a year are gift food parcels. In many cases the same individuals are receiving a number of parcels a year. At a conservative estimate, each of these favoured addressees would receive approximately four parcels per year. On this basis it is estimated that not more than 200,000 families in the whole of the British Isles would be likely to benefit from the proposal. This is a very small percentage of the total population. It would hardly be in keeping with the occasion to initiate a scheme whereby only a small proportion, rather than the great majority, of the people would benefit.

The question of cost has also to be taken into account. Based on the present volume, the postage involved in sending food parcels for a period of one year would be over $1,500,000.00. This amount would be greatly increased under any free mailing arrangement. This would constitute an actual out-of-pocket loss to the Dominion Treasury which would have to be made up in other ways, since it comprises expenditures to cover costs of mail handling, including payments to transportation companies, and also payments which have to be made to the United Kingdom Postal Administration to cover their handling and transportation. The public in

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general would in effect be taxed for the advantage of a few.

There is a further aspect which deserves consideration. Many of the items sent in food parcels are not staples but could almost be described as comparative luxuries. No one would be disposed to deny persons in the United Kingdom the pleasure of receiving items which would improve the unattractive diet forced upon them by present-day conditions. At the same time the sending of such goods would not meet the underlying object of the proposal, which is to afford a measure of relief to the people of the United Kingdom as a whole.

However general the sympathy with this proposal for free postage may be, the proposal must be studied in a practical manner. The parcel post systems of the United Kingdom and Canada are not geared to provide relief on a wholesale scale - their facilities would not bear the strain. While the Post Office Department is deeply conscious of the necessity of adopting any practical measure which will alleviate the present situation, it is felt that the proposed method of seeking to meet it is entirely beyond the scope of the parcel post system.

The following summary will serve to illustrate the cost involved in handling a food parcel weighing between ten and

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C227831

fifteen pounds posted in Central Canada. The amount paid the United Kingdom for handling and delivery charges is 51¢, the maritime transit, on a space basis, would be 75¢. The total postage collected is $2.00, this leaves only 74¢ for the handling, transportation to seaboard, recording, and other necessary expenditures. This is much less than the normal charge on a domestic parcel between two points. It indicates that the Post Office Department has already gone to extreme limits to give the public the benefit of the lowest possible rates.

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C227832

Ottawa, October 13th, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

We have learned from Canada House that ten seats for the Royal Wedding will be available for allocation among Canadians. You, of course, have been invited direct, and I understand that the High Commissioner is not included in this quota of ten.

The problem of allocating this very limited number of seats will be difficult, for there will not be enough seats to take care of applications received, either here or in London, from private persons who expect to be in England at that time. You may wish Pickersgill to accompany you; perhaps two or three of the senior Canadian Government officers in London should be included, and possibly the three Provincial Agents General, one of whom (McAdam of British Columbia) has a wife in London. If there is a free place left, would you think well of the suggestion of inviting Mrs. Howard Ferguson, who has been visiting in England for the last two or three months and may be planning to stay over through November?

L B Pearson

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C227833

CONFIDENTIAL

For England
Memorandum sent Premier

October 20, 1947.
British Commonwealth Relations
Prime Ministers' Conference 1947

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

..... 1. Attached is a copy of telegram No. 287 of October 17 from the High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand, which makes it clear that there will be no cabinet minister from New Zealand at the Royal Wedding.

2. According to present information, the only Prime Ministers who will be able to attend will be the Prime Ministers of Canada and of South Africa; the latter can remain in London only three days. Dr. Evatt may represent Australia if his duties at the United Nations Assembly permit him to leave New York at the time of the wedding. While the Prime Minister of Pakistan has accepted the invitation, it is considered almost certain that neither he nor the Prime Minister of India will be able to come. Ireland was not asked to send a representative.

3. The High Commissioner's telegram also contains information as to the attitude which will be taken by New Zealand on the question of the status of High Commissioners, which is likely to come up in London. New Zealand considers that High Commissioners should come ahead of all foreign representatives in the Table of Precedence, but that Prime Ministers and possibly cabinet ministers of all Commonwealth Governments should rank ahead of them. While this is in line with proposals for revision of the United Kingdom Table of Precedence now under consideration, it would, if adopted by Canada, be likely to create unrest among the diplomatic corps, who already rank lower here than in almost any other capital.

Laurent Beaudry

LAURENT BEAUDRY

(Enclosure filed separately)
JC

20/10/20

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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CANADA

C227784

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. N.A. ROBERTSON:

The Prime Minister would be grateful if you would advise Canada House that he has accepted the invitation of the Canadian Legion to make the presentation of the Legion's wedding gift to H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth.

Mr. King is to be accompanied, in making the presentation, by four Canadian representatives on the Executive of the British Empire Service League. They, I understand, are Canadian officers resident in London. One of them, Colonel W Rae D.S.O. will be getting in touch with Canada House shortly about the arrangements. Mr. King would like, if possible, to have the presentation arranged for some time on Monday, November 17th. Mr. King will also wish to make some arrangement for the safe custody of the wedding gift between the time of his original arrival in London and the time of the presentation.

J.W.P.

October 23, 1947.

NOTE: The wedding gift is to be left with the Prime Minister on Monday, October 27th to be taken by him personally to London together with the letter of presentation. The Legion are also to supply a draft of a statement to be made in connection with the presentation.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

October 29, 1947

C227835

THE PRIME MINISTER:

I spoke to Mr. Coleman, who telephoned to Montreal. They expect to have the coat ready by November 8th or 10th, and it will be sent to the High Commissioner, London.

A telegram has been sent to Canada House regarding the silver.

The Canadian Legion's present has arrived and I have taken it in my charge.

J.W.P.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER
from Mr. Hudd

In accordance with the message conveyed to me that you would like the Princess Alice to select a piece of silver, to the value of £25, as your personal wedding gift to the Princess Elizabeth, the Princess Alice is agreeable to make this selection on your behalf. She has in mind a silver ink-stand, which she feels would be an appropriate and welcome gift, if this meets with your approval.

The Princess Alice is to be out of town from Tuesday until Friday of this week, but has asked me to tell you that she will attend to this selection on her return on Friday.

November 3rd, 1947.

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Re Gift of silver by the Government on
behalf of the people of Canada to Her Royal Highness
The Princess Elizabeth.

---

1. On October 9th, the Prime Minister announced:

"In considering what present should be made to The Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of the marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, the government felt that no gift could be quite so acceptable as one which would meet with the wishes of Princess Elizabeth herself.

"Through the good offices of Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, with whom the government communicated, it was learned that Princess Elizabeth was in need of silver for setting up house and would particularly welcome silver for her table. The Cabinet has accordingly authorized Princess Alice, on behalf of the Canadian Government, to make a selection of antique silver which will accord with the personal wishes of Princess Elizabeth. The gift will be suitably inscribed to indicate that it has been presented by and carries with it the best wishes of the Government and people of Canada.

"The Government has also decided to present Princess Elizabeth with a mink coat made of Canadian wild mink skins and to be of Canadian workmanship. The firm of Holt, Renfrew & Co., one of the very few Canadian firms which had a Royal Warrant as supplier of Furs to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, has been commissioned to supply the coat which will be made in accordance with a design to be approved by Princess Elizabeth."

2. The personal gift to Her Royal Highness, as has already been announced, was a Canadian Mink Coat.

3. As has already been indicated, on December 8, 1947, in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, H.R.H. The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, at the request of the Canadian government, ascertained that it was the wish of H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth that, if possible, the gift might take the form of silver for a table service,

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C227838

which would be of assistance in entertaining and in carrying out some of the duties Her Royal Highness and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, would have to discharge.

4. The gift of silver made by the Government of Canada on behalf of the people of Canada to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth consisted of:

1. A George I plain two-handled Silver Cup and cover, made in London in 1720 by Paul Lamerie.
2. 4 Silver Salvers, made in 1734 by Paul Lamerie.
3. 2 Single Silver Candlesticks.
4. 4 Silver Candlesticks and 3 Silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie).
5. 24 Silver-Gilt Dinner Plates (formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland.
6. Case of Table Silver.

The Cup is intended to be used as a centre piece between the Candelabra. As a collector's piece, it was considered inappropriate to engrave the Cup itself and arrangements have, therefore, been made to mount the Cup on a base engraved with an inscription indicating that the silver is the gift of Canada.

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PM
file re Wedding Present

OFFICE OF THE C227839

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,

CANADA HOUSE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER
from Mr. Hudd

The present position with regard to the Canadian Government's gift of silver to the Princess Elizabeth is explained in the attached copy of a letter addressed to me by the Private Secretary.

I understand that the Princess proposes to purchase a bowl for use as a centrepiece between the candelabra, and as this would be plain silver in design, it would be most suitable for an inscription.

The question of further purchases out of the £5,000 allocated has also been raised with me by the Princess Alice, who has enquired whether the Canadian Government would be willing to let the Princess Elizabeth make more purchases at her discretion, in order to buy either old silver or a piece of furniture, as later on she would be better able to buy suitable and beautiful things she would like to have.

I have told the Princess Alice that I am sure you would be entirely agreeable to the wishes of the Princess Elizabeth in this matter, and that I would consult you as soon as possible after your arrival.

November 5th, 1947.

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C227840

COPY

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

3rd November, 1947

Dear Hudd:

This is a line to let you know that the pieces of silver which Princess Elizabeth has chosen as part of the present from Canada include:- 4 Silver Candlesticks and 3 Silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie, Garrard & Co. Ltd. £720); 2 Single Silver Candlesticks (Garrard & Co. Ltd. £100); 24 Silver-Gilt Dinner Plates, formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland (Frank Partridge £850); a Canteen of Silver (Goldsmiths and Silversmiths £495).

If the High Commissioner has no particular comments to offer, I suggest that these might be inspected by him, or a member of his staff (as the High Commissioner may wish), and then presented to Her Royal Highness by Mr. Mackenzie King on a date to be fixed.

I should be much obliged if you would let me know what the total sum which the Government of Canada are giving Her Royal Highness in fact is, because I think that, if the Canadian Government thought it suitable, Her Royal Highness would like to purchase some silver centre piece of a kind suitable for inscription, and then to have the remainder of the money available to purchase further objects at leisure.

If there are any other further points about this, perhaps you would ring me up and we could discuss them?

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) John Colville

Private Secretary to
The Princess Elizabeth

F. Hudd, Esq.
Office of the High Commissioner
for Canada
Canada House, S.W.1

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Memorandum for the Prime Minister: C227841

Re: Presentation of Wedding gifts

The following are the gifts to be presented to H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth on Monday, November 17, at noon, at Buckingham Palace:

(a) MINK COAT

(b) Token Piece of SILVER from the CANADIAN GOVERNMENT.
This is a George I plain two-handled Silver Cup and Cover, made in London in 1720 by Paul Lamerie, the Silversmith of Huguenot origin.

(c) BROOCH from the CANADIAN LEGION.
(P.M. wishes to bereminded to wear his Canadian Legion BADGE).

(d) PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL GIFT.

As far as Canada House is aware, British Columbia is the only province that has announced its intention of making a present. Various communities in the Province of Ontario, of which Toronto is the most important, are making gifts of parcels of food and clothing to be distributed to the needy of the United Kingdom at the Princess's direction.

Mr. Norman Robertson suggests that the wedding gifts be taken from Canada House to Buckingham Palace by Mr. Hudd a few minutes before the presentation is to be made. The gifts will be in the room where the ceremony is to be held.

J. L.

November 16, 1947

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C227843

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

NOTE BY MR. HUDD

Wedding Gift to H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth

The Princess will be glad to receive Mr. King at 12 noon on Monday, November 17th, for the purpose of receiving the gift of the mink coat and a token piece of the silver gift. The silver is now being prepared for the public display of wedding presents at St. James's Palace which opens on November 17th. The Princess Alice and other members of the Royal Family suggest that the Prime Minister present to the Princess the Paul Lamerie Cup as the token piece, as this is intended to be a centre-piece between the candelabra. It is proposed to mount the Cup on a base, engraved with an inscription upon which the Prime Minister will decide. The Princess Alice also thinks the same inscription should be engraved on the back of the four salvers. At the display of wedding presents at St. James's Palace, the gift will be marked "From the Government and People of Canada".

The silver is very handsome and impressive, and compares most favourably with any other gift. It is something of which we can be proud and the Royal Family are delighted with it, as well as with the coat.

The coat and the token piece of silver are now in safe keeping at Canada House, together with the Canadian Legion gift, which Mr. King has agreed to present at the same time.

The present position with regard to expenditures on the gift is as follows:

Paul Lamerie Cup with Cover	- £900
4 silver Candlesticks and 3 silver candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie)	- £720
2 single silver Candlesticks	- £100
24 silver-gilt Dinner Plates (formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland)	- £850
Canteen of Silver	- £495

(It has been arranged that the accounts for payment will be sent to Canada House in due course).

November 15th, 1947.

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[redacted] 2 [redacted]

ENTRANCE BY
GREAT WEST
DOOR
BEFORE 10.55 A.M.

MARRIAGE OF

HER [redacted] THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, C.I.,

WITH

LIEUT[redacted]OUNTBATTEN, R.N.

WEST[redacted]

Thursday, 20th November [redacted] o'clock a.m.

ADMIT The Prime Minister of Canada

Alan C. Don

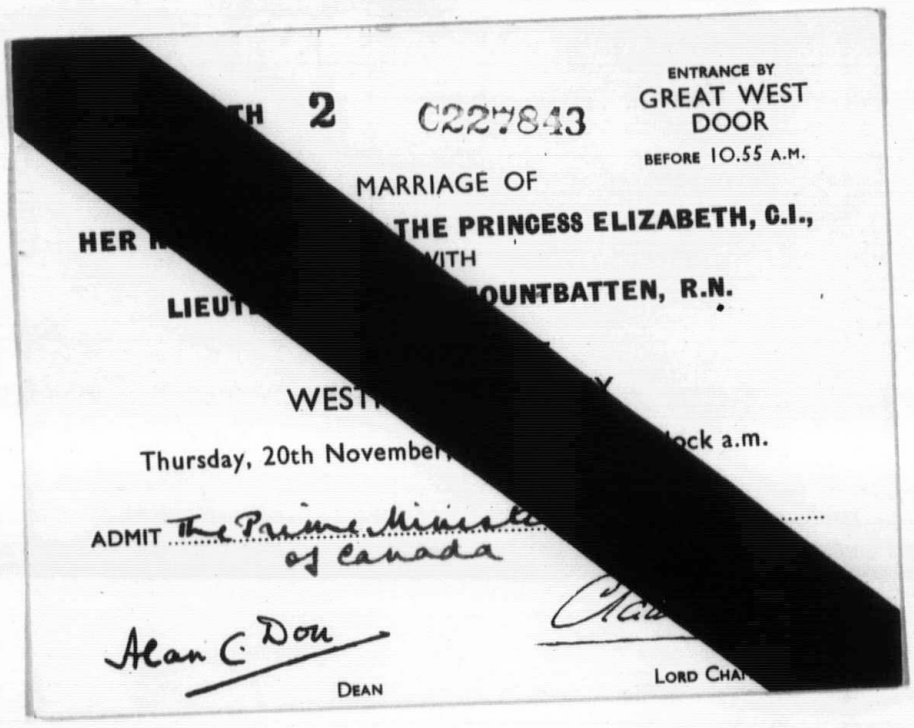
DEAN

[redacted]

LORD CHA[redacted]

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2 C227843

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C227844

Programme of Music.

1.	MARCH	"March Militaire"	*Schubert*
2.	OVERTURE	"The Arcadians"	*Monckton*
3.	SUITE	"Songs of the Hebrides"	*Kennedy-Fraser*
4.	FANTASIA	"Galopade"	*arr. Palmer*
5.	VALSE	"Gold and Silver"	*Lehar*
6.	SELECTION	"White Horse Inn"	*Stolz*
7.	MARCH FANTASIA	"Sea Songs"	*Vaughan-Williams*
8.	BALLET MUSIC	"Les Sylphides"	*Chopin-Charrosin*
9.	VALSE	"Voices of Spring"	*Strauss*
10.	MELODIES FROM	"Swing Time"	*Kern*
11.	FINALE FROM	"The Faithful Shepherd"	*Handel*
12.	SELECTION	"Big Ben"	*Ellis*

F. J. HARRIS, Captain, A.R.C.M.,
Director of Music,
Grenadier Guards.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
20th NOVEMBER, 1947

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C227844

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F. J. HARRIS, Captain, A.R.C.M.,
Director of Music,
Grenadier Guards.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
20th NOVEMBER, 1947

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C227945

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

THURSDAY, 20TH NOVEMBER, 1947

WEDDING BREAKFAST

Filet de Sole Mountbatten

—

Perdreau en Casserole
Haricots Verts Pommes Noisette
Salade Royale

—

Bombe Glacée Princesse Elizabeth
Friandises

—

Déssert

—

Café



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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C227946

For the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister may remember that it was agreed that he would submit an inscription to be engraved on the base of the Lamerie Cup, and on the back of the four Salvers given to H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth by the Government and People of Canada.

The Prime Minister might wish to decide on the wording of this inscription before he leaves, so that the engraving can be put in hand.

21st November, 1947.

To
Her Royal Highness, The Princess Elizabeth
on the occasion of her marriage
from
the Government and People of Canada
London. November 20th 1947

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C227847

to

Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth

on the occasion of her marriage

with every good wish

from

The Government and people of Canada

London, November 20th, 1947

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Commonwealth Relations
C227848 Office

Downing Street, S.W.1.

25th November, 1947.

Dear Handy,

I enclose three copies of "Marriage of H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten" for the Prime Minister. I am afraid this is all I can raise.

Yours sincerely,

Addressed to:

MR. E. HANDY.

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C227849

Ottawa, December 3, 1947.

Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GORDON ROBERTSON
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

With reference to our telephone conversation, I attach copies of a despatch no. 1434 and a telegram no. 1790 from the High Commissioner in London, regarding the wedding present of silver for Princess Elizabeth. Copies with photographs have been referred to Dr Coleman.

I attach also a memorandum to our Administrative Division.

You may wish to consider whether the Prime Minister would like to have details of the gifts (fur coat and silver) made public.

W. H. Measures.

Encls.
(including photographs)

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Copy/f

Copy C227850 RM/4

Office of the
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
Canada House,
London, S.W. 1.

November 21st, 1947.

No. 1434

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to the Canadian Government's wedding gift of silver to H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth, and to inform you that on Monday, November 17th, the Prime Minister presented a token piece of the silver gift to The Princess, together with the mink coat. The token piece of silver presented by the Prime Minister was a George I plain two-handled Silver Cup and Cover, made in London in 1720 by Paul Lamerie, the Silversmith of Huguenot origin.

2. This cup is intended to be used as a centre piece between the candelabra, which is also a part of the gift. As a collector's piece, it was considered inappropriate to engrave the Cup itself, and it is therefore proposed to mount the Cup on a base engraved with an inscription, upon the wording of which Mr. King has been asked to decide. ——— how time a decision

3. The following is a description of the gift, together with particulars of the sums expended:

Paul Lamerie Cup with Cover	£900
2 single silver Candlesticks	£100
4 silver Candlesticks and 3 silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie)	£720
24 silver-gilt Dinner Plates (formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland)	£850
Case of table silver	£495
4 Silver salvers	£285

4. The silver is very handsome and impressive and compares most favourably with other gifts. It has been arranged that the accounts for payment will be presented to this office in due course.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(sgd.) N.A. Robertson

High Commissioner

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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C227851

TELEGRAM

From THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN

To THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

CYPHER

NO. 1790 LONDON, November 29th, 1947.

No. 1790. Reference my despatch No. 1434, November 21st, gift of silver to Princess Elizabeth.

Accounts are now being received here. Please advise whether we are to pay them by cheque from this office. If so arrangements should be made for the necessary credit.

2. List of items composing the gift set out in my despatch under reference inadvertently omitted four silver salvers (Paul Lamerie 1734) costing 285 pounds.

HIGH COMMISSIONER

WARNING

THIS MESSAGE MUST BE PARAPHRASED IF IT IS TO BE COMMUNICATED TO PERSONS OUTSIDE OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

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WHM/LF

C227852

Ottawa, December 3, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. W. D. MATTHEWS
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

I think Mr. Robertson's telegram no. 1790 is for the Administrative Division to deal with. I have referred a copy of it and a copy of the High Commissioner's despatch no. 1434 to the Prime Minister and to Dr. E. H. Coleman.

Dr. Coleman told me that the Prime Minister asked him to arrange for payment, not only of the fur coat, but also of the silver. Dr. Coleman thinks that these arrangements for payment may have to await the return of the Prime Minister. There will naturally be a little delay in passing the matter through Treasury Board.

With the High Commissioner's despatch there were two sets of photographs. I have sent one set to the Prime Minister and the other set to Dr. Coleman.

W. H. Measures.

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C227853

Approved
Dec 12/47

Re Gift of silver by the Government on behalf of the people of Canada to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth

Early in October, the Prime Minister informed the press that in considering what present should be made to The Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of the marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, the government felt that no gift could be quite so acceptable as one which would meet with the wishes of Princess Elizabeth herself.

The Prime Minister stated that, ~~to this end,~~ the government had enlisted the good offices of Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, to ascertain the nature of the gift that would be most acceptable. The government subsequently learned from Princess Alice that it was the wish of H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth that, if possible, the gift might take the form of antique silver for a table service, which would be of assistance in entertaining and in carrying out some of the duties Her Royal Highness and her husband would have to discharge. The Cabinet thereupon authorized Princess Alice to make the necessary selection of antique silver.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C227854

The gift of silver selected, and subsequently presented by the Prime Minister on behalf of Canada to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth, consisted of:

A George I plain two-handled Silver Cup and cover, made in London in 1720 by Paul Lamerie.

4 Silver Salvers, made in 1734 by Paul Lamerie.

2 Single Silver Candlesticks.

4 Silver Candlesticks and 3 Silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie).

24 Silver-Gilt Dinner Plates

A case of Table Silver.

The Cup is intended to be used as a centre piece between the Candelabra. As a collector's piece, it was considered inappropriate to engrave the Cup itself and arrangements have, therefore, been made to mount the Cup on a base engraved with an inscription indicating that the silver is the gift of Canada. Certain other pieces will be suitably engraved.

As a more intimate personal gift, a coat of Canadian mink was also presented to Princess Elizabeth.

(A photograph of the gift of silver is attached)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C227975 - A

Re Gift of silver by the Government on behalf of the people of Canada to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth.

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1. On October 9th, the Prime Minister announced:

"In considering what present should be made to The Princess Elizabeth on the occasion of the marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, the government felt that no gift could be quite so acceptable as one which would meet with the wishes of Princess Elizabeth herself. Through the good offices of Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, with whom the government communicated, it was learned that Princess Elizabeth was in need of silver for setting up house and would particularly welcome silver for her table. The Cabinet accordingly authorized Princess Alice, on behalf of the Canadian Government, to make a selection of antique silver which will accord with the personal wishes of Princess Elizabeth. The gift will be suitably inscribed to indicate that it has been presented by and carries with it the best wishes of the Government and people of Canada.

"The Government has also decided to present Princess Elizabeth with a mink coat made of Canadian wild mink skins and to be of Canadian workmanship. The firm of Holt, Renfrew & Co., one of the very few Canadian firms which had a Royal Warrant as supplier of Furs to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, has been commissioned to supply the coat which will be made in accordance with a design to be approved by Princess Elizabeth."

2. The personal gift to Her Royal Highness, as has already been announced, was a Canadian Mink Coat.

---

3. As has already been indicated, on December 8, 1947, in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, H.R.H. The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, at the request of the Canadian government, ascertained that it was the wish of H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth that, if possible, the gift might take the form of silver for a table service, antique

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which would be of assistance in entertaining and in carrying out some of the duties Her Royal Highness and her husband, ~~the Duke of Edinburgh~~, would have to discharge.

4. The gift of silver ~~made by the Government of Canada~~ on ~~behalf of the people of Canada~~ to Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth consisted of:

1. A George I plain two-handled Silver Cup and cover, made in London in 1720 by Paul Lamerie.
2. 4 Silver Salvers, made in 1734 by Paul Lamerie.
3. 2 Single Silver Candlesticks.
4. 4 Silver Candlesticks and 3 Silver Candelabra (reproduction of Paul Lamerie).
5. 24 Silver-Gilt Dinner Plates ~~(formerly belonging to the Duke of Cumberland~~.
6. A case of Table Silver.

The Cup is intended to be used as a centre piece between the Candelabra. As a collector's piece, it was considered inappropriate to engrave the Cup itself and arrangements have, therefore, been made to mount the Cup on a base engraved with an inscription indicating that the silver is the gift of Canada.

Elizabeth

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

C227856

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

file

Mr. Hudd has sent along another copy of the catalogue of the Royal Wedding presents, which is attached.

He reports that copies are rare and hard to secure, and hopes that the two copies which he has sent will, therefore, be adequate.

J.W.P.

23rd April 1948.

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C227857

MARRIAGE OF

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH

AND

LIEUTENANT PHILIP MOUNTBATTEN

ROYAL NAVY

LIST OF WEDDING GIFTS

ST. JAMES'S PALACE

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 330, pages C227785-C228956

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C227853

MARRIAGE OF

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH

AND

LIEUTENANT PHILIP MOUNTBATTEN,
R.N.

20th NOVEMBER, 1947

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 330, pages C227785-C228956

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C227859

FOREWORD

THE Palace of St. James, in which the Wedding Gifts are displayed, owes its name to a somewhat sinister origin, having been built by Henry VIII on the site of a hospital for lepers founded in honour of St. James the Less. Those entering from Friary Court may see on the right a rainwater head bearing the royal cypher and the date 1696. On the west side of the Court is a balcony from which the accession of the Sovereign is proclaimed, and Peace was announced from here in 1919.

The entrance to the Exhibition is through a corridor in which are hung modern pictures, including "The Investiture of the Prince of Wales at Carnarvon Castle in 1911"; three by Lady Butler, viz.: Khartum, 1898, the funeral service for General Gordon; the Roll-Call, Crimea, 1854; and the Defence of Rorke's Drift, Zululand 1879; also two by Caton Woodville, viz.: "Too Late," Sir Herbert Stewart in sight of the Nile, January, 1885; and H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught with the Guards at Tel-el-Kebir.

The main stairway, up which the visitor proceeds, was designed by Wren and subsequently altered by William Kent. The first room entered is the ARMOURY, decorated in 1886 by William Morris, who was also responsible for the panel decoration of the TAPESTRY ROOM, which adjoins it. This room is part of the original building, and the fire-place bears emblems of the monarch for whom the Palace was erected. These are carved in relief in the centres of the squares which surmount it. They include the Tudor rose, Portcullis and Fleur-de-lis: but the most interesting features are at each end; on the left is the cypher formed of the initials H and A (Henry and Anne Boleyn), joined by a "true lover's knot": on the right, the initial of Henry stands alone. Are we to see in this divergence the reflection of a tragic historical event? The tapestries, manufactured at Mortlake for Charles I, are some of the earliest and finest of their kind, and are partly woven with gold and silver thread. They form part of a series representing the loves of Mars and Venus, and bear on the border the monogram of Charles I and the Prince of Wales' feathers. Unfortunately,

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the individual pieces have been partly shorn of their borders and otherwise mutilated to fit the walls on which they hang.

The series of rooms which follows along the south side (looking over the garden on to the Mall), were designed by Wren, and subsequently remodelled by Kent in 1730–40. The first, known as Queen Anne's Drawing Room, has a handsome marble fire-place with Medusa head and supporting figures of Caryatides. The walls are hung with portraits of British Kings and their Consorts. Among these may be noted the following :—on the north side, Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I, after Van Dyck ; the Marquis of Granby, by Reynolds ; and Mary of Modena, Queen of James II, by Verelst. On the east (fire-place) wall, are George I, by Kneller ; George II, by Morier ; and George III, by Reynolds. On the south is Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I, by Paul van Somer. On the west (over the doors), George, Prince of Denmark, the Consort of Queen Anne, by Kneller, and Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, by Lely. Between the doors on the north side are Mary II by Wissing, and Catherine of Braganza, Consort of Charles II, by Lely.

The Entrée Room which next follows has over the fire-place a large portrait of William IV by Archer Shee ; this is appropriately flanked on each side by portraits of great admirals ; on the left, Barrington and Rodney, by Reynolds ; on the right, Nelson and St. Vincent, by Hoppner. Over one of the west doorways is that of William of Orange. In this room visitors assemble awaiting presentation in the Throne Room, with the canopy on the west beneath which is the King's chair. The fine marble fire-place is said to have been brought from France by the first Duke of Wellington. Above it is a portrait of George IV by Lawrence, and on either side of it, Queen Victoria (whose cypher figures in the throne canopy) and Prince Albert, after Winterhalter. Above the doors are, on the west, Charles II and James II, and on the east, William and Mary. On each side of the fire-place is an elaborate drop-ornament in gilded carved wood. These have been attributed to Grinling Gibbons.

The exit from the Exhibition is through the Picture Gallery. The decoration of this room is modern, but the fire-place is an interesting relic of earlier times ; the right-hand half of the chimney-breast is said to have been rescued from the Tudor wing of the Palace during the fire of 1809, the remainder being restoration. The original portion gives half of the Royal Arms and the initials E.R. (Elizabeth Regina). The grate is of the same period, and the fire back bears the same initials and Royal Arms.

C227861

The walls are hung with portraits of English monarchs, from Henry VIII (after Holbein) to Queen Victoria, the four Georges occupying the spaces between the windows.

The Vestibule through which one passes at the north end of the Picture Gallery contains a large picture representing the opening of the first Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth by H.M. George V, when Duke of Cornwall and York, in 1901.

At the head of the stairs is a striking portrait of Charles II, by Pieter Nason : and one of Caroline, consort of George II, with the Duke of Cumberland, by Enoch Seeman.

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ROYAL PRESENTS

THE KING

A sapphire and diamond clusters necklace and a pair of sapphire and diamond drop earrings.

A pair of Purdey guns.

THE KING AND QUEEN

A ruby and diamond necklace.

A pair of diamond drop earrings.

Two rows of pearls.

THE QUEEN

A two-handled tea tray with gadroon edge, London, 1800, by Thomas Hannam and John Crouch, the centre engraved with the Arms of George III.

Four salt cellars and spoons.

Four mustard pots and spoons, four octagonal pepper pots, one large toast rack and two small toast racks, and a gravy argyle.

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C227863

QUEEN MARY

A diamond festoon and scroll tiara surmounted with 27 large and small graduated brilliant collets.

A diamond bandeau, alternate round and lozenge collets between two plain bands of diamonds.

A stomacher brooch, diamond flower scroll and wreath in three parts with ten diamond drops.

A brooch, diamond fancy ribbon bow.

Two bracelets, diamond all round, Indian bangles.

A bracelet, ruby and diamond rose centre, with ruby and diamond leaf bands.

A pair of bouton pearl earrings with small diamonds at top.

A silver boat-shaped fruit basket with gadroon edges and applied acanthus and shell decoration, and a set of four smaller similar baskets, the bases engraved with Queen Mary's cypher.

A set of four silver salvers, George III, 1786.

Two pairs of Adam style mahogany sidetables, and a finely carved sideboard with antique brass gallery at the back.

A mahogany folding circular sidetable.

A mahogany two-flap coffee table.

A brass and ebony two tier upright display case.

A fourfold screen, covered in petit point embroidery in the Chinese style.

A three tier miniature bookcase with brass mounts.

Three small table lamps and shades.

Two small needlework cushions and a pink silk lace-covered cushion.

An écru teacloth and small napkins.

Six embroidered and drawn thread tablecloths.

One large écru linen tablecloth with lace motifs inset.

C227864

THE PRINCESS MARGARET

A plain, fitted, silver casket-shaped inkstand.
A set of twelve engraved champagne glasses
and
A fitted picnic case.

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER

A chased and engraved gold cigarette box, inscribed within the lid.

THE DUCHESS OF KENT

A gold dress watch with a representation of The Child and St. Christopher in relief on the reverse.

THE ROYAL FAMILY—The King of Norway, Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Norway, Queen Victoria Eugenie and the Countess Marano, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Dowager Marchioness of Milford Haven, Marchioness of Milford Haven, Marquess of Milford Haven, The Princess Royal, Earl of Harewood, Hon. Gerald Lascelles, Princess Arthur of Connaught, Admiral and Lady Patricia Ramsay, Captain Alexander Ramsay, Princess Helena Victoria, Princess Marie Louise, Marquess and Marchioness of Cambridge, Lady Mary Cambridge, Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, Lady Helena Gibbs, Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone, Colonel and Lady May Abel Smith, Anne, Richard and Elizabeth Abel Smith, Lord and Lady Brabourne, Lady Pamela Mountbatten, Marquess and Marchioness of Carisbrooke, Earl of Southesk and Lord Carnegie, Duchess of Kent, Duke of Kent, Princess Alexandra and Prince Michael of Kent, Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, Prince William and Prince Richard of Gloucester

A Hepplewhite mahogany breakfront bookcase surmounted with cresting, ornamented with urn finials, with cupboards and drawers below.

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C227865

THE MARCHIONESS OF MILFORD HAVEN

A leather travelling case containing a scent spray and two flagons of perfume.

REAR-ADMIRAL THE EARL AND COUNTESS MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

A cinema.

THE KING OF ROUMANIA

A pair of silver ewers with a repoussé pattern of wheat ears and floral emblems, the lids surmounted by cupids.

THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN OF DENMARK

Twelve dessert plates of Royal Copenhagen porcelain with serrated edge and pierced border, each plate bearing a painting of a different flower on a white ground.

THE QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS

A full set of damask table linen.

THE KING AND QUEEN OF THE HELLENES

Two gold cups which are copies of the Vapheio Gold Cups dating from about 1500 B.C., which were excavated in 1888 on the old site of Amyclae, and which belonged to the Mycenæan King of that place.

THE KING OF SIAM

A beauty set of gold, consisting of a tray with six cups and bases with tapering lids richly inlaid with precious stones and enamels, *circa* 1770.

THE KING OF AFGHANISTAN

A finely veneered walnut casket mounted with a plaque of Afghan lapis-lazuli and gold bearing

C227866

The Princess Elizabeth's cypher, the casket is fitted to contain a toilet service of Afghan lapis-lazuli and gold and has inside the lid a gold plate bearing a dedicatory inscription.

THE KING OF EGYPT

A gold necklace which is a reproduction of a historic necklace dating from the 3rd Century B.C. The gold coin in the centre represents Arsinoe, Queen of Egypt. The necklace is set with green felspar.

THE KING OF TRANSJORDAN

Five French porcelain coffee cups in gold filigree and enamel cases, with floral decoration.

QUEEN HELEN OF ROUMANIA

A silver gilt singing bird box decorated with panels of blue enamel, inset with a watch, a medallion in the lid is painted with a pastoral subject.

KING PETER AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

A set of six silver cushion shaped second course dishes made in London, 1769, by Parker and Wakelin and a clock.

QUEEN MARIE OF JUGOSLAVIA

A gold cigarette case with diamond motifs and lift, with an autograph inscription inside the lid.

THE PRINCE REGENT OF BELGIUM

A porcelain tea and coffee service, with decorations of gold on a white ground, in a fitted case.

THE PRINCESS REGENT AND PRINCE BERNHARD OF THE NETHERLANDS

A nest of mahogany tables.

HIS HIGHNESS THE REGENT OF IRAQ

A silver and gold inlaid engine-turned casket lined with holly wood. The box is surrounded by a gold rope, it bears a gold plate finely engraved with a dedicatory inscription and a gold map of England in which a ruby marks the position of London.

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C227834

T.R.H. The Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden

Three fan-shaped vases of Swedish crystal engraved with a design of a Viking ship, with a seascape on the reverse.

H.R.H. Princess Andrew of Greece

A diamond tiara and a portrait of the donor by de Laszlo.

T.R.H. Prince and Princess George of Greece

An oval silver fruit dish and a pair of circular dishes with pierced borders, and engraved with an inscription from the donors.

H.R.H. Princess Christopher of Greece

A pair of silver gilt annointing spoons, replicas of the spoon which forms part of the Regalia.

Princess Eugenie of Greece

Two fluted silver candlesticks on square bases.

T.R.H. Prince and Princess Axel of Denmark

A white porcelain comport painted with flowers on a white ground, bordered with a panel decoration of burnished gold.

T.R.H. Prince and Princess René de Bourbon Parme and Prince Michel de Bourbon Parme

A white porcelain comport, pair to the above.

T.R.H. Prince Tomislav and Prince Andrej of Yugoslavia

A gold photograph frame.

The Hereditary Grand Duke and Princess Elizabeth of Luxembourg

A silver tea and coffee set on an oval tray.

C227868

Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse

A silver cigarette case by Faberge in pale grey translucent enamel of sunray pattern with a diamond lift, the cover superimposed with St. George and the Dragon in gold surrounded by diamonds. This case was given by the Empress of Russia to the Grand Duke of Hesse in 1904.

Her Royal Highness the Markgrävin of Baden

A diamond and ruby brooch.

Her Highness the Grand Duchess Xenia

Amethystine agate and silver gilt snuff box with ruby lift.

The Emperor of Ethiopia

A gold tiara chased in openwork with symbolic devices
A gold cigarette case bearing the Royal Arms of Ethiopia, the front enriched with filigree work.
A jewel casket of gold filigree work.

The Empress of Ethiopia

A gold vanity case elaborately chased and engraved and enriched with filigree work.

H.I.M. The Shahinshah of Iran

An Isfahan Rug.

H.M. King Umberto II of Italy

A silver brazier standing on three feet and decorated with garlands and Cupid's heads.

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C227869

SPECIAL EXHIBIT OF GIFTS PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND DE BEERS.

To H.M. THE KING

Diamond Star of the Order of the Garter and 18 ct. gold box.

To H.M. THE QUEEN

An individual 3-piece 18 ct. gold tea-set and an unset marquise diamond.

To H.R.H. THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH

A necklace of 21 large diamonds (21st birthday gift) and a single diamond forming pendant.

To H.R.H. THE PRINCESS MARGARET

A diamond bracelet and an emerald-cut diamond ring.

(C227870)

GENERAL LIST OF PRESENTS

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CANADA

C227871

1 Mr. Maurice Léon
Cheque for 100 dollars, for Her Royal Highness to present to a Charity in which she is interested.

2 Dr. F. E. Feilden
Book, " Idylls of The Greater War," 1939—45, by the donor.

3 " The Duke of York " Sea Rangers
Framed water colour drawing " Brighton from Patcham " by Charles Harrington.

4 The Workpeople of Messrs. Simmons, Parkes and Warner
A hand made rug.

5 The Viscount and Viscountess Bledisloe
Afternoon tea cloth, hand embroidered in colours.

6 The Lord and Lady Clinton
Silver gilt replica of a galleon in full sail.

7 Mrs. S. A. Bower
Hand crocheted Duchess set.

8 Mrs. S. Owen
Hand made work basket.

9 Miss Phyllis Seymour-Holm
Riding crop.

10 Mrs. M. E. G. Jenkins
Embroidered afternoon tea cloth.

11 Miss Christiane Francaux
Dagger in beaded sheath.

12 Mrs. Humphrey Stucley
Two scented silk sachets.

13 The Dowager Lady Swaythling
Double morning tea set and hot water jug.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C227872

14 The Lord Porchester
George II Silver coffee pot, made by R. Gurney, London, 1749.

15 Mr. John and The Lady Janet Gore
A silver gilt inkstand in the form of a globe, made for the Duke of Sussex in 1800.

16 Miss M. E. M. Elphinstone
Book, " Daily Light."

17 Mrs. E. Virgo
Hand worked mat.

18 Mrs. M. M. Davis
Book, " Our Wedding Book."

19 Mrs. G. H. Averyt
Kettle holders

20 Mrs. L. Ramsay, Miss D. Ramsay, and Family
Powder box of inlaid Australian woods.

21 The Misses Andrews
Handkerchief bordered with point lace.

22 The Rt. Hon. Sir Basil Brooke, Bt., and Lady Brooke
A pair of Decanters, 1 pint, Old Irish, cut diamonds and flutes ; circa 1830.

23 Miss Sharman Douglas
An old silver inkstand.

24 Miss Annie K. Munro
Gold bracelet with diamond and sapphire motif.

25 Mrs. L. R. Talbot
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

26 Baron Richard J. De Touché-Skadding
A magic gem of the Orient—The Agni Mani.

C227873

27 Mrs. A. Sherwin
Water colour drawing of Her Royal Highness.

28 Mr. Leslie W. Lang
Painting of Capri by the donor.

29 Madame Estimé
A tortoiseshell handbag.

30 Mrs. Frank D'Arcy
Net fan embroidered in gold, with mother-of-pearl sticks.

31 Mr. Moyses Stevens and Staff
Flower bowl with " Doll " decoration.

32 Mrs. J. J. E. Ibbetson
Two hand worked tablecloths.

33 Mrs. H. Fielding
A pair of nylon stockings.

34 Lady Martineau
Book—" Campaign of 1815 " by Captain Robert Batty.

35 Mr. Walter Ballantyne
Cut glass whiskey Decanter in the form of a thistle.

36 Monsieur Jacques Alexandre, and the Scouts of his Patrol
Portrait of Her Royal Highness, painted by the donor.

37 Mr. William Brophy
Book—" Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey " by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Campbell's Poetical Works, and Prayer Book.

38 Madame Julie J. Marquart
Two flower dress ornaments.

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C227874

39 Mrs. A. S. Tamblyn
A bottle of perfume.

40 Mrs. Enoch Davis
Hand embroidered table centre.

41 Mrs. Henry Hollberg
Hand painted handkerchief.

42 The Dowager Countess of Onslow
Diamond and ruby brooch in the form of a butterfly.

43 Mrs. M. Cohen
Two pairs of hand made gloves.

44 Miss Doris D. Crockett
One pair of nylon stockings.

45 Mrs. Alwyn Watkins
Three plastic trays, a copper ash tray and a seascape in a shell mounted frame.

46 The Directors and Staff of New Welbeck Ltd., Luton
A " New Welbeck " Master Cleaner and Sprayer.

47 Miss Amy Daly
Cloth of hand made lace.

48 Mr. John H. Converse
Two wedding Albums.

49 The Lord and Lady Brocket
Framed Water Colour drawing of Windsor Castle by William Callow

50 Miss Eleonora Brett
Set of Dessert Doyleys, Sketches of Norfok Houses by Georgina Chester-Master.

C227875

51 Mrs. I. Balfour
Hand worked tray cloth.

52 Mrs. K. G. Fowler
Handworked evening bag and handkerchief.

53 Mrs. Helen Thornburgh
Two Lace bordered handkerchiefs.

54 Miss M. A. Francis
Pair of silver grape scissors.

55 The Lord Glentanar
Scottish silver tea set. Bullet-shaped Teapot, with straight spout, Edinburgh 1726 ; Cream Boat, Sugar Bowl, and pair of Sugar Nippers.

56 Mrs. Alice Dodds
Prayer Book, " In Memoriam Victoria, Queen and Empress, 1837—1901."

57 Mrs. J. Broadbent
Set of hand made kettle holders.

58 Mr. Frank Cameron
Hand woven bag.

59 Mr. Harry Brummer
Quilted dressing gown.

60 Mr. Philip Ponder
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

61 Mrs. John B. Hayward
" Miracle at Sea " and other Poems, by the donor.

62 Miss Elizabeth Byerly
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

63 Colonel Samuel J. Sutherland
Carved rosewood necklace in tooled leather jewel case.

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CANADA

C227876

64 Mrs. Charles Lewis

Book, " The Marriage of Diamonds and Dolls," by the donor.

65 Mrs. Davis and Miss Sara Davis

Two pairs of nylon stockings.

66 Miss Anne Joyes

Pink oyster satin gown.

67 Mrs. Ella Wehage

Pair of nylon stockings.

68 Mrs. Rosamond Tinayre

Three lace bordered handkerchiefs.

69 Mrs. Jeanne Russell

White dress slip.

70 Mrs. H. Walters and Mrs. D. Chamberlain

Two pairs of nylon stockings.

71 Mrs. T. Hampton

Embroidered linen cloth and two napkins.

72 Miss Elizabeth Cameron McCahill

Six pairs of silk stockings.

73 The Director and Employees of Messrs. Manne and Weill

Six pairs of gloves.

74 Mrs. F. Leon

Two pairs of nylon stockings.

75 Miss Margaret Crawford

Book, " Bridal Chimes."

C227877

76 Monsieur Luc Valti

Book, " Le Dernier Amour De Byron " by the donor.

77 Mrs. Anne Newman

Book, " The Golden Casket " by the donor.

78 Madame Marguerite Sarrut

Pair of velvet mules and set of paste buttons.

79 Miss Virginia Mather

Book, " You and the Jury," by the donor.

80 Mrs. F. Cannon

Two linen table mats.

81 Mr. William Brown

Model of a kneeling angel.

82 The Directors, Staff and Employees of The British Legion Cambrian Factory, Ltd.

Two hand woven Welsh Tweed travelling rugs.

83 Mrs. Walter Jaynes

A pair of nylon stockings.

84 Mr. J. A. Baldecchino

Maltese lace table centre and set of twelve mats.

85 Major Allan Cameron of Lochiel

A length of tweed.

86 Mrs. Kate Bartley

Hand made string bag.

87 Mrs. William Sherman

Tray cloth of hand made crochet.

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CANADA

C227878

88 Mrs. John Stewart
Lace bordered table centre.

89 Mrs. R. Lane
Hand worked sofa cushion.

90 Mrs. Josephine Smith.
A pair of nylon stockings.

91 Lieutenant-Colonel G. P. Philipps
A length of tweed.

92 Mr. and Mrs. W. Montagu Hall
Book, "The Great Drama of Kumasi," by W. Montagu Hall.

93 Mrs. B. M. Crozier
Four embroidered, lace bordered table mats.

94 Mrs. Uel Houston Hassell
Set of shell decorated match boxes.

95 The Dowager Lady Leigh
Silver cigarette box with gold ift.

96 The Viscountess Milner
Mahogany writing desk, the lid decorated with medallions representing classical subjects.

97 Captain Keith Caldwell
Golden four ducat piece, Austrian, dated 1780.

98 Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Corcoran
Four pairs of nylon stockings.

99 Mrs. D. N. Kent
Two hand worked doyleys.

100 Mrs. N. A. Nagel
Set of bathroom towels.

C227879

101 Miss Betty White
Pair of nylon stockings.

102 Miss Cleopatra Vryonidou
Cyprus embroideries and art leather work.

103 Mrs. R. A. Comfort
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

104 Mrs. H. L. Gregory
Lengths of Lamé, crèpe de Chine, and silk ninon, and artificial flowers.

105 Mrs. E. Blake-Jardine
Hand made lace handkerchief.

106 Mrs. M. E. Higgs
Lace handkerchief.

107 Mr. R. Price and Miss J. Price
Veneered and inlaid Cedar trinket box.

108 Miss Betty Clarke
Embroidered handkerchief.

109 Mrs. Forrest Adams
Lace bordered handkerchief.

110 Mr. George Whitty
Hand made fruit stand.

111 Mrs. F. G. Cheshire
Hand embroidered cloth.

112 Mr. Charles Gia
Hand made petit point handbag

113 Miss Blanche Dent
Pair of hand made silk gloves.

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CANADA

C227880

114 Mrs. M. Chattaway
Souvenir books of The Royal Family.

115 Mrs. P. Cockram
Hand embroidered cushion cover.

116 Mr. Charles Ingham
Framed miniature water colour, painted by the donor.

117 The Hon. Mrs. Richard Bethell
A prism monocular.

118 Mr. A. Harold Unwin
Book, " God and Mammon."

119 The Dowager Lady Howard de Walden
Length of hand made lace.

120 Mrs. Llewelyn Tipping
Cushion covered in patchwork.

121 Miss A. B. Esau
Knitted jumper.

122 Miss Mary Freeman
Old lace scarf.

123 The Rev. Reginald Churchill
Three Books on gardening.

124 Miss L. T. Sykes
Medallion commemorating the Coronation of Queen Victoria.

125 Mr. Rogert Hart
Pair of nylon stockings.

126 Mr. B. M. Addiman
Pair of old cut glass salt cellars and silver spoons.

C227881

127 Miss. J. Morrison
A silk nightgown.

128 Dame Georgiana Buller
Silver gilt box set with a Cameo.

129 Almina Countess of Carnarvon
Louis XV tortoiseshell, gold and mother-of-pearl piqué counter box.

130 Mrs. H. Normanton
Tinted engraving of Queen Charlotte in oval frame.

131 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis and Lady Humphrys
Pair of silver sweetmeat dishes, ornamented with festoons of flowers on a lattice work design.

132 Miss Myrtle Strode-Jackson
Book, bound in blue Niger leather, tooled with gold " Tansy Taniard."

133 Mrs. Edith Faltitschek
Pair of silk stockings.

134 Miss Lydia Moody
Fluted, basket-shaped sugar bowl and tongs, with blue glass liner.

135 Miss Florence Lindsey
Letter to a friend from the Countess of Caledon, dated 9th March, 1840 forwarding a piece of Queen Victoria's Wedding Cake.

136 Mr. Edmond de Rothschild and Mrs. Lionel de Rothschild
Rhododendrons for Her Royal Highness's garden.

137 Miss Felicity Hastings
Pair of silk stockings.

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C227882

138 Miss Phyllis Hamilton-Baker
A cake.

139 Miss Pamela Mungomery
Ten pounds of icing sugar from Queensland.

140 Mr. Jindrich Kacerovsky
Small écru lace tablecloth.

141 Miss Mary Simpson
Sugar from Barbados.

142 The Lord and Lady Forres
Old hand worked Spanish-Chilean silver ewer and basin.

143 Miss Josephine Percy-Johnson
White Wedgwood bust of the Shepherd Paris.

144 The Earl and Countess of Albemarle
Antique Chinese procelain table lamp and silver lamé shade.

145 Mr. Siegfried Parsser
Hand made figure of a coolie.

146 The Viscount Goschen
Books, "The Arabian Nights" in four volumes, bound, half Niger leather.

147 The Lord Courtauld-Thomson
Visitors' Book and paper weight, in tooled Niger leather—the book has a Fore Edge painting of Windsor Castle.

148 Major The Hon. John Jacob and Mrs. Astor
An 18th century English Show Table on tapering legs with lifting top and drawer below, decorated in Straw work with vases and sprays of flowers.

149 Mr. Frank Partridge
Framed oil painting of two boys in a boat, teasing a cat with a dog, by Bristowe.

C227883

150 Mr. Franklin H. Joseph
Two Books, "Far East Report" and "Letters Home from Britain at War."

151 Lieutenant-Colonel The Hon. Malcolm and Mrs. Bowes Lyon
Set of écru embroidered dinner mats and napkins.

152 Prince and Princess Galitzine
Old black lacquer box decorated with Chinese scenes in soft greens and gold, fitted with smaller boxes to contain mother-of-pearl counters. This box formerly belonged to the 2nd Duke of Cambridge.

153 The Lord and Lady Colum Crichton-Stuart
Old Worcester Tea and Coffee Service decorated in Royal blue and gold.

154 The Lady Nina Balfour
Two covered bowls, pierced ivory, Leeds pottery, circa 1790.

155 The Duchess of Atholl
A chased and engraved old Dutch silver box.

156 Mrs. H. A. L. Pullin
A cheque.

157 Mr. N. Long-Brown
Framed aquatint of Cheam School.

158 Mr. Ronald Wilson-Smith
A cheque.

159 Lady Waldie-Griffith
Chinese soft jade vase and cover in archaic form with loose ring handles. The cover surmounted by a Temple dog.

160 The Viscount and Viscountess Simon
Oriental five-sided porcelain bowl, the interior covered in a celadon glaze, the exterior brilliant blue and white glazes.

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C227884

161 The Countess Bathurst

A Chippendale mahogany riband back elbow chair the seat covered in petit point.

162 The Marchioness of Crewe

Pair of Regency chairs with oval backs enclosing three plumes, painted white and blue.

163 The Baroness Beaumont and The Hon. Miriam Fitzalan Howard

A mother-of-pearl shell heavily carved on the one side with scenes of the Resurrection and smaller panels of Biblical subjects, Italian work.

164 The Bishop of Lichfield

Book, "A Devotional Diary," bound in red Niger leather tooled with gold.

165 Mrs. Blair Buck, President, and the Members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, U.S.A.

A fine embroidered lawn tablecloth and set of napkins.

166 The Marquess and Marchioness Townshend

A hand made silver and gold vanity case, hand engraved, with carved gold reversed "E"s and coronet.

167 Sir Osbert Sitwell, Bt.

Hand coloured panorama, 12 yards long, contained in its original decorated case commemorating the Coronation of George IV, "Published Jany. 1822 by William Sams, Bookseller to his Royal Highness The Duke of York, opposite the Palace St. James's Street, London."

168 Mr. Alexander Brown

A cheque.

169 Mrs. C. St. Aubyn Ratcliffe (Margery Hart)

Book, "Furry Folk and Fairies," Two Editions, by the donor.

C227885

170 Miss H. N. Cook

Small Crucifix on a silver chain.

171 Mrs. Edgar Strange

Carved ivory brooch in the form of a wheatsheaf, and pair of earrings.

172 Miss E. B. Russell

Book, "The Queen's Resolve" by Charles Bullock, B.D.

173 Mrs. K. Rawlings

Maltese silk lace top for a nightgown.

174 Mr. W. Lowings

Wicker tray framing a coloured print under glass.

175 Mrs. John A. Thomas

Two small dolls.

176 Miss Constance Chauncy

Hand woven blue scarf.

177 Miss Elaine Cuthbert

Two pillow cases embroidered in colours.

178 Mr. and Mrs. Fred Grote

Three pairs of nylon stockings.

179 Mrs. James B. Bullard

Hand made white slip.

180 Mrs. Hooper Love

Two pairs of nylon stockings.

181 Mrs. Lois Guerrieri

Green taffeta gown.

182 Miss Bapsy Pavry

Silver-plated two-handled tureen and cover, with dedicatory inscription on the base.

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C227885

183 Girl Guides of Australia
Ingredients for The Princess Elizabeth's Wedding Cake.

184 The Dowager Viscountess Harcourt
A Persian Carpet, Feraghan design with green border.

185 Miss Sylvia Cox and her Pupils
Hand worked Sampler framed in blue.

186 The Ayrshire Weavers Ltd.
Fifteen yards of hand-woven tweed.

187 Miss Florence Barclay
Pair of nylon stockings and a silk sachet.

188 Miss Amy Ford
Hand-made crèpe de Chine belt.

189 The Dowager Viscountess Craigavon
Painted tray decorated with a view of Carrickfergus Castle, Ulster.

190 The Lord and Lady Melchett
Psalter, printed at Paris about 1510, bearing on the back page the following holograph verse written above the signature of Queen Elizabeth of England,
"No croked legge no blered eye no part deformed out of kinde nor yet so ouglye (ugly) halfe ca(n) be as is the inward suspicious minde.
Your louinge maistres
Elizabeth."

191 Mrs. R. M. Alston-Roberts-West, Captain and Mrs. R. A. Alston-Roberts-West, and The Misses Alston-Roberts-West
Pair of beaten metal ash-trays, each inset with a George III Twopenny Piece. This coin was only minted for the one year 1797.

192 Heritage Craft Schools, Chailey, Sussex
Car Cushion, Footrest, turned wooden Bowl, woven Pochette and Mascot, all made by the Boys and Girls of The Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals,

C227887

193 The Viscount and Viscountess Hailsham and Miss Domini Lawrence
Four silver teapot stands, engraved with the initial "E" and Coronet.

194 Mr. and Mrs. Burnett Brown
Book, "On Trust For The Nation," by Clough Williams-Ellis.

195 The Hon. Sir Evelyn and The Lady Mary Baring
A fur Kaross.

196 The Earl and Countess of Birkenhead
The Thornton Edition of the novels of the Sisters Brontë, 11 volumes, bound in half light blue calf.

197 Major A. D. B. Pearson and Mrs. Pearson, Virginia and Delia
Pair of narrow necked Dresden vases decorated with pastoral scenes on a yellow ground, converted for use as table lamps.

198 Miss Annie and Miss Margaret McAleese
Irish linen table cloth embroidered with a design of shamrocks.

199 Mrs. M. Goodrich
Embroidered handkerchief bordered with fine crochet.

200 Mrs. A. Phillips
A hand coloured souvenir picture commemorating the marriage of Queen Victoria, "A New Windsor Pair."

201 Mrs. P. J. Loraine
Hand knitted jumper.

202 The Staff of Messrs. Harts, Manchester
Three head squares designed to commemorate the marriage of The Princess Elizabeth.

203 The Earl and Countess of Cromer
The Works of Molière in six volumes, bound in red morocco, published 1765.

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C227885

204 Mr. and Mrs. Anthony de Rothschild

A Sèvres tea service, in case, Royal blue and gold decorated with flowers, painted by Levé père, 1768–9.

205 Colonel The Hon. John and The Lady Violet Astor

An antique English bracket clock in mahogany case with domed top, by James Rigby, London, *circa* 1780.

206 The Dowager Countess Granville

Table lamp and shade, Chinese porcelain vase, decorated with figures of Chinese Immortals in Famille Rose enamels on a fish scale ground.

207 Mr. Alfred H. Hart

Framed water colour drawing " Charmouth, Dorset," by the donor.

208 Mr. Geoffrey Jellicoe

Book, " Rural Residences " by John Papworth, Ackerman, 1818, bound half brown morocco with gilt tooling.

209 The Hon. Lady Keppel and Miss Victoria Keppel

Four Waterford cut glass salts.

210 The Lady Annaly and The Hon. Luke White ; Commander Osborne King and the Hon. Mrs. King, and Miss Lavinia King

Triple dressing table mirror with bevelled edge, mounted on mahogany.

211 Vice-admiral Cedric Holland

Chairman of King George's Fund for Sailors

A silver inkstand, given by King George V and Queen Mary in 1910, when Prince and Princess of Wales, as a christening present to the donor's brother.

212 The Nottingham Chamber of Commerce

Some examples of products, lace, net, veiling, lingerie, and stockings, for which the City and District are famous.

C227887

213 The Lord and Lady Ashburton, The Hon. John and Mrs. Mulholland, and Captain and Mrs. John Elliot

Queen Anne Bracket clock in red lacquer case with domed top, decorated in the Chinese style.

214 The Raja and Ranee of Sarawak

A Japanese Samurai's silver helmet (Kabuto) in black lacquer case.

215 The Earl and Countess of Bessborough

Set of four rococo silver candlesticks, made in 1768 by Edward Gould.

216 The Viscount and Viscountess FitzAlan of Derwent

Two framed drawings of trees, by Cornelius Varley, signed and dated 1807 and 1808.

217 Captain John Cole and Flight Lieutenant Michael Cole

A Waterford cut glass dish.

218 The Countess of Wicklow and Miss Guendolin Wilkinson

Book, " Wilton House Pictures " in two volumes by Nevile R. Wilkinson, bound brown cloth decorated with the Arms of Pembroke and Montgomery.

219 The Duke and Duchess of Abercorn

White floor lamp in the form of a pillar, and white silk fringed shade.

220 Major and Mrs. O. B. Younger

Cut and engraved glass goblet on square base.

221 The Rev. Arthur and Mrs. Fuller

Engraved and oxydised silver snuff box.

222 The Hon. Bruce and Mrs. Ogilvy

George II silver strainer, maker John Alderhead, London, 1752.

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C227890

223 Mrs. F. R. Keith
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

224 Mrs. Joseph E. Rhodes
Two pairs of nylon stockings, lace bordered handkerchief and earrings.

225 Miss Mary Hammond
Hand embroidered, hemstitched linen cloth.

226 Mrs. A. E. Turner
Linen table cloth and napkins embroidered in cross-stitch, and a souvenir portrait on satin of Queen Victoria.

227 The Lord St. Just
A pair of George I strap cups and covers, Nicholas Clausen, London, 1719—part of a set of twelve which belonged to George I, and which were included in the notable collection of the Duke of Cumberland.

228 Corporal C. T. Papadopoulos, R.A.S.C.
Hand carved oak cigarette box, with mechanical adjustment.

229 Miss W. Short and Pupils of Sunnyside Preparatory School
Brass hearth-tidy, decorated with the Arms of Chester.

230 Lederer de Paris, New York
Black alligator bag.

231 Mrs. W. F. Crowe, Mrs. A. W. Trowbridge, and Mrs. C. Rink
Six hand embroidered handkerchiefs.

232 Cornelia Countess of Craven
Black silk evening bag decorated with diamanté.

233 Colonel Sir Arthur and Lady Erskine, and Mr. Donald and Mr. Angus Erskine
Book, "Songs of The North," in three volumes, bound cloth.

C227891

234 Major The Hon. Sir Richard Molyneux
Engine-turned silver gilt box, given to the third Countess of Sefton by Queen Victoria. Inset under glass in the lid is a lock of her hair, under her signature and the date 1839.

235 Monsieur Jean Guitton
Book, "Cesarine," by the donor.

236 Miss June Barnes
Scrap book, with mounted photographs of Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

237 Mrs. B. Gilbert
Crèpe de Chine hand embroidered tea cosy.

238 Mrs. John J. Wills and Miss Joan Backus
Nylon stockings.

239 The Directors and Staff of Messrs. Thomas Goode and Co.
White china breakfast service with gold edge, decorated with a design of green laurel festoons.

240 Mrs. M. Brown
Hand painted fringed silk table cloth.

241 Miss Bertha Rhead
Hand knitted bed wrap.

242 Miss N. G. Ray
Hand made pale blue wrap lined with pink.

243 The Flax Home Industry, Grasmere
Silk pincushion covered with hand-made lace.

244 The Hon. Reginald and Mrs. Fellowes
Ruby and opaque overlay glass Dessert Service with scalloped edges delicately embellished with vines and tracery in burnished gold, *circa* 1850.

245 Mr. and Mrs. Edward Joicey Cecil
Twelve Sèvres plates with turquoise and flowered border, decorated with figure subjects.

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C227892

246 Lady Hudson
White and gold Rockingham tea service, *circa* 1820.

247 Mrs. M. E. Ashcroft
Hand crochetted table mat.

248 Messrs. Francis, Thornton and Roberts Ltd.
Two powder puffs.

249 The Earl and Countess of Euston
Pair of framed aquatints, " St. Lawrance's Church and Guild Hall " and " The Queen's Palace," about 1800.

250 The Dowager Countess of Erroll and Colonel Eric Mackenzie of Glenmuick
Sheraton travelling liqueur case with bottles and glasses, ornamented in gold.

251 Vice-Admiral and Mrs. E. A. Taylor
Louis XV skin painted fan on carved and mother-of-pearl sticks.

252 Mrs. M. G. Pirie
Pomade pot, the lid bearing a portrait of Queen Victoria in Coronation robes.

253 The Chief of Clannfhearghuis of Stra-chur
Books, " The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans " and " Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland," by Sir Thomas Innes of Learney.

254 Miss E. Ross
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

255 The United Wool Shawl, Fall and Antimacassar Trades Union of Hucknall and District
Pale pink wool shawl.

256 Mrs. David Gubbay
Silver and gold powder box, and lipstick case with open-work motifs in gold and cabochon rubies.

C227893

257 Mr. Richard and Mr. Martin Norton
Pair of silver George II sauce boats, London 1748.

258 The Hon. Alathea Fitzalan-Howard
Dark blue lizard skin bag.

259 Mrs. J. D. Denny
Two engravings of Queen Victoria and The Prince Consort, published New York, 1847.

260 Messrs. B. T. Batsford Ltd.
Eighteen volumes of Batsford's " British Heritage " series.

261 Miss Evelyn Kassman
Length of pink corduroy and nylon stockings.

262 Mrs. R. Lundgren
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

263 Miss Betty Butler
Feather brooch in the form of a wild duck.

264 Mrs. John Grindon Welch
A pair of long lace gloves made for Queen Charlotte by one of her Maids of Honour, and handed down in the family of the donor's late husband.

265 The Rev. John and Mrs. Lamb
Pair of silver gilt chased and engraved dessert spoons.

266 The Directors of Messrs. Coty (England) Ltd.
Red leather case containing six bottles of Coty perfume.

267 The Lady Tweedsmuir and The Lord Tweedsmuir
Books, " John Buchan " and " The Clearing House," bound half Niger leather.

268 Mr. Edward Walters
Hand painted hairpin case.

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C227894

269 The Brethren of the Combined R.A.O.B. Lodges of Hucknall
A Shetland Shawl.

270 Mrs. R. Harbert
Three hand embroidered mats.

271 Dr. and Mrs. G. P. Middleton
Pair of pillar shaped silver candlesticks.

272 Albert Richard Sportswear, Milwaukee, U.S.A.
A weather-proof coat interlined with Spun Sun.

273 The Viscount and Viscountess Elibank
A ruby glass Tazza decorated with designs in burnished gold.

274 The Revd. George Jackson
Silver coffer shaped tea caddy and spoon.

275 Mr. B. F. Long
Glass marmalade jar and spoon.

276 Mr. John Masefield
A Poem written for The Princess Elizabeth by the donor, bound in white vellum engrossed and decorated by Dorothy Hutton.

277 Mr. and Mrs. D. Flood
Hand made plastic belt.

278 The Lord and Lady Mowbray, Segrave and Stourton, The Hon. Charles, and The Hon. Patricia Stourton
A " Dress Stewart " tartan Shawl which has been an heirloom in the donor's family.

279 The Lady Plender
Umbrella mounted with a jewelled handle.

280 Major and Mrs. J. G. Murland
Silver salt cellar in the form of a figure in Elizabethan dress.

C227895

281 Mr. W. H. Scriven
Travelling rug.

282 Mr. Eustace Boucas
Framed miniature of Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten as a baby.

283 The Lord and Lady Brownlow
Silver mounted cigarette box made from an old timber of " H.M.S. Victory."

284 Mrs. Gordon Moore
Tall diamond cut crystal vase.

285 Mrs. and Mrs. Alan Schumachar
Gilt mounted blue morocco travelling bag.

286 Mrs. Theodore Schumachar
A Set of silver gilt coffee spoons in case, and two silk handkerchief sachets.

287 Mrs. S. H. Ricardo
French Empire gold snuff-box with musical-box attached, adapted for use as a vanity case.

288 Mrs. Arthur Wardle
Length of blue Irish silk poplin.

289 Mrs. Lawrence Townsend
Three lengths of material.

290 The Hon. William and Mrs. Astor
A Chippendale mahogany octagonal tripod table with carved apron edging, and pad feet carved with acanthus leaves.

291 Mrs. Frank Brown
Pair of handmade white doeskin gloves.

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C227896

292 The Mayor and Citizens of Capetown

Pair of Sheffield plate candelabra, each with two branches, and the balluster stems embossed with rococo scrolls and foliage and a cabinet in Colonial Dutch style of carved and fluted rosewood, containing six small and three large drawers and ornamented with elaborately scrolled brass mounts.

293 Miss Tessa and Miss Angela Longley

Cigarette box of painted wood.

294 The Government of Queensland

500 cases of Tinned Pineapples to be distributed as The Princess Elizabeth desires.

295 The Lady Cynthia Asquith

Pair of Ch'ien Lung enamel vases, decorated with panels of figures in landscapes, and borders of multi colour foliage and flowers.

296 Miss Grace Colley

Prayer Book, a Souvenir of King George VI's Coronation.

297 The Combined Staffs (Ex R.A.F. and W.A.A.F.) of Messrs. Leonard H. Attew, Ltd., Hove, Sussex, and Messrs. L. & I. Clarke, Southwick, Sussex

A selection of silk covered lamp shades for table and wall lights.

298 The Lady Juliet Duff

A Paris porcelain Cabaret decorated with panels of figures in 18th century costume on turquoise blue ground overlaid with foliage in burnished gold.

299 The Hon David and The Hon. Anthony Herbert

A Potschappel Tea Service decorated with sprays of flowers in natural colours on white ground, enclosed in borders of Peacock feather design in green and burnished gold.

300 The Marquess and Marchioness of Cholmondeley

A pair of French porcelain Jardinières mounted with flowers.

C227897

301 The Hon. Margaret Wyndham

A miniature Japanese gold lacquer Cabinet on black lacquer stand, with seven drawers, containing delicately incised mother-of-pearl counters.

302 Mrs. H. Buckler

Hand made ribbon work bag.

303 Mrs. J. Church

Set of three hand worked mats.

304 Miss Hanbury Williams

Book, " Bombed London," a Collection of Drawings by Hanslip Fletcher.

305 An Anonymous Admirer

A Book of Common Prayer and Hymns, bound morocco tooled with gold.

306 Mrs. Leonard Trenberth

A scrap book commemorating the Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

307 Miss E. Shearwood

Brocade handkerchief sachet.

308 Dr. and Mrs. L. M. Kriel

A box of chocolates.

309 Mr. H. Clifford Smith

Book, bound dark-blue half morocco, a copy of the special edition of " Buckingham Palace, its Furniture, Decoration and History " by the donor.

310 Captain and Mrs. Roland Hebeler

Framed watercolour Drawing by Edward Seago, " Buckingham Palace from St. James's Park."

311 The Viscountess Anson

Framed pencil Drawing, the first sketch by F. Winterhalter for the large family picture, painted by him for Osborne, 1846.

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CANADA

C227898

312 Captain Stephen Van Nece

Pigskin handbag made entirely by hand and containing 3382 small stitches.

313 Lady Hamilton, The Hon. Mrs. Douglas, and Miss Victoria Douglas

A pair of small vases with apple green bodies and gilt handles by Blore of Derby.

314 Mr. Howard Oulsnam

Pink silk scarf, with a design of roses, hand-painted by the donor.

315 Sir Stewart and Lady Duke-Elder

George II silver Dish Cross, by Fdk. Kandler, London, 1748.

316 Mr. W. M. Preece

A Book of Common Prayer and Hymns, bound in white and gold.

317 Men of The Disabled Sailors and Soldiers Workshops, Bournemouth.

Two hand made Bird Brooches.

318 The Right Hon. Walter and Mrs. Elliot

A Persian rug.

319 The Directors and Staff of Pringle of Scotland

A Selection of cardigans and jumpers.

320 Mr. and Mrs. Archer Houblon

Leather covered riding stick.

321 Mr. Graeme and Miss Christian Dalrymple Hamilton

A Tweed travelling rug.

322 The Masters of The Bench of the Honourable Society of The Middle Temple

Pair of silver Muffin Dishes with Covers, London, 1809, makers T.G. and I.W.

C227899

323 The Girls and Boys, Women and Men, and The Staff and Warden of The Dockland Settlement, London Docks

Book, "Our Village," by Mary Russell Mitford, bound red morocco tooled in gold.

324 The Lord Plunket, The Hon. Robin Plunket, and The Hon. Shawn Plunket

Lawn handkerchiefs, embroidered with the initial "E."

325 Miss H. M. Dring

Lawn handkerchief embroidered in the corners with the Chinese emblems of happiness.

326 The Viscount and Viscountess Samuel

Books, "Memoirs" and "A Book of Quotations" bound blue calf tooled with gold, by The Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel.

327 Miss Rhoda Chappel Hodge

A Wading Stick.

328 Miss Penelope Henderson

Table lamp, a two handled vase in Royal blue and gold decorated with "A View in Yorkshire."

329 Mrs. E. A. Shields

Car Set of Knee-Rug and matching Cushions in traditional hand quilting.

330 The Right Hon. Winston Spencer-Churchill

Book, "The World Crisis" by the donor, in six volumes, bound red morocco tooled and embossed with gold.

331 The Lord and Lady Iliffe

Case containing Royal Worcester Coffee Service and six silver gilt spoons.

332 The Hon. Mrs. John Gilmour and Mr. Ian Gilmour

Silver gilt statuette of George III inscribed "Georgius Tertius Dei Gratia Britanniarum Rex. Pater Patriæ" made by Paul Storr in 1812.

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CANADA

C227900

333 The Ted Mor Boys' Club
A glass Celery Bowl.

334 Mr. Christopher and Miss Jenefer Petherick
Book, bound red morocco tooled and embossed in gold, "The Comic Almanack" First Series 1835–1843, Second Series 1844–1853.

335 Mr. and Mrs. Frank O. Salisbury
Two framed Watercolours by the donor, "Morning on Lake Lugano" and "Sunset Reflection on Lake Como."

336 Mrs. Graham Hodgson
Album, bound in red morocco, embossed with cypher in gold.

337 The Lord Leveson and The Lady Mary Leveson-Gower
Old Chinese porcelain dinner service of 18 pieces, decoration of flowers and ribbons in Famille Rose enamels, Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1795.

338 Messrs McVitie and Price, Limited
A Wedding Cake.

339 The Viscount and Viscountess Harcourt
A Sheraton design inlaid mahogany folding top card table on square tapered legs.

340 Miss Marion Holland
Model of a Swan, and a sachet scented with Canadian flowers.

341 Mrs. Abry
Engraved ruby glass flagon of olive oil.

342 The Shilo Ladies' Club, Manitoba
Twelve pairs of nylon stockings.

343 Miss Maud Hall
Book, "Surrey," by Eric Parker, The County Books Series.

C227901

344 Mrs. Fred Clarke
A Basuto Bride's Charm, in the form of doll.

345 Miss Margaret Krebs
White satin handbag.

346 Mrs. J. Neville Macfarlane
An embroidered handkerchief.

347 The Local Council of Women, Brentford, Ontario
A Hand decorated casket, with a pendant and earrings.

348 Miss Lorrayn Miller
Hand made lingerie.

349 Mr. and Mrs. Maury Maverick
A silver trinket box and a Texas tie-clip.

350 Mrs. D. Newson
Paper weight made of Oregon Myrtlewood.

351 Mrs. David Mudd
A pair of nylon stockings.

352 Miss Ethel Newcomb
A piece of old lace.

353 Mrs. E. Klarood
A pair of nylon stockings.

354 The British Cake and Biscuit Association
A Wedding Cake.

355 The Burgomaster of Bruges
A handkerchief bordered with Brussels lace.

356 Mr. L. Iwanski
A handsome photograph album, the cover embossed with a symbolic design

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C227902

357 Mrs. Fred Stanley
Hand embroidered handkerchief.

358 Mr. Raymond Lemmy
Watercolour drawing by the donor of Grenadier Guards, 1750 and 1938.

359 Miss Janet Peat
Hand embroidered cloth

360 Miss Mary Hanna
Drawn thread table cloth bordered with hand made crochet lace.

361 Mrs. A. Wheatley
Pair of hand knitted bedroom slippers.

362 Mr. Nicholas Paget
Pair of Royal Worcester leaf-shaped dishes the interior covered in a pale yellow glaze.

363 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tritton
A Magnavox Wireless Gramophone.

364 The Earl of Mar and Kellie, Lord Erskine, Lady Marjorie Erskine, Captain The Master of Erskine, Captain the Hon. David Erskine
Silver gilt inkstand and pen tray, standing on four feet, and engraved with a Coronet.

365 The Right Hon. Sir Felix Cassel, Bt.
Book, "The Diary of Samuel Pepys," in eight volumes bound half-vellum, with Index and Supplementary Volume, edited by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A.

366 Mr. John and The Lady Barbara Bevan and Miss Jennifer Bevan
Walnut Italian coffer-shaped Cabinet and stand, with six small drawers, the whole inlaid with a design of foliage in ivory and decorated with plaques of tortoiseshell.

C227903

367 Country Women's Association of Australia
Wedding Cake.

368 Mr. Frank E. Beresford
Framed oil painting by the donor, "Home Again," H.M.S. Vanguard entering Portsmouth Harbour, 11th May, 1947.

369 The Marquess and Marchioness of Abergavenny
A Queen Anne style walnut side table, cross-banded, with shaped frieze, on turned tapered legs and club feet.

370 The Hon. Mrs. Geoffrey Bowlby and Mr. John Bowlby and Major The Lord and Lady Ardee
Chinese Famille Rose jar with figure decorations, adapted as a table lamp.

371 The Lady Emmott
Silver model of a fighting galleon.

372 Miss F. Marshall
Tapestry panel for a fire screen.

373 Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Arthur Grenfell and Miss Laura Grenfell
A set of tufted bathroom mats.

374 The Dowager Lady Brabourne
Tortoiseshell vanity case with the initial "E" and coronet in gold.

375 The Right Rev. Bishop Hamilton
Book, bound half morocco tooled with gold, "The Spirit of Man," an Anthology made by the Poet Laureate in 1915.

376 Messrs. Bollands, Limited
A Wedding Cake.

377 Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association, St. Johns
A length of tweed.

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C227904

378 The Lord and Lady Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton
Two-handled cup of pink and gilded Murano glass.

379 Captain Malcolm Bullock and Captain and Mrs. Peter Hastings
Travelling clock of enamel and mother-of-pearl with Wedgwood motifs, in old rose velvet case.

380 Baroness de Goldsmid da Palmeira
Tortoiseshell workbox, the lid decorated with jewelled and enamelled motifs.

381 The Lord and Lady Hylton
Pair of framed watercolour drawings by William Evans, of Eton, " Eton College," and "A Scene at Virginia Water."

382 Sir William Lewthwaite, Bt. and Lady Lewthwaite
Silk nightdress case and sachets covered in lace made over 40 years ago by village girls of Monastreven, Co. Kildare.

383 The Lady Constance Milnes Gaskell
" Breakfast in Bed " table and tray.

384 Mr. Sidney and Mr. George Harris
Sheraton Satinwood Tea Caddy, fitted with three boxes with lids, and with silver handle and plate, circa 1780.

385 The Rangers, Guides and Brownies of the Town of Monaghan, Eire
Two car rugs made by The Avoca Hand Weavers.

386 Miss Astrid McKee
Dressing table set of Carrick-ma-Cross lace.

387 The Broadway Weavers
Length of hand-woven cloth.

388 Miss E. S. Burch
Pair of handmade bedroom slippers.

C227905

389 Sir Percy Greenaway, Bt., and Lady Greenaway
Marble statue of a flower seller on carved marble pedestal.

390 Commander and Mrs. E. Heywood Lonsdale
Divan Bed.

391 The Viscountess Byng of Vimy
Two-handled silver Loving Cup and cover, heavily embossed with rococo decoration in the style of Paul de Lamerie.

392 Miss Diana Drummond
A tortoiseshell and gold Singing Bird box.

393 Mr. and Mrs. George and the Misses Eve and Edwina Drummond
Engine-turned gold strut travelling clock in blue leather case.

394 Messrs. Coutts and Company
Sheraton mahogany Bracket Clock with domed top, brass terminals and bracket feet, with brass and steel front plate and engraved back plate—movement by James Parker of Cambridge.

395 The Lord Queenborough
Portrait of The Princess Elizabeth as a child, painted on silk, in a box frame.

396 The Reverend Mother, The Sisters, the Staff, and the Pupils, Boys and Girls of the Convent of Providence, Seaford
A large mother-of-pearl shell heavily carved on the back with a representation of The Last Supper.

397 Messrs. Huntley and Palmer, Limited
A wedding cake.

398 Mrs. Wilfred Holden
Book, " They're Away," by the donor.

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C227906

399 Miss M. A. Campbell
Two embroidered cushion covers.

400 Commander A. Betts-Brown, Royal Navy
Chest of tea.

401 Colonel and Mrs. Harold Phillips
A silver beaker chased with a repoussé design of leaves and flowers, Charles II, 1671.

402 Mr. and Mrs. Wilfred Evans
Doulton China model of a terrier.

403 The Bishop of Gibraltar
Books, " A Communicant's Manual " and The Book of Common Prayer, bound green morocco.

404 Mrs. L. Thomson
Pair of hand knitted gloves.

405 Miss Mary Hodgkin
Books, " A Diary for the Thankful-Hearted " and " The Way Home," by the donor.

406 The Governor and Military Knights of Windsor
Small ivory coffer overlaid with tortoiseshell, with brass lion mask handles and ball and claw feet.

407 The Earl and Countess of Stair
A " Glen Cree " all mohair soft blue and white rug.

408 The Hon. Simon and Mrs. Rodney
Book, 1946 editions Pierre Tisné, Paris, La Tapisserie Française, " Muraille et Laine."

409 Rotary International in Great Britain and Ireland
An inlaid Sheraton design semi-circular satinwood table on tapered legs. A silver plate at the back bears a dedicatory inscription.

410 The Worshipful Company of Glovers of London
A casket of inlaid walnut bearing a silver plate with a dedicatory inscription and containing a selection of gloves.

411 Lady Malcolm
Pair of Waterford glass compotiers.

412 The Girls' Life Brigade Inc. 1st Wouldham Company
Hemstitched linen cloth embroidered in colours.

413 Madame L. T. Loubat
Two magnums of Petrus, 1938.

414 Miss Eleanor T. Cooley
Length of silk material.

415 Mr. F. Goodwin
Silver plated engraved drinking cup.

416 Mr. William Moorcroft
Vase of Moorcroft pottery, decorated with anemone design, the interior covered in a deep blue glaze.

417 The Lord and Lady Fermoy
A silver bowl, made in London in 1835 by R. Garrard, bearing the cipher of William IV in the crowned Garter and also the crowned cipher of The Princess Augusta Sophia.

418 Major and Mrs. Bryan Bonsor
Carved wood table lamp in the form of a candlestick with pink silk shade.

419 Mr. William Whitaker
Two handled cup and cover of blue glass mounted with ormolu.

420 Major and Mrs. James Lindsay
Small George III silver salver on four feet.

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421 Mr. Robert Sahli
Flagon of Atkinson's lavender water.

422 Sir John Weir
Silver condiment set in case.

423 The Lady Wolverton
Gilt and engraved mother-of-pearl casket on four feet, the interior fitted with a mirror and needlework accessories.

424 Miss Linda and Miss Wendy Mallett
Hide mounted barometer, slung to hang in stirrup.

425 Master Christopher Davis and Miss Rosemary Davis
Powder Bowl.

426 Mr. and Mrs. Roger Hall
Iron-work fire screen.

427 Miss Violet Synge
Porcelain model of a kingfisher.

428 Mr. Richard and The Hon. Mrs. Amory
A George III circular ivory box, engraved with The Prince of Wales' Feathers and inscribed "Royal Plaything," containing 26 counters engraved with the letters of the alphabet on one side and named animals and birds on the other side, *circa* 1780.

429 Dr. Dudley Beresford
Engraved silver paper knife and Book of Ballads by the donor.

430 The Lady Christian Martin and Miss Elizabeth Martin
Pair of Dresden vases and covers, decorated with circular panels of flowers and figures in landscapes, in garlands of encrusted flowers, on a duck-egg blue ground.

431 Mrs. O. Polkinghorn
Linen cloth commemorating the Silver Jubilee of King George V and Queen Mary.

432 Messrs. O. C. M. (London), Limited
A Persian rug made in Qum after an early Persian design with 16th century motifs.

433 Sir Edward and Lady Peacock
Pair of George II silver candlesticks, made in London in 1750 by Elizabeth Godfrey.

434 Mr. George and The Hon. Mrs. Seymour
Book, "The Vicar of Wakefield," by Oliver Goldsmith, with illustrations by Edmund J. Sullivan, bound half morocco tooled with gold.

435 Dr. R. L. Ridge
Gramophone Record "I'll walk beside you," Derek Barsham, boy soprano.

436 The Dowager Duchess of Grafton and The Lady Cecilia FitzRoy
Coffer with domed lid covered in old rose velvet bound and decorated with embossed metal work.

437 The Very Revd. Dean Cranage and Mrs. D. H. S. Cranage
Six tablespoons made in Dublin in 1767 by Joseph Cullen.

438 The Lady Cynthia Colville
Set of dinner mats mounted with tinted engravings, scenes in London, published 1828.

439 Mrs. Alec Holden
Bristol glass tankard decorated with a border in burnished gold.

440 The Members of the Monmouthshire Federation of Women's Institutes
Welsh quilt worked in the traditional style by one of the Members.

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C227911

441 The Members, Hale Women's Fellowship, Farnham, Surrey
Blotter with handworked tapestry cover.

442 The Ex-Service Men of H.M. Forces, of Homespun Limited, Stornoway
Length of blue homespun tweed.

443 Mrs. F. Allday
Two handworked cushion covers.

444 Miss L. S. Negus
Handworked tea cosy.

445 Mrs. E. M. Trescowthick
Handbag made of straw-work.

446 Messrs. W. and R. Jacob (Liverpool) Limited
A wedding cake.

447 Mr. S. Wilkes
Paraphrase of the 23rd Psalm, mounted under glass, words and music by the donor.

448 Mrs. A. Townsend
Handworked duchess sets and table runner, in pastel shades.

449 Mrs. G. Mindham
Dressing stool top covered in handworked tapestry.

450 The Employees of the Glamis Estate
A shooting stick.

451 The Munro Family
A Staffordshire pottery plate commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

452 Miss Sylvia Clarke
Lustre plaque picturing a British merchant sailing ship, with a patriotic verse.

C227910

453 Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Wigley
Pair of brass coal tongs in case, handmade by the donor.

454 Mademoiselle Angelita Coltrinari
Lace bordered handkerchief.

455 Mrs. Aitkens
Tasselled cushion cover handworked in coloured chenille.

456 Mrs. K. Heywood Masters
Two lucky pincushions.

457 Mrs. Logan Bentley
Book, " Wedding Etiquette Complete," by the donor published by John Winston, Philadelphia.

458 The Portuguese Community of the City of Cape Town
Case of inlaid wood to contain a cloth and napkins, in Madeira work, for a banquetting table, embroidered with the Royal Arms and the British and Imperial Emblems.

459 H.H. The Maharaja of Nepal
A large two handled silver Monteath bowl with lion mask handles, on a base which is engraved with a dedicatory inscription.

460 Sir Ernest and Lady Graham-Little
Japanese dagger with carved ivory handle and sheath.

461 The Rev. Canon A. Stafford Crawley
Book, " The Claims of The Church of England," by Cyril Garbett, bound half morocco tooled with gold.

462 Mrs. D. E. Winslow
Set of dinner mats of Palestine lace.

463 Miss Hermine Bosman
Lace milk jug covers.

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CANADA

C227913

464 Mrs. J. Wilson
A hand dressed doll tea cosy and twelve egg cosies.

465 The Marquess and Marchioness of Linlithgow
A Pair of George III Silver Sauce Tureens made in London, 1808

466 The Ladies Resident in Hampton Court Palace
An Adam Mirror in a gilded rectangular frame, surmounted by an urn with wheatears and flanked with festoons of drapery.

467 The Heads of Missions of the Diplomatic Corps Accredited to the Court of St. James's
A fitted case containing a complete dressing table set in silver gilt.

468 Messrs. J. Rochelle Thomas
An old Oriental flower bowl decorated with panels of Chinese figures in landscapes on a turquoise granulated ground, Ch'ien Lung 1736—1795.

469 Mrs. Herman Benedict
Lingerie and a pair of nylon stockings.

470 The Children of Cecilia Street, Bolton, Lancashire
Prayer Book bound white morocco tooled with gold.

471 Miss Gilda Maltese
Hand knitted pullover.

472 Mrs. Joseph P. Noecker
White silk and lace slip.

473 Mrs. M. D. Baskerville
Length of hand crochetted lace.

474 Miss Clara Petter
Blue embroidered handkerchief.

C227912

475 Mrs. B. Jensen
Silver teaspoon, the bowl formed from a Danish 2 Kroner piece

476 Mrs. William J. Albert
Silk and lace nightgown.

477 Miss Barbara MacQuarrie
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

478 Mrs. C. Bick
Crêpe de Chine Lingerie.

479 Miss Eugenia C. Gambraccini
Wood plaque with a picture of The Madonna.

480 The Earl and Countess of Lucan
Set of silver tea knives with coloured ivory handles.

481 The Home of Compassion, Thames Ditton
Handmade and embroidered white silk nightgown.

482 Mrs M. Tubbs
Hand knitted bed jacket trimmed with swansdown.

483 The Duke of Berwick and Alba
High Spanish comb of pierced tortoiseshell and mantilla.

484 Mr. and Mrs. Hugo Pitman
A Jacob Petit oblong china inkstand, painted with flower, bird, fruit and shell decoration, and embellished with scroll gilding and with an openwork gilt border. *Circa* 1800–10.

485 Mrs. C. J. Hager
White satin gown and negligée.

486 Sir Malcolm and Lady Barclay-Harvey
Miniature Sheraton mahogany bow-fronted chest of drawers.

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CANADA

C227914

487 The Prestige Hosiery Company, Philadelphia
Eighteen pairs of nylon stockings.

488 Messrs. J. Lyons and Co., Limited
Wedding Cake decorated with motifs in Wedgwood and surmounted by a Wedgwood Vase.

489 Messrs. George Salter and Company Limited
A Compact personal weighing machine.

490 Sir Frederick C. Stewart
A tartan Rug.

491 The Lady Keyes
Books, "Naval Memoirs" and "Adventures Ashore and Afloat" by Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes.

492 Miss Angela Repard
Red bead necklace.

493 Mrs. J. Aardema v.d.Goot
Handworked cushion embroidered in the Dutch Colours.

494 Mrs. R. Bracey
Silk and lace bedspread.

495 Mr. Geoffrey Bourne-May
Brocade cushion fringed with silver.

496 Captain and Mrs. Robert Somerset and Miss Anne Somerset
Framed watercolour drawing of H.M.S. Vanguard in Portsmouth Harbour, by Paul Maze.

497 Mr. George Elliott
A pair of fine pure silk stockings which belonged to Queen Victoria.

498 Mr. Alexander E. Blackhall
A shoe worn by one of Queen Victoria's ponies.

C227915

499 Miss Elsie Eyres
New Testament bound in morocco.

500 The Earl and Countess of Scarbrough
Books, the novels of Jane Austen in five volumes, bound half morocco.

501 Sister E. Barrie
A silver pencil.

502 The Dowager Marchioness Camden
A plain silver cream jug, by Robert Hennell, London, 1793.

503 Miss Grace Taylor
Framed copy of a Hymn by the donor, "The Golden Sunset."

504 Sir Michael Duff, Bt.
Silver gilt snuff box, finely chased on the lid, on the underneath, and the sides, with Chinese scenes. *Circa* 1815.

505 Messrs. McVitties Guest & Company, Limited
A wedding cake.

506 The Friends of the Poor
A handmade evening bag embroidered with a conventional design in gold thread and soft colours.

507 Mr. Edward T. P. Goodyear
An original model in Glebe Chelsea by Madeleine Raper, 1933.

508 The Lord and Lady Delamere
Pair of gold and amethyst cuff links.

509 The President of The United States and Mrs. Truman
A casket-shaped glass vase and cover of Steuben crystal, designed by the American sculptor, Sidney Waugh. The decoration depicts a merry-go-round at an American country fair.

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CANADA

C227916

510 Mr. Sydney A. Farmer

Books, The Poems of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, in two volumes bound green morocco tooled with gold.

511 Messrs. J. W. Mackie and Sons, Limited

A wedding cake.

512 Miss Ethel A. Center

Four lace bordered doylies.

513 The Directors of R. G. Hennell and Sons, Ltd.

A lady's stirrup of chased and engraved silver, made in London in 1746.

514 Contessa Marcella Gianotti

A jewel mounted gold-mesh handbag.

515 The Directors of Garrard and Company, Limited

A ruby, diamond and trellis gold brooch.

516 The Lord and Lady Wigram

A blotter in an 18th century leather book binding.

517 Miss Ethel Dunning

Picture, a souvenir of South Africa, reproductions of paintings by the artist, Olive White.

518 The Marquess and Marchioness of Londonderry

Gold, diamond, and enamel Brooch in the form of the Badge of the Guild of Air Pilots.

519 Mrs. Whitbread

A Sheraton workbox inlaid with anthemions and urns in satinwood and other woods.

520 The Viscountess Galway and The Hon. Mary Monckton, The Hon. Celia Monckton, and The Hon. Isabel Monckton

A writing table set, carved in New Zealand greenstone.

C227917

521 The Lord and Lady Hillingdon

An old Sèvres Tea Service decorated with garlands of flowers on a white ground enclosed in borders of pale blue and burnished gold, 1765.

522 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Villiers

Leopardskin rug.

523 The Hon. Lady Reid

A parasol which belonged to Queen Victoria, and which was given, after Her Majesty's death, to the donor.

524 Mrs. Charles Seymour

A piece of old Brussels lace.

525 The Stewart Society

Two plaid rugs, the design is the "small sett" of Stewart tartan, copied from a piece of the pattern given to the 72nd Highlanders in 1824 when they became the "Duke of Albany's Own."

526 Mr. and Mrs. Elred Clutsom

A framed text.

527 Captain James D. Haggart

Two Balmoral tartan rugs.

528 The Countess of Dalhousie, The Earl of Dalhousie, Brigadier G. F. and The Lady Ida Johnson, Major David and The Lady Jean Rose, Major and Mrs. J. D. Carnegie, Colonel and Mrs. Elliott Carnegy of Lour, Major and Mrs. Douglas Murray

A pair of Hepplewhite mahogany chairs.

529 Messrs. Peek Frean and Company Limited

A wedding cake surmounted with a silver figure of St. George and the Dragon.

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C227918

530 Mr. C. H. Fulford and Miss Fulford
Lace bordered handkerchief.

531 Miss Rita Roberts
White lace and ninon handworked nightgown.

532 Mrs. Hugh Adams
An 18th-century cut glass sugar bowl and cover.

533 His Excellency The United States Ambassador and Mrs. Douglas
A set of twelve Audubon plates of Steuben crystal, designed by the American sculptor, Sidney Waugh, each bearing an engraving of an American bird.

534 Mrs. Frank Hodges
Set of Indian embroidered draperies.

535 Mr. Osbert and the Lady Joan Peake and Miss Iris Peake
Pair of white urn-shaped vases for flower decoration.

536 The Dowager Duchess of Portland
Diamond and turquoise Shamrock brooch.

537 Mr. Thomas Brammall Daniel
Six pairs of leather gloves in a suède case.

538 Messrs. Carrington and Company, Limited
Sapphire and diamond feather brooch.

539 The Clergy and Tenants on the Sandringham Estate
A Sheraton inlaid mahogany swing mirror, with three small drawers on serpentine stand, and a small mahogany bookstand.

540 Mrs. Bruce Ottley and Miss Portia Ottley
Pair of Chinese Chippendale bamboo style painted chairs, with loose seats covered in petit point bearing views of Eton and Balliol.

C 227919

541 Miss G. McKenzie
Pair of linen towels woven to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 1837–1897.

542 Miss G. B. Tyler
White silk sachet.

543 Mesdemoiselles Pierrette Juillard and Michèle Juillard
A box ornamented with Savoyard carving.

544 Mrs. C. B. Shelton
Lace bordered handkerchief.

545 Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Tannar
A tea trolley.

546 The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders
A silver statuette of a soldier of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders in the year of the raising of the Regiment, with a dedicatory inscription on the base.

547 Miss Nancy Williams
White silk and lace slip.

548 Mr. W. Leslie Farrer
A mahogany box on four feet, covered in tortoiseshell with ormolu mounts, 18th-century Spanish workmanship.

549 Miss Verna E. Bean
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

550 Mrs. V. Gillespie
Six pairs of nylon stockings.

551 Mr. and Mrs. Donald McCullough
Bed table of maplewood, the tray mounted with an illuminated map.

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CANADA

C227920

552 The Countess of Shaftesbury.

Gold snuff-box, the lid and sides covered in royal blue enamel.

553 Miss Inez Lowe

Four pairs of nylon stockings.

554 Messrs. I. and R. Morley, Limited

A selection of silk stockings, nylon stockings, and gloves.

555 Sir Archibald and Lady Weigall

A Persian carpet.

556 Captain and Mrs. David Butter

A Georgian mirror in a gilded rectangular frame with a design of leaves and true lovers' knots.

557 The Marquess of Tavistock

A silver and gold table clock in case.

558 Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Basil Ionides

A writing box of white Battersea enamel, painted with rural scenes and mounted with ormolu.

559 Major A. E. Murray

Carved cameo in a case.

560 Mr. A. E. Henderson

Book, "Westminster Abbey Then and Now," by the donor.

561 The Misses Jones and Edge

Small bust in biscuit of Queen Victoria, dated 1891.

3203 C227921

562 The Citizens of Exeter

Six silver Apostle spoons, all made in Exeter, contained in old leather case emblazoned with the City's Arms :

St. John, *circa* 1640, by Jasper Radcliff.
St. Jude, *circa* 1640–50.
The Master, *circa* 1650.
St. Philip, *circa* 1655.
St. Matthew, *circa* 1645, by Edward Anthony.
St. Peter, *circa* 1635, by Edward Anthony.

563 Mrs. D. Collins

Hand embroidered écru table cloth.

564 Dr. W. H. Harris and The Madrigal Singers, Windsor Castle, 1943, Buckingham Palace, 1947

Book, Madrigals, Volume XXXII, "The Triumphs of Oriana," published by Thomas Morley in 1601, bound red morocco tooled with gold.

565 Major-General Sir Harold and The Lady Zia Wernher

Evening wrap of Platina Fox and a Divan Bed.

566 The Lady Helen Seymour and the Marquess of Hertford

Alabaster table lamp and figured satin shade.

567 Messrs. Real and Holton, Castle Cary

A wedding cake.

568 The Duke and Duchess of Devonshire

An 18th-century enclosed make-up table in faded mahogany.

569 The Hon. Mrs. Spender Clay

A Queen Anne mahogany pole screen on tripod foot, the panel in old needlework depicting a vase of flowers.

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CANADA

C227922

570 The Viscount Tredegar

Charles II glass tankard, with handle, and Charles II silver coin sealed in the base.

571 The Members of The Garth Hunt Club

A silver stirrup cup in the form of a fox's mask, George III, 1789.

572 Mr. and Mrs. Frank d'Abreu

Book, " Matthew Flinders' Narrative of His Voyage in the Schooner 'Francis,' 1798," by Geoffrey Rawson.

573 Messrs. Thomas H. Parker, Limited

A framed aquatint after David Cox, a view of the cottage at Old Windsor, which belonged to a former Princess Elizabeth, the Daughter of George III.

574 The Ulster Menu Company, Limited

A wedding cake.

575 The Lady Mary Lumley, The Lady Elizabeth Lumley, and The Lady Anne Lumley

Carved white alabaster table lamp with fringed pink silk shade.

576 Miss Violet Wellesley

Silver and blue enamel powder compact.

577 Miss F. Street

A blue Delhi vase.

578 Miss E. A. Rich

A length of old handmade lace.

579 Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Harland

A piece of Goss China commemorating the wedding of Queen Mary in 1893.

580 Mrs. T. J. Hume

Pair of nylon stockings

C227923

581 Admiral of the Fleet Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt, Bt.

Miniature roll-top desk made by the donor.

582 Mrs. E. A. Pontefract

A handkerchief printed with views commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

583 Colonel and Mrs. J. Comerford

Hand embroidered Irish linen cloth bordered with crochet.

584 The Directors and Employees of Messrs. Hoover, Limited

A " Hoover " cleaner.

585 Mrs. P. M. Freegard

Hand embroidered handkerchiefs.

586 The Youth Department of the Free Church Federal Council

A copy of The Holy Bible, bound in red morocco.

587 Miss M. C. Voss

Four uncurled white ostrich feathers.

588 Mr. Laurence E. Bunker

An old Japanese good luck box, of fine gold lacquer, made to hold writing materials, ornamented with peacocks and flowers, made in Kanagawa about a hundred years ago. The box contains a variety of gifts of Japanese origin.

589 The Lord Montagu of Beaulieu

A folding bed table of painted wood mounted with a coloured flower print.

590 Mr. George Gradwell

Small Venetian glass vase.

591 Mrs. M. B. Story

Handworked pincushion and dressing-table mat.

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CANADA

C227924

592 Mrs. S. Croft
Set of old gold handworked table mats.

593 Miss M. I. Clifford
Handmade string bag.

594 Mr. and Mrs. L. H. Howes
Three medallion brooches of flower design.

595 Mrs. L. Osmond
Unmounted cameo and bottle of scent.

596 Mrs. J. Wolfe
A pair of hand-knitted mittens.

597 Mr. Frederick D. Levy
An old French missal containing a cavity, which is said to have been used by smugglers to conceal jewellery.

598 Mr. C. Francis Wardle
Framed drawing of "Houlie," the Rhodesian Ridgeback given to H.M. The Queen.

599 The Children of Cheapside Church of England School, Ascot
Set of embroidered handkerchiefs.

600 Mr. William Mair
Book, "Historic Morningside," by the donor.

601 The Hon. Lady Stanley
White wool lace stitch jumper.

602 Admiral of the Fleet The Lord Chatfield and The Lady Chatfield
Book, bound half morocco tooled with gold, "The Crock of Gold," by James Stephens.

603 Mr. Gavin Ralston and Miss Ralston
A pair of old Sheffield plate wine coasters embossed with borders of vine leaves.

C227925

604 Colonel The Hon. James and Mrs. Howard
A pair of silver preserve spoons.

605 Lady Moncreiffe and Miss Moncreiffe
A framed tinted drawing of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, by Count D'Orsay.

606 The Magistrates and Council and the Community of The Royal Burgh of Selkirk
Two lengths of tweed.

607 The Children of the Royal Residential Schools for the Deaf, Old Trafford, Manchester
A hemstitched tablecloth and napkins, hand-embroidered with bouquets of flowers in natural colours.

608 The Rev. Walter Fancutt
Books, seven volumes of the Pocket Poets, bound morocco.

609 The Hon. Mrs. Emmet and Family
A pair of "Watajoy" leather travelling bags.

610 Sir Brograve and The Lady Evelyn Beauchamp and Miss Patricia Beauchamp
A circular silver salver on three ball and claw feet made in London in 1776 by E. Coker.

611 The Hon. Sir Jasper and Lady Ridley
A black basalt urn-shaped vase and cover on a pedestal bearing a medallion portrait of Louis XVI. The vase is carved with cupids in relief and mounted with ormolu.

612 Major and Mrs. George Hopkins
A car mascot in the form of a hunter.

613 The Provost and Council of Clydebank
A Singer electric sewing machine and table.

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CANADA

C 227926

614 The Earl and Countess of Elgin and Kincardine and The Lady Martha Bruce
A folding table in maple wood.

615 The Duke and Duchess of Roxburghe
A Louis XVI writing table inlaid with pictorial marquetry and mounted with ormolu.

616 The Duke and Duchess of Sutherland
A Louis XVI clock of ormolu, with movement by Lepaule.

617 Mrs. R. Todd
Pink silk knitted bed wrap.

618 Miss Catherine Maclean
A hand-made nightgown of flowered silk and a small leather-framed photograph of Her Majesty The Queen at the age of fourteen.

619 Miss Etta Maclean
A hand-knitted tea cosy.

620 Miss Charlotte Davey
A hand-made set of écru dinner mats for six persons.

621 Mr. John F. Elsworth
A finely carved Japanese ivory statuette of a fisherman with his children.

622 Colonel and Mrs. Harold Phillips
Silver cream jug in the form of a cow.

623 Commander Clare Vyner, Royal Navy, and The Lady Doris Vyner
A threefold dressing table mirror and a pair of table lamps in the form of candles, with drop crystal ornaments and shades, and a vacuum food container.

624 Mrs. F. Caulton
A framed picture of Queen Victoria at the age of four.

C227927

625 Mrs. L. J. Percival
Book, bound half morocco, "The Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier."

626 Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Krebs
An electric footwarmer.

627 Mrs. M. Arden Haworth-Booth and Her Household
Twelve oriental dessert plates decorated with Chinese landscapes in underglaze blue and rice pattern borders.

628 Lieut.-Commander and Mrs. Gervase Milward and Miss Caroline Milward
A bottle of Worth's perfume, "Vers Toi."

629 Mrs. James Teays
Sequin embroidered scarf.

630 Lady Peel
Framed gouache, by Kanelba, portrait of a boy in a carnival cap.

631 Mr. Charles H. Rees
Pastel blue morocco leather handbag.

632 The Staff and Workers of the Myro Glove Company, Limited
A pair of leather muff gloves.

633 The Lord and Lady Rupert Nevill
Table lamp and fringed silk shade, a Chinese vase of white porcelain engraved with patterns of flowers.

634 Mrs. R. H. Dennis
Chinese child's embroidered coat and shoes, said to have formerly belonged to a member of the Chinese Imperial Family.

635 Mrs. Meyer Sassoon
An oval rock crystal bonbonnière mounted with gold.

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CANADA

C227928

636 Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh

Two sporting prints of Newmarket, published in 1766 and 1769.

637 The Commandant, Officers, and Members of the Hants 298 Home Guard Unit

A tall crystal flower vase, diamond cut.

638 The Lady Hermione Cameron of Lochiel

Book, "The Wherefore o' the Why," by Helen Graham.

639 Mrs. V. Whish

Book, "Come-to-Good Farm," by the donor.

640 Miss S. A. Goldstone

Scarf decorated with a floral pattern.

641 The Members of the Sandringham Women's Institute

A pair of pillar-shaped fluted beechwood table lamps.

642 Mr. and Mrs. A. Woollatt

A Coalport dessert service, decorated with fruit and foliage in natural colours on a white ground, enclosed in pink and gilt borders.

643 The Directors of Paragon China, Limited

A tea service of white and gold china decorated with bouquets of flowers.

644 Sir D'Arcy Osborne

Framed pencil drawing, "In Glen Nevis," by Sir D. Y. Cameron, R.A.

645 Miss Josephine Clark

A hand-worked silk bag.

646 Mrs. Harriett Simpson

The Holy Bible, bound in morocco.

C227929

647 The Townspeople of Cheltenham and Charlton Kings

An old Worcester porcelain dessert service of the Dr. Wall period, with shagreen decoration, enclosed in royal blue and gold borders, *circa* 1765.

648 The Earl of Strathmore

Four dishes and one tureen of 18th-century Ch'ien Lung Armorial porcelain, painted with the Arms and the Crest of the Family of Strathmore and Kinghorn, enclosed in gilt chain and spearhead borders.

649 The Earl and Countess Granville

Peach-coloured damask table linen made in Northern Ireland and embroidered with the Princess's cypher; six dining cloths and napkins and six afternoon tea cloths and napkins.

650 The Royal Brierley Crystal Company

A service of glass, engraved with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

651 The Royal Navy, The Royal Marines, The Women's Royal Naval Service, The Royal Australian Navy, and The Indian Navy

A small serpentine-fronted Sheraton sideboard of mahogany inlaid with satinwood, the drawers having lion mask handles.

652 The Hon. David and Mrs. Bowes Lyon

Bow-fronted Adam sideboard of mahogany, carved with cornucopias and supported on carved tapering legs.

653 H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth's Household and Personal Staff

A Chesterfield settee with loose cushions.

654 Mr. and Mrs. William Courtenay

A bridge set.

655 Miss Valerie Colin-Russ

Scrapbooks containing pictures of the Royal Family.

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CANADA

C227930

656 Mrs. J. Stevenson and Miss Jennifer Stevenson
A tea cosy hand-worked in shades of green.

657 Mrs. Nicol and Miss Margaret Nicol
A plastic cushion.

658 Miss M. G. Parry
Book, two copies of " Simon Peter," by Megan Glyn, the donor.

659 Mrs. Mortimer Pechell
A knitting bag.

660 Mrs. A. Cassels Cutten
Hand crochetted cloth in écru thread with an all-over star pattern.

661 Miss Violet G. Martin
A hand-painted blotter.

662 Mr. Robert Callander
A " Stamp Picture " of Carnations in a vase.

663 Mrs. A. Wood
Hand-worked afternoon tea cloth.

664 Mrs. S. H. Thompson
Two China menu holders bearing portraits of King George V and Queen Mary.

665 Miss Winnefrid Halse
A silk spangled and painted fan with pierced ivory sticks.

666 Mrs. Williams, Miss Margaret Ralston McClure and Dr. J. R. Williams
Five Belleek cups and saucers and a cream jug.

667 The Braemar Royal Highland Society
A pair of shaped silver tea caddies, Edinburgh 1762, made by William Dempster, and a Highland quaigh, Edinburgh, 1815.

C227931

668 The Associates, Members, Prentices and Candidates of the Girls' Friendly Society
A pair of Colebrookdale vases, decorated with encrusted flowers and foliage, and modelled with eagles in high relief, mounted for use as table lamps.

669 Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Kensdale
An irridescent glass paper-weight in the shape of a pear.

670 Major and Mrs. Charles Orr.
Hand-painted medallion locket mounted in gold.

671 Mrs. W. A. Wordsworth
A Bird of Paradise feather mount.

672 Mrs. H. Bisdee
A Georgian silver teaspoon.

673 Miss Lynn Conrad
A pair of nylon stockings.

674 Miss Ruth Jacques
Two hand-painted handkerchiefs.

675 Mr. John Jefferys
A bead necklace.

676 Mrs. Randolph Warburton
A pair of nylon stockings.

677 The " Moonrakers " Skittles Team, Corsha
A gold fountain pen.

678 Lieut.-Commander and Mrs. Hugh Slater
Silver box with embossed decoration in the 18th century French style.

679 Mr. Ernest P. Friedmann
Set of table mats.

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C 227932

680 Mrs. J. Kerr-Lawson

Framed oil painting of Florence showing the bridges spanning the Arno, by J. Kerr-Lawson.

681 Miss Helen O'Connor

Hand-painted ninon scarf.

682 Miss Jean Hobart

A Prayer Book bound white silk.

683 Mrs. Guthrie

A pair of teak wood book ends.

684 Messrs. John Brown and Company, Clydebank

Set of four silver strawberry dishes, London, 1739, maker John Eckford, the centres engraved with the contemporary Arms of the Fox Family, probably Henry, 1st Lord Holland.

685 Mrs. David Keiller.

A string " tidy."

686 Field-Marshal The Earl Wavell and The Countess Wavell

Book, " Seven Pillars of Wisdom," by T. E. Lawrence, bound red Niger leather, and bearing The Princess Elizabeth's cypher in gold.

687 Miss Joy Treen

Hand-made silk Duchess set.

688 Citizens of Goulburn, N.S.W., Australia

Book, " Goulburn, Queen City of the South."

689 Miss Margaret Brambley

Dressing-table mat, hand embroidered.

690 Miss Ellen Spencer

Small busts in Arcadian China of King George V and Queen Mary.

C 227933

691 Le Commissaire de la Marine et Madame Christiane Piganeau

A small coffee set of peasant pottery.

692 Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Grossman

A Duchess set of Irish crochet.

693 Don Miguel Campomar

A pair of white blankets bound with white satin, and a thousand blankets which the donor is sending from Montevideo for the poor children of London.

694 The Chamber of Commerce, Burlington, North Carolina

A selection of fine wool and silk socks, and six pairs of nylon stockings.

695 Mrs. J. P. Starr

Pair of silk and lace " blue " garters.

696 Mr. Herbert Piper

Small pastel drawing of Balmoral Castle.

697 Miss M. Townsend

The Holy Bible.

698 Mr. James Black

A silver Highland quaigh.

699 The British Community and their Friends in Swatow, China

Swatow embroidery and drawn-thread work, made locally on linen exported from the United Kingdom, and comprising a dressing-table set, a set of embroidered handkerchiefs, a breakfast set, a luncheon set, and an afternoon tea set.

700 Mr. Hugo von Mendelssohn Bartholdy

Book, " Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," published by Amerbach-Verlag, Basel.

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CANADA

C227934

701 The Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Championship Committee

A pair of mahogany Hepplewhite armchairs on cabriole legs, upholstered in blue grey damask.

702 Lady Waddilove

An antique Sheraton mahogany inlaid writing table, with tambour front enclosing small drawer and pigeon holes, with a slide at each side, on tapered legs. *Circa* 1780.

703 The Antique Dealers' Association

Part of a Worcester service, 16 plates and 2 comports, bearing the Royal Crown and Garter motto, made for the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV.

704 The Lord Fairhaven

Framed gouache by Paul Sandby, "Windsor on a Rejoicing Night."

705 Mr. Colin McLean

Framed oil painting by J. C. Harrison, "Upper Deeside."

706 His Majesty's Lords Lieutenant

Mahogany sofa table inlaid with filets of satinwood and ebony containing four drawers with brass handles.

707 The Lord and Lady Harlech

Old Coalport tea and coffee service, decorated with panels of flowers in a royal blue border overlaid with designs in gold, *circa* 1820.

708 Miss J. R. Pickel

A pair of nylon stockings.

709 The Patients of No. 4 General Hospital, Polish Resettlement Corps

A hand made and painted chest with a silver plate bearing a dedicatory inscription and containing a tea set decorated with a floral design.

C227935

710 Miss Sylvia M. Robertson and Small Pupils, Fairseat School, Malvern

Silver cake basket and bonbonnière.

711 Badly Disabled Men in the Church Army Rehabilitation Centre

Two handled tray and bowl of beaten copper.

712 Sisters and Women Workers of The Church Army and Residents in its Homes and Hostels

A hemstitched tablecloth embroidered in natural colours.

713 Miss G. G. Davies

A plaster bronze relief of "Blue Peter" modelled by the donor.

714 The London Chamber of Commerce

A Queen Anne silver coffee pot, made in London in 1713 by Thomas Folkingham, a pair of George III silver vegetable dishes and covers, plain with wooden side handles, by Robert and Samuel Hennell, London, 1809, and an oval gilt Chippendale mirror.

715 The Countess of Ancaster

A pair of two-handled vases of Derbyshire Spar.

716 Miss N. Dan

A handkerchief finely embroidered by hand.

717 Mr. Philip Briant

A silver boat-shaped sugar bowl of open wire work with glass liner, by William Plummer, London, 1787.

718 Captain and Mrs. Geoffrey Bowes-Lyon

Chelsea Derby figure of Neptune.

719 Miss Mary Rice

Framed oil painting, "Roses," by the donor.

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C227936

720 Nurse I. N. Kirkpatrick
A rabbit tea cosy.

721 Mr. Billy Saaiman
An ostrich egg.

722 Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Reynolds-Veitch
Sheraton satinwood side table.

723 The Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch
A set of silver-gilt dessert dishes with pierced and engraved borders and stands.

724 Mrs. M. Power
A mascot doll from Jamaica.

725 The Earl and Countess of Rosebery
An early 18th century Scottish wooden quaigh with three lugs mounted with silver, the interior silver print engraved with a portrait of the "Young Pretender" from the Glenlyon Collection.

726 Miss M. B. Fane
Drawn thread work handkerchief.

727 Miss E. Mosenthal
Book, by the donor, "But Economical—No."

728 Mr. and Mrs. Eric W. Hamber
Silver bowl with shaped edge and standing on four lion paw feet.

729 Mrs. R. Stone
Set of dolls' furniture upholstered in white and pale blue.

730 Countess Emilia Zennaro
Small silver filigree box.

731 Mrs. L. Norton
Pair of old Sheffield plate dwarf candlesticks.

C227937

732 Mrs. C. Allbutt
Silk table mat and condiment set.

733 Mrs. J. Hambridge
Hand knitted tea cosy and egg cosies.

734 The Staff and Children of Miss Faunce's School
A gold pencil.

735 The Boys of St. George's School, Windsor Castle
A set of ashtrays made from oak removed from the Chapel during its restoration.

736 Mrs. M. Sutcliffe
A piece of handworked tapestry of Florentine design.

737 The Chairman and Members of the Iron and Steel Board
A silver tea caddy made by E. Gibbons, London, 1726.

738 Mr. Hugh Heatley
Set of hand-painted sea shells.

739 The Misses Sonia Saville, Wendy Hoblyn, and Dorothy Chaplin
A glass dog.

740 Captain and Mrs. T. Gore Browne
Book, "The Language of Flowers," published in 1843.

741 Miss E. Blogg
Hand-worked tea cosy.

742 Colonel and Mrs. Robert Neville
A shaped silver snuff-box with engraved decoration.

743 The Children of Hethersett Methodist Church
A knitting bag.

744 Miss Elizabeth Hamilton
Small china flower vase.

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CANADA

C227938

745 Miss A. M. Bowyer
Early Victorian pincushion and watch holders.

746 Miss B. Howarth
Six silver coffee spoons.

747 Mr. Frank Nelson
Small carved ivory box.

748 The Downton Lace Industry
A selection of lace handkerchiefs contained in a decorated casket, a copy of an oak game table, date about 1535.

749 Miss Patricia Oliver
Pink knitted bed jacket.

750 Mrs. R. Swint
" Engagement Days," recorded for the gramophone by the donor.

751 Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Bailey
A doiley bordered with point lace.

752 Mrs. Gregory-Hood
A set of lawn handkerchiefs embroidered with the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth.

753 Mr. Raymond Chapman
Book, " Prince of the Clouds," by the donor.

754 Mrs. Robert H. Dunlap
A native-made ladle from Guam, in the Pacific.

755 Mrs. Lingard
A pair of baby clogs.

756 Miss G. M. Woods
A leather note case.

C227939

757 Mrs. E. Tempka
Hand-made model of a cat.

758 Mrs. Frederick Oliver
An embroidered tea cloth and a cup and saucer commemorating Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

759 Count de St. Pol
Carved and pierced ivory fan.

760 Mrs. Grenville Le Mesurier
Hand-worked silk purse bag.

761 Mrs. E. Chantler
Hand-embroidered tea cloth.

762 Mrs. H. Pike
Embroidered duchess cloth.

763 Mrs. F. E. Lambert and Miss D. E. Mawe
A black lace fan and tortoiseshell comb.

764 Commander Colin Buist, Royal Navy
Casket boulle, with brass mounts fitted as inkstand.

765 Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Blencour
A head scarf with a map of the United States of America.

766 The Earl and Countess of Home
An agate box mounted with gold and standing on four ball feet.

767 Two District Nurses of Corsham, Wiltshire
A Siamese kitten.

768 Miss Bona Drake
A velvet pincushion with a toy dog.

769 Miss Charlotte McEntire
Hand painted and lace bordered duchess cloth.

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CANADA

C227940

770 Miss Netta Ferrarini
Blue necklace and bracelets.

771 Miss Jean Hamilton
A sachet containing three pairs of nylon stockings.

772 Mrs. T. Astbury
Hand-embroidered tea cloth.

773 Miss Eva Clarke
A velvet square bearing an In Memoriam portrait of Queen Victoria.

774 The Scottish Country Dance Society
"The Scottish Country Dance Book," I—XIV, bound Niger leather tooled with gold.

775 Mrs. S. Nelson
Handbag covered in petit point.

776 Mr. and Mrs. L. Chambers
Three lambskin powder puffs.

777 Mrs. M. Pinck
Hand knitted cardigan.

778 Miss Grace E. McDonald
Two pairs of bed socks.

779 Miss L. Tyson
Wooden egg stand.

780 Mrs. K. A. P. Perera
A white satin rest gown and four silk shirts.

781 Mrs. James Balfour
Six Worcester cups and saucers, jug and basin and two cake plates, *circa* 1790.

782 The Worshipful Company of Saddlers
A saddle, girths, and stirrups.

C227941

783 The Viscountess Boyne
Book, "The First Crusade," published 1945, The Golden Cockerel Press.

784 The Kenya Girl Guides Association
Framed oil painting of native women picking pyrethrum flowers in Kenya.

785 Mr. S. A. Burchett
Hand painted miniature of Westminster Abbey by the donor.

786 Mrs. M. Parker
A Barbola decorated box.

787 Miss Susan Maxwell
A teaspoon with Arms of Edinburgh.

788 Mrs. K. Collins
Book, "A Sister for Susan," by the donor.

789 Gerity-Michigan Die Casting Company
A joint fork.

790 Mr. H. Mistry
Book, "The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra."

791 Mr. and Mrs. T. McLuckie
A blue bordered tablecloth.

792 Miss Hilda Dunbar Butterworth
A silver caddy spoon.

793 Mr. Charles Foster
A hand painted silk parasol.

794 Miss M. E. Robinson
A ninon evening scarf hand painted with a design of roses.

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A ninon evening scarf hand painted with a design of roses.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C227942

795 Mrs. A. M. Sullivan

Two prints of Queen Victoria reviewing her troops at Windsor and Edinburgh.

796 The Lord and Lady Brabourne

Engine-turned silver pocket photograph frame.

797 Mr. Henry Channon

A silver cigarette case, sunray pattern, set with a cabochon sapphire in a gold thumb piece.

798 Mr. and Mrs. A. Rizo-Rangabè

A boat-shaped cut crystal fruit dish and a Sunderland lustre tea cup and saucer decorated with portraits of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

799 The Children attending the Robert Mayer Concerts and Sir Robert and Lady Mayer

A complete set of the pre-war recordings of the Mozart Operas performed at Glyndebourne.

800 The Guild of Air Pilots and Air Navigators of the British Empire

A Picture to be painted by Sir Alfred Munnings, P.R.A., of The Princess Elizabeth mounted on "Tommy" on the occasion of Trooping the Colour, June 12th, 1947.

801 The Mayor and the Members of the Council of the City of Westminster

A Pair of Sheraton satinwood inlaid semi-circular tables on four taper legs.

802 Baronne Sophie de Buxhoeveden

A crystal inkstand by Faberge mounted with a Russian enamelled coin dated 1723, the cover decorated with the rare strawberry enamel.

C227943

803 Grenadier Guards

Canteen of Silver, Rattail pattern, with spoons, forks and ivory handled cutlery.

Four silver Statuettes of Grenadiers, 1660, 1792, 1820 and 1935.

One pair of silver five-light small Candelabra.

Six silver menu holders with the Grenadier Guards cypher badge.

Two silver grenade lighters.

804 The Staff of H.M. Queen Mary

A cabaret of Stoke china by Hammersley decorated with bouquets of flowers enclosed in a pink and burnished gold border on a tray of Oregon pine.

805 Miss Ruth Callander

A gold pencil with a gold seal attached.

806 The Girl Guides Association

An 18th century kneehole mahogany desk with leather covered top and a mahogany Carlton House writing table on tapered legs, banded and inlaid.

807 Miss S. Vaughan Lee

A monumental glass spirit bottle.

808 The Countess of Brecknock

An early blown glass decanter and stopper.

809 The Council and Members of The Anglo-Danish Society

A silver jardinière by the Danish silversmith Georg Jensen

810 The Viscount and Viscountess Weir

A Sheraton mahogany shield-shaped dressing mirror with three small drawers.

811 The Lady Violet Bonham-Carter

A 14th century inlaid ivory and ebony Italian coffer.

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812 Mrs. Neville Chamberlain
Book, " A History of Everyday Things in England " 1066-1934, by M. and C. H. B. Quennell, in four volumes, bound half morocco.

813 Mr. W. F. Rowe
An oval agate brooch.

814 Miss Constance Eastwick and Miss Eileen Moylan
Six silver gilt tea spoons.

815 The Countess of Kimberley
A beauty case in pale blue silk.

816 Lady Blane and Mrs. Phyllis Murray
A mid 18th century Dutch silver tobacco box, the lid and base engraved with battle scenes and the sides bearing an inscription.

817 Mr. E. C. Le Grice
Book, " The City of Norwich " by the donor, bound blue morocco tooled with gold.

818 The Hon. David and The Hon. Elizabeth Dundas
Tablecloth bordered with Maltese lace.

819 The Earl and Countess of Halifax
A Persian rug.

820 The Right Hon. Sir John and Lady Anderson
Framed watercolour drawings, girl lying on couch, French School.

821 Mrs. J. R. Fowles
Two oval lace mats.

822 The Lord and Lady Woolton
Gold snuff box, the lid mounted with a cornelian, *circa* 1740.

823 Miss Rosalie de Jesus
Black scarf with a design in white.

824 Miss Alice Watson
Two sets of shell jewelry

825 Mademoiselle Carmen Lèchot
Small circular hand-painted wood tray.

826 Mrs. Charles K. Ramond
A pair of nylon stockings.

827 The Women and Children of Kenya
A hide travelling bag.

828 The King's Royal Rifle Corps
A pair of old Chinese white porcelain models of cockerels with red combs, standing on rockwork bases glazed brown, Ch'ien Lung period, A.D. 1736-1795.

829 Mr. Harold Millar
Two water colour drawings of African birds and flowers by the donor.

830 Mr. W. H. M. Jacob
Book, " Sir Martin Frobisher," by William McFee.

831 Mr. and Mrs. Knights
The Holy Bible and a Book of Daily Prayers.

832 Field-Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein
Two Books by the donor " El Alamein to The River Sangro " and " Normandy to the Baltic."

833 The Viscount and Viscountess Hambleden
Book, " County Seats of Great Britain and Ireland," edited by the Rev. O. Morris, B.A.

834 The Members of The Church of England Youth Council and Conference at Canterbury, August 1947
The Shorter Prayer Book, bound in grey calf.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C227945

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CANADA

C227946

835 The Hon. Patrick May

Miniature tray, decanter and four glasses.

836 A Number of The Princess Elizabeth's Friends

An old Rockingham dinner service, decorated with sprays of cut flowers on a white ground and modelled with oak leaves and acorns within a gilt gadroon border

and

A pair of George III silver-gilt candelabra, each with two branches, of late rococo design. Made in London by John Carter in 1771.

837 Mr. and Mrs. Clive Burn

A Chinese carved rock crystal figure of Kwan Yin, goddess of mercy.

838 The Management, Staff and Workers of The West Coast Tanneries, Limited

Selection of dyed suede, lambswool and various leathers.

839 The Women and Girls of Barbados

An 18th century Sangaree glass, made for the Owner of the Windsor Plantation, Barbados, and inscribed "Success to Windsor." Sangaree was the special drink of the old Sugar Planters,

and

A tea trolley and six graduated trays in West Indian mahogany.

840 The Marquess and Marchioness of Salisbury

An 18th century satinwood Pembroke table banded with mahogany.

841 The Viscount and Viscountess Cranbourne

An 18th century mahogany hanging corner cupboard with glazed lattice door.

842 The Earl and Countess of Eldon

Framed oil painting by Zucchero from the Alba Gallery, Madrid, "Queen Elizabeth in a crimson dress trimmed with gold and jewels and a lace ruff round her neck."

C227947

843 The People of Cornwall

Two Paintings by S. J. Lamorna Birch, R.A.
"The Horse Bridge on the River Tamar."
"Raspryn Bridge near Lostwithiel."
A book bound morocco containing a list of the towns and parishes who have subscribed, and a cheque.

844 Captain Michael and The Lady Victoria Wemyss

Framed watercolour, view of Windsor Castle by W. Bennett, R.I.

845 The Governor, Staff and In-Pensioners of The Royal Hospital, Chelsea

A nest of tables hand painted with bouquets of flowers and a waste-paper basket.

846 The Lord and Lady Harris

A silver inkstand.

847 Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Latimer-Voight

A paper weight made of Isle of Wight shells.

848 The Lord Mayor and Citizens of Norwich

A double lidded silver casket engraved with the City's Arms.

849 Major Hamilton Gay

A red leather travelling photograph frame.

850 Mrs. E. Crofts Davis

Two lace doileys.

851 Members of the Late Queen Alexandra's Household

A set of table mats, each painted with a different bird.

852 The Lady Adelaide Colville

A pair of book ends in the form of fantail pigeons.

853 Mrs. L. M. Halliday

A paper weight of spar from the Laxey lead mine, Isle of Man.

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854 The County of Brecknochshire

An 18th century Welsh oak dresser with its display of old Welsh china and rare lustre jugs.

855 The Victoria League of South Africa

A cheque for £100, which The Princess Elizabeth is giving to the London Federation of Boys' Clubs.

856 The Staff and Workers of The House of Molyneux, London

A fine old Chinese pottery model of a standing horse. The saddle and saddlecloth covered with rich yellow and green glazes, the body of the horse showing traces of an orange glaze. Excavated. Tang Dynasty, 618-906 A.D.

857 The People of Natal

The complete furnishing of the rooms occupied by The Royal Family during their holiday in the Royal National Park, Natal, March 14th-16th, 1947.

858 The Worshipful Company of Shipwrights

A rosewood double bookcase with table top covered in red leather tooled with gold, and a Sheraton mahogany sofa table banded and inlaid, on brass paw feet.

859 The City of Portsmouth

A Chesterfield settee and cover and a Queen Anne gilt hanging mirror with a centre cartouche.

860 The County of Caithness

A sundial in Caithness stone.

861 The Dominion of New Zealand

A writing table made from New Zealand woods.

862 The Royal Life Saving Society

A barograph barometer.

863 The Children of The Lord Mayor Treloar Hospital at Alton

A hemstitched and hand-embroidered afternoon teacloth.

864 Mr. and Mrs. W. Turner

A framed portrait of Queen Victoria woven on Lyons silk.

865 Officers and Cadets of Unit 2221 and 2021, British Red Cross Society

A brass disc shaped adjustable calendar.

866 Mr. Donald Gilbert and Family

A silver medal commemorating the Coronation of Their Majesties, designed by the donor and his late father.

867 Captain and Mrs. L. Lloyd

A fire screen with adjustable tapestry panels.

868 Mr. J. H. M. Mackenzie

Framed water colour, cottage by the sea.

869 Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Stidston

A carved and painted copy of a Tudor game table.

870 The Wardroom Officers, Royal Naval Petty Officers' School, Corsham

A visitors' book bound in Royal blue Niger leather, tooled with gold.

871 Major and Mrs. Russell Rumney

An early Victorian watch holder.

872 The Dionne Quintuplets

A framed photograph of the donors.

873 The Earl of Rosslyn

Black antelope handbag with jewelled mount.

874 Mrs. L. S. Pike

Silver brooch.

875 The Chartered Institute of Secretaries

A gold quill pen used for signing the register after the marriage ceremony.

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CANADA

C 227950

876 Mrs. E. Pearson
Hemstitched handkerchiefs.

877 The Ladies' Committee, Hadfield, near Manchester
Set of Wedgwood ash trays.

878 Miss B. Rolls
Honiton lace handkerchief.

879 The People of Ross and Cromarty
A brooch set with pearls from Ross-shire rivers.

880 Mr. J. Duvelleroy
Chicken skin fan painted with a marriage scene, and pierced and gilded mother-of-pearl sticks, made for the wedding of Louis XV and Marie Leczinska.

881 Mrs. W. Graham
A pair of nylon stockings.

882 Sir George Roberts, Bt.
A Bird of Paradise plume.

883 Mrs. Edward Tennant and Miss Robina Tennant
Study in oils of Exmoor ponies by Sir Alfred Munnings, P.R.A.

884 The Staff and Girls of St. Margaret's School
A hand-made leather blotter and a silver teapot, sugar basin and cream jug.

885 The Pedlar's Pack, Sherringham
A length of hand-woven tweed.

886 The Boys of The Beacon School, Teignmouth
An antique silver vinaigrette.

887 Miss Rosa Beckett
A hand-made kettle holder in silk and wool.

C227951

888 Miss Mary Levanton
Oval framed miniature in oils of a cat.

889 The Glass Manufacturers' Federation
A selection of glassware.

890 The Twelve Great Livery Companies of The City of London
A chippendale mahogany settee with stuffed back and seats on cabriole legs with shell decoration, and scroll feet.
A set of four mahogany armchairs in the Chinese Chippendale taste, on straight legs, with fret carving.
A Sheraton satinwood serpentine chest of drawers cross-banded with tulip wood.

891 The Royal Warrant Holders' Association
A mahogany five pedestal dining table, with rounded ends, fluted columns and carved legs. Signed W. Casement, *circa* 1770.
A set of twenty ladderback single chairs, the top and side rails moulded, pierced and carved bars, on moulded legs with stretchers.
An early 18th Century English six-fold leather screen, painted with vases of flowers and domestic scenes in the Chinese taste.

892 Miss M. T. Percy
Book, "The Londoner's England."

893 Miss Jane Burleigh
Box of coloured silks.

894 Mrs. L. B. Hyde
Hand coloured print of "The Duchess of Kent," Queen Victoria's mother.

895 Mr. Cyril Dickman
Embroidered tray cloth with napkins and egg cosies.

896 Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Wilkins and Miss Joan Wilkins
A spotted net scarf, with silk embroidered ends and silk fringe.

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CANADA

C227952

897 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sofer Whitburn
A set of table mats decorated with old coloured flower prints.

898 "The Monday Review Club," Hillsboro, Texas
A lace table centre.

899 Mrs. E. Hill
Hand-made silk handkerchief sachet.

900 Mr. and Mrs. Moss and their Sons
A hand-made blotter, the cover worked with cross stitch.

901 Mr. and Mrs. E. Ivory
A set of table mats decorated with old hand-tinted engravings, views in Scotland.

902 The New Zealand Disabled Service Men's Re-establishment League
A casket of New Zealand wood containing a brooch, pendant and earrings of Paua shell and gold, designed and made by members of the League.

903 Mr. Mark Bonham Carter
A glass goblet engraved by Laurence Whistler and bearing a verse by Thomas Campion from The Lord's Masque, written for the marriage of The Princess Elizabeth in 1613.

904 Mrs. J. Wright
"The Wedding Book" by the donor.

905 The Hon. Katharine Norton
A pair of Chinese trees, the leaves in jade, and the flowers in quartz, turquoise and soapstone, both standing in jardinieres of green and grey soapstone.

906 The Mayor and Citizens of Durham
A carpet.

C227953

907 The Jewellers and Silversmiths of Great Britain
A canteen of silver cutlery and a gold lace-work brooch set with diamonds and rubies.

908 Mr. Godfrey Hayman
A framed portrait in oils of the late Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, painted in 1932 by Arthur G. Mills.

909 Mr. Harold Cheshire
Framed picture, "Still Life," by the donor.

910 The Officers, Petty Officers and Ratings of H.M.S.A.S. "Protea"
A cheque.

911 Miss Gwen Evans
A porcelain table lamp decorated with a design of flowers and a shade to match.

912 The Lord Mayor and Corporation of The City of London
A semi-circular Sheraton mahogany commode, cross-banded and inlaid with urns and medallions in various woods, *circa* 1780.
A pair of semi-circular Sheraton satinwood side-tables, cross-banded and inlaid with urns and festoons in various woods, *circa* 1780.
A Sheraton satinwood Pembroke table banded and inlaid with various woods, the top inlaid with a design of roses and carnations, *circa* 1790.
A pair of gilt Adam oval wall mirrors with tall cresting in the form of urns and scrolls, *circa* 1780.
Two Sheraton love seats painted with cameos and classical motifs in brown and terra cotta, cane seats with loose striped squab cushions.
Five Sheraton armchairs with oval lattice backs en suite with the above.

913 The Elizabeths, Alexandras and Marys of The Borough of Twickenham
A Georgian silver fruit basket, London, 1834. The border chased and embossed with floral decoration, the centre engraved with an inscription, and the Borough arms.

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C227954

914 The Government and People of Canada

Set of 24 Georgian silver gilt dinner plates with gadroon edges, London, 1795-6, by David and Robert Hennell, all engraved with the Royal Arms.

Two-handled silver loving cup and cover, London, 1720, made by Paul de Lamerie, engraved with contemporary armorials.

Pair of large silver square-shaped salvers. The centres engraved with armorials and the borders with fine flat chasing in early rococo taste, and a pair of similar smaller salvers.

Three 5-light candelabra, with octagonal baluster columns chased and matted with foliage, on square concave bases.

Six candlesticks, en suite.

A canteen of silver

and

A mink coat.

915 Mrs. Vaughan Lee

"The Scottish Country Dance Book" bound Niger leather, tooled with gold.

916 Mrs. Rabbetts

A hand-made lace collar.

917 Mr. and Mrs. E. Wood

A set of handkerchiefs embroidered in colours.

918 Mrs. E. Aspin

Book of poems, "Roses in December" by the donor (Ellen Ling).

919 The Children from "Ivy House" Children's Home, Boston, Lincs.

An embroidered cushion cover.

920 Mr. and Mrs. H. Picton Davies

Set of gold coloured crochet table mats.

C227955

921 The Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain

The Holy Bible bound light blue Niger leather with the cypher of The Princess in gold, and a cheque to be allocated to charity as The Princess desires.

922 Mrs. Russell Simpson

A Crown Derby tea cup and saucer.

923 The Boys and Girls of St. John's Church, Cayto Scarborough

An old white lace fan with pierced ivory sticks.

924 Miss Sybil Meadows

Three embroidered egg cosies.

925 Mrs. G. Allan

An embroidered net tablecloth and milk jug covers.

926 Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Hart

Book, "Life and Letters of Anna Kingsford," edited by the donor.

927 Miss K. Fanstone

Table runner with embroidered ends.

928 Miss Mary Frith

Embroidered and lace bordered tray cloth.

929 Mrs. H. Ironside and Miss J. Treble

A length of flowered silk ninon.

930 Master Andrew and Miss R. Cook

A book of the Coronation Service of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, red leather mounted with silver.

931 Mr. K. Field

Silver ashtray commemmorating the Coronation of King Edward VII.

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C227956

932 The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Fisher
Two books of Common Prayer, bound blue morocco, tooled with gold.

933 Mrs. F. Cox
Bronze medallion with the head of Queen Victoria commemorating her Diamond Jubilee.

934 The Earl and Countess of Denbigh
A cream painted afternoon tea tray decorated with a print after George Morland.

935 Mr. W. H. Roberts
A hand-made wool rug.

936 The Members of The Cabinet
A sofa table of Thuya wood inlaid with a diamond pattern in filets of ebony bordered with satinwood.

937 The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn
Pair of George II silver sugar vases, covers and sifters, bearing the Arms of Lincoln's Inn.
Set of six round silver salt cellars, made by Robert Sibley, London, 1795
and
Six old English salt spoons, made by Richard Carter, London, 1804.

938 Miss M. A. Boochard
Pale blue silk handkerchief sachet decorated with hand-made lace.

939 The Hon. Anthony Strachey
Book, " English Social History " by G. M. Trevelyan, bound brown morocco, tooled with gold.

940 Mr. Ernest Wood
Book, by the donor " Feloniously and Wilfully."

941 Miss Erica D. F. Morley
Flowered silk head scarf.

C227957

942 Messrs. Robert Richardson and Son
A Scottish wool scarf.

943 The Aberdovey Branch of The Women's Institute
Books, " Poor Man's Tapestry " by Oliver Onions, and " Tomboy in Lace " by Berta Ruck.

944 The Lord Fairfax
A pair of tall carved and gilded wood candlesticks adapted for use as table lamps, and fringed silk shades.

945 The Board of Management and Members of the Staff of The Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Children
A pair of silver tea caddies with ram's head and drapery decoration, in the Adam style, by John Wren, 1789.

946 Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Younger and Family
A tasselled cushion embroidered in colours.

947 Mrs. P. Nash
Framed water colour drawing " Cloud Flora, No. 1 Hydra Dandelion," and two editions of the book " Aerial Flowers," by the late Paul Nash.

948 City of York
Six French silver-gilt Tazze of circular shape on low spreading feet. The centres engraved with a Royal Ducal coat of arms with Garter motto together with three similar plates. All have chased borders bearing Napoleonic emblems in panels enclosed by diaper work, Paris, *circa* 1820.

949 Mr. and Mrs. Pawlak and Miss Wanda Pawlak
Two leather handbags made by the donors.

950 Mrs. William Hartley
Two framed pictures, of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations at Slough.

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C227958

951 Mr. and Mrs. Wilks and Miss Ruth Wilks

A gilt mounted, leather bound Book of Common Prayer, and a pair of wax hands made by the last of the English doll makers.

952 The Citizens of Plymouth

A pair of large and a pair of smaller square dishes, the edges pierced and chased with grape and vine leaf decoration, the centres engraved with the City's Arms.

953 Captain The Right Hon. Oliver and The Lady Moira Lyttelton

Folio, "Voyage En Angleterre," Eug. Lami et H. Monnier.

954 The Staff of Messrs. James R. Mace, Limited

An umbrella and a lace parasol.

955 Vicomte Pierre de Bellaigue de Bughas

A Bridge set.

956 Lady Colquhoun

A length of old Brussels lace.

957 Miss Margaret MacDonald and Miss Ruby MacDonald

Cream painted waste paper basket decorated with an old print.

958 The President of the Syrian Republic

An antique casket of Damascene work containing three lengths of brocades woven by Syrian craftsmen.

959 Mr. Augustus Walker

A framed water colour of birds by E. J. Detmold.

960 Mr. Brryman Ridges

An emblem of good luck.

C227959

961 The Members of The Royal Academy

Circular silver dish by Thomas Henning, London, 1762, with shaped gadroon border, the edge engraved with the Royal Arms, and the centre with an inscription.

962 Mrs. George Buthlay

A damask table cloth.

963 The City of London Police

A silver inkstand with shell and gadroon edge, having two glass bottles and central taper stick and extinguisher.

964 The Viscount and Viscountess Davidson and Miss Davidson

Leather handbag.

965 The Dowager Duchess of Devonshire

An 18th century white and gold Derby tea and coffee service.

966 Buckingham College, Harrow

Framed oil painting, "Drake's Drum" by William Longstaff.

967 The Right Hon. Anthony Eden and Mrs. Eden

Book, "A History of British Birds" by Thomas Bewick, in three volumes, published 1832, bound half morocco.

968 The Right Hon. The Earl Stanhope

A Spode dessert service decorated with bouquets of flowers on a white ground enclosed in a border of green and gold.

969 Captain The Hon. David and Mrs. Bethell

A pair of Sèvres jardinières with floral decoration and blue and gold borders.

970 The Marquess and Marchioness of Reading

Large cylindrical silver canister, the lid engraved with the arms of George III, London, 1808, by John Moore.

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C227960

971 The Craftsmen, Staff and Directors of Bagcraft, Limited
A crocodile handbag in case.

972 Messrs. Raphael Tuck and Sons, Limited
A blotter bound in light blue morocco, tooled with silver and emblazoned with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

973 Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Danning
A selection of gramophone records.

974 The Scottish Towel Company, Limited
A large selection of pale blue turkey bath towels.

975 Mrs. M. Hartmann
An old engraved marriage drinking glass.

976 The Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen,
The Governor of the Bank of England,
The Chairman of the Stock Exchange,
The Chairman of Lloyds,
The Chairman of the Baltic Exchange,
The Committee of London Clearing Banks
An all diamond Russian pattern fringed necklace and an 18th Century English painted and gilt suite, comprising two settees, eight fauteuils and four bolsters in blue-grey damask, in Louis XV taste, made by John Linnell, 1768, with serpentine frames, cabriole legs with carved gilt shell husks and foliage ornament ; together with Linnell's original account.

977 Senator Walter B. Fraser
An inscribed flagon of Steuben glass containing water from Ponce De Leon's historic " Fountain of Youth," at St. Augustine, Florida.

978 Miss M. Flemming
A miniature on ivory of The Princess Elizabeth as a child, by the donor.

979 Miss A. J. Lindner
An embroidered afternoon teacloth bordered with lace.

980 Messrs. S. Noton, Limited
One leather handbag and two leather suitcases.

C227961

981 Miss B. E. Olver
A hand-worked tapestry bag with a gilt mount.

982 Mrs. H. Baker
Book, " Flowers and Fruit from Old English Gardens' once owned by Florence Nightingale.

983 Miss M. V. Ashley
A small ivory cross.

984 Miss Nora Weeks
Book " The Medical Discoveries of Edward Bach, Physician " by the donor.

985 Mrs. E. Bebb and Miss D. Bebb
Book, " The Man who is Different " by E. D. Bebb.

986 The Brecon County Federation of Women's Institutes
An afternoon teacloth and mats worked in cross stitch and an afternoon teacloth decorated with panels of hand-made lace.

987 Mrs. M. C. Williams
A bridal poem illuminated by the donor.

988 Mrs. A. E. Jenkins
Pair of Georgian decanters fluted and diamond cut on an old Sheffield plate decanter trolley made in the form of a dinghy.

989 Mr. and Mrs. Wilfrid Edwards
A book of Scottish ballads, decorated by Robert Burns.

990 Mrs E. Scattergood
A framed portrait of Queen Victoria, in commemoration of her Jubilee.

991 Miss Marie J. Pearson
An embroidered towel.

992 Mrs. Roberts
Three volumes of the Letters of Queen Victoria.

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993 Miss D. Davis
Hand-painted silk tablecloth.

994 Mrs. L. V. Dart.
Framed water colour, " Pansies," by the donor.

995 Miss A. Badenoch
A china lamb.

996 Miss K. Curry
Book, " Daily Light."

997 Miss R. Luther
A hand-embroidered afternoon teacloth.

998 Women's L.O.L. No. 182, Clones Branch, Co. Monaghan, Eire
Six white lace bordered handkerchiefs.

999 Mrs. M. E. Ryder Richardson
Six Irish linen hemstitched handkerchiefs.

1000 The Scottish Girls Training Corps
A white lambswool tufted rug.

1001 The Townspeople of Kidderminster
A Kidderminster Wilton carpet.

1002 The Carpet Manufacturing Company, Kidderminster
A Kidderminster Wilton carpet.

1003 Mrs. W. Elwell and Miss M. Elwell
A cake stand and a printed handkerchief.

1004 Mrs. M. Stephenson and Miss W. Stephenson
Six embroidered handkerchiefs.

1005 Mrs. W. Ritchie
A pale blue garter decorated with old lace.

C227963

1006 Colonel and Mrs. E. G. Angus
A leather wallet.

1007 Mrs. H. Ryckman
Two lace-bordered handkerchiefs.

1008 Miss R. H. Burns
Book, " Invisible Light," by the donor.

1009 Miss Mary Summers
Set of blue silk mats.

1010 Mrs. W. M. Rowlands
Pierced silver sugar sifter.

1011 Mr. Tom Bolling
An album of gramophone records.

1012 Mr. and Mrs. E. Wheatley Jones
A Hymnal-Prayer, composed by the donor.

1013 The Members of the Oxford Branch of the British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association
An illuminated address.

1014 Miss D. E. Pritchard
Set of handworked mats.

1015 Miss Sheila Cockram
A pair of wooden candlesticks.

1016 Major-General and Mrs. Robert Laycock
Book, " Royal Newmarket," by R. C. Lyle, bound half morocco.

1017 Mr. John C. Bartholomew
Book, " The Citizen's Atlas of the World."

1018 Mr. and Mrs. J. Hart
A hand-made egg stand.

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C227964

1019 Miss Frances Cook
A patchwork cushion cover.

1020 The Viscount and Viscountess Portal of Hungerford
Gold-mounted glass snuff-box with pheasant decoration on the mother-of-pearl lid.

1021 Mrs. E. W. Montford
Six silver teaspoons.

1022 Lady Wise
Small figure of Queen Victoria in Staffordshire cottage pottery.

1023 The Hungarian Displaced Persons in the Camp at Heerte
A hand-painted porcelain Hungarian pendant.

1024 Miss Kathleen Asquith
A pair of hand-made earrings.

1025 The Scholars and Teachers, Norton Mission Hall, Stourbridge
A New Testament.

1026 Miss L. Dickinson
Hand-knitted tea cosy.

1027 Miss A. Sherris
A duchess set.

1028 Mr. and Mrs. T. Todd
Book, " Gathered in a Lowland Glen," by the donor.

1029 Miss E. G. Stevens
Silk table mat.

1030 Mrs. S. E. Ward
A gallipot cover with a picture of the Prince Consort, mounted in oak.

C227965

1031 Mrs. Shearman
Two hand-worked tray cloths.

1032 Mrs. A. L. Gurnett
Pierced ivory fan.

1033 From 10,450 Students and Children in the Schools of the Society of The Holy Child Jesus
An illuminated address.

1034 Miss E. E. Godson
Mahogany tray with a tapestry panel mounted under glass.

1035 The Members of His Majesty's Medical Household in Scotland
A gold and cairngorm brooch.

1036 Mrs. Lilley
Miniature china basket of roses.

1037 Miss M. Jarvis
Hand-embroidered ecru tablecloth.

1038 Master John Westall
Two lace-bordered handkerchiefs.

1039 Mrs. Glass
Old lace handkerchief.

1040 Rev. Canon and Mrs. L. L. Ollard
Book, " Royal Newmarket," by R. C. Lyle.

1041 The Junior Red Cross of Grade 5, Ridgeway Public School, Ontario
maple leaf brooch.

1042 Brigadier-General and Mrs. E. W. Baird
Silver and silver gilt shaped snuff-box decorated with engraving, the lid embossed with hunting scene.

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C227966

1043 Miss M. L. Scott
Hand-painted blue ninon scarf.

1044 Miss E. H. S. Goscomb
Two hand-made lace collars.

1045 The Grand Master Mason, Office Bearers and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Scotland
A diamond flower and spray brooch.

1046 Miss Margaret Wood-Pottle
A needlework picture of the British Isles.

1047 All-Burma Women's Freedom League
A ruby and diamond pendant.

1048 Mrs. V. N. Hole
Embroidered Indian net scarf.

1049 Mr. C. L. Dinsmore
A native belt from Canada.

1050 Miss Elizabeth Boddington
A raffia bread basket.

1051 The British Pottery Manufacturers Federation
A service of china in white and gold bearing the Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1052 Canadian Woollen and Knit Goods Manufacturers Association
A large selection of coloured and white blankets bound with satin

1053 The Royal Welsh Agricultural Society
A large circular vegetable dish and cover, from the well-known Burdett-Coutts dinner and dessert service of Swansea china, *circa* 1816. Dish is elaborately decorated with baskets of garden flowers and sprays of roses and embellished with fine gilt borders and gold dentil edges.

C227967

1054 The Women's Section, British Legion
18th Century mahogany tallboy on cabriole feet, carved and canted corners and carved frieze, *circa* 1760.

1055 Mrs. N. Pateman
A pair of antique brass Turkish candlesticks.

1056 Mrs. E. Mills
Handwrought silver bowl set with decorative medallions in coloured enamel.

1057 Mr. Peter Sparks
Old Chinese painting on glass of riverside landscape and summer sky. The lady with snow-white hair in the foreground wears the long-life symbol on her sleeve, and offers the "longevity lotus" to her husband. The flower is associated with a happy old age. The mandarin duck and drake are emblematic of a happy marriage. Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1795.

1058 Mr. Peter Vaughan
Old Chinese mutton fat jade snuff-bottle with rose quartz top, the front moulded with a design of iris plant, the flower signifying elegance and accomplishment. The four characters on the shoulder read "An elegant treasure of the first order." Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1795.

1059 The Lord Ogilvy, the Hon. Angus Ogilvy, the Hon. James Ogilvy, the Lady Griselda Ogilvy and Captain and the Lady Margaret Tennant
Book, "The English Poets," in five volumes, bound half red morocco.

1060 Mr. Paul de Hevesy
A gold, jade and jewelled travelling clock in red leather case.

1061 The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada
A silver casket fitted as a jewel case with a dedicatory inscription, the lid decorated with the Badge of the Regiment in silver and enamel.

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C227968

1062 The Marquess of Normanby

Pair of fine Chinese amber Peking glass vases, with globular bodies and long necks spreading to a wider mouth ; from the Stephen Winkworth collection, Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1795.

1063 Mrs. E. Prowse

A portrait of Queen Victoria composed of a written description of incidents in the Queen's life, by Gluck Rosenthal of Woolwich in 1849.

1064 Their Highnesses the Sultan and Sultana of Zanzibar

A two-handled ebony casket studded and mounted with silver and decorated with a design in silver of flowers and palm trees.

1065 Miss Jane Doig

Pink silk nightgown with lace motifs.

1066 Mrs. W. Napier and Mrs. A. C. Lewis

A white silk Chinese embroidered nightdress and petticoat.

1067 The Edinburgh Senior and Junior Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers

A selection of glass vases, fruit bowls, and ashtrays.

1068 Madame J. Charpentier

A silver fox and velvet muff.

1069 Miss Rose Harris

A leather handbag designed by the donor.

1070 The Earl and Countess Beauchamp

An agate jewel casket mounted with silver.

1071 The Girl Guides and Brownies of the Bahamas

A hand-made writing table set of tortoiseshell.

1072 The Lord and Lady Somerleyton and Family

Six bowls and saucers of old Lowestoft china.

C227969

1073 The Officers, Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Guardsmen serving in Coldstream Guards, Scots Guards, Irish Guards, Welsh Guards.

Dessert service and coffee cups and saucers, Imperial red and gold, with hand-painted crest of each of the five Regiments of the Brigade of Guards.

Dinner service, pale ivory ground and gold border, each piece bearing the crest of one of the five Regiments of the Brigade of Guards, in gold.

1074 The Hon. Julian Fane

Framed oil sketch by Wilson Steer.

1075 The City of Worcester

A breakfast service of Royal Worcester porcelain, of traditional early Worcester design in Royal blue and gold.

1076 Mr. John Grant

A Highland bagpipe composition by the donor, entitled " Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth's Wedding March," bound in blue calf, tooled with gold.

1077 Messrs. Catchpole and Williams

An engine-turned silver gilt snuff-box, the lid formed by a panel of agate.

1078 Miss Agnes Wigram

Miniature of a former Countess of Strathmore.

1079 The Worshipful Company of Carpenters

A tea service of Royal Worcester porcelain of scale-blue design with richly hand-painted panels.

1080 The Directors, Management and Workers of Lewis Falk, Limited, Letchworth

An ecru afternoon teacloth and napkins decorated with Richelieu work.

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1081 Admiral the Hon. Sir Herbert and Lady Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Mr. Richard Meade-Fetherstonhaugh

A plateau and coffee cups of Copeland willow pattern china.

1082 The Chairman and Members of the Bach Choir

A clock in a mahogany case with a silver plate bearing a dedicatory inscription.

1083 The People of St. Albans

A banded and inlaid satinwood table with one drawer, on taper legs.

1084 Mr. C. H. Chisholm

A Royal Stewart plaid scarf made on a hand loom by a Scot, the donor, in his eighty-eighth year.

1085 Colonel and Mrs. Humphrey Butler

A Vidor radio.

1086 Mr. Istvan Komaromy

A piece of glass sculpture, entitled "Leader," by the donor.

1087 The Lord Wolverton and The Hon. Esmé Glyn

An electric heater for breakfast dishes.

1088 The City of Oxford

18th Century mahogany tripod drum table with 8 drawers, red leather top on reeded legs.

1089 Mr. G. Mandt

Small oil painting of Romrod Castle by Professor Lanzendorf.

1090 The Viscountess Lee of Fareham

A bowl of Imperial white jade carved with a decoration of fruit, flowers, bats and lizards, Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1795.

C227971

1091 Sir Malcolm Sargent

His Master's Voice radiogramophone.

1092 "Felix"

Small gold bicycle mascot.

1093 General and Mrs. Eisenhower

A silver inscribed "Wedding Ring" ashtray.

1094 Mr. Eric Farmer

A pair of chased and embossed silver spoons.

1095 British Ex-Service Men in Greece

A two-handled Kepameikoe vase, hand-made in Athens, and bearing a classical design in white on a dark brown ground.

1096 Adele, Countess Cadogan

A rock crystal and silver mounted crucifix.

1097 The Headmistress, Staff and Girls of the Malvern Girls' College

A snakeskin handbag, and a silk brocade evening bag.

1098 The National Executive Council and Members, British Legion, Scotland

Leather case containing six ivory menu holders decorated with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1099 The Lord and Lady Rugby

Three green travelling rugs.

1100 The Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland and Lady Andrews

A Carrickmacross lace table centre and dinner mats.

1101 Sir John and The Lady Priscilla Aird

Set of four silver pepper dredgers with handles.

1102 The 500 Residents from 53 Different Countries at the International Language Club, Croydon

A circular silver salver on four feet, with a dedicatory inscription.

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C227972

1103 The People of Berkshire

A Chippendale mahogany pedestal writing desk with three drawers to frieze, the back and front with carved aprons, and the pedestals fitted with doors enclosing drawers.
An Adam carved mahogany elbow chair, the centre splat with an oval medallion and pierced ribbon loops, on square tapered legs, and the seat in green silk damask, *circa* 1780.
A silver four-bottle inkstand, with central wafer box and taper stick, London, 1802, by Peter, Ann, and William Bateman.
A pair of circular silver candlesticks, London, 1745, by George Boothby, and a tooled leather blotter.

1104 Mr. H. R. Jessop

Pair of George I silver spurs, London, *circa* 1725, probably made by Thomas Clark.

1105 Lieutenant The Marquess of Milford Haven, Royal Navy

A Decola record reproducer with radio unit, in Australian walnut cabinet.

1106 The Court of Assistants and Livery of The Worshipful Company of Glass Sellers

A fine hand-made crystal rose bowl on sapphire blue base, engraved with the Arms of The Princess Elizabeth and on the reverse the Insignia of the Worshipful Company of Glass Sellers.

1107 The Royal Air Force

A Steinway grand piano, and cheque for The Princess Elizabeth's personal use.

1108 The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk

Pair of silver candlesticks.

1109 The Trustees and Secretary to the Ascot Authority, The Staff of Ascot Racecourse and the Ascot Office, St. James's Palace

A pair of prismatic binoculars.

C227973

1110 His Holiness Pope Pius XII

A set of 12 old Dresden two-handled chocolate cups, covers and saucers decorated with reserves of flowers, in colours, on a Royal blue ground. The handles and insides of the cups and covers finished in finely burnished gold, the service contained in the original fitted cases, *circa* 1780.

1111 The Lord and Lady Elphinstone and Family

Set of silver under plates with coat-of-arms, made by Henry Tatton of Edinburgh.

1112 The Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

A William and Mary long case clock in walnut and seaweed marqueterie case, with brass dial, chiming and striking movement by T. Windmills, London, *circa* 1705
and
An illuminated scroll.

1113 Miss C. Black

An antique silver punch ladle in a decorated box.

1114 The Earl and Countess of Airlie

18th Century mahogany tripod pole screen, the feet in the shape of goat hooves and the tapestry panel bearing a view of Glamis Castle.

1115 The County of Angus

An 18th Century mahogany serpentine dressing chest, with canted corners and fret decoration.
Regency rosewood sofa table on lyre and supports
Mahogany chair in the Hepplewhite style with needlework seat.
A white and gold French china coffee service decorated with sprays of flowers and an oval mahogany tea tray with brass handles.

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C227974

1116 The Master of Sinclair

A small fireside chair upholstered in pink satin.

1117 The Women's Land Army

A Sheraton clock on bracket feet, by George Clerke, London, in a mahogany balloon-shaped case, with satinwood inlay, the top surmounted by an ormolu draped urn, *circa* 1785

and

A Sheraton oval mahogany breakfast table banded with various woods, on reeded tripod with brass paw castor feet, *circa* 1790.

1118 His Majesty's Civil and Foreign Services

Pair of large silver salvers of plain design with bath borders and scroll feet.

1119 Mrs. E. Stirton

Russian silver snuff-box of niello work enamel, the lid and base engraved with small views.

1120 The National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs

A Chesterfield settee and two easy chairs with two sets of chintz covers.

1121 Miss V. Winter

Knife with agate handle and jewelled sheath.

1122 Mr. P. Stewart

Three gold safety pins in case.

1123 The Lord and Lady Herbert

A pigskin jewel case.

1124 Colonel and Mrs. R. Chrichton

Old Sheffield plate pen tray *circa* 1815.

C227975

1125 Mr. F. Spencer Chapman

Book, "Helvellyn to Himalaya," by the donor.

1126 The Hon. Lady Baillie and Captain and Mrs. Geoffrey Russell

Miniature in blue enamel, gold and pearl frame.

1127 Mr. Fred Emny

Box of Havana cigars.

1128 Lieutenant-Commander and Mrs. E. F. Hamilton-Meikle

Pierced silver sugar tongs.

1129 Mr. N. Y. Nutt

A hurricane pipe.

1130 Mr. O. Haas-Heye

A hand-woven wool scarf.

1131 The Prince and Princess Vsevolode of Russia

Match holder in the form of a toadstool mounted with a silver frog.

1132 The Portuguese Government

Large silver cup and cover made in Lisbon. Decorated with maritime motifs, shells, dolphins and algæ on a background of waves symbolizing the ocean by which Great Britain and Portugal are joined together, and which has played so important a part in the histories of the two countries.

1133 Captain Charles Hughes and Miss Hughes

A pair of hand-woven wool bedspreads.

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C227976

1134 Mr. F. Stocco

A rheoboam of liqueur brandy.

1135 Mr. Emile Littler and the "Annie Get Your Gun" Company, London Coliseum

Silver sugar castor.

1136 The Royal School, Bath

Book, "The Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm," bound red Niger leather, tooled with a design of roses in gold

1137 The Swiss Federal Council

A platinum and diamond bracelet watch and lengths of Swiss muslin and St. Gall embroideries.

1138 The Norfolk Federation of Women's Institutes

A table screen in the Chinese style, a hand-worked panel in petit-point, framed in mahogany.

1139 Sir Langelot and Lady Oliphant

A fitted wicker picnic basket.

1140 The Members of the Finnish British Society

Book "Finland and the Finns," bound in birchwood.

1141 The Members of The Royal Windsor Horse Show Club

Books, "The Authentic Arabian Horse" by Lady Wentworth and "Thoroughbred Racing Stock."

1142 The Directors and Employees of Wookey Hole Caves, Limited

A piece of conglomerate from the Great Cave of Wookey Hole, mounted as a paperweight, with dedicatory inscription.

C227977

1143 Miss Nan Coton

Green suede handbag, grey suede handbag and black calf bag.

1144 Miss Dorothy M. Taylor

Book, "Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens," by J. M. Barrie.

1145 The Staff and Students of the Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine

Fifteen yards of pure English crepe de chine.

1146 The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York

A pair of old Sheffield plate three-light candelabra by J. Green of Sheffield, 1812, and a smaller pair of two-light candelabra by J. Parsons of Sheffield, 1790.

1147 The Staff and Children of the Schools on the Sandringham Estate

Two Books of Common Prayer bound in red morocco.

1148 The Lady Margaret Hawkins, The Lady Sybil Phipps, The Lady Mary Burghley, and The Lady Angela Dawnay

Book, "The Ladies Flower Garden," by Mrs. Loudon, bound half morocco.

1149 The Greek Community in London

A Charles II silver tankard, maker: O. S. London, 1684.

1150 Mrs. P. Paul

Book, "Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," extracts from Queen Victoria's journals, edited by Arthur Helps.

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C227978

1151 The Marchioness Curzon of Kedleston

A pair of Sheffield candlesticks of Adam design.

1152 Mr. and Mrs. H. Sparling

Embroidered handkerchief.

1153 Sir Andrew and Lady Duncan

A coffee set in a leather case, Spode Copeland's china, apple-green and gold, with a decoration of bouquets of flowers.

1154 Miss E. F. V. Morris

A framed water colour sketch of Kensington Palace.

1155 Engineer-Lieutenant A. J. Paterson

Framed painting of H.M.S. Repulse.

1156 Le Capitaine Robert Th. Debus

A Tanagra statuette, 3rd Century B.C.

1157 Miss E. E. Milner

Two mezzotints after Hoppner at Windsor Castle, "H.R.H. The Princess Sophia" and "H.R.H. The Princess Mary."

1158 Mr. Nick Power

Gramophone records made by the donor.

1159 The British Community in Iraq

A Carpet

1160 The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the City of Macclesfield

Silk brocade patterned in rose and blue on a white ground of which this is the only length, together with plain matching silk, in a transparent case.

C 227979

1161 Women's Voluntary Services

A Frigidaire.

1162 The President, Officers and Members of The Electrical Association for Women

A "Thermega" electrically-heated blanket.

1163 Miss Ethel Radcliffe

A late 17th Century walnut lace box, decorated with oystershell veneers, and containing an old Brussels lace tablecloth.

1164 The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians in Great Britain

A plain two-handled rectangular silver tea tray, engraved with the Arms of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the date 20th November, 1947.

1165 Ex-Service Men and Women of St. Dunstan's

An electric table lamp and shade in polished plastic.

1166 The Children's Christian Motor League

An inscribed copy of The Holy Bible bound in light blue morocco and bearing the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth.

1167 The People of Gibraltar

A silver dinner service comprising four shaped oval meat dishes with pearl border, eight second course dishes with four covers, a soup tureen, two sauce boats and a souffle dish.

1168 Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Oliver and Dame Beryl Oliver

Book, "The Pilgrim's Progress" by John Bunyan with a "Life of John Bunyan" by Robert Southey bound dark blue calf, tooled with gold.

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C227980

1169 The Earl and Countess Spencer

A mahogany round top mantel clock, by Gudgeon of Bury.

1170 The People of Tortola, Virgin Gorda, Anegada and Jost van Dykes

Twelve sets of hand-made lace table mats of different designs contained in a native wicker case.

1171 British Subjects from various Nations of the Commonwealth, and Friends in Portuguese East Africa

A gold and jewelled brooch convertible into two clips, typical of Portuguese workmanship, and a cheque.

1172 The Town of Alcester, Warwickshire

An engraved silver salver on 3 feet pierced border and festoon decoration.

1173 Miss Harriet Cohen

An album of gramophone records of the Oratorio "The Dream of Gerontius."

1174 The People of The County of Norfolk and of the County Borough of Great Yarmouth

A set of four silver circular salts and spoons made by Wakelin and Garrard in 1795.

1175 Captain and Mrs. Roger Humphreys

A blotter in an old leather binding tooled with gold.

1176 The Bishop of Sodor and Man and Mrs. Ralph Taylor

Framed watercolour drawing "Sulby Glen in the Isle of Man," by John E. Aitken.

1177 Miss MacDonald of Tote

A white wool hand-tufted rug.

C227981

1178 The Port of London Authority

A framed aquatint showing The Pool of London, drawn and engraved by John Swertner in 1801.

1179 The Alake of Abeokuta

A necklace, bracelets, earrings and brooch in gold filigree. A native beadwork bag, and two inscribed tusks.

1180 The Earl and Countess of Dartmouth

Four shaped square silver dishes, with gadroon borders, London, 1771, by Thomas Heming, the centres engraved with the Arms of George III enclosed by the Garter motto.

1181 Their Highnesses The Rulers of the Malay States

A congratulatory address contained in an ivory holder and two complete costumes, one for The Princess inscribed Elizabeth, and one for Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

1182 Mr. and Mrs. F. Bilton-Watts

An ivory crucifix.

1183 The Island of Sark

A silver coffee service in a leather case, and a walnut bracket clock, the dial decorated with brass tracery.

1184 The Inhabitants of the Islands of Guernsey and Alderney

Six graduated silver gilt milk cans in the traditional style in use in the Channel Islands, in a blue leather case bearing the seal of the Bailiwick of Guernsey.

1185 The City of Bristol

An 18th century cabinet secretaire containing a collection of Bristol Delft earthenware, porcelain and glass.

1186 The "Celer et Audax Club" of The King's Royal Rifle Corps

A pair of Chinese white porcelain cockerels on rock-work bases, the combs glazed red and the rock-work brown, Ch'ien Lung, 1736–1795.

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1187 The President of The Czechoslovak Republic and Madame Benes

A service of glass for twelve persons of pure Bohemian crystal decorated with chased and burnished gold, and richly engraved with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1188 The Chairman and Directors of The Great Western Railway

Two satinwood tables from the Royal Saloon used on the Great Western Railway by Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

1189 The People of Northern Ireland

A complete set of Irish household linen, bed linen and table linen, towels, kitchen towels, and fine embroidered handkerchiefs.

1190 Students of Bedford College for Women (University of London)

An 18th century mahogany bow-fronted chest of three drawers, brass lion mask handles.

1191 The Government and People of France

Sevres dinner service, each piece decorated with gilt scrolls surmounted by The Princess Elizabeth's cypher on a white ground enclosed within a broad border of mist blue overlaid with a tracery of finely burnished gold.

1192 The Citizens of Newcastle upon Tyne

An oval silver two handled bowl, with a pierced rim and applied decorations of masks and festoons, the handles in the form of sea horses, and three circular shallow silver dishes with narrow bands of chased decoration in the Celtic style the centres engraved with the City's Arms.

1193 The Rayon Industry of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, through the British Rayon Federation

A collection of furnishing fabrics in gold, red rose, duck-egg blue and cream, and a collection of lingerie fabrics in apricot, pale rose, turquoise blue and scarlet.

1194 The National Association of Training Corps for Girls

An English china tea and coffee service, with borders of lavender blue on a white ground embellished with gold.

1195 The African Ladies' Social Club on behalf of the Women. of Onitsha, Southern Nigeria

An Akwete cloth and a brooch of African gold hand-woven.

1196 The Elder Brethren of the Trinity House

A pair of Georgian silver entree dishes with gadroon borders, the covers engraved with contemporary Armorials and the Arms of the Trinity House.

1197 The President of the Republic of Mexico

A copy in gold and turquoises of a pectoral considered to be one of the best examples of the art of the pre-Colombian culture of the Mixtecas.

1198 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Basil and Lady Bartlett

A case in pale blue silk fitted with a collection of perfumes, the flagons made in the form of chessmen.

1199 The City of Birmingham

An inscribed two handled silver tray, kettle and tea set of cushion-shaped design fluted and richly decorated with flat chasing after the style of Paul de Lamerie.

1200 The Rev. Robert and Mrs. Hyde

A bath sponge.

1201 The Officers and Other Ranks, The 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars

A pierced silver sweet basket by E. Aldridge, London, 1765, engraved with a dedicatory inscription.

1202 Mrs. M. V. Boyle-Lawrence

An old English amethyst glass bell.

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C227984

1203 Mrs. McLeod Braddell and Members of the Harman Family

Antique silver Warwick frame with three castors and two bottles, made in London by Jabez and Thos. Daniel, *circa* 1765.

1204 Madame Regis de Oliveira

Black antelope bag with gold fob, engraved with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1205 Mr. and Mrs. E. Snowman

A two-handled silver inkstand.

1206 Admiral Sir Ralph and Lady Leatham

A length of fine wool material.

1207 The Dowager Countess of Moray

Books, "The Bab Ballads" and "The Savoy Operas," by W. S. Gilbert, bound green morocco, tooled with gold.

1208 Hong Zang Ladies' Dress Company

A richly embroidered Chinese royal ceremonial dress of the classical style contained in a carved camphor-wood casket.

1209 The President of The Chinese Republic and Madame Chiang Kai Shek

Dinner service.

1210 Mr. and Mrs. Habib I. Rahimtoola

A gold embroidered sari.

1211 Mahatma Gandhi

A fringed lacework cloth made out of yarn spun by the donor on his own spinning wheel.

1212 The Prime Minister of the Dominion of India

Book, "The Discovery of India," by the donor and a length of gold and coloured brocade.

C227985

1213 His Highness The Maharaja of Kapurthala

A hemstitched bedspread embroidered in silk in soft colours.

1214 The Personal and Secretariat Officer Staff of the Governor General of India

An inscribed silver cigarette box.

1215 The Dominion of India

Two pairs of jewelled anklets set with brilliants and enamel drops mounted as a necklace.
Silver figure of the god Shiva.

1216 The Hon. Mr. and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan

A silver tissue sari dress.

1217 The Dominion of Pakistan

A carved and pierced ivory casket.

1218 His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner

A carved ivory tusk for use as a lamp, on inscribed plinth.

1219 Her Highness The Maharanee of Bikaner.

A lamp pattern carpet made in Bikaner from an old Persian design.

1220 Messrs. Shroffs, Limited

An Indian carpet, and 101 carpets to be distributed, in the name of The Princess Elizabeth and on her recommendation, to couples who have married in the same month as herself.

1221 The Maharaja of Patiala

A circular ivory table carved with floral motifs.

1222 Mr. and Mrs. James de Rothschild

Framed oil painting of "Leeds" by J. Wootton, a horse given by Queen Anne to Prince George of Denmark, 1705

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C227986

1223 The Ukranian Prisoners of War of No. 79 Prisoner of War Camp, Coningsby, Lincolnshire

A handmade carved casket, inlaid with small coloured beads in a conventional design.

1224 The Animal Defenders of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

A framed oil painting by Nigel Mould of Her Majesty The Queen's corgis, "Crackers and Sue."

1225 Miss Cruttwell Abbott.

An 18th century mahogany sofa table with one drawer, on tripod base with brass claw feet.

1226 The British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers Association

A selection of domestic electrical appliances, and an illuminated address contained in a red leather blotter, bearing The Princess Elizabeth's cypher in burnished gold.

1227 The Caxton Club for Children, Warwick

A copy of the historic Saxon chair now in the Lord Leycester Hospital, Warwick.

1228 M. Jean De Blieux

A model in sugar made by the donor of the state coach, horses, postillions, footmen, and Yeomen of the Guard.

1229 The Isle of Man

An oak chest, containing four rugs, and a large selection of coloured and white blankets.

1230 Mr. William Browne

A set of horse brasses bearing royal portraits and a crown.

1231 Lord Roberts' Workshops

A wicker garden table, a boot scraper, a complete set of brushes and a nest of tables.

C227987

1232 The Committee, Staff and Trainees of St. Loyes College, Exeter

A clock with movement by Grant of London, *circa* 1720 in a mahogany domed case with brass inlay, made by the Trainees.

1233 Mr. P. J. Paige

An old Chinese porcelain plate, the centre decorated with figures in a landscape, enclosed in a border of gold tracery.

1234 The People of Western Australia

Two specimen pieces of polished Jarrah wood, with which a room is to be panelled in The Princess Elizabeth's house.

1235 The Borough of Bewdley

Three rose baskets with an inscribed plate.

1236 The Peoples of the Colony of Singapore

A golden jewel casket, on four paw feet, the lid decorated with a map of Singapore in relief and the back and front with Armorials bearings; the casket is contained within a teak chest.

1237 The Tenants, Household and Estate Staffs of St. Pauls Walden Bury

A silver salver with scalloped edge and shell decoration on three scroll feet.

1238 The Studio Limited

Book, "Design This Day," by W. Dorwin Teague.

1239 The Board of Directors and Staff of Fortnum and Mason Limited

A bronze empire inkstand, the lid surmounted by a kneeling classical figure.

1240 The Royal Empire Society

A monograph describing, and a framed impression of an English walnut dower chest inlaid with precious woods symbolising all the lands of the Empire.

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1241 Sir John and Lady Dashwood, Mr. Francis Dashwood, Mr. John Dashwood and the Hon. Morys and Mrs. Bruce

A pair of French vases, decorated by Jacob Petit, converted for use as table lamps, with ivory silk shades.

1242 The Government and the People of British Columbia

A richly chased silver tea service, copied from a design of 1720, made from British Columbian silver, each piece engraved with the crest of the Province, and the tray bearing a dedicatory inscription.

1243 The Ostrich Farmers of Oudtshoorn, South Africa

Two ostrich feather shoulder capes, one in white and black and the second, pale lemon.

1244 The Lord and Lady Greville

A pair of long stemmed cut crystal goblets.

1245 Major-General F. A. Maguire and Family

Two framed lithograph views of Sydney in 1855.

1246 Field Marshal The Viscount Alexander of Tunis and The Viscountess Alexander

A porphyry tazza.

1247 The Earl and Countess of Radnor

A pair of rectangular ormolu wall mirrors with candelabra in the Florentine style.

1248 Mary, Countess Howe

A pair of pink alabaster table lamps and pink silk shades

1249 Mr. Samuel Seabury

A Staffordshire figure of Queen Victoria.

1250 Masters Richard, Christopher and Stuart Brown

A set of lawn serviettes embroidered in colours.

1251 Major John and the Hon. Mrs. Wills

A carved white alabaster lamp and pink silk tasselled shade

1252 Royal Society of Arts

A gold box, designed by Mr. Robert Goodden, R.D.I.

1253 The Scottish Football Association

A pair of three light silver candelabra of Georgian design engraved with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1254 The National Council of Women of Great Britain

A Georgian table clock in black domed case with fretted brass decoration, and a Hepplewhite mahogany loveseat upholstered in pink flowered brocade.

1255 The Silk Industry of Great Britain

A collection of silk fabrics, brocades and nylon stockings.

1256 Mrs. D. E. Wynward Clapson

A bust of The Princess Elizabeth, by the donor.

1257 The People of Jersey

A Queen Anne silver rose bowl of fluted design, with lion mask handles on an inscribed glass base, dated 1706.

1258 The Directors, Staff and Workpeople of Gladwin, Limited

A silver tray and twelve silver cocktail cups.

1259 Some Ladies of Malta

A tablecloth, napkins and tablemats of lace and embroidery; incorporated in the design are The Royal Arms, the cyphers of The Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, the Maltese Cross and the Decoration of The George Cross, and an illuminated book bearing the signatures of the donors.

1260 Miss Elizabeth Williams

A handknitted silk and wool, fringed scarf.

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C227990

1261 Mr. and Mrs. Blevins Davis

Three silver tea caddies with a rococo design of scrollwork and flowers, by Francis Butty and Nickolas Dumee, London 1767.

1262 The Latvian Displaced Persons in Germany

A pair of handmade evening shoes and an album of views in Latvia.

1263 The Anhwei Tea Company, Limited

Two chests of Kee Mun tea.

1264 The Inhabitants of the Borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed

A framed watercolour drawing of Berwick-upon-Tweed by Frank Wood.

1265 The Patients, Staff and Committee of The Princess Elizabeth Orthopaedic Hospital, Exeter, and Angela Orthopaedic Home

Framed watercolour, "Dartmoor, late autumn," by Robert Worthington.

1266 The English Women's Bowling Association

A carved mahogany cheval screen with panel of old needlework and an oval mahogany table with plain top and carved apron, on ball and claw feet.

1267 Madame M. Sèzille

Sprays of French handmade flowers.

1268 The Inhabitants of the Borough of King's Lynn

A carved Dutch rosewood escritoire, the interior with inlay decoration.

1269 The Earl and Countess De La Warr

Book, "Lives of The Queens of England," in ten Volumes, by Agnes Strickland, bound half red morocco.

1270 Mr. H. Creemer Cooper

One old Crown Derby cup and saucer decorated with landscapes in medallions on a white ground enclosed in borders of burnished gold.

C227991

1271 The Earl of Dalkeith and The Lady Caroline Scott

A Georgian silver table bell.

1272 The Lord Wyfold

Pair of old Irish cut glass boat-shaped fruit bowls.

1273 Mr. F. Kolbrych

Blue cut glass flower vase decorated with flowers in medallions.

1274 Messrs. Waite and Son, Limited.

Cream porcelain table lamp with cream painted shade.

1275 The Stewards and Members of the Royal Calcutta Turf Club

Two pairs of coloured sporting prints, Doncaster Races, 1833, and Cambridgeshire Stakes, 1850.

1276 The Antwerp British Colony Association

Book, "Le Grand Thèatre Sacré du Duché de Brabant," in two volumes, published 1729.

1277 The Hon. Mrs. John Bowes Lyon

Two silver snuff boxes, one inlaid with a chequer pattern and one engraved with landscapes in niello work.

1278 Members of The British Commonwealth resident in Cuba

A cabinet of Corona cigars, the lid carved in relief with the Royal Arms, and the interior bearing a dedicatory inscription.

1279 The Chairman and Representative Officers of the Forum Club

A coloured statuette of Ceres by A. Acheson.

1280 Mr. Frederick F. Gardel

One of 1,000 dolls presented by the donor for The Princess Elizabeth to give to the children of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in London.

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1281 The British Community in the Republic of El Salvador

A crocodile leather case containing twelve gold coffee spoons, the handle of each spoon terminating in the form of a coffee berry.

1282 Vicomte and Vicomtesse De La Brière

A flagon of eau de cologne and a bottle of flèches perfume.

1283 The Central Council and Members of the Overseas League at home and abroad

An inscribed engine-turned silver cigarette box and a diamond, ruby and sapphire clip brooch in the form of the badge of the League.

1284 The Royal Observer Corps

A plain silver inkstand on paw feet, the inside of the lid bearing the crest of the Corps, and a dedicatory inscription, and a set of four silver candlesticks in George II style, engraved with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1285 The Lady Elizabeth and The Lady Anne Cavendish

A silver gilt vinaigrette filled with solid perfume.

1286 The Lady Elizabeth Lambart

A model of a horse forming a table lamp with shade.

1287 Mr. John Waud

A framed watercolour sketch of The Princess Elizabeth.

1288 H.H. The Maharao Raja of Bundi

An antique Rajput headpiece of gold set with pearls, rubies and diamonds. This headpiece, traditionally worn by the Rulers of Bundi, has now been mounted as a brooch.

1289 H.H. the Ameer of Bahawalpur

Six rectangular silver entree dishes and covers engraved with the Coat of Arms of The Princess Elizabeth.

1290 The Royal Greek Government

Three handled black ground attic amphora of the fifth century B.C.

1291 Mr. C. A. Waud

Glass cigarette box the lid decorated with a design of cupids.

1292 The Sixteenth Fifth Lancers

The badge of the regiment in gold, rubies, enamel and diamonds.

1293 The Executive Committee and Headquarters Staff of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Book, "The Romantic Life of Shelley and the Sequel," by Francis Gribble, and "The Oxford Companion to Music," by Percy Scholes, bound morocco tooled with gold.

1294 The Members, Officials and Staffs of Their Majesties' Households and the Households of The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, The Princess Royal and The Duchess of Kent.

An old Church Gresley dessert service decorated with named flowers in canary yellow and gilt borders.

1295 The Lord and Lady Jessel

A diamond and sapphire pendant in the form of a star.

1296 Air Marshal Sir Alec and Lady Coryton

A Georgian silver boat-shaped pen tray.

1297 Colonel Oliver and the Lady Joan Birkbeck

A pigskin handbag with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher in gold.

1298 The Lord and Lady Rowallan

A white lace fan with carved ivory sticks.

1299 Mrs. Clarke

Pink quilted silk handkerchief sachet and lace bordered handkerchief.

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C 227994

1300 The Viscount and Viscountess Camrose
Louis XIV carved and gilt wall mirror with a richly carved cresting.

1301 The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere and the Lady Alice Egerton
A four tier mahogany Georgian bookstand with one drawer.

1302 The Members of the West Norfolk Fox Hounds
A pair of old Sheraton mahogany "D" shaped writing tables, banded with rosewood on square tapered legs, *circa* 1800.

1303 The Lord and Lady Newall, the Hon. Georgiana Newall and the Hon. Diana Newall
A pair of Georgian mahogany chairs with pierced splats, upholstered in velvet.

1304 The National Fire Service
Pair of old Adam cheval screens with oval panels worked in embroidered silk on blue ground, with painted white frames, *circa* 1780.

1305 Mr. Horace Smith and Miss Sybil Smith
A pigskin case fitted with shoehorns and bootjacks.

1306 Colonel Sir Dermot and Lady McMorrough Kavanagh
An old Waterford glass decanter cut arched panels diamonds and flutes, *circa* 1810.

1307 The Hon. Mrs. P. Pleydell Bouverie
A blue leather fitted dressing case.

1308 Mr. P. J. Burns
A bottle of rum.

1309 The Lady Pamela Mountbatten
A cigarette case of Jaipur enamel.

C 227995

1310 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Johnson
A tall cut glass flower vase.

1311 Mr. L. P. Allen
A pullover, golf jacket, socks, golf stockings and shawl.

1312 Madame Poklewaka-Koziell
A case of cigarette extinguishers.

1313 Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Dalrymple Hamilton
A fishing rod.

1314 The Army
Framed oil painting.

1315 General M. Melas
A Greek silver chased bowl standing on three feet.

1316 The Governors of the British Broadcasting Corporation
An H.M.V. combined radiogram and television set.

1317 The Viscount and Viscountess Allendale, the Hon. Wentworth Beaumont, the Viscountess Morpeth, the Hon. Richard Beaumont, the Hon. Nicholas Beaumont and the Hon. Matthew Beaumont
A Bluejohn or Derbyshire spar tazza.

1318 Miss Simopoulos
A framed watercolour drawing.

1319 Lieutenant J. M. A. Parker, Royal Navy, and Mrs. Parker
Two framed watercolour drawings by E. Tufnell of H.M.S. *Whelp*.

1320 Mr. R. E. Tackley
An oak tie box and hand woven tie.

1321 Mr. Martin Attwater
A pair of chased silver cups, with covers and saucers, the covers surmounted by a bird, and the cups having scroll handles.

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C227996

1322 The Mayor and Corporation of Corfu

A two handled silver Tray with a pierced border and gadroon edge bearing a dedicatory inscription surmounted by the Arms of Corfu and an illuminated Address in a velvet case.

1323 The Mayor and Corporation of Athens

Two 5th Century B.C. Powder Bowls and a statuette of a seated figure in terra-cotta contained in an olive wood box.

1324 The Thursday Club

A plain Silver cigarette box with a domed lid, bearing a dedicatory inscription and facsimile signatures of the donors.

1325 Miss Ada Farthing

A Staffordshire figure of a Cow and a Lamb.

1326 Dr. and Mrs. R. Aris

Book, "Nelson," by Carola Oman.

1327 Professor J. Plesch

Book, "Janos, the Story of a Doctor," by the donor.

1328 The Greek Ambassador and Embassy Staff

An 18th Century traditional Greek hand embroidered Cover from the Island of Naxos.

1329 Mrs. Cobina Wright

An inscribed gold pencil in a case, a silk skirt and top, and a statuette in colour by Tony Duquette.

1330 The British Commonwealth Society of Bolivia

Two fur rugs.

1331 His Highness The Nizam of Hyderabad

A Diamond Tiara, English Rose and foliage design and a Diamond Necklace.

C227997

1332 His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia

A pair of silver fruit dishes on fluted and engraved bases, with fluted borders and plain centres, each dish bearing the Arms of the Commonwealth. Two circular silver salvers with pierced borders of floral design and bearing the Arms of the Commonwealth, each piece engraved with a dedicatory inscription.

1333 Messrs. Cartier Limited

A table clock with a double dial, nephrite and gold with the Princess Elizabeth's cypher in diamonds.

1334 Miss Katie Grouse

A cheque.

1335 Their Highnesses The Prince and Princess of Berar

A George II Silver gilt Centrepiece of oval form on scroll feet chased with cherubs' masks and flowers supporting an oval bowl shaped centre with a shaped bowl above chased with the same designs, and four scrolling branches each with circular dish, similarly chased, on three foliage feet, the branches removable and replaced by small floral stops, by Paul de Lamerie, 1748, on shaped oblong plinth by Paul Storr, 1816.

1336 The Lord Inverforth

A parcel gilt centrepiece with central figure surrounded by three shells and surmounted by a crystal bowl.

1337 The Old Comrades of the Life Guards and the Royal Horse Guards

An equestrian silver figure of Her Majesty Queen Victoria on an ebony plinth with inscription.

1338 All Ranks of the Royal Horse Guards

An equestrian silver figure of a Royal Horse Guard on an ebony plinth with an inscription.

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C227998

1339 All Ranks of The Life Guards

An equestrian silver figure of a Life Guard on an ebony plinth with an inscription.

1340 Mr. Jack Beresford and Partners of Beresford and Hicks

A semi-circular walnut card table of Queen Ann design.

1341 The City of Aberdeen

A walnut cocktail cabinet on a stand with elaborately chased lock plates and hinges containing a set of English cut glass engraved with the Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

A settee and two easy chairs upholstered in green silk brocade and four walnut card chairs upholstered in green.

1342 Major Arthur Penn

An old Worcester Tea Service decorated with a Catherine wheel pattern in spiral panels, Dr. Wall period.

1343 The Netherlands Government

A Service of glass for thirty-six persons, each piece engraved with the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth.

1344 An Anonymous Czechoslovak Subject

An Afternoon tea cloth of hand-made lace.

1345 The Austrian Federal Government

A Tapestry from the Austrian State Gobelin Workshop which depicts the "Gloriette," a chateau de plaisance in the park of Schonbrunn, made in 1937.

1346 The Ahmediyya Community in Great Britain

A Copy of The Holy Quran bound blue morocco tooled with gold and bearing the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth.

1347 Sir Kenneth and Lady Clark

An old Sevrès écuélle painted with panels of cupids on a royal blue ground embellished with tracery in burnished gold, *circa* 1770.

C227999

1348 Mrs. R. Benham

A Diamond wrist watch.

1349 The Citizens of Bath

Framed sepia Drawing "Brighton Beach," by J. Constable, R.A., and an inscribed silver cigar box engraved with the City's Arms.

1350 Major J. Stirling-Gilchrist and Dona Odilia de Ortuzar Stirling-Gilchrist

A Royal Doulton Tea Service.

1351 The Viscount and Viscountess Devonport

A pair of facet-cut stem wine glasses, Bristol, 1770.

1352 Mrs. F. Uniacke

A torquoise cigarette box mounted with brilliants.

1353 The Royal Academy of Dramatic Art

Book, Henry IV, by William Shakespeare, illustrated by Grützner.

1354 Senorita Martha Gibson Molina

A handknitted bed jacket.

1355 The Girl Guides of Malaya

A chased silver flower ring.

1356 St. John and Red Cross Hospital Library

A Commonplace Book.

1357 The Polish Red Cross Warsaw H.Q. Delegation

A case of Polish Dolls in costume, representing a Polish harvesting scene.

1358 The Personnel and Workers of the Paris House of Molyneux

A Service de table embroidered with a design of nasturtiums.

1359 The Pupils of Royal Free Junior School, Windsor

A hand decorated parchment Blotter.

1360 Mrs. Bessie Gunn

A Queen Elizabeth "Chichester" Half-penny.

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C228000

1361 Mr. W. F. Robson

A wedding cake.

1362 Miss E. Winn

A lacquered wine coaster with lion mask handles.

1363 The Peoples of the Western Pacific High Commission Territories

A stamp album containing complete mint sheets of various denominations of stamps of the areas contained in the Territories.

1364 The Scholars and Oppidans of Eton College

An old English bracket clock and bracket in Amboyna wood, having an arched drawer with calendar and a fitted drawer in the plinth, *circa* 1730.

1365 The Union of South Africa

Gold two-handled salver.

1366 The Transvaal Province

An inkstand, paper knife and paper weight, cut and moulded by South African craftsmen from Transvaal marble and gold.

1367 Mr. Norman Hartnell

Engraved mother-of-pearl and ormolu French Empire jewel casket with snake handles, which once belonged to the Empress Josephine.

1368 Mrs. L. H. Jackson

A pair of Queen Victoria's white satin slippers and patterns of dresses worn by herself and the Royal children, together with one glove.

1369 Mrs. Cooke, Parents, Wives and Children of H.M.S. Barham

A large glass flower vase.

1370 Sir Louis and Lady Greig and Family

A set of silver preserve spoons.

C228001

1371 The People of the Administrative County of Devon

A Queen Anne fluted Monteath Bowl with two lion mask handles, Exeter 1708, made by J. Elston, on ebony plinth with dedicatory inscription.

1372 The Chairman, The Executive Committee and Members of the Anglo-Hellenic League in London

A pair of George II candlesticks with shaped circular bases, a snuffer stand and a pair of snuffers, London, 1741–42, by John Cafe.

1373 The Representatives of Ultra Works

A portable wireless set.

1374 The President of the Italian Republic

A seventeenth century Verona cassone, or wedding chest, of walnut and oak, carved with classical scenes in high relief and resting on lion's paws. The chest contains a variety of pieces of the purest silk woven by the most famous factories in Italy.

1375 The Members of The Empire Council of The British Empire Service League

Barometer and thermometer with brass dial in a sheraton mahogany banjo-shaped case, inlaid with shells, *circa* 1780.

1376 Mr. Hector MacLean and the people of Iona

An Iona green stone, a talisman for sailors.

1377 Dr. Wellington Koo and Madame Koo

A porcelain sweetmeat set, Chien Lung, 1736--1796, in a circular case, the boss carved with the Chinese characters for happiness.

1378 Mr. and Mrs. Muhandiram, H.V.P. Ratnavira and Family

Ivory jewel casket standing on four elephant feet, mounted with gold and semi-precious stones, and carved with religious subjects and a carved ivory elephant mounted with gold and semi-precious stones.

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C228002

1379 Mrs. A. O'Connor

A Staffordshire jug decorated with a design of foliage and game on a mauve ground.

1380 The People of The Portuguese Colony of Mozambique

A square silver casket with a leaf border design and bearing The Princess Elizabeth's cypher. The interior of the casket is lined with ivory and gold, and contains a set of ecru afternoon tea cloths, handmade in Portuguese pillow-lace, and an inscribed silver salver with scalloped edge, and shell and foliage decoration, and a tall silver vase with a like decoration.

1381 Sir Robert and Lady Bird

A model eighteenth century circular mahogany tripod table with gadroon border and a Georgian miniature silver bowl.

1382 The Commanding Officer and Officers of H.M.S. "Whelp," 1944–46

A circular silver salver with scalloped edge and gadroon border, engraved with the badge of H.M.S. "Whelp" and a dedicatory inscription.

1383 The Members of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League

A gold maple leaf brooch set with diamonds and bearing the badge of the League in enamel and diamonds, and an illuminated address.

1384 The Captain (D), Commanding Officers and Officers, 27th Destroyer Flotilla

A mahogany shield bearing the badges of the ships in the Flotilla.

1385 Dr. and Madame H. H. Kung

Pale water green jade presentation box of "Good Wishes." The box is carved in high and low relief, with a combination of Buddhist and Taoist emblems, bestowing happy omens and good wishes upon the recipient.

C228003

1386 The Municipality of Paris

A leather dressing case bearing the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth, and fitted with tortoiseshell dressing table set, each piece decorated with the Arms of the City of Paris in gold.

1387 His Highness The Nawab Ruler of Bhopal

A pair of oval silver gilt wine coolers, with applied palm leaf and vine decoration, London, 1805, by D. Scott and B. Smith.

A set of four George II silver candlesticks, London, 1738, by Thomas Farrer, with three light branches, George III, 1764, by John Swift, all finely chased and engraved.

1388 The City of Cardiff

A George III silver salver, London, 1800, with a pierced and chased border, engraved on the under side with a dedicatory inscription, four silver goblets and a silver wine ewer, Victorian.

1389 The People of Ipswich

An Irish silver cake basket by James Fry, Dublin, 1802, engraved with the Arms of The Borough and a dedicatory inscription.

The citizens of Ipswich further intend to add a Princess Elizabeth Wing to the Homes erected as a memorial to King George V.

1390 African "Other Ranks" of The Royal West African Frontier Force.

The palm tree crest of the West Africa Command in silver, with a silver snuff box on the base, George IV, 1826, paid for entirely by African soldiers, who each voluntarily contributed towards it, one penny.

1391 The Inhabitants of the Borough of Huntingdon

An inscribed circular silver salver bearing the Arms of the borough, with shell and scroll edge.

1392 The Children of the Borough of St. Marylebone

A Cona coffee percolator in a red morocco case with a silver plate bearing a dedicatory inscription.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

1393 Richard Crittall and Company, Limited
A model of the coal range presented by the firm to The Princess Elizabeth.

1394 Sir Henry Marten
Books, "The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations," and "The Concise Dictionary of National Biography" bound light blue morocco tooled with gold.

1395 The Association of British Chambers of Commerce
A pair of silver tea caddies with a bowl and cover embossed with floral decoration and Chinese figures, London, 1761, by Samuel Taylor, contained in contemporary shagreen case with silver mounts.

1396 Sir Campbell Mitchell-Cotts, the Cotts, and Sloane Families and Staffs
An oil painting on panel of a young man with a ruff thought to be a self portrait painted by Rubens in Antwerp during his early years before he left for Italy in 1600.

1397 Miss Janet G. Mackerchar and Miss Mary Mackerchar
An oval cut crystal biscuit box mounted with silver gilt, and inscribed on the lid "To Dr. Marshall from Victoria R., Christmas, 1876."

1398 Mr. A. T. Mariott
A tray carved from Jamaican mahogany in the form of a bread fruit leaf by the donor.

1399 The Worshipful Company of Glaziers and Painters of Glass
A loyal address, illuminated in gold and colours, and bound blue morocco tooled with gold.

1400 The Society of Writers to the Signet
An illuminated loyal address, contained in a red morocco case.

1401 The Delegates of the Oxford University Press
Book, "The Character of England," a Collection of Essays, bound green morocco.

1402 Mrs. E. Stuart Clark
A gold tie pin, mounted with a miniature of George IV,

1403 The Worshipful Company of Needlemakers
An inscribed blue morocco case containing a collection of needles.

1404 The Rev. Cyril and Mrs. Cresswell
A pair of crystal goblets engraved with a formal design.

1405 Mr. Ernest and Mr. Leo Borelli
A miniature silver tea and coffee service on tray in a shagreen box.

1406 Dr. Victor Tempest
Book, "Near The Sun," by the donor.

1407 Mrs. D. Earle
A tray cloth and six embroidered napkins.

1408 Miss A. M. Jeffs
A set of pale blue hand-made mats.

1409 M. and Mme. Raymond Payen
The Arms of the City of Paris, mounted on marble to form a paperweight.

1410 Mr. L. P. Chu
A book, containing a collection of unused Chinese stamps.

1411 The Earl and Countess of Dudley
Old Chinese ivory model of a Junk, with masts, and intricately carved with jardinières of flowers, flags and lamps, on heavily carved wood stand, Ch'ien Lung, 1736–1795.

1412 Monsieur H. Lacombe
Book, "Le Mariage des Roses," by the donor.

1413 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Muller
Book, "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam," bound blue morocco, tooled with gold.

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CANADA

C228006

1414 Mr. V. A. Loftus Paton
A small heart-shaped leather album which belonged to a former Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of George III.

1415 Mrs. V. M. C. Roberton
Book, "The Wherefore o' the Why," by Helen Graham.

1416 Mr. A. Korabo
A handmade white belt.

1417 The Treasurer, Masters of the Bench, Barristers and Students of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Gray's Inn
An illuminated address.

1418 The President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London
An illuminated address.

1419 The Council and Members of the Royal College of Nursing, and Members of the Student Nurses' Association
An illuminated address.

1420 Charles Frodsham and Company, Limited
A Georgian style gilt clock with domed top, in an inlaid wood case, with a silver plate bearing a dedicatory inscription.

1421 Lt.-Colonel and the Lady Jean Rankin
A pink alabaster table lamp, with fringed silk shade.

1422 A Greek Lady.
A tablecloth embroidered with Greek key pattern and figures in colours.

1423 Countess Orloff
A miniature white and blue dinner service.

C228007

1424 Mr. and Mrs. George E. Wilkinson
A set of table mats, hand decorated, with butterfly designs.

1425 Messrs. Atkinsons
A fitted beauty case.

1426 The Viscount and Viscountess Rothermere
A Sheraton satinwood and harewood Pembroke table, with shaped leaves on tapered legs, *circa* 1780.

1427 Mr. D. Yeats Brown and Mr. R. S. Wilkins
A gold mounted leather note case.

1428 Mr. Kenneth and Mr. Alan Hall
A selection of Australian liqueurs

1429 The Girl and Boy Campaigners of St. Olaf's Church Poughill
Violets.

1430 Heathfield School
A red glass column electric lamp, with ormolu base, and pink silk fringed shade.

1431 Mr. J. I. Morton
A biscuit lattice pattern cup and cover on stand, in the Leeds pottery taste, made by the donor.

1432 The Marquess of Blandford
A Regency rosewood desk bookstand, with spindle gallery and drawer.

1433 The Chairman, Committee, Staff and Mothers of the North Islington Infant Welfare Centre
A pair of Dresden groups of Cupids with baskets.

1434 Miss Vacani
A decorative pincushion, The Fairy Princess.

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CANADA

C228008

1435 The Directors and Staff of McCallum and Craigie Limited, Glasgow

White cellular blankets, bound with white satin.

1436 The Soke and City of Peterborough

A cheque for the purchase of a personal gift.

1437 A Cross-section of Loyal Subjects in Middlesbrough

Mahogany tripod pole screen, with oval panel in needlework.

1438 The Bulgarian-trained Nurses in Great Britain

A sampler composed of different examples of bridal headbands collected from every district of Bulgaria, and from Macedonia.

1439 Students of the Australian Commonwealth Government's Reconstruction Training Scheme for ex-Service Men and Women

An evening cloak of hand-woven wool, with hand-wrought silver buttons.

1440 Miss Beatrice Parsons

Framed watercolour drawing by the donor, "The Botanic Garden, Oxford."

1441 Miss Bridget Keir

Framed watercolour drawings by the donor, "The White Sands of Morar, Invernesshire."

1442 Mrs. L. M. K. Barrell

Framed oil painting, "Bishop's Wood," Fareham, by the donor.

1443 Major and Mrs. W. A. Morris.

Framed colour print, A Country Scene, after "Snaffles."

1444 Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Wentworth Sheilds

A framed photograph of King George V, Queen Mary and The Royal Family inscribed by Queen Mary.

C228009

1445 Miss H. Whitburn Paul

A lace garniture made by the donor.

1446 The Brecknock Society

Book, "The History of Brecknockshire," in four volumes, by Theophilus Jones, bound blue Niger leather, tooled with gold.

1447 Mr. A. C. Kingham

A shaving set in crocodile case.

1448 Miss F. P. Moxon

A gold pencil.

1449 Commander and Mrs. C. M. David

A pair of Coalport vases, painted with lake scenes on an apple green ground.

1450 Their Highnesses Prince Muazzam Jah and Princess Niloufer of Hyderabad

A crocodile dressing case fitted with a toilet set, mounted in silver gilt and engraved with the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth.

1451 Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Gilson

Framed oil painting, "White Peonies in a yellow Vase."

1452 Mr. H. G. Davis

Framed oil painting, flower picture, by the donor.

1453 Mrs. Doreen Fuller Permane and Miss D. Fuller Neary

A quilted silk hot water-bottle cover

1454 The Ukrainian Prisoners of War in No. 82 Camp, Fakenham, Norfolk

A handmade album, the carved cover inset with coloured beads, contained in a flat wood case carved with a formal design

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CANADA

C228010

1455 Mrs. M. E. Tolhurst
A plate decorated to commemorate the Jubilee Year of Queen Victoria.

1456 Members of Butha Vidya, Mandalay
A loyal address.

1457 Mr. and Mrs. J. Marriott and Family, and all Coster Pearly Kings of London
A congratulatory address.

1458 The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the County Borough of Eastbourne
A loyal address in a tooled leather binding.

1459 The British Skate Makers' Association
Two pairs of leather boots and skates.

1460 Mrs. E. Tomlinson
A reversible doll.

1461 The Patients of The Royal Eastern Counties Institution, Colchester
A collection of household brushes, mats, baskets and cushions made by the donors.

1462 Mrs. C. E. Albrecht
A gold chain and heart-shaped pendant, set with Ceylon stones.

1463 The Welsh Corgi League
A statuette of a corgi on an inscribed plinth to be used as a paper weight.

1464 The Urban District of Ottery St. Mary
A pair of silver dishes, London, 1808, made by Paul Storr.

1465 The British Stoneware Manufacturers' Association
A beer jug and six beakers on a circular mahogany tray, and two green casseroles on a wooden stand.

C228011

1466 Mr. and Mrs. W. Cranstone and Family
A hand-made brown leather handbag.

1467 The Members of The Girls' Guildry
An inscribed silver gilt inkstand in the form of an old Roman lamp.

1468 The British West Indian Community, Havana, Cuba
A salad set made in native Cuban wood.

1469 Dayan and Mrs. H. M. Lazarus
The Haggadah bound in blue morocco.

1470 Mrs. E. M. Hughes
A damask tablecloth.

1471 The Commanding Officer, Officers and Ratings of 1831 R.N.V.R. (Air) Squadron, R.N. Air Station, Stretton, Warrington
An inscribed circular salver with scalloped edge.

1472 The Lady Cheylesmore
A pair of silver sweetmeat dishes.

1473 The Loversal Women's Institute
A patchwork cushion.

1474 The City of Gloucester
A silver rose bowl, the cover decorated with an open-work design of roses, thistles and shamrock, and bearing the City's Arms in enamel.

1475 The Dowager Countess of Mayo and the Lady Betty Banon
A lamp made from wood which once formed part of the structure of the Houses of Parliament, and decorated with a figure of Charles I.

1476 The Residents of London House
A pair of framed colour prints of Naval engagements.

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C228012

1477 The Cast and Technicians of "London Belongs to Me"
A framed engraving, The Prospect of London and Westminster, taken from Lambeth, by W. Hollar.

1478 The Lady Delia Peel
A collection of books by Somerville and Ross.

1479 Comtesse Jean de Polignac and the Workwomen of the Maison Lanvin
A white satin pearl embroidered wrap.

1480 Miss Robinson
A pair of 18th century engraved and cut glass scent bottles, with silver gilt tops.

1481 The Austrian Women's Association
A handbag and powder case in petit point.

1482 The Loyal Folk of Chipping Campden, Gloucester
A set of four sealtop spoons.

1483 The Directors, Staff and Workpeople of Two-way Talkie, Limited.
A two-way talkie.

1484 Major-General and Mrs. John Vaughan
A diamond cut crystal rose-bowl.

1485 The Secretary of Commerce of The United States of America and Mrs. Harriman
A set of Steuben crystal candlesticks and dinner candles, a crystal bowl and four crystal compotes.

1486 The British Women's Club of the Hague
A 17th century Delft blue plate, after a picture by van Gooyen of that period.

1487 The Lord and Lady Walpole
A George II silver teapot, 1746.

C228013

1488 Mr. and Mrs. John Henniker-Major
A framed watercolour drawing.

1489 Air Commodore Constantine and The Lady Morwyth Benson and Miss Gillian Benson
A tortoiseshell and black lace fan, and a net and spangle fan with mother-of-pearl sticks.

1490 The Council and Citizens of Invercargill, New Zealand
An inscribed jewel case of Paua shell.

1491 The Northampton Town Boot Manufacturers Association
A collection of shoes and bootees, and six pairs of shoes for H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh.

1492 Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Kyrle Fletcher
An old Welsh copper lustre goblet.

1493 The Royal Society of British Artists
Book, "Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry."

1494 Mr. Noel Coward
A Georgian silver salver with scalloped corners on scroll feet, and a cornelian and agate seal.

1495 The Lady Anne and The Hon. David Rhys
A cushion covered in old lace.

1496 Mrs. W. P. Fanghanel
A pink swansdown evening wrap.

1497 Miss Diana Bowes Lyon
A length of silver brocade.

1498 The Citizens of Rochester
A complete set of Charles Dickens bound half morocco.

1499 Mr. Edward Drew
A reed garden basket.

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1500 Mrs. D. McGarvie Munn
A silver plated inscribed horseshoe.

1501 Mr. Clifford Perry
A framed picture made from coloured sand taken from the cliffs of Alum Bay.

1502 Mr. and Mrs. J. Voce Moore
A cut crystal flower vase.

1503 Miss Aune Tuomela
A Kalevala mirror (Finland).

1504 The Citizens of Guernsey and Alderney
An illuminated congratulatory address in a red leather case.

1505 Mr. W. Margolis
Miniature model of an Elizabethan Inn made by the donor.

1506 Mrs. A. Allen and Vilma and Michael Allen
A blue knitted two-piece suit.

1507 The People of Linlithgow
Framed watercolour drawing of Linlithgow Palace by Frank Wood

1508 Miss B. Rosher
A handworked afternoon tea cloth and a pair of hand-knitted socks.

1509 Miss L. Wilson
A bulb bowl and bulbs.

1510 Mrs. M. Tomaszewska
A handmade lace table centre.

1511 Lieutenant J. A. Davis, Royal Navy, and Mrs. Davis
A mahogany pole screen on tripod foot with oval silk needlework panel.

1512 Officers and Girls of The Girls' Life Brigade
A wing chair covered in green silk brocade and a silk covered cushion.

1513 Mr. and Mrs. Cavanagh
An automatic potato peeler.

1514 Mrs. J. E. Graham
An old gold silk cloth embroidered with a thistle design.

1515 Lady Kavanagh
An opalescent glass flower bowl.

1516 The Royal Burgh of Inverness
A wood case containing two salmon rods and accessories.

1517 The Citizens of Derby
A Crown Derby tea service, coffee service and dessert service decorated with conventional Crown Derby patterns used in the 18th Century products of the factory consisting of flowering plants, foliage and arabesques in dark blue, rouge de fer and gold.

1518 Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Devlin
Wedgwood figure of a bull, decorated with the signs of the Zodiac, designed by Arnold Machin, A.R.A.

1519 Major and Mrs. E. S. Harston
A glass goblet engraved with a pattern of ferns and standing on a square base.

1520 Mr. Raimund and Lady Elizabeth Von Hofmannsthal and the Lady Caroline Paget
Set of eight peg tumblers.

1521 The Borough of Romsey
An inscribed polished oak cigarette box, mounted with silver and bearing the Arms of the Borough.

1522 The Scottish Women's Rural Institutes
A collection of fifteen pieces of Waterford glass, including a large bowl, three cut glass dishes on separate stands, and a large punch bowl and stand.

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CANADA

C228016

1523 Mrs. L. Freeland
A handmade hearthrug.

1524 The Lord and Lady Lloyd
A cabaret of Crown Ducal porcelain.

1525 Mr. E. T. M. Hall
A pair of silver sweetmeat dishes.

1526 The Workers of Futurist Soft Furnishing Company, Limited
A Royal Stuart Tartan dressing gown.

1527 Women's Social Service Club, Blaina, Monmouthshire
A handquilted cushion in soft green silk.

1528 Goya, Limited.
A box of Goya perfumes.

1529 The Staff of the Good Housekeeping Institute
Book, " The Book of Good Housekeeping " and Good Housekeeping Diary for 1948.

1530 Mr. L. P. De Gouy
" The Gold Cook Book," by the donor.

1531 Mrs. D. E. Allen
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

1532 Miss A. J. St. Johnn
Book, " The Soul of a Poet," by the donor

1533 Miss S. Brady
An Irish linen table cloth, with hand crochetted border.

1534 Mr. H. Norris
A water colour of Elizabeth Plantagenet of York, by the donor.

C228017

1535 Mr. and Mrs. R. Booth
Terra-cotta statuette of lady.

1536 Mrs. R. T. Doubleday
Book, " Journals of Major Philip N. Barbour, U.S. Inf. and his Wife," by the donor.

1537 Mrs. R. Dixon
Honiton lace.

1538 Mr. E. W. Pullen
Book, " Daily Light."

1539 Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Jones
Six linen tea napkins.

1540 Miss E. E. Hughes
Two linen face towels.

1541 The Staff and Pupils of Glamis School
Pen and ink sketch of Glamis Castle, by William Lamb.

1542 Sir John and Lady Helen Murray
Fourteen letters of King George III, in his own handwriting, to his Prime Minister the Rt. Hon. George Grenville, 1763–65.

1543 Sir Frank and Lady Soskice
Book, " Sonnets of Shakespeare," bound in red calf tooled gold.

1544 Mrs. M. Sewell
Book of Church Services bound in ivory with gilt mounts.

1545 Miss Joyce Clutton
Book, " Poetical Works of Wordsworth," bound in blue leather.

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CANADA

C228018

1546 Mr. S. Williams
Books, " Jewels of Romance and Renown " and " The Fateful Diamonds."

1547 Miss Trudy Meury
Book, " Beautiful Switzerland."

1548 Rear-Admiral and Mrs. Charles Lambe
The Works of Anthony Trollope in six volumes.

1549 Miss A. Fox
A pair of hand-made pigskin gloves.

1550 The Mother and Sisters of the Community of St. Peter, Horbury, and Staff and Girls of St. Peter's Training School
A tea cloth and tea cosy, embroidered in blue.

1551 Mrs. Marsden
A hand-made tray cloth.

1552 The White Crusaders Boys Movement of Gt. Britain
A wood and chromium table lamp with vellum shade.

1553 The Medway Grocers' Association
Framed portrait in oils of Charles Dickens.

1554 Mrs. E. Carlisle
An earthenware preserve jar commemorating Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

1555 Miss V. Loder
A small silver vinaigrette.

1556 Mrs. William Gaskain
An Ostrich feather fan.

1557 Mrs. Claude Beddington
Book, " All that I have Met," by the donor.

C228019

1558 Miss Sarah Graham
Book, " Poetical Works of Longfellow ", and tablecloth of Celon work.

1559 Enstone Women's Institute
Pair of linen sheets embroidered with crown and " E."

1560 Mr. and Mrs. R. Stakes
A hand-made table cloth and 12 napkins.

1561 Mr. and Mrs. H. Davies and Family
A china basket with encrusted flower border.

1562 H. H. Maharajah of Sangli
Two gold embroidered saris.

1563 Mrs. A. M. W. Forrester
A pair of satin bedroom slippers.

1564 The Welsh Textile Manufacturers Association
A bale of Welsh tweed.

1565 Mr. and Mrs. Graham Farish
Two electric fires.

1566 Miss E. M. Wallace
Framed water colour of Monnow Bridge, Monmouth, by E. J. Maybery.

1567 The Dining Car Staff of the Royal Train, London Midland and Scottish Railway
An inscribed tray.

1568 Mr. Sosene B. Muinda
Two harmstrings and one native mat from Uganda.

1569 Mrs. E. F. Cotton
A heart-shaped carved trinket box.

1570 The Men of the Trees
Book, " Among the Trees," by Richard St. Barbe Baker.

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CANADA

1571 St. David's Home for Disabled Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen

Black leather handbag made by the patients.

1572 Miss P. Northcott

A brass Tibetan incense burner.

1573 Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Hargreaves Heap

An ivory handcarved paper knife, surmounted by an elephant.

1574 Mr. and Mrs. Urgvete

Wooden plate decorated with Estonian scene.

1575 Mr. Hector Caird and the Staff of the "Queen" Newspaper

Crocodile leather handbag.

1576 The Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the County Borough of Brighton

An illuminated address in blue leather covered casket.

1577 The Kent Women's Knitting Guild

Two knitted silk jumpers.

1578 Miss E. Harvey

Plastic sweetmeat dish.

1579 Mr. and Mrs. Marsh

Nightdress case, embroidered in silk and pearls, with a design of wild roses.

1580 The Prime Minister of Ceylon

A caparisoned elephant made of Ceylon ebony, mounted with silver work (Kandyan carvings) and set with Ceylon genuine precious and semi-precious stones.

1581 Mr. G. B. Huck

Book, "The Works of Burns," five volumes.

1582 All Ranks of the Naval, Military and Air Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, India and Pakistan, forming the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan

Japanese gold lacquer box depicting the cities of Tokyo and Kyoto and the fifty-three halting places between them.

1583 The Hon. Lord and Lady Gibson and Miss Agnes Gibson

A cowhide travelling bag with zip fastener.

1584 Mrs. S. Kenchington

A hand-made blue tea cosy.

1585 Mrs. E. Measday

Early morning tea set for two.

1586 Miss I. Frigyes

Two hand-woven scarves.

1587 Miss Alice Bredt

Recording of a duet made by the donor.

1588 Men and Women in Kodak Organisations the World over

One Cine-Kodak apparatus, comprising magazine Cine-Kodak, carrying case, kodachrome films, kodascope, transformer, and silver screen.

1589 Miss Alma Metcalf

A crochet duchess set.

1590 The Duke and Duchess of Montrose

A set of historic table linen, with the Royal Arms of Scotland in the centre, and the Strathearn Arms in the four corners.

1591 Miss Kathryn Stanley

The works of Jane Austen—six volumes in green leather, tooled gold.

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CANADA

C228022

1592 All Members of the Institution of Civil Engineers
An illuminated address on vellum.

1593 Mr. and Mrs. J. Wilson Paterson
A fifteenth-century silver caddy spoon.

1594 Mr. W. F. Rankin
A copy of "The Holy Bible."

1595 Mrs. V. Porter
A georgette nightdress.

1596 Mrs. E. E. Hardwick
A set of hand-crochetted table mats, and a table cloth and table mats, hand-embroidered in colours.

1597 Mr. Feliks Topolski
Framed gouache, by the donor.

1598 Miss Freebody
Large gilt two-handled tray.

1599 The Tenants of Glamis Estate
Framed water colour picture of Glamis Village in winter, by J. McIntosh Patrick.

1600 Mr. and Mrs. Henry Parrett
An oak table lamp, hand-carved by donor.

1601 The Marquess and Marchioness of Huntly
A French clock, supported by an allegorical group in carved wood.

1602 The Government and People of The Falkland Islands
One set of Falkland Islands centenary postage stamps, and a set of definitive issue, 1947.

603 Flag Officers and Members of The Royal Bermuda Yacht Club
An inscribed silver casket cigarette box.

C228023

1604 Mr. Abdulla Hasham Gangji
A gold and enamel flower brooch.

1605 The Rev. F. Keeling Scott
A framed prayer composed by the donor.

1606 Mr. T. Zerman
A set of painted silk pictures.

1607 Women's Organisations of Dunfermline
A selection of damask table linen and napkins.

1608 The Sheffield Town Trustees
An inscribed silver tea service engraved with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1609 The Czechoslovak Young Women's Christian Association
A hand-worked afternoon tea cloth.

1610 The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Harwich
A loyal address in a blue leather case, tooled with gold.

1611 Mr. Ludwig Koch
A gramophone record of Bird Song, recorded by the donor.

1612 The Christian Science Churches and Societies in Great Britain and Northern Ireland
A congratulatory address bound in blue morocco, decorated with The Arms of The Princess Elizabeth.

1613 Mrs. F. Hooker
A gold and enamel tie pin bearing Queen Victoria's cypher.

1614 Commander and Mrs. Locker Lampson
A framed oil painting on wood, by T. Stothard.

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C228024

1615 Mr. C. Morton
A mother-of-pearl handled penknife.

1616 Mr. V. W. J. H. Lawrence
A book of devotion, by the donor.

1617 Commander W. A. Kosianowski-Lorenz, Royal Navy
An album with photographs of the Polish Navy's activities.

1618 Mrs. Matilde v. Etzdorf
Two packs of playing cards in velvet cases.

1619 The Royal Naval Old Comrades Association.
Engine turned silver cigarette case, with Naval Crown in gold.

1620 Mr. H. Frobisher
Book, "All the Trumpets Sounded," by W. G. Hardy.

1621 Mrs. Gray
A silk jumper.

1622 Mrs. C. Sayers
A framed coloured engraving, "The Sailor's Wedding."

1623 Miss E. Grunberg
A jewelled brooch.

1624 Mr. William Leeds
A folding photograph frame, mounted in gold.

1625 Mr. and Mrs. Peter Butters
A suède saddle.

C228025

1626 The People of Cambridgeshire
A Sheraton period mahogany wardrobe.
A Queen Anne style walnut chest of drawers on stand.
An old English alarm bracket clock, by Godfrie Poy (1710–50).
A Waterford cut glass bowl, cover and stand, and a set of six baluster stem wine glasses.
A collection of books printed by the Cambridge University Press.

1627 Colonel Sir Francis Whitmore and Lady Whitmore
A silver toast rack.

1628 Mrs. T. Harvey
A hand-crochetted table centre.

1629 Mrs. Sich
A water colour of country scene.

1630 Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Rudland
A hand-painted wooden ash tray.

1631 The Children at The Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital
Pink silk slip

1632 Miss Maud Wingate
A collection of musical scores composed by the donor.

1633 Mrs. R. Bryant
Two unmounted ostrich plumes.

1634 The Polish Merchant Navy College
Scale model of "The Golden Hind."

1635 Henshaw's Institution for the Blind
A collection of brushes made by blind workers.

1636 The Marquess and Marchioness of Hartington
A Visitors book in blue morocco, with fore edge painting depicting Windsor Castle.

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CANADA

1637 The Burghs of Hawick, Galashiels, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose and Selkirk
Framed oil painting, " Blossom Time," by Edward Atkinson Hornel (Scottish School).

1638 Mr. A. L. Rowse
Book, " Tudor Cornwall," by the Author.

1639 Mrs. Elma Dangerfield
Book, " Mad Shelley," a play by the donor.

1640 Girl Guide Shirley Roberts
Silver napkin ring.

1641 Pupils and Staff of Belmont School, Ilfracombe
A book of common prayer with hymns.

1642 Miss L. B. Petherick
An afternoon tea tray, with design of roses hand-painted by the donor.

1643 Miss Mary Winter
An embroidered table cloth.

1644 Mrs. H. E. Cunningham
A Japanese embroidered silk dress length.

1645 Mr. Frank A. Wrigley
Two small oil paintings of wild duck, painted by the donor.

1646 Mrs. Richardson
An ivory paper knife, surmounted by the figure of Queen Victoria.

1647 Mr. John T. Siddle
A basket cake stand, hand-made by the donor.

1648 Mr. and Mrs. Norman Lane
A copy of " The Holy Bible."

1649 Mr. Slawa Sadlowska
Book, " Album of Polish Airmen," by the donor.

1650 The People of Northern Rhodesia
A fluted edged occasional table on cabriole legs.
A copper floating bowl, turned from a block of solid copper.
A leopard-skin blotting pad, made by the African community, and a cheque.

1651 Mrs. H. G. Cronk
White wicker garden table.

1652 The Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science
Mahogany Chinese chippendale elbow chair with seat in old needlework.

1653 The People of Johannesburg
A Pedestal desk and desk chair of South African wood, and a framed oil painting, view of Lowveld from Graskop, by W. H. Caetzer.

1654 Mrs. Ruth Caunce
A Dresden china fruit stand.

1655 Scout David Drury
A Gilt vinaigrette with agate top.

1656 Miss M. A. Feilden
Book, " The Anglice Recipe Book," by the donor.

1657 Miss E. Ferguson-Gowans
A Ming Period pin, part of a Chinese Empress's Crown made of kingfisher feathers, mounted on gold.

1658 Ukrainian Prisoners of War, No. 78 Camp
Red box, hand-carved by the donors, and a photograph album with hand-carved covers.

1659 Mrs. June Williams
A coloured tea cosy, hand-knitted by the donor.

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1637 The Burghs of Hawick, Galashiels, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose and Selkirk
Framed oil painting, "Blossom Time," by Edward Atkinson Hornel (Scottish School).

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1648 Mr. and Mrs. Norman Lane
A copy of "The Holy Bible."

C228027

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C228028

1660 The Hon. William and Mrs. Rollo
Book, " Sonnets of Shakespeare," bound in maroon leather.

1661 Mrs. P. Armer and Miss N. Keigwin
Pink woollen hand-made tea cosy.

1662 Students of the Royal College of Music
Books, three volumes of Beethoven's sonatas, bound in red leather, tooled gold.

1663 Mr. Edward R. Leathers
Twenty gramophone records in black case.

1664 The Royal Scottish Society for the Self-Aid of Gentlewomen
Blue crèpe de chine hand-made nightdress.

1665 The Girls of H.M. Borstal Institution, Greenock
An afternoon tea cloth embroidered in colours, hand-made by the donors.

1666 Church of England Zenana Missionary Society
A Chinese embroidered panel.

1667 Mrs. B. L. Stokes
Heart-shaped silk cushion, made by the donor.

1668 Mrs. Strebel
Two peach panne velvet lamp shades, made by the donor.

1669 The Handicraft Circle of the Overseas League, Edinburgh
Hand-crochetted trolley cloths.

1670 The Members of the Mothers' Union, Carlton (Barnsley) Branch
A pair of steel scissors on stand.

1671 Mrs. Hilda Collins
Silver butter knife with mother of pearl handle.

C228029

1672 Members of the Garve Work Society
A deer-skin dispatch case.

1673 M. Jean Médecin, Député Maire de Nice
Book, " Les Anglais dans le Comté de Nice, " bound half morocco.

1674 The County of Cheshire
A two-handled shaped oval silver salver, by Paul Storr, 1819 ; a set of four oblong entrée dishes and covers, with plated warmers ; a pair of shaped oblong entrée dishes and covers, London, 1823 ; a set of four circular fluted sauce tureens and covers, London, 1816 ; a set of four plain shaped sauce boats with gadroon borders, by Wm. Stevenson, London, 1810.

1675 The People of Jamaica
A fitted cocktail cabinet in Jamaican native walnut.

1676 M. Jar. Veverka
An inscribed glass shrine on a marble base.

1677 The British Community in Spain
A tapestry in a gilt and mirrored frame. Detail of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, after a 15th century Tapestry in the Royal Palace at Madrid.

1678 The Burgomaster and Aldermen of Antwerp
A case containing a presentation scroll and engravings of works of Flemish masters.

1679 The City of Pietermaritzburg
A bronze statue.

1680 The Pupils of the State English Grammar School, Prague
A South Moravian peasant girl's costume.

1681 The East African Women's League, Nairobi
A collection of coloured blankets.

1682 The British Staff of 59 and 122 D.P.A.C.C.S., B.A.O.R.
A carved wooden platter of Estonian handicraft.

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C228030

1683 The Government and People of South Australia
A silver salver and ten pieces of silver, including a tea and coffee pot, sugar basin, milk jug, spirit kettle and hot water stands.

1684 Major-General and Mrs. R. J. Palmer
A cut glass powder bowl with a gold lid bearing the initial " E " in diamonds.

1685 The People of Tanganyika
An uncut diamond; the cutting of the stone will be arranged in accordance with The Princess Elizabeth's wishes.

1686 Miss P. Fullforth
A Dick Turpin jug.

1687 Miss Edith Dadson
A pair of hand-made gloves.

1688 Captain Oliver and The Lady Margaret Dawnay
Book, " Nelson," by Carola Oman.

1689 Mr. William Powell
A leather mounted calendar slung to hang in a stirrup.

1690 Miss E. J. Morle
A plate commemorating Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

1691 Mrs. Vaughan R. Hine-Haycock
A pair of Queen Victoria's white satin slippers and a pair of her silk stockings.

1692 Officers and Cadets of Hendon Unit, No. 178, Sea Cadet Corps
A pair of hand-made table lamps and shades.

1693 Miss K. Monier-Williams
Sets of decorated candles.

C228031

1694 The Children's Heart Home, Lancing
A work basket and a set of embroidered towels.

1695 Mrs. E. Flack
A pair of hand-made gloves.

1696 Mrs. I. M. Danziger
A white silk-covered coat hanger, mounted on bridal figure in lace.

1697 Captain H.H. The Kabaka of Buganda
Two native salvers from Buganda.

1698 Lady Grant
A Georgian silver cream jug.

1699 " Chelsea Nell "
Booklet, " Songs from the Golden Garret."

1700 Mrs. Plummer
A blue cushion with blue wool tapestry design in centre.

1701 The Lady Mary Cambridge
A Wedgwood china tea service.

1702 Mr. T. G. W. Haughton
An Irish linen table cloth and table napkins.

1703 Mrs. V. M. Griffiths
An Italian tooled leather blotter.

1704 The Reverend F. I. and Mrs. Anderson
Three small water colours of South African scenes.

1705 The Misses Rosemarie and Heather Morris
An antique silver spoon.

1706 Captain and Mrs. J. P. L. Reid
Six china hand-painted menu holders in red leather case.

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C228032

1707 Lieut.-Colonel Santos Casani
A large maroon tooled leather handbag, hand-made by the donor.

1708 Mrs. Carmela Cassar
An afternoon tea cloth, edged with Maltese lace.

1709 Mrs. M. I. Lawson
Set of ivory satin jewelled and embroidered table mats.

1710 Mrs. M. Freedman
A pair of clouded blue glass plates.

1711 Roberts Windsor Soap Company, Ltd., Directors and Staff
A large white case of assorted tablets of soap.

1712 Mrs. L. Rainford
Book, "Birds of America," edited by T. Gilbert Pearson.

1713 Mrs. Macqueen Ferguson
A Victorian silver clasp buckle, dated 1837.

1714 Czech Children of the Secondary School in Prague
Three Czechoslovak jewelled brooch ornaments.

1715 Miss Eveline Philogène
Pink decorative panel.

1716 Mr. and Mrs. Vere Playfair
A water colour in light oak frame, painted by the donor.

1717 Mr. Charles W. Brand
A framed oil painting of love in the mist flowers, by the donor.

1718 Mr. Gillie Potter
Book, "The Forest Lovers," by Maurice Hewlett.

C228033

1719 The Viscount and Viscountess Scarsdale.
A claret jug with silver mounts.

1720 Major The Lord Stanley and Captain The Hon. Richard Stanley
An antique silver gilt snuff box made in London 1823, by T. Eley.

1721 Miss Amy Dowler
An oval gilt brooch with flower design worked in satin, by the donor.

1722 Miss Anne Crichton
A silver snuff box, the lid decorated with a repoussé design.

1723 Miss Mabel Lander
A china ornament, Cupid on the edge of a well.

1724 Mrs. E. Young
A navy blue woollen dressing gown.

1725 Miss E. Campbell.
A record of two songs made by the donor.

1726 Mrs. E. S. S. Curgenven
A pen and pencil, small photograph frame, ash tray and calendar.

1727 Commander Peter Moray, R.N.
A seascape in oils, "The Straggler," by Southeby Pitcher.

1728 Mrs. John Leduc and Miss Leduc
A pair of nylon stockings and two Irish linen hand towels.

1729 The League of Service (The East End Mission)
An embroidered afternoon tea cloth.

1730 Mrs. A. E. Grant
Six silver coffee spoons with coffee bean handles.

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1731 Miss Winifred Logan and Miss Gwendoline Logan
A small Royal Worcester china vase.

1732 Miss Winifred Stone
Book " When Victoria began to Reign," by Margaret Lambert, and a sonnet composed for Her Royal Highness's Marriage, by the donor.

1733 Miss B. Allen
A hand-embroidered white handkerchief.

1734 Mrs. Mary Heather-Noon
An embroidered cushion cover.

1735 Miss Winifred Brooklands
A silver figure holding shells in the form of a sweet-meat dish.

1736 Miss Edith Eggins
A pink knitted woollen bed jacket.

1737 Mademoiselle H. Tchidkorski
An old lace fichu.

1738 Mrs. C. A. Halliday
A hand-crochetted table mat.

1739 Miss Gladys Maccabe
A framed watercolour " An Ulster Market Scene," by the donor.

1740 Mrs. G. E. Barlow and Family
An illustrated Copy of the Holy Bible.

1741 Miss R. G. Guggisberg and Miss S. Gardiner
Six square glass table mats.

1742 Mrs. B. Delves
A china model of a foal.

1743 Monsieur Vincent Locorotendo
Pair of blue suède shoes.

1744 Mrs. A. Hardie
An afternoon tea cloth.

1745 Mrs. M. G. Linklater
An embroidered organdie tea cloth.

1746 Miss Beatrice Ashton
A two-handled tray on feet, made from silver coins.

1747 Mrs. Lawrence G. Stone
A pair of silk stockings.

1748 Mr. William Foden and Mrs. E. A. Foden
An oval carved ivory box on a wooden stand.

1749 Captain Lance and The Lady Nancy Robinson
A silver and white brocade evening bag.

1750 Mr. Alphonse P. J. Boom
Book, " Holland and Britain," by Charles Wilson.

1751 Master Brian Bruce Taberner
Six Irish linen tea napkins.

1752 " Le Panache de France."
A box of head scarves of varying designs ; two flagons of perfume ; a blue fox muff ; a gold butterfly brooch ; a pair of gold cuff links ; a box of chocolates ; and a costume doll by Carven.

1753 The Duke and Duchess of Rutland
A Royal Crown Derby coffee set

1754 Mr. and Mrs. Mark Sevaspopoula
One dozen bottles Charles Heidsieck Champagne, 1937 vintage and two cases of liqueur.

1755 Miss W. Bell
A crimson embroidered Chinese robe.

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C 228036

1756 Mr. Reginald Guyler
Brown felt hat made by the donor.

1757 Lieutenant Commander and Mrs. C. A. James
A silver coffee pot, milk jug and cream jug, in the Queen Anne style.

1758 Mrs. D. B. James
An écru lace handkerchief.

1759 The Polish Orthodox Church in England
A Polish Ikon.

1760 The Women's Auxiliary Service (Burma)
A pair of small dressing table cabinets.

1761 Disabled Men's Handicrafts, Limited
Hand-tufted rug, brown ground and flower design.

1762 The Guardian of Salem
The Salem Album.

1763 Gordonstoun and Salem
History and journal of the schools' activities.

1764 Mr. L. Rokesova
Book, "Prague The Town of Art," by Jacques Guenne.

1765 Miss A. Richardson
A hand-decorated wooden tray.

1766 The Chairman and Directors of R. Twining and Co. Ltd.
A papier mâché table fitted with two canisters and four boxes containing tea.

1767 The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the County Borough of Sunderland
A large selection of Pyrex glassware.

C 228037

1768 The Wool Growers of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa
Various token examples representing furnishing fabrics now being made in Empire wool.

1769 The Scottish Girls' Friendly Society
One tall and one short gilt church candle, adapted for use as standard lamps, with cream silk brocade shades.

1770 The Government and People of New South Wales.
A large collection of white wool blankets bound with white satin.

1771 The People of Pretoria
A stinkwood chest with beaten brass mounts and handles, on ball and claw feet. The inside of the lid bears a plate with a dedicatory inscription.

1772 The Citizens of Dundee.
An oval two-handled silver tea tray, the centre engraved with the City's Arms. A silver four-piece tea set and three silk mats and an afternoon teacloth.

1773 The Directors and Staff of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Co. Limited
A large circular silver rosewater dish, the broad rim having engraved and applied formal decoration. The central boss engraved with the Arms of The Princess Elizabeth.

1774 Mrs. Murray Adams
An embroidered handkerchief, hand-worked by the donor.

1775 Association des Français Libres
A small table clock in lapis and gold, mounted on a pillar. The square base is inlaid with mother of pearl, and the Cross of Lorraine in gold.

1776 Mr. Barney Seale
A bronze bust of Augustus John, by the donor.

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C228038

1777 Professor Murdo Macdonald-Bayne
Book. A set of works by the donor, bound in red morocco.

1778 Mrs. N. Sherlock
A hand-made tray cloth, by the donor.

1779 The Government and People of the State of Victoria
A serpentine fronted writing desk of inlaid woods with reeded edge and bearing a plate with a dedicatory inscription, and a writing table set in gilt and white brocade, decorated with oval panels of pressed flowers.

1780 Miss Pamela Knight, and Masters David and Bobby Knight
A case of six silver teaspoons.

1781 Miss A. F. Nisbet
Two turquoise blue wedgwood china ash trays.

1782 Mrs. P. Aspinall
A cut glass flower vase.

1783 Mrs. Charles Hunt
A set of eight embossed silver buttons.

1784 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Stokes
Book, " Daily Light."

1785 Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Scarland
A pair of silk stockings.

1786 Mrs. Allen
Book, " The Londoner's England," by Allen Bott.

1787 The Pupils of the Mabel Lander School of Piano-forte Playing
A set of four white onyx ashtrays

C228039

1788 Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King
A silver inkstand with gadroon edge, inscribed with the date, 20 November, 1947.

1789 The Returned Soldiers' Sailors' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia
A brooch representing a spray of flowering gum in gold and black opals contained in a casket of Australian blackwood, bearing in gold the badge of the League.

1790 The Principality of Monaco
A gold brooch set with diamonds and rubies in a trellised floral design.

1791 The Lord and Lady Oaksey and the Misses Lawrence
A circular tortoiseshell Chinese box, heavily carved on the lid and sides and mounted with gold.

1792 The Worshipful Company of Fanmakers
A Louis XV chicken skin fan with delicately carved, painted and gilded mother-of-pearl sticks; the fan is decorated with a domestic scene of the period.

1793 The City of Perth
A set of " Monart " glass in turquoise blue and gold comprising a centre bowl, finger bowls, sweet dishes, two decanters and twelve glasses, and a pair of double damask tablecloths and two dozen napkins to match.

1794 Mrs. E. Foote
Two hand-worked mats.

1795 Miss Ethel Thompson
A lace bordered towel.

1796 Miss M. Thurlow
Silver lamé bedroom slippers.

1797 Mrs. Austen Jenkins
Two pairs of hand-made gloves

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C228040

1798 Miss M. Selman
A hand-worked silk mat.

1799 Miss Ira Morris and Miss Laurette Cope
Book, " The Glass of Fashion," by the authors.

1800 Mr. E. L. Walker
Book, " Elephants Never Forget," by the author.

1801 Mr. O. Turgel
A model of a mediæval chest containing a miniature scroll, in silver filigree work, of the book Esther.

1802 Mr. Baron Nahum
A coloured photograph of H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, in leather frame.

1803 Mrs. H. Cowburn
An afternoon tea cloth with hand-crochetted border.

1804 Miss Noreen Maclachlan
Book, " Greater Edinburgh."

1805 Mr. Tomasz Glinski
Record of Old Polish Waltz " François," played by the donor.

1806 Mrs. Lambert Jordan and Miss Heath Jordan
Six pairs of nylon stockings.

1807 Mrs. S. Pick
A pink satin suspender belt with monogram.

1808 Mrs. Howard Axelrad
A pair of nylon stockings.

1809 Mrs. A. M. Evans
A needlework picture copied from Turner, worked by the donor.

C228041

1810 Miss Katharine Olive
An oval Sheffield pen tray.

1811 Miss C. Robertson
A length of embroidered net.

1812 Mrs. A. Lees
A hand-knitted woollen shawl.

1813 Junior Commander Wanda Szaynok
Nineteen crochetted table mats.

1814 Mrs. H. Spraggon and Miss A. Spraggon
A small ivory tea pot.

1815 Miss Ursula Irving
A book of Common Prayer bound in white and gold

1816 Sir Frank and Lady Gill and Miss Iris Gill
A Paraguayan Nanduti lace handkerchief.

1817 The Misses Susheela, Suna, Aragana and Ranee Devamanikkam
A length of georgette.

1818 Mrs. Edwin Bellerby
A silver-gilt Bouquet holder in case.

1819 Mrs. Horace Farquharson
An aboriginal letter in carved wood.

1820 Mrs. Markham
A silver boatswain's pipe.

1821 Miss A. E. Firth
A pair of nylon stockings.

1822 Mrs. I. Butterfield
A silk head scarf depicting a hunting scene.

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C228042

1823 Nurse Fraser
An afternoon tea cloth with hand-crochetted border.

1824 The Misses Perretts
A fine muslin tray cloth.

1825 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick St. Maur
A carved ivory table bell push.

1826 Mrs. S. Titterington
A holland cushion cover, hand-embroidered in colours by the donor

1827 Lieut.-Commander J. H. B. Peel, R.N.V.R.
Book, " Mere England," by the donor.

1828 Miss Barbara Cherry
Case containing six plated teaspoons.

1829 Miss A. M. White
Book, " Daily Light."

1830 Mrs. H. Singleton
Two packs of playing cards, one depicting scenes of South Africa, the other with a portrait of Queen Victoria on the back, together with a set of mother-of-pearl counters.

1831 Miss Mary Low and Mr. James Low
Book, New Testament and Psalms.

1832 Miss Kathleen Lucas
A Fair-Isle pullover.

1833 The Staff of the Wembley Hospital
A leather writing case, decorated with medallion of oxydised silver

1834 Miss Jill and Master Jeremy Cotton
Darts board

C228043

1835 The Village of Claverdon
Two silvered horseshoes.

1836 Mr. and Mrs. Tree, and Sister
One pair of silk stockings.

1837 The Knitting Department, Workshops for the Blind, St. Helens, Lancs.
A hand-made blue woollen jumper.

1838 Mrs. L. Norman.
A pair of nylon stockings.

1839 Miss V. Stanley Alder
Book, " The Finding of the Third Eye," by the donor.

1840 Miss Constance Carey
A miniature of Her Royal Highness in gilt frame, painted by the donor.

1841 Edzell Lodge Children's Home
Book, " Scottish Counties," by J. Dixon-Scott.

1842 The Governors, Masters and Scholars of the Royal and Religious Foundation of Shrewsbury School
Illuminated address and school magazine, " The Salopian."

1843 Mr. A. Savoury
Book, Selected Poems, by John Masefield.

1844 Mademoiselle Marie Magdalena Kadlcova
Book, " Prague," collection of photographs, by Karla Plicky.

1845 Mademoiselle E. A. Zwieback
Two satin bathing dresses.

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C 22E044

1846 Miss Hilda A. Walker
Book, " Alice Through the Looking Glass," a first edition.

1847 Lord and Lady Packenham
Book, " Aspects of Seventeenth Century Verse," by Peter Quennell.

1848 Mrs. E. M. Forbes
A hand-worked sofa back.

1849 Miss Yvonne Dunning
A silver vinaigrette.

1850 Miss Elizabeth Choy
A hand-embroidered and drawn thread handkerchief.

1851 The Teachers and Scholars of St. Lawrence's Sunday School, Stanwick
A sweetmeat dish.

1852 Madame N. Nicolaeva-Legat
Book, " Ballet Education," by the donor.

1853 Mrs. M. Morris
A small Welsh lustre jug.

1854 Miss I. Unsworth
A linen table cloth bordered with wide crochet.

1855 Mr. W. Morris
A turned wood counter box.

1856 Lieut.-Colonel F. Evans
Book, " White Wheat," by the donor.

1857 Miss Thirza Bland
A set of mats of Canary Islands embroidery.

1858 Mr. Garnet W. Shields
A Cameo brooch.

C 22E045

1859 Mrs. Vivian Soper
A set of liqueur glasses.

1860 Miss Patricia Royce
A ninon scarf, hand-painted by the donor.

1861 Mrs. M. Brucker
A set of coffee spoons.

1862 The London Angus Association.
A figure of a woman carved in wood.

1863 The Mother Prioress and Community of the Convent of The Good Shepherd, Windlesham
A set of three linen hemstitched handkerchiefs, embroidered with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1864 Miss Gwen Rushton and Mrs. M. Wilson
A hand-crochetted cloth.

1865 Mr. A. Gates
A bread and cake knife.

1866 The Fort Rouge Branch Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League
A congratulatory address bound morocco, tooled with gold.

1867 Mrs. H. West
A silk dressing cape.

1868 The Staff of the Venetian Glass Galleries
A set of decorated candles.

1869 Mr. and Mrs. D. Walker
A copy of the Holy Bible.

1870 The British Community in Las Palmas, Grand Canary
A carved lace box containing a tablecloth and a luncheon set worked in the traditional style of the Island.

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C228046

1871 The Lord and Lady Inverchapel
A portable radio.

1872 Mr. Robert D. Greenham
A study in oils, " Interval," by the donor.

1873 Miss Jeannine Bridgeman and Miss Marigold Bridgeman
A model of a horse forming a table lamp, with a shade.

1874 Major-General Sir John and Lady Kennedy
A blotter with hand-painted floral cover.

1875 The London County Council
Circular silver engraved box and cover, with inscribed rim ; two books, bound in green morocco and tooled in gold, " Replanning London Schools " and " County of London Plan, 1943."

1876 Mr. J. Srb
A pair of prismatic binoculars in leather case.

1877 Mr. and Mrs. Keith
A white silk brocade evening handbag.

1878 Comtesse Netty de Montalernbert
A prayer with border illuminated by the donor.

1879 The Naval Wives Voluntary Service, Malta
A loyal address signed by the donors.

1880 Mr. and Mrs. O. Burnard and Family (Norman, Judith and Rachel)
An early morning tea set with a blue decorated border; a cigarette box in the form of a gramophone ; a blue bead bag containing a lace-bordered handkerchief and a Queen Victoria farthing.

1881 Mr. George Bilainkin
Book, " Second Diary of a Diplomatic Correspondent," by the donor.

C228047

1882 Mr. Gilbert Clark
Framed water-colour sketch of a Processional figure, " Sevilla," by the donor.

1883 Miss S. J. Pearson
Four écru hand-worked table mats.

1884 Miss Margaret Grey
Three tablets of Morny soap.

1885 Mrs. S. Pratt
Three silk tea cosies.

1886 Miss Daisy Bryant
A hand-made lace bedspread.

1887 Captain and Mrs. Garforth-Bles
Two Staffordshire china figures ; The Duke of York and The Prince Consort.

1888 Miss A. E. Searle and Miss H. Cooper
A pair of fireside bellows.

1889 Messrs. John Jameson & Sons Ltd.
A case of Irish liqueur whisky.

1890 The People of Shetland
Two multi-coloured rugs and a head shawl made from Shetland wool.

1891 Mr. and Mrs. Ambler
A bronze figure of Christ crucified.

1892 Mrs. Meaby and Miss Meaby
A china pen tray decorated with small flowers.

1893 Mr. and Mrs. Selwood and Family
A figure of a Welsh girl playing a harp mounted on an oyster shell.

1894 Mrs. H. G. Cronk
A waste paper basket.

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C228048

1895 The Library Committee of the House of Commons

"The Catalogue of Honor" by Thomas Milles, once the property of the poet Thomas Gray, bound tan calf tooled with gold.

1896 The Arab Community in Eritrea

A plain silver cigarette box, a wide flexible gold bracelet and a gold cigarette case with a sapphire lift.

1897 Miss K. Rapacrynska

A doll in Polish costume dressed by the donor.

1898 Miss Mary A. Rowe

A quilted workbag in glazed chintz and a set of Royal Doulton Toby jugs.

1899 Dr. and Mrs. L. Lederer

A French porcelain patchbox the lid decorated with a scene at the Battle of Heilsberg.

1900 The Lady Valda Machell

A framed painting on silk of a Chinese princess of the 17th century.

1901 The Australian High Commissioner in Eire and Mrs. Dignam

An old écru lace veil.

1902 Mrs. Wallis

Three Victorian prints.

1903 Mrs. A. Uchitil

A hand-made lace tray cloth.

1904 Miss M. Ellis

A handkerchief bordered with hand-made lace.

1905 The Adderley Group of Potteries

A red leather case fitted to contain a coffee set of blue porcelain decorated with burnished gold.

C228049

1906 The British Community in the Belgian Congo, Europeans, Indians and Africans

A leather case containing an ivory powder box mounted with gold and decorated with panels of malachite, the lid surmounted with a gold motif set with cornelian.

1907 The Burgesses of the Borough of Stratford-on-Avon

A Queen Anne walnut bureau crossbanded and feather banded with two small and three long drawers, the interior fitted with small drawers and shaped fitments, and bearing a silver plate with a dedicatory inscription.

1908 All Ranks of the Mauritian and Rodrigues Pioneer Companies Serving in the Middle East Command

A large circular silver salver engraved with the Arms of Mauritius and bearing a dedicatory inscription.

1909 Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Mogridge

A naturecraft study.

1910 Mr. A. H. Carncross

Two collapsible umbrellas in a case.

1911 The Governors and Staff of The Prince of Wales's General Hospital

A pair of 17th century Neapolitan pharmacy jars

1912 Madame Maria V. de Carvalho

A heart-shaped pendant in gold filigree and enamel

1913 The Finnish-British Society, Helsinki, Finland

A plain shield shaped glass dish.

1914 Miss L. Bathgate

Two hand-made cushions.

1915 Miss E. Tyson

A pair of models of Aberdeen terriers.

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C228050

1916 Monsieur Lucien Delrieu
Recording of Ave Maria composed by the donor.

1917 Polish Disabled Soldiers
A circular two tier tripod table inlaid and banded with various wood with star motif.

1918 The Hon. Mrs. Arthur Stopford
A set of shield shaped green lamp shades, two large and four small.

1919 Miss Maud Birch
A blue and yellow silk circular cushion.

1920 The President, Council and Members of the Institution of Structural Engineers
A pair of three-light electric table lamps and shades and a cigarette box all in carved oak.

1921 Mr. Anthony, Mr. Christopher and Miss Gillian Hyder
A set of wrought iron fire-irons and a trivet in the shape of a horseshoe.

1922 The Somerset Rural Community Council
A pair of fireside bellows, the front covered with embossed leather.

1923 Mr. and Mrs. Temple
A shoe black stand.

1924 Miss Aileen Lawrence
A book of Common Prayer bound in white and gold.

1925 The Manager and Staff of Messrs. Mullers Limited
A photograph book bound in cream leather.

1926 Shamsud Deen Kashmiri
A hand-carved square table on four folding legs.

1927 Mr. Gilbert Kareh
A bottle of eau de Cologne.

C228051

1928 Miss A. O'Neill-Keohane
A silk head scarf decorated with figures.

1929 Mrs. James Callender
Book "Yesterdays in Little Old New York" by Mr. James Callender.

1930 Mr. Adediran Stutuloro
A green covered square cushion.

1931 Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Richards
Two pairs of nylon stockings in decorated box.

1932 Mrs. Edgar M. Jackson
A pink silk slip.

1933 Mr. and Mrs. T. Hedley
A green painted box with fitted mirror for use as a make-up box, the lid decorated with flowers.

1934 Mr. A. Bentley
A plain silver napkin ring.

1935 Miss J. Kelly
Book "The Dream of Gerontius" by Cardinal Newman.

1936 Miss A. Carr
A woollen knitted bed jacket and a pair of bed socks.

1937 Miss Sheila Bailey
A tray cloth, a napkin and a tea cosy in Irish linen decorated with shamrock.

1938 Miss S. Lowther
A pair of nylon stockings.

1939 Mrs. A. S. Mannering
Book "Daily Light."

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C 228052

1940 Miss D. L. Amer
Three toy rabbits, stuffed and washable, made by the donor.

1941 The Nightingale Training School for Nurses, St. Thomas's Hospital and The Nightingale Fellowship
Illuminated address.

1942 Messrs. Charles Early and Company Limited
Two pairs of white Witney blankets, edged with satin.

1943 Mr. John Margaritis
Carved picture symbolizing marriage, by the donor.

1944 Mr. H. C. Low
A pair of framed pencil drawings, by the donor.

1945 People of all Races of North Borneo
A large native brass-bound carved wood chest with tray, and a small casket.

1946 Senor Hipolito Sanchez Ledesma
A Spanish translation of "Romeo and Juliet" in two volumes in a leather case the size of a match box.

1947 Mrs. Denise Wren and Miss Rosemary Wren
Three coloured pottery jugs, made by the donors.

1948 Miss Frances E. Everett
An écru lace scarf.

1949 Miss Helge Schroder
A book-plate die with The Princess Elizabeth's cypher.

1950 A Fife Family
Book "Memoirs of the Beauties of the Court of Charles II" by Mrs. Jameson, bound in half morocco. Two volumes.

C 228053

1951 Miss E. L. Bourne
A silver spray.

1952 Ukranian Prisoners of War Camp, Haddington
A hand-made box decorated in the traditional Ukranian manner.

1953 Miss A. W. Scudamore
The book of Common Prayer bound in blue calf tooled with gold.

1954 Mrs. L. Price
A crochetted tablecloth.

1955 Miss Ethel Furacre
A beaten silver-gilt magnifying make-up mirror.

1956 The Citizens of New Sarum
An illuminated address.

1957 Miss E. Wykes-Sneyd
A round cut glass scent bottle with silver top.

1958 Ukranian Volunteer Workers, Y.M.C.A. Hostel, Elsdon
Ukranian dress ornaments.

1959 Miss K. Bolton, Miss H. Bolton and Miss D. Childs
An afternoon tea cloth with lace edge.

1960 Miss Barbara Emson
An illuminated copy of the marriage service in a Gothic binding.

1961 Mrs. Sigismund Goetze
A fine petit point evening bag mounted in gold with a diamond clasp.

1962 The Latvian Refugees in Exile and Latvian Y.W.C.A. in Exile
A Latvian national costume and a miniature carved wooden dower chest containing Latvian jewellery and a congratulatory address.

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C 228053

1963 Miss Elizabeth Windsor
An Irish linen luncheon set.

1964 The British Angora Rabbit Society
A hand-knitted cardigan made from Angora wool.

1965 Miss Yvonne R. Collins
A hand-embroidered silk table cover made by the donor.

1966 Miss A. M. Waite
A set of twelve linen tea napkins.

1967 Miss Doris Dennis
A pair of hand-knitted gloves.

1968 Miss B. D. Beaham
A copy of the Holy Bible.

1969 Mrs. E. M. Shaw
An inlaid mother-of-pearl card case.

1970 Miss F. Newman
A blue silk bed jacket edged with lace.

1971 Captain and Mrs. R. G. Thelwell and Masters David and Michael Thelwell
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

1972 Mrs. Florence Iles
A hand-made lace tablecloth border.

1973 Mrs. Keith Erskine
A copy of the Holy Bible bound in mother-of-pearl.

1974 Miss Patricia Smedley and Miss Jacque Smedley
An afternoon teacloth edged with écru lace.

1975 General Sir Reginald Wingate
A part of the holy carpet from the Great Mosque at Mecca framed under glass to form a tray.

C 228054

1976 Miss E. Swerdloff
An antique Russian silver needlecase.

1977 Mr. C. H. Andrews
A copy of the New Testament.

1978 Mrs. N. Gruning
A Georgian silver snuff box.

1979 The African Soldiers of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland serving in the Middle East Command
A circular silver salver with scalloped edge and three smaller salvers to match.

1980 Mrs. A. M. Adler
A pair of black suède hand-made gloves.

1981 Mr. R. A. Mogg
An electric clock.

1982 The Staff of Elizabeth Arden in Great Britain, America and the Dominions
A crocodile case fitted with beauty preparations.

1983 Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hutchinson
Three books, " Wild Fowling with a Camera " by Lorene Squire ; " Fish " by William J. Schaldach and " Hoofbeats " by Warren T. Halpin.

1984 The Misses Wells
A linen table centre bordered with Irish crochet.

1985 Miss C. Gemmell
Book of poems, " Through Scottish Windows," by the donor.

1986 Mrs. Walrond Skinner
A book of church services, gilt mounted and bound in green velvet.

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1987 Madame G. Marechal Delcominette
Framed oil painting, "Flowering Trees," by the donor.

1988 The Anglophyl Societies of Bruges, Bruxelles, Charleroi, Eupen, La Louvrière, Liège, Lessines, Mons, Quievrain
A large cut crystal flower vase.

1989 The People of Queensland
A fumed maple wood cigarette box, the inside of the lid bearing a gold plate with a dedicatory inscription.

1990 The City Council of Brisbane, Queensland
An opal and gold pendant on a gold chain.

1991 The Queensland Branch of the Royal Society of St. George
A pair of opal earrings.
(The People of Queensland are also sending a gift of food to England for distribution as The Princess Elizabeth may desire.)

1992 Mr. J. M. Buston
A three-handled silver sweetmeat dish, and an early Georgian silver snuffbox, *circa* 1702.

1993 Miss P. Gill
A carved ivory fan in a velvet case.

1994 The County of Denbigh
A pair of silver Adam style three-light candelabra.

1995 The Countess Brassey
A silver toast rack with spirit lamp attachment.

1996 The People of Crathie, other than those on His Majesty's Estates
A silver-mounted cut glass scent bottle containing perfume distilled from flowers on Royal Deeside, and also gifts of flowers which will be bought and sent to Birkhall..

1997 The Earl and Countess of Sandwich
A tortoiseshell and enamel patch box mounted with gold, the lid decorated with a medallion, a classical group inset under crystal.

1998 The Misses Tooley
A set of six silver salts and spoons.

1999 Mr. and Mrs. D. Simmill
A vase of pottery flowers.

2000 Miss O. Thompson
A breakfast cruet stand.

2001 Mr. Gordon Lennox
A handbag covered in petit point and a lucky china shoe.

2002 Miss C. Handley
Two Pyrex dishes.

2003 Mrs. and Miss Simon
A small Victorian carved ivory fan.

2004 The Town of Grasse
Four cut glass flagons of perfume contained in a two-handled peasant basket.

2005 The "X" Chair Patents Company Limited, Hayes
A set of garden furniture comprising three chairs and a small table.

2006 Mrs. Irvine McNelty
A heavy gunmetal gallon measure with two handles inscribed "Euid Afrikaansche Republiek."

2007 The Chairman and Members of the Royal Automobile Club
Three silvered R.A.C. badges.

2008 Lady Joseph
A large Georgian silver strainer

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C 228057

2009 Mrs. Frank Barratt and Miss Doreen Barratt
A blue quilted silk nightdress case and a handkerchief case with an écru lace handkerchief.

2010 Sulman bin Hamed Alkhelifah, Ruler of Bahrain
A pearl shell containing seven large pearls.

2011 The President and Committee of the Richmond Royal Horse Show
A gold membership badge of the Richmond Royal Horse Show Society.

2012 The Lady Worsley
A round supper tray with blue and white Spode dishes.

2013 Sister Edith Siggins
A fine linen tablecloth.

2014 Miss Elizabeth Elin
Two engraved silver crosses.

2015 Conte and Comtesse D'Hanins de Moerkerke
Six large and six small lawn handkerchiefs.

2016 Mrs. T. D. Trouncer
Book " She Walks in Beauty " by the donor.

2017 The Pupils and Staff of Hampton House Girls School, Bristol
An inscribed plain silver inkstand.

2018 Master Robert and Miss Marion Jordan
A wooden book stand with ends carved in the form of a deer.

2019 Mrs. E. A. Witt
A pink silk tablecloth with lace decoration.

2020 Miss G. V. Goodwin
A pink suède handbag

C 228058

2021 The Revd. Harry Cope
A black leather handbag.

2022 Mrs. S. M. Davies and Miss Davies
A pair of nylon stockings.

2023 Mrs. Harold Spooner, Lieut.-Col. A. P. and Able Seaman J. Spooner
Two miniature china figures.

2024 Mrs. Hamish Lithgow
A Brussels lace Bertha.

2025 The Government and People of the Seychelles
A tortoiseshell dressing table set in blue morocco case, which forms part of the present for The Princess Elizabeth, the bulk of which is being used for building a nursing home in the Seychelles to be named after Her Royal Highness.

2026 The Revd. Louis A. Ewart
An oak cross made from an old beam from Earls Barton Saxon Church.

2027 Mr. and Mrs. Hibbett
Plated fish servers.

2028 The Women of Victoria
One large and four smaller silver fruit stands decorated with shell pattern on four shell feet. The large stand bears the arms of the State of Victoria.
and a cigarette box executed in mosaic work from many thousands of pieces of natural coloured woods.

2029 The Officers and Ship's Companies of H.M.S. " Vanguard," 1st and 2nd Commission
A framed oil painting of H.M.S. " Vanguard " by Norman Wilkinson.

2030 Messrs. H. and G. Simonds Limited
A special brew of strong ale to commemorate the wedding of The Princess Elizabeth with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

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C228059

2031 The City of Verdun
A large box of sugared almonds.

2032 The Mayor, Councillors and Citizens of the City of Dunedin
A travelling rug embroidered with the City's Arms.

2033 Mr. John and The Lady Jean Fforde
A length of handwoven Damascus brocade.

2034 Monseigneur Maurice Roy, Archbishop of Quebec, Bishop Ordinary to the Canadian Armed Forces, Former Chaplain of the Royal Vingt-Deuxième Regiment, The Officer Commanding, The Present and Ex-Members of the Royal Vingt-Deuxième Regiment
An écru tablecloth and set of napkins handspun and handwoven and decorated with a maple leaf design in colours.

2035 The People of British Honduras
A cigar box of burr rosewood and a set of turned bowls of ziricote wood.

2036 The People of the Colony of St. Helena
Tablecloths, napkins and dinner mats, hand-made in the traditional lace work of the island, contained in a small chest of inlaid wood, the lid of which is decorated with a design of a sailing ship.

2037 The Members of The Victoria League throughout Australia
A blotter of Australian fiddle-back blackwood, the corners mounted in gold.

2038 Mr. Joseph Said
A mahogany cabinet of Empire liqueur.

2039 Miss Charlotte Baluschek
A decorated wooden platter.

2040 Mr. Ram Gopal
A brocaded silk sari.

C228060

2041 Miss J. Jiakovska
Peasant dolls.

2042 Miss Emily Harrop
A pair of jam spoons.

2043 Mademoiselle J. Debel
A silk headscarf.

2044 Mrs. E. Saggs
Dressing table mats.

2045 Miss D. M. Gross
Tapestry worked by the donor.

2046 Mrs. C. Anderson
A pair of grape scissors.

2047 Mr. J. Lawrence
Book, " A new Guide to the Derby."

2048 Mrs. M. Cowan
An antique miniature brass fender.

2049 The Readers and Staff of The Nursing Mirror
Book, " The Story of the Growth of Nursing," by A. E. Pavey.

2050 Mr. C. J. Flemming
A bottle of Australian claret.

2051 Mr. and Mrs. T. Clarke
Two pairs of silk stockings.

2052 Mrs. I. Woodcock
A silver filigree brooch.

2053 Mr. William T. Collinson
A silver mounted match holder.

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C 228061

2054 Mrs. I. Randall
An old Dutch silver wool-holder.

2055 The Members of The Quamby Club, Melbourne
Framed oil painting "The Road to the McPherson Ranch" by John Rowell.

2056 Mrs. Gordon Wolstenholme and Family
Small silver patch box.

2057 Miss Patricia Rimmer
A pair of silk stockings.

2058 The British Mazdaznan Association
Book "Mazdaznan Science of Dietetics."

2059 Miss F. A. Studley LaFleur
Book "A Princess in her Garden of Flowers" by the donor.

2060 Mrs. M. King
A penknife with a mother-of-pearl handle.

2061 Mrs. E. M. Lower
A crotchetted tablecloth.

2062 Mr. Victor Feigenbaum
A carved wood portrait of The Princess Elizabeth.

2063 Mr. and Mrs. Mark Lacey
A small gold wedding cup and a poem typed on silk and framed.

2064 The President and Members of the Australian Flying Corps and Royal Australian Air Force Association
A book bound in black morocco containing reproductions in colour of the paintings of Elioth Gruner.

2065 The Arts and Crafts Society of Victoria, Melbourne
Two rugs made from Australian wool.

C 228062

2066 The Girl Scouts of the United States of America
A crystal paper weight engraved with the badge of the Girl Scouts of America, and a loyal Address bound in red morocco.

2067 The Anacortes Chamber of Commerce, Washington
Four dozen tins of salmon.

2068 Mr. J. Clark
A box of Kentish apples.

2069 The Pupils of the State Commercial Academy in Karloy Vary Spa, Czechoslovakia
A circular china plaque decorated with figures and a landscape.

2070 Miss D. Jackson
An Irish linen and silk tablecloth.

2071 Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Fenn
Two recordings of "Hear my Prayer" made by Master Michael Fenn.

2072 Miss S. Marschall
A painting in oils "Palm trees in time of flowering" by the donor.

2073 Mademoiselle Reyssent
Small pierced china basket and a table mat.

2074 The Société Benedictine
A large bottle of Benedictine liqueur.

2075 The Royal Institute of British Architects
A Chippendale mahogany chest of drawers.

2076 Mrs. M. D. Craven
A box of chocolates.

2077 The People of Dunfermline
White damask table linen and napkins.

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C228063

2078 The British Electrical Development Association
A television set.

2079 The Directors of The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane
Book, "Theatre Royal, Drury Lane," by W. J. Macqueen Pope, bound blue morocco, tooled and embossed with gold.

2080 Mrs. Leonila Richardson
A powder puff and set of lipsticks.

2081 Mrs. G. Metcalf
A cut glass milk jug and pair of salts.

2082 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Camp and Mr. and Mrs. Th. Alexandrou
An ash tray in Greek pottery and a Greek doll charm.

2083 The Committee of The British and Foreign Bible Society
An inscribed copy of The Holy Bible bound in soft red morocco.

2084 Mr. Leopold Glazer
A white china two-handled basket.

2085 Lt-Colonel Donald Cameron Yr. of Lochiel, Major Sir John Brooke and Other Officers of the Lovat Scouts
A set of hand-painted deer horn menu holders.

2086 Mr. Roy Thirkell
A silk scarf with a hunting design.

2087 Mrs. M. E. Dowling
A pair of small Staffordshire figures of poodles.

2088 Mrs. Readman and Mrs. Davies
A handworked crépe de Chine nightdress.

2089 Mrs. D. Fariss
An afternoon tea cloth hand embroidered in colours.

C228064

2090 Mrs. R. W. Harris
A miniature harp in bog oak, and a lucky stone charm.

2091 "Pupils of Rhetoric," Roucherolles School, Bolbec, France
A bottle of perfume.

2092 Miss M. L. Smart
A grey silk lace table centre.

2093 Mrs. H. C. Good and Family
A white silk handworked nightdress.

2094 Mr. A. H. de Villiers
A souvenir cover bearing stamps commemorative of the Royal Tour in South Africa.

2095 The Dowager Lady Jellicoe
A copy of the Navy List of October, 1876, in which the name of John R. Jellicoe appears as a midshipman serving in the frigate "Newcastle."

2096 Mr. and Mrs. P. Hoogeven and Family
Six cut crystal heart-shaped salts and silver gilt spoons.

2097 Les Dames Artisanes de France
A doll in a crinoline bridal gown.

2098 Major Hamilton Kirk
Book, "Index of Diagnosis" by the donor.

2099 All Ranks of the 292 Airborne Anti-Tank Regiment R.A., T.A.
Two silver grenade lighters.

2100 The Clerks and Workers of Electrothermal Engineering Limited
An electrothermal bed warmer.

2101 Mr. Charles Emms
Red velvet vestette.

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C228065

2102 Group of Ukrainian D.P. Women
White Blouse with Ukrainian embroidery.

2103 Miss H. Whittle
A Doulton china figure.

2104 Miss Nellie Clapperton
Book, " In Search of Two Characters " by Dormer Creston.

2105 The Headmaster, Masters and Boys of Winchester College
A silver medal commemorating the defeat of the Armada, 1585. One side depicts Spanish Popes, Kings and Noblemen sitting blindfold, their feet resting on spikes with the inscription " It is hard to kick against the pricks." The reverse shows the defeat of the Armada inscribed " Thou God art great and doeth wondrous things, Thou art God alone," and an Elizabethan crown issued in 1601.

2106 Mr. J. N. Bennett
A pair of hand-carved book-ends.

2107 The Inhabitants of Sittingbourne, Milton and District
A pierced silver engraved fruit dish and two silver sweet dishes of the same pattern.

2108 Miss Peggy Yates
Six plain champagne glasses.

2109 Miss M. N. Kenny
Hand embroidered teacloth.

2110 Miss D. Brothwell
A hand embroidered linen cushion cover.

2111 Mrs. E. Regan
A plated cruet.

C228066

2112 Mr. and Mrs. Margent
A tablecloth and sideboard cloth.

2113 Mr. J. Abeles
A cut glass sugar bowl.

2114 Mrs. M. E. Sowden
Twelve écru mats.

2115 Mrs. E. Humphreys
A pink bath towel.

2116 Miss D. McLachlan
A hand-made lace and pink bead doyley and a Royal Doulton china ash tray.

2117 Miss E. A. Hall
A hand embroidered tablecloth.

2118 Mr. Bohuslav Brauner
Book, " Mikina " by the donor.

2119 Major C. Clayton Hutton
Two pure mohair shawls, one blue and one white.

2120 Miss P. Haberman
A silver and paste brooch.

2121 Mrs. Lewis
A hand-made crochet mat.

2122 Mrs. W. Kownacka and Mrs. K. Bialous
Two dolls dressed to resemble The Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten.

2123 Mrs. Alastair Crawford and the Workers of Auchentroig Homespuns
A length of tweed.

2124 Mrs. E. M. Linne
An old leather bound copy of " Hudibras " by Samuel Butler, printed 1710.

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C 228067

2125 Mrs. G. E. Hurt
A white crèpe de chine nightgown, hand-made by the donor.

2126 Dr. J. T. Williamson
A large uncut diamond.

2127 Miss Yarmila Baresova
A scarf and cap hand-made by the donor.

2128 Miss Muriel Barnby
A length of ribbon made for the wedding of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

2129 Mr. and Mrs. Draisey
A hand embroidered tablecloth.

2130 The People of Colchester
An engraved silver salver bearing the Arms of Colchester.

2131 Miss Nowotna-Karlikova
A tablecloth hand embroidered in colours.

2132 Mr. C. Weiss
A pair of silk stockings and a handkerchief.

2133 The Provost, Magistrates, Councillors and Citizens of Paisley
A large Paisley shawl in a mahogany case.

2134 Miss M. Fisher
Silk lingerie.

2135 The Headmistress, Staff and Pupils, Queen Elizabeth School, Lisbon
An écru lace tablecloth.

2136 Miss M. G. Borda
A set of Maltese lace table mats.

C 228068

2137 The British Empire War Veterans, Andover, Mass.
Nylon stockings and handkerchiefs.

2138 Miss G. Goodricke
A crêpe de Chine handkerchief bordered by wide lace, bearing the Royal Arms and National emblems.

2139 Mrs. S. E. Le Brocq
Handworked tapestry wool and bead work chair seats.

2140 Mrs. O. Robertson
A wool travelling rug.

2141 Mrs. V. E. Rawson
A string lace table centre.

2142 Mrs. M. Dartois
A snuff coloured silk table centre.

2143 The Hand Loom Weavers of Donegal Town
A length of Irish hand-woven tweed.

2144 Mrs. E. Wardingham
A painted wrought iron table lamp and decorative shade.

2145 Miss M. Flood-Jones
A framed watercolour sketch of Edward VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

2146 Miss Elisabeth Welser
A cut glass powder bowl.

2147 Mr. H. H. Proctor
A portable wireless and spare batteries.

2148 Miss N. Jones
A bottle of perfume in the shape of a crown.

2149 Mr. L. A. V. Druenen
An lluminated address.

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C 228069

2150 The Catholic Welfare Organisation, Melbourne, Australia
A black hardstone paperweight set with opals, and a gift of food for distribution as The Princess Elizabeth desires.

2151 Mrs. F. W. Ayling
A panel of Chinese embroidery on yellow silk.

2152 The Flying Doctor Service of Australia
Book, " Flying Doctor Calling " by E. Hill.

2153 Mr. John Ewan
A brooch of New Zealand greenstone mounted with gold.

2154 Miss Julie A. Alloro
A turkey.

2155 Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Elliott
Nylon stockings.

2156 Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Jordan
A fringed tweed travelling rug.

2157 Mrs. John McNabb
Two plated butter dishes.

2158 Miss M. Leszczak
Two Polish dolls in a gilt studded box.

2159 Miss D. B. Barney
A copy of an original Pennsylvania Dutch marriage plate, hand-made and decorated by the donor.

2160 Winnipeg Beach Salvage Club
A set of glass dishes and a wall vase.

2161 Miss P. Davis
A hand-made white silk work basket.

C 228070

2162 Miss D. L. Terry
A hand-knitted woollen jumper.

2163 Mr. W. Stanek
A tall engraved flower vase.

2164 Mr. D. Sapio
An unset cameo, a head of King George VI.

2165 Miss Shirley Bridges
A georgette nightgown handworked by the donor.

2166 The Jamaica Federation of Women
Twenty-four dinner mats and napkins, embroidered with a Jamaican flower, the poinciana, and a lunch set of twelve, depicting scenes of Jamaica life.

2167 The Nationalist Party of India
An inscribed silver elephant.

2168 Major F. Krejci
A cut crystal shallow fruit bowl.

2169 The Disabled Ex-Servicemen of Durban
A hand-decorated tankard, and a pair of suede and lambswool bedroom slippers.

2170 Mrs. Glew, Mothers and Old People of Beryton Road, Gosport, Hants.
A plated bacon dish.

2171 The Government of Tasmania
A framed watercolour drawing of Richmond, Tasmania, showing the oldest bridge in the Commonwealth of Australia, and the oldest Catholic church in Australia, by John Eldershaw.

2172 M. Jacques Guérin
A bottle of perfume.

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C 228071

2173 The Patients and Staff of the Royal Western Counties Institution, Starcross, Devonshire
A handkerchief bordered with hand-made lace.

2174 Mr. Hans Tisdall
A framed oil painting by the donor, " The Dolphin Inn."

2175 Mr. David Welsh
A bottle of perfume.

2176 The Men, Women and Children of Aberdeenshire
An early 18th Century Scottish silver tea service and tray, the teapot by George Robertson, 1708–1720, the cream jug, sugar bowl and tray by George Cooper, *circa* 1730, and eighteen Aberdeen silver teaspoons, old English pattern, *circa* 1796, by J. Erskine, Aberdeen.

2177 The Archbishop of York
Book, " When we were very young " by A. A. Milne, bound blue calf, tooled with gold.

2178 Mr. H. Bonar Stuart
Book, " Western Highlands " by Arthur Gardner.

2179 Admiral Sir James Startin
An inscribed silver whisky measure on a stand.

2180 Miss E. M. Bratby
A gold and ruby tie pin.

2181 Miss M. M. Engel
Book, " I remember the Emersons " by the donor.

2182 Miss Mary Dunning
A spray of hand-made flowers.

2183 Mrs. H. E. Hamilton
" The Citizen of the World " by Dr. Goldsmith.

C 228072

2184 Jill, Teddy and Jack Ibbotson
A plated milk jug.

2185 The Services Nurses' Welfare Association of Tasmania
Book, " Isle of Mountains " by C. Barrett.

2186 Mr. Edward Williams
A gold and enamel lizard brooch.

2187 Miss Mary Stewart
A tea cosy handworked in pastel colours.

2188 Mrs. W. Dance
A silk sachet hand painted and made by the donor.

2189 The Staff of Pettitts of Reedham Limited
Flower posies and emblems.

2190 Miss Marie Jeanne Martin
A doll in Alsatian costume made by the donor for The Princess Elizabeth to present to a hospital.

2191 Miss Vivienne Cash
A decorated jar of bath salts.

2192 The Partners and Employees of Jaymar and Company, Kilbarchan
Three bird models made from Scottish cattle horn.

2193 Miss M. J. Carlson
A large white china plate, the centre painted with a bouquet of flowers enclosed in a border of burnished gold.

2194 Mr. Robert Rennie
A pair of Georgian style silver candlesticks.

2195 Mrs. M. Wilkinson Ray, and Her Son
Two silk and lace sachets and a handkerchief and lavender.

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C228073

2196 Mr. W. Whiteley
A shallow hand-made bowl of inlaid woods.

2197 Miss P. Bailey and the Misses Skillman
A wooden bowl and glass liner.

2198 Mrs. A. N. Pellew
A decorated cigar box and two birchwood trays.

2199 Miss W. Ava-Simner
A porcelain model of the first shoe worn by Queen Victoria.

2200 Miss M. E. Smithson
A bead and needlework evening bag with pearl and enamel mount.

2201 Miss C. Niznitz
A set of handworked handkerchiefs.

2202 Mr. L. Brault
Book, " Ottawa old and new " by the donor.

2203 Miss Peggy Campbell
A pair of jewelled clip brooches and chain.

2204 Miss Aurora Erigiani
Book, " Souvenirs dans L'Exil " par la Princesse de Belgiojoso.

2205 Miss Mary Willits
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

2206 Miss F. M. Neve
A carved sandalwood box and two pieces of Chinese embroidery.

2207 Miss E. Drury
A pair of nylon stockings.

C228074

2208 Miss P. Whitehouse
Book, " Mary by the Lake " by the donor.

2209 Dr. Halliday Sutherland
Book, " A Time to Keep " by the donor.

2210 The Residents of Queen Mary Place (Homes for Women), Pietermaritzburg
Books, " The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa " and " A Scrap Book of the Cape."

2211 Mrs. and Miss Multagh
A box of embroidered handkerchiefs.

2212 Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Neil
A pair of silk stockings.

2213 Mrs. E. Hutchinson
A pair of nylon stockings.

2214 Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Tribe
A Baxter Needlepoint in eight colours, Queen Victoria driving to open Parliament.

2215 A Fraternity in the University of Toledo, Ohio
Book, a copy of Stanley's " Westminster Abbey,' from the Library of John Ruskin.

2216 Mrs. Cannon
An inscribed copy of The Holy Bible.

2217 The Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire and Children of the Empire (Junior Branch)
An ermine coat.

2218 Mr. H. C. Brooks
A breviary published in 1704, and once in the library of The Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III, it bears her autograph.

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C 228075

2219 Mrs. E. Hollomby
A hand crocheted tablecloth.

2220 Mrs. S. G. Wright
A framed oil painting "The English Rose" by the donor.

2221 Mrs. F. Milne
A silver sauce boat.

2222 Miss L. M. Rowley
A hand-made sideboard cloth and table runner embroidered by the donor.

2223 Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Smith
A porcelain model of the first shoe worn by Queen Victoria.

2224 Mrs. E. Kay
Three needlepoint pictures depicting Spring, Summer and Autumn.

2225 The Citizens of Toronto
A loyal Address consisting of two inscribed panels of silver gilt enclosed in a folding morocco frame tooled with gold.

2226 Mrs. M. C. Gibbon
A pair of glass knife rests.

2227 Mrs. A. Fine
Two pairs of nylon stockings.

2228 Mr. and Mrs. C. Overly
A pair of embroidered towels.

2229 Miss E. Hamner
A brass paper cutter.

2230 Mr. and Mrs. L. Walkowicz
Book, "Ignace J. Paderewski."

C 228076

2231 Mrs. C. Bombard
A pair of nylon stockings.

2232 Mrs. E. Tucker
Two Willow pattern coffee cups and saucers.

2233 Miss Mary L. Thomas
Two linen towels.

2234 Mrs. W. H. Bickley
Book, "Discs of Time" by the donor.

2235 Mrs. M. D. Sutherland
A gold, pearl and turquoise brooch.

2236 Mrs. Tyrrell
An old silver nutmeg grater, Dublin, 1808.

2237 The Employees of Splintex Safety Glass Limited
A shaped plastic table.

2238 The Lord Inverclyde
A Vitascope illuminated panoramic electric clock.

2239 The Hon. Michael and Mrs. Bowes Lyon
A pair of Chippendale carved mahogany elbow chairs on ball and claw feet, covered in needlework.

2240 The Residents of the Urban District of Staines, Middlesex
An old English bracket clock in a Regency mahogany case inlaid with brass, and with brass handles and four ball feet, and a pair of inlaid mahogany bedroom chairs covered in crimson silk.

2241 Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Webb
A copy of The Holy Bible printed at Cambridge for the use of King William IV, with a special inscription.

2242 Mrs. E. Williams
A Prayer Book bound in scarlet leather.

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C228077

2243 Major R. H. Pope
A box containing a selection of ties.

2244 The Loyal Citizens of the Kalgoorlie and Boulder District of Western Australia
A pair of book ends made of native wood, mounted with gold seals and bearing a dedicatory inscription.

2245 Mr. A. K. Greves
A fruit dish of polished New Zealand wood with a silver plate bearing a dedicatory inscription.

2246 From the Headmistress and Pupils of Alderwasley Church of England School, near Wirksworth, Derbyshire
A wood and fibre stool made by the pupils.

2247 The Lord Sandford
An old English bracket clock in a domed mahogany case inlaid with brass and with panels of fretted brass work.

2248 Mrs. S. Burge
A pair of coat hangers covered in white satin.

2249 Miss R. M. Hakoumoff
Two framed oval needlework panels for pole screens embroidered by the donor.

2250 Mr. Ivan Vorobec-Karpatskyi
An Ikon in a hand-decorated box.

2251 Scholars and Staff of Gazeley U.P. School, near Newmarket
A hand-worked tray cloth.

2252 The Ex-S.A.W.A.S., Reitz, Orange Free State
Afternoon tea cloth hand embroidered in colours.

2253 Miss E. Gardiner
A pair of hand-made brown leather gloves.

C228078

2254 The Bailie of Holyrood, The Moderator, Office-Bearers and High Constables of The Palace of Holyroodhouse
A shaped silver gilt inkstand, engraved with the Royal Arms.

2255 Mrs. M. Mercer
A framed watercolour drawing of Birkhall.

2256 Mrs. William Shannon
A hand-embroidered apron.

2257 The People of Newport
Book, the collected poems of W. H. Davies, The Tramp Poet, son of Newport, bound Niger leather, tooled with gold.

2258 Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Alexander
A hemstitched towel and an embroidered tray cloth.

2259 Mrs. Grace Phillips
A set of four embroidered pillow cases.

2260 Miss E. Popham
An embroidered tray cloth.

2261 Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Goodman
A pottery figure of a dancing girl.

2262 Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Potter
A copy of The New Testament bound in olive wood and a lace bordered handkerchief.

2263 Mr. O. Wertheim
A salt and pepper pot in carved wood.

2264 Mr. A. Rodda
A silver box decorated with scenes from Indian legend.

2265 Mr. F. Roozbehyan
Two boxes decorated in the Persian taste.

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C228079

2266 Mrs. Matthews, Miss Pearl Matthews, and Mr. Vincent Matthews
A copy of The Holy Bible bound in morocco.

2267 Mr. G. R. Salmon
A set of embroidered handkerchiefs.

2268 The Misses Nicholson
A china model of a foal.

2269 The Members of the Handcraft Section, Wrexham Townswomen's Guild
A set of hand-made lace doyleys.

2270 The Misses Huddlestone
A Book of Common Prayer bound in blue.

2271 Mrs. S. Fingland
A hand-embroidered afternoon tea cloth.

2272 The Principal, Senior Members and Students of St. Mary's College, Durham
An etching of Durham by Kenneth Steel.

2273 Miss J. Dainty
A horseshoe hanger for a hunting whip.

2274 Mr. Duncan M'Intosh
Book, "The Traveller's Companion," poems by the donor.

2275 Miss P. Dowell
A set of silk table mats, hand-made by the donor.

2276 Miss E. McBride
A set of embroidered handkerchiefs.

2277 Father George Coulon
A water colour sketch of Birkhall.

C228080

2278 Mr. N. Karamanoglu
A handkerchief embroidered in colours.

2279 Miss Celia and Master Hugh Honnywill
A hot water bottle and towels.

2280 Mrs. H. A. Weller
Books, "Nests above the Abyss" and "Strong Tower."

2281 A number of Friends
A tortoiseshell comb mounted with silver.

2282 Mrs. H. E. Marke
A white silk blouse embroidered and made by the donor.

2283 Mrs. R. Elliott
A lace table mat and a set of hand-made pillow cases with lace insertion.

2284 Mr. J. G. Patten
A hand-made wicker waste-paper basket.

2285 The Viscount Ruthven and the Hon. Malise Ruthven
A silver slipper full of rice.

2286 Major the Hon. Simon and Mrs. Ramsay
A wooden porringer and a set of six porridge bowls.

2287 Mrs. R. Keeling
An Indian tablecloth embroidered in colours.

2288 Mrs. E. Damgen
A pair of nylon stockings.

2289 Mrs. M. Hatswell
Book, "Old Glass" by N. Hudson Moore, an Italian cameo brooch, and a mother-of-pearl and silver crucifix.

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C228081

2290 Mrs. R. Lephard
A set of pink hand-made table mats.

2291 Miss P. Chapman
A pink crochet tablecloth.

2292 Mrs. L. Brentano
Book, "The Questing Spirit," edited by H. Luccock and Frances Brentano.

2293 Miss Dorothy McMorris and Friends
Two myrtle-wood salt and pepper shakers.

2294 Mrs. R. Brière
An écru and pink tablecloth.

2295 Miss B. Campbell
Linen and lace handkerchiefs.

2296 Mrs. E. Burger
A lace bordered handkerchief.

2297 Mrs. E. Roberts
A green bordered tablecloth and set of napkins.

2298 The County of Bute
A gilt Chippendale oval mirror surmounted by a pagoda top and bird motif surround.

2299 Miss J. Lawrence
A pair of nylon stockings.

2300 Mrs. Madden
A pair of nylon stockings.

2301 Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Kohler
Two coloured guest towels.

2302 Mrs. G. Fish
Two hand-made handkerchiefs.

C228082

2303 Miss M. Tambinayagam
A folder of Ceylon stamps commemorative of the New Constitution, 1947 (unused), and a duplicate set which have been used.

2304 Miss J. Polidoro
A crepe de chine nightdress and two handkerchiefs.

2305 Miss K. Wilson
A pink silk handworked nightdress.

2306 The Council and Citizens of The City of Prince Albert in Saskatchewan
A loyal illuminated Address.

2307 Miss E. A. Jackson
A crepe de chine handworked tea cosy in pastel shades.

2308 Mr. Michael Farr
Twelve bottles of sloe gin.

2309 The Borough and County of the Town of Poole
A large green two-handled vase and a dinner service of Poole pottery.

2310 The Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau and The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain
A cushion embroidered in Ukrainian National cross-stitch design. An embroidered runner in national design, an embroidered serviette and a hand-carved box inlaid with beads, in national Ukrainian-Hutsulian design.

2311 The People of British Guiana
A gold powder compact bearing in relief the Arms of British Guiana.

2312 Miss Lillian Davis
An afternoon tea cloth in Queen Anne lace pattern, made by the donor.

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C228083

2313 Mr. Karl Fazer
A case of crystallised fruits.

2314 The Duchy of Cornwall
A pair of Cornish Units houses to be built for The Princess Elizabeth.

2315 The Management and Staff of Halson and Webston, Limited, Paris
Six bottles of gin.

2316 The Countess of Erroll and Mr. Iain Moncreiffe
A set of candle-shades decorated with a design of The Garter.

2317 The Workers and Management of Yeast-Pac Company Limited
A framed oil painting " Open Warfare," representing Fairway Foal and Feola, 1946.

2318 The People of Hongkong
A teak wood chest lined with camphor wood and carved in relief, the lid bearing a representation of Hongkong Harbour. The chest contains fifty yards of brocaded satin crèpe, fifty yards of brocaded silk and a hundred yards of silk crèpe in four colours. A large silver salver with Chippendale border, the centre decorated with a view of Hongkong Harbour surrounded by a dedicatory inscription in English and Chinese.

2319 The Mayar Silk Mills Limited
Fifty yards of brocaded white satin crèpe.

2320 Mr. Luis Chan
Two framed water-colours by the donor, " Views of the Harbour, Hongkong."

2321 Mr. Kam Cheung Ling
A framed water-colour drawing of Hongkong Harbour.

C228084

2322 Mrs. Montaudon Smith
Book, " Thèatre Choisi de Moliere."

2323 The Mayor and Burgesses of Leominster
Two pairs of gloves, an example of the local industry.

2324 Mrs. A. C. Tatham
A set of hand-coloured Scottish prints, *circa* 1828, mounted by the donor.

2325 Miss Helen Fitz Randolph
A Royal Doulton hand-painted vase.

2326 The Senior and Junior Youth Clubs, St. Mary's Church, Camberley
A hand-decorated waste paper basket.

2327 The Town Council of the Borough of Ossett, Yorks
A loyal illuminated Address.

2328 Mrs. L. Graham
An old cut glass goblet.

2329 The Royal Borough of New Windsor
A mahogany pedestal writing desk and an oval Chippendale mirror in carved and gilt openwork frame with scrolls, foliage, fruit and flowers, *circa* 1750.

2330 The Mayor and City Councillors of Kimberley
A framed oil painting of Kimberley mine by Professor E. Roworth.

2331 The Government of Nova Scotia
A " Scotian Craft " hand-woven wool coat.

2332 The Industrial Deaf and Dumb School of Montreal Canada
A perfumer container for the handbag.

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C228085

2333 The Duke de Medina de Rioseco

A shaped silver dish, the centre engraved with the Ducal Arms and the rim with a monogram.

2334 The Government of The Maldives

An inscribed mahogany chest containing four framed tapestries and a collection of ornamental objects in turned and enamelled native woodwork.

2335 The Girls' School, Male, Maldivia

An embroidered tablecloth and napkins.

2336 A Group of Women in Southern Ireland

A loyal illuminated Address ; an old Waterford cut glass fruit service, comprising a circular glass bowl and six oval-shaped dishes, richly cut with diamond pattern ornament.

2336a Men, Women and Children, Devoted and Humble Admirers in Southern Ireland

An 18th Century Sheraton mahogany cutlery cabinet, fitted to contain a Georgian silver tapered-handle table service, made in Dublin by John Pittar and I. D'Olier, 1770 to 1792 ; the service consists of table and dessert knives, forks, spoons and ladles, one hundred and thirty-five pieces in all.

2337 The National Women Citizen's Association

A collection of white wool blankets bound with white satin.

2338 The National Bible Society of Scotland

Two inscribed copies of The Holy Bible, bound soft morocco.

2339 The Mayor and People of Halifax, Yorkshire

A shaped and chased coffee pot, *circa* 1770, and a pair of shaped and chased column candlesticks on circular bases, Sheffield 1814.

C 228086

2340 Mrs. A. Mackenzie Drew

Portrait and collar of the dog " Patty," the only British survivor of the Kabul massacre, 1879.

2341 The Women Members of the Liberal Party of Australia

A set of six silver dishes with fluted borders engraved with the Arms of Australia, each dish bears on the back a dedicatory inscription.

2342 The People of Malaya

A carved mahogany side table on cabriole legs with ball and claw feet. A cloth embroidered with a conventional design in silk and gold thread. A pair of silver rose bowls decorated with a design in repoussé work, and a silver flower ring.

2343 Diana Lady Balfour of Inchrye

A framed water colour drawing of The Princess Charlotte of Wales by George Dawe, probably a study for the painting in the National Portrait Gallery.

2344 The Council, and Disabled Men of Lady Haig's Poppy Factory

A floor lamp in natural beechwood, with a parchment shade.

2345 The National Federation of Women's Institutes

An écru tablecloth, handworked and embroidered, and a " Women's Institute Book," a handbound volume with a page contributed by each of the 58 County organisations which comprise the National Federation of Women's Institutes.

2346 His Majesty's Subjects Resident in the Philippines belonging to the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and Pakistan

A mahogany lace box bearing a silver plate with a dedicatory inscription and containing two sets of very finely embroidered table linen woven from the leaves of the pineapple plant.

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C228087

2347 St. Mary's Girls' Club, Burley-in-Wharfedale
A cushion covered in old gold chiffon velvet.

2348 The Groombridge Guild of Women
A length of grey double twill on silk warp, in hand spun wool weft with inset lines in natural black and white.

2349 Mrs. M. Haydon
A silver gilt vanity case decorated in the Chinese style.

2350 Women of Poland Resident in Britain
A pair of felt bedroom slippers decorated in traditional style.

2351 The People of Indonesia
A silver tea service decorated with a repoussé design on a silver beaten work tray.

2352 The Inhabitants of Archangelos, Rhodes
A cloth embroidered in gold thread with a representation of Ayea S.

2353 The Highland Association
A silver Scottish quaigh with a dedicatory inscription in Gaelic

2354 The Veterans of Foreign Wars, U.S.A. Ladies' Auxiliary
A cabinet of cigars, and a silver fruit bowl.

2355 Mr. and Mrs. McBurney
Book, "The Ibex of Sha-ping," by L. B. Rundall.

2356 The Government and People of the Lebanese Republic
A collection of rare Phœnician glass bottles for perfume, some designed in the style of Egyptian, and some in the style of ancient Greek vases. The collection dates from the last centuries preceding the Christian era.

C 228088

2357 Miss Nora Ribchester
A linen afternoon tea cloth with wide crochet border made by the donor.

2358 Mrs. Jarratt and Miss Gorst
A handbag made by the donors.

2359 Miss S. Blunt
A feather fan with ivory sticks.

2360 Mrs. H. Jenner
An 18th century fan with pierced ivory sticks, hand-printed with views of Naples.

2361 The Workers of Messrs. Coates & Grundy, Wigan
A hand-made shopping basket.

2362 Miss E. Taylor
A pair of book ends.

2363 Miss E. Weekes
A length of silk brocade.

2364 Miss M. Fuller
A yellow hand-painted umbrella.

2365 The Misses Schambir
A set of mats of Maltese lace.

2366 Mrs. G. Carter
A model of a Galleon.

2367 Miss F. Burton
A length of silk ninon brocaded with a design of nasturtiums.

2368 Mr. A. Zitzer
A small Chinese vase in carved soapstone.

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C228089

2369 His Majesty's Loyal British Subjects resident in Tibet or Sikkim
A pair of Bhutanese cups of silver and Bhutan ivory.

2370 Miss M. Davies
A handkerchief bordered with fine old English pillow lace.

2371 Sir Harry and Lady Sinderson
A Persian miniature on ivory, agricultural pursuits.

2372 Mrs. I. Cutter
A Paisley Shawl.

2373 Mr. and Mrs. Albert W. H. Priestley
An old Spode jug containing a posy of wax flowers.

2374 Mrs. E. M. Collins
A silver pillar-shaped candlestick.

2375 Mr. H. Vardon
A piece of condensed soup, part of the stores in H.M.S. Victory at the Battle of Trafalgar.

2376 The Directors and Staff of the Rio Tinto Company
A linen tablecloth and napkins embroidered with a floral design and the cypher of The Princess Elizabeth.

2377 Captain Ian Cameron
Book, "The History of the 7th Argylls from El Alamein to Germany."

2378 Mrs. J. Hockney
An Indian brass bell.

2379 Mrs. G. Pratt
A papier-maché jewel case.

2380 The Attorney General and Lady Shawcross
Books, The Novels of Jane Austen, five volumes, bound dark blue calf tooled with gold.

C 228090

2381 The Children of St. Rose's Convent School, Stroud
An afternoon tea cloth worked by the donors with a design of flowers, butterflies and birds.

2382 The Biggleswade Branch of the British Legion Women's Section
A handkerchief bordered with hand-made lace.

2383 Mr. and Mrs. R. Pickup and Mr. A. Roberts
A hide Blotter, handmade and decorated by the donors.

2384 Miss M. Lawrie
A white crepe de Chine scarf hand painted by the donor

2385 Girl Guides from Czechoslovakia
A lawn handkerchief embroidered with the initial "E" and having a deep border of fine handmade lace.

2386 Mrs E. Meyerhoff
A pair of handmade doeskin gloves.

2387. The Staff and Trainees of the School of Stitchery and Lace, Bookham
A Set of dinner mats worked in a conventional design on canvas.

2388 Mrs. H. R. Saunders
A hand-made crochet Bedspread.

2389 The Von Brandis Youth Club, Johannesburg
A hand-made leather Blotter framing a congratulatory Address.

2390 Mr. and Mrs. H. Dent
A small Indian lacquered wood table.

2391 Miss Anne Jones
A handkerchief bordered with hand-made lace.

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2369 His Majesty's Loyal British Subjects resident in Tibet or Sikkim
A pair of Bhutanese cups of silver and Bhutan ivory.

2370 Miss M. Davies
A handkerchief bordered with fine old English pillow lace.

2371 Sir Harry and Lady Sinderson
A Persian miniature on ivory, agricultural pursuits.

2372 Mrs. I. Cutter
A Paisley Shawl.

2373 Mr. and Mrs. Albert W. H. Priestley
An old Spode jug containing a posy of wax flowers.

2374 Mrs. E. M. Collins
A silver pillar-shaped candlestick.

2375 Mr. H. Vardon
A piece of condensed soup, part of the stores in H.M.S. Victory at the Battle of Trafalgar.

2376 The Directors and Staff of the Rio Tinto Company
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C 228091

2392 Mr. and Mrs. W. Wiggins-Davies
A copy of The Holy Bible bound morocco.

2393 Miss J. M. Nash
A lace-bordered silk handkerchief.

2394 Dr. Violet Glover and Mr. H. Messer
A Bridge Set.

2395 Miss Elizabeth Denman
A lawn handkerchief bordered with hand-made lace.

2396 Mrs. William P. Duncan
An écru tablecloth and twelve napkins of Chinese embroidery and lace.

2397 Mr. and Mrs. R. Joiner
An afternoon tea cloth embroidered in colours.

2398 The National Federation of Women's Clubs of the Philippines
A finely embroidered table runner, napkins, and d'oyleys, of pina cloth which is found only in the Philippine Islands.

2399 Alison Uttley and Margaret Tempest
A Collection of the donors' books.

2400 Major and Mrs. Dickenson and the Murgatroyd Family
A handkerchief bordered with hand-made lace.

2401 Mr. and Mrs. T. Duncan
An embroidered afternoon tea cloth.

2402 The Pupils and Staff of the County of Renfrew Public School
A hand-woven wool wrap.

2403 Mrs. A. C. Wyatt
An embroidered sheet and pillowcases.
A small gold bar brooch.

C228092

2404 Littleworth Girls' School, Hednesford, Staffs.
A Cushion embroidered in cross-stitch.

2405 Miss Joan Duffus
A hand-painted and embroidered satin cloth.

2406 The Council of The County Borough of Bournemouth
A framed Loyal Address.

2407 The Council of The Borough of Christchurch
A Loyal illuminated Address.

2408 Miss Emily Stewart
A silk scarf embroidered with a design of apple-blossom.

2409 Mrs. John McNeill
Book, "The Twenty-Third Psalm" by The Rev. John McNeill.

2410 Miss E. Powell
A gold pencil.

2411 Mrs. M. A. McPherson
An old China Beer Jug.

2412 Miss E. Kerr
A tea cosy decorated by the donor.

2413 Mrs. F. Cave
A cream wool bedjacket knitted by the donor.

2414 Major and Mrs. Speranza
A Collar and Scarf of old Maltese family lace.

2415 Miss E. Sharman
A length of striped silk.

2416 Miss B. Dowthwaite
A pair of nylon stockings.

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2417 Mrs. K. Williams
A silk scarf handworked by the donor.

2418 The County Council of the Administrative County of the Parts of Holland, Lincolnshire
A congratulatory Address.

2419 Mrs. J. McDuff Wallace
A ninon head scarf.

2420 The Women's Gas Council
An Ascot gas water heater.

2421 The Provost, Magistrates and Councillors of the Burgh of Newton Stewart
A Glencree mohair wrap.

2422 Mr. F. H. Alton
A miniature of William Shakespeare.

2423 The Bluetit Patrol of the 1st Stonehouse Guide Company
A silver strainer.

2424 Major Frederick Davy
A set of d'oyleys made in Mexico.

2425 The Scottish Association of Girls' Clubs
A set of Scottish pebbles mounted as buttons.

2426 Mr. R. Maker
A chased silver matchbox.

2427 Shaftesbury Society Home for Crippled Boys, Sevenoaks
A model galleon made by one of the boys.

2428 Mr. C. B. Whiteley
Two dozen dish cloths, an eighteenth century silver taper stick, candles and matches.

C228094

2429 Mrs. A. Green and Miss Green
A fringed silk shawl.

2430 Mrs. V. Radford
A cut glass biscuit barrel.

2431 The Girls of the Polish College, Dunalastair House, Scotland
A fringed white cloth and napkins embroidered with a conventional design by the donors.

2432 Miss I. Kenney
Nylon stockings.

2433 Swansea Young Wales Club
A hand-made wooden powder bowl.

2434 Mrs. P. Lyttelton
A black silk patterned shawl.

2435 Mrs. Bernard Walsh and Major David Walsh
A tortoiseshell and silver snuff-box, the lid inset with a medallion.

2436 Skipper, Mate and Crew, S.R.S. "Upholder," West Wandsworth
A lanyard.

2437 Buccleuch Evangelical Church
A pair of small Flemish jugs.

2438 Dr. Maria Korchagina
Miniature ivory elephants in a small silver box.

2439 Mr. W. Cleland
A number of writing table accessories made of coal and decorated by the donor with nails from the shoes of The Princesses' ponies which were shod at Glamis Smithy.

2440 Mrs. A. Strickland Williams
An English Pennsylvania Bank note, George III, 1773.

2441 Mr. and Mrs. J. Erickson
A silver teaspoon of a pattern named "Milburn Rose" after Captain Milburn whose ship brought Governor Winthrop from England to the Colonies in 1630.

2442 Mrs. M. Gascoigne
A silver coin of Charles I.

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C228095

2443 Miss J. Fitz-Hugh
An Angora twin set and a pull-over.

2444 Lady Foster
An expanding tortoiseshell trinket box with a carved Chinese motif on the lid.

2445 The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Royal Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames
A leather-bound illuminated Address.

2446 The Directors of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway Company
An inscribed silver rose bowl.

2447 The Theatrical Profession through the Council of the British Actors' Equity Association
Book, " The Decorative Art of Léon Bakst," published 1913.

2448 The Royal College of Midwives
A pair of George II silver tea caddies and a sugar bowl with cover contained in an old silver mounted shagreen case.

2449 Miss Alice Williams
A tortoiseshell box containing a brooch made out of the first gold found in the " Prince of Wales " mine, Dolgelley, Merioneth, in 1653. The design represents the mining implements of that period.

2450 Mr. Henry L. Lambert
A gold watch set in the form of a key.

2451 Members of No. 1 M.T. Training Centre who served with The Princess Elizabeth, 1st March, 1945 to 16th April, 1945.
An angle poise lamp.

2452 Mrs. A. Howard Sommerville
A framed oil painting of still life painted by the donor.

2453 Mrs. B. Tew
A green ostrich feather fan with tortoiseshell sticks.

2454 Miss Julia R. Hall
A book, " Histoire Romaine," published in Paris, 1782, and bearing the autograph of Madame Laetizia Bonaparte.

C228096

2455 Mrs. Vernon Eaton
A book, " Poems by Alice Meynell," bound brown morocco tooled with gold.

2456 The People of Lynton, Lynmouth and Barbrook
A book, " Lorna Doone " by R. D. Blackmore, bound red morocco and having an inscribed loose leather cover.

2457 Mrs. de C. Short
A silk cushion worked by the donor.

2458 The Rev. Prebendary W. F. Buttle and the Children of St. Chad's, Bethnal Green
An inscribed copy of The Holy Bible.

2459 British Community of Friends in the Argentine
A carved mahogany case containing a cowhide album with the signatures of over 7,000 residents in Argentina of British birth or descent and the signatures of other well wishers who have contributed to a gift of foodstuffs to be distributed as The Princess Elizabeth desires.

2460 The Aboriginal or Amer-Indian Tribes of British Guiana
A Tibisiri hammock and a fan.

2461 The Misses Forrest
A set of embroidered handkerchiefs.

2462 The Pupils of the top class in East Sheen Primary School
A spray of flowers.

2463 Lieut-Colonel W. R. Carey
A scale model of Sir Francis Drake's ship " The Golden Hind."

2464 The Staff of the C.M.S. Hospital, Gaza
A book, " Daily Light."

2465 The Members of St. Peter's Church, West Ham
Two afternoon tea cloths embroidered in colours.

2466 The 2nd Orkney Troop, Boy Scouts
A Scottish silver brooch and cuff links.

2467 The Blythe Players
An electric iron.

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2468 Miss Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies and Marda Vanne
A silver bonbonnière.

2469 No. 80 Ukrainian Prisoners of War Camp, Sleaford Lincs.
A snapshot album, the lid decorated in traditional Ukrainian style.

2470 Miss B. Bonser
Two embroidered handkerchiefs, a crystal seal, a card and a diary of 1803, which all belonged to The Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III.

2471 Miss Betty Vacani and Miss Betty Hanes
A pink silk scarf with a design by Roy Thirkell.

2472 The Community and Pupils of St. Joseph's Convent, Tamworth
An afternoon tea cloth and doyleys of hand embroidery worked in the school.

2473 Church of England Zenana Mission at Khammamett, Hyderabad
Hand-made Indian lace made by women and girls in the Mission.

2474 Mrs. Stanley Tyzack
A framed etching of Durham Cathedral.

2475 Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Bondybey
Two boxes designed and decorated by the donors.

2476 The Borough of Monmouth
A loyal illuminated Address.

2477 The Borough of Wallsend
A loyal Address.

2478 The Borough of Ramsgate
A loyal illuminated Address enclosed in tooled morocco leather.

2479 Mr. Alfred Rollauer
A hand-decorated box containing a representation of the Polish eagle with a wreath framing a picture of The Princess Elizabeth.

2480 Hungarian Students of the Law of the University of Budapest
A statue of Santa Claus.

2481 Women of Durban
A loyal illuminated Address

2482 The People of Royal Leamington Spa
A washing machine and a nest of black lacquer tables decorated in gold with Chinese scenes.

2483 The Directors, Management and Staff of Wallace Heaton Limited
A Rolleiflex camera.

2484 The Wicklow Militia Lodge of Freemasons
A loyal illuminated Address.

2485 The Commodore, Flag Officers, and Members of the Royal Dorset Yacht Club, Weymouth
A loyal Address.

2486 The Patients of the Queen Alexandra Solarium for Crippled Children, Vancouver Island
An inscribed silver photograph frame.

2487 The 1st Ullapool, 4th Ross-shire Girl Guide Company
A water colour drawing of Ullapool.

2488 Mr. George Reiss
A framed wood engraving " Orchids " by the donor.

2489 Mrs. A. Edwards-Beswick
A framed water colour drawing of spring flowers by the donor, Florence Walker.

2490 The Orange Brethren of Co. Down Grand Lodge
A loyal Address.

2491 Mrs. B. Spinks
A piece of oriental material.

2492 The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Watford
A loyal Address.

2493 Miss O. Whitaker
A handworked bedspread.

2494 Detachment 40, British Red Cross, Bangor
An embroidered sheet and two pillow cases.

2495 Miss M. Granz
A white scarf embroidered in colours by the donor.

2496 The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Winchester
A loyal illuminated Address.

2497 Miss E. Harris
A copy of The Holy Bible.

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C228099

2498 Mrs. F. Binnie
A handknitted jumper.

2499 The Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney
A book of Meditations.

2500 Miss L. Hammond
A cream velvet kneeling cushion made by the donor.

2501 Miss K. Grasett
A table runner of gold fabric woven by the donor.

2502 Chief Majebere Masanja, Sukumaland, Tanganyika
A pair of native fly whisks.

2503 Mr. H. Jones
A coir door-mat made by the donor.

2504 Mrs. Gordon Durnton
Hand-made handkerchiefs.

2505 Mrs. O. Baker
A cameo brooch representing Joan of Arc.

2506 Mr. and Mrs. C. J. D. Shaw
A Chelsea Derby Figure in Highland costume, *circa* 1820.

2507 The Youth of the Scottish Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Edinburgh
A pair of badges in a tortoiseshell snuff-box.

2508 The Council of the Borough of Jarrow
A loyal Address

2509 The Corporation and Inhabitants of the Borough of Andover
A loyal Address

2510 Miss M. Lambert-Taylor
A red lacquer ball containing a set of lacquer plates.

2511 M. Michel Molines
A bonbonnière of Nevers Art Pottery.

2512 Mr. and Mrs. Michael Leeder
A pair of red and black silk slippers.

2513 Mrs. Holmes and Mrs. Biggs
A pair of chamois leather gloves and a purse made by the donors.

2514 Miss M. L. Groves
Two gardening baskets.

2515 The Slovene Displaced Persons at Spittal, Austria
A veneered casket containing hand-made table mats.

C228100

2516 Princess Stephanie Dolgorouky
A glass powder bowl with plaques of ruby glass, decorated with burnished gold.

2517 Mrs. Redman
An inscribed silver boomerang brooch.

2518 Mr. and Mrs. Boris Yakovlev
A handworked, silk and lace, nightgown and dressing gown.

2519 Mrs. E. Tyner
A silk covered hotwater bottle, and silk sachet.

2520 Madame Jacquet
A hand-knitted jumper.

2521 Miss L. A. Pinder
Silver fish servers.

2522 Miss E. Brandt
A silver compact.

2523 Miss Sarah Lorimer
Small silver box.

2524 Dr. W. C. Marett
A miniature brass kettle and coffee mill.

2525 Mr. Heypold Johnson
A silver trolley cruet-stand fitted with glass cruets.

2526 Miss Elisabeth Weiss
A flagon of Eau de Cologne.

2527 The Doll of the Month Club, New York
Three costume dolls.

2528 Miss G. Daniels
Two hand-knitted cot covers.

2529 Mr. and Mrs. S. Hastings
A white lace sunshade cover.

2530 Mr. and Mrs. Fracho and Family
A Danish silver jam spoon.

2531 Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Lorkin
A George IV brass-mounted mahogany truncheon.

2532 Miss D. W. Sayles
Two silver sweetmeat dishes.

2533 Miss P. Goode
A set of dinner mats.

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C 228101

2534 Mrs. Clara Bell Walsh
A large collection of household dusters, rubbers and cloths.

2535 Mrs. P. L. Sidebottom
A plate with the picture of a horse, " Man O' War."

2536 Miss Mary Mack
An ecru lace tablecloth and twelve napkins.

2537 Mr. S. H. Hoffman
Two framed oil paintings of scenes in Old Ceylon, by the donor.

2538 Captain and Mrs. C. K. Davis
Two figures carved and painted in wood, Quebec handicraft.

2539 Mrs. M. Laine
A pair of matching jewelry and sewing travel cases, made by the donor.

2540 Mr. A. S. Ahonen
An album made by the donor, the cover decorated in straw work.

2541 The General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine
An album containing a collection of air photographs of the Holy Land.

2542 Miss Grace Sales
A tea-cosy and cushion, a costume doll and a powder-puff, hand decorated by the donor.

2543 Miss Hamilton
A framed water colour sketch, " H.M.S. Worcester, Greenhithe," by Wilson Steer.

2544 Mr. W. J. Coulter
A truncheon made by the donor from laburnum grown in Northern Ireland.

2545 Miss O. Staskova
A cut-glass flower vase.

2546 Lieutenant A. A. Miller, U.S.N.R.
Two ivory letter openers and an ivory paperweight of Alaska ivory.

2547 Baltic Displaced Persons Camp near Brunswick, Germany
A hand-carved and inscribed wood casket.

2548 Miss B. Svchlova
A silk head scarf, decorated by the donor.

C228102

2549 Miss M. Bennett Probert
A hand-painted lace head scarf made by the donor.

2550 Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Cromwell
A set of twelve Canadian silver teaspoons.

2551 Some of the Workers of the Art Pottery Factory at Compiègne
A circular dish.

2552 Mr. F. Alex Wills
A book, " Highland Holiday," by the donor, bound brown calf tooled with gold.

2553 Miss Elfrida Saunders
A book, " A History of English Art in the Middle Ages," by the donor.

2554 Mrs. E. McDermott
A pair of white mocassins made by the donor.

2555 Mrs. Sidney Newman
A book, " The Settlement Cook Book."

2556 Colonel Sir James Sleeman
A book, " From Rifle to Camera," by the donor.

2557 Mrs. A. Pinto Leite
A silver coin of the reign of Mary Tudor.

2558 Mrs. B. Andrews
A doll dressed by the donor and hand-made kettle holders.

2559 The College Campus Club, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia
A book, " Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860."

2560 Mr. A. McGough
A book, " A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic language."

2561 The Cast of the film " The Secret Life of Walter Mitty "
A gold " charm " brooch.

2562 Mr. John Kohut
A costume doll.

2563 Miss Hilda Probyn
A miniature copy of the Royal Sceptre in ivory, made as a souvenir for the Coronation of Queen Victoria.

2564 Mr. W. McComb Burnside
A shillalah.

2565 Mrs. L. M. Cormack
One of the boxes of chocolate sent by Queen Victoria to her troops in South Africa, 1900, and a gold pound bearing the head of President Kruger, 1898.

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2566 Mrs. N. Brierley and Mrs. G. Brierley
Two coloured turkey towels.

2567 Mr. and Mrs. Peters
A navy blue leather handbag.

2568 Mademoiselle A. Thomas and Mademoiselle J. Trannoy
A trinket box in Blois pottery.

2569 Miss Enid Shortridge
A spray of orchids hand-made by the donor, and a collection of motifs of old Honiton lace.

2570 Miss G. Craggs
Two panels of Chinese embroidery.

2571 Mrs. A. Bidwell
A silk and lace nightgown.

2572 The Chairman, Aldermen and Councillors of the Dorset County Council
A loyal Address.

2573 Workers in the National Savings Movement
A loyal Address.

2574 Mrs. Graham Rees-Mogg
A locket set with diamonds framing miniatures of King George V and Queen Mary.

2575 Mrs. D. H. Colville and Miss Colville
A silver brooch with a design of Broadlands, Romsey.

2576 Mrs. R. Mackenzie
A small bead purse which once belonged to The Princess Charlotte.

2577 Miss Helene Philippe and Miss Marjorie Goodge
A book, "Africa, the Beloved," written and illustrated by the donors.

2578 Miss F. E. Harris
An old beadwork necklace and pin cushion.

2579 The Wilton Royal Carpet Factory Co., Ltd.
A hand-made rug of Louis XV design with a garland of flowers on an oyster-grey ground.

2580 The City of Edinburgh
A complete Service of crystal, made in Edinburgh.

2581 Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt
Twelve white bath towels with the initial "E" embroidered in blue, six bath tub cloths and six dusters.

2582 The People of Blackburn
Eight lengths of woven material.

2583 The Hudson's Bay Company
A Beaver Coat.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C228134

MEMORANDUM

Secret

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The Biographer would appreciate some further information on the following subjects:

-

1.Circumstances and effect of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. - Cooperation of the Minister (Rodolphe Lemieux) and the Deputy Minister in bringing about this piece of legislation.

2.The C.P.R. strike in 1908. - Part of the Deputy Minister?

3.By whom and how Mr.Mackenzie King was decided to enter public life in 1908 ?

4.Some information about the personal relations of Mackenzie King and Laurier in 1911(during and after the defeat), and chiefly in 1917. Laurier must have been deeply moved by Mackenzie King's loyalty in 1917.The biographer would be exceedingly glad to be able to record some conversation or correspondence which must have taken place between the two statesmen at that time. R.B.Borden suggests in his Memoirs that he might have attracted Mackenzie King, if he had seriously endeavoured to.Any document permitting to refute this statement would naturally be valuable.

5.Part of Mr.King and Ernest Lapointe at the Imperial Conference of 1926.- Influence of lord Byng's action on the Résolutions moved and adopted at the Conference.

6. Personal relations of Mr.King and R. B.Bennett.

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I

William Lyon Mackenzie

Mackenzie King est Ecossais cent pour cent, pour parler à l'américaine. Ses deux grands-pères sont venus jeunes au Canada. Le plus célèbre est le grand-père maternel, William Lyon Mackenzie, dont le rôle, dans le Haut-Canada, correspond à celui de Louis-Joseph Papineau dans le Bas-Canada. On n'est pas le petit-fils de Mackenzie ou de Papineau sans en porter des traces; un croquis de William Lyon Mackenzie est donc l'indispensable introduction à toute biographie de W.L. Mackenzie King.

William Lyon Mackenzie, venu au Canada en 1820, à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans, réussit vite, à la fois comme commerçant et comme journaliste. Il publiait le Colonial Advocate, de Queenston. Elu député d'York en 1828, il entra en conflit avec le pouvoir exécutif, comme Papineau dans le Bas-Canada et pour les mêmes raisons. Mackenzie et Papineau voulaient substituer, dans le gouvernement du pays, la volonté de la Chambre élue par le peuple à la volonté du gouverneur nommé par la Couronne. Respectueux, certes, des prérogatives royales, ils attribuaient la véritable souveraineté au peuple. Ils exigeaient en particulier le contrôle parlementaire des fonds publics. En somme, ils demandaient pour les Canadiens les droits depuis longtemps obtenus par les sujets britanniques.

A trois reprises, l'Exécutif prétendit expulser Mackenzie. A trois reprises, le comté le plus populeux du Haut-Canada réélut son député. En 1832, les colons haut-canadiens chargèrent Mackenzie de porter leurs doléances à Londres, tandis que les Bas-canadiens confiaient la même mission à Denis-Benjamin Viger. Les deux délégués agirent en liaison, présentèrent des griefs presque identiques, se procurèrent l'appui des mêmes députés aux Communes de Londres, obtinrent ensemble une audience du secrétaire des Colonies. En changeant quelques mots, quelques noms de lieux, certains mémoires soumis par Mackenzie auraient pu s'appliquer, trait pour trait, à la province-soeur. Le réformiste haut-canadien exposait "La nécessité que le Conseil entourant les gouverneurs possède la confiance du pays". Autrement dit, il réclamait ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui la responsabilité ministérielle, pierre angulaire des démocraties modernes.

Mackenzie et Viger s'acquittèrent de leur mission à la grande satisfaction de leurs commettants. En 1834, York étant "incorporée" comme ville sous le nom de Toronto, Mackenzie devint son premier maire et lui donna sa devise: "Industry, Intelligence and Integrity".

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Une nouvelle machination tendant à faire invalider le député d'York le rendit encore plus populaire. Mackenzie et Papineau, poursuivant le même but, maintinrent la liaison dans la mesure possible à une époque de communications précaires. C'est Mackenzie qui fit venir à Papineau, par l'intermédiaire de l'Orateur de l'Assemblée haut-canadienne, le texte des instructions secrètes données par Downing Street à lord Gosford, en 1835. Ce texte était de nature à révolter Papineau et ses amis.

Les événements de 1837, période culminante du grand conflit, sont assez connus. Mackenzie, comme Papineau, chercha refuge aux Etats-Unis. Amédée Papineau, fils aîné du grand tribun, réfugié à Saratoga, reçut la visite de Mackenzie. Il décrit, dans son agenda, le chef réformiste: "C'est un petit Ecossais plein de feu et d'une activité sans égale. Dans son parler, il a l'accent guttural écossais très prononcé. Il a le front du président Van Buren et le bas de la figure de Chénier. Sa stature, son caractère, font aussi qu'il ressemble beaucoup à ce martyr. La conversation ne pouvait rouler que sur le Canada. Mackenzie dit qu'il était plein d'espérance, que l'insurrection avait grandement avancé la cause canadienne, qu'il se rendait à New-York pour la servir et qu'il était certain de son succès. C'est avec plaisir que je vis un homme partager mes opinions, moi qui depuis longtemps n'entendais rien que de propre à me décourager."

Aux Etats-Unis, Mackenzie et Papineau suscitèrent des sympathies, mais sans obtenir l'appui des autorités. La tentative de 1838, encouragée par Mackenzie mais blâmée par Papineau, aboutit à un désastreux échec. Papineau, séjournant alors à Albany, prépara un voyage en France, pour intéresser ce pays à sa cause. Mackenzie, transportant de New-York à Rochester son foyer d'exilé, traversa la ville d'Albany. Il était, note Amédée, "avec sa mère, âgée de 89 ans, sa femme, dix enfants dont le dernier a quinze jours, son ménage, sa bibliothèque, sa presse, et une bonne provision de courage." L'enfant de quinze jours, née en exil, sera la mère de Mackenzie King.

Après l'insurrection de 1837-38, la carrière de Mackenzie et celle de Papineau restent parallèles. Tous deux rentrèrent à la faveur de l'amnistie, après dix années d'exil. Tous deux furent réélus députés. Mais ils avaient perdu le contact intime avec la vie politique du pays. La direction pratique passait à George Brown et à John A. Macdonald dans le Haut-Canada, à Louis-Hippolyte Lafont et à Georges-Etienne Cartier dans le Bas-Canada. Mais si George Brown est le véritable fondateur du libéralisme ontarien, William Lyon Mackenzie en est le p

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seur, comme Louis-Joseph Papineau est le précurseur du libéralisme québécois. Un tel souvenir oriente au moins les premières années, les premières réflexions, les premières convictions d'un petit-fils.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C228139

Dr Wilson.

Here is the shell-bomb child of Mr Pennilly. At the time I received these copies for purposes of effecting the translation, I wrote down a few notes as attached here, after going over the two texts. They might be useful should there be any hope for a relinkage of the project.

I. D.

14/7/45

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October 4, 1944

C228140

Memorandum for J.A.G.:

Re: Mr. King's biography by Rumilly

page 6, Fr. text:

3rd line from last: "l'arbitrage épiscopal ne comportait aucune sanction, et ne fut pas longtemps observé"

litteral sense is: "the archbishop's arbitration did not carry any sanction, and did not hold very long"

---

page 25, Fr. text:

last paragraph, 2nd phrase: "un incident international faillit entraver cette oeuvre"

translation, page 45, gives: "helped to complete"

sense is: "pretty nearly clogged this undertaking"

---

page 26, Fr. text:

3rd par'ph, 1st sentence: "le téléphone et le télégraphe fonctionnaient dans tout le pays"

Translation, page 46, 2nd par'ph, first sentence, gives: "extended to every country"

Sense is: "carried messages throughout the country"

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page 31, Fr. text:

Mr. Rumilly seems to translate "Acting Minister" by "Ministre sans portefeuille". I don't think this is an accurate translation. In my opinion, it should be "ministre par interim". The legal technicality that may have dispensed the "Acting Ministers" from seeking re-election was not ~~because~~ that they were without portfolio, but ~~because~~ that they did not draw any salary.

---

page 35, Fr. text, second paragraph,
Translation, page 61, second paragraph:

Mr. Rumilly holds that the declaration by which the Governor General was to represent, not the Government of London or any United Kingdom, but the King, wrote an epilogue to the "coup d'état of Lord Byng".

I don't think one can hold that the fact that the Governor General was declared to represent the King and not the Government of United Kingdom, is an epilogue of the "coup d'état". The question still remained after whether the Governor General or the King could refuse dissolution, this right of granting or allowing dissolution being a prerogative of the Crown alone, as was pointed out by Mr. Churchill himself a few months ago in the House of Commons, in the course of a debate on the "School Act". The Governor General is not concerned at all with what the British Government may think, but exclusively with what the King will say.

---

page 39, Fr. text:

last sentence: "les habitants clouaient le bec des avocats de Montréal"

Translation, page 71: "the 'habitants' refused to allow their Montreal lawyers to talk about anything else"

I think something like this would be more accurate: "On this question, the 'habitants' got the better of the Montreal lawyers"

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page 55, Fr. text:
Translation, page 100:

Rumilly says : "(les provinces) ont ce jour-là signé un pacte"

I don't think "the supporters of the compact theory" would go as far as endorsing that statement. What they contend is that the "B.N.A. Act" is not a contract in itself ~~since it is~~ a law of Parliament, but that it ~~would~~ gives expression to ~~an~~ or translates an agreement ~~privately~~ arrived at by the representatives ~~from~~ of the provinces. They also say that this kind of moral contract witnessed by an Act of Parliament belongs to public law, and should not be assimilated to a contract of civil law.

Same paragraph; fifth sentence starting with: "les empiétements du pouvoir fédéral"

translation is: "the impingements upon the federal power"

Sense is: "the impingements on the part of the federal power"

---

page 55, Fr. text:

3rd line from last: "parmi ceux qui la connaissent il en est qui passeraient bien outre"

translation,p.101: "There is one who surpass all others"

sense is: "some would willingly ignore it"

J. T. D.

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II

Un "Scholar"

L'influence d'un grand-père comme William Lyon Mackenzie - ou comme Louis-Joseph Papineau - est prépondérante sur un adolescent. Mais du côté paternel, Mackenzie King descend de loyalistes convaincus. Son grand-père, venu d'Ecosse comme officier, a servi pendant l'insurrection de 1837. Son père, John King, figura parmi les volontaires de 1866, lors des raids féniens.

John King exerçait la profession d'avocat à Berlin (aujourd'hui Kitchener), en Ontario. Cet ancien "fort en thème", conservant le goût de la lecture et de l'étude, possédait une bibliothèque bien garnie. L'Université de Toronto lui offrit une chaire de droit, en 1893. John King était un presbytérien pratiquant, un père de famille exemplaire.

Mackenzie King, né à Berlin (Kitchener), le 17 décembre 1874, héritait donc d'un prénom illustre, de convictions réformistes, de traditions studieuses et de moeurs rangées. A l'Université de Toronto, il se spécialisa dans l'étude des sciences politiques et des questions sociales. Ses diplômes en poche, il fit encore un stage à l'Université de Chicago, pendant l'hiver de 1896-1897.

Ce séjour à l'Université de Chicago exerça aussi une sérieuse influence sur l'orientation du jeune homme. A la veille du XXe siècle, les Etats-Unis prenaient leur grand essor industriel. Chicago constituait sans doute le meilleur poste pour en observer les conséquences: croissance phénoménale des villes; création d'un prolétariat ouvrier; naissance et développement du syndicalisme. L'étudiant canadien rédigea deux thèses sur le syndicalisme américain et s'intéressa tout particulièrement au problème des taudis. Rentré au Canada, il poursuit ces études. Il visite les quartiers ouvriers de Toronto, constate les misérables conditions de travail des tâcherons qui confectionnent les uniformes de facteurs commandés par l'administration fédérale, et s'en indigne. Il ne se borne pas à cette réaction: il en appelle à l'esprit de justice de l'honorable William Mulock, ministre des Postes dans le cabinet Laurier. Et Mulock lui demande un rapport qui, contrairement à toute tradition administrative, aura des suites.

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Le rapport du jeune "scholar" entraîna même des suites importantes, d'ordre législatif et d'ordre administratif. Mackenzie King conseillait au gouvernement d'imposer une échelle de salaires minimum aux adjudicataires de contrats. Le ministre des Postes présenta lui-même un bill. Mais le progrès industriel poserait, avant longtemps, toute une série de problèmes analogues. L'Etat devrait sans doute intervenir, sous une forme ou sous une autre, dans les conflits du travail.

C'était en 1900. Israël Tarte, ministre des Travaux publics, représentait le gouvernement canadien à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris. William Mulock, ministre des Postes, et grand bûcheur, assumait l'intérim des Travaux publics. Les fonctionnaires de ce ministère ne virent pas sans surprise leur chef intérimaire accumuler dans son bureau des livres traitant, non pas de questions postales ou de travaux publics, mais des problèmes ouvriers. Enfin, Mulock confia son projet à ses collaborateurs, ou plutôt monologua devant eux: "Le temps est venu de créer un ministère du Travail. Le nouveau département, au début, ne justifiera pas la nomination d'un ministre; l'un de nous pourra s'en charger, comme je me charge en ce moment des Travaux publics. Mais il faudra un sous-ministre..... Je connais un jeune homme très doué, très instruit, qui s'intéresse à ces questions, et qui ferait un excellent sous-ministre..... Je voudrais bien l'avoir....."

Mackenzie King, titulaire d'une bourse de l'Université Harvard, accomplissait aux Etats-Unis, puis en Europe, d'autres voyages d'étude. C'est en Italie qu'il reçut le télégramme de l'honorable Mulock, lui annonçant la création du ministère du Travail et lui offrant le poste d'éditeur de la Gazette du Travail.

Le boursier de Harvard préparait une carrière universitaire. Il serait devenu professeur d'économie politique et de sciences sociales. Sur l'invitation pressante et réitérée de William Mulock, il y renonça pour entrer dans le service civil. Il y entrait par la grande porte, il est vrai, avec le rang de sous-ministre, à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans.

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III

Sous-ministre

Les sous-ministres sont les solides chevrons de l'administration fédérale. Ils dirigent leur département, sans souci de la politique qui accapare les ministres. Sous la haute direction de William Mulock, ministre des Postes et du Travail, Mackenzie King eut à créer les nouveaux services, de toutes pièces.

Il commença par la publication de la Gazette du Travail, organe d'information et de statistiques sur la situation ouvrière dans toutes les parties du Canada. C'était encore une besogne d'homme d'étude. Mais d'autres tâches s'y ajoutèrent: organisation et surveillance du ministère, rédaction des rapports, préparation des lois ouvrières, médiation dans les conflits du travail. De toute l'administration fédérale, le ministère du Travail est sans doute le plus humain, puisque ses décisions influencent le bien-être et suscitent les réactions de milliers d'hommes. Le rôle de médiateur était à la fois le plus important et les plus épineux.

Le Canada subissait à son tour de rapides transformations économiques. L'industrie passait sous le contrôle des financiers - les Forget, les Herbert Holt, les Charles Gordon, dans la province de Québec - pour qui elle serait surtout un instrument de spéculation. Les grandes familles industrielles cédaient la place aux sociétés anonymes, dont les dirigeants, presque sans contact avec leur personnel, ne sont pas habitués à considérer l'homme dans la main-d'oeuvre. En face de ce patronat anonyme se dressaient les syndicats, désireux d'éprouver leur jeune force. Les compagnies reconnaissaient les syndicats de très mauvaise grâce. Les compagnies de navigation, par exemple, n'hésitaient pas à faire venir d'Angleterre des "briseurs de grève". Il ne serait pas facile de concilier ces intérêts opposés, ou qui se croyaient tels, et ces esprits enfiévrés. Les syndiqués eux-mêmes hésitaient entre la formule des unions "nationales" et celle des unions "internationales" affiliées à la Fédération Américaine du Travail. Des conflits s'ébauchaient entre fédérations rivales.

En l'absence d'une législation, ou d'une procédure établie, tout reposait sur l'habileté du médiateur. L'un des premiers arbitrages dans nos grands conflits du travail est celui de Mgr Bégin, rendu en 1901, lors d'une grève de la chaussure à Québec. L'arbitrage épiscopal ne comportait aucune sanction, et ne fut pas longtemps observé. Le sous-ministre n'avait pas plus de pouvoir coercitif. Un fonctionnaire cassant, péremptoire, eût tout gâté. Mackenzie King ne s'énervait pas, ne brusquait rien.

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Les expériences étaient variées. Les fonctions de haut conciliateur conduisaient le sous-ministre, un jour dans les charbonnages de l'Alberta, un autre jour parmi les téléphonistes de Toronto. Autant de nuances importantes. On n'approche pas tout à fait les bûcherons de la province de Québec comme les ouvriers des usines sidérurgiques de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, et ceux-ci ne réagissent pas comme les cheminots du C.P.R. ou les métallurgistes de l'Ontario. L'expérience du "scholar" s'enrichissait tous les jours. Elle lui permettrait bientôt de rédiger une loi générale, assez souple pour s'appliquer à tous les cas.

C'est en 1907. Rodolphe Lemieux a succédé à William Mulock comme ministre des Postes et du Travail. Mulock était un gros travailleur, parfois impulsif, mais sympathique aux bons fonctionnaires; Mackenzie King lui restera dévoué jusqu'à la fin de leurs jours. Lemieux est cultivé, courtois, un peu vaniteux sans doute, mais très désireux d'aider les jeunes. Il aime les voyages, les grandes relations internationales, et c'est un point de contact avec le sous-ministre que ses études, puis ses fonctions, ont conduit en Europe. Lemieux est très sensible, sous ses manières académiques que certains jeunes frondeurs raillent trop cruellement. Il cultive l'amitié. Et c'est encore un point de contact avec Makenzie King, qui n'extériorise pas, mais dont le coeur se devine à certains traits. Un ancien condisciple de Mackenzie King, Henry Albert Draper, s'est noyé en essayant de sauver une jeune femme. Mackenzie King voue un attachement inaltérable à la mémoire de son ami. Il lui consacre son premier livre: "The Secret of Heroism". Il lui fait élever un monument sur la plus belle avenue d'Ottawa.

Rodolphe Lemieux apprécie de tels gestes. Ministre et sous-ministre s'accordent fort bien. Ils préparent ensemble la loi qui doit imposer aux ouvriers comme aux patrons, dans les services d'utilité publique, une tentative de conciliation avant la grève ou le lock-out. Ils s'inspirent d'une loi de la province de Québec, elle-même inspirée de l'arbitrage de Mgr Bégin et présentée par Lomer Gouin en 1901. Le principe de base est l'établissement de comités paritaires, sous un président impartial. En cas de conflit dans un service d'utilité publique (chemins de fer, tramways, éclairage, etc.), les parties nommeront un comité d'arbitrage (un arbitre désigné par les patrons, un arbitre désigné par les ouvriers, et le troisième par les deux premiers). S'il est diplomate, le tiers-arbitre verra ses collègues séparément, arrondira les angles, rétablira l'harmonie. Il méritera le beau nom de pacificateur. En cas d'échec des tentatives de conciliation, le comité fera enquête, rapport et arbitrage, sous l'égide du ministère du Travail.

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La sentence arbitrale n'était pas obligatoire, mais il faudrait l'attendre pour déclarer la grève ou le lock-out. Le procédé correspondait à l'esprit de Rodolphe Lemieux et plus encore à la méthode de Mackenzie King, qui ne brusquait toujours rien. L'enquête impartiale, espéraient-ils, impressionnera le public, et la partie désapprouvée n'osera passer outre.

Il serait difficile, et sans doute vain, d'évaluer la part exacte du ministre et celle du sous-ministre dans la préparation de cette loi, saluée par la presse comme un modèle de législation. Le sous-ministre accomplit le gros des préparatifs. Le ministre assuma la responsabilité, et présenta au Parlement la Loi des enquêtes en matière de différende industriels, plus connue sous le nom de Loi Lemieux. Un chef ouvrier, Alphonse Verville, siégeait alors à la Chambre des communes, comme député de Maisonneuve. Il approuva la Loi Lemieux, Armand Larergne, député nationaliste, l'approuva aussi. Bref, le vote de la Loi Lemieux constitua un succès pour le ministère. Aux yeux de tous les observateurs, le gouvernement Laurier avait dépassé son zénith, pour s'engager dans l'inéluctable descente. Laurier apprécia d'autant plus le succès dû à Lemieux et à King.

En dix-huit mois, l'arbitrage tenté en vertu de la Loi Lemieux évita quarante-huit grèves, et n'échoua qu'en deux circonstances. La loi de 1907 consacrait l'utilité et assurait le développement du ministère du Travail - qui ne comptait encore qu'une dizaine d'employés. Des législatures étrangères se renseignèrent sur la loi canadienne et songèrent à l'imiter. Le succès s'affirmait. L'intervention personnelle du sous-ministre avait enrayé d'autres conflits. Des échelles de salaires minimum étaient imposées aux adjudicataires de contrats officiels. Ces échelles, tenant compte des taux payés par les meilleures entreprises de l'industrie et de la région intéressées, influençaient à leur tour les taux régionaux. La Gazette du Travail faisait autorité.

Mackenzie King comptait à son actif d'autres réussites importantes. Il s'était occupé de deux questions connexes: l'immigration des Asiatiques et le trafic de l'opium. Sur sa recommandation, le Parlement fédéral avait décrété l'abolition de ce trafic. Au printemps de 1908, Mackenzie King enquêta sur les conditions d'emploi dans l'industrie textile de la province de Québec. A cette époque, les heures de travail étaient longues, pour de faibles salaires. Mackenzie King attira surtout l'attention sur le travail des enfants, qui comportait des abus. Les révélations de son enquête émurent l'opinion et influencèrent, un peu plus tard, notre législation provinciale.

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Mackenzie King agissait en fonctionnaire, méthodique, patient, méticuleux. Il s'effaçait volontiers devant son ministre, plus féru d'honneurs. La série de ses réussites lui valait tout de même une réputation croissante. Or, le parrain et l'auteur de la Loi Lemieux éprouvèrent les affres de l'échec, à la veille des élections de 1908.

Les cheminots du Pacifique-Canadien, soutenus par la Fédération Américaine du Travail, s'étaient mis en grève, de Saint-Jean du Nouveau-Brunswick à Vancouver. Ils repoussaient l'arbitrage exigé par la Loi Lemieux. A Montréal, plusieurs milliers de grévistes et de sympathisants se réunissaient au Monument National. La Compagnie du C.P.R. lança un ultimatum: les ouvriers qui ne reprendront pas l'ouvrage dans vingt-quatre heures seront congédiés, sans égards pour leurs états de services. Les grévistes répondirent par une assemblée au Monument National, présidée par Alphonse Verville, et leurs orateurs proclamèrent: "Nous ne nous rendrons pas!" La Compagnie embaucha des étrangers, aux usines Angus; elle fit même venir des mécaniciens d'Angleterre. Mais d'Angleterre aussi vint le chef socialiste Keir Hardie, qui encouragea les grévistes. Quand Laurier fixa la date des élections générales, la grève durait depuis cinq semaines, et les répercussions politiques étaient difficiles à prévoir. Le 14 septembre, les grévistes s'assemblèrent au Champ de Mars. D'autres corporations les encadraient, la solidarité ouvrière s'affirmant comme la solidarité patronale. J.-A. Rodier, rédacteur à la Patrie, et Olivar Asselin, directeur du Nationaliste, prirent la parole et excitèrent la foule contre le gouvernement. Asselin lançait les mots comme des dards.

Le gouvernement accomplit des efforts désespérés pour régler la grève avant la campagne électorale. Rodolphe Lemieux voulait éviter un échec de la loi qui portait son nom. Prévenant, flatteur, il approche son collègue Alphonse Verville. Celui-ci se décide. Il sait que Laurier doit ériger le Travail en ministère indépendant, après les élections. En se constituant intermédiaire entre le gouvernement et les ouvriers, Verville, espère s'arroger un titre au nouveau portefeuille. Sur son conseil, les ouvriers acceptent l'arbitrage d'abord rapoussé. Les journaux peuvent annoncer en gros caractères "Le triomphe de la Loi Lemieux" - qui est le triomphe indirect de Mackenzie King. Les hommes politiques peuvent se consacrer à la campagne électorale.

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IV

Ministre du Travail

Laurier ne réservait pas le portefeuille du Travail à Verville, mais à King, créateur de ce département, éditeur de la Gazette du Travail et principal auteur de la loi tutélaire de 1907. Le petit-fils de William Lyon Mackenzie avait hérité d'une grande tradition politique - d'une grande tradition libérale. Laurier choisissait avec soin ses lieutenants. Il avait formé en 1896 un ministère surnommé "le ministère de tous les talents". Il préparait à ses collègues et à son parti une génération de remplacement. Il suivait et favorisait la carrière de plusieurs fils de ses vieux amis - les Armand Lavergne, les Athanase David, les Lucien Cannon, les Hector Laferté, les Joseph-Edouard Perrault, dans la province de Québec. Il engagea Mackenzie King à quitter le service civil pour la vie politique.

Les élections de 1908 s'annonçaient moins faciles que les précédentes. Laurier, qui tenait à son futur ministre du Travail, voulait le présenter dans une circonscription sûre. Le petit-fils de Mackenzie choisit un terrain plus mouvant, celui de North-Waterloo, où le député sortant, d'allégeance conservatrice, exerçait un grand ascendant. Mackenzie King enleva le comté, pour son chef et pour son parti.

Les ministres qui présentent et défendent la législation, répondent aux interpellations, sont des hommes politiques, obligés de se fier aux connaissances et au jugement de leur sous-ministre. Par exception, Mackenzie King, ministre du Travail, possédait une connaissance personnelle, directe, intime, de tous les rouages de son ministère. Son autorité s'affirmait sans peine, sur tous les sujets débattus: journée de huit heures, restrictions aux monopoles, hygiène des ateliers, enseignement technique.

L'armature économique du Canada évoluait vers la concentration. La période de 1908 à 1911 a vu la formation d'un grand nombre de mergers industriels. Tantôt les compagnies se fusionnaient pour dominer le marché, tantôt elles se bornaient à des ententes, à des coalitions, pour limiter la concurrence. Les monopoles ou quasi-monopoles ainsi constitués tenaient la main-d'oeuvre et le public à leur merci. Mackenzie King, ministre du Travail, accomplit le premier effort législatif pour museler les trusts, en présentant et en faisant voter la Loi des enquêtes sur les coalitions, à la session de 1910.

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Dès que six personnes affirment par écrit, devant un juge, l'existence d'un monopole ou d'une coalition, le juge peut ouvrir une enquête. S'il estime la plainte fondée, il soumet l'affaire au ministre du Travail. Celui-ci nomme un bureau d'arbitrage composé de trois membres (l'un désigné par les plaignants, l'autre par la compagnie et le troisième par les deux premiers). Le bureau d'arbitrage fait rapport au ministre du Travail, qui dispose de trois moyens de pression: publication du rapport; amende infligée au trust; réduction de la protection douanière accordée à l'industrie intéressée.

Mackenzie King présenta cette nouvelle loi, non pas en politicien, mais en économiste. Laurier écouta très attentivement son discours, sans envolée, mais documenté, instructif, solide. Georges Pelletier, correspondant du Devoir qu'Henri Bourassa venait de fonder, écrivit à son journal: "Ce n'est pas tous les jours qu'un député, ni même un ministre, prend la peine de préparer un discours avec autant de soin. On peut bien ne pas être de son opinion. On ne saurait tout de même nier que cet effort oratoire a dû lui coûter de nombreuses heures de travail intelligent."

La loi King votée, en fin de session, une autre affaire grave, et par certains côtés dramatique, requit l'attention du ministre. La grève de cheminots de 1908 se renouvelait, sur une échelle encore plus grande. Cette fois, le réseau troublé n'était pas le Pacifique, mais le Grand-Tronc.

C'était l'aboutissement d'un vaste mouvement des cheminots américains, qui avaient obtenu, après des mois et même des années de lutte, des échelles de salaires et des conditions de travail uniformes sur tous les réseaux des Etats-Unis. Ils avaient aussi gagné leur cause sur les petits réseaux canadiens. Restaient les deux seigneurs de la vie ferroviaire, le Pacifique-Canadien et le Grand-Tronc, orgueilleux de leur richesse et de leur puissance. L'Association des cheminots, affiliée à la grande fraternité américaine siégeant à Cleveland (Ohio), obtint gain de cause, non sans démarches, auprès du Pacifique-Canadien.

L'accord était plus difficile avec le Grand-Tronc, qui payait ses employés, non pas au mille comme le Pacifique et les autres réseaux, mais à la journée. A mesure que les locomotives se modernisaient et que la vitesse des trains s'accélérait, les cheminots du C.P.R., payés au mille, gagnaient davantage, tandis que ceux du Grand-Tronc, payés à la journée, restaient au même salaire.

Les cheminots soumirent leurs premières exigences en janvier 1910. Des négociations traînèrent jusqu'au 17 mars. Une tentative de conciliation s'effectua, en vertu de la loi Lemieux. Le bureau de conciliation se réunit le 25 mai, trois semaines après la fin de la session fédérale, et les conciliateurs adressèrent leur rapport au ministre du Travail le 22 juin.

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Les deux parties repoussèrent les conclusions du rapport. Les négociations languirent. Les principaux actionnaires et administrateurs du Grand-Tronc vivaient en Angleterre. Charles Hays, gérant général, était un authentique "railwayman", compétent en matière ferroviaire et assez borné pour le reste. "Une tête de fer", disaient les employés. Au début de sa carrière, il avait contribué à briser une grève en conduisant lui-même des locomotives. Quant aux cheminots, ils suivaient les ordres envoyés de Cleveland par l'Américain W.G. Lee, président de leur fraternité, et transmis par James Murdock, vice-président. Ces conditions ne facilitaient pas l'entente.

La loi Lemieux imposait l'enquête, mais non pas l'arbitrage. Les patrons et les syndicats pressentis avaient toujours repoussé le principe de l'arbitrage obligatoire. Les ouvriers se méfiaient de l'arbitrage, qui revêtait à leurs yeux un aspect de procédé judiciaire et ne tenait pas assez compte des valeurs humaines. Mackenzie King lui-même considérait ses fonctions comme la forme la plus urgente du devoir social. Mais il croyait aux vertus de la collaboration, non au pouvoir de la coercition, dans les rapports entre le capital et le travail. Il bannissait volontiers l'adjectif "obligatoire" du vocabulaire des relations industrielles. Donc, il ne voulait ni ne pouvait imposer l'arbitrage, mais il essaya de le suggérer. Il offrait ses bons offices, avec la prudence voulue pour ne rien envenimer.

La Compagnie accepta en principe, mais les cheminots soulevèrent des difficultés: ils proposaient comme arbitres deux Américains qui avaient déjà favorisé les syndicats dans des conflits analogues aux Etats-Unis. La Compagnie récusa un pareil tribunal, et se prépara pour la lutte. La fédération américaine s'y préparait aussi, d'un coeur léger. Elle lança l'ordre de grève, le 18 juillet. Le soir même, 3,450 cheminots - conducteurs, serre-freins, etc. - abandonnaient l'ouvrage. Le trafic était paralysé sur les 4,000 milles du réseau, de Portland à Chicago. Le lendemain, les ouvriers des ateliers du Grand-Tronc déposaient leurs outils à Montréal, Toronto, London, Stratford, Port-Huron, Battle-Creek, Portland et Chicago. Le nombre des grévistes atteignait 8,500.

Entre deux grandes puissances modernes, le réseau et les syndicats, commençait une épreuve de force. A Montréal, Hays voulait infliger une leçon aux ouvriers, à n'importe quel prix. Il répondit à la grève par le lock-out. A Cleveland, Lee déclarait: "Il n'y aura pas de quartier." Le Grand-Tronc était riche. Mais la Fédération possédait un million dans sa caisse, alimentée en partie par les cotisations des cheminots canadiens. En vertu de ses règlements, elle verserait une indemnité à ses adhérents en grève, à partir du quinzième jour. Les deux camps juraient de tenir jusqu'au bout - jusqu'à la capitulation de l'adversaire. Il n'y avait plus seulement en jeu des intérêts, mais des amours-propres.

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Le Grand-Tronc embaucha des briseurs de grève, et put faire circuler quelques trains de voyageurs. Mais les trains de marchandises restaient immobilisés. Les grandes villes en souffrirent. Montréal comptait déjà un demi-million d'âmes, avec sa banlieue. Elle recevait de l'extérieur toutes les denrée de première nécessité. Une ville de ces dimensions, privée de communications ferroviaires - surtout avant le grand développement de l'automobile - est une ville en état de siège. On craignit une disette de farine, de viande, de lait, et l'interruption du service postal. L'opinion s'émut.

Les ouvriers canadiens réfléchirent. Leurs chefs, James Murdock et S.N. Barry, télégraphièrent au ministre qu'ils envisageaient l'arbitrage "en considération de leur obligation spéciale envers le public." L'arbitrage sollicité par les deux parties, qui s'engageraient d'avance à s'y conformer: c'était la solution de Mackenzie King. Le ministre, tout heureux, fait connaître au Grand-Tronc les bonne dispositions du personnel. - "Trop tard, répond Hays, le moment est passé". Sûr de soi, le gérant du réseau ajoute: "Il suffit que nous ayons la protection à laquelle nous avons droit pour que nous puissions reprendre l'entière exploitation du réseau."

Mackenzie King provoque une réunion spéciale du cabinet. En l'absence de Laurier, sir Richard Cartwright écrit au directeur du Grand-Tronc, pour insister. Si Frederick Borden, ministre de la Milice et ami personnel de Hays, portera la lettre. De leur côté, W.G. Lee et un autre chef ouvrier américain, A.B. Garretson, de l'État d'Iowa, viennent à Montréal pour conférer avec Hays. En Angleterre, W.A. Smithers, président du conseil d'administration du Grand-Tronc, s'embarque sur le Mauretania. Les maires de plusieurs villes canadiennes, des présidents de chambres de commerce, écrivent ou télégraphient à Hays. Car les affaires - et la population - souffrent dans tout le pays. Des entrepreneurs, qui attendaient des wagons de briques, ferment leurs chantiers. A Ottawa, J.R. Booth ferme ses scieries, qui ne peuvent plus expédier leurs marchandises. Plus grave peut-être encore, dans un autre domaine: un grand congrès eucharistique international doit se tenir prochainement à Montraéal; Mgr Bruchési le maire Guerin, toute la ville et même toute la province craignent que le congrès pâtisse de la grève. Des sociologues regrettent que la loi Lemieux n'impose pas l'arbitrage obligatoire.

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Mais comment fléchir un entêté comme Hays? Et comment influencer les Américains Lee et Garretson, qui dirigent à leur guise cette grève canadienne? Des tentatives de sabotage se sont produites. La Compagnie a fait assermenter à la hâte deux cents "constables spéciaux" dont plusieurs, il faut l'avouer, ne paient pas de mine. Des affiches bilingues interdisent aux curieux l'accès de la gare Bonaventure. Les deux camps se rejettent la responsabilité. La conférence entre Hays et les chefs ouvriers américains n'aboutit pas. Le 27 juillet, une heure avant l'arrivée de sir Frederick Borden, James Murdock télégraphie à King: "MM. Garretson et Lee ont eu une conférence aujourd'hui avec M. Hays, sans résultat. Me sera-t-il permis, au nom des employés en grève, de demander qu'en votre qualité de ministre de la Couronne et de représentant du peuple vous veniez à Montréal, et par un nouvel effort vous essayiez d'arranger un règlement honorable, soit par abitrage, soit au moyen de négociations?"

King à son tour part pour Montréal, retrouve sir Frederick Borden et tente une nouvelle pression sur le Grand-Tronc. Le réseau ne regarde pas à la perte, qui avoisine $100,000 par jour. De leur côté, les grévistes voient avec plaisir approcher le quinzième jour, à partir duquel la Fédération américaine les indemnisera. Cependant, le réseau cède à la prière - à la pression - du ministre du Travail. Mackenzie King et Frederick Borden réussissent à provoquer une réunion, au bureau du Grand-Tronc. La Compagnie est représentée par Hays, Wainwright et un avocat. Les ouvriers sont représentés par les Américains Lee et Garretson. C'est un samedi, quatorzième jour de la grève. La conférence dure de trois heures de l'après-midi à sept heures du soir, s'ajourne, reprend à neuf heures et se termine à onze heures, sur un accord. La Compagnie concède, à compter du 1er janvier 1912, l'échelle des salaires en vigueur sur le réseau du C.P.R. Elle réintégrera le plus tôt possible les gérvistes qui n'ont pas commis d'actes de violence ou de désordre. Lee et Garretson ordonnent la reprise du travail.

Grand soulagement dans l'ensemble du pays. Mais un malaise parcourut les "fraternités" des cheminots. Leurs chefs américains, après les avoir bien poussés, après avoir multiplié les proclamations belliqueuses, signaient la paix une heure avant le quinzième jour à partir duquel la caisse de leur fédération aurait indemnisé les grévistes canadiens. Des ouvriers pensèrent: "Ils nous ont livrés à Hays." Des chefs laïcs ou religieux, dans la province de Québec en particulier, renforcèrent leur préférence pour la formule du syndicalisme national, voire du syndicalisme catholique.

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Une clause de l'entente inquiétait particulièrement James Murdock et S.N. Barry, chefs canadiens de la grève. Le réseau s'engageait à réintégrer ses employés "le plus tôt possible". Et les cheminots ne se fiaient pas à la largeur d'esprit de Charles Hays pour l'interprétation de ces termes. Ils recoururent encore au ministre du Travail. Mackenzie King vit Hays et Wainwright, qui laissèrent entendre: d'ici trois mois. Le ministre télégraphia aux chefs Murdock et Barry, en les invitant à terminer la grève. Les cheminots retournèrent à l'ouvrage.

La grève du Grand-Tronc avait été dure et retentissante. Elle pouvait comporter des leçons. Parmi les hommes chargés de responsabilités, les uns récusèrent désormais le syndicalisme international, les autres préconisèrent l'arbitrage obligatoire comme le complément logique de l'enquête obligatoire. Ce n'était pas l'avis de Mackenzie King pour qui l'application de la force restait la dernière méthode à adopter, dans les relations industrielles. Le ministre du Travail s'en tenait à l'enquête, à mi-chemin entre la conciliation et l'arbitrage. L'accord conclu par les chefs américains apparut criblé de lacunes. Il n'obligeait pas le réseau à rendre aux réintégrés leurs droits à la pension. Mais Mackenzie King, disciple de Laurier, tira parti de la détente. Il discuta les cas douteux avec Hays, par lettres et dans des entrevues. Il réussit assez bien pour recevoir félicitations et remerciements des municipalités, des chambres de commerce et des cheminots. Le Railroad Trainman, organe de l'Ordre des conducteurs de chemins de fer, lui rendit hommage: "Le règlement est effectué surtout grâce aux efforts du ministre du Travail, aidé du ministre de la Milice, et nous nous plaisons à rendre hommage aux efforts qu'ils ont faits pour déterminer une entente."

Cette fois encore, le rétablissement de la paix était précieux pour Laurier. Les adversaires du premier ministre discutaient avec acharnement ses deux grandes mesures: loi de la marine et projet de Réciprocité. Henri Bourassa, disposant désormais d'un journal quotidien, soulevait une fraction de l'opinion québécoise contre la loi de la marine. Les tories soulevaient une fraction de l'opinion ontarienne contre le projet de Réciprocité.

La discussion de ces grands projets, accaparant les débats parlementaires de 1911, arrêta, de justesse, deux autres mesures proposées par le ministre du Travail.

L'une imposait la journée de huit heures dans les travaux publics entrepris pour le compte de l'Etat; l'autre interdisait l'usage du phosphore blanc dans les manufactures d'allumettes. Mackenzie King avait participé à un congrès international tenu en Italie pour étudier la nécrose phosphorée, sorte de gangrène des os de la mâchoire, entraînée par l'absorption du phosphore. Il avait ensuite visité des ouvriers canadiens, édentés et

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défigurés, victimes de cette gangrène. Il dit, en présentant son bill: "Nous parlons beaucoup, ces temps-ci, de la conservation des ressources naturelles; mais il y a plus important encore: la conservation des ressources humaines, la conservation de la santé et de la vie humaine. Emu lui-même, il émut la Chambre. La fin abrupte de la session, suivie d'un appel au peuple, arrêta les deux derniers bills de Mackenzie King; mais le gouvernement Borden devait reprendre à son compte, et faire voter, l'interdiction de l'usage du phosphore.

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Insert

Laurier avait annoncé, avant les élections, sa volonté de démissionner en cas d'échec.Il y renonça,devant les marques de sympathie, d'admiration,de dévouement,qui lui parvinrent de tout le pays.La Jeunesse libérale de Montréal,présidée par Victor Béique,organisa,le 8 janvier 1912,la première apparition de Laurier en public depuis sa défaite. Ce fut une très belle, et même une émouvante démonstration.Le vieux chef ne disposait plus de faveurs; ses partisans désintéressés - les sincères qui avaient pleuré le soir de la défaite - voulurent le dédommager, le réconforter ; et, sans doute,ils réussirent. Trois anciens ministres, Sydney Fisher,George Graham et Mackenzie King,accompagnaient l'illustre vaincu.Mackenzie King, interprète de "la voix de l'Ontario", prédit qu'avant longtemps le peuple se ressaisirait,et remettrait le grand Canadien au pouvoir,pour le plus grand bien du Canada, de toutes ses provinces,et de toutes les races qui l'habitent.

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V

Fidèle à Laurier

- - -

La campagne électorale de 1911 est restée mémorable. Deux grandes questions se discutaient devant le corps électoral: la marine et le Réciprocité. La marine canadienne serait mise à la disposition de l'Amirauté en temps de guerre. La Réciprocité serait une sorte de libre-échange, sur une échelle limitée, entre le Canada et les Etats-Unis.

Dans la province de Québec, conservateurs et nationalistes, fusionnés sous le nom d'autonomistes, combattirent la loi de la marine au cri de: "Laurier nous livre à l'Angleterre." Dans la province d'Ontario, les éléments impérialistes représentèrent la Réciprocité comme le prélude de l'annexion, et la combattirent au cri de: "Laurier nous livre aux Etats-Unis."

Laurier perdit des sièges dans les deux grandes provinces. En Ontario, plusieurs ministres succombaient devant la violence de la campagne antiréciprocitaire. Entre autres, le ministre du Travail Mackenzie King, ancien étudiant de Chicago, ancien boursier de Harvard auquel on attribuait des sympathies américaines. Les conservateurs reprirent leur forteresse de North Waterloo.

+ insert

Mackenzie King ne perdit point contact avec la vie politique, puisqu'il présida une grande association libérale ontarienne, l'Ontario Reform Association, et dirigea le bureau d'information du parti libéral à Ottawa, de 1911 à 1914.

Cependant l'homme politique n'avait point dépouillé l'homme d'étude - le "scholar". Au début de 1914, la fondation Rockefeller l'invitait à diriger son service de recherches industrielles. Les travaux de cet institut visaient au bien-être de l'humanité. La tâche personnelle de Mackenzie King fut l'étude du problème industriel, dans le but particulier d'améliorer les relations entre le capital et le travail. Mackenzie King poursuivait, en somme, l'étude maîtresse de toute sa vie. Tout en continuant de résider au Canada, il dut accomplir de fréquents voyages aux Etats-Unis. Il renforça sa conviction essentielle: nécessité d'une collaboration confiante entre le capital et le travail.

La première grande guerre arriva là-dessus. Aux Etats-Unis comme au Canada, des industries importantes recoururent à la médiation de Mackenzie King, dans les conflits du travail. L'ancien ministre put régler à la satisfaction des deux parties une grève d'envergure considérable éclatée dans le Colorado. Ouvriers et patrons de la sidérurgie, des constructions navales, de l'appareillage électrique, sollicitèrent ses conseils, son intervention. Mackenzie King accomplissait ainsi la besogne de guerre la plus conforme à ses aptitudes.

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Son expérience dans ce domaine était réellement unique, au moins au Canada. Le sociologue qu'il était entièrement redevenu ~~publia~~ rédigea son principal volume "Industry and Humanity" (publié à l'automne de 1918), sur le sujet des relations industrielles. Ce livre a été traduit et publié en France, avec une préface de Gabriel Hanotaux, président du Comité France-Amérique. Cependant le titre français "La Question sociale au Canada" ne nous paraît pas correspondre au sujet du livre, dont il restreint la portée. Le problème du Travail cesse d'être un problème local, constate Mackenzie King, qui s'élève au point de vue universel; il n'est d'ailleurs pas tout à fait distinct des problèmes de la Paix et de l'Hygiène.

"Partout où, dans les relations sociales et industrielles, les droits de l'Industrie et ceux de l'Humanité sont opposés, ce sont ceux de l'Industrie qui doivent céder." Le sociologue voudrait introduire, dans la direction des industries, ce principe du régime représentatif que son grand-père W.L. Mackenzie voulait introduire dans le gouvernement politique. Les relations entre patrons et ouvriers deviennent de plus en plus impersonnelles. Le gouffre s'élargit entre ceux qui exercent l'autorité et ceux qui doivent s'y soumettre. Il faut rétablir le contact - par exemple par des conseils, commissions ou conférences paritaires, aptes à substituer la confiance à la crainte, et dont la jurisprudence préparera, peu à peu, un code de réglementation garantissant une paix industrielle permanente. Dans l'intérêt commun du patron et de l'ouvrier, il faut éliminer la crainte, qui paralyse l'effort. Pour y parvenir, l'entente volontaire est préférable à l'intervention de l'Etat. Ces idées n'étaient point théorie pure, puisque la Colorado Iron and Fuel Company, entre autres, les avait appliquées, sur le conseil de Mackenzie King.

La guerre ne posait ou n'aggravait pas seulement des problèmes industriels. La grande discussion roula, non sur le principe de la participation, mais sur le caractère volontaire ou obligatoire de l'enrôlement. Laurier, chef de l'opposition, s'en tenait à l'enrôlement volontaire, plus conforme aux traditions libérales. Les Canadiens français, en immense majorité, partageaient cette opinion. L'habitant du bas de Québec, enraciné dans le sol canadien, eût donné tout son sang pour la défense du pays, mais ne voyait pas la nécessité de participer à des guerres lointaines. Laurier croyait aux vertus de l'explication, de la persuasion - comme son ancien collègue Mackenzie King dans les questions du Travail.

Dans les provinces de langue anglaise vivaient une forte proportion d'immigrés de fraîche date, encore trop près de leur origine britannique pour ne pas voler au

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secours de la "mère-patrie". Ceux-là réclamaient la conscription. Ils menèrent une active campagne et entraînèrent l'opinion de leurs provinces. Les ministres conservateurs et certains députés libéraux de ces provinces envisagèrent la conscription. Laurier et ses lieutenants canadiens-français s'en tenaient au volontariat, conforme aux principes libéraux et à la volonté formelle de Québec.

Pour réaliser quelques mesures exceptionnelles comme la conscription, le premier ministre Borden forma un cabinet de coalition, avec le concours de chefs libéraux des provinces anglaises. Laurier traversa l'un des périodes les plus pénibles de sa carrière. Des chefs libéraux de l'Ouest, passant à l'unionisme, apportaient à Borden la solide organisation libérale de leurs provinces, comme des généraux passant à l'ennemi avec armes et bagages. Laurier assistait peut-être à la ruine du grand parti qui était sa raison de vivre. Puis, parmi les hommes qui le lâchaient, plusieurs avaient été comblés par lui, d'autres n'étaient pas seulement ses lieutenants, mais ses amis fraternellement aimés. Les Rowell, les Guthrie, les Maclean, les Carvell, les Sifton! Chaque nouvelle défection lui infligeait une blessure cruelle. Le vieil aigle, ses plumes arrachées une à une, en restait tout saignant.

Laurier refusait cependant de prononcer une parole amère contre les transfuges. Il comprenait leur situation. Car les esprits s'étaient montés au point que l'anticonscriptionnisme signifiait le suicide politique en Ontario, presque aussi sûrement que le conscriptionnisme dans Québec. Les témoignages de fidélité n'en apportèrent pas moins un immense réconfort au vieux chef.

Parmi les fidèles figura Mackenzie King, candidat de Laurier dans le comté de North-York, aux élections exceptionnellement difficiles de 1917. Loyaliste, Mackenzie King attribuait toutes les responsabilités et tous les machiavélismes aux ennemis de la Grande-Bretagne. Esprit religieux, il attribuait à la guerre un caractère de croisade pour le Droit, la Liberté, la Démocratie. Libéral, il combattit la loi de conscription, en invoquant le souvenir de son grand-père que le même comté d'York avait élu et réélu neuf fois, malgré les pressions officielles. Il tentait l'impossible et fut défait. Le lendemain mourut sa mère, la fille de William Lyon Mackenzie née en exil.

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Le peuple n'avait pas réalisé le voeu de Mackenzie King, prédisant, après les élections de 1911, que Laurier reviendrait au pouvoir.

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VI

Successeur de Laurier

Rendu à la vie privée, Mackenzie King déclina les offres de plusieurs grandes corporations industrielles ou philantropiques des Etats-Unis. La politique le guettait encore.

Laurier mourut en février 1919, presque au lendemain de l'armistice. La direction du parti libéral échut provisoirement à D.D. Mackenzie, député de la Nouvelle-Ecosse.

Daniel D. Mackenzie - "D.D." pour toute la Chambre des communes - possédait une éloquence plus facile que solide, toute fleurie de citations bibliques. Il tiendrait, à la rigueur, en face de Borden, mais non pas en face de l'intelligent, ardent et documenté Meighen. Il n'avait pas l'étoffe d'un chef définitif, et comptait peu de chances d'être confirmé dans ces fonctions à la convention convoquée pour le 7 août, à Ottawa.

Pour la première fois dans l'histoire politique du Canada, un chef de parti serait choisi, non par les seuls membres du Parlement, mais par un congrès de délégués accrédités. Cependant la province de Québec fournissait au parti libéral le gros de ses forces parlementaires; son sentiment ne manquerait pas d'influencer la convention. Or, il s'était opéré dans la province un mouvement lent mais sûr en faveur de Mackenzie King, l'ancien ministre qui n'avait pas lâché Laurier, qui avait été le candidat de Laurier dans un comté ontarien à une heure où il y fallait du courage. En janvier 1919, Mackenzie King est l'hôte du Club de Réforme à Montréal; il n'a ni le charme de Laurier, ni la fougue de Bourassa; mais il prononce, sur les relations du capital et du travail, un discours de sociologue et d'homme d'affaires qui mérite les éloges de la presse. En avril, il parle devant le Club Canadien, puis devant les associations ouvrières, à Québec. Deux mois après la mort de Laurier, King est accueilli à Québec comme l'ami de sir Wilfrid. Et puisque son comté ontarien l'a battu aux élections de 1917, Alexandre Taschereau s'écrie: "Si l'Ontario ne veut pas d'un homme comme vous, monsieur King, venez à Québec; et Québec sera heureux de vous donner un de ses comtés." Québec renonçait à fournir le nouveau chef, pour ne pas nuire au parti dans les provinces anglaises en l'identifiant avec le Canada français. A la veille de la convention libérale, Mackenzie King apparut comme le favori de Québec. Cependant d'anciens unionistes considéraient comme révolue la situation qui les avait alliés à Borden, et rentraient dans le giron libéral.

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La convention s'ouvrit sous la présidence conjointe de sir Lomer Gouin et de H.G. Murray, premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Ecosse. Les vedettes de la province de Québec étaient Gouin, Lemieux, Dandurand, Bureau, Béland, Lapointe. On pouvait, en schématisant, les diviser en deux triumvirats. Les aînés: Gouin, Lemieux et Dandurand, vieux amis personnels, souvent consultés par Laurier. Les cadets: Béland, Bureau et Lapointe, aux façons moins académiques. Les délégués de la province de Québec tinrent une réunion préliminaire, sous la présidence de Lemieux, président né. Un jeune député libéral, Athanase David, éleva une protestation éloquente mais vaine contre la décision de choisir le nouveau chef en dehors de Québec.

Au congrès, dominé par le grand souvenir de Laurier, les Canadiens français firent belle figure. Lemieux et Dandurand incarnaient la distinction. Bureau s'exprimait en anglais aussi facilement qu'en français. Lapointe s'efforçait, comme naguère Laurier, d'attribuer une doctrine au libéralisme canadien. Lapointe était chaud partisan de l'ancien ministre du Travail, qui se réclama des idées constitutionnelles de Laurier et traita une fois de plus des relations industrielles.

La grosse affaire était l'élection du chef. Sur quatre ou cinq noms à l'affiche se détachait celui de Fielding. Ministre des Finances, Fielding avait adouci en protection modérée le libre-échangisme des doctrinaires libéraux. Cette sagesse lui valait la bienveillance des milieux industriels et financiers, et de leur allié politique, Lomer Gouin. Celui-ci, prévoyant son entrée sur la scène fédérale, préférait doublement Fielding, chef âgé, dont la succession s'ouvrirait bientôt. Mais Fielding, sans s'allier à Borden, s'était séparé de Laurier pour soutenir la conscription. Les libéraux canadiens-français tendaient la main aux enfants prodigues, mais ils n'iraient pas jusqu'à leur confier le commandement du parti. Tandis que le Globe de Toronto soutenait Fielding, les délégués de Québec le combattirent. Dans une réunion partielle de ces délégués, Trahan, député de Nicolet, se fit applaudir en s'écriant: "Je propose que cette assemblée se déclare carrément contre la candidature de M. Fielding." Gouin s'abstint de toute propagande contre son candidat, si impopulaire. Rodolphe Lemieux avait pensé à un Anglo-Canadien de la province de Québec, Sydney Fisher, riche, et sympathique aux Canadiens français. Mais on voulait prendre le chef en dehors de Québec; et il fallait faire bloc sur un des candidats à l'affiche - Mackenzie King, George P. Graham, D.D. Mackenzie - pour arrêter Fielding. Ernest Lapointe appuyait Mackenzie King. Des loyalistes ontariens entretenaient encore des préventions contre ce petit-fils de "rebelle", qui avait séjourné aux Etats-Unis et s'y était plu. Mais l'appui des

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Canadiens français porta Mackenzie King à la tête du parti libéral, par 476 voix contre 438 à Fielding. "C'est le choix de Québec", écrivit le Mail and Empire, journal tory de Toronto. Mackenzie King souhaita la concorde et la fraternité entre les deux grandes provinces et les deux grandes races.

Le nouveau chef, défait en 1911 et en 1917, n'avait pas de mandat parlementaire. Mais une élection complémentaire s'apprêtait dans le comté de Prince (Ile du Prince-Edouard). Mackenzie King y fut élu par acclamation.

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VII

La revanche de 1911

Sauf dans la province de Québec, où il formait un bloc solide, le parti libéral avait beaucoup souffert de la guerre et de l'unionisme. Il fallait le réorganiser. Le nouveau chef et son lieutenant Ernest Lapointe s'attelèrent à cette besogne. Ils commençaient ainsi la collaboration intime que la mort seule ferait cesser. Ils parcoururent le pays, des provinces Maritimes à la Colombie-Britannique, encourageant les fidèles, ranimant les tièdes, donnant des mots d'ordre et exposant leur programme. Mackenzie King soutenait que les élections de 1917, élections de guerre, conduites suivant une procédure très spéciale, avaient chargé le gouvernement unioniste d'un mandat précis et limité, terminé avec la guerre elle-même. Il réclamait des élections générales.

Borden céda les rênes à Meighen, chef d'une valeur incontestable, mais très combattu dans la province de Québec, pour ses sentiments impérialistes et pour la raideur de son apparence et de son caractère. Meighen eut toutes les peines du monde à recruter des ministres pour représenter l'élément canadien-français dans son cabinet. Le parti au pouvoir n'était pas moins menacé dans les provinces de l'Ouest, par les progrès des Fermiers-Unis ou progressistes. Enfin, Mackenzie King, chef de l'opposition, sommait toujours le gouvernement de revenir à la vie normale, en tenant des élections, non plus sur les questions de guerre, mais sur les grandes questions nationales du temps de paix. Le ler septembre 1921, le premier ministre Meighen annonça l'appel au peuple, pour l'automne.

Les libéraux inaugurèrent leur campagne par un banquet offert à Rodolphe Lemieux, à l'occasion de son jubilé politique, le 22 septembre. Après vingt-cinq années de vie parlementaire, Rodolphe Lemieux, lettré, amène, éloquent, fidèle à ses chefs et à ses amis, apparaissait comme une des figures, sinon les plus vigoureuses, du moins les plus distinguées, de la politique canadienne. Mackenzie King, son ancien subordonné devenu son chef, lui rendit un hommage sincère, et profita de la circonstance pour prononcer un discours-programme. Il insista sur la position médiane du parti libéral, entre les conservateurs protectionnistes et les fermiers libre-échangistes.

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Trois partis alignaient des candidats: les Fermiers-Unis, dirigés par T.A. Crerar; les conservateurs, dirigés par Arthur Meighen; les libéraux dirigés par Mackenzie King. Les Fermiers-Unis ou progressistes négligaient Québec, s'intéressaient à l'Ontario rural, et comptaient balayer les trois provinces des Prairies. Les conservateurs protectionnistes mettaient leur espoir dans le bloc ontarien, renforcé par des circonscriptions industrielles dans les autres provinces. Les libéraux s'appuyaient sur le bloc québécois, renforcé, ça et là, par des circonscriptions antiministérielles. Les observateurs prévoyaient une Chambre tripartite, où personne ne disposerait d'une majorité absolue, et dans laquelle les libéraux prendraient figure de groupe du centre.

Pour Mackenzie King, le plus facile était de se représenter dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, où le comté de Prince l'eût réélu, peut-être par acclamation. Mais Mackenzie King ne jouait pas la facilité. Le succès ne lui est pas toujours venu sur un plateau d'argent, comme on l'imagine parfois. Le chef du parti libéral posa sa candidature en plein Ontario, dans le comté de North York qui l'avait défait en 1917. Les électeurs reconnurent et récompensèrent ce courage moral, par une majorité de 1,055 voix.

La province de Québec élut 65 libéraux sur 65 députés. Pas un conservateur. Pas un progressiste. Pas un indépendant. Et les majorités étaient fortes au point de surprendre leurs bénéficiaires. Plusieurs d'entre elles dépassaient huit mille, neuf mille, et même dix mille voix. L'Ontario, bien impressionné par le geste de Mackenzie King, effrita son bloc conservateur pour élire 24 libéraux. Avec les sièges des provinces de l'Ouest et des Maritimes, Mackenzie King dirigeait un groupe de 118 députés, dont plus de la moitié fournis par la province de Québec. Pour la "vieille garde", le 6 décembre 1921 effaçait le lugubre souvenir du 21 septembre 1911.

Une ligne de conduite s'imposait au gouverneur général: confier la formation d'un nouveau cabinet au chef du parti le plus nombreux. Les libéraux comptaient 118 députés; les conservateurs et les progressistes réunis, 117. Les libéraux perdraient un combattant en élisant un des leurs à la présidence de la Chambre. Il faudrait beaucoup d'adresse à Mackenzie King, secondé par Ernest Lapointe, pour conduire la barque dans ces conditions.

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VIII

Premier ministre du Canada

Certes, il faudrait beaucoup d'adresse pour manoeuvrer non seulement entre les partis, mais entre les provinces et groupes de provinces. Le Nouveau-Brunswick, la Nouvelle-Ecosse et l'Ile du Prince-Edouard réclamaient un certain nombre de mesures groupées sous le titre de "Maritime Rights": rajustement des taux de fret sur l'ancien Intercolonial; augmentation du subside fédéral; aide à l'industrie houillère et sidérurgique de la Nouvelle-Ecosse. Les provinces de l'Ouest présentaient aussi une liste d'exigences: réduction des taux de transport; rétablissement de la Commission instituée pendant la guerre pour faciliter l'écoulement et maintenir les prix du blé; rétrocession de leurs ressources naturelles aux provinces des Prairies. Les conservateurs protectionnistes s'appuyaient sur l'Ontario et s'opposaient nettement au programme progressiste. Les libéraux, disposant d'une majorité infime sur les deux autres partis réunis, se divisaient eux-mêmes en deux tendances. L'une, plus favorable aux progressistes et guidée par Mackenzie King et Ernest Lapointe. L'autre, plus rapprochée des conservateurs par l'importante question douanière, et dirigée par Lomer Gouin.

Mackenzie King tenait à faire représenter toutes les provinces dans son cabinet. Or l'Alberta, entièrement "progressiste", n'avait pas élu un seul libéral. A la requête de Mackenzie King, d'Ernest Lapointe et de tous les chefs libéraux, un comté de la province de Québec - le comté d'Argenteuil, dont le député venait de mourir au lendemain de son élection - eut la générosité d'élire Charles Stewart, ancien premier ministre de l'Alberta, pour lui permettre de siéger à la Chambre et d'assumer le ministère de l'Intérieur.

Mackenzie King témoignait ainsi de la bonne volonté à l'égard des provinces de l'Ouest. Les progressistes étaient plus près des libéraux que des conservateurs par l'ensemble de leurs tendances. King et Lapointe estimaient Crerar. Ils effectuèrent un rapprochement graduel avec les progressistes.

Il fallait en même temps effacer les divisions issues de la guerre. Un incident international faillit entraver cette oeuvre, à l'été de 1922. L'Angleterre et la Turquie se trouvèrent à deux doigts d'un conflit armé. L'Angleterre demanda,

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par câble, à ses Dominions s'ils y participeraient. Une indiscrétion - volontaire? - s'étant produite au départ, les agences de presse connurent, sinon le texte, au moins le sens de la dépêche en même temps que le premier ministre du Canada. En Ontario, Arthur Meighen lança sans hésitation le vieux cri de guerre: "Ready, aye, ready!" Les journaux de Toronto voulaient une déclaration immédiate de solidarité impériale. L'opinion de Québec s'opposait au contraire à une expédition aux Dardanelles; les députés et les journaux de la province le déclarèrent sans ambages.

Dans la capitale enfiévrée, Mackenzie King ne perdait pas la tête. Il connaissait l'opinion de l'Ontario, ultra-loyaliste et travaillée par Meighen, et celle de Québec, pilier du parti libéral. Il consulta Crerar, chef du parti progressiste. Or, les fermiers de l'Ouest, absorbés par leurs propres problèmes, trouvaient Constantinople bien éloigné de Winnipeg. Crerar conseilla la prudence - et la consultation du Parlement. C'était conforme au caractère et au sentiment du premier ministre. Mackenzie King gagna du temps, demanda des précisions à Londres. Sur ses instructions, Fielding et Lapointe, qui siégeaient alors à la Société des Nations, suggérèrent la médiation génevoise.

Le téléphone et le télégraphe fonctionnaient dans tout le pays. Les journaux faisaient recette. Dans la province de Québec, les sociétés nationales s'apprêtaient à faire signer des pétitions. Une décision, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, froisserait inévitablement une fraction importante de l'opinion canadienne. Par bonheur, la crise se dissipa. Elle aboutit, en Angleterre, à la chute de Lloyd George. L'incident des Dardanelles, aussi appelé incident de Tchanak, illustre la méthode du premier ministre, qui s'approchait des bagarres diplomatiques avec la même prudence qu'autrefois des conflits du travail. Il traduit aussi l'hésitation d'un pays à la croisée des chemins; le résultat indique une tendance à s'écarter de l'impérialisme. Mackenzie King ébauchait la politique de non engagement (no commitment).

L'incident clos, les esprits calmés, le premier ministre et ses collègues revinrent aux grandes questions financières et ferroviaires qui constituaient, elles aussi, un lourd héritage de la guerre. Le monde civilisé traversait une crise économique. King avait offert le portefeuille des Finances à Fielding, son rival de la convention d'Ottawa. Et Fielding avait, certes, de la compétence et de l'adresse; il savait présenter les budgets d'une manière presque attrayante. Fielding et son successeur Robb s'appliquèrent à la réduction des dépenses et de

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la dette, au rajustement du tarif et de la fiscalité.

L'agriculture, forte dans l'Ouest, souhaite le libre-échange pour exporter plus facilement son excédent de production. L'industrie, forte dans l'Est, souhaite la protection pour résister à la concurrence de la puissante industrie américaine. La tradition libérale incline vers le libre-échange, tandis que la tradition conservatrice incline vers la protection. La convention libérale de 1919 avait réaffirmé l'hostilité du parti à la protection douanière excessive, qui grève les consommateurs, en fin de compte. Mais King, Lapointe et leurs collègues croyaient à la vertu des compromis pour la sauvegarde de l'unité nationale. Et des réductions de tarif signifient des réductions de recettes pour le Trésor. Le cabinet King effectua des changements prudents et graduels, en pesant et en s'efforçant de concilier l'intérêt de l'agriculture et celui de l'industrie, l'intérêt de l'Ouest et celui de l'Est. Le budget retrouva son équilibre pour l'exercice de 1923-24. James Alexander Robb, député de Huntingdon et successeur de Fielding, put alors supprimer ou réduire des taxes, supprimer ou réduire des droits de douane (en particulier sur les instruments de production des industries de base, agriculture, mines, pêche et forêts). Le Canada conclut des traités de commerce avec plusieurs pays étrangers.

Le regain de prospérité facilita cette tâche, comme il facilita la réorganisation des chemins de fer nationaux.

Le Canada sortait de la guerre avec deux grands réseaux ferroviaires, le Pacifique-Canadien et les Chemins de fer Nationaux. Le Pacifique était un réseau privé, bien géré et florissant. Le National, propriété de l'Etat, était un amalgame, tout récent, de réseaux, lignes et tronçons disparates, presque tout en déficit, et que le gouvernement unioniste avait achetés pour éviter leur faillite, qui eût aggravé la crise économique. Dans cet amalgame, on pouvait dénombrer, entre autres: l'Intercolonial, construit au lendemain de la Confédération pour relier les provinces Maritimes au centre du Canada; le Grand-Tronc, doyen des réseaux canadiens; le Transcontinental, construit sous le gouvernement de Laurier; le Canadian Northern, formé de bric et de broc par les spéculateurs Mackenzie et Mann. Cet ensemble manquait d'uniformité, de discipline et d'entrain.

Le gouvernement canadien confia la réorganisation de ce réseau à un grand spécialiste, sir Henry Thornton, Américain de naissance mais qui avait

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accompli sa carrière et fait ses preuves en Angleterre. Un géant, compétent et véritablement dynamique. Henry Thornton parcourut les lignes, insuffla l'esprit de corps, modernisa le matériel, et fit de cet amalgame hétéroclite un grand réseau, en mesure de rivaliser avec le Pacifique-Canadien. Thornton aimait la publicité voyante et bruyante - il allait jusqu'à conduire lui-même l'orchestre du C.N.R. - mais cela convenait à l'allure de ce siècle et de ce continent. Les deux grands réseaux canadiens, le Pacifique et le National, se lancèrent à l'assaut des records.

Les finances rétablies, les chemins de fer réorganisés, une nouvelle vague de prospérité ~~commençait~~ commençait à soulever le pays. L'Ouest exportait son blé en quantité croissante. Les fabriques québécoises et ontariennes fournissaient de papier une partie de la presse anglaise et américaine. Des océaniques toujours plus nombreux s'amarraient dans le port de Montréal. Cependant un court drame constitutionnel bouleversa la vie politique.

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IX

Crise constitutionnelle

Le 29 octobre 1925, pour la première fois dans nos annales électorales, des milliers de personnes apprirent les résultats par T.S.F. Les élections de 1921 avaient placé les partis dans l'ordre suivant: les libéraux en tête, les progressistes au milieu et les conservateurs en queue. Aux élections de 1925, le bloc libéral resta presque intact dans la province de Québec (61 libéraux et quatre conservateurs, tous les quatre élus dans des circonscriptions de majorité anglaise), mais un glissement s'opéra dans les autres provinces. Mackenzie King et ses collègues de l'Ontario mordaient la poussière. Dans l'ensemble du pays, les électeurs envoyaient à la Chambre des communes 117 conservateurs, 101 libéraux, 24 progressistes, 2 travaillistes et un indépendant.

Arthur Meighen se voyait déjà premier ministre. Mais le petit groupe progressiste, arbitre de la situation malgré son effectif réduit, inclinait vers les libéraux plutôt que vers les conservateurs. Dans ces conditions, Mackenzie King avait plus de chances de gouverner qu'Arthur Meighan. Il consulta ses collègues et ses amis. Alexandre Taschereau, premier ministre de la province de Québec, lui conseilla de rester. Cette partie très difficile valait la peine d'être tentée. Après tout, c'est la majorité de la Chambre des communes qui devait soutenir ou renverser le ministère. Le gouvernement King resta au pouvoir. Ernest Lapointe dirigerait les travaux parlementaires en l'absence du premier ministre, battu dans son comté.

Une session extraordinaire commença ainsi. Des chefs conservateurs exceptionnellement habiles et vigoureux - Arthur Meighen, Robert Rogers, R.B. Bennett et H.H. Stevens - lancèrent de furieux assauts contre le gouvernement. "Bob" Rogers, député de Winnipeg, travaillait l'opinion progressiste, mais un journaliste influent, John W. Dafoe, rédacteur en chef de la Winnipeg Free Press, assurait la contre-partie. Ernest Lapointe, de tout temps sympathique aux progressistes, vivait en bonne entente avec Robert Forke, leur nouveau chef. Le premier vote de la session fut réellement palpitant, car la vie ou la mort du ministère dépendait de quatre ou cinq progressistes hésitants. Jean Denis, député de Joliette, leur adresse un vibrant appel. Un progressiste vote "ministériel"; les libéraux l'applaudissent. Un autre vote avec l'opposition; les conservateurs à leur tour manifestent, brandissent et lancent des "livres bleus" en signe de joie. Un troisième progressiste s'abstient; silence général.

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Un quatrième, que Bob Rogers croit avoir gagné, se lève en disant à son voisin: "Regarde Bob pendant que je vais voter." Il vote ministériel. Bob maugrée en effet. Le gouvernement l'emporte - et subsiste - par trois voix de majorité. Les libéraux chantent, agitent leur mouchoir.

Cette majorité s'affermit. Ministres et députés canadiens-français se taillèrent une large part du mérite. Les Lapointe, les Cardin, les Boivin, les Cannon, résistaient avec bonheur aux Meighen, aux Rogers, aux Bennett, aux Stevens. A la fois ferme et conciliant, Lapointe ne perdait jamais sa maîtrise de soi. Pas une minute il n'éprouva la tentation de supplanter le chef qu'il remplaçait devant le Parlement. Le 15 février 1926, dans une élection complémentaire, la circonscription saskoutaine de Prince-Albert rendit au premier ministre l'entrée de la Chambre des communes, en l'élisant par une forte majorité. Le renfort de Charles Dunning, premier ministre de la Saskatchewan, qui renonçait à la toute-puissance dans sa province pour prendre le portefeuille des Chemins de fer dans le cabinet fédéral, consolida encore le gouvernement. Homme de l'Ouest, ancien gérant d'une grande coopérative agricole, Dunning facilitait le rapprochement avec les progressistes. Le budget présenté par Robb comporta quelques dégrèvements d'impôts. Il fut voté par 121 voix contre 108.

Les conservateurs ne se tenaient pas pour battus. Ils déclenchent une retentissante enquête sur l'administration des douanes, en visant surtout l'ancien ministre Jacques Bureau, passé au Sénat pour raisons de santé. Stevens, le plus violent, insinue que les ministres, en nommant Jacques Bureau sénateur, se sont débarrassés d'un collègue encombrant. M. Bureau, répond Mackenzie King, a été nommé sénateur parce qu'il avait donné vingt-cinq années de sa vie au service du pays. Puis:

-"S'il y a un seul membre de cette Chambre qui n'ait pas eu la plus grande confiance dans l'intégrité de M. Bureau alors qu'il était ministre, qu'il se lève."

Au bout d'un assez long moment, un député conservateur se lève. C'est le vieux Bob White, de la Gazette - un septuagénaire à la tête penchée, à la voix fluette, spirituel et sympathique. Il déclare que M. Bureau jouissait en effet de l'estime générale.

Malgré cet intermède chevaleresque, il ne s'agit point d'une guerre en dentelles. Le gouvernement à la majorité précaire est en danger constant. De Halifax à Vancouver, les salles de rédaction sont en état d'alerte. Le Toronto Star publie une consultation du grand avocat John S. Ewart, spécialiste en droit constitutionnel. Le gouvernement

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King ne peut pas gouverner dans ces conditions, reconnaît le juriste; mais il n'est pas renversé. S'il demandait la dissolution, le gouverneur, d'après la procédure constitutionnelle et les précédents, ne pourrait pas la refuser.

Cette consultation signifie quelque chose. A l'heure où elle paraît, Mackenzie King se présente à Rideau Hall et prie le gouverneur de dissoudre les Chambres, pour provoquer de nouvelles élections. Lord Byng refuse poliment.

Le 28 juin, Mackenzie King attire l'attention du gouverneur - verbalement, puis par écrit - sur la portée de son geste, sans précédent dans l'histoire de la Grande-Bretagne depuis un siècle et dans l'histoire du Canada depuis la Confédération. Puis, il annonce aux Communes le refus du gouverneur général et la démission du gouvernement.

Arthur Meighen constitue un cabinet provisoire de sept ministres sans portefeuille. (Il évite ainsi de perdre des voix, car une subtilité parlementaire dispense les ministres sans portefeuille de se soumettre à la réélection avant de reprendre leur siège.) Mais lui non plus n'est pas en mesure de gouverner. On discute beaucoup le geste du gouverneur, sévèrement traité par les libéraux, et le caractère exceptionnel de ce cabinet de ministres sans portefeuille.

Le 1er juillet, sur une motion de défiance présentée par Robb, le gouvernement Meighen est en minorité d'une voix. Des libéraux trépignent. D'autres crient: "Démissionnez!" D'autres se donnent l'accolade. Les ovations à King n'en finissent pas. Porté en triomphe, hissé sur une table, l'ex-premier ministre doit improviser une allocution. Il exprime sa gratitude particulière à l'égard d'Henri Bourassa, député de Labelle, qui soutient vigoureusement les libéraux dans cette crise. Le petit-fils de William Lyon Mackenzie dit, à l'intention du petit-fils de Papineau: "Nos grands-pères ont lutté côte à côte pour nos libertés constitutionnelles. C'est la même lutte que nous renouvelons aujourd'hui. Le résultat de ce soir prouve que c'est avec succès." Le ministère Meighen n'a duré que trois jours.

Le 2 juillet, à onze heures, Mackenzie King réunit les membres de son ex-cabinet dans son bureau. Tous attendent le message du gouverneur, qui va rappeler King et lui rendre les rênes. Le pavillon hissé sur le "bloc de l'Est" indique la présence du gouverneur général dans le bureau qui lui est réservé. Les anciens et prochains ministres attendent, un peu nerveux, la convocation.

A midi et demie, le pavillon s'abaisse. Lord Byng est retourné à Rideau Hall sans appeler Mackenzie King. Il accorde à Meighen la dissolution refusée à King. C'est Arthur Meighen, resté premier ministre, qui tiendra la "machine" pour les élections.

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"C'est un coup d'Etat", dit Mackenzie King. "C'est un coup d'Etat", dit Henri Bourassa. "C'est un coup d'Etat", dit, à Winnipeg, le vieux Sifton. "C'est un coup d'Etat", confirme N.W. Rowell, ancien ministre unioniste, dans une communication au Globe de Toronto. Le jurisconsulte Ewart rappelle que le droit théorique de veto n'a pas été exercé depuis le règne de la reine Anne, et que le droit théorique de refuser une dissolution n'a pas été exercé depuis le règne de George III. Les journaux et les orateurs libéraux revendiquent les libertés populaires. Ils posent tout de suite la question constitutionnelle: Le Canada est-il un Dominion autonome, ou une colonie? Qui gouverne: les mandataires du peuple ou le représentant de la Couronne?

Mackenzie King signe une déclaration ainsi terminée:

"La question essentielle qui se pose devant le peuple est de savoir si, oui ou non, le gouvernement sera exercé, au Canada, conformément à la volonté du peuple, affirmant ses droits au Parlement, sous le régime de la responsabilité ministérielle."

Et Lapointe:

"L'élection qui s'annonce va faire ressortir d'une façon éclatante la différance vitale qui sépare les deux grands partis.

"La lutte va se livrer - et c'est M. Meighen qui l'a voulu - sur une question qui met en jeu l'avenir de notre pays et notre existence comme nation autonome.

"Fidèle à ses traditions, le parti libéral va se battre pour les libertés canadiennes."

Henri Bourassa pose ce raisonnement: Une conférence impériale doit se tenir prochainement à Londres. Tout se passe comme si le gouvernement britannique, son haut agent le gouverneur général, et ces impérialistes qu'on surnomme des "jingoes", voulaient y voir, comme premier ministre et représentant du Canada, Arthur Meighen, qui s'écriait "~~Aye~~, Ready, aye, ready" lors de l'incident de Tchanak, plutôt que Mackenzie King, qui s'est montré beaucoup plus prudent.

La province de Québec approuvait ce raisonnement. L'organisation conservatrice se mit péniblement sur pied, malgré le renfort apporté à Meighen par Esioff Patenaude. Mais en Ontario, on dénonçait le "déloyalisme", le "séparatisme" et "l'annexionnisme" de Mackenzie King, "dominé par la province de Québec". Des assemblées considérables, bruyantes, spectaculaires, tenues par les deux partis, marquèrent cette campagne passionnée, dans tout le pays.

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Le 14 septembre, le bloc québécois se reforma, sans changement: 61 libéraux et 4 conservateurs. Les libéraux gagnèrent trois sièges au Nouveau-Brunswick et treize en Ontario. Dans les provinces des Prairies, la coalition libérale-progressiste écrasait le parti conservateur. Arthur Meighen et Bob Rogers étaient défaits. L'ensemble donne: 119 libéraux, 91 conservateurs, 11 libéraux-progressistes, 8 progressistes, 11 Fermiers-Unis de l'Alberta, 3 travaillistes et 2 indépendants. Les progressistes et travaillistes inclinant ouvertement vers les libéraux, ceux-ci pourront reprendre et conserver le pouvoir.

Mackenzie King, approuvé par le peuple, commença la journée du 15 septembre en déposant des fleurs sur la tombe de Laurier.

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X

Deuxième Gouvernement King

Mackenzie King et Ernest Lapointe représentèrent le Canada, en octobre-novembre 1926, à la Conférence impériale de Londres. Comme les conférences précédentes, celle-ci rassemblait force personnages dont les noms s'inscriraient dans l'histoire; Stanley Baldwin, premier ministre de la Grande-Bretagne; Austen Chamberlain, secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires étrangères; W.S. Churchill, chancelier de l'Echiquier; lord Balfour, président du Conseil ; S.M. Bruce, premier ministre de l'Australie; J.G. Coates, premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Zélande; W.T. Cosgrave, président de l'Etat libre d'Irlande; J.B.M. Hertzog, premier ministre de l'Afrique du Sud; W.S. Monroe, premier ministre de Terre-Neuve.

Deux tendances s'affrontèrent, à Londres. Les représentants de Terre-Neuve cherchaient un resserrement du lien britannique. Le président Cosgrave et le général Hertzog souhaitaient au contraire son relâchement. Le parti de King et Lapointe avait pris et repris le pouvoir en combattant l'impérialisme tory, l'ingérence impériale dans les affaires du Canada. Il recrutait le gros de ses adhérents dans la province de Québec. Henri Bourassa l'avait appuyé, en invoquant cet argument: A Londres, Mackenzie King défendra nos libertés plus énergiquement que Meighen. Bourassa et ses collaborateurs attribuaient à Mackenzie King "la volonté de s'attaquer au tronc impérialiste".

Cependant, rien ne ressemblait moins à Mackenzie King, si bien servi, dans sa carrière de chef d'Etat démocratique, par son goût des solutions moyennes, que "la volonté de s'attaquer au tronc impérialiste". Il n'y a aucune attitude de défi, rien de ce que les Américains appellent "glamorous" dans la vie de cet homme d'Etat, qui s'est fait un allié du Temps. Cet élève de Laurier, cet ancien médiateur des conflits du travail, trouva plutôt, à la conférence de Londres, une belle occasion d'exercer ses dispositions de conciliateur. Comme Laurier aux premières conférences impériales, il rechercha la conciliation - apparemment difficile - de l'autonomie canadienne et de la solidarité impériale. L'importance du Canada aidant, Mackenzie King exerça une influence notable sur l'orientation des débats et sur la rédaction des textes arrêtés d'un commun accord.

Le rapport officiel définit le statut de la Grande-Bretagne et de ses Dominions "communautés autonomes dans l'Empire britannique, égales en droit, nullement subordonnées l'une à l'autre sur aucun point de leur politique intérieure ou extérieure, bien qu'unies

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par une commune allégeance à la Couronne et librement associées comme membres de la Communauté des nations britanniques". On modifia les titres du Roi et quelques formules administratives qui paraissaient impliquer une subordination des Dominions. On précisa que les gouverneurs généraux représentaient, dans les divers Dominions, non pas le gouvernement de Londres ou l'administration britannique, mais le Roi. Quelques changements dans la forme et la négociation des traités tendaient à consacrer la personnalité internationale des Dominions. Le Canada entretiendrait à Washington, non pas tout à fait une ambassade, mais une légation (un ministre nommé par le Roi sur la recommandation d'un arrêté en conseil rendu par le gouvernement canadien). Les pouvoirs des plénipotentiaires désignés par le Roi se limiteraient à une partie de l'Empire. Plus de traités conclus au nom de l'Empire britannique, mais au nom de la Grande-Bretagne - et libre aux Dominions intéressés d'y apposer leur signature, s'ils le veulent. Superflues désormais les "clauses d'exclusion" comme celle du traité de Locarno, stipulant que les Dominions ne seront pas liés sans leur consentement.

L'ensemble reconnaissait, et tout au plus entérinait un état de fait. Geste conforme aux habitudes anglaises, en matière de droit public, où la formule ne crée ni même ne précède le fait, mais le sanctionne. Cependant la précision d'après laquelle le gouverneur général représente, non pas le gouvernement de Londres ou l'administration britannique, mais le Roi, constituait l'épilogue du "coup d'Etat" de lord Byng. Un gouverneur général ne saurait désormais hésiter à suivre la volonté du cabinet d'Ottawa plutôt que celle du cabinet de Londres. Les conférences tenues au temps de Laurier, la signature du traité de Versailles par Borden, au nom du Canada, et la conférence de 1926, jalonnent une évolution constitutionnelle. De l'un à l'autre épisode, le Canada développait, affirmait sa personnalité internationale.

Plusieurs textes arrêtés à la conférence trahissent, par leur obscurité, l'embarras des politiques cherchant à concilier la solidarité impériale et l'indépendance des Dominions. Pareille situation, exigeant une grande souplesse, s'accomode peu de textes trop formels, trop rigides. Mackenzie King saisit plusieurs occasions - entre autres, la nomination d'un haut commissaire britannique au Canada - pour souligner la compatibilité de l'autonomie canadienne avec l'unité impériale.

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Après l'intermède du "Coup d'Etat" et la conférence de Londres, le gouvernement King reprit le cours de sa politique intérieure, marquée par le rajustement graduel du tarif et de la fiscalité. L'habitude des grandes industries intéressées aux modifications tarifaires était de multiplier les démarches et de faire jouer des influences. Mackenzie King créa la Commission du tarif, qui recevrait les requêtes et les étudierait au grand jour, à la manière d'un tribunal. La Commission du tarif entendrait les représentants des producteurs, des manufacturiers et des consommateurs, et soumettrait dans chaque cas son rapport au ministre des Finances. Cette procédure permit des revisions tarifaires à la fois plus équitables et plus cohérentes.

Le premier ministre qui présidait à l'évolution constitutionnelle et à la politique fiscale du Canada restait grand spécialiste des questions sociales. En prenant le pouvoir en 1921, il avait confié le portefeuille du Travail à James Murdock, le vice-président de la Fraternité des cheminots, dont il avait apprécié la bonne volonté aux jours difficiles de la grève du Grand-Tronc. Murdock fut défait en même temps que son chef, aux élections de 1925, et ne réussit point à se rattraper aux élections de 1926. Mackenzie King le remplaça par Peter Heenan, président de l'Association des chauffeurs de locomotives et député de Kenora (Ontario). Mackenzie King vouait un attachement fidèle au ministère du Travail, sa création, et suivait attentivement la carrière des fonctionnaires, même modestes, qui avaient débuté sous ses ordres (Un vieux commis canadien-français du ministère conserve comme une relique la longue et affectueuse lettre personnelle reçue, à la mort de sa femme, de la main du premier ministre.)

Le premier ministre veilla aux mesures de législation sociale - crédit agricole; pension aux vieillards - qui devaient ouvrir une voie nouvelle. Il pensait, dès cette époque, à l'assurance-chômage. Il entrevoyait un vaste programme de prévoyance et d'assurances sociales. Une difficulté particulière surgit, cependant. La législation sociale relève, en principe, du domaine provincial. La province de Québec, ayant des traits particuliers à sauvegarder, est à bon droit jalouse de ses prérogatives. Et des mesures comme les pensions de vieillesse et surtout le crédit agricole peuvent difficilement s'adapter à la fois aux provinces de l'Ouest et à la province de Québec. Trop de différences existent dans le régime de la propriété, le mode de culture, les marges de bénéfices et les traditions locales. Telles conditions de prêt, tel taux d'intérêt, peuvent convenir aux vastes exploitations manitobaines, mais non pas aux fermes du comté de Charlevoix.

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Et puis, à cette époque, la vague de prospérité masquait l'urgence des mesures sociales. L'expansion économique s'accélérait d'année en année, de mois en mois. Les récoltes opulentes de l'Ouest occupaient tous les bras valides. Tous les indices: statistiques de production, balance commerciale, recettes budgétaires, dépôts bancaires, contrats d'assurance, nombre des automobiles et des téléphones, traduisaient la prospérité. Le port de Montréal battait tous ses records: tonnage, importation, exportation, entreposage, chargement de wagons. Le port de Vancouver progressait encore plus vite. Le Pacifique-Canadien distribuait de beaux dividendes à ses actionnaires, et le Canadien-National, si mal en point à l'arrivée d'Henry Thornton, réalisait des bénéfices d'exploitation. Des touristes américains, ruisselants de dollars, envahissaient le Canada chaque été. Le vent tournait partout à l'optimisme.

La vague de prospérité grossit en 1927, en 1928, en 1929. La culture du blé prend une telle expansion, dans l'Ouest canadien, que les provinces des Prairies s'appellent "le grenier du monde". Le ministère fédéral de l'Agriculture protège cette richesse nationale en organisant la lutte scientifique contre la rouille et autres maladies du blé. Grâce à la houille blanche, la province de Québec est entrée dans une grande période d'équipement industriel. L'industrie minière fait surgir des villes nouvelles, et même un "Nouvel Ontario", puis un "Nouveau Québec". Le Canada occupe le cinquième rang parmi les nations commerçantes. Le port de Montréal détient le record du monde pour l'expédition des céréales. Le port de Vancouver, qui exportait un demi-million de boisseaux de blé en 1920-21, en expédie quatre-vingts millions pendant la saison de 1927-28. Le C.P.R. et le C.N.R. achèvent des embranchements, construisent des hôtels, commandent des paquebots en Angleterre. Les usines Angus, du Pacifique-Canadien, fabriquent la plus puissante locomotive de l'Empire britannique: la 3100. Les usines de Kingston, du Canadien-National, fabriquent une locomotive ultra-moderne, actionnée au pétrole et à l'électricité, qui pèse 650,000 livres, produit assez d'électricité pour éclairer une petite ville, et traîne les plus lourds convois à la plus grande vitesse.

Cet élan n'entraîne pas seulement les réseaux. De mois en mois, de jour en jour bientôt, se succèdent les publications triomphales de bilans, les inaugurations de routes, de banques, de barrages, de lignes de transmission et d'usines. Les mots "progrès; prospérité, développement; optimisme" reviennent vingt fois dans les rapports de la Banque de Montréal, de la Banque Royale du Canada, de la Banque Canadienne de Commerce, et aussi de la Banque Canadienne Nationale. Comment le chef qui préside à cet essor -

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qui le favorise par des mesures comme le rajustement des tarifs douanier et ferroviaire - n'exprimerait-il pas, en secret, sa gratitude à la Providence?

Le 28 octobre 1928, la ville de Québec fit une réception triomphale à Mackenzie King, rentrant d'Europe. Tous les orateurs invoquèrent la gloire de Laurier. Un autre que Mackenzie King se fût peut-être froissé d'une telle exaltation de son prédécesseur. Mais l'attitude de King à l'égard de Laurier - de la gloire de Laurier - était aussi nette et désintéressée que celle d'Ernest Lapointe à l'égard de King lui-même. Le premier ministre donna l'exemple, en présentant le plus sincère tribut d'hommages à la mémoire de son illustre prédécesseur - son ancien chef. Et les anciens électeurs de Laurier confondirent, dans leurs ovations, Mackenzie King et Ernest Lapointe, qui offraient un modèle unique de collaboration dans la confiance. Le parti libéral, le parti de Laurier, de King et de Lapointe, était véritablement au zénith.

La prospérité du continent nord-américain atteignait un degré inouï. Une spéculation intensive s'y mêlait, presque inévitablement. Il s'échange jusqu'à cent mille actions dans une seule journée à la Bourse de Montréal, au printemps de 1928. C'est un record. Il s'en échange deux cent mille certains jours du mois de novembre. (Il s'échange cinq, six millions d'actions dans la même journée à la Bourse de New-York). Les grandes compagnies procèdent à des surcapitalisations imprudentes.

. . .

Le 24 octobre 1929, une dégringolade subite et verticale de toutes les valeurs, sans exception, secoue la Bourse de New-York. Des millions de dollars se perdent par minute. La panique emplit Wall Street, et se propage. Montréal, Toronto et toutes les Bourses d'Amérique reproduisent la catastrophe, à leur échelle. La rue Saint-Jacques n'a jamais connu pareille fièvre.

C'était le début d'une crise économique mondiale, d'une gravité presque sans précédent. Le premier symptôme commercial, au Canada, fut la mévente du blé, qui affecta directement les transports, ferroviaires et maritimes, et indirectement les affaires de tout le pays. La crise du papier suivit sans tarder, puis toutes les industries pâtirent d'autant plus qu'elles avaient augmenté leur capital et leur outillage. Les prix tombèrent, les salaires s'avilirent, l'embauche diminua. La forme la plus pénible de la crise - le chômage - se répandit dans les villes, s'infiltra dans les campagnes. Les Etats-Unis s'entouraient d'une muraille douanière, très gênante pour l'exportation de nos produits agricoles.

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Le gouvernement King étudia son budget plus soigneusement encore. Charles Dunning avait reçu le portefeuille des Finances, à la mort de Robb. Il accentua la préférence britannique, et prit des mesures de rétorsion contre les Etats-Unis. Le gouvernement fit terminer quelques grands travaux en cours. Le 21 avril 1930, le premier cargo franchit les écluses du nouveau canal Welland. Reliant le lac Erié au lac Ontario, à travers la péninsule du Niagara, le nouveau canal Welland complétait la grande voie de navigation intérieure qui commence au Détroit de Belle-Isle et s'étend, par le Saint-Laurent et les Grands Lacs, jusqu'à Duluth, à l'extrémité occidentale du lac Supérieur. Le 24 mai, le président de la Commission du port de Montréal invita Mgr Gauthier, archevêque coadjuteur, à bénir sollennellement le pont de Montréal à Longueuil. De son bureau d'Ottawa, Mackenzie King présidait à l'inauguration. Le téléphone et des hauts parleurs transmirent son discours à la foule réunie sur l'île Sainte-Hélène.

Hélas! les meilleurs titres continuaient à descendre, à la Bourse. La mévente du blé s'aggravait. La crise compromettait toute l'oeuvre de rénovation d'Henry Thornton, aux Chemins de fer nationaux. Les touristes américains furent moins nombreux et moins prodigues, pendant l'été de 1930. Le spectre grandissant du chômage alarmait le pays. Et là-dessus, il fallut procéder à des élections.

R.B. Bennett, chef du parti conservateur, lança son torrent oratoire à travers les neuf provinces, en imprimant à sa campagne un caractère économique très prononcé. Il imputait au gouvernement la responsabilité de la crise et du chômage, et promettait d'enrayer ces maux, si le peuple le portait au pouvoir.

Dans les campagnes, les orateurs et "cabaleurs" ~~portèrent~~ dirigèrent leurs attaques sur un point particulier: le beurre de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Le gouvernement King avait conclu un traité avec la Nouvelle-Zélande, cliente des fabriques de papier de la province de Québec et des usines d'automobiles de l'Ontario. Ce traité favorisait l'importation du beurre de la Nouvelle-Zélande, ce qui avait d'abord paru sans inconvénient, puisque la production canadienne ne suffisait pas à la consommation. Mais voilà le nouveau tarif américain, qui entrave les exportations canadiennes de crême et de fromage. Les fermiers canadiens transforment leur lait en beurre, et commencent à ressentir la concurrence de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Les orateurs conservateurs exploitèrent cette situation. Tous les postes de radio retentirent de discussions sur le beurre de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Les électeurs ruraux, excités par cette campagne, refusèrent de discuter autre chose. Et sur cette question, des habitants clouaient le bec des avocats

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Montréalais. Bref, la question du beurre de la Nouvelle-Zélande prit, aux élections de 1930, l'importance revêtue par la question constitutionnelle aux élections de 1926. Et cette fois l'offensive était du côté conservateur.

Les scrutateurs dénombrèrent 137 conservateurs, 87 libéraux, et de petits groupes de "Fermiers-Unis", progressistes, socialistes et indépendants. Le bloc québécois s'effritait sérieusement, puisque la province donnait 40 libéraux, 24 conservateurs et un indépendant, au lieu de 60 libéraux, 4 conservateurs et un indépendant. Victime de la crise en général et du beurre de la Nouvelle-Zélande en particulier, Mackenzie King céda la place à R.B. Bennett, qui arrivait avec un grand sac plein de promesses.

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Robert Rumilly
33, AVE RUSSELL
OTTAWA, ONT.
TÉL.: 3-7154

28 June 1944.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed the balance of my draft for a biography of the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. Of course it is only a draft. I have already remodelled and completed the part submitted to you.

It would be interesting for the Biographer to know if Mr. King, when working in the United States - for instance, for the Rockefeller Foundation - made some notable connections which proved useful later on, in occasions like the negociation of trade agreements.

If I had such supplementary information ~~with~~ enough, we would try to publish for the 7 th of August.

Yours Truly, Robert Rumilly

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XI

Chef de l'Opposition

R.B. Bennett à l'épreuve - Les prérogatives du Parlement - Elections du 14 octobre 1935.

Bennett avait beaucoup promis; on attendait beaucoup de lui; malgré sa valeur personnelle et son ardeur au travail, il déçut vite. Il ne put offrir que des palliatifs, et la crise, en se prolongeant, s'aggrava.

De nouveaux cyclones secouaient périodiquement les bourses américaines, et le président Roosevelt s'attelait à une tâche gigantesque. Au Canada, la mévente du blé était due, dans une assez large mesure, à l'entêtement du cartel formé par les grandes coopératives de l'Ouest (les "pools"), qui accumulaient des stocks plutôt que d'abaisser leurs prix. Les banques, les gouvernements des provinces de l'Ouest et même le gouvernement fédéral, l'y encouragèrent. Pendant ce temps, le blé de l'Argentine délogea le blé canadien sur les marchés de Grande-Bretagne.

L'arrêt des affaires entraîna le déficit des réseaux. Le tourisme n'était plus que l'ombre de lui-même. Le Pacifique-Canadien décida la fermeture de la gare Viger. Le Canadien-National suspendit la construction de sa nouvelle gare à Montréal. Dans tout le pays, des usines fermèrent, jetant leurs ouvriers sur le pavé. Des locataires cessèrent de payer leur loyer. La dévalorisation des produits agricoles fut encore plus sensible que celle des produits industriels. L'abrogation du traité avec la Nouvelle-Zélande n'empêcha point l'affaissement du prix du beurre. Le blé se gâtait dans les entrepôts tandis que des milliers de personnes souffraient de la faim. Les fermiers ne pouvaient plus payer ni amortissement ni intérêts sur leurs hypothèques. Dans les villes, de nouveaux refuges s'emplirent, aussitôt ouverts. Le chômage ne frappait pas seulement les ouvriers, mais aussi l'immense classe des "collets blancs" - commis et employés. Le plus grave symptôme était peut-être de voir des jeunes hommes renoncer à la recherche d'un emploi et se fixer dans l'état de chômeurs.

R.B. Bennett n'avait pas été à l'école de Laurier. La fortune lui était venue par un coup de baguette magique. Il n'avait pas été sous-ministre du Travail et médiateur dans les conflits ouvriers. Il était moins habitué que Mackenzie King à contourner les obstacles, à limer doucement la résistance des hommes et des faits. Et puis, il était de tempérament despotique. Mackenzie King, comme Laurier, laissait à chaque ministre le soin et la responsabilité de son département. R.B. Bennett empiète sur les attributions de ses collègues, se lève avant eux pour répondre aux interpellations

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les concernant, prend d'importantes décisions sans les consulter. En voyant Bennett parler tout seul, les initiés disent: "Il tient un conseil de cabinet." Le premier ministre est habituellement président du Conseil privé et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures. Bennett, assumant ces fonctions, garde encore pour lui-même le portefeuille des Finances. Il se fait donner par sa majorité parlementaire des pouvoirs dictatoriaux. Or les choses vont de mal en pis. Les recettes ferroviaires et les bordereaux de paie des réseaux baissent de moitié. Sir Henry Thornton, mal soutenu par le nouveau gouvernement, finit par démissionner. Les fermiers de l'Ouest, devant la situation désespérée, demandent le rétablissement d'un Office du blé, suivant le modèle instauré pendant la guerre, pour fixer ou garantir un prix minimum. N'obtenant pas satisfaction, les provinces des Prairies parlent de sécession. Bennett y perd ses torrents d'éloquence et ses douze heures de travail par jour. Il renonce au portefeuille des Finances.

La question du chômage était la plus urgente. Pendant la campagne électorale, Mackenzie King avait préconisé la réunion d'une conférence interprovinciale, sous l'égide du gouvernement fédéral, avec le concours des grandes associations patronales, ouvrières et charitables. Dès la session de 1931, il demanda la nomination d'un comité qui surveillerait l'emploi des fonds fédéraux et coordonnerait les efforts des autorités fédérales, provinciales et municipales. Bennett repoussa cette suggestion, et se fit donner un blanc-seing pour dépenser des sommes considérables sans examen parlementaire. Mais comment les employer et les répartir? Bennett et ses ministres hésitaient entre deux formules: les secours directs et les travaux publics, plus durables mais plus coûteux. Puis ils vécurent en conflit perpétuel avec le gouvernement Taschereau, de Québec. Le cabinet fédéral voulait un système tripartite, avec contributions du fédéral, du provincial et des municipalités. Mais les municipalités n'en pouvaient plus. Leurs charges s'alourdissaient et leurs impôts rentraient mal (la seule ville de Québec comptait $5,000,000 de taxes impayées). Un bon nombre côtoyaient la faillite, et plusieurs passaient sous la tutelle de la Commission municipale. Les ministres provinciaux, bien au courant de cette situation, voulaient partager le fardeau des secours de chômage entre Ottawa et Québec, sans contribution des municipalités. Bennett répondit par un "Non" péremptoire. La vérification des comptes donna lieu à mille frictions. Le gouvernement d'Ottawa et celui de Québec se renvoyèrent la responsabilité des délais de paiement. Le gouvernement fédéral déclara qu'après tout il intervenait à titre bénévole, car les secours de chômage incombent aux autorités provinciales et municipales. Ottawa et Québec échangèrent des notes aigres-douces, des reproches, des démentis. Les chômeurs attèndaient et souffraient.

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A la Chambre des communes, Bennett affrontait des adversaires que la défaite n'avait pas découragés. Nous avons déjà observé le rôle important dévolu à l'opposition - à la loyale Opposition de Sa Majesté - dans le régime parlementaire britannique. Mackenzie King à son tour remplissait ce rôle. Placé dans une situation analogue à celle de Laurier, chef de l'opposition ~~de Sa Majesté - dans le régime parlementaire britannique. Mackenzie King à son tour remplissait ce rôle. Placé dans une situation analogue à celle de Laurier, chef de l'opposition~~ pendant la guerre, il prit la même attitude: pas d'opposition systématique aux mesures nécessitées par la crise, mais revendication persistante - et vigoureuse - des prérogatives du Parlement. Mackenzie King défendait les principes libéraux en critiquant le blanc-seing obtenu par le premier ministre, comme en critiquant, non pas la fondation de la Banque du Canada, mais les clauses qui la soustrayaient au contrôle du Parlement. Au début de chaque session, et dans chaque occasion importante, il prononçait des discours de trois à quatre heures. Au contraire de Bennett, il s'emportait rarement. Il ne manquait jamais à la politesse. Mais il tenait son homme aux oreilles et, pendant trois ou quatre heures, ne le lâchait pas. Bennett, qui ne souffrait pas le contradiction, suait d'impatience. King poursuivait son discours jusqu'à l'heure de la clôture, pour empêcher une réplique immédiate.

Encore si Bennett avait trouvé, pour la séance du lendemain, quelque faille, quelque contradiction, quelque affirmation hasardée dans le grand discours de son adversaire! Mais le chef libéral est prudent et habile. Fort capable de dégager clairement, en quelques phrases, les grandes lignes d'un débat - ainsi qu'il faisait, étant premier ministre, au conseil de cabinet - Mackenzie King glisse dans ses discours assez de nuances, de réserves, de précautions pour qu'on ne puisse le prendre en flagrant délit. Bennett fulmine.

Les méthodes du chef conservateur ne conviennent décidément pas au pays. Un de ses lieutenants - H.H. Stevens - rompt avec lui. D'autres recherchent une coalition avec les chefs libéraux, qui n'examinent même pas l'idée. Bennett envisage enfin des réformes sociales, telles que l'assurance-chômage, déjà préconisée par King, et invoque des passages du livre "Industry and Humanity". King et Lapointe approuvent, certes, le principe de l'assurance-chômage, mais il font observer: 1o - Que le moment est mal chosi, car c'est l'assistance-chômage qui s'impose en 1934-1935; il ne s'agit pas de prévenir, mais de guérir; 2o - Que, la constitution plaçant cette catégorie de mesures sous la juridiction provinciale, une loi préparée dans la consultation et

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le consentement des provinces sera, tôt ou tard, annulée par les tribunaux supérieurs. Dans le domaine des études et des réformes sociales, Bennett n'éclipsera évidemment ni Woodsworth, ni Mackenzie King.

La reddition des comptes approche. Les élections sont fixées au 14 octobre 1935. Dix élections complémentaires ont été tenues depuis trois ans, dans toutes les parties du pays. Mackenzie King est intervenu personnellement dans chaque campagne. Les libéraux ont remporté neuf victoires, et sensiblement réduit la majorité conservatrice dans la dixième bataille. A la veille des élections générales - le 14 août - Bennett nomme la Commission du blé réclamée par les agriculteurs de l'Ouest.

Pendant la campagne de 1930, Bennett critiquait en ces termes les projets de son adversaire: "Il n'est pas besoin d'une conférence du chômage. La solution de ce problème est trop apparente. Ce que vous voulez, ce ne sont pas des conférences, c'est du travail. Vous aurez du travail." Or, en 1935, on enregistre près de quatre cent mille chômeurs au Canada. Une nouvelle orgie de promesses sera vaine. Mackenzie King et Ernest Lapointe, défenseurs de la tradition parlementaire, opposent les droits du Parlement à la dictature du premier ministre. Puis Mackenzie King développe un programme conforme à la doctrine libérale: latitude plus grande aux initiatives privées; et surtout, relations plus cordiales avec les pays étrangers, par l'abaissement des tarifs douaniers. Les dirigeants du pays ont à résoudre un problème de distribution des marchandises, plutôt qu'un problème de production. Le Canada doit écouler son énorme excédent de produits primaires - blé, bois, pulpe, produits laitiers - sur les marchés étrangers. Il faut libérer le courant des échanges. La reprise des affaires atténuera le chômage. Enfin les libéraux, au pouvoir, institueront diverses mesures de prévoyance sociale.

Mackenzie King commence la campagne par une tournée dans les provinces Maritimes. En revenant, il s'arrête à Québec, le 7 septembre. Cette visite coïncide avec un congrès des jeunes libéraux de toute la province. Au ralliement de Saint-Roch, un état-major accompagne le chef: Ernest Lapointe, Fernand Rinfret, Lucien Cannon, Alexandre Taschereau, Adélard Godbout, Joseph-Edouard Perrault, Napoléon Francoeur, Damien Bouchard, et trente-quatre candidats libéraux du district de Québec. - "Je ne puis me retrouver à Québec" commence Mackenzie King, "sans être hanté par le souvenir de Laurier". Il renouvelle aussi son témoignage d'absolue confiance en son "loyal et très cher ami" Ernest Lapointe. De fait, la collaboration King-Lapointe n'a jamais été plus confiante, plus intime, plus totale. Les deux collaborateurs et amis incarnent

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Mackenzie King, rentrant de l'Ouest, tient une assemblée triomphale à Toronto, le 8 octobre. Puis il termine la campagne à Montréal, le 11. Tous les candidats libéraux du district de Montréal, d'Arthur Cardin à Fernand Rinfret, l'entourent, sur la vaste estrade de l'Arena.

Le 14, balayage dans tout le pays. Les électeurs envoient à la Chambre des communes ~~169~~ 171 libéraux, ~~42~~ 39 conservateurs, ~~13~~ 17 adhérents du Crédit social, et H.H. Stevens, seul membre du parti qu'il voulait former. La province de Québec à elle seule élit 60 libéraux sur 65 députés. Mackenzie King dispose de la plus forte majorité parlementaire de notre histoire. Il redevient premier ministre, pour une période plus longue et plus chargée de soucis qu'il n'imagine peut-être.

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XII

Une oeuvre de redressement

Reprise graduelle de l'activité économique - Les réseaux ferroviaires - L'essor minier - La Banque du Canada

Le nouveau gouvernement King entra en fonctions le 23 octobre 1935. Il lui fallait s'atteler tout de suite aux deux problèmes connexes: marasme des affaires et crise de chômage.

Bennett avait cru régler ces problèmes par quelques décisions promptes. Devant la résistance des faits, il avait tantôt rejeté la responsabilité sur les provinces et tantôt empiété sur les droits des provinces. King ne croyait pas à l'existence d'une recette magique, mais à la possibilité d'un rétablissement graduel, facilité par des mesures variées. Bennett avait souvent décidé seul. King et ses collègues tinrent des consultations, à la manière des grands avocats, des grands médecins ou des grands architectes étudiant un problème en commun. Leurs opinions se comparent, se modifient, se mettent au point.

Le gouvernement King assumerait ses responsabilités, tout en s'accordant avec les provinces. Il consulta la Cour Suprême sur la validité des lois sociales du régime Bennett, convoqua une conférence interprovinciale et nomma une commission de placement. Autant de mesures d'urgence. King et Lapointe, par tempérament et par entraînement, s'intéressaient davantage aux mesures à longue portée. C'est la reprise des échanges qui entraînerait l'activité des transports, la reprise de l'emploi, la hausse des salaires. Mackenzie King pensait atténuer la crise économique, et peut-être la résoudre, en stimulant le commerce extérieur. Son gouvernement abaissa les barrières douanières et négocia des traités de commerce avec les pays étrangers.

Bennett, protectionniste et immérialiste, avait menacé les Etats-Unis d'une guerre tarifaire, puis obtenu la réunion d'une conférence économique impériale à Ottawa, en 1932. Les Etats-Unis crurent les accords d'Ottawa tournés contre eux. Brusquement, par une note du 14 novembre 1934, Bennett entama des négociations avec Washington. Il offrait - un peu vite, sans savoir ce qu'il obtiendrait en retour - la clause de la nation la plus favorisée et des concessions particulières sur un certain nombre d'articles. Mais les Américains n'étaient pas très disposés à s'entendre avec le protectionniste fieffé qui les avait menacés de dumping. Onze mois plus tard, les négociations n'avaient pas avancé. Le cabinet Bennett avait

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encore mis l'embargo sur les produits russes et déclaré la guerre commerciale au Japon, gros importateur de nos produits forestiers, agricoles et miniers. Il refusait d'évaluer le yen au taux courant du change, pour fins douanières. Il frappait les marchandises japonaises d'un droit de dumping. Le 13 mars 1935, le gouvernement de Tokio soumet une protestation officielle. Le 20 juillet, le gouvernement Bennett modifie son évaluation du yen, mais dans une faible mesure. Le même jour, le Japon impose une surtaxe de 50% ad valorem sur le blé, la farine, le gluten, le bois, la pulpe et la papier d'emballage importés du Canada. Le 22, Ottawa répond par une surtaxe de 33 1/3% sur toutes les marchandises japonaises, importées directement ou indirectement. Inutile de dire que les Soviets avaient répondu à l'embargo par l'embargo, en ajoutant l'interdiction d'utiliser les navires canadiens. C'était la guerre commerciale, en plein marasme économique!

Mackenzie King reprit officiellement le pouvoir le 23 octobre 1935. Le lendemain même, il mit son chapeau de soie et se rendit chez le ministre du Japon. Les négociations recommencèrent, dans une atmosphère cordiale. Le 6 novembre, le premier ministre partait pour Washington. Le 9, il paraphait un projet d'accord. Le 15, il signait un véritable traité de réciprocité avec les Etats-Unis. Les deux pays s'accordent la clause de la nation la plus favorisée; le Canada réduit les droits sur 68 articles et les supprime entièrement sur 20 autres; les Etats-Unis réduisent les droits sur 63 articles. Le 25 février 1936, le dix-huitième Parlement du Canada, entrant en session, est saisi du projet. Le 8 avril, le gouverneur général sanctionne le traité. Le 14 mai, les ratifications diplomatiques sont échangées à Ottawa. Mackenzie King avait, cette fois, agi vite. Il réalisait un rêve de ses prédécesseurs libéraux, les Laurier, les Cartwright, les Fielding.

La dispute avec le Japon s'était réglée dans l'intervalle, par échange de notes. Les deux pays supprimaient les surtaxes imposées en représailles. Ottawa acceptait le taux courant du yen pour les marchandises non produites ou fabriquées au Canada et fixait un taux raisonnable pour les autres marchandises. Douze autres traités de commerce avec des pays d'Europe et d'Amérique furent négociés, conclus et mis en vigueur entre octobre 1935 et septembre 1939. Le traité avec le Royaume-Uni, signé le 23 février 1937, réduisit les droits sur 179 articles, dont l'importation avait été évaluée à $27,000,000 en 1936. L'embargo sur les produits russes fut levé. Le gouvernement King procédait, selon le mot du premier ministre, à la libération du

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commerce extérieur. Ce commerce s'accrut de 40%, en chiffres ronds, de 1936 à 1939, en laissant une balance de plus en plus favorable. Le revenu des douanes augmenta, malgré les réductions de tarif.

La mévente du blé était à la fois la cause et l'effet de l'accumulation des stocks, encouragée par la cartel, par les provinces de l'Ouest et même par le gouvernement fédéral. Du 1er août 1934 au 1er août 1935, les stocks canadiens augmentèrent de 9 millions de boisseaux, tandis que les stocks mondiaux diminuaient de 250 millions de boisseaux. A la veille des élections, Bennett avait institué l'Office du blé, réclamé par les agriculteurs des Prairies. Le gouvernement King maintint l'Office, en changeant les commissaires. L'Office n'imposa point de prix fixe, mais accorda une garantie de 87 cents ½ par boisseau. Un comité parlementaire, puis une commission royale, approuvèrent la politique de l'Office du blé, à maintenir jusqu'au retour des conditions normales. Les élévateurs canadiens contenaient un excédent de 203 millions de boisseaux le 1er août 1935. Cet excédent fut réduit à 37 millions le 1er août 1937, à 25 millions le 1er août 1938.

Mackenzie King diminua le nombre des ministères, par fusion de services dont plusieurs faisaient double emploi. Le ministère des Mines et des Ressources fusionna: Mines; Intérieur; Immigration et Colonisation; Affaires indiennes. Le ministère des Transports fusionna: Marine; Chemins de fer et Canaux; Aviation civile. Cette dernière fusion permettrait une solution d'ensemble à des problèmes importants et compliqués. Le gouvernement King sauvegarda l'intégrité du C.N.R., qui paraissait compromise vers la fin du régime Bennett. Ce n'est pas un mystère que le Pacifique-Canadien - le plus florissant des réseaux, le plus gros employeur et le plus gros contribuable du pays - a longtemps exercé une influence considérable sur la politique fédérale. Des premiers ministres comme Abbott et Tupper ont été presque désignés par le C.P.R. Le grand réseau caressait l'ambition inavouée du monopole, et manoeuvrait dans ce but. Contrariée lors du rétablissement du C.N.R. par Thornton, cette ambition ressuscita lors du fléchissement entraîné par la crise. Bennett, notoirement sympathique au C.P.R., dut se défendre de préparer la fusion au bénéfice de ce réseau. Malgré ses promesses - "Amalgamation never; Competition ever" - le premier ministre conservateur comptait, autour de lui, des partisans actifs de l'amalgame. C'était aussi le but secret des partisans d'une coalition politique. Mackenzie King mit fin à ces manoeuvres; et l'on peut dire que, désormais, les réseaux ne mèneront plus le pays. Le gouvernement favorisa le développement d'une aviation civile, retardé par la

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crise. La route transcanadienne étant la plus courte entre l'Amérique du Nord et l'Europe, comme entre l'Amérique du Nord et l'Asie, revêt une suprême importance commerciale et stratégique. Montréal peut devenir la grande gare de transbordement aérien de l'Amérique du Nord. Le gouvernement King créa les lignes aériennes Trans-Canada, dont le réseau comprenait, en 1939, quarante-quatre services de courrier aérien, couvrant 15,000 milles de lignes.

Une variété de projets compléta cette oeuvre: contribution aux travaux publics entrepris par les provinces et approuvés par l'administration fédérale;[1] travaux de reboisement dans les parcs nationaux; plans de formation de la jeunesse; plan d'amélioration aux habitations (suggéré par la Commission de placement); Loi fédérale sur le logement; Loi pour favoriser les améliorations municipales. Les cinquante mille prêts consentis en vertu du plan d'amélioration aux habitations profitèrent aux industries du bâtiment. Bref, on arriva, non pas à résorber entièrement la chômage, mais à le réduire de quarante pour cent - c'est-à-dire dans une proportion correspondant aux progrès du commerce extérieur.

Les recettes du C.N.R. s'améliorèrent. Le déficit du budget fédéral fut ramené à $160,000,000 en 1936, à $78,000,000 en 1937, à moins de $14,000,000 en 1938, malgré un fort secours accordé au sud de la Saskatchewan, frappé d'une sécheresse implacable. L'Etat contracta ses emprunts à des taux avantageux. Le "coupure" décrétée par le gouvernement Bennett dans les traitements des fonctionnaires fut supprimée le 1er avril 1937.

Le rétablissement économique s'effectua ainsi par degrés insensibles, à la manière d'une convalescence. Il n'était pas complet en 1939. Mais un aspect du progrès général, l'expansion minière, fut assez rapide pour saisir les imaginations. La production minière était déjà de $310,000,000 en 1935. Le premier budget présenté par Dunning, en 1936, accorda une exemption d'impôt aux nouvelles mines qui entreraient en exploitation avant le 1er janvier 1943. Le ministère des Mines entreprit des enquêtes géologiques et des levés topographiques. Le fédéral et les provinces développèrent le réseau routier dans les régions minières. Le Canada prit rang parmi les grands producteurs miniers. Des villes nouvelles surgirent; des vides se comblèrent sur les cartes. Les jeunes Canadiens aventureux prirent la direction du nord, au lieu de franchir la frontière américaine/ comme avaient fait leurs oncles. Et ce dernier

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1. En vertu des lois suivantes, dont chacune renouvela la précédente: Loi sur le soulagement du chômage et sur les secours, 1936; Loi sur le soulagement du chômage et l'assistance à l'agriculture, 1937; Loi sur le soulagement du chômage et l'assistance à l'agriculture, 1938; Loi sur le soulagement du chômage et l'assistance à l'agriculture, 1939; Loi de 1940 sur le soulagement du chômage et l'assistance à l'agriculture.

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trait, s'il se maintient, sera des plus heureux pour l'avenir du pays.

R.B. Bennett abandonna la lutte; il quitta la direction du parti conservateur, en mars 1938. Trois chefs - Borden, Meighen et Bennett s'étaient succédé à la tête de ce parti depuis que Mackenzie King assumait la direction du parti libéral. Mackenzie King, chef depuis vingt ans, dont douze années à la tête du gouvernement, et comptant sur Ernest Lapointe comme sur son bras droit, possédait une expérience que seuls Macdonald et Laurier avaient possédé avant lui. King et Lapointe, authentiques successeurs de Laurier, servaient toujours le principe de la souveraineté parlementaire, et, pour le reste, constituaient leur libéralisme en doctrine du "juste milieu", à mi-chemin entre le "laissez-faire" des premiers doctrinaires libéraux et l'étatisme des nouveaux doctrinaires socialistes. L'ancien ministre du Travail restait opposé, en principe, à l'arbitrage obligatoire. Ses préférences allaient à l'intervention conciliatrice de l'Etat, au concours de l'Etat, enfin au contrôle de l'Etat dans un petit nombre de domaines, tels que la réglementation du crédit et des émissions monétaires.

Le gouvernement fit remanier le statut de la Banque du Canada, pour assurer la propriété et le contrôle de l'Etat sur cette institution d'Etat. La Banque avait un capital-actions de $5,000,000. Elle émit pour $5,500,000 d'actions nouvelles, dites de la catégorie B, achetées par l'Etat. Elle compterait désormais une majorité d'administrateurs nommés par le gouvernement - par le gouvernement responsable devant le Parlement, lui-même responsable devant le peuple. Cette solution, combinant l'intérêt public et l'intérêt privé, avec prédominance du premier, revêtait un caractère de transition. Le 15 août 1938, l'Etat acquit toutes les actions de la catégorie B, au prix moyen du marché entre le 1er janvier et le 27 mai (date où la mesure avait été annoncée). L'Etat fédéral contrôlait entièrement la Banque du Canada.

Armand Lavergne et Oscar Boulanger avaient posé la question de la monnaie bilingue, lors de la création de la Banque du Canada, sous le régime Bennett. Ils demandaient des billets libellés dans les deux langues. Combattus par des tories et lâchés par les ministres canadiens-français, ils échouèrent. Le gouvernement opta pour l'émission séparée de billets anglais et de billets français. Cette décision, source inévitable de difficultés et de frictions, blessa l'opinion canadienne-française. Les libéraux au pouvoir, Ernest Lapointe obtint sans peine la monnaie bilingue.

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Mackenzie King n'entretenait pas de préjugés. Bien disposé envers la province de Québec, il expliquait lui-même ce pendhant par trois raisons: La province de Québec m'a porté à la tête du parti libéral; elle m'a toujours donné de fortes majorités; elle me fournit des collaborateurs - les Lapointe, les Cardin, les Dandurand - en qui je place une confiance illimitée.

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XIII

L'Etat fédéral et les provinces

Le désaveu fédéral - L'assurance-chômage - L'embellissement d'Ottawa

Heureux dans l'ensemble, le régime traversa quelques secousses. La tension toujours latente entre l'Etat fédéral et les provinces s'accentuait à mesure que l'Etat fédéral, croissant en force et en prestige, s'emparait des domaines nouveaux, imprévus en 1867, comme l'aviation et la radio. Le gouvernement Bennett avait entretenu un perpétuel conflit avec le gouvernement Taschereau. Le gouvernement King entra en conflit avec trois premiers ministres provinciaux: Aberhart, chef du gouvernement créditiste de l'Alberta, Duplessis, chef du gouvernement de l'Union Nationale dans la province de Québec, et Hepburn, chef du gouvernement libéral de l'Ontario. C'étaient trois caractères. Les étiquettes de partis et même des doctrines dressaient les deux premiers contre les ministres fédéraux. Chez Hepburn, jeune et impulsif - aux impulsions souvent bonnes - des différences de tempérament influencèrent la bataille.

Le mouvement du Crédit social avait emporté l'Alberta, aux élections provinciales du 22 août 1935 (56 créditistes, 5 libéraux et 2 conservateurs). Il entretenait des théories économiques toutes nouvelles, et voulut les appliquer. Les lois votées en conséquence atteignaient les banques, titulaires de chartes fédérales et traitant des affaires dans tout le pays. Ernest Lapointe, ministre de la Justice, étudia la question du désaveu.

King et Lapointe posèrent ces principes: Une fédération ne peut fonctionner sans un fort degré de tolérance et de respect mutuel entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux. Le désaveu est une mesure exceptionnelle, à n'utiliser que dans les cas - heureusement rares - où les décisions provinciales empiètent sur les pouvoirs fédéraux et peuvent troubler tout le pays. Ces conditions lui paraissant réunies - la tentative d'empiétement lui paraissait même délibérée - le ministre de la Justice recommanda le désaveu de trois lois albertaines, le 10 août 1937. Le cabinet sanctionna cette proposition. La Gazette du Canada publia le triple désaveu.

Le droit fédéral de désaveu n'existe plus, protestèrent Aberhart et sa législature; nous appliquerons nos lois tant que les tribunaux ne les auront pas jugées inconstitutionnelles. Le gouvernement fédéral consulta la Cour Suprême sur ses droits et soumit la législation désavouée au haut tribunal, tandis que le lieutenant-gouverneur Bowen réservait sa sanction pour trois autres lois. La Cour Suprême commença ses

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audiences le 10 janvier 1938, et rendit ses décisions moins de deux mois après: les bills désavoués sont inconstitutionnels; le droit fédéral de désaveu existe toujours, sans restriction ni limite. Le Conseil Privé confirma ces arrêts en juillet.

Dans l'intervalle, le mouvement de l'Union Nationale avait pris le pouvoir à Québec. Le 17 mars 1937, il faisait voter la loi dite "du cadenas" contre la propagande communiste. Le procureur général pourrait fermer les locaux utilisés pour cette propagande séditieuse, confisquer les textes de littérature communiste et poursuivre leurs distributeurs. Dans l'ensemble, cette loi fut approuvée par la presse conservatrice, y compris la Gazette de Montréal et le Chronicle-Telegraph de Québec, et blâmée par la presse libérale, y compris le Toronto Star et la Free Press de Winnipeg. D'après l'influent, J.W. Dafoe, rédacteur en chef de la Free Press et ami personnel du premier ministre, c'était "probablement la seule loi de cette nature dans un pays supposé libre".

Le cardinal Villeneuve, archevêque de Québec, et Mgr Georges Gauthier, archevêque de Montréal, louangèrent - le premier à la radio, le second dans une lettre pastorale - la loi "du cadenas". La plupart des associations "nationales" de la province de Québec exprimèrent le même avis dans leurs ordres du jour. Mais la Civil Liberties Union, recrutée, dans tout le pays, parmi les libéraux avancés et parmi les membres du parti C.C.F., mena grand train contre cette "atteinte à la liberté d'expression".

En application de la loi du cadenas, la police opéra une descente au bureau de l'hebdomadaire Clarté, le 9 novembre 1937. D'autres descentes et saisies analogues suivirent. Les mêmes éléments applaudirent ou protestèrent. L'affaire du désaveu des lois albertaines battait son plein. La Civil Liberties Union pria le gouvernement fédéral de stériliser la loi québécoise comme les lois albertaines.

Mackenzie King laissa la conduite de l'affaire à Ernest Lapointe, ministre de la Justice, d'autant plus compétent qu'il s'agissait de sa province. Lapointe voulut convoquer une conférence des représentants de Québec et des délégués de la Civil Liberties Union, sous sa présidence. Il n'y avait pas d'excessive sympathie entre le gouvernement libéral d'Ottawa et le gouvernement de l'Union Nationale. Duplessis déclina l'invitation "pour des raisons de simple logique". Lapointe reçut les avocats de la Civil Liberties Union, pendant deux heures, le 30 mars 1938. La victoire du gouvernement fédéral sur le cabinet Aberhart s'affirmait, à cette époque.

Voici Ernest Lapointe, incarnation du bon sens, devant les deux argumentations

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contraires. Selon toutes probabilités, le premier ministre endossera sa conclusion. Ernest Lapointe pèse les raisons, les circonstances, les répercussions.

Les plaignants prétendent que la loi du cadenas confère un pouvoir arbitraire au procureur général et à la police sous ses ordres. Certains la croient dirigée contre le syndicalisme international. D'autres vont jusqu'à croire qu'elle vise les Juifs, parmi lesquels se recrutent beaucoup de chefs et de sympathisants communistes. Ils assimilent l'anticommunisme à l'antisémitisme. La loi du cadenas est une mesure d'inspiration fasciste et cléricale, peut-être demandée par le cardinal. Elle met l'unité nationale en danger, affirme la Civil Liberties Union.

Cependant les plaignants - les membres de la Civil Liberties Union - sont presque tous étrangers à la province de Québec. La loi du cadenas, votée par la législature de Québec, pour s'appliquer à la province de Québec, correspond à l'état d'esprit de cette province. Pour les Canadiens français, le communisme est moins une doctrine économique qu'une école d'irréligion, d'athéisme, d'antichristianisme. Ils considèrent la loi du cadenas comme une protection pour leur Eglise, leur clergé, leur foi. Le cardinal, l'archevêque de Montréal, les grandes associations canadiennes-françaises, l'on ainsi interprétée et saluée. Il serait impolitique, de la part du gouvernement libéral, d'accorder une protection systématique au parti communiste. Ce serait justifier Bennett, qui nous assimilait aux extrémistes, pendant la dernière campagne électorale.

Lapointe soumet ses conclusions au conseil des ministres. Il déconseille le désaveu pour les raisons suivantes: 1. La plupart des requérants résident hors de la province de Québec. 2. Le gouvernement fédéral s'est fait une règle de recourir au désaveu dans les seuls cas d'empiétement évident sur les droits fédéraux ou impériaux. Ces conditions, remplies par les lois albertaines, ne sont pas remplies par la loi québécoise. 3. Le désaveu est un pouvoir extraordinaire, rarement exercé et qui doit s'exercer rarement. C'est aussi, par certains aspects, un geste politique, auquel il faut préférer le recours aux tribunaux, quand il n'y a pas urgence. Des particuliers peuvent toujours attaquer la constitutionnalité de la loi du cadenas devant les tribunaux.

Le conseil des ministres approuve. Le gouvernement King ne désavouera pas la loi du cadenas.

Ces épisodes saillants ne règlent malheureusement pas la question des rapports entre King et les trois premiers ministres provinciaux, Aberhart, Duplessis et Hepburn.

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Bennett ne pardonnait jamais une offense. King a plus de mansuétude et de contrôle de soi; les ruptures avec lui peuvent s'opérer sans amertume. Or les batailles avec Aberhart, avec Duplessis, et surtout peut-être avec Hepburn, prennent un tour violent. Mais les ministres fédéraux forment bloc autour de leur chef, tandis que l'union parfaite ne règne pas autour des premiers ministres provinciaux. Il est clair que, de tous ces conflits, le gouvernement King sortira victorieux. Il soutiendra, dans les élections provinciales, des hommes disposés à collaborer avec lui.

La question des prérogatives provinciales retarde aussi l'inauguration du plan de prévoyance sociale, décidé dans l'esprit de Mackenzie King. Le spécialiste des questions ouvrières désire, depuis toujours, libérer le prolétariat des craintes qui l'assiègent, à commencer par la crainte du chômage. Il a fait mettre l'assurance-chômage, première étape d'un plan de prévoyance sociale, au programme de la convention de 1919, qui l'a porté à la tête du parti libéral. La convention conservatrice de 1927 a voté le même principe, avant d'élire Bennett à la tête du parti. La même année, la question figurait au programme d'une conférence interprovinciale. Mais qui s'inquiétait du chômage, à cette époque? Et puis la constitution attribue la juridiction aux provinces, en pareille matière.

Les provinces se sont fédérées pour créer le Canada. Elles ont, ce jour-là, signé un pacte. En confiant les questions d'intérêt général à un Etat central, elles n'entendaient pas renoncer à toute personnalité, à tous pouvoirs pour elles-mêmes. La province de Québec, désirant sauvegarder des traits particuliers très précieux aux yeux de sa population, tient plus que les autres à protéger son autonomie. Des empiétements du pouvoir fédéral peuvent être sans importance pour l'Alberta et graves pour Québec. Quand Ottawa saisit la juridiction sur un nouveau domaine, la population canadienne-française risque d'être soumise, dans ce domaine, à des inspecteurs étrangers à sa mentalité, à des règlements conçus dans un esprit différent, pour un autre genre de vie. Le crédit agricole en a fourni l'exemple. Le seul fait d'avoir à traduire des documents constitue un handicap. Enfin, dans le domaine de l'assistance sociale, la plupart de nos institutions possèdent un caractère religieux qui n'existe point, ou qui n'existe pas au même degré, dans les autres provinces. Beaucoup d'Anglo-Canadiens ne pensent pas à cette situation. Parmi ceux qui la connaissent, il en est qui passeraient bien outre. Ceux de nos chefs qui approchent les Anglo-Canadiens bien disposés - en tête desquels figure Mackenzie King, sans doute possible - doivent les éclairer sur ce sujet. Dans le passé - depuis la Confédération - le

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parti libéral s'est toujours présenté comme le plus favorable à l'autonomie des provinces. Il a fourni les plus grands champions de cette cause - les Oliver Mowat en Ontario, les Honoré Mercier dans la province de Québec.

L'idée d'assurance-chômage - l'idée des assurances sociales en général - germait. Le Comité des relations industrielles émit un voeu dans ce sens en 1928 et le réitéra en 1929. En mai 1929, la Chambre des communes discuta une motion Heaps souhaitant un transfert d'autorité des provinces au fédéral, pour l'établissement d'un système d'assurances sociales. De l'avis d'Ernest Lapointe, ministre de la Justice, ce transfert exigeait une modification de l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord. Or plusieurs gouvernements, à commencer par celui de Québec, considéraient l'Acte constitutionnel comme la garantie des libertés provinciales. Ils redoutaient toute modification, susceptible de créer un précédent.

Québec en tête, plusieurs provinces présentèrent leurs réserves. L'affaire traîna. Pendant la campagne de 1935, Mackenzie King promit d'instituer l'assurance-chômage, "considérée comme un article essentiel du programme libéral". En 1937, dans une lettre aux premiers ministres provinciaux, il proposa de modifier la constitution en ajoutant une clause à l'article 91 de l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord, pour permettre à l'Etat fédéral d'instituer l'assurance-chômage. Le conflit avec l'Alberta faisait rage, ce qui ne favorisa point l'entente. Le gouvernement King venait de nommer une commission d'enquête sur les relations entre l'Etat fédéral et les provinces (Commission Rowell). Il résolut d'attendre le rapport de cette Commission. Il s'efforcerait d'englober l'assurance-chômage dans un règlement général des rèlations entre le fédéral et les provinces.

Ces épisodes caractéristiques illustrent les difficultés qui assiègent tout gouvernement canadien. Le navire de l'Etat louvoie entre mille écueils. Des bourrasques le secouent un peu. Il avance, cependant, sous la direction d'un prudent capitaine, qui commence à prendre figure de loup de mer.

Mackenzie King a toujours son bras droit, Ernest Lapointe, le bon géant aux yeux clairs, à l'accent de Kamouraska, dont toute la personne et toutes les paroles ont quelque chose d'équilibré, de plausible, d'adhérent à la réalité. Il a des collègues sûrs, dont l'un est le propre petit-fils de son premier patron, William Mulock. Par son expérience et par son habileté, il n'a pas de supérieur, il n'a peut-être pas d'égal au Parlement canadien. Toujours poli et prudent, il use l'opposition, et ne lui

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donne pas de prise. Il préside à la création de l'Office national du film, aux progrès de la radiodiffusion nationale, au développement des services diplomatiques et à l'accroissement de prestige du Canada dans le monde. Il avance en âge et voudrait maintenant attacher son nom à l'embellissement d'Ottawa, doter le Canada d'une capitale digne du grand destin qui ne fait plus de doute. Un sous-comité de ministres étudie cette question. L'architecte et urbaniste français Greber soumet des plans, confectionne une maquette. Le premier ministre inaugure lui-même le nouvel édifice des Postes. Il écrit, timbre et remet au guichet la première lettre que ce bureau affranchira. Cette lettre est envoyée à sir William Mulock, qui a fait entrer Mackenzie King dans l'administration fédérale il y a près de quarante ans, l'a poussé dans la vie publique il y a près de trente ans, et qui n'a pas pu venir parce que, malgré son esprit alerte, il est aujourd'hui presque centenaire.

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XIV

Dans la tourmente

Politique extérieure - Problèmes de guerre et d'après-guerre -

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Le gouvernement King prit, de bonne heure, un certain nombre de mesures propres à faciliter la défense du Canada: réorganisation de la milice, fabrication de mitrailleuses légères, installations anti-sous-marines à Halifax et à Esquimalt, développement de l'aviation militaire. Les crédits de l'aviation militaire passèrent de $6,800,000 pour l'exercice 1936-37 à près de $12,000,000 pour 1937-38 et autant pour 1938-39. Cette somme ne permettait pas d'attaquer un ennemi en Europe, mais d'installer des bases - camps d'atterrissage, hangars, dépôts d'essence - au Canada.

Mackenzie King avait pesé toutes les méthodes: acceptation aveugle de la politique britannique; consultation avec la Grande-Bretagne dans les cas d'urgence; déclaration catégorique de neutralité dans tous les cas; décision remise au Parlement canadien. Il s'arrêtait à cette dernière solution. En attendant la décision du Parlement, le gouvernement canadien se tiendrait en contact avec le gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, et hâterait les travaux défensifs "raisonnables". En envisageant ces graves éventualités, Mackenzie King restait d'accord avec Ernest Lapointe, et tous deux, riches d'expérience, prévoyaient la tension que d'inévitables différences d'opinion infligeraient à l'unité nationale, en cas de guerre. Nous ne prétendons pas adopter une position rigoureusement logique, concluaient-ils; notre solution n'est peut-être pas idéale, mais c'est la meilleure qui s'offre à nous.

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Le lecteur connaît, comme nous, les événements qui ont conduit Mackenzie King et Ernest Lapointe à forcer leur tempérament pour se transformer en chefs de guerre. Ces événements appartiennent encore à l'actualité. L'histoire les décrira, les étudiera plus tard. Elle insistera sans doute sur un aspect du rôle de Mackenzie King, premier ministre d'un pays qui fait à la fois partie du Commonwealth britannique et du continent nord-américain. Mackenzie King, préparé à ce rôle par ses relations antérieures avec nos voisins du sud, aura contribué au rapprochement de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis. La conférence de Québec illustre bien cet aspect auquel l'histoire attachera beaucoup d'importance. Mackenzie King aura été, par là, au petit nombre des hommes qui exercent une influence directe sur les grands événements historiques. Il profite aussi du rôle et du prestige grandissants du Canada pour compléter notre représentation diplomatique, qui va de pair, aujourd'hui, avec celle des grandes puissances. Mais toutes les journées, toutes les heures, sont chargées de responsabilités formidables. De la première grande guerre, Borden est sorti épuisé.

La guerre en cours remue trop d'idées, bouleverse trop d'habitudes, pour que notre existence soit exactement la même après qu'avant. Le Canada doit être, de tous les pays en guerre, celui dont les gouvernants ont le mieux réussi à comprimer le coût de la vie, à empêcher l'inflation. Ils préparent aussi de vastes plans d'assurances sociales pour réaliser, dans notre pays, cette libération de la crainte que les sociologues définissent comme la condition d'un monde moins imparfait et que Mackenzie King préconisait, en 1918, dans son livre "Industry and Humanity".

Jamais un premier ministre du Canada ne s'est trouvé en face de problèmes aussi nombreux, aussi vastes, aussi complexes. La tâche de Macdonald et celle de Laurier n'étaient que jeux d'enfants auprès de ces responsabilités nouvelles. Quels changements même depuis la première arrivée de Mackenzie King au pouvoir, en 1921. Mais l'homme le plus expérimenté du Parlement a présidé à ces changements. Il prévoit à longue portée. Il connaît tous les rouages, et cet adversaire des titres et des distinctions honorifiques entretient un certain respect du formalisme administratif. L'ancien sous-ministre subsiste en lui, consciencieux et minutieux. Il continue de s'allier au temps, d'user l'opposition, de lui refuser toute prise sérieuse. Sa pensée démarre lentement; ses mots sont pesés; il reprend les mêmes idées plusieurs fois dans un discours. On le croirait timide par moments. Mais s'il est vraiment piqué, sa riposte immédiate, improvisée, peut atteindre une éloquence et une vigueur redoutables. Enfin Mackenzie King possède en Ernest Lapointe un collaborateur, ami et confident de toutes les heures,

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tel qu'on puisse parler d'un cabinet King-Lapointe. Leur alliance étroite, intime, doit symboliser l'unité nationale. Et tous deux, suivant la même méthode empirique, savent bien où ils veulent aller.

En novembre 1941, Ernest Lapointe entre à l'hôpital Notre-Dame de Montréal. Mackenzie King prend de ses nouvelles par téléphone. Or la vie d'Ernest Lapointe est en danger. L'Ecossais positif qui n'extériorise jamais ses sentiments laisse aujourd'hui presque éclater son désarroi: "Give him my love---give him my love."

Mackenzie King rend plusieurs fois visite à Ernest Lapointe, qui s'affaiblit à l'hôpital, et qui craint de mourir à l'heure où son chef et ami a besoin de lui. Mackenzie King doit assister aux fêtes du centenaire de Laurier, à Saint-Lin. En allant, il s'arrête à l'hôpital, le matin, et s'enferme dans la chambre du malade - du mourant. Il lui promet de revenir le soir même, lui rendre compte de la fête. Mais le soir, l'état du malade est tel que les médecins interdisent toute visite. Mackenzie King s'entretient avec la famille, dans la pièce voisine. Or Ernest Lapointe, dont l'agonie approche, reconnaît sa voix à travers la cloison. Il réclame, par courtes phrases entrecoupées, la visite, la présence de Mackenzie King, qu'il veut encore voir, auquel il veut encore dire quelque chose. Ce sera leur dernière entrevue. De cette chambre d'hôpital sort un vieux monsieur attristé, embarrassé de son chapeau et fléchissant les épaules: le premier ministre, qui doit continuer sa route.

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XIV

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Car une nouvelle guerre paraissait inévitable aux gens renseignés. L'Allemagne la préparait. L'Angleterre et la France la préparaient - très mal. L'Angleterre souhaitait, assez naturellement, le concours de ses Dominions. Et les messagers de l'Empire poursuivaient leur propagande. La visite du Roi et de la Reine suscita un vif enthousiasme.

Le gouvernement King prit, de bonne heure, un certain nombre de mesures propres à faciliter la défense du Canada: réorganisation de la milice, fabrication de mitrailleuses légères, installations anti-sous-marines à Halifax et à Esquimalt, développement de l'aviation militaire. Les crédits de l'aviation militaire passèrent de $6,800,000 pour l'exercice 1936-37 à près de $12,000,000 pour 1937-38 et autant pour 1938-39. Cette somme ne permettait pas d'attaquer un ennemi en Europe, mais d'installer des bases - camps d'atterrissage, hangars, dépôts d'essence - au Canada.

Mackenzie King avait pesé toutes les méthodes: acceptation aveugle de la politique britannique; consultation avec la Grande-Bretagne dans les cas d'urgence; déclaration catégorique de neutralité dans tous les cas; décision remise au Parlement canadien. Il s'arrêtait à cette dernière solution. En attendant la décision du Parlement, le gouvernement canadien se tiendrait en contact avec le gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, et hâterait les travaux défensifs "raisonnables". En envisageant ces graves éventualités, Mackenzie King restait d'accord avec Ernest Lapointe, et tous deux, riches d'expérience, prévoyaient la tension que d'inévitables différences d'opinion infligeraient à l'unité nationale, en cas de guerre. Nous ne prétendons pas adopter une position rigoureusement logique, concluaient-ils; notre solution n'est peut-être pas idéale, mais c'est la meilleure qui s'offre à nous.

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Le lecteur connaît, comme nous, les événements qui ont conduit Mackenzie King et Ernest Lapointe à forcer leur tempérament pour se transformer en chefs de guerre. Ces événements appartiennent encore à l'actualité. L'histoire les décrira, les étudiera plus tard. Elle insistera sans doute sur un aspect du rôle de Mackenzie King, premier ministre d'un pays qui fait à la fois partie du Commonwealth britannique et du continent nord-américain. Mackenzie King, préparé à ce rôle par ses relations antérieures avec nos voisins du sud, aura contribué au rapprochement de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis. La conférence de Québec illustre bien cet aspect auquel l'histoire attachera beaucoup d'importance. Mackenzie King aura été, par là, au petit nombre des hommes qui exercent une influence directe sur les grands événements historiques. Il profite aussi du rôle et du prestige grandissants du Canada pour compléter notre représentation diplomatique, qui va de pair, aujourd'hui, avec celle des grandes puissances. Mais toutes les journées, toutes les heures, sont chargées de responsabilités formidables. De la première grande guerre, Borden est sorti épuisé.

La guerre en cours remue trop d'idées, bouleverse trop d'habitudes, pour que notre existence soit exactement la même après qu'avant. Le Canada doit être, de tous les pays en guerre, celui dont les gouvernants ont le mieux réussi à comprimer le coût de la vie, à empêcher l'inflation. Ils préparent aussi de vastes plans d'assurances sociales pour réaliser, dans notre pays, cette libération de la crainte que les sociologues définissent comme la condition d'un monde moins imparfait et que Mackenzie King préconisait, en 1918, dans son livre "Industry and Humanity".

Jamais un premier ministre du Canada ne s'est trouvé en face de problèmes aussi nombreux, aussi vastes, aussi complexes. La tâche de Macdonald et celle de Laurier n'étaient que jeux d'enfants auprès de ces responsabilités nouvelles. Quels changements même depuis la première arrivée de Mackenzie King au pouvoir, en 1921. Mais l'homme le plus expérimenté du Parlement a présidé à ces changements. Il prévoit à longue portée. Il connaît tous les rouages, et cet adversaire des titres et des distinctions honorifiques entretient un certain respect du formalisme administratif. L'ancien sous-ministre subsiste en lui, consciencieux et minutieux. Il continue de s'allier au temps, d'user l'opposition, de lui refuser toute prise sérieuse. Sa pensée démarre lentement; ses mots sont pesés; il reprend les mêmes idées plusieurs fois dans un discours. On le croirait timide par moments. Mais s'il est vraiment piqué, sa riposte immédiate, improvisée, peut atteindre une éloquence et une vigueur redoutables. Enfin Mackenzie King possède en Ernest Lapointe un collaborateur, ami et confident de toutes les heures,

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tel qu'on puisse parler d'un cabinet King-Lapointe. Leur alliance étroite, intime, doit symboliser l'unité nationale. Et tous deux, suivant la même méthode empirique, savent bien où ils veulent aller.

En novembre 1941, Ernest Lapointe entre à l'hôpital Notre-Dame de Montréal. Mackenzie King prend de ses nouvelles par téléphone. Or la vie d'Ernest Lapointe est en danger. L'Ecossais positif qui n'extériorise jamais ses sentiments laisse aujourd'hui presque éclater son désarroi: "Give him my love---give him my love."

Mackenzie King rend plusieurs fois visite à Ernest Lapointe, qui s'affaiblit à l'hôpital, et qui craint de mourir à l'heure où son chef et ami a besoin de lui. Mackenzie King doit assister aux fêtes du centenaire de Laurier, à Saint-Lin. En allant, il s'arrête à l'hôpital, le matin, et s'enferme dans la chambre du malade - du mourant. Il lui promet de revenir le soir même, lui rendre compte de la fête. Mais le soir, l'état du malade est tel que les médecins interdisent toute visite. Mackenzie King s'entretient avec la famille, dans la pièce voisine. Or Ernest Lapointe, dont l'agonie approche, reconnaît sa voix à travers la cloison. Il réclame, par courtes phrases entrecoupées, la visite, la présence de Mackenzie King, qu'il veut encore voir, auquel il veut encore dire quelque chose. Ce sera leur dernière entrevue. De cette chambre d'hôpital sort un vieux monsieur attristé, embarrassé de son chapeau et fléchissant les épaules: le premier ministre, qui doit continuer sa route.

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Translation -- JAG/DR

I

William Lyon Mackenzie C228207

The background of Mackenzie King is, to use an American expression, one hundred percent Scotch. His two grandfathers came to Canada at an early age. The more celebrated was the maternal grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, who played a part in Upper Canada corresponding to the role of Louis Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada. No one could be a grandson of either Mackenzie or Papineau without showing some sign of it; a sketch of William Lyon Mackenzie is, therefore, a necessary introduction to any biography of W. L. Mackenzie King.

William Lyon Mackenzie, who came to Canada in 1820, aged 25, succeeded quickly both as a man of business and as a journalist. He published the "Colonial Advocate" at Queenston. First elected to the Legislature as a member for York in 1828, he was soon in conflict with the executive authority, just as Papineau was in Lower Canada and for similar reasons. In the government of the country, Mackenzie and Papineau sought to replace the will of a governor named by the Crown with the will of an assembly elected by the people. They certainly respected the Royal prerogatives, but they insisted that the real sovereignty lay with the people. In particular they sought Parliamentary control over public funds; and, in short, they asked for Canadians the rights long since enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere.

On three (s.b. five) several occasions, the executive arbitrarily expelled Mackenzie; and three (s.b.five) several times the most populous county of Upper Canada re-elected its member. In 1832 electors of Upper Canada supported Mackenzie in carrying their grievances to London. In Lower Canada a similar task had been entrusted to Denis Benjamin Viger. The two delegates

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worked together, presenting statements of practically identical grievances, secured the support of the same members of the House of Commons in London, and together they obtained an audience with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. With the alteration of a few words, a few place names, certain memorials submitted by Mackenzie could equally well have applied to conditions in the neighboring province. The Upper Canada reform leader insisted that the Council advising the governor must possess the confidence of the people. Stated in other words, he was arguing for what today we call ministerial responsibility, the corner stone of modern democracies.

Mackenzie and Viger completed their mission to the evident satisfaction of their constituents. In 1834 York was incorporated as the City of Toronto. Mackenzie became its first Mayor, and it was he who designed the civic coat of arms with the motto "Industry, Intelligence, and Integrity."

A new attempt aimed at excluding the member for York made him still more popular. Mackenzie and Papineau were working towards the same end, and, throughout a period of uncertain communications they maintained the closest possible contact. It was Mackenzie who sent to Papineau, by the hand of the Speaker of the Assembly of Upper Canada, the text of certain secret instructions sent from Downing Street to Lord Gosford in 1835. The terms of these instructions still further exasperated Papineau and his friends.

The events of 1837, leading up to actual conflict, are well enough known. Mackenzie, like Papineau, sought refuge in the United States. Amedee Papineau, eldest son of the great leader, in exile at Saratoga, received a visit from Mackenzie, and he has described, in his diary, his impression of the reform leader. "He was a little Scotsman full of fire and of unequalled activity.

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When he spoke it was with a very marked and deep Scottish accent. His forehead resembled that of President Van Buren and the set of his jaw reminded one of Chenier. Both his stature and his appearance had many suggestions of the martyr. The conversation could not help but be centred on Canada. Mackenzie said that he was full of hope; that the rebellion had greatly advanced the cause of Canada; that he was proceeding to New York to work for this cause, and that he was certain of its success. I was much pleased to see a man who shared my opinions, especially as for so long I had heard nothing but the most discouraging reports."

In the United States, Mackenzie and Papineau aroused considerable sympathy but without gaining the support of the authorities. The attempted invasion of 1838, encouraged by Mackenzie but criticized by Papineau, ended in a disastrous reverse. Papineau, then living in Albany, was about to leave for France, to interest people there in his cause. Mackenzie, removing his place of exile from New York to Rochester, passed through Albany. He had with him (Amedee noted) his mother, then 89, his wife, ten children of whom the youngest was but two weeks old, his household, his library, his press, and a generous store of courage." The infant in arms, born in exile, was to be the mother of Mackenzie King.

Even after the insurrection of 1837-38, the careers of Mackenzie and Papineau followed each other. After ten years of exile, and after amnesty had been granted, both returned to Canada. Both were soon re-elected members of the legislatures. They had, however, lost the day-to-day touch with the political life of the country. The actual direction of affairs had passed

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into the hands of George Brown and John A. Macdonald in Upper Canada, and to Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine and Georges Etienne Cartier in Lower Canada. But if George Brown is to be accounted the founder of Liberalism in Ontario, William Lyon Mackenzie was certainly the forefather, just as Louis Joseph Papineau was the forerunner of Liberalism in Quebec. Such a background sets in perspective at least the earliest years, the first reflections, the basic convictions of a grandson.

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II

A Scholar

Upon an adolescent individual, the influence of a grandfather like William Lyon Mackenzie - or like Louis Joseph Papineau -- is certainly preponderant. But on his father's side Mackenzie King is descended from thoroughgoing loyalists. His grandfather, who came out from Scotland as an officer, served during the rebellion of 1837. His father, John King, was a volunteer in 1866 at the time of the Fenian raids.

John King practised as a lawyer in Berlin (present-day Kitchener) in Ontario. This well-read man, who all his life preserved the habits of reading and study, had a well-stocked library. In 1893 the University of Toronto offered him a chair in the Law faculty. He was a staunch Presbyterian, and an exemplary father in his household.

Mackenzie King, born at Berlin (Kitchener) on December 17, 1874, thus inherited an illustrious name, strong reform leanings, an intellectual background and pleasant, ordered manners. At the University of Toronto he specialized in political science and social questions. Having graduated in both arts and law,

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he spent the winter of 1896-97 at the University of Chicago.

This period at Chicago University had an important influence in shaping the future career of the young man. On the threshhold of the 20th Century the United States was forging to the front as an industrial power. Without doubt Chicago provided the best post of vantage to observe the consequences of this industrial exapansion: the phenomenal growth of urban communities themselves; the emergence of a worker proletariat, and the beginnings and development of trade union activity. This Canadian student prepared two different essays on American trade unionism, and developed a quite special interest in the problem of the lowest paid workers. Returning to Canada, he continued these studies. He visited working-class districts in Toronto, and was shocked to find the working conditions under which post office uniforms were made under contracts awarded by the federal government. His indignation went even further, for the called the matter to the attention of the Hon. William Mulock, Postmaster General in the Laurier administration. Mulock requested King to make a report on the whole question -- a report which, contrary to all administrative experience of the past, was followed by action.

The report of the young "student" led to important changes both legislative and administrative. Mackenzie King advised the government to provide minimum wage scales for all persons employed under government contrasts. The Postmaster General himself introduced a bill. It was already evident that industrial expansion would raise a host of new problems. The state would inevitably have to be prepared to intervene, in one way or another, in disputes arising from labour conditions.

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This was in 1900. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, was representing the Canadian Government at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Mulock, the Postmaster General, a man of great energy, was acting Minister of Public Works. The officials of this department were not a little astonished to see their acting Minister piling up in his office books dealing not with questions of the postal service or with public works, but instead with labour problems. At length Mulock expounded his proposals to his colleagues, saying in straightforward fashion: "The time has come to set up a Department of Labour. At the beginning we shall be justified in naming a separate minister; one of us can take charge of it, just as I have been in charge of Public Works. But there will have to be a Deputy Minister.... I know a young man of an excellent background and with good training who is much interested in these questions, and he would make an excellent Deputy Minister.... I should very much like to have him...."

Mackenzie King at that moment was holder of a travelling fellowship from Harvard University. He had already travelled about in the United States, and was now travelling in Europe. He was in Italy when he received from Mr. Mulock a cable announcing the establishment of the Department of Labour, and offering him the post of editor of the Labour Gazette.

The travelling scholar was looking forward to a university career. He could expect to become a professor of political economy and the social sciences. On the renewed and pressing invitation of William Mulock he gave up these ambitions and entered the civil service of Canada. True, he came in by the main entrance as a Deputy Minister, but at the age of 25 years.

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Deputy Minister

The deputy Ministers are the solid rafters of the structure of federal administration. They have the direction of the departments of government, without being concerned with the politics which constantly engross the Ministers themselves. Under the guidance of William Mulock, Postmaster General and Minister of Labour, Mackenzie King now set to work to build a new department with completely new responsibilities.

He began with the publication of the Labour Gazette, an organ of information and statistics of the labour situation throughout Canada. It was by itself a considerable undertaking for a man accustomed to close and careful study. But other tasks were speedily added: the organization and supervision of the work of the department, editing of reports, preparation of labour legislation, mediation in industrial disputes. In the whole of the federal cabinet, the Minister of Labour is undoubtedly the one most activated by humane feelings, since his decisions affect the well-being and surround the existence of many thousands of people. The role of mediator is at once the most ticklish and the most subject to criticism.

Canada, in turn, was undergoing rapid economic transformations. Industry was passing more and more under the control of financiers - in the Province of Quebec by families such as the Forgets, the Herbert Holts, the Charles Gordons - for whom industry was above all an area for speculations. The great industrial families gave way before incorporated companies, of which the managers, almost without contact with the work-people, were not accustomed to consider the needs of these people in the conduct of industry. In the face of this kind of management from a distance, trade union organizations,

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anxious to test their youthful strength, set their full weight. The large companies tolerated the new unions with very bad grace. Shipping companies, for example, did not hesitate to import strike-breakers. They were not adept at conciliating opposing interests, or at reconciling what they supposed to be such conflicts with certain inflamed representatives of the workers. The trades unions themselves were undecided whether their allegiance should be to "national" unions as such or to "international" unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. Conflicts were already brewing between rival federations.

In the absence of legislation or of any established procedure, much depended upon the skill of the mediator in these conflicts. One of the first settlements by arbitration in a major industrial dispute was in the case of Mgr. Begin, given in 1901 as the outcome of a strike of shoe workers at Quebec. Attempted intervention from an episcopal source never had any authority, and for many years it had not commanded any recognition. At the same time the Deputy Minister did not possess any greater measure of coercive power. Any unthinking or hasty official might well upset everything. Mackenzie King refused to be stampeded, and consequently did not give any offence.

The work of conciliation was varied. The tasks of conciliator led the deputy minister, one day to the coal fields of Alberta, the next to the telephone operators of Toronto. It was a many-sided job. One could not deal on anything like the same basis with the wood cutters of the Province of Quebec as with the workers in the steel industry of Nova Scotia; and neither of these presented problems such as those of the running trades of the C.P.R. or workers in the metal mines of Ontario. The experience of the

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"scholar" was being enriched at every turn. It enabled him before long to draft a general act, flexible enough to apply to every case of dispute.

This was in 1907. Rodolphe Lemieux had succeeded William Mulock as Postmaster General and Minister of Labour. Mulock had been a prodigious worker, sometimes impulsive but sympathetic to the claims of organized labour, and to him Mackenzie King would certainly remain devoted until the end of their days. Lemieux was cultured, courteous, perhaps with certain vanities, but very anxious to aid and encourage younger men. He liked travels abroad, the larger aspect of international affairs, and this provided a point of contact with the Deputy Minister whose studies, and then his official duties, had taken him to Europe. Beneath all his formal manners and rather academic disposition, Lemieux appreciated that not sufficient attention was being paid to many younger workers, and that the lack of it was working hardship upon them. He cultivated their friendship, and this was yet another point of contact with Mackenzie King, who conveyed not so much by his outward manner but whose heart already reflected some strong attachments. One of Mackenzie King's closest friends and fellow-workers, Henry Albert Harper, was drowned in trying to save a young woman's life. To the memory of this friend Mackenzie King vowed an unalterable devotion. To it he dedicated his first book: "The Secret of Heroism." He took the lead also in the erection of a monument to Harper's gallantry on the finest street in Ottawa.

Rodolphe Lemieux appreciated such a spirit. Minister and Deputy Minister got on famously together. They were jointly responsible for drawing up the act which required that before there could be a strike or a lock-out in any public utility service, there must be a procedure of conciliation

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binding both upon workers and their employers. This procedure was based in part on a law of the Province of Quebec, dating from the arbitration of Mgr. Begin and introduced by Lomer Gouin in 1901. The principle required a joint committee drawn from workers and employers under a chairman impartially chosen. In the case of a dispute in any public utility (railways, street railways, light and power, etc.) both sides were to name a committee of arbitration (one arbitrator chosen by the employers, one chosen by the workers, and the third to be chosen by these two others). If he were diplomatic about it, this third arbitrator would consult each of his colleagues separately, smooth out the rough edges, and re-establish harmony between them. He would justly merit the name of conciliator. In case these first steps at conciliation should meet a stumbling block, the committee was to make an enquiry, furnish a report, and recommend a settlement, all under the aegis of the Minister of Labour.

The provisions for arbitration still were not compulsory, but an attempt at arbitration had to be made before a strike or lock-out could be declared. This procedure reflected both the spirit of Rodolphe Lemieux but even more the method of Mackenzie King, who never took hasty decisions about anything. They both hoped that the principle of impartial enquiry would so commend itself to the public that even parties to a dispute who disapproved of the principle would still not dare to overstep the bounds.

It would be difficult, and perhaps pointless, to try to establish exactly the part of the Minister and the part of the Deputy Minister in drawing up this act, which was greeted by the press as a model of legislation. The Deputy Minister certainly was responsible for most of the preparatory

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work. The Minister had to assume responsibility for the bill and introduce in Parliament the Industrial Disputes Inquiry Act, better known as the Lemieux Act. A trade union leader, Alphonse Verville, was at that time M.P. for Maisonneuve. He gave his approval to the Bill. So also did Armand Lavergne, an outspoken nationalist of the House of Commons. In short, the passing of the Lemieux Act represented an outstanding success for the Administration. In the eyes of many observes, the Laurier Government had already passed its zenith, and was about to go into an inescapable decline. Laurier therefore was in a position to value even more highly the success of Lemieux and of King.

Within 18 months, the procedure of arbitration laid down in the Lemieux Act was responsible for avoiding 48 strikes, and it was unsuccessful in only two instances. This law of 1907 demonstrated both the usefulness and the necessity for continued development of the Department of Labour -- which had as yet but some 20 civil servants. Many legislatures abroad sought information about the Canadian procedure and took steps to incorporate it in their own legislation. Every success added to its stature. The personal intervention of the Deputy Minister prevented other industrial disputes. Meanwhile, minimum wage scales were made compulsory in contracts let by the government. These wage scales, taking note of the wages paid by the best-run industrial establishments in the area concerned, had a direct influence upon all wages in that region. The Labour Gazette was accepted as a most authoritative publication.

Mackenzie King could take credit for other important successes. For some time he found himself concerned with two connected questions: the immigration of Asiatics and the traffic in opium. On his recommendation

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the federal Parliament had ordered the abolition of this traffic. In the spring of 1908, Mackenzie King began an investigation into conditions of employment in the textile industry of Quebec. At that time hours of work were excessively long and wage rates very inadequate. Mackenzie King called attention especially to the employment of children, which lent itself to many abuses. The report of his investigations so aroused public opinion that, a little later, it was to have an important effect upon provincial legislation.

Mackenzie King went about his work methodically, patiently, even meticulously. He was quite willing that the honours of the day should go to his Minister, more accustomed to honours. But the succession of successes which followed nevertheless created for him an outstanding reputation. On the eve of the election of 1908, however, both the godfather and the author of the Lemieux Act were confronted with a very difficult situation.

Employees of the Canadian Pacific, with the backing of the American Federation of Labour, had called a strike which extended from St. John, New Brunswick, to Vancouver. They declined the arbitration procedure required by the Lemieux Act. At Montreal, several thousands of strikers and sympathizers met at the Monument National. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company issued an ultimatum: workers who did not return to duty within 24 hours would be discharged, without regard to their seniority or other service rights. The strikers replied with a great meeting at the Monument National, under the chairmandhip of Alphonse Verville; and every speaker said: "We will not give in." The company put outsiders to work in the Angus shops; they even brought mechanics

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and machinists from England. But from England also came the socialist leader, Keir Hardie, who encouraged the strikers to hold fast. When Laurier fixed the date for the general election the strike had been going on for five weeks, and it was difficult to see what the political repercussions would be if it continued. On September 14 the strikers assembled at the Camp de Mars. As other corporations had lined up with the Company, the solidarity of the workers had become quite as strong as the forces opposing them. J. A. Rodier, editor of Le Patrie, and Olivar Asselin, director of the Nationaliste, were among the speakers, inflaming the crowd against the government, Asselin in particular striking out with many barbed words.

The Government were making desperate efforts to settle the strike before the electoral campaign opened. Rodolphe Lemieux was anxious to avoid a severe reverse for the Act which bore his name. At this point, not devoid of the uses of flattery, he approached his colleague Alphonse Verville. This latter was to decide the issue. He knew that Laurier intended to place the Department of Labour under a separate Minister. Verville thought that by setting himself up as an intermediary between the Government and the workers, he might create for himself a claim to the new portfolio. On his advice the workers accepted the provision for arbitration which they had at first rejected. The newspapers were thus able to announce in bold headlines "The Triumph of the Lemieux Act" - which was indirectly the triumph of Mackenzie King. The political leaders could then devote their energies to the political campaign.

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IV

Minister of Labour

Laurier entrusted the new portfolio of Minister of Labour not to Verville but to Mackenzie King, the real organizer of this Department, editor of the Labour Gazette, and principal author of the forward-looking Act of 1907. The grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie was an inheritor of a great political tradition and, equally, of a strong liberal tradition. Laurier chose his lieutenants with care. He had formed in 1896 a Ministry called "The Ministry of All The Talents." He was now bringing on, both for his colleagues and for his party, a generation of "replacements." Indeed, he followed and helped to advance the careers of several of the sons of his old friends - such as in the province of Quebec Armand Laverne, Athanase David, Lucien Cannon, Hector Laferte, and Joseph-Edouard Perrault. He persuaded Mackenzie King to leave the Civil Service and to enter political life.

The election of 1908 certainly came at a more difficult time than previous elections. Laurier, anxious for his future Minister of Labour, wished him to stand in a safe constituency. The grandson of Mackenzie chose a less certain stamping ground, the riding of North Waterloo, in which the retiring member, of Conservative allegiance, was very much to the fore. Mackenzie King won the seat for his leader and for his party.

Ministers who were introducing or justifying new legislation, or replying to interruptions, generally had been political figures who had had to fall back on the knowledge and judgement of their deputy ministers. Mackenzie King as Minister of Labour was an exception, for he possessed close and direct knowledge of all phases of the work of his department. He had no difficulty in demonstrating his grasp of any subject under debate, whether

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it be the eight-hour day, limitation of monopolies, health of workers, or technical education.

The economic organization of Canada was steadily working towards concentration. The period from 1908 to 1911 saw the setting up of a large number of industrial mergers. The more the large companies joined together to dominate the market, the more they sought to reach coalitions and understandings to reduce competition amongst themselves. The monopolies or quasi-monopolies thus created held workers and the buying public at their mercy. It was Mackenzie King who brought down the earliest anti-trust legislation when he introduced and carried through, in the Session of 1910 the Combines Investigation Act.

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This legislation made it possible for any six persons, under oath, to declare in writing before a Judge the existence of a combine or a monopoly, whereupon the judge could open an enquiry. If he held the complaint to be well-founded, he would submit the matter to the Minister of Labour. This latter then would name a board of arbitration composed of three members (one designated by the complainants, one by the company concerned, and the third chosen by the first two). The board of arbitration was to report to the Minister of Labour, who then had three courses open to him to bring pressure: publication of the report; a fine levied against the "trust"; and a reduction in the tariff protection provided for the industry involved.

Mackenzie King brought forward this new Bill not as a politician but as a trained economist. Laurier, among others, listened with rapt attention to the speech of introduction - no flights of oratory, but substantial, lucid and carefully documented. Georges Pelletier, correspondent of the Devoir, lately founded by Henri Bourassa, wrote in his column: "It is not every day that a member, or even a minister, takes the trouble to prepare a speech so carefully. One may not agree with the opinions expressed, but one cannot deny that to make so remarkable a speech has required many hours of intelligent work."

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The King Act was passed, but at the end of the session, another serious and in some ways dramatic affair claimed the attention of the Minister. The strike of railway workers was renewed on a still greater scale. This time it was not the Canadian Pacific which was affected, but the Grand Trunk.

This was the outcome of a widespread movement among American railway unionists who had obtained, after months and even years of struggle, uniform salary scales and conditions of work on all the main lines of the United States. They had also gained similar conditions on the smaller Canadian lines. There remained the two dominant Canadian corporations, the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk, proud both of their riches and of their power. The Association of Railway Unions, affiliated to the great American Brotherhood with headquarters at Cleveland, had obtained the main concessions it sought, not without negotiation, from the Canadian Pacific.

Agreement with the Grand Trunk was more difficult because its employees were paid, not by the mile as on the Canadian Pacific and other lines, but by the day. As locomotives were improved, and the speed of the trains increased, employees of the C.P.R., paid by the mile, naturally gained an advantage, while those of the Grand

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Trunk, paid by the day, remained at the same salary.

The railway unionists submitted their first claims in January 1910. Negotiations dragged along until March 17th. An attempt at conciliation was undertaken under the terms of the Lemieux Act. The board of conciliation met on May 25th, three weeks after the end of the session of parliament, and the members of the board handed in their report to the Minister of Labour on June 22nd.

Both parties rejected the conclusions of the report. The negotiations languished. The principal proprietors and directors of the Grank Trunk were living in England. Charles Hayes, the managing director, was an acknowledged railway man, well versed in all railway matters. The employees called him At the beginning of his career he had been instrumental in breaking a strike while he was still a locomotive engineer. The railway workers, for their part, took direction sent from Cleveland by an American, W. G. Lee, president of their Brotherhood, and handed on by James Murdock, vice-president. None of these conditions helped towards an understanding.

The Lemieux Act required an enquiry, but it could not compel arbitration. The directors on the one side and the trade unionists on the other had always rejected the principle of compulsory arbitration. The ordinary workmen

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were suspicious of arbitration, which in their eyes appeared to be a kind of judicial proceeding which did not take sufficient account of human values. Mackenzie King himself considered his duty in the matter as the most urgent kind of social responsibility. But he also believed in the virtues of collaboration, as opposed to the power of coercion, in any matter involving capital and labour. He had not hesitated to strike out the adjective "compulsory" from the vocabulary of industrial relations. He therefore had no wish to impose arbitration, but he tried to suggest that it should be used in this case. He offered his own good offices with a prudence which would not envenom the already strained relations.

The Company accepted in principle, but the railway workers raised difficulties. They proposed as arbitrators two Americans who had already come down strongly on the side of the trade unions in similar disputes in the United States. The Company flately refused such a tribunal, and made ready for battle. The American Federation equally set about preparations in a light-hearted fashion. The call for a strike was issued on the 18th of July. The same evening, 3,450 employees - conductors, brakemen, etc. - stopped work. Traffic was at a standstill on all 4,000 miles of the system, from Portland to Chicago. The following day

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shop workers of the Grand Trunk downed tools at Montreal, Toronto, London, Stratford, Port Huron, Battle Creek and Chicago. The number of strikers now reached 8,500.

It was evident that between two powerful modern forces - the railway company and the unionists - a real trial of force was beginning. At Montreal, Hayes thought he should teach a lesson to the workers at whatever cost. His reply to the strike was a lock-out. At Cleveland, Lee declared "there will be no quarter". The Grand Trunk was rich but the Federation controlled more than a million dollars cash, contributed to and shared by Canadian railway workers. In keeping with its regulations it paid out, as from the fifteenth day of the strike, an indemnity to all who had gone out on strike. The two camps swore that they would fight to the very end, until one or other adversary should give in. There was more than financial interests involved, for there was the prestige of both sides.

The Grand Trunk put strike breakers to work and was able to run a few passenger trains. But freit trains stood idle. The larger cities suffered in consequence. Montreal and its suburbs, aready numbered half a million people. All of its primary food requirements had to come in from outside. A city of this size, deprived of railway communications, and especially before the age of motor cars,

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was like a city in a state of siege. There were fears for a complete famine of flour, meat, milk, and a breakdown of postal service. Public opinion became uneasy.

The Canadian workmen also thought the matter over. The union chiefs, James Murdock and S. N. Barry, telegraphed to the Minister of Labour that they would be prepared to consider arbitration "in view of their special obligation towards the public". The solution of Mackenzie King now was that there should be arbitration at the request of both parties, who would thereby obligate themselves in advance to conform with the decision. The Minister, in a happier frame of mind, informed the Grand Trunk of the new disposition of the workers. "Too late", says Hayes, "the moment is passed". Confident of his position, the managing director added: "All we require is the protection we are entitled to expect and we shall be able to resume the complete operation of the whole system."

Mackenzie King asked for a special meeting of the Cabinet. In the absence of Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright wrote to the director of the Grand Trunk to press for acceptance of arbitration. Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia and a personal friend of Hayes, took the letter down to him. On the other side, W. G. Lee and another American labour leader, A. B. Garretson of Iowa, came to

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Montreal to confer with Hayes. In England, W. A. Smithers, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Grand Trunk sailed in the "Mauretania". The Mayors of several Canadian cities and presidents of chambers of commerce wrote or telegraphed to Hayes. Business and the population itself were suffering throughout the country. Building contractors who were waiting for bricks to build, had to close their establishments. At Ottawa, J.R. Booth closed his paper mills which were not able to move their finished goods. Perhaps still more serious, in another direction, was the fact that a great international Eucharistic Congress was shortly to be held at Montreal. Msgr. Bruchesi, Mayor Guerin, the City of Montreal and the Province of Quebec itself feared that the Congress would have to be abandoned because of the strike. Students of sociology began to regret that the Lemieux Act had not provided for compulsory arbitration.

But how was agreement to be reached with a man like Hayes? And how were Americans like Lee and Garretson who were directing this strike in Canada to be influenced favourably? There were threats of sabotage. The Company hastily had sworn in 200 constables of whom several, it must be said, were not very good specimens. Signs printed in two languages denied access to Bonaventure Station to the curious. Both sides denied any responsibility. The conference between

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Hayes and the American labour leaders did not lead anywhere. On July 27th, an hour before the arrival of Sir Frederick Borden, James Murdock telegraphed to Mr. King: "Mr. Garretson and Mr. Lee have had a meeting today with Mr. Hayes but without result. May I suggest in the name of the employees on strike that in your capacity as a Minister of the Crown, and as a representative of the people, you should come to Montreal, and that by a new effort you should try to arrange an honourable settlement, either by arbitration or by means of further negotiations".

King in his turn went to Montreal, caught up with Sir Frederick Borden and attempted to bring renewed pressure on the Grand Trunk. The railway system had no concern with the monetary loss which was in the neighborhood of $100,000 a day. For their part, the strikers looked with favour to the approach of the fifteen day, at the end of which the American Federation would begin to pay them. Nevertheless the railway gave in to the request - to the pressure - of the Minister of Labour. Mackenzie King and Frderick Borden were able to convene a meeting at the office of the Grand Trunk. The Company was represented by Hayes, Wainwright and a lawyer. The workers were represented by the two Americans, Lee and Garretson. It was a Saturday, the fourteenth day of the strike. The conference lasted from 3 until

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7 p.m., then adjourned, reconvened at 9 p.m. and ended with agreement at 11 p.m. The Company agreed to meet with effect from January 1, 1912 the scale of salaries then applying on Canadian Pacific Railway lines. They undertook to re-employ, as soon as possible, those who had gone on strike who had not committed any act of violence or disorder. Lee and Garretson at once ordered the resumption of work.

There was a great sense of relief throughout the country. Though there was a sense of uneasiness throughout the Railway Brotherhood. Their American chiefs, after having submitted them to pressure and having multiplied the belligerents' proclamations, had now signed an agreement one hour before the fifteenth day of the strike, at the end of which the treasury of their own federation would have to begin payments to the Canadian strikers. Some of the workers thought "they have sold us out to Hayes". Certain lay leaders and certain religious figures in the province of Quebec in particular strengthened their preference for a kind of national syndicate by advocating a Catholic syndicalism.

There was one clause in the agreement which was particularly disquieting to James Murdock and S.N.Barry the Canadian leaders of the strike. The railway had under-

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taken to re-employ its workers "as rapidly as possible". The railwaymen did not appear to put much faith in the breadth of mind of Hayes in interpreting this provision. Once again they went to see the Minister of Labour. Mackenzie King went to see Hayes and Wainwright, who indicated that "as rapidly as possible" meant within three months. The Minister then telegraphed to Murdock and Barry asking them to bring the strike to an end, and the railwaymen thereupon returned to work.

The strike on the Grand Trunk had been both hard and disquieting. It certainly pointed some lessons. Among men charged with responsibilities there were two classes of thought, one favouring international trade unionism, the others advocating compulsory arbitration as the legal complement to obligatory enquiry. But it was never Mackenzie King's opinion that application of force must remain the ultimate method in industrial relations. The Minister of Labour held strongly to a middle road between conciliation and arbitration. The agrement concluded by the American leaders appeared to be shot full of holes. It did not obligate the railway company to give back to persons now re-employed their pension rights, but Mackenzie King, (the disciple of Laurier,) did not let the matter stand there. He discussed doubtful cases with

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Hayes, both by letter and through interviews. He succeeded so well as to receive congratulations and thanks from municipalities, from chambers of commerce and from the railwaymen themselves. "The Railroad Trainman" magazine of the Order of Railway Conductors gave him this praise: "The settlement has been brought about especially because of the Minister of Labour, associated with the Minister of Militia, and we have pleasure in paying tribute to the efforts having been made to reach an understanding."

This time again the re-establishment of industrial peace was valuable to Laurier. As political adversaries began to discuss heatedly his two great measures - the Navy Act and the proposals for reciprocity. Henri Bourassa was able to arouse a part of Quebec opinion against the Navy Act. The Tories were able to stir up a certain part of Ontario opinion against the reciprocity proposals.

The discussion of these great measures preoccupied the whole of the parliamentary debates of 1911, and this discussion was responsible for sidetracking two other measures proposed by the Minister of Labour.

The first of these prescribed an 8-hour working day in all public works undertaken on government account. The other forbade the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Mackenzie King had attended an inter-

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national congress in Italy which was studying ailments traceable to phosphorus, and especially a kind of gangrene of the jaw-bone brought about through absorption of phosphorus. Later on he had visited Canadian workers, toothless and disfigured, victims of this scourge. He said in bringing down the bill: "We speak often nowadays of the conservation of natural resources, but there are resources still more important: the conservation of human resources, the preservation of health and of human life." It affected himself, he affected also the House of Commons. The abrupt termination of the session, following the determination to appeal to the people, halted the two last bills of Mackenzie King, but at least the Borden government gave him the credit shortly afterwards of carrying the Bill which forbade the use of phosphorus.

V.

Faithful to Laurier

The electoral campaign of 1911 remains a memorable one. Two leading questions were discussed on the hustings: the Navy and reciprocity. The Canadian Navy was to be placed at the disposition of the Admiralty in case of war. Reciprocity was to be a sort of free trade on a limited scale between Canada and the United States.

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In the Province of Quebec, Conservatives and Nationalists fused together in the name of Autonomists, fought against the Navy Act with the cry: "Laurier has sold us out to England!" In the province of Ontario, imperialist elements tried to represent that reciprocity was but a prelude to annexation, and they fought against it with the cry: "Laurier has sold us out to the United States!" Laurier lost numbers of seats in the two larger provinces. In Ontario several Ministers went down to defeat before the violence of the anti-reciprocity campaign. Among others, the Minister of Labour, Mackenzie King, the former student at Chicago, the former fellowship holder at Harvard, who was supposed to have American sympathies. The Conservatives regained their fortress of North Waterloo.

Laurier had announced before the elections his willingness to resign in case he should be defeated. He gave up the government amid many demonstrations of sympathy, admiration and devotion, which arose from all parts of the country. The young Liberals of Montreal, headed by Victor Beique, made preparations for the first public appearance of Laurier after his defeat, on January 8, 1912. This was a remarkable and even a moving demonstration. The elderly chief had no more favours to bestow; his disinterested supporters - the sincere ones who had mourned on the evening

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of his defeat - wished to encourage him and to comfort him, and without doubt they succeeded in this. Three former Ministers, Sydney Fisher, George Graham and Mackenzie King, accompanied the illustrious leader. Mackenzie King representing "the voice of Ontario" predicted that before long the people would think better of their action and return the great Canadian to power for the better well-being of Canada, of all its provinces and of all the races who inhabited it.

Mackenzie King did not loose contact with political life, since he accepted the chairmanship of the leading Liberal association of Ontario, the Ontario Reform Association, and between 1911 and 1914 he was Director of the Information Bureau of the Liberal Party at Ottawa.

Even so, the man of politics had never quite triumphed over the scholar. At the beginning of 1914 the Rockefeller Foundation invited him to undertake certain industrial research. The work of this institute was largely concerned with human well-being. The special task of Mackenzie King was to be a study of industrial problems with the particular object of improving the relations between capital and labour. In short, Mackenzie King began what was to be the most important study of his lifetime. He continued to reside in Canada, though he made

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frequent trips to the United States. All of them reinforced his own basic conviction, the necessity for a trustworthy collaboration between capital and labour.

The first Great War had then broken out. In the United States, as in Canada a number of important industries had recourse to the mediation of Mackenzie King in labour disputes. The former Minister was able to settle, to the satisfaction of both parties, the strike of considerable proportions which broke out in Colorado. Workers and the managers of steel industries, naval dockyards, electrical equipment, sought his counsel and his intervention. In this way Mackenzie King was able to carry out the wartime task most congenial to his talents.

His experience in this field was in fact unique, at least in Canada. The degree to which he had become a sociologist was reflected in his principal work "Industry and Humanity" (published in the autumn of 1918) on problems of industrial relations. This volume was translated and published in France, with a preface by Gabriel Hanotaux, President of the France-America Committee. The French title "La Question Sociale au Canada" never really gave an understanding of the subject of the book to which it simply drew aside the door. The problems of labour ceased to be simply local problems, said Mackenzie King, who now advanced a universal point of

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view. The problems of labour could never in fact be separated from the problems of peace and of good health.

"Wherever in social and industrial relations, the rights of industry and those of humanity are opposed, it is those of industry which must give way". The /Sociologist sought to introduce into the direction of industry that principle of representation which his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, had sought to introduce into political government. The relations between managers and workers in industry had become more and more impersonal. The gulf was broadening between those who exercised authority and those who had to submit to it. It was necessary to re-establish contact - for example by councils, commissions or combined conferences, so disposed as to substitute confidence for fear and out of which would grow, little by little, such a code of labour regulations as would guarantee lasting industrial peace. Without the common interest of management and of the worker, fear which paralyzed effort had to be eliminated. In seeking this goal, voluntary agreement was far preferable to intervention by the state. These ideas were not simply pure theory since the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, among others, had applied these ideas on the advice of Mackenzie King. Industrial problems were neither raised nor aggravated simply because of the war. Major discussion centred not on the principle of participation

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in the war, but as to whether mobilization should be voluntary or compulsory. Laurier, as Leader of the Opposition, came out strongly for voluntary enlistment which was quite in keeping with Liberal traditions.

The great majority of French speaking Canadians shared this opinion. The settlers of outlying Quebec, rooted in Canadian soil, would have given all of their blood for the defence of their own country, but they had never been convinced of the necessity of taking part in faraway wars. Laurier believed in the usefulness of explanation and of persuasion. Quite like the attitude of his former colleague Mackenzie King in dealing with labour questions.

In the English speaking provinces lived a large proportion of recent immigrants, still too close to their British origin not to wish to come to the aid of their mother country. These latter urged conscription. They undertook an active campaign and carried with them the majority opinion of their provinces. The Conservative Ministers and certain Liberal members from these provinces looked forward to conscription. Laurier and his French speaking lieutenants held strongly for voluntary system, conforming alike to Liberal principles and to the general will within Quebec province.

In order to carry out certain exceptional measures

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like conscription, the Prime Minister, Borden, formed a coalition cabinet with the support of certain Liberal leaders of the English speaking provinces. Laurier passed through one of the most pitiable periods of his career. The Liberal leaders of the West joined forces in the Union Government, carried over to Borden the solid Liberal organization of their provinces. It was like a general going over to the enemy with arms and baggage. Laurier was perhaps witnessing the ruin of a great party which was his own reasons for existence. Even more, among the men who now deserted him several had been brought into public life through his interest, and others - Rowell, Guthrie, Maclean, Carvell, Sifton - were not only his lieutenants but his close personal friends. Each new defection inflicted a cruel wound upon him. The old eagle, his plumes snatched out one by one, was left all bleeding.

Laurier refused to say a single harsh word against those who had transferred their allegiance. He understood the situation in which they were placed, for the state of mind had reached such a pitch that to be opposed to conscription in Ontario meant political suicide, almost equally surely and in the same way that support for conscription meant political suicide in Quebec. The expressions of fidelity brought some hope and encouragement to the aged leader.

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Among these faithful few were numbered Mackenzie King, the Laurier candidate in North York in the exceptionally difficult election of 1917. A thorough going Canadian, Mackenzie King put down all the evil machinations to the enemies of Great Britain. Drawing upon the religious nature he viewed the war as a kind of crusade, for law, for liberty, for democracy. As a Liberal he fought against the conscription act, calling up the remembrance of his grandfather which the same Country of York had elected and re-elected nine times despite official intimidation. He was attempting the impossible and he was defeated. On the following day his mother, the daughter of William Lyon Mackenzie who had been born in exile, passed away.

VI.

The Successor of Laurier

Once back in private life, Mackenzie King declined many offers from large industrial or charitable organizations in the United States. Politics still beckoned to him. Laurier died in February, 1919, almost on the morrow of the Armistice. The people had not been able to realize the wish of Mackenzie King, expressed after the elections of 1911, that Laurier might once again return to power. The leadership of the Liberal Party passed temporarily to D. D. Mackenzie, a member from Nova Scotia.

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Daniel D. Mackenzie - "D.D." to the House of Commons had an eloquence more facile than solid, embroidered with Biblical quotations. He could hold his own against Borden but not against the intelligent, able and incisive Meighen. He did not have the makings of a compelling leader and he did not greatly count upon his chances of being confirmed in the leadership at the Convention announced for August 7th at Ottawa. For the first time in the political history of Canada, the leader of a party was to be chosen not simply by the members of Parliament, but by a Convention of accredited delegates. It was evident that the province of Quebec provided the Liberal Party with the major part of its parliamentary forces and the opinion of Quebec there could not help but influence the Convention. Moreover, there was at work within that province a slow but sure current in favour of Mackenzie King, the former Minister of the Crown, who had not deserted Laurier but had been Laurier's candidate in an Ontario constituency at an hour which took courage above everything else. In January 1919, Mackenzie King was a guest of the Reform Club at Montreal. He had neither the charm of Laurier, nor the ardour of Bourassa, but he gave a speech on the relations between capital and labour which evoked warm praise from the press. In April he spoke before the Canadian Club, and later before a number of workers associa-

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tions at Quebec. Within two months after the death of Laurier King was being welcomed at Quebec as a friend of Sir Wilfrid. All because his Ontario constituency had rejected him at the election of 1917. Alexandre Taschereau exclaimed: "If Ontario does not want a man like you, Mr. King, come to Quebec and Quebec will be happy to give you one of its seats." Actually Quebec decided not to offer this facility to a new leader, as a means of avoiding identifying the party solely with French speaking Canada or of submerging it in the eyes of the English speaking provinces. On the eve of the Liberal Convention, Mackenzie King appeared to be the favorite of Quebec. At the same time some of the former unionists took the view that the situation which had brought them over to Borden had now come to an end and they now re-entered the Liberal field.

The Convention was opened under the joint chairmanship of Sir Lomer Gouin and Murray, former premier of Nova Scotia. The leading figures of the province of Quebec were Gouin, Lemieux, Dandurand, Bureau, Beland, Lapointe. The schemers might divide them into two triumvirates; the older of them, Gouin, Lemieux and Dandurand were old personal friends often consulted by Lauriere. The youngsters, Bureau, Beland and Lapointe were less academic. The delegates of Quebec held a preliminary meeting under the chairmanship

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of Lemieux, than him there was not better chairman. One young Liberal member, Athanase David, raised an eloquent but vain protest against the decision to choose the new leader from outside the province of Quebec.

At the Convention, dominated naturally by the remembrance of Laurier, the French speaking Canadians cut a fine figure. Lemieux and Dandurand were the embodiment of distinction. Bureau expressed himself in English quite as well as in French. Lapointe sought, as Laurier had sought, to expose the basic ideas of Liberalism in Canada. Lapointe was a warm partisan of the former Minister of Labour who recalled the constitutional ideas of Laurier and dealt once more with industrial relations.

The main business was of course the choice of a leader. Of the four or five names on the ballot that of Fielding, the Minister of Finance, was outstanding. Fielding had been responsible for a degree of moderate protection imposed upon the free trade of Liberal doctrines. His wisdom had made him kindly regarded in industrial and financial circles and especially by their political ally Lomer Gouin. The latter foreseeing his own entry into the federal scene had a double reason for preferring Fielding, but because of his age could not expect to be chief indefinitely and a successor might soon have to be chosen. But Fielding

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without tying himself to Borden had cut himself off from Laurier to support conscription. The French speaking Liberals might encourage infant prodigees but they were not going to entrust the high command of the party to Fielding. The Toronto Globe came out for Fielding, but the delegates of Quebec determined to fight against his nomimation. During a preliminary reuinion of Quebec delegates, Trahan, M.P. for Nicolet, drew applause when he said: "I propose that this assembly go on record flatly against the candidature of Mr. Fielding". Gouin had to abstain from all publicity in favour of his candidate, already so unpopular.

Rodolphe Lemieux had thought of an English speaking Canadian from Quebec province, Sydney Fisher, well off and sympathetic to French Canadians. But it was determined to choose a leader from outside of Quebec and it was therefore necessary to concentrate support toward one of the candidates on the field - Mackenzie King, George P. Graham, D. D. Mackenzie - in order to cut out Fielding. Ernest Lapointe supported Mackenzie King. The Ontario loyalists still harbour certain reservations against the grandson of the rebel who had spent sometime in the United States and might be very often in the future. But the support of French speaking Canadians carried Mackenzie King to the head of the Liberal party with 476 against 438 for Fielding.

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"It is the choice of Quebec" wrote the Mail and Empire, the Tory journal of Toronto. Mackenzie King expressed a wish for friendship and understanding between the two largest provinces and the two great races.

The new leader, defeated in 1911 and 1917, had as yet no place in parliament. But a by-election was shortly due in the riding of Prince, P.E.I. Mackenzie King was elected by acclamation to this seat.

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VII

REVENGE FOR 1911

Except in the province of Quebec, where it formed a solid block, the Liberal party had suffered greatly during the war and the period of the Union government. Reorganization was very necessary, and a new leader and his lieutenant Ernest Lapointe at once set about this task. In this way began that intimate collaboration which was brought to an end only by Lapointe's death. Together they travelled throughout the country, from the Maritime provinces to British Columbia, encouraging the faithful, reinspiring the indifferent , giving new directions and outlining their programme. Mackenzie King declared that the election of 1917 - a wartime election, conducted under a special and exceptional procedure - had given the Union government a strictly limited mandate which had ended with the end of the war itself. He therefore called for a general election.

Borden had given over the reins to Meighen, a leader of unquestionable capability, but roundly opposed in the province of Quebec because of his imperialist sentiments and by the stiffness of his appearance and his character. Meighen took all the pains in the world to seek out ministers for his cabinet who would represent the French-Canadian element. The party in power was no less menaced than the provinces of the west by the gains in strength of United Farmers and Progressives. Finally, Mackenzie King, leader of the opposition,

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kept urging the government to return to a more normal life by holding an election, not only on questions arising from the war, but on the great national questions now arising from a time of peace. On September 1st, 1921, Prime Minister Meighen announced an appeal to the people for that autumn.

The Liberal campaign was inaugurated by a banquet in honour of Rodolphe Lemieux on the occasion of his political jubilee on the 22nd of September. After twenty-five years of parliamentary life, Rodolphe Lemieux, learned, amenable, eloquent, faithful to his leaders and to his friends, appeared as one of the figures - if not the most vigorous at least the most distinguished - of all Canadian politics. Mackenzie King, his former subordinate now become his chief, paid him a sincere tribute and used the circumstance to outline the party programme. He laid great stress upon the middle position of the Liberal party, midway between the protectionist Conservatives and the Farmer free-traders.

Three parties put candidates into the field: the United Farmers, led by T. A. Crerar; the Conservatices, led by Arthur Meighen; the Liberals, led by Mackenzie King. The United Farmers paid no attention to Quebec, but took an interest in rural Ontario and counted upon a clean sweep of the three prairie provinces. The protectionist Conservatives placed their hope in the Ontario block, reinforced by industrial elements in the

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other provinces who had supported conscription. The Liberals depended on the Quebec block, augmented, here and there, by anti-governmental constituencies. Observers forecast a three party House of Commons, in which no one would have an absolute majority but in which the Liberals would be the strongest single group.

For Mackenzie King the easiest course would be to continue to represent Prince Edward Island where the riding of Prince would re-elect him perhaps by acclamation. But Mackenzie King did not consider mere facility. Success had never come to him on a silver platter as has sometimes been imagined. The leader of the Liberal party announced he would run in Ontario, in the same riding of North York in which he had been defeated in 1917. The electors recognized this kind of moral courage and elected him by a majority of 1055 votes.

The province of Quebec returned sixty-five Liberals as Members. There were no Conservatives, no Progressives, no Independents, and the majorities were so great as to surprise the party following. Several majorities were over eight thousand, nine thousand, and even ten thousand votes. Ontario, strongly impressed by the gesture of Mackenzie King, cut into the Conservative block by electing twenty-four Liberals. Together with seats in the west and in the maritimes, Mackenzie King commanded a group of 118 Members, of whom more than half came

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from Quebec. For the "old guard", December 6, 1921, had wiped out the doleful recollection of September 21, 1911.

The course of action opened to the Governor General was clearly to entrust the formation of a new cabinet to the leader of the party with the largest following. The Liberals numbered one hundred and eighteen Members; the Conservatives and the Progressives together one hundred and seventeen. The Liberals would lose one member in electing one of their own number to be Speaker. It would require audacity and finesse both by Mackenzie King and by Ernest Lapointe to guide the ship of state in this political weather.

VIII

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

If it required care to manœuvre among the parties, it required equal care in dealing with the relations between provinces and groups of provinces. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island could fall back upon a certain group of projects identified as "maritime rights": a readjustment of freight charges on the old Intercolonial Railway; increase in federal subsidies; assistance to the coal and steel industries of Nova Scotia. The provinces of the West also were ready to present a list of needs: reduction of cost of transport; re-establishment of the Commission (first set up during the war)

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to facilitate the marketing and to maintain the price of wheat; handing back to the prairie provinces of control of their natural resources. The Conservative protectionists, drawing their support from Ontario, were flatly opposed to the Provressive programme. The Liberals, with but an unsteady majority over the two other parties, were themselves divided by two tendencies. The one, inclining towards the Progressives, was guided by Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe. The other, much closer to the Conservatives on the important question of tariffs, had Lomer Gouin for its spokeman.

Mackenzie King sought to have all of the provinces represented in his cabinet. In Alberta, entirely Progressive, not a single Liberal had been elected. At the request of Mackenzie King, of Ernest Lapointe, and of all the Liberal leaders, one constituency in Quebec province - the County of Argenteuil, where the Member had passed away on the morrow of his election - had the generosity to elect Charles Stewart, former Premier of Alberta, thereby enabling him to sit in the house and to assume the office of Minister of the Interior.

Mackenzie King also showed much good-will towards the Western provinces. On most matters of public policy, the Progressive members were much closer to the Liberals than to the Conservatives. King and Lapointe valued Crerar's qualities

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and they brought about a gradual rapprochement with the Progressives.

There was another responsibility: to wipe out the divisions arising from the war. An international incident helped to complete this task in the summer of 1922. Britain and Turkey found themselves upon the brink of armed conflict. Britain asked each of the Dominions, by cable, if they would participate in case war should follow. By an indiscretion, which may not have been voluntary, certain press agencies found out, if not the text, at least the sense of the telegram, at the same time as the Prime Minister of Canada. In Ontario, Arthur Meighen without hesitation launched the old war cry: "ready aye ready"! Toronto newspapers urged an immediate declaration of imperial solidarity. Opinion in Quebec was strongly opposed to any expedition to the Dardanelles, and both Members of Parliament and the newspapers of that province made no secret of this opposition.

In an excited capital, Mackenzie King kept his head. He knew very well the opinion in Ontario, ultra-loyalist, and aroused by Meighen. He knew also the opinion of Quebec, the pillar of the Liberal party. He consulted Crerar, leader of the Progressive party, to find that the western farmers, bound up with their own problems, thought of Constantnipole as far removed from Winnipeg. Crerar advised prudence, and that Parliament

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should be consulted. This was entirely in keeping with the feeling of the Prime Minister. Mackenzie King sought fuller explanations from London, and on his instructions Fielding and Lapointe, who were then in attendance at the League of Nations, suggested mediation by Geneva.

The telephone and the telegraph extend to every country. The newspapers gave full accounts of the situation. In the province of Quebec, various national societies got ready to sign petitions. A decision in whatever sense would inevitably offend an important part of Canadian opinion. Fortunately, the crisis wore itself out. In England, it led to the fall of Lloyd George. The incident of the Dardanelles, also called the Chanak incident, illustrates the essential method of the Prime Minister, who approached the diplomatic uproar with the same prudence that he had once used in dealing with labour disputes. He interpreted also the understandable hesitation of a country at the crossroads, and the result revealed a tendency to discard imperialism altogether. Mackenzie King was moving towards a policy of "no commitments".

This incident closed and with calmer spirits, the Prime Minister and his colleagues turned back to the large financial and railway questions which made up a heavy burden carried over from the war. The whole civilized world was passing through an economic

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crisis. King had offered the portfolio of Finance to Fielding, his rival in the convention at Ottawa. And Fielding certainly had both competence and presence; he knew how to present budgets in a persuasive manner. Fielding, and his successor, Robb, devoted their attention to a reduction of expenditures, a lessening of the national debt, and to a readjustment of the tariff.

The agricultural community, strong in the west, hoped for free trade in order to facilitate export of excess production. Industrial circles, strongest in the east, hoped for tariff protection as a means of resisting the competition of powerful American industry. The Liberal tradition inclined towards free trade, while the Conservative position favoured a policy of protection. The Liberal convention of 1919 had reaffirmed the traditional hostility of the party to excessive customs tariffs, which in the long run affected the consumer more than any one else. But King, Lapointe and their colleagues believed in the usefulness of compromise as a safeguard for national unity. They had to consider also that tariff reduction might mean a reduction in fiscal receipts. The King Administration brought about prudent and gradual changes, weighing and conciliating the interests of agriculture with those of industry, the interest of the West with that of the East. The budget was balanced during the fiscal year 1923-24. James Alexander Robb, Member for Huntingdon, and successor to Fielding, was thereupon able to remove or reduce

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certain taxes, to remove or reduce customs tariffs (in particular on capital goods needed in primary industries, agriculture, mines fisheries and forests). Canada concluded commercial treaties with several foreign countries.

The gradual return of prosperity helped to accomplish this task.. In the same way it assisted in the reorganization of the national railways.

Canada came out of the war with two great railway systems, the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National. The C.P.R. was a private corporation, well managed and prosperous. The C.N.R. owned by the nation, was a very recent amalgamation of a variety of lines scattered over the country, nearly all of them in arrears, and which the Union government had bought out to avoid their failing completely, which would have greatlt aggravated the economic crisis. Within this amalgamation there were, among other lines, the Intercolonial built shortly after Confederation to link the Maritime provinces with central Canada; the Grand Trunk, oldest of the Canadian systems; the Transcontinental, constructed under the Laurier government; and the Canadian Northern built of bits and pieces by the speculators Mackenzie and Mann. This patchword lacked any uniformity, any discipline, any animation.

The Canadian government entrusted the reorganization of this hodge podge to a noted expert, Sir Henry Thornton,

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American born, but who had won his spurs in England, He was a giant of a man, competent and a veritable dynamo of energy. Thornton travelled over all of the lines, inspired a new esprit de corps, modernized the rolling stock, and made out of this heterogenuous amalgam a great railway system, and one which rivalled the Canadian Pacific. Thornton loved publicity, both colorful and noisy - he wanted at one stage to conduct the C.N.R. orchestra himself - but this was all a part of the allure of this century and of this continent. Two great railway systems began an assault on the records.

With financial conditions stabilized, the railway lines reorganized, a new wave of prosperity began to spread across the country. The West began to export wheat in formidable quantities. Paper mills in Ontario and Quebec began to supply the press both of England and of America. More and more ocean-going vessels put into the port of Montreal. A brief constitutional drama now upset the political life.

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IX

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

On October 29, 1925, for the first time in Canadian history, thousands of persons learned the result of a general election by radio. The election of 1921 had placed the Liberal party in the lead, the Progressives in the middle, and the Conservatives at the foot of the polls. In the election of 1925, the Liberal block remained almost intact in the province of Quebec (sixty-one Liberals and four Conservatives, all four elected in constituencies with an English-speaking majority), but a landslide appeared in other provinces. In Ontario, Mackenzie King and his colleagues bit the dust. Over the whole of the country the electors returned to the House of Commons one hundred and seventeen Conservatives, one hundred and one Liberals, twenty-four Progressives, two Labour, and one Independent.

Arthur Meighen already saw himself Prime Minister. But the small Progressive group, arbitrator in this situation despite their reduced numbers, leaned to the Liberals rather than towards the Conservatives. In these circumstances, Mackenzie King had more chances to form a government than Arthur Meighen. He consulted his colleagues and his friends. Alexander Taschereau, Premier of the province of Quebec, advised him to stand his ground. It was worth waiting to see what would happen ~~in~~ this very difficult situation. After all, it was the majority in the House of Commons which would sustain or turn out

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the Ministry. The King government remained in power. Ernest Lapointe acted as leader in the House in the absence of the Prime Minister, who had been defeated in his own riding.

So began an extraordinary session. The Conservative leaders - Arthur Meighen, Robert Rogers, R. B. Bennett, and H. H. Stevens - all skilled and vigorous - launched a furious assault against the government. Bob Rogers, member for Winnipeg, tried to win over the Progressive following, but an influential journalist, John W. Dafoe, editor-in-chief of the Winnipeg Free Press, offset these approaches. Ernest Lapointe, always sympathetic to the Progressives, was on excellent terms with Robert Forke, their new leader. The first vote of the session was highly exciting, for the life or death of the ministry depended on four or five undecided Progressives. Jean Denis, Member for Joliette, made a stirring appeal to them. One Progressive voted for the government and the Liberals applauded him. Another voted with the Opposition and the Conservatives in turn threw blue books into the air in acclamation. A third Progressive abstained from voting and there was general silence. A fourth, whom Bob Rogers thought he had won over, stood up and said to his neighbour "watch Bob while I give my vote". He voted for the government. Bob swore under his breath. The government carried the day, and carried on by a majority of three.

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The Liberals began to sign and wave their handkerchiefs.

This majority was sustained. Ministers and French-Canadian Members deserve a large part of the credit. Lapointe, Cardin, Boivin, Cannon, fought with good humour against Meighen, Rogers, Bennett, Stevens. At once firm and conciliatory, Lapointe never lost his mastery of the situation. Never for a minute did he make any attempt to supplant the leader whom he was replacing momentarily in Parliament. On February 15, 1926, at a by-election, the Saskatchewan constituency of Prince Albert returned the Prime Minister to the House of Commons by a large majority. The added strength of Charles Dunning, lately Premier of Saskatchewan, who gave up his office in that province to take the portfolio of Railways in the federal cabinet, still further consolidated the government. A man of the West, formerly director of a large agricultural cooperative, Dunning helped forward the rapprochement with the Progressives. The budget brought down by Robb included a number of reductions in import duties. It was carried by one hundred and twentyone votes to one hundred and eight.

The Conservatives did not admit that they were beaten. They demanded a searching inquiry into the administration of Customs, directed especially at the former Minister, Jacques Bureau, who had been appointed to the Senate for reasons of health. Stevens, the most violent speaker, suggested that the

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government in making Bureau a Senator had thereby removed an embarrassing colleague. "Mr. Bureau", replied Mackenzie King, "has been appointed a Senator because he has given twenty-five years of his life to the service of his country". Then;

"If there is a single member of this House who did not have the fullest confidence in the integrity of Mr. Bureau while he was a minister of the Crown, led him rise in his place."

At the end of a rather long minute, a Conservative member stood up. It was old Bob White, of the Gazette - passed his seventieth birthday, with his head bent over, and his thin voice. He said: Mr. Bureau indeed enjoyed general esteem.

Despite this chivalrous intervention, it was evidently to be more than a war of words. The government had a precarious majority and was in constant danger. From Halifax to Vancouver, editorial offices were constantly on the alert. The Toronto Star published an interview with the well-known expert in constitutional law, John S. Ewart. Mr. King could not continue in these conditions, said the jurist; but he was not defeated. If he were to ask for a dissolution, the Governor General, according to all constitutional precedence, would not be able to refuse it.

This consultation signified something else. At the very hour when it was published, Mackenzie King had gone to Rideau Hall and had asked the Governor General to dissolve the House of Commons in order to bring on a new election. Lord Byng

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politely refused.

On June 28, Mackenzie King invited the attention of the Governor - first verbally, then in writing - to the implications of his decision, one without precedent in the history of Great Britain for over a century, and in the history of Canada since Confederation. He then announced in the House of Commons that the Governor General had declined to grant a dissolution and that the Administration would therefore submit its resignation.

Arthur Meighen set up a provisional cabinet of seven ministers without portfolio (sic) (? acting ministers). (By this means he avoided the loss of any voting strength because a subtle interpretation of parliamentary rule relieved ministers without portfolio /~sic / (? acting ministers) from the necessity of seeking re-election before resuming their seats in the House.) But Meighen no more than King was in a position to carry on the government. The decision of the Governor General was widely discussed and also the exceptional character of this cabinet of "shadow ministers".

On the 1st of July, on a motion of confidence presented by Robb, the Meighen government was in a minority of a single vote. The Liberals stamped their feet. Others cried out "resign". Still others applauded, and the demonstration for Mr. King

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continued for some minutes. Carried in in triumph, hoisted up on a table, the ex-Prime Minister had to improvise a speech. He expressed his particular gratitude to Henri Bourassa, M.P. for Labelle, who had supported the Liberals vigorously throughout the crisis. The grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie cried out to the grandson of Papineau: "Our grandfathers fought side by side for our constitutional liberties. It is the same fight which we are taking up again today. The proceedings of this evening show that it will succeed." The Meighen cabinet had lasted but three days.

On the following day, at eleven o'clock, Mackenzie King asked the members of his ex-cabinet to meet in his office. All of them were awaiting a message from the Governor General, who was to send for King and to hand back to him the reins of office. The flag flying from the East Block marked the presence of the Governor General in his office. Both former and prospective ministers, somewhat nervously, awaited the summons.

At half past twelve, the flag was taken down. Lord Byng returned to Rideau Hall without having sent for Mackenzie King. He had given to Meighen the dissolution which had been refused to King. It was Arthur Meighen remaining as Prime Minister who would control the "machine" if there were an election.

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"It is a coup d'etat" said Mackenzie King. "It is a coup d'etat" said Henri Bourassa. "It is a coup d'etat" said the aged Sifton from Winnipeg. "It is a coup d'etat" agreed N. W. Rowell, former Unionist minister in a letter to the Toronto Globe. The celebrated constitutional authority Ewart recalled that the right of veto, still existing in theory, had not been invoked since the reign of Queen Anne and that the right still existing in theory of refusing a dissolution had not been exercised since the reign of George III. The newspapers and many Liberal orators saw a threat to popular liberty. At once they asked the constitutional question: "Is Canada an autonomous Dominion or a Colony? Who governs: the representatives of the people or the representative of the Crown?"

Mackenzie King issued a statement which concluded in this way: "The basic question which is before the people at this moment is to know, yes or no, if the government is to be carried on in Canada in accordance with the will of the people under the direction of a responsible minister in keeping with the usages of Parliament".

Lapointe said: "The election which will now take place will show up in a striking fashion the vital difference which separates the two major parties. The battle is about to begin - and it is Mr. Meighen who has brought it on - on a question which has placed in jeopardy the future of our country and our existence as an autonomous nation. Faithful to its tradition, the Liberal

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party will fight to the end for the liberties of Canada."

Henri Bourassa raised another question. An Imperial Conference was shortly to be held in London. There were many indications that both the British government, its representative the Governor General, and certain imperialists usually known as "jingos" would have liked to see Arthur Meighen as Prime Minister, representing Canada - the same Meighen who had cried "ready aye ready" at the time of the Chanak incident. They would have preferred Meighen rather than Mackenzie King, who had shown himself much more prudent.

This idea was taken up in earnest in Quebec. There the Conservative organization was moving forward very slowly despite the support brought to Meighen by Esioff Patenaude. But in Ontario there were widespread cries against "disloyalty", against "separatism", and against the supposed annexationist tendencies of Mackenzie King, "dominated by the province of Quebec". Throughout the country the campaign was marked by spectacular and noisy meetings held by both parties.

On September 14, the Quebec bloc was returned without any change: 61 Liberals, and 4 Conservatives. The Liberals gained three seats in New Brunswick, and thirteen in Ontario. In the prairie provinces, the Liberal-Progressive coalition wiped out the Conservative party. Both Meighen and Bob Rogers were defeated. The final returns showed one hundred and nineteen Liberals, ninety-one Conservatives, eleven Liberal-Progressives, eight Progressives,

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eleven United Farmers of Alberta, three Labour, and two Independents As the Progressives and Labour Members openly gave their support to the Liberals, the latter were able to resume and to remain in power.

Mackenzie King, vindicated by the people, made his first act on the 15th of September the laying of a wreath on the grave of Laurier.

X

SECOND KING ADMINISTRATION

During October and November of 1926, Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe represented Canada at the Imperial Conference in London. Like earlier conferences, this meeting brought together a host of names now writtin into history: Stanely Baldwin, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Winston S. Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Balfour, Lord President of the Council; S. M. Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia; J. G. Coates, Prime Minister of New Zealand; W. T. Cosgrave, President of the Irish Free State; J. B. M. Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa; W. S. Monroe, Prime Minister of Newfoundland.

Two main lines of thought appeared at this conference in London. The representatives of Newfoundland were seeking a strengthening of the tie with Britain. President Cosgrave and

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General Hertzog favoured an opposite tendency, but without cutting the bonds. King and Lapointe and their party had fought and refought for power in combatting Tory imperialism and the suggestion of imperial interference in the affairs in Canada. It was true that the great bulk of their adherents were in the province of Quebec. But Henri Bourassa had supported them with this argument: "at London Mackenzie King will defend our liberties more energetically than Meighen." Bourassa and his followers thought of Mackenzie King as having the will "to attack the imperialist evil at its roots."

Nothing was however less like Mackenzie King, who throughout his whole career as head of a democratic country has been so well served by his genius in seeking middle courses, than Bourassa's desire that he should "hew down the imperialist tree". There was nothing defiant, nothing of what the Americans call "glamourous" in the life of this statesman, who has always had Time as an ally. This follower of Laurier, this well-tried mediator of industrial conflicts, found rather in the conference at London an admirable occasion for using his talents as a conciliator. Quite like Laurier at the earliest Imperial Conferences, he sought a reconciliation - apparently a difficult task - between Canadian autonomy and imperial solidarity. In this the importance of Canada itself was of assistance, and Mackenzie King exerted a

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notable influence upon the course of debates and in the formulation of the statements incorporating a common agreement.

The official report of the 1926 Conference defines a status of Great Britain and the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Commonwealth, equal in status, in no way subordinate the one to the other, in any point of their domestic or external policy, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The title of the King and several administrative procedures which appeared to imply a subordination of the Dominions were modified. It was made clear that in future in the several Dominions the Governors General would represent, not the government at London, or any United Kingdom administration, but would represent the King. A number of changes in the form of negotiation of treaties helped to enhance the international personality of the Dominions. Canada now established in Washington not yet an Embassy but a Legation under a Minister appointed by the King on the recommendation of the Privy Council in Canada.
The powers of plenipotentiaries appointed by the King would no longer be unlimited throughout the British Empire; they would be limited to a defined part. No longer would treaties be signed as for the British Empire as a whole. Those which related to Great Britain would be signed as in the name of Great Britain; and if the treaties were of wider application, it would be open

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to the several Dominions to add their signatures if they wished. This procedure helped also to obviate the use of "exclusion clauses" - such as those in the Treaty of Locarno, stipulating that the Dominions could not be bound without their consent.

Much of this procedure had already been recognized but it now became fact as well as usage. As such, it was in keeping with British habits of mind in the realm of public law, where the written formulation does not create nor even precede the accomplished fact but gives a sanction to it. The clarification by which the Governor General was declared to represent, not the government of London, or any United Kingdom administration, but the King, wrote an epilogue to the "coup d'etat" of Lord Byng. x A Governor General could not in future hesitate to follow the advice of his cabinet at Ottawa rather than that of the cabinet in London. The conferences at which Laurier represented Canada, Borden's signature of the Treaty of Versailles in the name of Canada, and the conference of 1926 were the landmarks of a constitutional evolution. Step by step Canada had developed and affirmed an international personality.

Several texts drawn up at the conference were obscure enough to cover the embarrassment occasioned by seeking to reconcile imperial solidarity with the autonomy of the Dominions. Such a situation requiring flexibility above all else was not to be resolved by too formal or too rigid texts. Mackenzie King was able to use several occasions - among others the appointment of a High

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Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada - to emphasize that there was nothing incompatible as between Canadian autonomy and imperial unity.

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Following this interview of the "coup d'etat" and the conference in London, the King administration turned its attention to domestic politics, with special reference to the gradual readjustment of tariffs and taxation. It had been customary for major industries interested in securing modifications in the tariff to make repeated approaches to the government and to try to bring all kinds of influence to bear. Mackenzie King set up the Tariff Board, which now received all such requests and studied them thoroughly in the manner of a judicial tribunal. The Tariff Board heard the representations of producers, of manufacturers, and of consumers, and in each case submitted its report to the Minister of Finance. This procedure had the double advantage of enabling tariff revision to be undertaken in an equitable and coherent way.

The Prime Minister who had taken a leading part in the constitutional evolution and in the financial readjustment of Canada never lost his leading interest in social questions. On assuming office in 1921, he had entrusted the portfolio of Labour to James Murdock, vice-president of the Railway Brotherhood, whose good-will in the difficult days of the strike on the Grand Trunk he well remembered. Murdock was defeated at the same time as his leader in the election of 1925, and he was not able to gain a seat at the election of 1926.

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His place was taken by Peter Heenan, Chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and M.P. for Kenora, Ontario. The Department of Labour was Mr. King's own creation and he showed a faithful attachment to the Department to the careers of all its officers, however modest, who had been original employees of the Department. (An elderly French-speaking clerk of the Department has kept as a special relic the long and touching personal letter written in the Prime Minister's hand which was sent to him at the time of his wife's death).

The Prime Minister continued to give attention to various measures of social legislation - loans for farmers, old age pensions - which marked the beginning of a new road. He was already thinking at this time of unemployment insurance. He was envisaging a vast programme of social insurance. There was throughout one particular difficulty. In principle, social legislation was a matter of provincial authority. The Province of Quebec, having a certain particular "rights" to safeguard, was understandably jealous of its prerogatives. And, in any case, it was difficult to apply measures such as old age pensions and especially loans for farmers at one and the same time to the provinces of the West and to Quebec. There were too many differences in the system of land-holding, methods of cultivation and in local conditions themselves. The scale of loans and the rates of interest might encourage widespread development, for example, in Manitoba, but they were scarcely applicable to the

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farms of Charlevoix county.

Then, during this period, the great wave of prosperity disguised the urgency of social measures. Economic expansion, increased from year to year, and even from month to month. The abundant harvests of the Prairies provided employment for all available men. Every available index - statistics of production, balance of trade, taxation receipts, savings bank deposits, life insurance contracts infforce, and the number of automobiles and telephones, reflected this prosperity. The port of Montreal surpassed all previous records - total tonnage imported and exported, warehousing, carloadings. The port of Vancouver advanced even more rapidly. The Canadian Pacific was able to pay handsome dividends to its shareholders, and the Canadian National, in such low water when Henry Thornton took over, was showing a profit on operations. American tourists, with full pocket books, came to Canada each summer in great numbers. The wind was set fair for optimism.

The wave of prosperity continued throughout 1927, 1928 and 1929. The cultivation of wheat in the Canadian West saw such an expansion that the Prairie provinces came to be called "the granary of the world". The federal department of Agriculture took steps to protect this national wealth by prosecuting a vigorous campaign, using all aids of science, against rust and other blights on wheat. Building upon its

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hydro electric resources, the province of Quebec had entered upon a great period of industrial expansion. The mining industry gave rise to whole new towns, first in "New Ontario", and then in "New Quebec". Canada became the fifth trading nation among all the nations of the world. The port of Montreal set a world's record for exportation of cereal grains. The port of Vancouver, which in the year 1920-21 had exported but half a million bushels of wheat,during the season of 1927-28 shipped out eighty million bushels. The C.P.R. and C.N.R. extended branch lines, constructed large hotels, ordered new steamships in Britain. The Angus shops of the Canadian Pacific built the most powerful steam locomotive in the British Empire, No. 3100. The Canadian National shops at Kingston built an ultra-modern oil-electric locomotive weighing 650,000 pounds, and generating enough electricity to light a small city. It could pull the heaviest freight trains in Canada at the fastest speed on record.

This spirit of optimism applied far more widely than to the railways alone. From month to month, and soon from day to day, announcements were made of large surpluses,of the opening of new roads, of new bridges, of new power lines, and of new factories. The words "progress, prosperity, development, optimism", reappeared twenty times in the reports of the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Bank of Commerce,

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also the Banque Canadienne Nationale. How much the leader who presided over this great expansion, which had been helped on by such measures as a readjustment of customs tariffs and freight rates - how often he must have expressed in secret his gratitude to Providence?

On October 28, 1928, the City of Quebec gave a triumphant reception to Mackenzie King on his return from Europe. All the speakers invoked the memory of Laurier. Any one else than Mackenzie King must perhaps have been put out by such an exaltation of his predecessor. But the attitude of King towards Laurier and towards the glory of Laurier was at once as clear and as disinterested as that of Ernest Lapointe towards King himself. The Prime Minister himself set the example in paying the most sincere tribute to the memory of his illustrious predecessor and his former leader. The long-time electors of Laurier paid their own tribute by their applause to King and Lapointe together - two men who provided a unique model of the most trusting kind of collaboration. The Liberal party, the party of Laurier, of King, and of Lapointe, was truly at its zenith.

Over the whole of the North American continent prosperity had reached dizzy heights. Almost inevitably intensive and unwise speculation followed in its train. In the spring of 1928, more than one hundred thousand transactions

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were recorded in a single day on the Montreal stock exchange. This was a record. During the month of November the figure jumped up to two hundred thousand transfers, at a moment when the New York stock exchange was recording five or six million transactions daily. Large corporations undertook very unwise issues of new capitalization.

. . . . . .

On the 24th of October, 1929, a sudden and catastrophic crash sent stock exchange values tumbling on the New York stock exchange. Within a minute, millions of dollars had been wiped out. A panic seized Wall Street, and it spread in turn to Montreal, Toronto, and every stock exchange on the American continent. St. James Street had never known such excitement.

This was the beginning of a world-wide economic crisis, of a gravity quite without precedent. The first disquieting symptom in Canada was the necessity of selling wheat at a loss - something which affected all kinds of transport directly and indirectly the business affairs of the whole country. Soon after, there was a crisis in the paper industry, and then all industries began to suffer, especially those which had greatly increased their capital and their equipment. Prices fell, salaries were sharply reduced, and receipts declined. The worst feature of the crisis - unemployment, increased in the cities and spread into the rural areas. The United States had

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surrounded itself with a tariff wall, thereby denying one of the principal markets for our agricultural products.

The King government gave still closer study to its budget. On the death of Mr. Robb, Charles Dunning had taken over the portfolio of finance. He sought to emphasize the British preference, and took certain measures to offset the United States tariff wall. Certain large-scale public works were halted by the government. On April 21st, 1930, the first cargo vessel passed through the locks of the new Welland canal. Linking Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, across the Niagara peninsula, the new Welland canal rounded out the great waterway of inland navigation which extends from Detroit through the Great Lakes to Duluth at the western limit of Lake Superior.. On May 24th, the Chairman of the Montreal Harbour Commission called upon Monseigneur Gauthier, Archbishop Coadjutor, to give a solemn blessing at the inauguration of the new bridge between Montreal and Longueuil. Seated in his own office in Ottawa, Mr. Mackenzie King spoke to the throng assembled on St. Helen's Island by means of telephone and loud speaker.

But, alas, gilt-edged stocks continued to decline on the exchange and the low prices for wheat aggravated the prices. In turn, the crisis put a stop to the extensive work of renovation planned by Thornton for the Canadian National Railways. American tourists became less numerous and less prodigal during the summer of 1930. The growing spectre of

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unemployment created alarm throughout the country. All in all an election as inescapable.

R. B. Bennett, leader of the Conservative party, launched a torrent of oratory across all nine provinces, stamping his campaign with a markedly economic tinge. He laid the responsibility for the crisis and for unemployment at the door of the Liberal government. He promised to do away with these evils if the people returned him to power.

During the campaign, speakers and party organizers directed their attack to one particular point: butter from New Zealand. The King government had signed a treaty with New Zealand, a good customer for the paper mills of Quebec and the motor industries of Ontario. This treaty granted favourable terms for the importation of New Zealand butter, something which at the time was unexceptional since Canadian production had never reached the level of domestic consumption. But then came the new American tariff which restricted Canadian exports of cream and of cheese. Canadian farmers began to turn their milk into butter and for this reason were opposed to the competition of the New Zealand product. Conservative speakers exploited this situation to the full. Every radio station resounded with the discussion on New Zealand butter. Rural electors already excited by the campaign refused to discuss anything else.

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And on this question, the habitants refused to allow their to talk about anything else. ~~of~~ Montreal lawyers. In short, the question of New Zealand butter played in the elections of 1930 as large a part as the constitutional issues had done in the elections of 1926. This time the offensive rested with the Conservative side.

The result of the polling showed one hundred and thirty-seven Conservatives; 87 Liberals, and small groups of United Farmers, Progressives, Socialists, and Independents. The Quebec bloc was seriously divided, for that province returned forty Liberals, twenty-four Conservatives, and an Independent, in place of sixty Liberals, four Conservatives, and one Independent. A victim of the crisis in general, and of New Zealand butter in particular, Mackenzie King gave place to R. B. Bennett, who arrived on the scene with a great bagful of promises.

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XI

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

R. B. Bennett on Trial - The Prerogatives of Parliament - Elections of October 14, 1935.

Bennett had been full of promises; much was expected of him; but in spite of his personal stature and his tremendous activity he declined rapidly in the popular view. He could offer only palliative measures, and the crisis which spread over several years got worse instead of better.

New storms swept the American exchanges from time to time and Mr. Roosevelt on assuming office as President was confronted with a task of gigantic proportions. In Canada, the depressed prices of wheat rose in a considerable measure from the setting up of a kind of cartel by the large co-operative "pools" of the West, which piled up large stocks rather than allow them to be sold at a lower price. The banks, the governments of the prairie provinces, and even the federal government encouraged them to do so. During this period, wheat from Argentine began to displace Canadian wheat on British markets.

The decline in general business activity also involved deficits for the railways. The tourist traffic was but a shadow of what it had once been. The Canadian Pacific decided to close the historic Place Viger station. The

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Canadian National halted work on the new station in Montreal. All across the country factories had to close, leaving their workers on the street. Tenants stopped paying rent. The decline in agricultural prices was even more marked than that of industrial goods. Not even the abrogation of the treaty with New Zealand prevented the fall in the price of butter. Wheat piled up in elevators, while thousands of persons suffered from hunger. Farmers were unable to pay either interest or principal on their mortgages. Within the cities new groups appeared in the already expanding ranks of the unemployed. Unemployment affected not only industrial workers but an immense group of "white collar" workers. The gravest sign of all perhaps was to see young men frankly giving up looking for work and the settling down into a state of chronic unemployment.

R. B. Bennett had never been of the school of thought of Laurier. Fortune had come to him as if by a single stroke of a magic wand. He had never been Deputy Minister of Labour nor a mediator in industrial conflicts. He was less accustomed than Mackenzie King to overcome obstacles, to deal patiently with the obstruction of men and of circumstances. Above all he had a despotic temperament. Mackenzie King, as Laurier had done, left to each minister the oversight and the responsibility for his own department. R. B. Bennett gathered into his own hands the duties of his colleagues, was always

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on his feet ahead of them to answer questions in the House, and he took important decisions without consulting them. Observing Bennett talking to himself, old hands whispered: "he is holding a cabinet meeting". The Prime Minister has customarily been President of the Privy Council and Secretary of State for External Affairs. Bennett took on all these duties and in addition kept for himself the portfolio of finance. The size of his parliamentary majority inclined him to assume dictatorial powers. Things went from bad to worse. Railway earnings were cut in half. Sir Henry Thornton, given indifferent support by the new government, finally resigned. The farmers of the West, in the face of a desperate situation, urged that a Wheat Board should be established, on the order of the Board first instituted during the Great War, to fix or to guarantee a minimum price. When they could not obtain any satisfaction, the prairie provinces began to talk of secession. Bennett lost some of his torrents of eloquence and he no longer worked twelve hours every day. He gave up the portfolio of finance.

The question of unemployment was far the most urgent. During the electoral campaign, Mackenzie King had urged that an interprovincial conference should be held under the auspices of the federal government and with the participation of various national organizations - Labour, Social, Church bodies, etc.

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From the beginning of the session of 1931, he had urged the appointment of a committee which should supervise the payment of federal subsidies and coordinate the efforts of all authorities, federal, provincial and municipal. Bennett rejected this suggestion and set up a system in which considerable sums were paid out without any parliamentary control. How were these funds to be divided and used? Bennett and his ministers hesitated between two alternatives: direct assistance, or public works, more lasting but more costly. They were engaged in perpetual squabbles with the Taschereau government in Quebec. The federal cabinet favoured a tripartite system, with contributions from the federal government, the provincial governments, and the municipalities. But for some of the municipalities this was quite impossible. The costs of municipal government were already heavy, and their tax receipts were greatly impaired. (The single city of Quebec had five million dollars of unpaid taxes.) A fair number of cities were faced with default and several passed under the supervision of the municipal commission. The provincial ministers, well informed about the situation, wished to have the burden of unemployment assistance divided between Ottawa and Quebec without contributions from the municipalities. Bennett's reply was a peremptory "no". The verification of accounts gave rise to countless friction. The governments at Ottawa and Quebec each in turn denied responsibility for delays

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in payment. The federal government said that after all its share was entirely benevolent, for the relief of unemployment inevitably fell upon the provincial and municipal authorities. Ottawa and Quebec exchanged sour notes, reproaches, denials. The unemployed just waited and suffered.

In the House of Commons, Bennett was confronted by adversaries who were undiscouraged by defeat. The important place of the loyal opposition in the British parliamentary system has already been mentioned. Mackenzie King, in turn, was to fill this place. His position was somewhat like that of Laurier, who was Leader of the Opposition during the war. Mackenzie King took the same attitude: no unnecessary opposition to measures required by the grave state of crisis, but the most persistent and vigorous defence of the rights of Parliament. In criticizing the blank cheque issued by the Prime Minister, Mackenzie King defended Liberal principles. He criticized not the establishment of the Bank of Canada, but the provisions which removed the control of the new agency from Parliament. At the beginning of each session, and on a number of other important occasions, he made a speech lasting three or four hours. Quite the opposite of Bennett he rarely showed anger. He was never lacking in politeness. But while he was on his feet, for three or four hours at a stretch, he did not spare his opponent. Bennett, who never suffered contradition easily, followed with great impatience. King would

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continue his speech up to the closing hour of the House so that an immediate reply was not possible.

It would have been a spectacle if Bennet had been able to find, before the session of the following day, some loophole, some contradiction, some unsupported statement in the speech of his adversary! But the Liberal leader was both prudent and skilful. Well able to outline clearly in a few phrases the main issues in a debate, he was equally able, having been Prime Minister and President of the Council, to surround his remarks with sufficient precautions and reserve so that he was never caught off guard. Bennett fumed in silence.

The methods of the Conservative leader did not commend themselves to the country. One of his chief lieutenants - H. H. Stevens, broke with him. Others sought a coalition with the Liberal leaders, who never even considered the idea. At last Mr. Bennett advocated certain social reforms, such as unemployment insurance, already outlined by King and discussed in some detail in the book "Industry and Humanity". King and Lapointe certainly approved the principle of unemployment insurance, but they pointed out (I) that the moment was badly chosen for if it was unemployment assistance which was required in 1934-35 it was a question not of prevention but of cure; (2) that the constitution placed certain kinds of legislation under provincial jurisdiction and any measure drawn up without consultation and the consent of the provinces would sooner or

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later be set aside by the higher courts. In the realm of social reforms it was evident that Bennett could never equal either Woodsworth or Mackenzie King.

But the time for the settling of scores was at hand. The general election was fixed for October 14, 1935. Ten by-elections had been held during the preceding three months in all parts of the country. Mackenzie King had taken part personally in each campaign. The Liberals had won nine victories, and had appreciably reduced the Conservative majority in the tenth contest. Almost on the eve of the elections, on August 14, Bennett appointed the Wheat Board long demanded by agricultural interests in the West.

During the campaign of 1930, Bennett had criticized certain proposals of his opponent in these terms: "There is no need for a conference on unemployment. The solution of this problem is readily apparent. What you want is not conferences, it is work. You will have work." But in 1935 the number of unemployed in Canada was nearly four hundred thousand. A new orgy of promises was to be quite vain. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe, sturdy defenders of the parliamentary tradition, set up in opposition to the dictatorial attitude of the Prime Minister the rights of Parliament itself. Then Mackenzie King outlined a programme based upon Liberal principles: the greatest degree of initiative for private interests, and, especially, the

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most cordial relations with foreign countries in order to reduce customs tariff. The problem to be solved was a problem of distribution rather than of production. Canada had to be able to seel in world markets her great surplus production of primary products - wheat, lumber, pulp, and dairy products. The obstacles would have to be removed from free exchange of currency. The growth of business activiyy would help to end unemployment. Finally, the Liberals, if elected, would bring in various measures of social insurance.

Mackenzie King began his campaign by a tour of the Maritime provinces. On his return westward , he visited Quebec on September 7th. His visit coincided with a convention of young Liberals from all over the province. To a meeting at St. Roch, a veritable general staff accompanied the Chief: Ernest Lapointe, Fernand Rinfret, Lucien Cannon, Alexander Taschereau, Adelard Godbout, Joseph-Edouard Perrault, Napoleon Francoeur, Damien Bouchard, and thirty-four Liberal candidates from the Quebec district. "I can never come to Quebec", began Mackenzie King, "without being surrounded by remembrances of Laurier". Once again, he referred to his absolute confidence in his "loyal and very dear friend" Ernest Lapointe. Indeed, there has never been a collaboration more trustworthy, more intimate and more complete than between King and Lapointe. The two leaders and

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their friends reflected the sober thought which the moment demanded. An immense crowd applauded them enthusiastically. After this meeting in Quebec, Mackenzie King went on to Ontario and the West.

The unemployment crisis had aroused a good deal of uneasiness and a few disturbances, especially in the West. The "hunger marchers" had set off for Ottawa. Bennett, with the backing of industry and protectionist finance, began to charge his adversaries with extremist sympathies, and even to pretend that there was a fusion between Liberals and Communists. Both King and Lapointe most strongly repudiated any connection with the disturbances. At last, Italy prepared to conquer Ethiopia. John Bull raised his eyebrows. Mackenzie King undertook not to commit the country to war without the expressed approval of Parliament. Such a guarantee seemed less forthcoming from Bennett, a notorious Imperialist. Henri Bourassa, standing as an Independent candidate, urged his hearers to vote for King, who represented "moderation, a devotion to the cause of social advancement, and who was personally disinterested". For his part, the grandson of Mackenzie hoped for the re-election of the grandson of Papineau. Bourassa himself, so long and so roundly attacked in the Soleil, now became in the eyes of this great Quebec newspaper "an impartial and well-informed witness".

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On his return from the West, Mackenzie King held a triumphant rally in Toronto on October 8th. He concluded his campaign at Montreal on the 11th. All the Liberal candidates of the Montreal district, from Arthur Cardin to Fernand Rinfret, surrounded him on the vast stage of the Arena.

On the 14th, a great boom swept across the country. The electors returned to the House of Commons one hundred and sixty-nine Liberals, forty-two Conservatives, thirteen supporters of Social Credit, and H. H. Stevens, the single member of the party which he had tried to found. The province of Quebec of itself returned sixty Liberals among its sixty-five Members. Mackenzie King commanded the largest parliamentary majority in our history. He became Prime Minister once more for a period longer and more momentous than he could perhaps have imagined.

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XII

A Work of Reconstruction

Gradual economic improvement - The Railway Systems - Mining development - The Bank of Canada.

The new King administration assumed power on October 23, 1935. It was at once confronted with two problems closely connected with each other: the tangled state of business affairs, and the crisis of unemployment.

Bennett had thought that it would be possible to settle these problems by a few prompt decisions. When confronted with the facts, he had however tried to place the responsibility on the provinces while at the same time impinging upon their rights. King did not believe in the existence of any magic remedy, but in the possibility of gradual re-establishment, assisted by various new measures. Bennett had often taken decisions quite by himself. King and his colleagues held frequest consultations, in the manner in which great lawyers, famous doctors, or noted architects study a problem together. Their opinions were compared, modified, and then decided upon.

The King government took on its new responsibilities, at the same time giving due weight to the provinces. It consulted the Supreme Court concerning the validity of social legislation of the Bennett regime, called together an interprovincial

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conference and appointed a National Employment Commission. So much for measures of urgency. King and Lapointe, by temparament and by training, were bound to be interested in measures extending over a long period of time. It was an improvement on the stock exchange which would in turn bring about an increase in transport, the resumption of employment, and the raising of salaries. Mackenzie King hoped to be able to modify the effect of the economic crisis and perhaps to solve it completely by encouraging external trade. His government therefore lowered customs tariffs and negotiated trade treaties with foreign countries.

Bennett, protectionist and imperialist, had threatened the United States with a tariff war. Later he had organized an Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, in 1932. The United States believed that the Ottawa agreements were directed against American business. By an brusque note of November 14, 1934, Bennett broke off negotiations with Washington. He was ready to offer - too quickly, without knowing what he could obtain in return - the benefits of a most-favoured-nation clause and particular concessions covering a certain number of articles. But the Americans were not at all disposed to enter into agreement with this new-blown protectionism which menaced them with dumping. Eleven months later negotiations were no further ahead.

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The Bennett cabinet had in addition placed an embargo on all Russian goods and declared commercial war upon Japan, a large importer of Canadian products from the forest, the farms, and the mines. It refused to value the yen for customs purposes at the current rate of exchange. It discriminated against Japanese merchandise by a dumping duty. On March 13, 1935, the Tokyo government handed in an official protest. On July 20, the Bennett government modified its evaluation of the yen, but only very slightly. The same day Japan imposed a super tax of fifty per cent ad valorem on wheat, flour, lumber, pulp, and wrapping paper imported from Canada. On the 22nd, Ottawa replied with a super tax of 33 1/3 per cent on all Japanese merchandise whether imported directly or indirectly. It is unnecessary to add that the Soviet Republic countered embargo by embargo, with the further prohibition of the use of Canadian ships to carry goods to Russia. It was commercial war right in the middle of a desperate economic situation.

Mackenzie King came back officially to office on October 23, 1935. The very next morning he clapped on his silk hat and went to call on the Minister of Japan. Negotiations were now reopened in a cordial atmosphere. On the 6th of November the Prime Minister left for Washington. On the 9th, he announced that a projected agreement was being discussed. On the 15th, he signed with the United States a real reciprocity treaty. The two

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countries gave to each other most-favoured-nation treatment; Canada reduced duties on sixty-eight articles and abolished them entirely on twenty others; the United States reduced duties on sixty-three commodities. On February 25, 1936, the eighteenth Parliament of Canada, at its first session, was informed of the draft agreement. On the 8th of April, Royal Assent was given to legislation approving the treaty. On May 14th, diplomatic ratifications were exchanged at Ottawa. This time Mackenzie King had acted quickly. He had realized a dream of his Liberal predecessors, Laurier, Cartwright, Fielding.

The dispute with Japan had been smoothed out during the interval by an exchange of notes. The two countries removed at once the super taxes which had been imposed by way of reprisal. Ottawa accepted the current rate for yen on all merchandise of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada and fixed a reasonable tariff for other kinds of merchandise. Between October, 1935, and September, 1939, twelve other commercial treaties were negotiated with countries in Europe and America and were signed and carried into effect. The treaty with the United Kingdom, signed on February 23, 1937, reduced duties on one hundred and seventy-nine articles which had in 1936 an import value of twenty-seven million dollars. The embargo on Russian products was lifted. The King government was proceeding, as the Prime Minister himself had described, towards the liberation of external trade.

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Between 1936 and 1939 this trade increased, in round numbers, by forty per cent, and left an increasingly favourable balance of trade. Despite tariff reductions, custom revenue gradually increased.

The selling of wheat at a loss was at once both the cause and the effect of large accumulated stores of wheat, encouraged alike by the Pools, by the Western provinces, and even by the federal government. Between August 1, 1934, and August 1, 1935, Canadian wheat in store increased by nine million bushels at a moment when world stocks of wheat were diminishing at the rate of two hundred and fifty million bushels a year. On the eve of the elections, Bennett had set up a Wheat Board, long demanded by prairie agriculture. The King government continued the Board but changed the members of it. Instead of fixing a price the Board now guaranteed a minimum price of 87½ cents per bushel. A parliamentary committee, and later a royal commission, urged that the policy of the Wheat Board should be maintained at least until there was a return to normal conditions. At the 1st of August, 1935, Canadian elevators had in storage more than two hundred and three million bushels. This surplus was reduced to thirty-seven million bushels by August 1, 1937, and to twenty-five million bushels a year later.

Mackenzie King also worked with a smaller cabinet, through a consolidation of departments, of which a number were already playing a double role. The Minister of Mines and

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Resources co-ordinated together mines, interior, immigration and colonization, indian affairs. The Minister of Transport brought together the former departments of Marine, Railways and Canals, Civil Aviation. This last consolidation permitted a collective solution of important and complicated problems. The King government was safeguarding the integrity of the C.N.R. which, towards the end of the Bennett regime, had appeared to be in doubt. It was no mystery that the Canadian Pacific - the most flourishing system - the largest employer and the greatest taxpayer of the country - had for many years exercised a considerable influence on federal politics. Certain Prime Ministers, such as Abbott and Tupper, had almost been designated by the C.P.R. The C.P.R. treasured an avowed ambition to have a monopoly of transportation and was working towards this end, Set aside by the upbuilding of the C.N.R. by Thornton, this ambition emerged again during the stringent times brought about by the economic crisis. Bennett was notoriously sympathetic towards the C.P.R., had to defend himself against charges that he was looking toward a fusion which would be of greatest benefit to the C.P.R. Despite his promises - "amalagamation never, competition ever" - the Conservative Prime Minister had among his immediate followers active partisans of amalagamation. This was also the secret object of the promoters of a political coalition. Mackenzie King put an end to these manoeuvres and it could truly

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be said that the railway systems were not going to govern the country. The government gave encouragement to the development of civil aviation, much retarded by the crisis. The trans-Canadian route was the shortest between North America and Europe and also between North America and Asia. It took on the highest commercial and strategic importance. Montreal might become the great aerial crossroads of North America. The King government set up Trans-Canada Air Lines, which in 1939 comprised forty-four air services covering fifteen thousand air miles of route.

The work of reconstruction was rounded out by a variety of projects: contributions towards public works undertaken by the provinces with the approval of the federal administration;[x] reforestation in the national parks; health and recreation programmes for Canadian youth, the home improvement plan and the national housing act; and legislation to enable municipal taxes to be reduced. The fifty thousand loans allowed under the home improvement plan greatly helped the construction industry. In short, while unemployment was not entirely done away with, it was reduced by forty per cent, that is to say a proportion corresponding to the improvement in external ~~affairs.~~ Rade

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x As a result of the following acts, each following the same principle; Unemployment Assistance Act, 1936; Agricultural Unemployment Assistance Act, 1937; Unemployment Assistance and Agricultural Assistance, 1938; 1939; 1940.

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The earnings of the C.N.R. greatly improved. The deficit on the federal budget was cut down from one hundred and sixty million dollars in 1936 to seventy-eight million dollars in 1937, to less than fourteen million dollars in 1938, and this despite the heavy assistance given to southern Saskatchewan which had experienced a severe and prolonged drought. The government was able to float loans at advantageous rates. The "cut" applied by the Bennett government to Civil Service salaries was removed as from April 1, 1937.

Step by step, in a manner of a convalescent, economic recovery came about almost imperceptibly. It was not complete in 1939. But one aspect of the general progress - expansion in the mining industries - was so rapid as to grip the imagination. In 1935 the value of mineral production had already reached three hundred and ten million dollars. The first budget presented by Mr. Dunning in 1936 gave an exemption from taxation for new mines which should come into production before January 1, 1943. The Department of Mines undertook geological investigations and topographical surveys. Both the federal and provincial governments developed communications in the mining regions. Canada moved to the fore as one of the great mineral producers of the world. Whole new towns sprang up. Adventurous young Canadians were attracted to the North, which now became the expanding frontier of the American continent. This last was perhaps the

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most encouraging sign of all for the future of the country.

R. B. Bennett gave up the struggle; and he resigned the leadership of the Conservative party in March 1938. Within the time that Mackenzie King had been the leader of the Liberal party, three leaders - Borden, Meighen and Bennett, had been successfully at the head of the Conservatives. Mackenzie King, leader for twenty years, of which twelve had been at the head of the government, and with Ernest Lapointe as his right-hand man, could look back upon an experience which only Macdonald and Laurier, ahead of him, had possessed. King and Lapointe, in the authentic tradition of Laurier, were concerned always with the sovereignty of Parliament. For the rest, they based their Liberalism on the doctrine of "a happy medium", a middle road between the "laissez-faire" of the earliest doctrinaire Liberals and the state socialism of the still newer Socialist doctrinaire. The one-time Minister of Labour remained opposed, in principle, to compulsory arbiration. His preferences inclined to the conciliatory intervention of the State, with the full support of the government, and over the whole field of activity the smallest control by the State, such as the regulation of credit and the issuing of currency.

In order to ensure that the control of the government should be supreme in the Bank of Canada, the government overhauled

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the Bank of Canada act. The Bank had a share capital of five million dollars. It now issued new shares called Class B shares to a total of five million five hundred thousand dollars, all bought by the government. Thereafter, a majority of the directors were appointed by the government - by the government responsible to Parliament, which was itself responsible to the people. This solution, combining the public interest with private interest, with the predominance of the former, applied during a period of transition. On August 15, 1938, the government acquired all outstanding shares of the original issue (Class A) at the average market price between January 1st and May 27th (the date on which this step had been announced). Thereafter the federal government had entire control of the Bank of Canada.

Armand, Lavergne and Oscar Boulanger had raised the question of bilingual currency at the moment when the Bank of Canada had been established under the Bennett regime. They demanded bank notes printed in both languages. Attacked by the Tories, and treated with indifference by the French-Canadian ministers, they were stranded. The government made provision for separate issues of English language notes and French language notes. This decision, an inevitable source of difficulty and friction, greatly injured French-Canadian opinion. But with the Liberals in power, Ernest Lapointe was able to obtain without difficulty paper currency printed in both languages.

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Mackenzie King never harboured prejudices. He was well disposed towards the province of Quebec and he explained himself ~~for~~ the three reasons for his view: the province of Quebec had carried him to the head of the Liberal party; it had always given him large majorities; and it had provided him with trusted lieutenants - Lapointe, Cardin, Dandurand - in whom he placed the greatest confidence.

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XIII

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Dominion-Provincial Relations

Disallowance ~~Boodocks~~ by the Federal Government - Unemployment Insurance - Beautification of Ottawa.

While the general picture was an agreeable one, the King regime passed through a number of difficult situations. Tension was always simmering between the federal government and the provinces, and it tended to increase, as the federal government growing in power and prestige, began to legislate in new fields - such as aviation and radio - which were quite unknown in 1867. We have seen that the Bennett government had been in perpetual conflict with the Taschereau administration. The King government found itself at odds with three provincial premiers: Aberhart, leader of the Social Credit government of Alberta; Duplessis, head of the Union Nationale government in Quebec; and Hepburn, the Liberal premier of Ontario. They were quite a handful. The party labels and still more the party platforms set the two first premiers over against the federal ministers. As for Hepburn, young and impulsive, though the impulses often were good, the battle was strongly influenced by differences in temparament.

In the provincial elections in Alberta on August 22, 1935, the Social Credit party had carried the government by electing fifty-six members as against five Liberals and two

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Conservatives. They advocated quite new economic theories, and sought to apply them in practice. The legislation arising from these theories was directed against the chartered banks, holding charters from the federal government and doing business throughout the country. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, began to study the question of disallowance.

King and Lapointe in turn set up this principle: a federation cannot carry on without a large measure of tolerance and mutual respect between the federal and provincial governments. Disallowance is an exceptional measure, and one only to be used in cases - fortunately rare - where provincial decisions impinge upon the federal powers and may thereby unsettle all of the country. As these conditions seem to have been created - to him it seemed that the attempted infringement was even deliberate - the Minister of Justice recommended on August 10, 1937, that the three Alberta laws should be disallowed. The cabinet ap-proved this recommendation. The Canada Gazette published the triple disallowance.

Aberhart and the Legislature protested vigorously that the federal right of disallowance no longer existed; and they declared they would carry into effect laws passed by that legislature so long as the courts had not pronounced them un-constitutional. The federal government referred the cases to

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the Supreme Court and placed before this highest tribunal the legislation which had been disallowed. At the same time Lieutenant Governor Bowen reserved his assent to three other acts. The Supreme Court began its hearings on January 10, 1938, and handed down its decisions less than two months afterwards: the bills which had been disallowed were unconstitutional; the federal right of disavowal had always existed without restriction or limit. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council confirmed this judgment the following July.

In the interval, the Union Nationale following had taken over power in Quebec. On March 17, 1937, this government voted the so-called "padlock act", directed against Communist propaganda. The Attorney General had power to close any building used for the spreading of seditious propaganda, to confiscate all kinds of Communistic literature, and to prosecute persons who distributed such publications. On the whole, this act was approved by the Conservative press, including the Montreal Gazette and the Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph. It was roundly condemned by the Liberal press including the Toronto Star and the Winnipeg Free Press. According to the influential J. W. Dafoe, Editor-in-chief of the Free Press, and long-time personal friend of the Prime Minister, this was "probably the only law of this kind in a supposedly free country".

Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec, and

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Monsignor Georges Gauthier, Archbishop of Montreal, both praised - the one by radio and the other in a pastoral letter - this padlock law. The great majority of the "National" associations of the province of Quebec expressed the same view in their ordinary meetings. But the Civil Liberties Union, drawing its members all across the country from advanced Liberals and members of the C.C.F., conducted an active campaign against this "attack upon freedom of expression".

In carrying out the padlock act, the police staged a raid on the office of the weekly newspaper Clarte on November 9, 1937. Other raids and similar seizures followed. The same groups applauded or protested. The disavowal of Alberta laws was being argued back and forth. The Civil Liberties Union urged the federal government to set aside the Quebec act in the same way as the Alberta acts had been disallowed.

Mackenzie King left the conduct of the matter to Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, who was the more competent to deal with it since it related to his own province. Lapointe was willing to bring together a conference of representatives from Quebec and delegates from the Civil Liberties Union under his chairmanship. There never had been any excess of sympathy between the Liberal government at Ottawa and the National Union government at Quebec. Duplessis declined the invitation "for reasons of simple logic". Lapointe received the lawyers of the

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Civil Liberties Union at a meeting lasting two hours on March 30, 1938. At this moment the victory of the federal government over the Aberhart cabinet was being made plain.

Here then was Ernest Lapointe, the embodiment of good sense, confronted by two contrary arguments. In all probability the Prime Minister would endorse whatever decision he came to. Ernest Lapointe weighed the arguments, the circumstances of the moment, the possible repercussions.

The opponents of the act represented that it conferred an arbitrary power upon the Attorney General and upon the police acting under his orders. Some among the opponents believed that the act was directed against international trade unions. Still others went to the extent of believing that it singled out the Jews, among whom had been found many of the leaders of Communist sympathizers. They tended to identify anti-Communism with anti-Semitism. The padlock act in their view was a measure inspired by Fascist and clerical sources, and perhaps even demanded by the Cardinal. The Civil Liberties Union declared that the act was a grave danger to national unity.

It happened that the opponents of the act - members of the Civil Liberties Union - were nearly from outside the province of Quebec. The padlock act, voted by the Quebec legislature, to apply within the province of Quebec, corresponded

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to the state of mind of that province at that moment. For French-Canadians, Communism was less an economic doctrine than a kind of irreligion, of atheism, even of anti-Christianity. They thought of the padlock act as a protection for their church, their clergy, their faith. The Cardinal, the Archbishop of Montreal, the great French-Canadian association, each of them interpreted in this way and welcomed it accordingly. It would be quite impolitic for the Liberal government to give any kind of systematic protection to the Communist party. This would have been to justify Bennett, who tended to link the Liberal government with extremist ideas during the last electoral campaign.

Lapointe brought his own conclusions to a meeting of the cabinet. He was disinclined to recommend disallowance of the act for the following reasons: (I) The majority of the persons opposed to the act resided outside the province of Quebec. (2) The federal government had laid it down as a rule that it would have recourse to disallowance only in cases of clear infringement of federal or imperial rights. These conditions applying in the case of the Alberta acts did not apply in the case of the Quebec padlock act. (3) Disallowance was an extraordinary power, rarely exercised and which ought to be exercised only rarely. Disallowance was also in certain respects a political weapon to the use of which it would be preferable to have recourse to the courts when it was not a

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matter of urgency. It was still always open to individuals to attack the constitutionality of the padlock law before the courts.

The cabinet approved. The King government did not disallow the padlock act.

These striking incidents unhappily did nothing to improve the relationship between King and the three provincial premiers, Aberhart, Duplessis and Hepburn. Bennett never pardoned an affront. King had much more control of himself, was much more forbearing; differences of opinion with him did not leave acerbity or rancour in future dealings. Nevertheless, the contests with Aberhart, with Duplessis, and especially perhaps with Hepburn, took a violent turn. But the federal ministers rallied to the support of their leader at a moment when there was no approach to a complete understanding among provincial premiers. It was clear that in all such conflicts the King government would emerge victorious. It would give its support in provincial elections to men whose cooperation with it was assured.

The question of provincial rights also held back the inauguration of a plan of social insurance which had taken shape in the mind of Mackenzie King. The specialist in Labour questions sought, as he had done for years, to free the working classes from the fears which assailed them, among which the greatest was the fear of unemployment. It was true that unemployment insurance, the first step in a plan of social security,

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had appeared on the programme of the Liberal convention of 1919 at which he had been elected to the leadership of the Liberal party. Before electing Bennett to the head of the Conservative party, the Winnipeg convention of 1927 had approved the same principle. In the same year, the question had been discussed at an interprovincial conference. But who would be likely to be concerned with unemployment insurance at this particular time? And it had to be remembered that the constitution gave jurisdiction in such matters to the provinces.

x The provinces had joined in a federation to create the new Canada. They had at that time signed a compact / this is certainly not true - J.A.G. /. In entrusting to a central authority questions of the most general interest and concern the provinces did not undertake to renounce all individuality orall powers for themselves. The province of Quebec wishing to safeguard certain particular and very precious traits in the eyes of its own population, held more strongly than the ? others to the protection of its own autonomy. The impingements upon the federal power might be quite without importance in Alberta, but very grave for Quebec. As often as Ottawa assumed new powers in a new area of government, the French-Canadian population ran the risk of being submerged within this area to a kind of inspection quite foreign to its mentality, to regulations drawn up in a quite different spirit and from a different way of life. Assistance to agriculture had already

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provided an example of the difficulty. The simple fact of having to translate all documents was of itself a handicap. Finally, in the realm of social assistance, the greater part of our institutions carried with them a religious character which does not exist at all/or which does not exist in the same degree in the other provinces. Many English-speaking Canadians have not thought about this situation at all. Among those who do understand it, there is one who surpasses all others. Those among our leaders who are on good terms with well-disposed English-speaking Canadians - at the head of whom ranks Mackenzie King - ought to do their share to provide enlightenment on the subject. In the past, and ever since Confederation, the Liberal party has always been put forward as the party most favourable to provincial autonomy. From its ranks have come the greatest champions of this case - Oliver Mowat, in Ontario; Honore Mercier, in the province of Quebec.

The idea of unemployment insurance - and the idea of social security in general - was neverthless growing. The Committee on Industrial Relations gave support to the idea in 1928 and repeated it in 1929. In May 1929 the House of Commons discussed at some length a motion brought forward by Mr. A. A. Heaps, envisaging a transfer of authority from the provinces to the federal government in order to facilitate the establishment of a system of social insurance. In the view of Ernest Lapointe,

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Minister of Justice, such a transfer would require an amendment to the British North America Act. There were several governments, the Quebec government first among them, which considered the B.N.A. Act as the essential guarantee of provincial rights. They were suspicious of any attempt at amendment lest a precedent should be created. With Quebec at the head, several provinces entered their reservations. The matter dragged on. During the campaign of 1935, Mackenzie King promised tobring in unemployment insurance "as an essential plank of the Liberal platform". In 1937, in a letter addressed to the provincial premiers, he proposed to amend the constitution by adding to Article 91 of the British North America Act a clause which would enable the federal government to set up a system of unemployment insurance. The battle with Alberta was still raging, and no close understanding seemed possible. The King government had just appointed a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (the Rowell Commission). It was now decided to await the report of this Commission. Meanwhile the government was at some pains to see that unemployment insurance should have a part in any general overhauling of relations between the ~~relations~~ federal government and the provinces.

These typical incidents illustrate the difficulties which confront any government of Canada. The ship of state had to tack back and forth amid a thousand reefs and shoals. Sudden squalls might blow it off its course. Nevertheless it

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must advance under the guidance of a wise captain, who now began to resemble a veritable old sea dog.

Mackenzie King constantly had as his right-hand man, Ernest Lapointe, the good natured giant of a man, with clear eyes, and with the accent of Kamouraska, whose whole person and whose words always reflected something of balance, of common sense, and of a closeness to reality. King had loyal colleagues of whom / after 1940 / one was the grandson of his first patron, William Mulock. Both from his experience and his skill, King has had no superior and perhaps no equal in the Canadian Parliament. Always polite and tactful, he dealt firmly with the Opposition and did not give its members opportunity to pick holes in his argument. He watched over the setting up of the National Film Board, the progress of the National Broadcasting System, the extension of the diplomatic service, and the great enhancement of the prestige of Canada throughout the world. As he grew older he sough to have his name linked with the beautification of Ottawa, so that Canada should have a capital city worthy of the great destiny which beckoned from ahead. A sub-committee of ministers studied this question. The celebrated French/architect and town planner Greber submitted plans and created a scale model of the future capital. The Prime Minister himself formally opened the new Post Office building. He wrote, bought the stamp for, and posted the first letter which passed through this new building.

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It was a letter addressed to Sir William Mulock, who nearly forty years before had first brought Mackenzie King into the public service, who had pressed him forward into public life nearly thirty years earlier, and who had not been able to come to Ottawa because despite his active mind he was approaching his one hundredth birthday.

XIV

Into Torment

External Affairs - Problems of War and after War - Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe.

King and Lapointe were strong believers in parliamentary ddemocracy and in the League of Nations. The Prime Minister of Canada is also Secretary of State for External Affairs. The principles which guided him in his conduct of External Affairs between 1935 and 1939 can be glimpsed from a sort of "agenda" which he himself had a large part in drawing up. These principles include: safeguarding the freedom of action of Canada; contributing to the maintenance of peace; generally having recourse to conciliation and co-operation rather than to compulsion and coercion; non-intervention in concerns affecting primarily Europe and Asia as an ordinary rule; Canada could not remain indiffierent "to the fate of democratic institutions or to the sufferings of oppressed minorities".

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The art of speaking without commitments is as indispensable to heads of states as it is to diplomatic representatives. At the opening of the Canadian Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition on July 2, 1937, Mackenzie King made an important speech. The correspondent of Reuter's Agency credited him with these words: "Certain persons have imagined, since the Imperial Conference, that Canada wishes to retire forthwith from the business of the Commonwealth. This is absolutely false. We wish to conduct our own affairs, but any menace to Britain would bring Canada immediately to her side." London newspapers reprinted this text, and Chamberlain in a speech at Albert Hall on the 8th of July commented on "the remarkable speech of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who said that any menace to Britain would bring Canada immediately to her side".

But the reporter of the Canadian Press in Paris, taking down a more complete and more exact transcription, showed that Mr. King had said something quite different: "The persons who share this opinion do not understand at all the link which binds the people of the British Commonwealth. We wish to manage our own affairs. But the fact that we have our own representation in other countries is xxxxxxxxxxxx an evidence of the freedom which we cherish above everything else.

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"And any danger which might menace that freedom, from whatever source, would bring us together anew to protect it".

This had a sound which was not at all the same. These sentences contain ~~definite~~ strong commitments, however undefined, Mackenzie King, however, did not trouble to disavow the Reuter's version, reproduced by the Times and quoted by Chamberlain, at that moment. The reason for this he gave later on, on April 1st, 1938, in the House of Commons. He said that he had no wish "to encourage the public to speculate upon the significance of this or that, or to embarrass the European situation more than was necessary ..... a disavowal of this statement, at that moment, would have been to attribute to my words a significance which, in certain quarters, might have been mistunderstood and wrongly interpreted." An immediate disavowal of the Reuter version might have had the appearance of a formal declaration of neutrality and in this way have encouraged the enemies of Britain.

For already to men who were informed of the situation a new war appeared inevitable. Germany was preparing for war. Britain and France were preparing for war - very imperfectly. Britain wished naturally enough to have the support of the Dominions. Various emissaries of Empire went about making speeches. The visit of the King and Queen aroused great enthusiasm.

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In good time, the King government took a certain number of measures to increase th defence of Canada: reorganization of the Militia, manufacture of light machine guns, anti-submarine installations at Halifax and at Esquimalt, development of the Air Force. The financial appropriation for this latter service was increased from six million eight hundred thousand dollars for the fiscal year 1936-37 to nearly twelve million dollars for 1937-38, and as much more for 1938-39. This amount would not provide for attacks upon an enemy in Europe, but it would ensure the provision of air bases, landing fields, hangars, gasoline dumps, etc., in Canada.

Mackenzie King had carefully weighed all methods: blind acceptance of British policy; consultation with Great Britain in case of urgency; a categorical declaration of neutrality in any case of war; a decision taken by the Canadian Parliament. He came down strongly for this last solution. While awaiting whatever decision Parliament might take, the Canadian government remained in close contact with the United Kingdom government and hastened forward certain "reasonable" defenceworks. While preparing for the most grave eventualities, Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe ramined in complete accordance, and both of them, full of experience, were aware of the strain which inevitable differences of opinion would inflict upon the

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national unity in case of war. They concluded that we could not hope to adopt a rigorously logical position; their solution was perhaps not ideal but it was the best in the circumstances.

. . . . . .

The reader knows well enough the chain of events which led Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe to steel their hearts in the process of becoming leaders of a nation at war. All of these events still belong to the present. History will sort them out and hold them up for study later on. History will lay great stress, no doubt, on one aspect of the role of Mackenzie King as Prime Minister of a country which is at one and the same time a part of the British Commonwealth and of the North American continent. Mackenzie King had had a long preparation for this role by his earlier relationships with our neighbours to the South and he was therefore able to contribute substantially to the rapprochement of Great Britain and the United States. The Quebec Conference of 1943 well illustrates this aspect to which history will attach such great importance. In that picture Mackenzie King will be one of the small number of men who have exercised a direct influence upon the great events of history. He has used the opportunity also, under the broadening prestige of Canada, to round out our diplomatic representation which today is on a level with that of the great powers. But every day, every hour, has been laden with

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formidable responsibilities. One remembers that from the first Great War Borden emerged quite worn out.

The war has shaken many ideas, overturned many customary attitudes, and in consequence our national life will never be exactly the same as it was before. Canada has been the one country among all the countries at war in which the government has best succeeded xxxxxxxx in stablizing the cost of living and in prevent inflation. The government is also preparing widespread plans for social security in order to bring about in our country that freedom from fear which sociologists define as the condition of a less imperfect world and which Mackenzie King had set out in 1918 in his book "Industry and Humanity".

Never has any Prime Minister of Canada found himself confronted with problems so numerous, so vast, so complex. The tasks of Macdonald and of Laurier were but child's play compared with these new responsibilities. What changes there had been even since the first year Mackenzie King xxxxxxxx had been Prime Minister in 1921! It was fortunate that the man who was the most experienced parliamentarian of all had watched over these changes. His had been a long vision. He knew all the inner workings and indeed this man who was constitutionally opposed to titles and to honorary distinctions of all kinds kept a certain respect for the formalism of governmental administration. The one-time Deputy Minister still survived

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inside him, conscientious and painstaking. He continued to make an ally out of Time, to humour the Opposition, to allow himself to be found wanting in argument. His thought unwound itself slowly; his every word was weighed and balanced; he came back to the same ideas several times in a single speech. Occasionally it was thought he was timid. But if he were really aroused, his immediate and impromptu replies took on an eloquence and a surprising vigour. To the end, Mackenzie King found in Ernest Lapointe a friend and confidant for every need of the day, so that one was able to speak of the King-Lapointe cabinet. Their close alliance and intimate friendship seemed to symbolize a kind of national unity and both of them following the same empirical methods well knew where their thought was leading them.

In November 1941 Ernest Lapointe had entered Notre Dame hospital in Montreal. Mackenzie King heard the news by telephone. The life of Ernest Lapointe was in jeopardy. The sturdy Scottish mentality which never gave anything away of its intimate feeling almost poured out the sound ~~that~~ "give him my love - give him my love".

Mackenzie King made several visits to Ernest Lapointe, who was languishing in hospital and who feared he might pass on at the very hour when his leader and friend had most need of him. Mackenzie King went to St. Lin to take part in the celebrations of the centenary of Laurier's birth. On his way he stopped at the

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hospital in the morning and went in to the sick room of the dying man. He promised him that he would come back the same evening to tell him about the ceremony. But by evening the condition of the patient was such that the doctors forbade any visitors. Mackenzie King waited with the family in a neighboring room. Even then Ernest Lapointe, approaching his final agony, recognized his voice. He asked, in short halting phrases, that Mackenzie King should come in so that he might see him again because there was something he wished still to say to him. This was their last meeting together. From this hospital room there came out an aging and saddened man, encumbered by his hat and with his shoulders shaking: the Prime Minister who had to continue his road alone.

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XVI

.END OF THE STORY.

Anglo-American Rapprochement - The Muffled Voice of Quebec - Decline of the Liberal party.

How true it is that no Prime Minister of Canada ever found himself confronted by such problems. The period of crisis has been too long for any make-shift solution to have any other result than catastrophe.

Yesterday, the former Deputy Minister of Labour thought longingly of a bourgeois dream: to beautify the city of Ottawa, the capital of Canada. Today, a one-time protege of the Rockefeller Foundation, thinks in more grandiose terms: to contribute to the rapprochement between Great Britain and the United States. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of a country which is at one and the same time a part of the British Commonwealth and of the North American continent, had had an extensive preparation for this role by his earlier relations with our neighbours to the South. History will certainly attach importance to this work, as represented by the conference at Quebec. At whatever cost, the risks involved were great: political subordination to Britain, or economc subordination to the United States. For years and years, the province of Quebec, fearful for the prosperity of the port of Montreal, had opposed the St. Lawrence waterways development being urged by the United States. Ontario, under Hepburn, had taken the same attitude.

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But, it was asked, ought not the two largest provinces of Canada to be content to make some sacrifices to please President Roosevelt, who was likely to drag them into war? Mackenzie King fell back on these arguments: the needs of war and of national defence; the strong desire of the United States in general, and of President Roosevelt in particular. Adelard Godbout and Mitchell Hepburn then accepted the principle and undertook to examine the project. [1.] Later on, at a time when cargo ships were very scanty, control of shipments from Canada to South America were by a joint agreement, handed over to the United States. These shipping controls were used to diminish supplies of newsprint, on instructions from Washington, to the less accommodating newspapers of South America. Similar concessions, similar measures of control, led the way for historic events. But, the people of Montreal still were concerned about the future of their harbour. The Canadian newsprint industry was apprehensive lest it should lose entirely certain markets which after the war might be supplied from Scandinavian sources. [2.]

1. White Paper on the St. Lawrence waterway, King's Printer Ottawa, 1941.

2. Financial Post, Toronto, April 8, 1944: "U. S. Power Politics dictate our Exports?"

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The adversaries of Mackenzie King began to say of the Prime Minister: "During the first three days of the week he takes his orders from Washington; on the next three days, he governs by the precept of London, and on the seventh day, when nobody is doing anything, he proclaims the independence of Canada."

The course of the war revised/many ideas and overturned too many customary habits for our everyday existence to be exactly the same as it was before the war. Among all the countries at war Canada was the one in which the governing authorities had best succeeded in controlling the cost of living and in preventing the disorders of inflation. The government also drew up extensive plans of social insurance to bring about in our own country that liberation from fear which sociologists define as the necessary condition for a less imperfect world. This liberation has already been envisaged, as early as 1918, by Mackenzie King in his book "Industry and Humanity". He had become Prime Minister three years later. He has never realized this idea. Without doubt circumstances had prevented it. Would they allow him to ~~meet~~ reach it in the future?

Mackenzie King is nearly seventy years of age. He has lost his closest ~~adviser~~ counsellor on the right, Ernest Lapointe, and his chief counsellor on the left, John W. Dafoe, who passed away only a few months apart. Arthur Cardin felt obliged to resign, after a long period of struggle, step by step, subject by subject, one concession after another in cabinet council.

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The voice of the province to which Mackenzie King had owed his whole career since 1919, that voice of Quebec seemed unlikely ~~not~~ to be heard in the cabinet. What could this mean? Who would be able to make it heard? Not Louis St. Laurent, a late arrival, whose background had already become partly anglicized. Not General LaFleche, elected by Jewish citizens and who did not speak French in his own home. The most intelligent and the most sympathetic of the French Canadian ministers, Ernest Bertrand, himself partly elected by Jewish votes, did not share in any degree the opinion of the mass of French-speaking Canadians. The voice of Quebec now appeared only as muffled, weakened and deformed to the ears of the Prime Minister.

Louis St. Laurent, the jurist who taxed the Bennett Administration that its social legislation impinged upon the autonomy of the provinces in 1936, is Minister of Justice in a cabinet whose social legislation impinges in the same way upon the autonomy of the provinces in 1944. The Liberal party is no longer the party of provincial autonomy. It is no longer the party of peace. No longer does it conserve its old traditions of radicalism and anti-clericalism, openly espoused each in turn by Joseph Doutre,

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Rodolphe Laflamme, Honore Beaugrand, Godfroy Langlois, and T. D. Bouchard. Placed in a position where it can answer for itself every day on every other point, it has lost its moral grip upon the Quebec fortress. It has lost hardly less in the other provinces. It still commands certain party leaders, an organization, a clientele. The whisper of a great defeat might trail after it the obliteration of these leaders and the complete dispersion of the faithful electorate. For the party has lost, one by one, all the by-elections and all the provincial elections. Its fate is in the wind and already sealed at the next federal elections. Mackenzie King has two chances of seeing his party lifted up and strengthened, even if youth in the post-war world does not propose to substitute entirely new formulas for the old regime.

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Translation -- JAG/DR/LAB

I

William Lyon Mackenzie

The background of Mackenzie King is, to use an American expression, one hundred percent Scotch. His two grandfathers came to Canada at an early age. The more celebrated was the maternal grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, who played a part in Upper Canada corresponding to the role of Louis Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada. No one could be a grandson of either Mackenzie or Papineau without showing some sign of it; a sketch of William Lyon Mackenzie is, therefore, a necessary introduction to any biography of W. L. Mackenzie King.

William Lyon Mackenzie, who came to Canada in 1820, aged 25, succeeded quickly both as a man of business and as a journalist. He published the "Colonial Advocate" at Queenston. First elected to the Legislature as a member for York in 1828, he was soon in conflict with the executive authority, just as Papineau was in Lower Canada and for similar reasons. In the government of the country, Mackenzie and Papineau sought to replace the will of a governor named by the Crown with the will of an assembly elected by the people. They certainly respected the Royal prerogatives, but they insisted that the real

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sovereignty lay with the people. In particular they sought Parliamentary control over public funds; and, in short, they asked for Canadians the rights long since enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere.

On three (s.b. five) several occasions, the executive arbitrarily expelled Mackenzie; and three (s.b. five) several times the most populous county of Upper Canada re-elected its member. In 1832 electors of Upper Canada supported Mackenzie in carrying their grievances to London. In Lower Canada a similar task had been entrusted to Denis Benjamin Viger. The two delegates worked together, presenting statements of practically identical grievances, secured the support of the same members of the House of commons in London, and together they obtained an audience with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. With the alteration of a few words, a few place names, certain memorials submitted by Mackenzie could equally have applied to conditions in the neighboring province. The Upper Canada reform leader insisted that the Council advising the governor must possess the confidence of the people. Stated in other words, he was arguing for what today we call ministerial responsibility, the corner stone of modern democracies.

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Mackenzie and Viger completed their mission to the evident satisfaction of their constituents. In 1834 York was incorporated as the City of Toronto. Mackenzie became its first Mayor, and it was he who designed the civic coat of arms with the motto "Industry, Intelligence, and Integrity".

A new attempt aimed at excluding the member for Yrok made him still more popular. Mackenzie and Papineau were working towards the same end, and, throughout a period of uncertain communications they maintained the closest possible contact. It was Mackenzie who sent to Papineau, by the hand of the Speaker of the Assembly of Upper Canada, the text of certain secret instructions sent from Downing Street to Lord Gosford in 1835. The terms of these instructions still further exasperated Papineau and his friends.

The events of 1837, leading up to actual conflict, are well enough known. Mackenzie, like Papineau, sought refuge in the United States. Amédée Papineau, eldest son of the great leader, in exile at Saratoga, received a visit from Mackenzie, and he has described, in his diary, his impression of the reform leader. "He was a little

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Sctosman full of fire and of unequalled activity. When he spoke it was with a very marked and deep Scottish accent. His forehead resembled that of President Van Buren and the set of his jaw reminded one of Chenier. Both his stature and his appearance had many suggestions of the martyr. The conversation could not help but be centred on Canada. Mackenzie said that he was full of hope; that the rebellion had greatly advanced the cause of Canada; that he was proceeding to New York to work for this cause, and that he was certain of its success. I was much pleased to see a man who shared my opinions, especially as for so long I had heard nothing but the most discouraging reports."

In the United States, Mackenzie and Papineau aroused considerable sympathy but without gaining the support of the authorities. The attempted invasion of 1838, encouraged by Mackenzie but criticized by Papineau, ended in a disastrous reverse. Papineau, then living in Albany, was about to leave for France, to interest people there in his cause. Mackenzie, removing his place of exile from New York to Rochester, passed through Albany. He had with him (Amédée noted) his mother, then 89, his wife, ten children of whom

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the youngest was but two weeks old, his household, his library, his press, and a generous store of courage." The infant in arms, born in exile, was to be the mother of Mackenzie King.

Even after the insurrection of 1837-38, the careers of Mackenzie and Papineau followed each other. After ten years of exile, and after amnesty had been granted, both returned to Canada. Both were soon re-elected members of the legislatures. They had, however, lost the day-to-day touch with the political life of the country. The actual direction of affairs had passed into the hands of George Brown and John A. Macdonald in Upper Canada, and to Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine and Georges Etienne Cartier in Lower Canada. But if George Brown is to be accounted the founder of Liberalism in Ontario, William Lyon Mackenzie was certainly the forefather, just as Louis Joseph Papineau was the forerunner of Liberalism in Quebec. Such a background sets in perspective at least the earliest years, the first reflections, the basic convictions of a grandson.

Suite Chap. II

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II]

A Scholar

Upon an adolescent individual, the influence of a grandfather like William Lyon Mackenzie - or like Louis Joseph Papineau -- is certainly preponderant. But on his father's side Mackenzie King is descended from thoroughgoing loyalists. His grandfather, who came out from Scotland as an officer, served during the rebellion of 1837. His father, John King, was a volunteer in 1866 at the time of the Fenian raids.

John King practised as a lawyer in Berlin (present-day Kitchener) in Ontario. This well-read man, who all his life preserved the habits of reading and study, had a well-stocked library. In 1893 the University of Toronto offered him a chair in the Law faculty. He was a staunch Presbyterian, and an exemplary father in his household.

Mackenzie King, born at Berlin (Kitchener) on December 17, 1874, thus inherited an illustrious name, strong reform leanings, an intellectual background and pleasant, ordered manners. At the University of Toronto he specialized in political science and social questions.

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Having graduated in both arts and law, he spent the winter of 1896-97 at the University of Chicago.

This period at Chicago University had an important influence in shaping the future career of the young man. On the threshhold of the 20th Century the United States was forging to the front as an industrial power. Without doubt Chicago provided the best post of vantage to observe the consequences of this industrial expansion: the phenomenal growth of urban communities themselves; the emergence of a worker proletariat, and the beginnings and development of trade union activity. This Canadian student prepared two different essays on American trade unionism, and developed a quite special interest in the problem of the lowest paid workers. Returning to Canada, he continued these studies. He visited working-class districts in Toronto, and was shocked to find the working conditions under which post office uniforms were made under contracts awarded by the federal government. His indignation went even further, for he called the matter to the attention of the Hon. William Mulock, Postmaster General in the Laurier administration. Mulock requested King to make a report on the

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whole question -- a report which, contrary to all administrative experience of the past, was followed by action.

The report of the young "student" led to important changes both legislative and administrative. Mackenzie King advised the government to provide minimum wage scales for all persons employed under government contracts. The Postmaster General himself introduced a bill. It was already evident that industrial expansion would raise a host of new problems. The state would inevitably have to be prepared to intervene, in one way or another, in disputes arising from labour conditions.

This was in 1900. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, was representing the Canadian Government at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, Mulock, the Postmaster General, a man of great energy, was acting Minister of Public Works. The officials of this department were not a little astonished to see their acting Minister piling up in his office books dealing not with questions of the postal service or with public works, but instead with labour problems. At length Mulock expounded hisproposals to his colleagues, saying in straightforward fashion: "The

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time has come to set up a Department of Labour. At the beginning we shall not be justified in naming a separate minister; one of us can take charge of it, just as I have been in charge of Public Works. But there will have to be a Deputy Minister.... I know a young man of an excellent background and with good training who is much interested in these questions, and he would make an excellent Deputy Minister... I should very much like to have him..."

Mackenzie King at that moment was holder of a travelling fellowship from Harvard University. He had already travelled about in the United States, and was now travelling in Europe. He was in Italy when he received from Mr. Mulock a cable announcing the establishment of the Department of Labour, and offering him the post of editor of the Labour Gazette.

The travelling scholar was looking forward to a university career. He could expect to become a professor of political economy and the social sciences. On the renewed and pressing invitation of William Mulock he gave up these ambitions and entered the civil service of Canada. True, he came in by the main entrance as a Deputy Minister, but at the age of 25 years.

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Deputy Minister

The deputy Ministers are the solid rafters of the structure of federal administration. They have the direction of the departments of government, without being concerned with the politics which constantly engross the Ministers themselves. Under the guidance of William Mulock, postmaster General and Minister of Labour, Mackenzie King now set to work to build a new department with completely new responsibilities.

He began with the publication of the Labour Gazette, an organ of information and statistics of the labour situation throughout Canada. It was by itself a considerable undertaking for a man accustomed to close and careful study. But other tasks were speedily added: the organization and supervision of the work of the department, editing of reports, preparation of labour legislation, mediation in industrial disputes. In the whole of the federal cabinet, the Minister of Labour is undoubtedly the one most activated by humane feelings, since his decisions affect the well-being and surround the existence of many thousands of people. The role of mediator is at once the most ticklish and the most subject to criticism.

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Canada, in turn, was undergoing rapid economic transformations. Industry was passing more and more under the control of financiers - in the Province of Quebec by families such as the Forgets, the Herbert Holts, the Charles Gordons - for whom industry was above all an area for speculations. The great industrial families gave way before incorporated companies, of which the managers, almost without contact with the work-people, were not accustomed to consider the needs of these people in the conduct of industry. In the face of this kind of management from a distance, trade union organisations, anxious to test their youthful strength, set their full weight. The large companies tolerated the new unions with very bad grace. Shipping companies, for example, did not hesitate to import strike-breakers. They were not adept at conciliating opposing interests, or at reconciling what they supposed to be such conflicts with certain inflamed representatives of the workers. The trades unions themselves were undecided whether their allegiance should be to "national" unions as such or to "international" unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. Conflicts were already brewing between rival federations.

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In the absence of legislation or of any established procedure, much depended upon the skill of the mediator in these conflicts. One of the first settlements by arbitration in a major industrial dispute was in the case of Mgr. Begin, given in 1901 as the outcome of a strike of shoe workers at Quebec. [The archbishop's arbitration Attempted intervention from an episcopal source never had any ~~authority~~ sanction, and ~~for many years it had not commanded any recognition.~~] the agreement did not last long At the same time the Deputy Minister did not possess any greater measure of coercive power. Any unthinking or hasty official might well upset everything. Mackenzie King refused to be stampeded, and consequently did not give any offence.

The work of conciliation was varied. The tasks of conciliator led the deputy minister, one day to the coal fields of Alberta, the next to the telephone operators of Toronto. It was a many-sided job. One could not deal on anything like the same basis with the wood cutters of the Province of Quebec as with the workers in the steel industry of Nova Scotia; and neither of these presented problems such as those of the running trades of the C.P.R. or workers in the metal mines of Ontario. The experience of the

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"scholar" was being enriched at every turn. It enabled him before long to draft a general act, flexible enough to apply to every case of dispute.

This was in 1907. Rodolphe Lemieux had succeeded William Mulock as Postmaster General and Minister of Labour. Mulock had been a prodigious worker, sometimes impulsive but sympathetic to the claims of organized labour, and to him Mackenzie King would certainly remain devoted until the end of their days. Lemieux was cultured, courteous, perhaps with certain vanities, but very anxious to aid and encourage younger men. He liked travels abroad, the larger aspect of international affairs, and this provided a point of contact with the Deputy Minister whose studies, and then his official duties, had taken him to Europe. Beneath all his formal manners and rather academic disposition, Lemieux appreciated that not sufficient attention was being paid to many younger workers, and that the lack of it was working hardship upon them. He cultivated their friendship, and this was yet another point of contact with Mackenzie King, who conveyed not so much by his outward manner but whose heart already reflected some strong

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attachments. One of Mackenzie King's closest friends and fellow-workers, Henry Albert Harper, was drowned in trying to save a young woman's life. To the memory of this friend Mackenzie King vowed an unalterable devotion. To it he dedicated his first book: "The Secret of Heroism". He took the lead also in the erection of a monument to Harper's gallantry on the finest street in Ottawa.

Rodolphe Lemieux appreciated such a spirit. Minister and Deputy Minister got on famously together. They were jointly responsible for drawing up the act which required that before there could be a strike or a lock-out in any public utility service, there must be a procedure of conciliation binding both upon workers and their employers. This procedure was based in part on a law of the Province of Quebec, dating from the arbitration of Mgr. Begin and introduced by Lomer Gouin in 1901. The principle required a joint committee drawn from workers and employers under a chairman impartially chosen. In the case of a dispute in any public utility (railways, street railways, light and power, etc.) both sides were to name a committee of arbitration (one arbitrator chosen by the employers, one chosen by the workers, and the third to be chosen by these two others). If he were diplomatic about it, this third

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arbitrator would consult each of his colleagues separately, smooth out the rough edges, and re-establish harmony between them. He would justly merit the name of conciliator. In case these first steps at conciliation should meet a stumbling block, the committee was to make an enquiry, furnish a report, and recommend a settlement, all under the aegis of the Minister of Labour.

The provisions for arbitration still were not compulsory, but an attempt at arbitration had to be made before a strike or lock-out could be declared. This procedure reflected both the spirit of Rodolphe Lemieux but even more the method of Mackenzie King, who never took hasty decisions about anything. They both hoped that the principle of impartial enquiry would so commend itself to the public that even parties to a dispute who disapproved of the principle would still not dare to overstep the bounds.

It would be difficult, and perhaps pointless, to try to establish exactly the part of the Minister and the part of the Deputy Minister in drawing up this act, which was greeted by the press as a model of legislation. The Deputy Minister certainly was responsible for most of the

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preparatory work. The Minister had to assume responsibility for the bill and introduce in Parliament the Industrial Disputes Inquiry Act, better known as the Lemieux Act. A trade union leader, Alphonse Verville, was at that time M.P. for Maisonneuve. He gave his approval to the Bill. So also did Armand Lavergne, an outspoken nationalist in the House of Commons. In short, the passing of the Lemieux Act represented an outstanding success for the Administration. In the eyes of many observers, the Laurier Government had already passed its zenith, and was about to go into an inescapable decline. Laurier therefore was in a position to value even more highly the success of Lemieux and of King.

Within 18 months, the procedure of arbitration laid down in the Lemieux Act was responsible for avoiding 48 strikes, and it was unsuccessful in only two instances. This law of 1907 demonstrated both the usefulness and the necessity for continued development of the Department of Labour -- which had as yet but some 10 20 civil servants. Many legislatures abroad sought information about the Canadian procedure and took steps to incorporate it in their own legislation. Every success added to its stature. The

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personal intervention of the Deputy Minister prevented other industrial disputes. Meanwhile, minimum wage scales were made compulsory in contracts let by the government. These wage scales, taking note of the wages paid by the best-run industrial establishments in the area concerned, had a direct influence upon all wages in that region. The Labour Gazette was accepted as a most authoritative publication.

Mackenzie King could take credit for other important successes. FOr some time he found himself concerned with two connected questions: the immigration of Asiatics and the traffic in opium. On his recommendation the federal Parliament had ordered the abolition of this traffic. In the spring of 1908, Mackenzie King began an investigation into conditions of employment in the textile industry of Quebec. At that time hours of work were excessively long and wage rates very inadequate. Mackenzie King called attention specially to the employment of children, which lent itself to many abuses. The report of his investigations so aroused public opinion that, a little later, it was to have an important effect upon provincial legislation.

Mackenzie King went about his work methodically, patiently, even meticously. He was quite willing that the

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honours of the day should go to his Minister, more accustomed to honours. But the succession of successes which followed nevertheless created for him an outstanding reputation. On the eve of the election of 1908, however, both the godfather and the author of the Lemieux Act were confronted with a very difficult situation.

Employees of the Canadian Pacific, with the backing of the American Federation of Labour, had called a strike which extended from St. John, New Brunswick, to Vancouver. They declined the arbitration procedure required by the Lemieux Act. At Montreal, several thousands of strikers and sympathizers met at the Monument National. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company issued an ultimatum: workers who did not return to duty within 24 hours would be discharged, without regard to their seniority or other service rights. The strikers replied with a great meeting at the Monument National, under the chairmanship of Alphonse Verville; and every speaker said: "We will not give in." The company put outsiders to work in the Angus shops; they even brought mechanics and machinists from England. But from England also came the socialist leader, Keir Hardie, who encouraged the strikers to hold fast. When Laurier fixed the date for

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the general election the strike had been going on for five weeks, and it was difficult to see what the political repercussions would be if it continued. On September 14, the strikers assembled at the Champ de Mars. As other corporations had lined up with the Company, the solidarity of the workers had become quite as strong as the forces opposing them. J. A. Rodier, editor of La Patrie, and Olivas Asselin, director of the Nationaliste, were among the speakers, inflaming the crowd against the government, Asselin in particular striking out with many barbed words.

The Government were making desperate efforts to settle the strike before the electoral campaign opened. Rodolphe Lemieux was anxious to avoid a severe reverse for the Act which bore his name. At this point, not devoid of the uses of flattery, he approached his colleague Alphonse Verville. This latter was to decide the issue. He knew that Laurier intended to place the Department of Labour under a separate Minister. Verville thought that by setting himself up as an intermediary between the Government and the workers, he might create for himself a claim to the new portfolio. On his advice the workers accepted the provision for arbitration which they had at

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IV

Minister of Labour

Laurier entrusted the new portfolio of Minister of Labour not to Verville but to Mackenzie King, the real organizer of this Department, editor of the Labour Gazette, and principal author of the forward-looking Act of 1907. The grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie was an inheritor of a great political tradition and, equally, of a strong Liberal tradition. Laurier chose his lieutenants with care. He had formed in 1898 a Ministry called "The Ministry of All The Talents". He was now bringing on, both for his colleagues and for his party, a generation of "replacements". Indeed, he followed and helped to advance the careers of several of the sons of his old friends - such as in the province of Quebec Armand Laverne, Athanase David, Lucien Cannon, Hector Laferté, and Joseph-Edouard Perrault. He

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Translation -- JAG/DR/LAL

I

William Lyon Mackenzie

The background of Mackenzie King is, to use an American expression, one hundred percent Scotch. His two grandfathers came to Canada at an early age. The more celebrated was the maternal grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, who played a part in Upper Canada corresponding to the role of Louis Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada. No one could be a grandson of either Mackenzie or Papineau without showing some sign of it; a sketch of William Lyon Mackenzie is, therefore, a necessary introduction to any biography of W. L. Mackenzie King.

William Lyon Mackenzie, who came to Canada in 1820, aged 25, succeeded quickly both as a man of business and as a journalist. He published the "Colonial Advocate" at Queenston. First elected to the Legislature as a member for York in 1828, he was soon in conflict with the executive authority, just as Papineau was in Lower Canada and for similar reasons. In the government of the country, Mackenzie and Papineau sought to replace the will of a governor named by the Crown with the will of an assembly elected by the people. They certainly respected the Royal prerogatives, but they insisted that the real

Ottawa, le 20 septembre 1944.

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sovereignty lay with the people. In particular they sought Parliamentary control over public funds; and, in short, they asked for Canadians the rights long since enbyed by British subjects elsewhere.

On three (s.b. five) several occasions, the executive arbitrarily expelled Mackenzie; and three (s.b. five) several times the most populous county of Upper Canada re-elected its member. In 1832 electors of Upper Canada supported Mackenzie in carrying their grievances to London. In Lower Canada a similar task had been entrusted to Denis Benjamin Viger. The two delegates worked together, presenting statements of practically identical grievances, secured the support of the same members of the House of commons in London, and together they obtained an audience with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. With the alteration of a few words, a few place names, certain memorials submitted by Mackenzie could equally have applied to conditions in the neighboring province. The Upper Canada reform leader insisted that the Council advising the governor must possess the confidence of the people. Stated in other words, he was arguing for what today we call ministerial responsibility, the corner stone of modern democracies.

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Mackenzie and Viger completed their mission to the evident satisfaction of their constituents. In 1834 York was incorporated as the City of Toronto. Mackenzie became its first Mayor, and it was he who designed the civic coat of arms with the motto "Industry, Intelligence, and Integrity".

A new attempt aimed at excluding the member for Yrok made him still more popular. Mackenzie and Papineau were working towards the same end, and, throughout a period of uncertain communications they maintained the closest possible contact. It was Mackenzie who sent to Papineau, by the hand of the Speaker of the Assembly of Upper Canada, the text of certain secret instructions sent from Downing Street to Lord Gosford in 1835. The terms of these instructions still further exasperated Papineau and his friends.

The events of 1837, leading up to actual conflict, are well enough known. Mackenzie, like Papineau, sought refuge in the United States. Amédée Papineau, eldest son of the great leader, in exile at Saratoga, received a visit from Mackenzie, and he has described, in his diary, his impression of the reform leader. "He was a little

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Sctosman full of fire and of unequalled activity. When he spoke it was with a very marked and deep Scottish accent. His forehead resembled that of President Van Buren and the set of his jaw reminded one of Chenier. Both his stature and his appearance had many suggestions of the martyr. The conversation could not help but be centred on Canada. Mackenzie said that he was full of hope; that the rebellion had greatly advanced the cause of Canada; that he was proceeding to New York to work for this cause, and that he was certain of its success. I was much pleased to see a man who shared my opinions, especially as for so long I had heard nothing but the most discouraging reports."

In the United States, Mackenzie and Papineau aroused considerable sympathy but without gaining the support of the authorities. The attempted invasion of 1838, encouraged by Mackenzie but criticized by Papineau, ended in a disastrous reverse. Papinaau, then living in Albany, was about to leave for France, to interest people there in his cause. Mackenzie, removing his place of exile from New York to Rochester, passed through Albany. He had with him (Amédée noted) his mother, then 89, his wife, ten children of whom

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the youngest was but two weeks old, his household, his library, his press, and a generous store of courage." The infant in arms, born in exile, was to be the mother of Mackenzie King.

Even after the insurrection of 1837-38, the careers of Mackenzie and Papineau followed each other. After ten years of exile, and after amnesty had been granted, both returned to Canada. Both were soon re-elected members of the legislatures. They had, however, lost the day-to-day touch with the political life of the country. The actual direction of affairs had passed into the hands of George Brown and John A. Macdonald in Upper Canada, and to Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine and Georges Etienne Cartier in Lower Canada. But if George Brown is to be accounted the founder of Liberalism in Ontario, William Lyon Mackenzie was certainly the forefather, just as Louis Joseph Papineau was the forerunner of Liberalism in Quebec. Such a background sets in perspective at least the earliest years, the first reflections, the basic convictions of a grandson.

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II

A Scholar

Upon an adolescent individual, the influence of a grandfather like William Lyon Mackenzie - or like Louis Joseph Papineau -- is certainly preponderant. But on his father's side Mackenzie King is descended from thoroughgoing loyalists. His grandfather, who came out from Scotland as an officer, served during the rebellion of 1837. His father, John King, was a volunteer in 1866 at the time of the Fenian raids.

John King practised as a lawyer in Berlin (present-day Kitchener) in Ontario. This well-read man, who all his life preserved the habits of reading and study, had a well-stocked library. In 1893 the University of Toronto offered him a chair in the Law faculty. He was a staunch Presbyterian, and an exemplary father in his household.

Mackenzie King, born at Berlin (Kitchener) on December 17, 1874, thus inherited an illustrious name, strong reform leanings, an intellectual background and pleasant, ordered manners. At the University of Toronto he specialized in political science and social questions.

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Having graduated in both arts and law, he spent the winter of 1896-97 at the University of Chicago.

This period at Chicago University had an important influence in shaping the future career of the young man. On the threshhold of the 20th Century the United States was forging to the front as an industrial power. Without doubt Chicago provided the best post of vantage to observe the consequences of this industrial expansion: the phenomenal growth of urban communities themselves; the emergence of a worker proletariat, and the beginnings and development of trade union activity. This Canadian student prepared two different essays on American trade unionism, and developed a quite special interest in the problem of the lowest paid workers. Returning to Canada, he continued these studies. He visited working-class districts in Toronto, and was shocked to find the working conditions under which post office uniforms were made under contracts awarded by the federal government. His indignation went even further, for he called the matter to the attention of the Hon. William Mulock, Postmaster General in the Laurier administration. Mulock requested King to make a report on the

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whole question -- a report which, contrary to all administrative experience of the past, was followed by action.

The report of the young "student" led to important changes both legislative and administrative. Mackenzie King advised the government to provide minimum wage scales for all persons employed under government contracts. The Postmaster General himself introduced a bill. It was already evident that industrial expansion would raise a host of new problems. The state would inevitably have to be prepared to intervene, in one way or another, in disputes arising from labour conditions.

This was in 1900. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, was representing the Canadian Government at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Mulock, the Postmaster General, a man of great energy, was acting Minister of Public Works. The officials of this department were not a little astonished to see their acting Minister piling up in his office books dealing not with questions of the postal service or with public works, but instead with labour problems. At length Mulock expounded hisproposals to his colleagues, saying in straightforward fashion: "The

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time has come to set up a Department of Labour. At the beginning we shall be justified in naming a separate minister; one of us can take charge of it, just as I have been in charge of Public Works. But there will have to be a Deputy Minister.... I know a young man of an excellent background and with good training who is much interested in these questions, and he would make an excellent Deputy Minister... I should very much like to have him..."

Mackenzie King at that moment was holder of a travelling fellowship from Harvard University. He had already travelled about in the United States, and was now travelling in Europe. He was in Italy when he received from Mr. Mulock a cable announcing the establishment of the Department of Labour, and offering him the post of editor of the Labour Gazette.

The travelling scholar was looking forward to a university career. He could expect to become a professor of political economy and the social sciences. On the renewed and pressing invitation of William Mulock he gave up these ambitions and entered the civil service of Canada. True, he came in by the main entrance as a Deputy Minister, but at the age of 25 years.

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Deputy Minister

The deputy Ministers are the solid rafters of the structure of federal administration. They have the direction of the departments of government, without being concerned with the politics which constantly engross the Ministers themselves. Under the guidance of William Mulock, postmaster General and Minister of Labour, Mackenzie King now set to work to build a new department with completely new responsibilities.

He began with the publication of the Labour Gazette, an organ of information and statistics of the labour situation throughout Canada. It was by itself a considerable undertaking for a man accustomed to close and careful study. But other tasks were speedily added: the organization and supervision of the work of the department, editing of reports, preparation of labour legislation, mediation in industrial disputes. In the whole of the federal cabinet, the Minister of Labour is undoubtedly the one most activated by humane feelings, since his decisions affect the well-being and surround the existence of many thousands of people. The role of mediator is at once the most ticklish and the most subject to criticism.

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Canada, in turn, was undergoing rapid economic transformations. Industry was passing more and more under the control of financiers - in the Province of Quebec by families such as the Forgets, the Herbert Holts, the Charles Gordons - for whom industry was above all an area for speculations. The great industrial families gave way before incorporated companies, of which the managers, almost without contact with the work-people, were not accustomed to consider the needs of these people in the conduct of industry. In the face of this kind of management from a distance, trade union organisations, anxious to test their youthful strength, set their full weight. The large companies tolerated the new unions with very bad grace. Shipping companies, for example, did not hesitate to import strike-breakers. They were not adept at conciliating opposing interests, or at reconciling what they supposed to be such conflicts with certain inflamed representatives of the workers. The trades unions themselves were undecided whether their allegiance should be to "national" unions as such or to "international" unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. Conflicts were already brewing between rival federations.

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In the absence of legislation or of any established procedure, much depended upon the skill of the mediator in these conflicts. One of the first settlements by arbitration in a major industrial dispute was in the case of Mgr. Begin, given in 1901 as the outcome of a strike of shoe workers at Quebec. Attempted intervention from an episcopal source never had any authority, and for many years it had not commanded any recognition. At the same time the Deputy Minister did not possess any greater measure of coercive power. Any unthinking or hasty official might well upset everything. Mackenzie King refused to be stampeded, and consequently did not give any offence.

The work of conciliation was varied. The tasks of conciliator led the deputy minister, one day to the coal fields of Alberta, the next to the telephone operators of Toronto. It was a many-sided job. One could not deal on anything like the same basis with the wood cutters of the Province of Quebec as with the workers in the steel industry of Nova Scotia; and neither of these presented problems such as those of the running trades of the C.P.R. or workers in the metal mines of Ontario. The experience of the

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"scholar" was being enriched at every turn. It enabled him before long to draft a general act, flexible enough to apply to every case of dispute.

This was in 1907. Rodolphe Lemieux had succeeded William Mulock as Postmaster General and Minister of Labour. Mulock had been a prodigious worker, sometimes impulsive but sympathetic to the claims of organized labour, and to him Mackenzie King would certainly remain devoted until the end of their days. Lemieux was cultured, courteous, perhaps with certain vanities, but very anxious to aid and encourage younger men. He liked travels abroad, the larger aspect of international affairs, and this provided a point of contact with the Deputy Minister whose studies, and then his official duties, had taken him to Europe. Beneath all his formal manners and rather academic disposition, Lemieux appreciated that not sufficient attention was being paid to many younger workers, and that the lack of it was working hardship upon them. He cultivated their friendship, and this was yet another point of contact with Mackenzie King, who conveyed not so much by his outward manner but whose heart already reflected some strong

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attachments. One of Mackenzie King's closest friends and fellow-workers, Henry Albert Harper, was drowned in trying to save a young woman's life. To the memory of this friend Mackenzie King vowed an unalterable devotion. To it he dedicated his first book: "The Secret of Heroism". He took the lead also in the erection of a monument to Harper's gallantry on the finest street in Ottawa.

Rodolphe Lemieux appreciated such a spirit. Minister and Deputy Minister got on famously together. They were jointly responsible for drawing up the act which required that before there could be a strike or a lock-out in any public utility service, there must be a procedure of conciliation binding both upon workers and their employers. This procedure was based in part on a law of the Province of Quebec, dating from the arbitration of Mgr. Begin and introduced by Lomer Gouin in 1901. The principle required a joint committee drawn from workers and employers under a chairman impartially chosen. In the case of a dispute in any public utility (railways, street railways, light and power, etc.) both sides were to name a committee of arbitration (one arbitrator chosen by the employers, one chosen by the workers, and the third to be chosen by these two others). If he were diplomatic about it, this third

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arbitrator would consult each of his colleagues separately, smooth out the rough edges, and re-establish harmony between them. He would justly merit the name of conciliator. In case these first steps at conciliation should meet a stumbling block, the committee was to make an enquiry, furnish a report, and recommend a settlement, all under the aegis of the Minister of Labour.

The provisions for arbitration still were not compulsory, but an attempt at arbitration had to be made before a strike or lock-out could be declared. This procedure reflected both the spirit of Rodolphe Lemieux but even more the method of Mackenzie King, who never took hasty decisions about anything. They both hoped that the principle of impartial enquiry would so commend itself to the public that even parties to a dispute who disapproved of the principle would still not dare to overstep the bounds.

It would be difficult, and perhaps pointless, to try to establish exactly the part of the Minister and the part of the Deputy Minister in drawing up this act, which was greeted by the press as a model of legislation. The Deputy Minister certainly was responsible for most of the

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preparatory work. The Minister had to assume responsibility for the bill and introduce in Parliament the Industrial Disputes Inquiry Act, better known as the Lemieux Act. A trade union leader, Alphonse Verville, was at that time M.P. for Maisonneuve. He gave his approval to the Bill. So also did Armand Lavergne, an outspoken nationalist in the House of Commons. In short, the passing of the Lemieux Act represented an outstanding success for the Administration. In the eyes of many observers, the Laurier Government had already passed its zenith, and was about to go into an inescapable decline. Laurier therefore was in a position to value even more highly the success of Lemieux and of King.

Within 18 months, the procedure of arbitration laid down in the Lemieux Act was responsible for avoiding 48 strikes, and it was unsuccessful in only two instances. This law of 1907 demonstrated both the usefulness and the necessity for continued development of the Department of Labour -- which had as yet but some 20 civil servants. Many legislatures abroad sought information about the Canadian procedure and took steps to incorporate it in their own legislation. Every success added to its stature. The

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personal intervention of the Deputy Minister prevented other industrial disputes. Meanwhile, minimum wage scales were made compulsory in contracts let by the government. These wage scales, taking note of the wages paid by the best-run industrial establishments in the area concerned, had a direct influence upon all wages in that region. The Labour Gazette was accepted as a most authoritative publication.

Mackenzie King could take credit for other important successes. FOr some time he found himself concerned with two connected questions: the immigration of Asiatics and the traffic in opium. On his recommendation the federal Parliament had ordered the abolition of this traffic. In the spring of 1908, Mackenzie King began an investigation into conditions of employment in the textile industry of Quebec. At that time hours of work were excessively long and wage rates very inadequate. Mackenzie King called attention specially to the employment of children, which lent itself to many abuses. The report of his investigations so aroused public opinion that, a little later, it was to have an important effect upon provincial legislation.

Mackenzie King went about his work methodically, patiently, even meticously. He was quite willing that the

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honours of the day should go to his Minister, more accustomed to honours. But the succession of successes which followed nevertheless created for him an outstanding reputation. On the eve of the election of 1908, however, both the godfather and the author of the Lemieux Act were confronted with a very difficult situation.

Employees of the Canadian Pacific, with the backing of the American Federation of Labour, had called a strike which extended from St. John, New Brunswick, to Vancouver. They declined the arbitration procedure required by the Lemieux Act. At Montreal, several thousands of strikers and sympathizers met at the Monument National. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company issued an ultimatum: workers who did not return to duty within 24 hours would be discharged, without regard to their seniority or other service rights. The strikers replied with a great meeting at the Monument National, under the chairmanship of Alphonse Verville; and every speaker said: "We will not give in." The company put outsiders to work in the Angus shops; they even brought mechanics and machinists from England. But from England also came the socialist leader, Keir Hardie, who encouraged the strikers to hold fast. When Laurier fixed the date for

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the general election the strike had been going on for five weeks, and it was difficult to see what the political repercussions would be if it continued. On September 14, the strikers assembled at the Champ de Mars. As other corporations had lined up with the Company, the solidarity of the workers had become quite as strong as the forces opposing them. J. A. Rodier, editor of La Patrie, and Olivas Asselin, director of the Nationaliste, were among the speakers, inflaming the crowd against the government, Asselin in particular striking out with many barbed words.

The Government were making desperate efforts to settle the strike before the electoral campaign opened. Rodolphe Lemieux was anxious to avoid a severe reverse for the Act which bore his name. At this point, not devoid of the uses of flattery, he approached his colleague Alphonse Verville. This latter was to decide the issue. He knew that Laurier intended to place the Department of Labour under a separate Minister. Verville thought that by setting hi self up as an intermediary between the Government and the workers, he might create for himself a claim to the new portfolio. On his advice the workers accepted the provision for arbitration which they had at

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first rejected. The newspapers were thus able to announce in bold headlines "The Triumph of the Lemieux Act" - which was indirectly the triumph of Mackenzie King The political leaders could then devote their energies to the political campaign.

IV

Minister of Labour

Laurier entrusted the new portfolio of Minister of Labour not to Verville but to Mackenzie King, the real organizer of this Department, editor of the Labour Gazette, and principal author of the forward-looking Act of 1907. The grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie was an inheritor of a great political tradition and, equally, of a strong Liberal tradition. Laurier chose his lieutenants with care. He had formed in 1898 a Ministry called "The Ministry of All The Talents". He was now bringing on, both for his colleagues and for his party, a generation of "replacements". Indeed, he followed and helped to advance the careers of several of the sons of his old friends - such as in the province of Quebec Armand Laverne, Athanase David, Lucien Cannon, Hector Laferté, and Joseph-Edouard Perrault. He

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The election of 1908 certainly came at a more difficult time than previous elections. Laurier, anxious for his future Minister of Labour, wished him to stand in a safe constituency. The grandson of Mackenzie chose a less certain stamping ground, the riding of North Waterloo, in which the retiring member, of Conservative allegiance, was very much to the fore. Mackenzie King won the seat for his leader and for his party.

Ministers who wereintroducing or justifying new legislation, or replying to interruptions generally had been political figures who had had to fall back on the knowledge and judgment of their deputy ministers. Mackenzie King as Minister of Labour was an exception, for he possessed close and direct knowledge of all phases of the work of his department. He had no difficulty in demonstrating his grasp of any subject under debate, whether it be the eight-hour day, limitation of monopolies, heal th of workers , or technical education.

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This legislation made it possible for any six persons, under oath, to declare in writing before a Judge the existence of a combine or a monopoly, whereupon the judge could open an enquiry. If he held the complaint to be well-founded, he would submit the matter to the Minister of Labour. This latter then would name a board of arbitration composed of three members (one designated by the complainants, one by the company concerned, and the third chosen by the first two). The board of arbitration was to report to the Minister of Labour, who then had three courses open to him to bring pressure: publication of the report; a fine levied against the "trust"; and a reduction in the tariff protection provided for the industry involved.

Mackenzie King brought forward this new Bill not as a politician but as a trained economist. Laurier, among others, listened with rapt attention to the speech of introduction - no flights of oratory, but substantial, lucid and carefully documented. Georges Pelletier, correspondent of the Devoir, lately founded by Henri Bourassa, wrote in his column: "It is not every day that a member, or evene a minister, takes the trouble to prepare a speech so carefully. One may not agree with the opinions expressed, but one cannot deny that to make so remarkable a speech has required many hours of intelligent work."

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The King Act was passed, but at the end of the session, another serious and in some ways dramatic affair claimed the attention of the Minister. The strike of railway workers was renewed on a still greater scale. This time it was not the Canadian Pacific which was affected, but the Grand Trunk.

This was the outcome of a widespread movement among American railway unionists who had obtained, after months and even years of struggle, uniform salary scales and conditions of work on all the main lines of the United States. They had also gained similar conditions on the smaller Canadian lines. There remained the two dominant Canadian corporations, the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk, proud both of their riches and of their power. The Association of Railway Unions, affiliated to the great American Brotherhood with headquarters at Cleveland, had obtained the main concessions it sought, not without negotiation, from the Canadian Pacific.

Agreement with the Grand Trunk was more difficult because its employees were paid, not by the mile as on the Canadian Pacific, and other lines, but by the day. As locomotives were improved, and the speed of the trains increased, employees of the C.P.R., paid by the mile, naturally gained an advantage, while those of the Grand

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Trunk, paid by the day, remained at the same salary.

The railway unionists submitted their first claims in January 1910. Negotiations dragged along until March 17th. An attempt at conciliation was undertaken under the terms of the Lemieux Act. The board of conciliation met on May 25th, three weeks after the end of the session of parliament, and the members of the board handed in their report to the Minister of Labour on June 22nd.

Both parties rejected the conclusions of the report. The negotiations languished. The principal proprietors and directors of the Grank Traunk were living in England. Charles Hayes, the managing director, was an acknowledged railway man, well versed in all railway matters. The employees called him At the beginning of his career he had been instrumental in breaking a strike while he was still a locomotive engineer. The railway workers, for their part, took direction sent from Cleveland by an American, W. G. Lee, president of their Brotherhood, and handed on by James Murdock, vice-president. None of these conditions helped towards an understanding.

The Lemieux Act required an enquiry, but it could not compel arbitration. The directors on the one side and the trade unionists on the other had always rejected the principle of compulsory arbitration. The ordinary workmen

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were suspicious of arbitration, which in their eyes appeared to be a kind of judicial proceeding which did not take sufficient account of human values. Mackenzie King himself considered his duty in the matter as the most urgent kind of social responsibility. But he also believed in the virtues of collaboration, as opposed to the power of coercion, in any matter involving capital and labour. He had not hesitated to strike out the adjective "compulsory" from the vocabulary of industrial relations. He therefore had no wish to impose arbitration, but he tried to suggest that it should be used in this case. He offered his own good offices with a prudence which would not envenom the already strained relations.

The Company accepted in principle, but the railway workers raised difficulties. They proposed as arbitrators two Americans who had already come down strongly on the side of the trade unions in similar disputes in the United States. The Company flately refused such a tribunal, and made ready for battle. The American Federation equally set about preparations in a light-hearted fashion. The call for a strike was issued on the 18th of July. The same evening, 3,450 employees - conductors, brakemen, etc. - stopped work. Traffic was at a standstill on all 4,000 miles of the system, from Portland to Chicago. The following day

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shop workers of the Grand Trunk downed tools at Montreal, Toronto, London, Stratford, Port Huron, Battle Creek and Chicago. The number of strikers now reached 8,500.

It was evident that between two powerful modern forces - the railway company and the unionists - a real trial of force was beginning. At Montreal, Hayes thought he should teach a lesson to the workers at whatever cost. His reply to the strike was a lock-out. At Cleveland, Lee declared "there will be no quarter". The Grand Trunk was rich but the Federation controlled more than a million dollars cash, contributed to and shared by Canadian railway workers. In keeping with its regulations it paid out, as from the fifteenth day of the strike, an indemnity to all who had gone out on strike. The two camps swore that they would fight to the very end, until one or other adversary should give in. There was more than financial interests involved, for there was the prestige of both sides.

The Grand Trunk put strike breakers to work and was able to run a few passenger trains. But freit trains stood idle. The larger cities suffered in consequence. Montreal and its suburbs, already numbered half a million people. All of its primary food requirements had to come in from outside. A city of this size, deprived of railway communications, and especially before the age of motor cars,

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was like a city in a state of siege. There were fears for a complete famine of flour, meat, milk, and a breakdown of postal service. Public opinion became uneasy.

The Canadian workmen also thought the matter over. The union chiefs, James Murdock and S. N. Barry, telegraphed to the Minister of Labour that they would be prepared to consider arbitration "in view of their special obligation towards the public". The solution of Mackenzie King now was that there should be arbitration at the request of both parties, who would thereby obligate themselves in advance to conform with the decision. The Minister, in a happier frame of mind, informed the Grand Trunk of the new disposition of the workers. "Too late", says Hayes, "the moment is passed". Confident of his position, the managing director added: "All we require is the protection we are entitled to expect and we shall be able to resume the complete operation of the whole system."

Mackenzie King asked for a special meeting of the Cabinet. In the absence of Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright wrote to the director of the Grand Trunk to press for acceptance of arbitration. Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia and a personal friend of Hayes, took the letter down to him. On the other side, W. G. Lee and another American labour leader, A. B. Garretson of Iowa, came to

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Montreal to confer with Hayes. In England, W. A. Smithers, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Grand Trunk sailed in the "Mauretania". The Mayors of several Canadian cities and presidents of chambers of commerce wrote or telegraphed to Hayes. Business and the population itself were suffering throughout the country. Building contractors who were waiting for bricks to build, had to close their establishments. At Ottawa, J.R. Booth closed his paper mills which were not able to move their finished goods. Perhaps still more serious, in another direction, was the fact that a great international Eucharistic Congress was shortly to be held at Montreal. Msgr. Bruchesi, Mayor Guerin, the City of Montreal and the Province of Quebec itself feared that the Congress would have to be abandoned because of the strike. Students of sociology began to regret that the Lemieux Act had not provided for compulsory arbitration.

But how was agreement to be reached with a man like Hayes? And how were Americans like Lee and Garretson who were directing this strike in Canada to be influenced favourably? There were threats of sabotage. The Company hastily had sworn in 200 constables of whom several, it must be said, were not very good speciment. Signs printed in two languages denied access to Bonaventure Station to the curious. Both sides denied any responsibility. The conference between

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Hayes and the American labour leaders did not lead anywhere. On July 27th, an hour before the arrival of Sir Frederick Borden, James Murdock telegraphed to Mr. King: "Mr. Garretson and Mr. Lee have had a meeting today with Mr. Hayes but without result. May I suggest in the name of the employees on strike that in your capacity as a Minister of the Crown, and as a representative of the people, you should come to Montreal, and that by a new effort you should try to arrange an honourable settlement, either by arbitration or by means of further negotiations".

King in his turn went to Montreal, caught up with Sir Frederick Borden and attempted to bring renewed pressure on the Grand Trunk. The railway system had no concern with the monetary loss which was in the neighborhood of $100,000 a day. For their part, the strikers looked with favour to the approach of the fifteen day, at the end of which the American Federation would begin to pay them. Nevertheless the railway gave in to the request - to the pressure - of the Minister of Labour. Mackenzie King and Frderick Borden were able to convene a meeting at the office of the Grand Trunk. The Company was represented by Hayes, Wainwright and a lawyer. The workers were represented by the two Americans, Lee and Garretson. It was a Saturday, the fourteenth day of the strike. The conference lasted from 3 until

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7 p.m., then adjourned, reconvened at 9 p.m. and ended with agreement at 11 p.m. The Company agreed to meet with effect from January 1, 1912 the scale of salaries then applying on Canadian Pacific Railway lines. They undertook to re-employ, as soon as possible, those who had gone on strike who had not committed any act of violence or disorder. Lee and Garretson at once ordered the resumption of worlk.

There was a great sense of relief throughout the country. Though there was a sense of uneasiness throughout the Railway Brotherhood. Their American chiefs, after having submitted them to pressure and having multiplied the belligerents' proclamations, had now signed an agreement one hour before the fifteenth day of the strike, at the end of which the treasury of their own federation would have to begin payments to the Canadian strikers. Some of the workers thought "they have sold us out to Hayes". Certain lay leaders and certain religious figures in the province of Quebec in particular strengthened their preference for a kind of national syndicate by advocating a Catholic syndicalism.

There was one clause in the agreement which was particularly disquieting to James Murdock and S.N.Barry the Canadian leaders of the strike. The railway had under-

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taken to re-employ its workers "as rapidly as possible". The railwaymen did not appear to put much faith in the breadth of mind of Hayes in interpreting this provision. Once again they went to see the Minister of Labour. Mackenzie King went to see Hayes and Wainwright, who indicated that "as rapidly as possible" meant within three months. The Minister then telegraphed to Murdock and Barry asking them to bring the strike to an end, and the railwaymen thereupon returned to work.

The strike on the Grand Trunk had been both hard and disquieting. It certainly pointed some lessons. Among men charged with responsibilities there were two classes of thought, one favouring international trade unionism, the others advocating compulsory arbitration as the legal complement to obligatory enquiry. But it was never Mackenzie King's opinion that application of force must remain the ultimate method in industrial relations. The Minister of Labour held strongly to a middle road between conciliation and arbitration. The agrement concluded by the American leaders appeared to be shot full of holes. It did not obligate the railway company to give back to persons now re-employed their pension rights, but Mackenzie King, the disciple of Laurier, did not let the matter stand there. He discussed doubtful cases with

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Hayes, both by letter and through interviews. He succeeded so well as to receive congratulations and thanks from municipalities, from chambers of commerce and from the railwaymen themselves. "The Railroad Trainman" magazine of the Order of Railway Conductors gave him this praise: "The settlement has been brought about especially because of the Minister of Labour, associated with the Minister of Militia, and we have pleasure in paying tribute to the efforts having been made to reach an understanding."

This time again the re-establishment of industrial peace was valuable to Laurier. As political adversaries began to discuss heatedly his two great measures - the Navy Act and the proposals for reciprocity. Henri Bourassa was able to arouse a part of Quebec opinion against the Navy Act. The Tories were able to stir up a certain part of Ontario opinion against the reciprocity proposals.

The discussion of these great measures preoccupied the whole of the parliamentary debates of 1911, and this discussion was responsible for sidetracking two other measures proposed by the Minister of Labour.

The first of these prescribed an 8-hour working day in all public works undertaken on government account. The other forbade the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Mackenzie King had attended an inter-

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national congress in Italy which was studying ailments traceable to phosphorus, and especially a kind of gangrene of the jaw-bone brought about through absorption of phosphorus. Later on he had visited Canadian workers, toothless and disfigured, victims of this scourge. He said in bringing down the bill: "We speak often nowadays of the conservation of natural resources, but there are resources still more important: the conservation of human resources, the preservation of health and of human life." It affected himself, he affected also the House of Commons. The abrupt termination of the session, following the determination to appeal to the people, halted the two last bills of Mackenzie King, but at least the Borden government gave him the credit shortly afterwards of carrying the Bill which forbade the use of phosphorus.

V.

Faithful to Laurier

The electoral campaign of 1911 remains a memorable one. Two leading questions were discussed on the hustings: the Navy and reciprocity. The Canadian Navy was to be placed at the disposition of the Admiralty in case of war. Reciprocity was to be a sort of free trade on a limited scale between Canada and the United States.

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In the Province of Quebec, Conservatives and Nationalists fused together in the name of Autonomists, fought against the Navy Act with the cry: "Laurier has sold us out to England!" In the province of Ontario, imperialist elements tried to represent that reciprocity was but a prelude to annexation, and they fought against it with the cry: "Laurier has sold us out to the United States!" Laurier lost numbers of seats in the two larger provinces. In Ontario several Ministers went down to defeat before the violence of the anti-reciprocity campaign. Among others, the Minister of Labour, Mackenzie King, the former student at Chicago, the former fellowship holder at Harvard, who was supposed to have American sympathies. The Conservatives regained their fortress of North Waterloo.

Laurier had announced before the elections his willingness to resign in case he should be defeated. He gave up the government amid many demonstrations of sympathy, admiration and devotion, which arose from all parts of the country. The young Liberals of Montreal, headed by Victor Beique, made preparations for the first public appearance of Laurier after his defeat, on January 8, 1912. This was a remarkable and even a moving demonstration. The elderly chief had no more favours to bestow; his disinterested supporters - the sincere ones who had mourned on the evening

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of his defeat - wished to encourage him and to comfort him, and without doubt they succeeded in this. Three former Ministers, Sydney Fisher, George Graham and Mackenzie King, accompanied the illustrious leader. Mackenzie King representing "the voice of Ontario" predicted that before long the people would think better of their action and return the great Canadian to power for the better well-being of Canada, of all its provinces and of all the races who inhabited it.

Mackenzie King did not loose contact with political life, since he accepted the chairmanship of the leading Liberal association of Ontario, the Ontario Reform Association, and between 1911 and 1914 he was Director of the Information Bureau of the Liberal Party at Ottawa.

Even so, the man of politics had never quite triumphed over the scholar. At the beginning of 1914 the Rockefeller Foundation invited him to undertake certain industrial research. The work of this institute was largely concerned with human well-being. The special task of Mackenzie King was to be a study of industrial problems with the particular object of improving the relations between capital and labour. In short, Mackenzie King began what was to be the most important study of his lifetime. He continued to reside in Canada, though he made

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frequent trips to the United States. All of them reinforced his own basic conviction, the necessity for a trustworthy collaboration between capital and labour.

The first Great War had then broken out. In the United States, as in Canada a number of important industries had recourse to the mediation of Mackenzie King in labour disputes. The former Minister was able to settle, to the satisfaction of both parties, the strike of considerable proportions which broke out in Colorado. Workers and the managers of steel industries, naval dockyards, electrical equipment, sought his counsel and his intervention. In this way Mackenzie King was able to carry out the wartime task most congenial to his talents.

His experience in this field was in fact unique, at least in Canada. The degree to which he had become a sociologist was reflected in his principal work "Industry and Humanity" (published in the autumn of 1918) on problems of industrial relations. This volume was t anslated and published in France, with a preface by Gabriel Hanatoux, President of the France-America Committee. The French title "La Question Sociale au Canada" never really gave an understanding of the subject of the book to which it simply drew aside the door. The problems of labour ceased to be simply local problems, said Mackenzie King, who now advanced a universal point of

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view. The problems of labour could never in fact be separated from the problems of peace and of good health.

"Wherever in social and industrial relations, the rights of industry and those of humanity are opposed, it is those of industry which must give way". The Sociologist sought to introduce into the direction of industry that principle of representation which his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, had sought to introduce into political government. The relations between managers and workers in industry had become more and more impersonal. The gulf was broadening between those who exercised authority and those who had to submit to it. It was necessary to re-establish contact - for example by councils, commissions or combined conferences, so disposed as to substitute confidence for fear and out of which would grow, little by little, such a code of labour regulations as would guarantee lasting industrial peace. Without the common interest of management and of the worker, fear which paralyzed effort had to be eliminated. In seeking this goal, voluntary agreement was far preferable to intervention by the state. These ideas were not simply pure theory since the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, among others, had applied these ideas on the advice of Mackenzie King. Industrial problems were neither raised nor aggravated simply because of the war. Major discussion centred not on the principle of participation

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in the war, but as to whether mobilization should be voluntary or compulsory. Laurier, as Leader of the Opposition, came out strongly for voluntary enlistment which was quite in keeping with Liberal traditions.

The great majority of French speaking Canadians shared this opinion. The settlers of outlying Quebec, rooted in Canadian soil, would have given all of their blood for the defence of their own country, but they had never been convinced of the necessity of taking part in faraway wars. Laurier believed in the usefulness of explanation and of persuasion. Quite like the attitude of his former colleague Mackenzie King in dealing with labour questions.

In the English speaking provinces lived a large proportion of recent immigrants, still too close to their British origin not to wish to come to the aid of their mother country. These latter urged conscription. They undertook an active campaign and carried with them the majority opinion of their provinces. The Conservative Ministers and certain Liberal members from these provinces looked forward to conscription. Laurier and his French speaking lieutenants held strongly for voluntary system, conforming alike to Liberal principles and to the general will within Quebec province.

In order to carry out certain exceptional measures

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like conscription, the Prime Minister, Borden, formed a coalition cabinet with the support of certain Liberal leaders of the English speaking provinces. Laurier passed through one of the most pitiable periods of his career. The Liberal leaders of the West joined forces in the Union Government, carried over to Borden the solid Liberal organization of their provinces. It was like a general going over to the enemy with arms and baggage. Laurier was perhaps witnessing the ruin of a great party which was his own reasons for existence. Even more, among the men who now deserted him several had been brought into public life through his interest, and others - Rowell, Guthrie, Maclean, Carvell, Sifton - were not only his lieutenants but his close personal friends. Each new defection inflicted a cruel wound upon him. The old eagle, his plumes snatched out one by one, was left all bleeding.

Laurier refused to say a single harsh word against those who had transferred their allegiance. He understood the situation in which they were placed, for the state of mind had reached such a pitch that to be opposed to conscription in Ontario meant political suicide, almost equally surely and in the same way that support for conscription meant political suicide in Quebec. The expressions of fidelity brought some hope and encouragement to the aged leader.

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Among these faithful few were numbered Mackenzie King, the Laurier candidate in North York in the exceptionally difficult election of 1917. A thorough going Canadian, Mackenzie King put down all the evil machinations to the enemies of Great Britain. Drawing upon the religious nature he viewed the war as a kind of crusade, for law, for liberty, for democracy. As a Liberal he fought against the conscription act, calling up the remembrance of his grandfather which the same Country of York had elected and re-elected nine times despite official intimidation. He was attempting the impossible and he was defeated. On the following day his mother, the daughter of William Lyon Mackenzie who had been born in exile, passed away.

VI.

The Successor of Laurier

Once back in private life, Mackenzie King declined many offers from large industrial or charitable organizations in the United States. Politics still beckoned to him. Laurier died in February, 1919, almost on the morrow of the Armistice. The people had not been able to realize the wish of Mackenzie King, expressed after the elections of 1911, that Laurier might once again return to power. The leadership of the Liberal Party passed temporarily to D. D. Mackenzie, a member from Nova Scotia.

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Daniel D. Mackenzie - "D.D." to the House of Commons had an eloquence more facile than solid, embroidered with Biblical quotations. He could hold his own against Borden but not against the intelligent, able and incisive Meighen. He did not have the makings of a compelling leader and he did not greatly count upon his chances of being confirmed in the leadership at the Convention announced for August 7th at Ottawa. For the first time in the political history of Canada, the leader of a party was to be chosen not simply by the members of Parliament, but by a Convention of accredited delegates. It was evident that the province of Quebec provided the Liberal Party with the major part of its parliamentary forces and the opinion of Quebec there could not help but influence the Convention. Moreover, there was at work within that province a slow but sure current in favour of Mackenzie King, the former Minister of the Crown, who had not deserted Laurier but had been Laurier's candidate in an Ontario constituency at an hour which took courage above everything else. In January 1919, Mackenzie King was a guest of the Reform Club at Montreal. He had neither the charm of Laurier, nor the ardour of Bourassa, but he gave a speech on the relations between capital and labour which evoked warm praise from the press. In April he spoke before the Canadian Club, and later before a number of workers associa-

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tions at Quebec. Within two months after the death of Laurier King was being welcomed at Quebec as a friend of Sir Wilfrid. All because his Ontario constituency had rejected him at the election of 1917. Alexandre Taschereau exclaimed: "If Ontario does not want a man like you, Mr. King, come to Quebec and Quebec will be happy to give you one of its seats." Actually Quebec decided not to offer this facility to a new leader, as a means of avoiding identifying the party solely with French speaking Canada or of submerging it in the eyes of the English speaking provinces. On the eve of the Liberal Convention, Mackenzie King appeared to be the favorite of Quebec. At the same time some of the former unionists took the view that the situation which had brought them over to Borden had now come to an end and they now re-entered the Liberal field.

The Convention was opened under the joint chairmanship of Sir Lomer Gouin and Murray, former premier of Nova Scotia. The leading figures of the province of Quebec were Gouin, Lemieux, Dandurand, Bureau, Beland, Lapointe. The schemers might divide them into two triumvirates; the older of them, Gouin, Lemieux and Dandurand were old personal friends often consulted by Laurier. The youngsters, Bureau, Beland and Lapointe were less academic. The delegates of Quebec held a preliminary meeting under the chairmanship

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of Lemieux, than him there was not better chairman. One young Liberal member, Athanase David, raised an eloquent but vain protest against the decision to choose the new leader from outside the province of Quebec.

At the Convention, dominated naturally by the remembrance of Laurier, the French speaking Canadians cut a fine figure. Lemieux and Dandurand were the embodiment of distinction. Bureau expressed himself in English quite as well as in French. Lapointe sought, as Laurier had sought, to expose the basic ideas of Liberalism in Canada. Lapointe was a warm partisan of the former Minister of Labour who recalled the constitutional ideas of Laurier and dealt once more with industrial relations.

The main business was of course the choice of a leader. Of the four or five names on the ballot that of Fielding, the Minister of Finance, was outstanding. Fielding had been responsible for a degree of moderate protection imposed upon the free trade of Liberal doctrines. His wisdom had made him kindly regarded in industrial and financial circles and especially by their political ally Lomer Gouin. The latter foreseeing his own entry into the federal scene had a double reason for preferring Fielding, but because of his age could not expect to be chief indefinitely and a successor might soon have to be chosen. But Fielding

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without tying himself to Borden had cut himself off from Laurier to support conscription. The French speaking Liberals might encourage infant prodigees but they were not going to entrust the high command of the party to Fielding. The Toronto Globe came out for Fielding, but the delegates of Quebec determined to fight against his nomination. During a preliminary reunion of Quebec delegates, Trahan, M.P. for Nicolet, drew applause when he said: "I propose that this assembly go on record flatly against the candidature of Mr. Fielding". Gouin had to abstain from all publicity in favour of his candidate, already so unpopular.

Rodolphe Lemieux had thought of an English speaking Canadian from Quebec province, Sydney Fisher, well off and sympathetic to French Canadians. But it was determined to choose a leader from outside of Quebec and it was therefore necessary to concentrate support toward one of the candidates on the field - Mackenzie King, George P. Graham, D. D. Mackenzie - in order to cut out Fielding. Ernest Lapointe supported Mackenzie King. The Ontario loyalists still harbour certain reservations against the grandson of the rebel who had spent sometime in the United States and might be very often in the future. But the support of French speaking Canadians carried Mackenzie King to the head of the Liberal party with 476 against 438 for Fielding.

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"It is the choice of Quebec" wrote the Mail and Empire, the Tory journal of Toronto. "Mackenzie King expressed a wish for friendship and understanding between the two largest provinces and the two great races.

The new leader, defeated in 1911 and 1917, had as yet no place in parliament. But a by-election was shortly due in the riding of Prince, P.E.I. Mackenzie King was elected by acclamation to this seat.

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VII

REVENGE FOR 1911

Except in the province of Quebec, where it formed a solid block, the Liberal party had suffered greatly during the war and the period of the Union government. Reorganization was very necessary, and a new leader and his lieutenant Ernest Lapointe at once set about this task. In this way began that intimate collaboration which was brought to an end only by Lapointe's death. Together they travelled throughout the country, from the Maritime provinces to British Columbia, encouraging the faithful, reinspiring the indifferent , giving new directions and outlining their programme. Mackenzie King declared that the election of 1917 - a wartime election, conductedn under a special and exceptional procedure - had given the Union government a strictly limited mandate which had ended with the end of the war itself. He therefore called for a general election.

Borden had given over the reins to Meighen, a leader of unquestionable capability, but roundly opposed in the province of Quebec because of his imperialist sentiments and by the stiffness of his appearance and his character. Meighen took all the pains in the world to seek out ministers for his cabinet who would represent the French-Canadian element. The party in power was no less menaced than the provinces of the west by the gains in strength of United Farmers and Progressives. Finally, Mackenzie King, leader of the opposition,

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kept urging the government to return to a more normal life by holding an election, not only on questions arising from the war, but on the great national questions now arising from a time of peace. On September 1st, 1921, Prime Minister Meighen announced an appeal to the people for that autumn.

The Liberal campaign was inaugurated by a banquet in honour of Rodolphe Lemieux on the occasion of his political jubilee on the 22nd of September. After twenty-five years of parliamentary life, Rodolphe Lemieux, learned, amenable, eloquent, faithful to his leaders and to his friends, appeared as one of the figures - if not the most vigorous at least the most distinguished - of all Canadian politics. Mackenzie King, his former subordinate now become his chief, paid him a sincere tribute and used the circumstance to outline the party programme. He laid great stress upon the middle position of the Liberal party, midway between the protectionist Conservatives and the Farmer free-traders.

Three parties put candidates into the field: the United Farmers, led by T. A. Crerar; the Conservatives, led by Arthur Meighen; the Liberals, led by Mackenzie King. The United Farmers paid no attention to Quebec, but took an interest in rural Ontario and counted upon a clean sweep of the three prairie provinces. The protectionist Conservatives placed their hope in the Ontario block, reinforced by industrial elements in the

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other provinces who had supported conscription. The Liberals depended on the Quebec block, augmented, here and there, by anti-governmental constituencies. Observers forecast a three party House of Commons, in which no one would have an absolute majority but in which the Liberals would be the strongest single group.

For Mackenzie King the easiest course would be to continue to represent Prince Edward Island where the riding of Prince would re-elect him perhaps by acclamation. But Mackenzie King did not consider mere facility. Success had never come to him on a silver platter as has sometimes been imagined. The leader of the Liberal party announced he would run in Ontario, in the same riding of North York in which he had been defeated in 1917. The electors recognized this kind of moral courage and elected him by a majority of 1055 votes.

The province of Quebec returned sixty-five Liberals as Members. There were no Conservatives, no Progressives, no Independents, and the majorities were so great as to surprise the party following. Several majorities were over eight thousand, nine thousand, and even ten thousand votes. Ontario, strongly impressed by the gesture of Mackenzie King, cut into the Conservative block by electing twenty-four Liberals. Together with seats in the west and in the maritimes, Mackenzie King commanded a group of 118 Members, of whom more than half came

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from Quebec. For the "old guard", December 6, 1921, had wiped out the doleful recollection of September 21, 1911.

The course of action opened to the Governor General was clearly to entrust the formation of a new cabinet to the leader of the party with the largest following. The Liberals numbered one hundred and eighteen Members; the Conservatives and the Progressives together one hundred and seventeen. The Liberals would lose one member in electing one of their own number to be Speaker. It would require audacity and finesse both by Mackenzie King and by Ernest Lapointe to guide the ship of state in this political weather.

VIII

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

If it required care to manœuvre among the parties, it required equal care in dealing with the relations between provinces and groups of provinces. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island could fall back upon a certain group of projects identified as "maritime rights": a readjustment of freight charges on the old Intercolonial Railway; increase in federal subsidies; assistance to the coal and steel industries of Nova Scotia. The provinces of the West also were ready to present a list of needs: reduction of cost of transport; re-establishment of the Commission (first set up during the war)

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to facilitate the marketing and to maintain the price of wheat; handing back to the prairie provinces of control of their natural resources. The Conservative protectionists, drawing their support from Ontario, were flatly opposed to the Provressive programme. The Liberals, with but an unsteady majority over the two other parties, were themselves divided by two tendencies. The one, inclining towards the Progressives, was guided by Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe. The other, much closer to the Conservatives on the important question of tariffs, had Lomer Gouin for its spokeman.

Mackenzie King sought to have all of the provinces represented in his cabinet. In Alberta, entirely Progressive, not a single Liberal had been elected. At the request of Mackenzie King, of Ernest Lapointe, and of all the Liberal leaders, one constituency in Quebec province - the County of Argenteuil, where the Member had passed away on the morrow of his election - had the generosity to elect Charles Stewart, former Premier of Alberta, thereby enabling him to sit in the house and to assume the office of Minister of the Interior.

Mackenzie King also showed much good-will towards the Western provinces. On most matters of public policy, the Progressive members were much closer to the Liberals than to the Conservatives. King and Lapointe valued Crerar's qualities

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and they brought about a gradual rapprochement with the Progressives.

There was another responsibility: to wipe out the divisions arising from the war. An international incident helped to complete this task in the summer of 1922. Britain and Turkey found themselves upon the brink of armed conflict. Britain asked each of the Dominions, by cable, if they would participate in case war should follow. By an indiscretion, which may not have been voluntary, certain press agencies found out, if not the text, at least the sense of the telegram, at the same time as the Prime Minister of Canada. In Ontario, Arthur Meighen without hesitation launched the old war cry: "ready aye ready"! Toronto newspapers urged an immediate declaration of imperial solidarity. Opinion in Quebec was strongly opposed to any expedition to the Dardanelles, and both Members of Parliament and the newspapers of that province made no secret of this opposition.

In an excited capital, Mackenzie King kept his head. He knew very well the opinion in Ontario, ultra-loyalist, and aroused by Meighen. He knew also the opinion of Quebec, the pillar of the Liberal party. He consulted Crerar, leader of the Progressive party, to find that the western farmers, bound up with their own problems, thought of Constantnipole as far removed from Winnipeg. Crerar advised prudence, and that Parliament

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should be consulted. This was entirely in keeping with the feeling of the Prime Minister. Mackenzie King sought fuller explanations from London, and on his instructions Fielding and Lapointe, who were then in attendance at the League of Nations, suggested mediation by Geneva.

The telephone and the telegraph ~~extend to every~~ connect countries throughout the country. The newspapers gave full accounts of the situation. In the province of Quebec, various national societies got ready to sign petitions. A decision in whatever sense would inevitably offend an important part of Canadian opinion. Fortunately, the crisis wore itself out. In England, it led to the fall of Lloyd George. The incident of the Dardanelles, also called the Chanak incident, illustrates the essential method of the Prime Minister, who approached the diplomatic uproar with the same prudence that he had once used in dealing with labour disputes. He interpreted also the understandable hesitation of a country at the crossroads, and the result revealed a tendency to discard imperialism altogether. Mackenzie King was moving towards a policy of "no commitments".

This incident closed and with calmer spirits, the Prime Minister and his colleagues turned back to the large financial and railway questions which made up a heavy burden carried over from the war. The whole civilized world was passing through an economic

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crisis. King had offered the portfolio of Finance to Fielding, his rival in the convention at Ottawa. And Fielding certainly had both competence and presence; he knew how to present budgets in a persuasive manner. Fielding, and his successor, Robb, devoted their attention to a reduction of expenditures, a lessening of the national debt, and to a readjustment of the tariff.

The agricultural community, strong in the west, hoped for free trade in order to facilitate export of excess production. Industrial circles, strongest in the east, hoped for tariff protection as a means of resisting the competition of powerful American industry. The Liberal tradition inclined towards free trade, while the Conservative position favoured a policy of protection. The Liberal convention of 1919 had reaffirmed the traditional hostility of the party to excessive customs tariffs, which in the long run affected the consumer more than any one else. But King, Lapointe and their colleagues believed in the usefulness of compromise as a safeguard for national unity. They had to consider also that tariff reduction might mean a reduction in fiscal receipts. The King Administration brought about prudent and gradual changes, weighing and conciliating the interests of agriculture with those of industry, the interest of the West with that of the East. The budget was balanced during the fiscal year 1923-24. James Alexander Robb, Member for Huntingdon, and successor to Fielding, was thereupon able to remove or reduce

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certain taxes, to remove or reduce customs tariffs (in particular on capital goods needed in primary industries, agriculture, mines fisheries and forests). Canada concluded commercial treaties with several foreign countries.

The gradual return of prosperity helped to accomplish this task. In the same way it assisted in the reorganization of the national railways.

Canada came out of the war with two great railway systems, the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National. The C.P.R. was a private corporation, well managed and prosperous. The C.N.R. owned by the nation, was a very recent amalgamation of a variety of lines scattered over the country, nearly all of them in arrears, and which the Union government had bought out to avoid their failing completely, which would have greatlt aggravated the economic crisis. Within this amalgamation there were, among other lines, the Intercolonial built shortly after Confederation to link the Maritime provinces with central Canada; the Grand Trunk, oldest of the Canadian systems; the Transcontinental, constructed under the Laurier government; and the Canadian Northern built of bits and pieces by the speculators Mackenzie and Mann. This patchword lacked any uniformity, any discipline, any animation.

The Canadian government entrusted the reorganization of this hodge podge to a noted expert, Sir Henry Thornton,

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American born, but who had won his spurs in England, He was a giant of a man, competent and a veritable dynamo of energy. Thornton travelled over all of the lines, inspired a new esprit de corps, modernized the rolling stock, and made out of this heterogenuous amalgam a great railway system, and one which rivalled the Canadian Pacific. Thornton loved publicity, both colorful and noisy - he wanted at one stage to conduct the C.N.R. orchestra himself - but this was all a part of the allure of this century and of this continent. Two great railway systems began an assault on the records.

With financial conditions stabilized, the railway lines reorganized, a new wave of prosperity began to spread across the country. The West began to export wheat in formidable quantities. Paper mills in Ontario and Quebec began to supply the press both of England and of America. More and more ocean-going vessels put into the port of Montreal. A brief constitutional drama now upset the political life.

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IX

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

On October 29, 1925, for the first time in Canadian history, thousands of persons learned the result of a general election by radio. The election of 1921 had placed the Liberal party in the lead, the Progressives in the middle, and the Conservatives at the foot of the polls. In the election of 1925, the Liberal block remained almost intact in the province of Quebec (sixty-one Liberals and four Conservatives, all four elected in constituencies with an English-speaking majority), but a landslide appeared in other provinces. In Ontario, Mackenzie King and his colleagues bit the dust. Over the whole of the country the electors returned to the House of Commons one hundred and seventeen Conservatives, one hundred and one Liberals, twenty-four Progressives, two Labour, and one Independent.

Arthur Meighen already saw himself Prime Minister. But the small Progressive group, arbitrator in this situation despite their reduced numbers, leaned to the Liberals rather than towards the Conservatives. In these circumstances, Mackenzie King had more chances to form a government than Arthur Meighen. He consulted his colleagues and his friends. Alexander Taschereau, Premier of the province of Quebec, advised him to stand his ground. It was worth waiting to see what would happen in this very difficult situation. After all, it was the majority in the House of Commons which would sustain or turn out

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the Ministry. The King government remained in power. Ernest Lapointe acted as leader in the House in the absence of the Prime Minister, who had been defeated in his own riding.

So began an extraordinary session. The Conservative leaders - Arthur Meighen, Robert Rogers, R. B. Bennett, and H. H. Stevens - all skilled and vigorous - launched a furious assault against the government. Bob Rogers, members for Winnipeg, tried to win over the Progressive following, but an influential journalist, John W. Dafoe, editor-in-chief of the Winnipeg Free Press, offset these approaches. Ernest Lapointe, always sympathetic to the Progressives, was on excellent terms with Robert Forke, their new leader. The first vote of the session was highly exciting, for the life or death of the ministry depended on four or five undecided Progressives. Jean Denis, Member for Joliette, made a stirring appeal to them. One Progressive voted for the government and the Liberals applauded him. Another voted with the Opposition and the Conservatives in turn threw blue books into the air in acclamation. A third Progressive abstained from voting and there was general silence. A fourth, whom Bob Rogers thought he had won over, stood up and said to his neighbour "watch Bob while I give my vote". He voted for the government. Bob swore under his breath. The government carried the day, and carried on by a majority of three.

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The Liberals began to sing and wave their handkerchiefs.

This majority was sustained. Ministers and French-Canadian Members deserve a large part of the credit. Lapointe, Cardin, Boivin, Cannon, fought with good humour against Meighen, Rogers, Bennett, Stevens. At once firm and conciliatory, Lapointe never lost his mastery of the situation. Never for a minute did he make any attempt to supplant the leader whom he was replacing momentarily in Parliament. On February 15, 1926, at a by-election, the Saskatchewan constituency of Prince Albert returned the Prime Minister to the House of Commons by a large majority. The added strength of Charles Dunning, lately Premier of Saskatchewan, who gave up his office in that province to take the portfolio of Railways in the federal cabinet, still further consolidated the government. A man of the West, formerly director of a large agricultural cooperative, Dunning helped forward the rapprochement with the Progressives. The budget brought down by Robb included a number of reductions in import duties. It was carried by one hundred and twentyone votes to one hundred and eight.

The Conservatives did not admit that they were beaten. They demanded a searching inquiry into the administration of Customs, directed especially at the former Minister, Jacques Bureau, who had been appointed to the Senate for reasons of health. Stevens, the most violent speaker, suggested that the

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government in making Bureau a Senator had thereby removed an embarrassing colleague. "Mr. Bureau", replied Mackenzie King, "has been appointed a Senator because he has given twenty-five years of his life to the service of his country". Then;

"If there is a single member of this House who did not have the fullest confidence in the integrity of Mr. Bureau while he was a minister of the Crown, let him rise in his place."

At the end of a rather long minute, a Conservative member stood up. It was old Bob White, of the Gazette - passed his seventieth birthday, with his head bent over, and his thin voice. He said: Mr. Bureau indeed enjoyed general esteem.

Despite this chivalrous intervention, it was evidently to be more than a war of words. The government had a precarious majority and was in constant danger. From Halifax to Vancouver, editorial offices were constantly on the alert. The Toronto Star published an interview with the well-known expert in constitutional law, John S. Ewart. Mr. King could not continue in these conditions, said the jurist; but he was not defeated. If he were to ask for a dissolution, the Governor General, according to all constitutional precedence, would not be able to refuse it.

This consultation signified something else. At the very hour when it was published, Mackenzie King had gone to Rideau Hall and had asked the Governor General to dissolve the House of Commons in order to bring on a new election. Lord Byng

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politely refused.

On June 28, Mackenzie King invited the attention of the Governor - first verbally, then in writing - tothe implications of his decision, one without precedent in the history of Great Britain for over a century, and in the history of Canada since Confederation. He then announced in the House of Commons that the Governor General had declined to grant a dissolution and that the Administration would therefore submit its resignation.

Arthur Meighen set up a provisional cabinet of seven ministers without portfolio (sic) (? acting ministers). (By this means he avoided the loss of any voting strength because a subtle interpretation of parliamentary rule relieved ministers without portfolio / sic / (? acting ministers) from the necessity of seeking re-election before resuming their seats in the House.) But Meighen no more than King was in a position to carry on the government. The decision of the Governor General was widely discussed and also the exceptional character of this cabinet of "shadow ministers".

On the 1st of July, on a motion of confidence presented by Robb, the Meighen government was in a minority of a single vote. The Liberals stamped their feet. Others cried out "resign". Still others applauded, and the demonstration for Mr. King

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continued forssome minutes. Carried in in triumph, hoisted up on a table, the ex-Prime Minister had to improvise a speech. He expressed his particular gratitude to Henri Bourassa, M.P. for Labelle, who had supported the Liberals vigorously throughout the crisis. The grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie cried out to the grandson of Papineau: "Our grandfathers fought side by side for our constitutional liberties. It is the same fight which we are taking up again today. The proceedings of this evening show that it will succeed." The Meighen cabinet had lasted but three days.

On the following day, at eleven o'clock, Mackenzie King asked the members of his ex-cabinet to meet in his office. All of them were awaiting a message from the Governor General, who was to send for King and to hand back to him the reins of office. The flag flying from the East Block marked the presence of the Governor General in his office. Both former and prospective ministers, somewhat nervously, awaited the summons.

At half past twelve, the flag was taken down. Lord Byng returned to Rideau Hall without having sent for Mackenzie King. He had given to Meighen the dissolution which had been refused to King. It was Arthur Meighen remaining as Prime Minister who would control the "machine" if there were an election.

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"It is a coup d'etat" said Mackenzie King. "It is a coup d'etat" said Henri Bourassa. "It is a coup d'etat" said the aged Sifton from Winnipeg. "It is a coup d'etat" agreed N. W. Rowell, former Unionist minister in a letter to the Toronto Globe. The celebrated constitutional authority Ewart recalled that the right of veto, still existing in theory, had not been invoked since the reign of Queen Anne and that the right still existing in theory of refusing a dissolution had not been exercised since the reign of George III. The newspapers and many Liberal orators saw a threat to popular liberty. At once they asked the constitutional question: "Is Canada an autonomous Dominion or a Colony? Who governs: the representatives of the people or the representative of the Crown?"

Mackenzie King issued a statement which concluded in this way: "The basic question which is before the people at this moment is to know, yes or no, if the government is to be carried on in Canada in accordance with the will of the people under the direction of a responsible minister in keeping with the usages of Parliament".

Lapointe said: "The election which will now take place will show up in a striking fashion the vital difference which separates the two major parties. The battle is about to begin - and it is Mr. Meighen who has brought it on - on a question which has placed in jeopardy the future of our country and our existence as an autonomous nation. Faithful to its tradition, the Liberal

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party will fight to the end for the liberties of Canada."

Henri Bourassa raised another question. An Imperial Conference was shortly to be held in London. There were many indications that both the British government, its representative the Governor General, and certain imperialists usually known as "jingos" would have liked to see Arthur Meighen as Prime Minister, representing Canada - the same Meighen who had cried "ready aye ready" at the time of the Chanak incident. They would have preferred Meighen rather than Mackenzie King, who had shown himself much more prudent.

This idea was taken up in earnest in Quebec. There the Conservative organization was moving forward very slowly despite the support brought to Meighen by Esioff Patenaude. But in Ontario there were widespread cries against "disloyalty", against "separatism", and against the supposed annexationist tendencies of Mackenzie King, "dominated by the province of Quebec". Throughout the country the campaign was marked by spectacular and noisy meetings held by both parties.

On September 14, the Quebec bloc was returned without any change: 61 Liberals, and 4 Conservatives. The Liberals gained three seats in New Brunswick, and thirteen in Ontario. In the prairie provinces, the Liberal-Progressive coalition wiped out the Conservative party. Both Meighen and Bob Rogers were defeated. The final returns showed one hundred and nineteen Liberals, ninety-one Conservatives, eleven Liberal-Progressives, eight Progressives,

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eleven United Farmers of Alberta, three Labour, and two Independents. As the Progressives and Labour Members openly gave their support to the Liberals, the latter were able to resume and to remain in power.

Mackenzie King, vindicated by the people, made his first act on the 15th of September the laying of a wreath on the grave of Laurier.

X

SECOND KING ADMINISTRATION

During October and November of 1926, Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe represented Canada at the Imperial Conference in London. Like earlier conferences, this meeting brought together a host of names now writtin into history: Stanely Baldwin, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Winston S. Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Balfour, Lord President of the Council; S. M. Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia; J. G. Coates, Prime Minister of New Zealand; W. T. Cosgrave, President of the Irish Free State; J. B. M. Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa; W. S. Monroe, Prime Minister of Newfoundland.

Two main lines of thought appeared at this conference in London. The representatives of Newfoundland were seeking a strengthening of the tie with Britain. President Cosgrave and

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General Hertzog favoured an opposite tendency, but without cutting the bonds. King and Lapointe and their party had fought and refought for power in combatting Tory imperialism and the suggestion of imperial interference in the affairs in Canada. It was true that the great bulk of their adherents were in the province of Quebec. But Henri Bourassa had supported them with this argument: "at London Mackenzie King will defend our liberties more energetically than Meighen." Bourassa and his followers thought of Mackenzie King as having the will "to attack the imperialist evil at its roots."

Nothing was however less like Mackenzie King, who throughout his whole career as head of a democratic country, has been so well served by his genius in seeking middle courses, than Bourassa's desire that he should "hew down the imperialist tree". There was nothing defiant, nothing of what the Americans call "glamourous" in the life of this statesman, who has always had Time as an ally. This follower of Laurier, this well-tried mediator of industrial conflicts, found rather in the conference at London an admirable occasion for using his talents as a conciliator. Quite like Laurier at the earliest Imperial Conferences, he sought a reconciliation - apparently a difficult task - between Canadian autonomy and imperial solidarity. In this the importance of Canada itself was of assistance, and Mackenzie King exerted a

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notable influence upon the course of debates and in the formulation of the statements incorporating a common agreement.

The official report of the 1926 Conference defines a status of Great Britain and the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Commonwealth, equal in status, in no way subordinate the one to the other, in any point of their domestic or external policy, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The title of the King and several administrative procedures which appeared to imply a subordination of the Dominions were modified. It was made clear that in future in the several Dominions the Governors General would represent, not the government at London, or any United Kingdom administration, but would represent the King. A number of changes in the form of negotiation of treaties helped to enhance the international personality of the Dominions. Canada now established in Washington not yet an Embassy but a Legation under a Minister appointed by the King on the recommendation of the Privy Council in Canada. The powers of plenipotentiaries appointed by the King would no longer be unlimited throughout the British Empire; they would be limited to a defined part. No longer would treaties be signed as for the British Empire as a whole. Those which related to Great Britain would be signed as in the name of Great Britain; and if the treaties were of wider application, it would be open

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to the several Dominions to add their signatures if they wished. This procedure helped also to obviate the use of "exclusion cáduses" - such as those in the Treaty of Locarno, stipulating that the Dominions could not be bound without their consent.

Much of this procedure had already been recognized but it now became fact as well as usage. As such, it was in keeping with British habits of mind in the realm of public law, where the written formulation does not create nor even precede the accomplished fact but gives a sanction to it. The clarification by which the Governor General was declared to represent, not the government of London, or any United Kingdom administration, but the King, wrote an epilogue to the "coup d'etat" of Lord Byng. x A Governor General could not in future hesitate to follow the advice of his cabinet at Ottawa rather than that of the cabinet in London. The conferences at which Laurier represented Canada, Borden's signature of the Treaty of Versailles in the name of Canada, and the conference of 1926 were the landmarks of a constitutional evolution. Step by step Canada had developed and affirmed an international personality.

Several texts drawn up at the conference were obscure enough to cover the embarrassment occasioned by seeking to reconcile imperial solidarity with the autonomy of the Dominions. Such a situation requiring flexibility above all else was not to be resolved by too formal or too rigid texts. Mackenzie King was able to use several occasions - among others the appointment of a High

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Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada - to emphasize that there was nothing incompatible as between Canadian autonomy and imperial unity.

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Following this interview of the "coup d'etat" and the conference in London, the King administration turned its attention to domestic politics, with special reference to the gradual readjustment of tariffs and taxation. It had been customary for major industries interested in securing modifications in the tariff to make repeated approaches to the government and to try to bring all kinds of influence to bear. Mackenzie King set up the Tariff Board, which now received all such requests and studied them thoroughly in the manner of a judicial tribunal. The Tariff Board heard the representations of producers, of manufacturers, and of consumers, and in each case submitted its report to the Minister of Finance. This procedure had the double advantage of enabling tariff revision to be undertaken in an equitable and coherent way.

The Prime Minister who had taken a leading part in the constitutional evolution and in the financial readjustment of Canada never lost his leading interest in social questions. On assuming office in 1921, he had entrusted the portfolio of Labour to James Murdock, vice-president of the Railway Brotherhood, whose good-will in the difficult days of the strike on the Grand Trunk he well remembered. Murdock was defeated at the same time as his leader in the election of 1925, and he was not able to gain a seat at the election of 1926.

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His place was taken by Peter Heenan, Chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and M.P. for Kenora, Ontario. The Department of Labour was Mr. King's own creation and he showed a faithful attachment to the Department to the careers of all its officers, however modest, who had been original employees of the Department. (An elderly French-speaking clerk of the Department has kept as a special relic the long and touching personal letter written in the Prime Minister's hand which was sent to him at the time of his wife's death).

The Prime Minister continued to give attention to various measures of social legislation - loans for farmers, old age pensions - which marked the beginning of a new road. He was already thinking at this time of unemployment insurance. He was envisaging a vast programme of social insurance. There was throughout one particular difficulty. In principle, social legislation was a matter of provincial authority. The Province of Quebec, having a certain particular "rights" to safeguard, was understandably jealous of its prerogatives. And, in any case, it was difficult to apply measures such as old age pensions and especially loans for farmers at one and the same time to the provinces of the West and to Quebec. There were too many differences in the system of land-holding, methods of cultivation and in local conditions themselves. The scale of loans and the rates of interest might encourage widespread development, for example, in Manitoba, but they were scarcely applicable to the

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farms of Charlevoix county.

Then, during this period, the great wave of prosperity disguised the urgency of social measures. Economic expansion, increased from year to year, and even from month to month. The abundant harvests of the Prairies provided employment for all available men. Every available index - statistics of production, balance of trade, taxation receipts, savings bank deposits, life insurance contracts in force, and the number of automobiles and telephones, reflected this prosperity. The port of Montreal surpassed all previous records - total tonnage imported and exported, warehousing, carloadings. The port of Vancouver advanced even more rapidly. The Canadian Pacific was able to pay handsome dividends to its shareholders, and the Canadian National, in such low water when Henry Thornton took over, was showing a profit on operations. American tourists, with full pocket books, came to Canada each summer in great numbers. The wind was set fair for optimism.

The wave of prosperity continued throughout 1927, 1928 and 1929. The cultivation of wheat in the Canadian West saw such an expansion that the Prairie provinces came to be called "the granary of the world". The federal department of Agriculture took steps to protect this national wealth by prosecuting a vigorous campaign, using all aids of science, against rust and other blights on wheat. Building upon its

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hydro electric resources, the province of Quebec had entered upon a great period of industrial expansion. The mining industry gave rise to whole new towns, first in "New Ontario", and then in "New Quebec". Canada became the fifth trading nation among all the nations of the world. The port of Montreal set a world's record for exportation of cereal grains. The port of Vancouver, which in the year 1920-21 had exported but half a million bushels of wheat, during the season of 1927-28 shipped out eighty million bushels. The C.P.R. and C.N.R. extended branch lines, constructed large hotels, ordered new steamships in Britain. The Angus shops of the Canadian Pacific built the most powerful steam locomotive in the British Empire, No. 3100. The Canadian National shops at Kingston built an ultra-modern oil-electric locomotive weighing 650,000 pounds, and generating enough electricity to light a small city. It could pull the heaviest freight trains in Canada at the fastest speed on record.

This spirit of optimism applied far more widely than to the railways alone. From month to month, and soon from day to day, announcements were made of large surpluses, of the opening of new roads, of new bridges, of new power lines, and of new factories. The words "progress, prosperity, development, optimism", reappeared twenty times in the reports of the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Bank of Commerce,

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also the Banque Canadienne Nationale. How much the leader who presided over this great expansion, which had been helped on by such measures as a readjustment of customs tariffs and freight rates - how often he must have expressed in secret his gratitude to Providence?

On October 28, 1928, the City of Quebec gave a triumphant reception to Mackenzie King on his return from Europe. All the speakers invoked the memory of Laurier. Any one else than Mackenzie King must perhaps have been put out by such an exaltation of his predecessor. But the attitude of King towards Laurier and towards the glory of Laurier was at once as clear and as disinterested as that of Ernest Lapointe towards King himself. The Prime Minister himself set the example in paying the most sincere tribute to the memory of his illustrious predecessor and his former leader. The long-time electors of Laurier paid their own tribute by their applause to King and Lapointe together - two men who provided a unique model of the most trusting kind of collaboration. The Liberal party, the party of Laurier, of King, and of Lapointe, was truly at its zenith.

Over the whole of the North American continent prosperity had reached dizzy heights. Almost inevitably intensive and unwise speculation followed in its train. In the spring of 1928, more than one hundred thousand transactions

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were recorded in a single day on the Montreal stock exchange. This was a record. During the month of November the figure jumped up to two hundred thousand transfers, at a moment when the New York stock exchange was recording five or six million transactions daily. Large corporations undertook very unwise issues of new capitalization.

. . . . . .

On the 24th of October, 1929, a sudden and catastrophic crash sent stock exchange values tumbling on the New York stock exchange. Within a minute, millions of dollars had been wiped out. A panic seized Wall Street, and it spread in turn to Montreal, Toronto, and every stock exchange on the American continent. St. James Street had never known such excitement.

This was the beginning of a world-wide economic crisis, of a gravity quite without precedent. The first disquieting symptom in Canada was the necessity of selling wheat at a loss - something which affected all kinds of transport directly and indirectly the business affairs of the whole country. Soon after, there was a crisis in the paper industry, and then all industries began to suffer, especially those which had greatly increased their capital and their equipment. Prices fell, salaries were sharply reduced, and receipts declined. The worst feature of the crisis - unemployment, increased in the cities and spread into the rural areas. The United States had

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surrounded itself with a tariff wall, thereby denying one of the principal markets for our agricultural products.

The King government gave still closer study to its budget. On the death of Mr. Robb, Charles Dunning had taken over the portfolio of finance. He sought to emphasize the British preference, and took certain measures to offset the United States tariff wall. Certain large-scale public works were halted by the government. On April 21st, 1930, the first cargo vessel passed through the locks of the new Welland canal. Linking Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, across the Niagara peninsula, the new Welland canal rounded out the great waterway of inland navigation which extends from Detroit through the Great Lakes to Duluth at the western limit of Lake Superior. On May 24th, the Chairman of the Montreal Harbour Commission called upon Monseigneur Gauthier, Archbishop Coadjutor, to give a solemn blessing at the inauguration of the new bridge between Montreal and Longueuil. Seated in his own office in Ottawa, Mr. Mackenzie King spoke to the throng assembled on St. Helen's Island by means of telephone and loud speaker.

But, alas, gilt-edged stocks continued to decline on the exchange and the low prices for wheat aggravated the prices. In turn, the crisis put a stop to the extensive work of renovation planned by Thornton for the Canadian National Railways. American tourists became less numerous and less prodigal during the summer of 1930. The growing spectre of

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unemployment created alarm throughout the country. All in all an election was inescapable.

R. B. Bennett, leader of the Conservative party, launched a torrent of oratory across all nine provinces, stamping his campaign with a markedly economic tinge. He laid the responsibility for the crisis and for unemployment at the door of the Liberal government. He promised to do away with these evils if the people returned him to power.

During the campaign, speakers and party organizers directed their attack to one particular point: butter from New Zealand. The King government had signed a treaty with New Zealand, a good customer for the paper mills of Quebec and the motor industries of Ontario. This treaty granted favourable terms for the importation of New Zealand butter, something which at the time was unexceptional since Canadian production had never reached the level of domestic consumption. But then came the new American tariff which restricted Canadian exports of cream and of cheese. Canadian farmers began to turn their milk into butter and for this reason were opposed to the competition of the New Zealand product. Conservative speakers exploited this situation to the full. Every radio station resounded with the discussion on New Zealand butter. Rural electors already excited by the campaign refused to discuss anything else.

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And on this question, the habitants refused to allow their to talk about anything else.
~~x~~ Montreal lawyers. In short, the question of New Zealand butter played in the elections of 1930 as large a part as the constitutional issues had done in the elections of 1926. This time the offensive rested with the Conservative side.

The result of the polling showed one hundred and thirty-seven Conservatives; 87 Liberals, and small groups of United Farmers, Progressives, Socialists, and Independents. The Quebec bloc was seriously divided, for that province returned forty Liberals, twenty-four Conservatives, and an Independent, in place of sixty Liberals, four Conservatives, and one Independent. A victim of the crisis in general, and of New Zealand butter in particular, Mackenzie King gave place to R. B. Bennett, who arrived on the scene with a great bagful of promises.

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XI

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

R. B. Bennett on Trial - The Prerogatives of Parliament - Elections of October 14, 1935.

Bennett had been full of promises; much was expected of him; but in spite of his personal stature and his tremendous activity he declined rapidly in the popular view. He could offer only palliative measures, and the crisis which spread over several years got worse instead of better.

New storms swept the American exchanges from time to time and Mr. Roosevelt on assuming office as President was confronted with a task of gigantic proportions. In Canada, the depressed prices of wheat rose in a considerable measure from the setting up of a kind of cartel by the large co-operative "pools" of the West, which piled up large stocks rather than allow them to be sold at a lower price. The banks, the governments of the prairie provinces, and even the federal government encouraged them to do so. During this period, wheat from Argentine began to displace Canadian wheat on British markets.

The decline in general business activity also involved deficits for the railways. The tourist traffic was but a shadow of what it had once been. The Canadian Pacific decided to close the historic Place Viger station. The

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Canadian National halted work on the new station in Montreal. All across the country factories had to close, leaving their workers on the street. Tenants stopped paying rent. The decline in agricultural prices was even more marked than that of industrial goods. Not even the abrogation of the treaty with New Zealand prevented the fall in the price of butter. Wheat piled up in elevators, while thousands of persons suffered from hunger. Farmers were unable to pay either interest or principal on their mortgages. Within the cities new groups appeared in the already expanding ranks of the unemployed. Unemployment affected not only industrial workers but an immense group of "white collar" workers. The gravest sign of all perhaps was to see young men frankly giving up looking for work and the settling down into a state of chronic unemployment.

R. B. Bennett had never been of the school of thought of Laurier. Fortune had come to him as if by a single stroke of a magic wand. He had never been Deputy Minister of Labour nor a mediator in industrial conflicts. He was less accustomed than Mackenzie King to overcome obstacles, to deal patiently with the obstruction of men and of circumstances. Above all he had a despotic temperament. Mackenzie King, as Laurier had done, left to each minister the oversight and the responsibility for his own department. R. B. Bennett gathered into his own hands the duties of his colleagues, was always

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on his feet ahead of them to answer questions in the House, and he took important decisions without consulting them. Observing Bennett talking to himself, old hands whispered: "he is holding a cabinet meeting". The Prime Minister has customarily been President of the Privy Council and Secretary of State for External Affairs. Bennett took on all these duties and in addition kept for himself the portfolio of finance. The size of his parliamentary majority inclined him to assume dictatorial powers. Things went from bad to worse. Railway earnings were cut in half. Sir Henry Thornton, given indifferent support by the new government, finally resigned. The farmers of the West, in the face of a desperate situation, urged that a Wheat Board should be established, on the order of the Board first instituted during the Great War, to fix or to guarantee a minimum price. When they could not obtain any satisfaction, the prairie provinces began to talk of secession. Bennett lost some of his torrents of eloquence and he no longer worked twelve hours every day. He gave up the portfolio of finance.

The question of unemployment was far the most urgent. During the electoral campaign, Mackenzie King had urged that an interprovincial conference should be held under the auspices of the federal government and with the participation of various national organizations - Labour, Social, Church bodies, etc.

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From the beginning of the session of 1931, he had urged the appointment of a committee which should supervise the payment of federal subsidies and coordinate the efforts of all authorities, federal, provincial and municipal. Bennett rejected this suggestion and set up a system in which considerable sums were paid out without any parliamentary control. How were these funds to be divided and used? Bennett and his ministers hesitated between two alternatives: direct assistance, or public works, more lasting but more costly. They were engaged in perpetual squabbles with the Taschereau government in Quebec. The federal cabinet favoured a tripartite system, with contributions from the federal government, the provincial governments, and the municipalities. But for some of the municipalities this was quite impossible. The costs of municipal government were already heavy, and their tax receipts were greatly impaired. (The single city of Quebec had five million dollars of unpaid taxes.) A fair number of cities were faced with default and several passed under the supervision of the municipal commission. The provincial ministers, well informed about the situation, wished to have the burden of unemployment assistance divided between Ottawa and Quebec without contributions from the municipalities. Bennett's reply was a peremptory "no". The verification of accounts gave rise to countless friction. The governments at Ottawa and Quebec each in turn denied responsibility for delays

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in payment. The federal government said that after all its share was entirely benevolent, for the relief of unemployment inevitably fell upon the provincial and municipal authorities. Ottawa and Quebec exchanged sour notes, reproaches, denials. The unemployed just waited and suffered.

In the House of Commons, Bennett was confronted by adversaries who were undiscouraged by defeat. The important place of the loyal opposition in the British parliamentary system has already been mentioned. Mackenzie King, in turn, was to fill this place. His position was somewhat like that of Laurier, who was Leader of the Opposition during the war. Mackenzie King took the same attitude: no unnecessary opposition to measures required by the grave state of crisis, but the most persistent and vigorous defence of the rights of Parliament. In criticizing the blank cheque issued by the Prime Minister, Mackenzie King defended Liberal principles. He criticized not the establishment of the Bank of Canada, but the provisions which removed the control of the new agency from Parliament. At the beginning of each session, and on a number of other important occasions, he made a speech lasting three or four hours. Quite the opposite of Bennett he rarely showed anger. He was never lacking in politeness. But while he was on his feet, for three or four hours at a stretch, he did not spare his opponent. Bennett, who never suffered contradition easily, followed with great impatience. King would

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continue his speech up to the closing hour of the House so that an immediate reply was not possible.

It would have been a spectacle if Bennet had been able to find, before the session of the following day, some loophole, some contradiction, some unsupported statement in the speech of his adversary! But the Liberal leader was both prudent and skilful. Well able to outline clearly in a few phrases the main issues in a debate, he was equally able, having been Prime Minister and President of the Council, to surround his remarks with sufficient precautions and reserve so that he was never caught off guard. Bennett fumed in silence.

The methods of the Conservative leader did not commend themselves to the country. One of his chief lieutenants - H. H. Stevens, broke with him. Others sought a coalition with the Liberal leaders, who never even considered the idea. At last Mr. Bennett advocated certain social reforms, such as unemployment insurance, already outlined by King and discussed in some detail in the book "Industry and Humanity". King and Lapointe certainly approved the principle of unemployment insurance, but they pointed out (I) that the moment was badly chosen for if it was unemployment assistance which was required in 1934-35 it was a question not of prevention but of cure; (2) that the constitution placed certain kinds of legislation under provincial jurisdiction and any measure drawn up without consultation and the consent of the provinces would sooner or

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later be set aside by the higher courts. In the realm of social reforms it was evident that Bennett could never equal either Woodsworth or Mackenzie King.

But the time for the settling of scores was at hand. The general election was fixed for October 14, 1935. Ten by-elections had been held during the preceding three months in all parts of the country. Mackenzie King had taken part personally in each campaign. The Liberals had won nine victories, and had appreciably reduced the Conservative majority in the tenth contest. Almost on the eve of the elections, on August 14, Bennett appointed the Wheat Board long demanded by agricultural interests in the West.

During the campaign of 1930, Bennett had criticized certain proposals of his opponent in these terms: "There is no need for a conference on unemployment. The solution of this problem is readily apparent. What you want is not conferences, it is work. You will have work." But in 1935 the number of unemloyed in Canada was nearly four hundred thousand. A new orgy of promises was to be quite vain. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe, sturdy defenders of the parliamentary tradition, set up in opposition to the dictatorial attitude of the Prime Minister the rights of Parliament itself. Then Mackenzie King outlined a programme based upon Liberal principles: the greatest degree of initiative for private interests, and, especially, the

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most cordial relations with foreign countries in order to reduce customs tariff. The problem to be solved was a problem of distribution rather than of production. Canada had to be able to sell in world markets her great surplus production of primary products - wheat, lumber, pulp, and dairy products. The obstacles would have to be removed from free exchange of currency. The growth of business activiyy would help to end unemployment. Finally, the Liberals, if elected, would bring in various measures of social insurance.

Mackenzie King began his campaign by a tour of the Maritime provinces. On his return weestward , he visited Quebec on September 7th. His visit coincided with a convention of young Liberals from all over the province. To a meeting at St. Roch, a veritable general staff accompanied the Chief: Ernest Lapointe, Fernand Rinfret, Lucien Cannon, Alexander Taschereau, Adelard Godbout, Joseph-Edouard Perrault, Napoleon Francoeur, Damien Bouchard, and thirty-four Liberal candidates from the Quebec district. "I can never come to Quebec", began Mackenzie King, "without being surrounded by remembrances of Laurier". Once again, he referred to his absolute confidence in his "loyal and very dear friend" Ernest Lapointe. Indeed, there has never been a collaboration more trustworthy, more intimate and more complete than between King and Lapointe. The two leaders and

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their friends reflected the sober thought which the moment demanded. An immense crowd applauded them enthusiastically. After this meeting in Quebec, Mackenzie King went on to Ontario and the West.

The unemployment crisis had aroused a good deal of uneasiness and a few disturbances, especially in the West. The "hunger marchers" had set off for Ottawa. Bennett, with the backing of industry and protectionist finance, began to charge his adversaries with extremist sympathies, and even to pretend that there was a fusion between Liberals and Communists. Both King and Lapointe most strongly repudiated any connection with the disturbances. At last, Italy prepared to conquer Ethiopia. John Bull raised his eyebrows. Mackenzie King undertook not to commit the country to war without the expressed approval of Parliament. Such a guarantee seemed less forthcoming from Bennett, a notorious Imperialist. Henri Bourassa, standing as an Independent candidate, urged his hearers to vote for King, who represented "moderation, a devotion to the cause of social advancement, and who was personally disinterested". For his part, the grandson of Mackenzie hoped for the re-election of the grandson of Papineau. Bourassa himself, so long and so roundly attacked in the Soleil, now became in the eyes of this great Quebec newspaper "an impartial and well-informed witness".

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On his return from the West, Mackenzie King held a triumphant rally in Toronto on October 8th. He concluded his campaign at Montreal on the 11th. All the Liberal candidates of the Montreal district, from Arthur Cardin to Fernand Rinfret, surrounded him on the vast stage of the Arena.

On the 14th, a great boom swept across the country. The electors returned to the House of Commons one hundred and sixty-nine Liberals, forty-two Conservatives, thirteen supporters of Social Credit, and H. H. Stevens, the single member of the party which he had tried to found. The province of Quebec of itself returned sixty Liberals among its sixty-five Members. Mackenzie King commanded the largest parliamentary majority in our history. He became Prime Minister once more for a period longer and more momentous than he could perhaps have imagined.

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XII

A Work of Reconstruction

Gradual economic improvement - The Railway Systems - Mining development - The Bank of Canada.

The new King administration assumed power on October 23, 1935. It was at once confronted with two problems closely connected with each other: the tangled state of business affairs, and the crisis of unemployment.

Bennett had thought that it would be possible to settle these problems by a few prompt decisions. When confronted with the facts, he had however tried to place the responsibility on the provinces while at the same time impinging upon their rights. King did not believe in the existence of any magic remedy, but in the possibility of gradual re-establishment, assisted by various new measures. Bennett had often taken decisions quite by himself. King and his colleagues held frequest consultations, in the manner in which great lawyers, famous doctors, or noted architects study a problem together. Their opinions were compared, modified, and then decided upon.

The King government took on its new responsibilities, at the same time giving due weight to the provinces. It consulted the Supreme Court concerning the validity of social legislation of the Bennett regime, called together an interprovincial

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conference and appointed a National Employment Commission. So much for measures of urgency. King and Lapointe, by temparament and by training, were bound to be interested in measures extending over a long period of time. It was an improvement on the stock exchange which would in turn bring about an increase in transport, the resumption of employment, and the raising of salaries. Mackenzie King hoped to be able to modify the effect of the economic crisis and perhaps to solve it completely by encouraging external trade. His government therefore lowered customs tariffs and negotiated trade treaties with foreign countries.

Bennett, protectionist and imperialist, had threatened the United States with a tariff war. Later he had organized an Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, in 1932. The United States believed that the Ottawa agreements were directed against American business. By an brusque note of November 14, 1934, Bennett broke off negotiations with Washington. He was ready to offer - too quickly, without knowing what he could obtain in return - the benefits of a most-favoured-nation clause and particular concessions covering a certain number of articles. But the Americans were not at all disposed to enter into agreement with this new-blown protectionism which menaced them with dumping. Eleven months later negotiations were no further ahead.

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The Bennett cabinet had in addition placed an embargo on all Russian goods and declared commercial war upon Japan, a large importer of Canadian products from the forest, the farms, and the mines. It refused to value the yen for customs purposes at the current rate of exchange. It discriminated against Japanese merchandise by a dumping duty. On March 13, 1935, the Tokyo government handed in an official protest. On July 20, the Bennett government modified its evaluation of the yen, but only very slightly. The same day Japan imposed a super tax of fifty per cent ad valorem on wheat, flour, lumber, pulp, and wrapping paper imported from Canada. On the 22nd, Ottawa replied with a super tax of 33 1/3 per cent on all Japanese merchandise whether imported directly or indirectly. It is unnecessary to add that the Soviet Republic countered embargo by embargo, with the further prohibition of the use of Canadian ships to carry goods to Russia. It was commercial war right in the middle of a desperate economic situation.

Mackenzie King came back officially to office on October 23, 1935. The very next morning he clapped on his silk hat and went to call on the Minister of Japan. Negotiations were now reopened in a cordial atmosphere. On the 6th of November the Prime Minister left for Washington. On the 9th, he announced that a projected agreement was being discussed. On the 15th, he signed with the United States a real reciprocity treaty. The two

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countries gave to each other most-favoured-nation treatment; Canada reduced duties on sixty-eight articles and abolished them entirely on twenty others; the United States reduced duties on sixty-three commodities. On February 25, 1936, the eighteenth Parliament of Canada, at its first session, was informed of the draft agreement. On the 8th of April, Royal Assent was given to legislation approving the treaty. On May 14th, diplomatic ratifications were exchanged at Ottawa. This time Mackenzie King had acted quickly. He had realized a dream of his Liberal predecessors, Laurier, Cartwright, Fielding.

The dispute with Japan had been smoothed out during the interval by an exchange of notes. The two countries removed at once the super taxes which had been imposed by way of reprisal. Ottawa accepted the current rate for yen on all merchandise of a class or kind ndt manufactured in Canada and fixed a reasonable tariff for other kinds of merchandise. Between October, 1935, and September, 1939, twelve other commercial treaties were negotiated with countries in Europe and America and were signed and carried into effect. The treaty with the United Kingdom, signed on February 23, 1937, reduced duties on one hundred and seventy-nine articles which had in 1936 an import value of twenty-seven million dollars. The embargo on Russian products was lifted. The King government was proceeding, as the Prime Minister himself had described, towards the liberation of external trade.

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Between 1936 and 1939 this trade increased, in round numbers, by forty per cent, and left an increasingly favourable balance of trade. Despite tariff reductions, customsrevenue gradually increased.

The selling of wheat at a loss was at once both the cause and the effect of large accumulated stores of wheat, encouraged alike by the Pools, by the Western provinces, and even by the federal government. Between August 1, 1934, and August 1, 1935, Canadian wheat in store increased by nine million bushels at a moment when world stocks of wheat were diminishing at the rate of two hundred and fifty million bushels a year. On the eve of the elections, Bennett had set up a Wheat Board, long demanded by prairie agriculture. The King government continued the Board but changed the members of it. Instead of fixing a price the Board now guaranteed a minimum price of 87½ cents per bushel. A parliamentary committee, and later a royal commission, urged that the policy of the Wheat Board should be maintained at least until there was a return to normal conditions. At the 1st of August, 1935, Canadian elevators had in storage more than two hundred and three million bushels. This surplus was reduced to thirty-seven million bushels by August 1, 1937, and to twenty-five million bushels a year later.

Mackenzie King also worked with a smaller cabinet, through a consolidation of departments, of which a number were already playing a double role. The Minister of Mines and

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Resources co-ordinated together mines, interior, immigration and colonization, indian affairs. The Minister of Transport brought together the former departments of Marine, Railways and Canals, Civil Aviation. This last consolidation permitted a collective solution of important and complicated problems. The King government was safeguarding the integrity of the C.N.R. which, towards the end of the Bennett regime, had appeared to be in doubt. It was no mystery that the Canadian Pacific - the most flourishing system - the largest employer and the greatest taxpayer of the country - had for many years exercised a considerable influence on federal politics. Certain Prime Ministers, such as Abbott and Tupper, had almost been designated by the C.P.R. The C.P.R. treasured an avowed ambition to have a monopoly of transportation and was working towards this end. Set aside by the upbuilding of the C.N.R. by Thornton, this ambition emerged again during the stringent times brought about by the economic crisis. Bennett was notoriously sympathetic towards the C.P.R., had to defend himself against charges that he was looking toward a fusion which would be of greatest benefit to the C.P.R. Despite his promises - "amalgamation never, competition ever" - the Conservative Prime Minister had among his immediate followers active partisans of amalgamation. This was also the secret object of the promoters of a political coalition. Mackenzie King put an end to these manoeuvres and it could truly

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be said that the railway systems were not going to govern the country. The government gave encouragement to the development of civil aviation, much retarded by the crisis. The trans-Canadian route was the shortest between North America and Europe and also between North America and Asia. It took on the highest commercial and strategic importance. Montreal might become the great aerial crossroads of North America. The King government set up Trans-Canadian Air Lines, which in 1939 comprised forty-four air services covering fifteen thousand air miles of route.

The work of reconstruction was rounded out by a variety of projects: contributions towards public works undertaken bybthe provinces with the approval of the federal administration;x reforestation in the national parks; health and recreation programmes for Canadian youth, the home improvement plan and the national housing act; and legislation to enable municipal taxes to be reduced. The fifty thousand loans allowed under the home improvement plan greatly helped the construction industry. In short, while unemployment was not entirely done away with, it was reduced by forty per cent, that is to say a proportion corresponding to the improvement in external ~~affairs.~~ trade

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x As a result of the following acts, each following the same principle; Unemployment Assistance Act, 1936; Agricultural Unemployment Assistance Act, 1937; Unemployment Assistance and Agricultural Assistance, 1938; 1939; 1940.

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The earnings of the C.N.R. greatly improved. The deficit on the federal budget was cut down from one hundred and sixty million dollars in 1936 to seventy-eight million dollars in 1937, to less than fourteen million dollars in 1938, and this despite the heavy assistance given to southern Saskatchewan which had experienced a severe and prolonged drought. The government was able to float loans at advantageous rates. The "cut" applied by the Bennett government to Civil Service salaries was removed as from April 1, 1937.

Step by step, in a manner of a convalescent, economic recovery came about almost imperceptibly. It was not complete in 1939. But one aspect of the general progress - expansion in the mining industries - was so rapid as to grip the imagination. In 1935 the value of mineral production had already reached three hundred and ten million dollars. The first budget presented by Mr. Dunning in 1936 gave an exemption from taxation for new mines which should come into production before January 1, 1943. The Department of Mines undertook geological investigations and topographical surveys. Both the federal and provincial governments developed communications in the mining regions. Canada moved to the fore as one of the great mineral producers of the world. Whole new towns sprang up. Adventurous young Canadians were attracted to the North, which now became the expanding frontier of the American continent. This last was perhaps the

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most encouraging sign of all for the future of the country.

R. B. Bennett gave up the struggle; and he resigned the leadership of the Conservative party in March 1938. Within the time that Mackenzie King had been the leader of the Liberal party, three leaders - Borden, Meighen and Bennett, had been successfully at the head of the Conservatives. Mackenzie King, leader for twenty years, of which twelve had been at the head of the government, and with Ernest Lapointe as his right-hand man, could look back upon an experience which only Macdonald and Laurier, ahead of him, had possessed. King and Lapointe, in the authentic tradition of Laurier, were concerned always with the sovereignty of Parliament. For the rest, they based their Liberalism on the doctrine of "a happy medium", a middle road between the "laissez-faire" of the earliest doctrinaire Liberals and the state socialism of the still newer Socialist doctrinaire. The one-time Minister of Labour remained opposed, in principle, to compulsory arbiration. His preferences inclined to the conciliatory intervention of the State, with the full support of the government, and over the whole field of activity the smallest control by the State, such as the regulation of credit and the issuing of currency.

In order to ensure that the control of the government should be supreme in the Bank of Canada, the government overhauled

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the Bank of Canada act. The Bank had a share capital of five million dollars. It now issued new shares called Class B shares to a total of five million five hundred thousand dollars, all bought by the government. Thereafter, a majority of the directors were appointed by the government - by the government responsible to Parliament, which was itself responsible to the people. This solution, combining the public interest with private interest, with the predominance of the former, applied during a period of transition. On August 15, 1938, the government acquired all outstanding shares of the original issue (Class A) at the average market price between January 1st and May 27th (the date on which this step had been announced). Thereafter the federal government had entire control of the Bank of Canada.

Armand, Lavergne and Oscar Boulanger had raised the question of bilingual currency at the moment when the Bank of Canada had been established under the Bennett regime. They demanded bank notes printed in both languages. Attacked by the Tories, and treated with indifference by the French-Canadian ministers, they were stranded. The government made provision for separate issues of English language notes and French language notes. This decision, an inevitable source of difficulty and friction, greatly injured French-Canadian opinion. But with the Liberals in power, Ernest Lapointe was able to obtain without difficulty paper currency printed in both languages.

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Mackenzie King never harboured prejudices. He was well disposed towards the province of Quebec and he explained himself ~~xxx~~ the three reasons for his view: the province of Quebec had carried him to the head of the Liberal party; it had always given him large majorities; and it had provided him with trusted lieutenants - Lapointe, Cardin, Dandurand - in whomehe placed the greatest confidence.

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Dominion-Provincial Relations

Disallowance by the Federal Government - Unemployment Insurance - Beautification of Ottawa.

While the general picture was an agreeable one, the King regime passed through a number of difficult situations. Tension was always simmering between the federal government and the provinces, and it tended to increase, as the federal government growing in power and prestige, began to legislate in new fields - such as aviation and radio - which were quite unknown in 1867. We have seen that the Bennett government had been in perpetual conflict with the Taschereau administration. The King government found itself at odds with three provincial premiers: Aberhart, leader of the Social Credit government of Alberta; Duplessis, head of the Union Nationale government in Quebec; and Hepburn, the Liberal premier of Ontario. They were quite a handful. The party labels and still more the party platforms set the two first premiers over against the federal ministers. As for Hepburn, young and impulsive, though the impulses often were good, the battle was strongly influenced by differences in temparament.

In the provincial elections in Alberta on August 22, 1935, the Social Credit party had carried the government by electing fifty-six members as against five Liberals and two

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Conservatives. They advocated quite new economic theories, and sought to apply them in practice. The legislation arising from these theories was directed against the chartered banks, holding charters from the federal government and doing business throughout the country. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, began to study the question of disallowance.

King and Lapointe in turn set up this principle: a federation cannot carry on without a large measure of tolerance and mutual respect between the federal and provincial governments. Disallowance is an exceptional measure, and one only to be used in cases - fortunately rare - where provincial decisions impinge upon the federal powers and may thereby unsettle all of the country. As these conditions seem to have been created - to him it seemed that the attempted infringement was even deliberate - the Minister of Justice recommended on August 10, 1937, that the three Alberta laws should be disallowed. The cabinet ap-proved this recommendation. The Canada Gazette published the triple disallowance.

Aberhart and the Legislature protested vigorously that the federal right of disallowance no longer existed; and they declared they would carry into effect laws passed by that legislature so long as the courts had not pronounced them un-constitutional. The federal government referred the cases to

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the Supreme Court and placed before this highest tribunal the legislation which had been disallowed. At the same time Lieutenant Governor Bowen reserved his assent to three other acts. The Supreme Court began its hearings on January 10, 1938, and handed down its decisions less than two months afterwards: the bills which had been disallowed were unconstitutional; the federal right of disavowal had always existed without restriction or limit. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council confirmed this judgment the following July.

In the interval, the Union Nationale following had taken over power in Quebec. On March 17, 1937, this government voted the so-called "padlock act", directed against Communist propaganda. The Attorney General had power to close any building used for the spreading of seditious propaganda, to confiscate all kinds of Communistic literature, and to prosecute persons who distributed such publications. On the whole, this act was approved by the Conservative press, including the Montreal Gazette and the Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph. It was roundly condemned by the Liberal press including the Toronto Star and the Winnipeg Free Press. According to the influential J. W. Dafoe, Editor-in-chief of the Free Press, and long-time personal friend of the Prime Minister, this was "probably the only law of this kind in a supposedly free country".

Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec, and

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Monsignor Georges Gauthier, Archbishop of Montreal, both praised - the one by radio and the other in a pastoral letter - this padlock law. The great majority of the "National" associations of the province of Quebec expressed the same view in their ordinary meetings. But the Civil Liberties Union, drawing its members all across the country from advanced Liberals and members of the C.C.F., conducted an active campaign against this "attack upon freedom of expression".

In carrying out the padlock act, the police staged a raid on the office of the weekly newspaper Clarte on November 9, 1937. Other raids and similar seizures followed. The same groups applauded or protested. The disavowal of Alberta laws was being argued back and forth. The Civil Liberties Union urged the federal government to set aside the Quebec act in the same way as the Alberta acts had been disallowed.

Mackenzie King left the conduct of the matter to Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, who was the more competent to deal with it since it related to his own province. Lapointe was willing to bring together a conference of representatives from Quebec and delegates from the Civil Liberties Union under his chairmanship. There never had been any excess of sympathy between the Liberal government at Ottawa and the National Union government at Quebec. Duplessis declined the invitation "for reasons of simple logic". Lapointe received the lawyers of the

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Civil Liberties Union at a meeting lasting two hours on March 30, 1938. At this moment the victory of the federal government over the Aberhart cabinet was being made plain.

Here then was Ernest Lapointe, the embodiment of good sense, confronted by two contrary arguments. In all probability the Prime Minister would endorse whatever decision he came to. Ernest Lapointe weighed the arguments, the circumstances of the moment, the possible repercussions.

The opponents of the act represented that it conferred an arbitrary power upon the Attorney General and upon the police acting under his orders. Some among the opponents believed that the act was directed against international trade unions. Still others went to the extent of believing that it singled out the Jews, among whom had been found many of the leaders of Communist sympathizers. They tended to identify anti-Communism with anti-Semitism. The padlock act in their view was a measure inspired by Fascist and clerical sources, and perhaps even demanded by the Cardinal. The Civil Liberties Union declared that the act was a grave danger to national unity.

It happened that the opponents of the act - members of the Civil Liberties Union - were nearly all from outside the province of Quebec. The padlock act, voted by the Quebec legislature, to apply within the province of Quebec, corresponded

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to the state of mind of that province at that moment. For French-Canadians, Communism was less an economic doctrine than a kind of irreligion, of atheism, even of anti-Christianity. They thought of the padlock act as a protection for their church, their clergy, their faith. The Cardinal, the Archbishop of Montreal, the great French-Canadian association, each of them interpreted in this way and welcomed it accordingly. It would be quite impolitic for the Liberal government to give any kind of systematic protection to the Communist party. This would have been to justify Bennett, who tended to link the Liberal government with extremist ideas during the last electoral campaign.

Lapointe brought his own conclusions to a meeting of the cabinet. He was disinclined to recommend disallowance of the act for the following reasons: (1) The majority of the persons opposed to the act resided outside the province of Quebec. (2) The federal government had laid it down as a rule that it would have recourse to disallowance only in cases of clear infringement of federal or imperial rights. These conditions applying in the case of the Alberta acts did not apply in the case of the Quebec padlock act. (3) Disallowance was an extraordinary power, rarely exercised and which ought to be exercised only rarely. Disallowance was also in certain respects a political weapon to the use of which it would be preferable to have recourse to the courts when it was not a

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matter of urgency. It was still always open to individuals to attack the constitutionality of the padlock law before the courts.

The cabinet approved. The King government did not disallow the padlock act.

These striking incidents unhappily did nothing to improve the relationship between King and the three provincial premiers, Aberhart, Duplessis and Hepburn. Bennett never pardoned an affront. King had much more control of himself, was much more forbearing; differences of opinion with him did not leave acerbity or rancour in future dealings. Nevertheless, the contests with Aberhart, with Duplessis, and especially perhaps with Hepburn, took a violent turn. But the federal ministers rallied to the support of their leader at a moment when there was no approach to a complete understanding among provincial premiers. It was clear that in all such conflicts the King government would emerge victorious. It would give its support in provincial elections to men whose cooperation with it was assured.

The question of provincial rights also held back the inauguration of a plan of social insurance which had taken shape in the mind of Mackenzie King. The specialist in Labour questions sought, as he had done for years, to free the working classes from the fears which assailed them, among which the greatest was the fear of unemployment. It was true that unemployment insurance, the first step in a plan of social security

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had appeared on the programme of the Liberal convention of 1919 at which he had been elected to the leadership of the Liberal party. Before electing Bennett to the head of the Conservative party, the Winnipeg convention of 1927 had approved the same principle. In the same year, the question had been discussed at an intepprovincial conference. But who would be likely to be concerned with unemployment insurance at this particular time? And it had to be remembered that the constitution gave jurisdiction in such matters to the provinces.

x The provinces had joined in a federation to create the new Canada. They had at that time signed a compact / this is certainly not true - J.A.G. /. In entrusting to a central authority questions of the most general interest and concern the provinces did not undertake to renounce all individuality oraall powers for themselves. The province of Quebec wishing to safeguard certain particular and very precious traits in the eyes of its own population, held more strongly than the ? others to the protection of its own autonomy. The impingements on the part of (upon) the federal power might be quite without importance in Alberta, but very grave for Quebec. As often as Ottawa assumed new powers in a new area of government, the French-Canadian population ran the risk of being submerged within this area to a kind of inspection quite foreign to its mentality, to regulations drawn up in a quite different spirit and from a different way of life. Assistance to agriculture had already

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provided an example of the difficulty. The simple fact of having to translate all documents was of itself a handicap. Finally, in the realm of social assistance, the greater part of our institutions carried with them a religious character which does not exist at all/or which does not exist in the same degree in the other provinces. Many English-speaking Canadians have not thought about this situation at all. Among those who do understand it, (there is one who surpasses all others). Those among our leaders who are on good terms with well-disposed English-speaking Canadians - at the head of whom ranks Mackenzie King - ought to do their share to provide enlightenment on the subject. In the past, and ever since Confederation, the Liberal party has always been put forward as the party most favourable to provincial autonomy. From its ranks have come the greatest champions of this case - Oliver Mowat, in Ontario; Honore Mercier, in the province of Quebec.

The idea of unemployment insurance - and the idea of social security in general - was neverthless growing. The Committee on Industrial Relations gave support to the idea in 1928 and repeated it in 1929. In May 1929 the House of Commons discussed at some length a motion brought forward by Mr. A. A. Heaps, envisaging a transfer of authority from the provinces to the federal government in order to facilitate the establishment of a system of social insurance. In the view of Ernest Lapointe,

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Minister of Justice, such a transfer would require an amendment to the British North America Act. There were several governments, the Quebec government first among them, which considered the B.N.A. Act as the essential guarantee of provincial rights. They were suspicious of any attempt at amendment lest a precedent should be created. With Quebec at the head, several provinces entered their reservations. The matter dragged on. During the campaign of 1935, Mackenzie King promised to bring in unemployment insurance "as an essential plank of the Liberal platform". In 1937, in a letter addressed to the provincial premiers, he proposed to amend the constitution by adding to Article 91 of the British North America Act a clause which would enable the federal government to set up a system of unemployment insurance. The battle with Alberta was still raging, and no close understanding seemed possible. The King government had just appointed a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (the Rowell Commission). It was now decided to await the report of this Commission. Meanwhile the government was at some pains to see that unemployment insurance should have a part in any general overhauling of relations between the federal government and the provinces.

These typical incidents illustrate the difficulties which confront any government of Canada. The ship of state had to tack back and forth amid a thousand reefs and shoals. Sudden squalls might blow it off its course. Nevertheless it

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must advance under the guidance of a wise captain, who now began to resemble a veritable old sea dog.

Mackenzie King constantly had as his right-hand man, Ernest Lapointe, the good natured giant of a man, with clear eyes, and with the accent of Kamouraska, whose whole person and whose words always reflected something of balance, of common sense, and of a closeness to reality. King had loyal colleagues of whom / after 1940 / one was the grandson of his first patron, William Mulock. Both from his experience and his skill, King has had no superior and perhaps no equal in the Canadian Parliament. Always polite and tactful, he dealt firmly with the Opposition and did not give its members opportunity to pick holes in his argument. He watched over the setting up of the National Film Board, the progress of the National Broadcasting System, the extension of the diplomatic service, and the great enhancement of the prestige of Canada throughout the world. As he grew older he sough to have his name linked with the beautification of Ottawa, so that Canada should have a capital city worthy of the great destiny which beckoned from ahead. A sub-committee of ministers studied this question. The celebrated French/architect and town planner Greber submitted plans and created a scale model of the future capital. The Prime Minister himself formally opened the new Post Office building. He wrote, bought the stamp for, and posted the first letter which passed through this new building.

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It was a letter addressed to Sir William Mulock, who nearly forty years before had first brought Mackenzie King into the public service, who had pressed him forward into public life nearly thirty years earlier, and who had not been able to come to Ottawa because despite his active mind he was approaching his one hundredth birthday.

XV

Into Torment

External Affairs - Problems of War and after War - Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe.

King and Lapointe were strong believers in parliamentary ddemocracy and in the League of Nations. The Prime Minister of Canada is also Secretary of State for External Affairs. The principles which guided him in his conduct of External Affairs between 1935 and 1939 can be glimpsed from a sort of "agenda" which he himself had a large part in drawing up. These principles include: safeguarding the freedom of action of Canada; contributing to the maintenance of peace; generally having recourse to conciliation and co-operation rather than to compulsion and coercion; non-intervention in concerns affecting primarily Europe and Asia as an ordinary rule; Canada could not remain indifferent "to the fate of democratic institutions or to the sufferings of oppressed minorities".

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The art of speaking without commitments is as indispensable to heads of states as it is to diplomatic representatives. At the opening of the Canadian Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition on July 2, 1937, Mackenzie Kingm made an important speech. The correspondent of Reuter's Agency credited him with these words: "Certain persons have imagined, since the Imperial Conference, that Canada wishes to retire forthwith from the business of the Commonwealth. This is absolutely false. We wish to conduct our own affairs, but any menace to Britain would bring Canada immediately to her side." London newspapers reprinted this text, and Chamberlain in a speech at Albert Hall on the 8th of July commented on "the remarkable speech of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who said that any menace to Britain would bring Canada immediately to her side".

But the reporter of the Canadian Press in Paris, taking down a more complete and more exact transcription, showed that Mr. King had said something quite different: "The persons who share this opinion do not understand at all the link which binds the people of the British Commonwealth. We wish to manage our own affairs. But the fact that we have our own representation in other countries is xxxxxxxxxxf an evidence of the freedom which we cherish above everything else.

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"And any danger which might menace that freedom, from whatever source, would bring us together anew to protect it".

This had a sound which was not at all the same. These sentences contain ~~definite~~ strong commitments, however undefined, Mackenzie King, however, did not trouble to disavow the Reuter's version, reproduced by the Times and quoted by Chamberlain, at that moment. The reason for this he gave later on, on April 1st, 1938, in the House of Commons. He said that he had no wish "to encourage the public to speculate upon the significance of this or that, or to embarrass the European situation more than was necessary ..... a disavowal of this statement, at that moment, would have been to attribute to my words a significance which, in certain quarters, might have been mistunderstood and wrongly interpreted." An immediate disavowal of the Reuter version might have had the appearance of a formal declaration of neutrality and in this way have encouraged the enemies of Britain.

For already to men who were informed of the situation a new war appeared inevitable. Germany was preparing for war. Britain and France were preparing for war - very imperfectly. Britain wished naturally enough to have the support of the Dominions. Various emissaries of Empire went about making speeches. The visit of the King and Queen aroused great enthusiasm.

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In good time, the King government took a certain number of measures to increase th defence of Canada: reorganization of the Militia, manufacture of light machine guns, anti-submarine installations at Halifax and at Esquimalt, development of the Air Force. The financial appropriation for this latter service was increased from six million eight hundred thousand dollars for the fiscal year 1936-37 to nearly twelve million dollars for 1937-38, and as much more for 1938-39. This amount would not provide for attacks upon an enemy in Europe, but it would ensure the provision of air bases, landing fields, hangars, gasoline dumps, etc., in Canada.

Mackenzie King had carefully weighed all methods: blind acceptance of British policy; consultation with Great Britain in case of urgency; a categorical declaration of neutrality in any case of war; a decision taken by the Canadian Parliament. He came down strongly for this last solution. While awaiting whatever decision Parliament might take, the Canadian government remained in close contact with the United Kingdom government and hastened forward certain "reasonable" defenseworks. While preparing for the most grave eventualities, Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe ramined in complete accordance, and both of them, full of experience, were aware of the ~~torsion~~ strain which inevitable differences of opinion would inflict upon the

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national unity in case of war. They concluded that we could not hope to adopt a rigorously logical position; their solution was perhaps not ideal but it was the best in the circumstances.

. . . . . .

The reader knows well enough the chain of events which led Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe to steel their hearts in the process of becoming leaders of a nation at war. All of these events still belong to the present. History will sort them out and hold them up for study later on. History will lay great stress, no doubt, on one aspect of the role of Mackenzie King as Prime Minister of a country which is at one and the same time a part of the British Commonwealth and of the North American continent. Mackenzie King had had a long preparation for this role by his earlier relationships with our neighbours to the South and he was therefore able to contribute substantially to the rapprochement of Great Britain and the United States. The Quebec Conference of 1943 well illustrates this aspect to which history will attach such great importance. In that picture Mackenzie King will be one of the small number of men who have exercised a direct influence upon the great events of history. He has used the opportunity also, under the broadening prestige of Canada, to round out our diplomatic representation which today is on a level with that of the great powers. But every day, every hour, has been laden with

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formidable responsibilities. One remembers that from the first Great War Borden emerged quite worn out.

The war has shaken many ideas, overturned many customary attitudes, and in consequence our national life will never be exactly the same as it was before. Canada has been the one country among all the countries at war in which the government has best succeeded ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in stablizing the cost of living and in prevent[ing] inflation. The government is also preparing widespread plans for social security in order to bring about in our country that freedom from fear which sociologists define as the condition of a less imperfect world and which Mackenzie King had set out in 1918 in his book "Industry and Humanity".

Never has any Prime Minister of Canada found himself confronted with problems so numerous, so vast, so complex. The tasks of Macdonald and of Laurier were but child's play compared with these new responsibilities. What changes there had been even since the first year Mackenzie King ~~xxxxxxxx~~ had been Prime Minister in 1921! It was fortunate that the man who was the most experienced parliamentarian of all had watched over these changes. His had been a long vision. He knew all the inner workings and indeed this man who was constitutionally opposed to titles and to honorary distinctions of all kinds kept a certain respect for the formalism of governmental administration. The one-time Deputy Minister still survived

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inside him, conscientious and painstaking. He continued to make an ally out of Time, to wear out the Opposition, never allowing himself to be found wanting in argument. His thought unwound itself slowly; his every word was weighed and balanced; he came back to the same ideas several times in a single speech. Occasionally it was thought he was timid. But if he were really aroused, his immediate and impromptu replies took on an eloquence and a surprising vigour. To the end, Mackenzie King found in Ernest Lapointe a friend and confidant for every need of the day, so that one was able to speak of the King-Lapointe cabinet. Their close alliance and intimate friendship seemed to symbolize a kind of national unity and both of them following the same empirical methods well knew where their thought was leading them.

In November 1941 Ernest Lapointe had to enter Notre Dame hospital in Montreal. Mackenzie King heard the news by telephone. The life of Ernest Lapointe was in jeopardy. The sturdy Scottish mentality which never gave anything away of its intimate feeling almost poured out the sound "give him my love - give him my love".

Mackenzie King made several visits to Ernest Lapointe, who was languishing in hospital and who feared he might pass on at the very hour when his leader and friend had most need of him. Mackenzie King went to St. Lin to take part in the celebrations of the centenary of Laurier's birth. On his way he stopped at the

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hospital in the morning and went in to the sick room of the dying man. He promised him that he would come back the same evening to tell him about the ceremony. But by evening the condition of the patient was such that the doctors forbade any visitors. Mackenzie King waited with the family in a neighboring room. Even then Ernest Lapointe, approaching his final agony, recognized his voice. He asked, in short halting phrases, that Mackenzie King should come in so that he might see him again because there was something he wished still to say to him. This was their last meeting together. From this hospital room there came out an aging and saddened man, encumbered by his hat and with his shoulders shaking: the Prime Minister who had to continue his road alone.

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Mr. Delisle

From J.A. Gibson
Laurier House
Sept. 20/44

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XVI or XV ?

END OF THE STORY.

Anglo-American Rapprochement - The Muffled Voice of Quebec - Decline of the Liberal party.

How true it is that no Prime Minister of Canada ever found himself confronted by such problems. The period of crisis has been too long for any make-shift solution to have any other result than catastrophe.

Yesterday, the former Deputy Minister of Labour thought longingly of a bourgeois dream: to beautify the city of Ottawa, the capital of Canada. Today, a one-time protege of the Rockefeller Foundation, thinks in more grandiose terms: to contribute to the rapprochement between Great Britain and the United States. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of a country which is at one and the same time a part of the British Commonwealth and of the North American continent, had had an extensive preparation for this role by his earlier relations with our neighbours to the South. History will certainly attach importance to this work, as represented by the conference at Quebec. At whatever cost, the risks involved were great: political subordination to Britain, or economc subordination to the United States. For years and years, the province of Quebec, fearful for the prosperity of the port of Montreal, had opposed the St. Lawrence waterways development being urged by the United States. Ontario, under Hepburn, had taken the same attitude.

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But, it was asked, ought not the two largest provinces of Canada to be content to make some sacrifices to please President Roosevelt, who was likely to drag them into war? Mackenzie King fell back on these arguments: the needs of war and of national defence; the strong desire of the United States in general, and of President Roosevelt in particular. Adelard Godbout and Mitchell Hepburn then accepted the principle and undertook to examine the project. [1.] Later on, at a time when cargo ships were very scanty, control of shipments from Canada to South America were by a joint agreement, handed over to the United States. These shipping controls were used to diminish supplies of newsprint, on instructions from Washington, to the less accommodating newspapers of South America. Similar concessions, similar measures of control, led the way for historic events. But, the people of Montreal still were concerned about the future of their harbour. The Canadian newsprint industry was apprehensive lest it should lose entirely certain markets which after the war might be supplied from Scandinavian sources. [2.]

1. White Paper on the St. Lawrence waterway, King's Printer Ottawa, 1941.

2. Financial Post, Toronto, April 8, 1944: "U. S. Power Politics dictate our Exports?"

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The adversaries of Mackenzie King began to say of the Prime Minister: "During the first three days of the week he takes his orders from Washington; on the next three days, he governs by the precept of London, and on the seventh day, when nobody is doing anything, he proclaims the independence of Canada."

The course of the war revised too many ideas and overturned too many customary habits for our everyday existence to be exactly the same as it was before the war. Among all the countries at war Canada was the one in which the governing authorities had best succeeded in controlling the cost of living and in preventing the disorders of inflation. The government also drew up extensive plans of social insurance to bring about in our own country that liberation from fear which sociologists define as the necessary condition for a less imperfect world. This liberation has already been envisaged, as early as 1918, by Mackenzie King in his book "Industry and Humanity". He had become Prime Minister three years later. He has never realized this idea. Without doubt circumstances had prevented it. Would they allow him to ~~meet~~ reach it in the future?

Mackenzie King is nearly seventy years of age. He has lost his closest ~~adviser~~ counsellor on the right, Ernest Lapointe, and his chief counsellor on the left, John W. Dafoe, who passed away only a few months apart. Arthur Cardin felt obliged to resign, after a long period of struggle, step by step, subject by subject, one concession after another in cabinet council.

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The voice of the province to which Mackenzie King had owed his whole career since 1919, that voice of Quebec seemed unlikely ~~not~~ to be heard in the cabinet. What could this mean? Who would be able to make it heard? Not Louis St. Laurent, a late arrival, whose background had already become partly anglicized. Not General LaFleche, elected by Jewish citizens and who did not speak French in his own home. The most intelligent and the most sympathetic of the French Canadian ministers, Ernest Bertrand, himself partly elected by Jewish votes, did not share in any degree the opinion of the mass of French-speaking Canadians. The voice of Quebec now appeared only ~~as~~ muffled, weakened and deformed to the ears of the Prime Minister.

Louis St. Laurent, the jurist who taxed the Bennett Administration that its social legislation impinged upon the autonomy of the provinces in 1936, is Minister of Justice in a cabinet whose social legislation impinges in the same way upon the autonomy of the provinces in 1944. The Liberal party is no longer the party of provincial autonomy. It is no longer the party of peace. No longer does it conserve its old traditions of radicalism and anti-clericalism, openly espoused each in turn by Joseph Doutre,

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Rodolphe Laflamme, Honore Beaugrand, Godfroy Langlois, and T. D. Bouchard. Placed in a position where it can answer for itself every day on every other point, it has lost its moral grip upon the Quebec fortress. It has lost hardly less in the other provinces. It still commands certain party leaders, an organization, a clientele. The whisper of a great defeat might trail after it the obliteration of these leaders and the complete dispersion of the faithful electorate. For the party has lost, one by one, all the by-elections and all the provincial elections. Its fate is in the wind and already sealed at the next federal elections. Mackenzie King has two chances of seeing his party lifted up and strengthened, even if youth in the post-war world does not propose to substitute entirely new formulas for the old regime.

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Section C.

Domestic.

St. Lawrence Seaway:

Soon after Congress intervenes, it is expected that President Roosevelt will recommend simple legislation authorizing the work necessary on the United States side of the boundary. It would need to pass both Houses by a bare majority. Senator George, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee voted against ratification of the project six years ago.

The National Association of Manufacturers of the United States adopted a resolution opposing the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway and power project on the grounds that it would be uneconomical in times of peace and would obstruct the national defence programme. It is alleged that the completion of the navigation project would require at least eight years and would not only be of no value during the present emergency but would divert funds, labour and material needed for army and navy equipment.

A similar stand was taken by the New York State Waterways Association.

Sirois Commission:

The "Toronto Globe and Mail", in opposing the stand of the "Montreal Gazette" on this question, has the following vigorous paragraph:

> "If this conference does not succeed in welding Confederation anew, in making a nation to which post-war activities can turn without having to put up with a multitude of sectional differences and disputes and jealousies, then the Canadian people will be victims of a lost of petty politicians who will have to be kicked out before real nationhood is assured."

A large number of comments are appearing in various newspapers. They will be analyzed for your special use for the coming Dominion-Provincial Conference.

Mexico and Canada:

Ezequiel Padilla, Mexican Foreign Minister, stated

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that Mexico would receive with approval and pleasure any opportunity which may present itself to establish direct diplomatic relations with Canada.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CANADIAN PUBLIC FINANCES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ST. LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAYS PROJECT

In March last when new projects regarding the St. Lawrence Deep Waterways were being discussed, I was asked by friends if I would make a report on the economic features involved in the light of present day circumstances. I gave the request careful consideration, and because I am deeply interested in certain matters of public import which are reflected in greater or less degree in the Waterway Project, and in the various proposals as to its future development, I decided that I should be glad to express my views on some aspects of the problem.

My active interest in the subject had first been aroused as a member of the Council of The Montreal Board of Trade when the report on the St. Lawrence Waterways Project was made to that body by Messrs. Holgate and Jamieson in 1929.

In 1931, in connection with the activities of The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, I gave further study to the matter. On this occasion, I made the following references:

1. "We seem to have heard less on the St. Lawrence Waterways lately; perhaps the very large expenditure involved is giving rise to more careful consideration now than formerly, both in Washington and in Ottawa.

   My own feeling on this subject is that it is not so much a question between North and South, or between the United States and Canada, as it is one between East and West and between Navigation and Power. It seems in the past to have been taken for granted that the interests of Navigation were paramount. While this may be so from an international point of view, I think that from a practical point of view Power is now much the more important factor of the two."

2. "At the moment we are specially interested in some important developments in one of our pre-eminent resources - Water Power. I hope that the accumulated wisdom and experience of the North American Continent will prevent us from over-development of this Natural Resource. At the same time, I trust that we will have enough vision and be sufficiently progressive to develop it to the best interest of all concerned."

On the same occasion, I made the following references to wheat, which is much the most important Canadian product carried in the St. Lawrence system:

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"The situation about wheat is that before the War, Russia was a large factor in the World Wheat Market and Canada a comparatively small factor. Russia then went out of the World Market for almost 15 years - Canada came in strong and became a large factor. Other nations also came in strong and so did other foodstuffs. When the price increased, some people turned to rice and other substitutes and some tightened their belts.

The reaction has now come, and we are wondering if those profitable years were worth while, and whether if we had been satisfied to produce less and make less profit, we would not today have been better off. However, it was a war condition and it might have been adjusted sooner if we had had more wisdom and greater foresight.

We are now left with a very large wheat producing organization and a very considerably restricted market. It is probable that the average cost of production was 80-90 cents a bushel for wheat that sold as high as $2.00. This brought a lot of money into the country and we developed some extravagant habits, often referred to as raising the standard of living. Now the rainy day has come and we are lucky if we have stored up any of the profits.

In the meantime, in addition to the "come back" of Russia and the competition from other parts of the world and other commodities, there has been a revolution in the methods of production which has enabled the growing of wheat at a cost of 40-50 cents a bushel. This, I understand, is being done on a large scale both in the United States and Canada, as well as other parts of the world. This necessitates a double readjustment. To the extent that we are able to compete in the world markets by adopting the new methods and lowering our costs, we will do so; to the extent that we cannot, we will have to turn those lands and those people to other uses."

In the interval since those earlier studies, I have had opportunities of giving further attention to these and related matters as a member of the Saskatchewan and Alberta Resources Commissions, Quebec Electricity Commission, the Taxation Revision Committee of the Province of Quebec and through certain activities of The Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

I propose to deal at a later stage with the matters of public import to which I have referred, but in the first instance, I want to direct attention to the developments in the St. Lawrence Waterway System since the Holgate-Jamieson report.

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The principal development is the opening on 21st April 1930 of the New Welland Canal at a cost to Canada of about $130,000,000.00, thus completing the 27 foot channel in the St. Lawrence Waterway System from Lake Superior to Lake Ontario and leaving a 14 foot channel from Lake Ontario to Montreal.

In "The St. Lawrence Navigation and Power Project" published by the Brookings Institution in 1929, we find the following reference to the "New Welland Canal" on page 236:

> "Canada has, however, already committed herself to the construction of the New Welland Canal, 27 feet in depth, at an estimated cost of $115,000,000. (exclusive of interest during the period of construction). While the authorization of this 27 foot link prior to a decision as to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Development as a whole was premature, now that the new channel has been virtually completed, it has to be reckoned with as an accomplished fact."

This accomplished fact now means that, after giving up in 1903 the charging of tolls on canals, because it had come to be realized that otherwise boat lines could no longer compete with railroad carriers, the Dominion of Canada proceeded to subsidize the traffic using the Welland Canal, by a capital expenditure of $130,000,000.00. What this subsidy meant in annual cost to the taxpayers of Canada is measured by the interest and amortization on the money borrowed, plus the increase in the net excess of expenditure on operations and upkeep over income of the new canal as compared to the previous one. Most of the expenditure was made between 1919 and 1931. During that time, the rate of interest on the money borrowed by the Dominion of Canada for this and other purposes was slightly over 5%. Going by the experience of the country in regard to the earlier expenditure on the Canal, it would appear that in the course of at least forty or fifty years, it would probably be necessary to repeat the process of building a new Canal to meet up to date requirements. For the amortization of

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such a project, it would appear that a rate of a minimum of one percent should be provided. The result is:-

Interest at 5% on $130,000,000.	$ 6,500,000.00
Amortization at 1% on $130,000,000.	1,300,000.00
Net Excess of Expenditure over Income - average for 9 years 1931-1939	511,040.89
Total Annual Cost	8,311,040.89
Less: Net Excess of Expenditure over Income - average for 16 years 1914-1930	416,183.68
The Annual Cost of the increased facilities provided by the new Canal	$ 7,894,857.21

There resulted on the opening of the canal an increased traffic in ore and coal, with lower freight rates, to the benefit of industries in central Ontario. In both cases, the Canadian Railways were losers.

Other interesting developments have been the various treaties, proposals and negotiations for further joint action by the United States and Canada.

While the agitation for increased development of Navigation in the St. Lawrence Waterways was very strongly backed in the earlier stages by western wheat growers, within the last thirty years in Canada, the completion of the two new railway systems, and the Hudson's Bay route, and the opening of the Panama Canal, seem to have more or less satisfied the demand of the Prairie provinces so far as wheat outlets are concerned. In addition to these other outlets, the fact that the average freight rates by water on wheat from Fort William and Port Arthur to Montreal, during the last decade, have run from 6.46 cents per bushel in 1931 to 4.57 cents per bushel in 1939, with the lowest figure of 3.79 cents in 1933 (see Canal Statistics 1939 published by the Dominion Bureau of

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Statistics), has convinced the interested parties that no matter what further development may occur, there isn't room for much reduction in freight rates.

It is apparent that during the period 1930 to 1940 there has been a tendency for the pressure for further development of navigation to weaken, while on the other hand the pressure for further power development has strengthened.

The fact that Canada was found with the "fait accompli" of what the Brookings Institution Survey refers to as the "premature" completion of one link in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence development, has naturally led to the suggestion that the United States should even up in the matter of joint expenditure.

We find that the Bennett-Hoover Treaty (1932) contemplated heavy American expenditures in the international reaches of the St. Lawrence which would ultimately result in equal division between the two countries of capital cost of the entire Waterway from the Great Lakes to the Ocean.

In the later Roosevelt proposals, apparently the amount of the evening-up process was to be limited to the extra expenditure by the United States of a sum of about $130,000,000.00, or the equivalent of the cost of the New Welland Canal.

To sum up the situation as outlined in these negotiations, it was proposed to complete the 27 foot waterway, and to develop 2,000,000 horse power in the international reaches of the St. Lawrence River, the cost to be $543,728,000. This would include new expenditure of $414,196,000.00, in addition to $128,000,000.00, which is recognized as already having been spent by Canada on the New Welland Canal, and $1,432,000.00 spent by the two countries on the Thousand Islands Section.

Of the new expenditure, certain works in the International Rapids Section are common to Navigation and Power. Their cost is shown as $108,102,000.00. In the case of the

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Beauharnois development, I understand that this cost was wholly borne by Power, but assuming that it should be apportioned equally to Navigation and Power, the application of the new expenditure would be -

Navigation	$ 227,693,000.00
Power	186,503,000.00
	$ 414,196,000.00*
Payable by -	
Canada	142,204,500.00
United States	271,991,500.00
	$ 414,196,000.00

*For particulars see Appendix No. 1.

The new expenditure on Navigation added to the previous expenditure on the Welland Canal and certain works in the Thousand Islands Section, would bring the cost of the 27 foot channel to the following figure:-

New Expenditure	227,693,000.00
Welland Canal	128,000,000.00
Thousand Islands Section -	
Canada	772,000.00
United States	760,000.00
Total Cost	$ 357,225,000.00
Paid or to be Paid by -	
Canada	177,725,000.00
United States	179,500,000.00
	$ 357,225,000.00

Canada already has a debt due to the New Welland Canal of $130,000,000.00 at 5%, which, with a combined interest and amortization rate of 6%, provides an annual subsidy to the beneficiaries of canal of $7,800,000.00. Her new expenditure on Navigation of about $50,000,000.00 at the same modest rate for interest and amortization would add another $3,000,000.00 to the annual burden of the taxpayer. At the same time, the United States would be assuming a similar annual burden. Is it conceivable that the traffic using that 27 foot waterway would produce a benefit to Canada and the United States of anything like twenty million dollars a year?

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Under the Roosevelt scheme it is proposed to develop 2,000,000 horse power in the international section of the St. Lawrence, to be used by the two countries on a fifty-fifty basis, the estimated total cost being $186,503,000, after assuming half the expenditure in the International Rapids Section, which is common to both Navigation and Power. It is proposed that Canada's share of 1,000,000 horse power would go to the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. There were certain proposals as to the division of the cost of the Canadian share of the expenditure between the Dominion and the Province of Ontario. The natural assumption is that Ontario should pay the full cost of the Canadian half of the Power development, whatever that cost should prove to be. For Ontario to have paid any less than the actual cost of the power development would have meant that the Dominion was subsidizing the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. Amongst the subdivisions of costs to the various items and the evening-up process between the two countries of the expenditure on navigation, whether or not Ontario was really to pay the full cost is not clear. Put to the test, that should determine the issue, because, other things being equal, the other provinces of Canada should not object to Ontario at her own expense developing natural resources within her own boundaries.

It now appears that the scheme involving the $543,728,000.00 waterway and power development is not to be proceeded with at the moment. One part of the present preliminary understanding between Ottawa and Washington, however, involving the diversion of water from the Hudson's Bay Watershed to Lake Superior by the Ogoki and Long Lac projects to permit of additional power being developed at Niagara and Beauharnois, has been agreed to by the Parties concerned. So long as the respective rights of the two countries in the flow of water throughout the system are

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being observed, there may be a distinct advantage to Canada through additional power being made available at Niagara at an early date, at the same time this diversion into the Great Lakes system may have very serious implications to Canada in the Chicago Diversion controversy. As to the other parts of the present proposals, it appears that further engineering investigation of foundation conditions at dam sites is to be made by an international board which the governments of both countries have referred to as a temporary board, before deciding on the development of power in the International Section of the St. Lawrence.

With the failure to come to an arrangement with the United States whereby that country would increase its expenditure on the St. Lawrence Waterways to an amount equal to the expenditure of Canada on the upper waters of the St. Lawrence, Canada is, so to speak, left "carrying the bag". Under these circumstances, an obvious suggestion would be that Canada should impose tolls on the traffic using the Welland Canal of an amount sufficient to provide the eight or nine millions necessary to pay the annual upkeep, operation, interest and amortization. An experimental period of five years could be tried out to see what the traffic would bear. The inevitable outcome would be that which came to be generally recognized by 1903, that canals could no longer compete with railroad and motor traffic under conditions existing in the country around the St. Lawrence Waterways. I am confident that the same situation would obtain if the 27 foot waterway from Lake Ontario to Montreal were completed. Traffic sufficient to pay tolls to cover the upkeep, operation, interest and amortization on the cost of the canals could not be diverted from other forms of transportation already existing in abundance.

There are two great canals - the Suez and the Panama. Tolls pay their costs and traffic is not diverted by other forms of transportation. They have half the world at each end, and they are open all the year round. Ships that

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go through do not of necessity have to return. They can go round another way. In comparison, the St. Lawrence Waterway has a dead end - every ship that goes up has to come back and has little chance of a two-way cargo. Competitive forms of transportation are numerous, increasingly efficient and comparatively little affected by the winter season.

The matters of public import to which I refer are:-

1. The large increase in the public debt of the Dominion during the last twenty-five years.

2. The failure to adopt a sound system of debt amortization in connection with the Dominion debt.

3. The tendency toward the abandonment of the principle that expenditure of public funds should only be on enterprises which promoted the wealth producing capacity of the citizens.

4. The improvident exploitation in some instances of our natural resources and the losses due to provincial jealousies.

1. With a view to obtaining a proper appreciation of "present day circumstances", I have made an analysis of the Public Accounts of Canada for the past twenty-five years. This analysis was made with the idea, in the first instance, of accounting for the increase in the debt, and in the second instance, to see if a clearer understanding of the situation might lead to the use in future of better methods of dealing both with the public accounts and with the debt itself. It was pursued at this time to establish the part played in the increased debt by the expenditure on the St. Lawrence Waterways and Canals, and the method of dealing with this problem in the Public Accounts. The result of this analysis is shown in the attached Appendix No. 2 and Schedule. The Net Debt and Guaranteed Debt has grown from $430,735,434.00 on 31st March 1914, to $4,238,025,409.00 on 31st March 1939, an increase of $3,807,288,000.00, details of which are shown on the statement. Of this increase, the Consolidated Fund has accounted for $1,913,844,696.00,

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and in the process turned from a credit balance at the beginning of $211,351,209.00 to a debit balance of $1,702,493,487.00 at the end of the period. The rest of the increase is due to --

Non-Active Assets	$ 902,717,768.00
Guaranteed Debt	990,727,511.00

2. Proceeding for the moment to discuss the second matter referred to in the foregoing, namely, the failure to adopt a sound system of debt amortization, I would draw attention to the manner of dealing with the War Debt and the imposition of the War taxes. Each year in the Canada Year Book there is a summary of the War taxes collected to date, and on another page referring to the War expenditure, the following sentence appears:-

> "It is, however, a cardinal maxim of public finance that, where loans are contracted, sufficient new taxation should be imposed to meet the interest charge upon the loans and to provide a sinking fund for their ultimate liquidation."

The carrying out of this principle in the case of war expenditure has resulted in the collection by the 31st March 1939 of $3,573,538,000.00 in war taxes, which exceeds the cost of the war and related activities by over $800,000,000.00 as shown in the schedule attached to the statement.

There does not appear to be any evidence that the admirable practice of imposing taxes to extinguish the war debt has been followed in the case of money borrowed for railways, canals and other items shown as having contributed to the increase in debt.

In cases where special taxes for the purpose of extinguishing such debts are not levied, they remain a permanent burden and new money has to be borrowed to pay the interest - thus the debt pyramids to the serious detriment of the taxpayer.

It is contended that if the principle applied in the case of war expenditure were carried out in connection with

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other matters for which loans were contracted, a very strong influence towards the curtailment of expenditure would have made itself felt.

The circumstances connected with the St. Lawrence Waterways that are involved in the application of this principle are as follows:-

On the 31st March 1914 there stood on the books of the Dominion of Canada, under the classification of Non-Active Assets, the sum of $105,008,851.00 representing the accumulated expenditure on canals up to that date. By the 31st of March 1939, the accumulated expenditure on this account had risen to $240,316,690.00.

An analysis of this expenditure is shown in Appendix No. 3 attached. It will be noted that of the total amount, the expenditure on canals connected with the St. Lawrence System amounted to $81,432,791.79 at 31st March 1914. The Expenditure on this part of the system between 1914 and 1939 was $128,654,792.07, making a combined total at 31st March 1939 of $210,087,583.86. The expenditure on canals outside of the St. Lawrence System was up to 31st March 1914 $23,576,059.56, and between 1914 and 1939 $6,653,047.43, making a total at 31st March 1939 of $30,229,106.99.

The statement shows that the accumulated expenditure at 31st March 1939 contains the expenditure both on the old Welland Canal, which cost about thirty million dollars, and on the new Welland Ship Canal, which cost about a hundred and thirty million. It would appear that instead of continuing to pile up these expenditures, some method should be devised of writing them down so that when the asset becomes obsolete and has to be replaced or superseded by another, it would no longer appear at its full value in the capital structure of the Dominion. For example, the old Welland Canal, instead of being carried as an asset of $27,500,000.00 in 1939, should have been

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written off by the time of its replacement or of its becoming obsolete, and provision for the amortization of the $130,000,000.00 spent on the new canal should have been well on the way.

3. Large public expenditures wisely made by governments have in the past contributed greatly, at times, to the welfare of the country. I quote some extracts from an article of Wendell L. Willkie entitled "We, the People", which appeared in the April number of "Fortune":-

> "If the government, besides providing the 'ordinary' services of the departments, is also going to spend our money on enormous public works - which is certainly our wish - it must see to it that we get our money back, and something more besides."
>
> "The government itself need not profit, but we must profit. So long as the government fails to accomplish this, it is delinquent in its elementary business responsibility. And it is bound to prolong the depression. The losses it creates, whether through inefficient taxes, or through unnecessary interferences, or just by throwing money around in an unbusinesslike manner, must be absorbed by whatever profits we are making from our own enterprises. And this in turn means that we operate at less profit, or none at all; that the profit system seems to be failing; that national income does not rise; and consequently that wealth does not increase."
>
> "Earlier spending programmes were shrewdly calculated to help us make a profit."
>
> "Spending need not be harmful to our system. It may be, and in the past has been, of enormous benefit to every one of us."

These remarks were applied to the United States but they apply also equally well to the situation in Canada. We had the same early public spending in the form of grants of land to railways and to immigrants, which produced such very profitable returns and benefitted the whole country.

In fact, the early expenditures on the improvement of our system of transportation, both rail and water, come into the category of profitable public expenditure. In earlier years our waterways were for a long time practically the only means of communication, and the

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various canals that were built proved to be of great benefit to the country. The coming of the railways, and even more, the motor traffic, has resulted in the canals, with the exception of those on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, playing a minor part in the transportation activities of the country. (See Canada Year Book for 1937, page 678.) While the earlier expenditure on the railways contributed so much to the national prosperity, everybody now recognizes, perhaps in the light of wisdom after the event, that at a certain stage subsequent expenditure on our railway development became questionable. In discussing the proposal in 1903 to build another transcontinental railway, Sir Robert Borden in his Memoirs (Vol. 1, p. 117) says:-

> "This project, however, appealed to the imagination of the country and awakened a response which drowned the voice of prudence and caution. A prominent Conservative in Montreal, with whom I discussed the subject, and who strongly advocated it, was wholly unmoved by considerations of useless expenditures and of future burdens. He merely said, 'This proposal will give us good times for at least ten years and after that I do not care'."

It was by 1903 that the minor part to be played by the canals in the transportation system of the country became recognized. At this time the practice of charging tolls on the canals was discontinued. It will be remembered that one of the causes leading up to Confederation was the amount of debts that had been incurred by the provinces of Canada and the Maritime provinces for railways and canals. It is recorded in the findings of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations that the provinces of Canada are again in difficulties through incurring more debt. This time, instead of the expenditure being on railways and canals, a large factor has been another form of transportation, namely, roads. This development is continuing to make it increasingly difficult for the other forms of transportation to pay a return on the money invested. In the meantime the analysis of the Public Accounts already referred to discloses that the position the Dominion of Canada is in

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is due mainly to railways, but also in part to canal debt which has not yet been amortized.

Other expenditures which have contributed largely to the increase in the public debt have been for bonusing Wheat, Farm Relief and kindred activities. The figures shown only take up expenditure to 31st March 1939. In the eighteen months intervening, the outbreak of war has produced a very serious situation. While the prices received from such wheat and flour as we have been able to export have been satisfactory, owing to the restricted market, Canada has a "carry-over" of 300,000,000 bushels of wheat from the 1939 crop, and the estimate of the 1940 crop is over 560,000,000 bushels. The prospective carry-over to 1941 is 550,000,000 bushels. This, with its carrying charges, constitutes an ominous burden. In 1939, faced with a large prospective carry-over, the government set a guaranteed price of 70 cents a bushel at Fort William. Despite this carry-over, the wheat farmers increased the area sewn for the 1940 crop by about two million acres. The increased acreage in 1940 would seem to indicate that the price of 70 cents a bushel was an attractive one.

In an earlier part of this report, I referred to some remarks on wheat which I had made in 1931. On that occasion I was quoting from an address delivered to the Canadian Club of Montreal on the 4th of November 1929, by Professor A.E. Ottewell, Registrar of the University of Alberta, in which he indicated that wheat was being grown on a large scale both in the United States and Canada at a cost of forty to fifty cents a bushel. At that time, he also made the following statement:-

> "One hundred years ago, while we were still in the neolithic age, so far as agriculture was concerned, it required nine producers on the land to produce food enough for themselves and to support one other person; on the average, that was the way it worked out. Today, twenty-five percent of the population can easily produce more food than it is possible for the rest to consume; and it is said that probably that will be whittled down in the West at least to about ten percent of the population."

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In the November 1940 issue of "The Canadian Chartered Accountant", Professor McQueen of the University of Manitoba and a Director of the Bank of Canada, in an article entitled "Economic Notes", refers to an article in the "New York Times" of 13th October by W.F. Ogburn, whom he quotes as follows:-

> "One farmer now feeds eighteen persons. With more machines and more science, he may feed thirty-six. But there will not be thirty-six persons for him to feed, with the population of the United States stationary and possibly decreasing twenty-five or thirty years hence. Machines raise the per capita income, but they will also mean technological unemployment on the farms."

While Canada seems to be facing up to the facts of the war situation appropriately, it would appear that in the national interest, the wheat problem also demands courageous attention.

Item No. 4 - The improvident exploitation in some instances of our natural resources and the losses due to provincial jealousies:

The proposed development of power in the International Section of the St. Lawrence River brings up the question of the need of the assertion of some federal restraint or authority over the exercise of provincial control of natural resources. The responsibilities of provincial governments for the unwise exploitation of our forests and the great difficulties of our newsprint industry for many years shows the need of some form of national control and co-ordination of the use of these resources, if they are to be and to continue to be a source of wealth to the Dominion.

To avoid the difficulties of the newsprint industry, if the Dominion of Canada is to make its completely best effort so far as the use of our power resources is concerned, the policy followed in the case of extra power that may be needed should be to develop that power which can be made most readily available at the lowest cost.

Before proceeding with the proposed development

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of power in the international section, as provided in the 1932 Treaty between Mr. Bennett and Mr. Hoover, again put forward by Mr. Roosevelt in 1938, and now under examination by a joint committee from the United States and Canada, I think that a study should be made by representatives of the Dominion Government and the Governments of Ontario and Quebec as to power requirements and the available power resources in the two provinces for the purpose of:-

1. Ascertaining -

   (a) The potential requirement for power in central Canada for the next twenty or more years.

   (b) The resources of power available and the relative cost of development.

2. Recommending -

   (a) A plan for better co-ordination and use of present power developments, whether privately-owned or publicly-owned.

   (b) A scheme for future developments timed to meet growing needs as they arise and to provide the greatest economy and utility from the resources available.

If the requirements of war industries are of such an urgent nature as to call for more power at a very early date, then consideration should be given to the possible advantage of building and operating steam plants.

In considering future development and co-ordination, attention should be given to the possibility of the gradual conversion of existing systems to a uniform frequency.

The conclusions reached as a result of such a conference would enable us to develop and use our power resources at the least cost and to the best advantage.

If such a federal-provincial conference is held, among the matters that could be discussed would be the steps necessary to prevent any future repudiation by a provincial government of contracts entered into by it with private companies.

Another aspect of the power question, particularly in central Canada, which cries loudly for adjustment is the

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unfairness caused to customers of privately-owned utilities through the incidence of the Corporation Profits Tax. In recent years, customers of Quebec utility companies have been paying in taxes through the Corporation Profits Tax over three million dollars a year to the Federal Treasury. Customers of publicly-owned utilities in other parts of Canada are free from this impost. The recent change in the Dominion Income Tax and the imposition of the Excess Profits Tax has at least doubled the tax, with the result that the amount now paid by customers of privately-owned utilities will apparently amount to about 10% of their gross light and power bills. Recognizing that utility companies are good tax collectors, and with a view to putting all the citizens of Canada on the same basis, it is suggested that the Federal Corporation Tax Act and Excess Profits Tax Act should be changed, and that instead of applying only to privately-owned utilities, they should be applied to all the utility systems on a basis of gross revenue.

In this connection, and keeping in mind the fact that production and distribution of power is a competitive industry, it is pointed out that the freedom from having to pay taxes is enabling the publicly-owned utilities to apply an amount equivalent to the taxes to the reduction and eventual extinction of the capital cost of the utility. As this process goes on, the competition that the publicly-owned utility is able to give to the privately-owned utility is increasing, to the great detriment of the privately-owned enterprise, which, through its payment of taxes, is supporting the burden of financing not only the Dominion Government but other governments which collect taxes from privately-owned utilities and not from publicly-owned utilities.

Attention is drawn to the following recommendation of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (Book 2, page 146):

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"It was also complained to the Commission that it was unjust to exempt Crown property from taxation when that property was being used for some normal commercial purpose, such as electric power distribution, and would, if in private hands, be taxable: or when it was being used in a profit-making commercial enterprise, such as a provincial liquor store. The Commission suggests that such property should be subject to taxation on the same terms as that of private enterprises."

I have not in this report dealt with questions of freight rates or grain traffic or the relative merits of Lake steamers versus Ocean tramps, nor of the cost of power development and distribution. For these matters, I recommend the two reports to which I have already referred, namely, the Holgate-Jamieson report and the survey of the Brookings Institution.

My conclusion is that the interests most gravely threatened by the proposed expenditures on the St. Lawrence Waterways are the Dominion interests. In other words, the taxpayers of Canada generally have to bear the burden of an expenditure on a project which not only does not liquidate itself, but the cost of which is entirely out of proportion to any possible benefits that I can see accruing to Canada or Canadians.

I am also concerned in the national interest if, as has been stated, the Dominion was to have borne some of the costs of the power developments that would accrue to the advantage of one or more provinces.

My secondary concern is for the interests of this province, due to the position of the utility companies in the matter of discriminatory taxation.

To summarize my conclusions - as to Navigation, I do not think that further large expenditures for the deepening of the St. Lawrence River between Lake Ontario and Montreal are warranted, and as to Power, if investigations show that there are no cheaper alternatives, then the Power in the St. Lawrence should be developed as the need arises.

Douglas C. McDonald

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APPENDIX NO. 1

STATEMENT SHOWING COSTS OF WORK TO BE DONE UNDER PROPOSED ROOSEVELT TREATY

NAVIGATION WORKS

At Crysler Island		8,219,000.00
" Barnhart "		25,969,000.00
Lake St. Francis Section		1,330,000.00
Soulanges Section		25,785,000.00
Lachine Section		55,839,000.00
		117,142,000.00
Upper Lake Section:		
Channel Excavation	54,900,000.00	
Compensating Works	3,700,000.00	
Lock at Sault-Ste-Marie	6,500,000.00	
	65,100,000.00	
Deductions due to Savings in Upper Lake Section	8,600,000.00	56,500,000.00
		173,642,000.00
Add: Half of Cost Common to Navigation and Power		54,051,000.00
		$ 227,693,000.00

POWER COSTS

Power Works International Section -	
Substructures	58,591,000.00
Superstructures, Machinery, etc., Power Houses	73,861,000.00
	132,452,000.00
Add: Half Costs of Works Common to Navigation and Power	54,051,000.00
	$ 186,503,000.00

WORKS COMMON TO NAVIGATION AND POWER

International Rapids Section -	
Property Damages Canadian	5,698,000.00
Rehabilitation Iroquois & Morrisburg	8,403,000.00
Dams, Channel Excavation, etc.	94,001,000.00
	$ 108,102,000.00
Division Assumed -	
One-half to Navigation	$ 54,051,000.00
One-half to Power	54,051,000.00

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APPENDIX NO. 2

INCREASE IN DOMINION GOVERNMENT DEBT

FOR THE 25 YEARS TO 31ST MARCH, 1939

(Prepared from the Public Accounts of Canada)

The position of the Net Debt and Guaranteed Debt at the beginning of the period was as follows:-

31st March 1914 -		
Net Debt		$ 335,996,850.
Guaranteed Debt		94,738,584.
Total as at 31st March 1914		430,735,434.
31st March 1939 -		
Net Debt	3,152,559,314.	
Guaranteed Debt	1,085,466,095.	4,238,025,409.
Making increase during the period of		$ 3,807,289,975.

The increase is accounted for by the following items:-

1. Consolidated Fund:		
Net Excess of Ordinary Expenditure over Ordinary Revenue, after allotting War Taxes to Cost of War and Related Activities	1,509,870,000.	
Less: Surplus from War and Related Activities as per attached Schedule	801,341,000.	708,529,000.
2. Public Works (including Canals)		405,596,000.
3. Canadian National Railway System (including Guaranteed Debt $960,127,000.)		2,086,686,000.
4. Wheat Bonus and Profit or Loss on Grain Marketing Operations		52,178,000.
5. Unemployment and Farm Relief, including Seed, Grain, etc.		429,802,000.
6. Home Bank Depositors' Relief Account		3,041,000.
7. Railway Subsidies		8,649,000.
8. Canadian National Steamships		23,264,000.
9. National Harbours Board		87,916,000.
10. Miscellaneous		1,627,000.
		$ 3,807,288,000.

and has arisen through the following sources:

Consolidated Fund	1,913,844,696.
Non-Active Assets	902,717,768.
Guaranteed Debt	990,727,511.
	$ 3,807,289,975.

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SCHEDULE SHOWING COMPOSITION OF CONSOLIDATED FUND - NET EXCESS OF ORDINARY EXPENDITURE OVER ORDINARY REVENUE, AFTER ALLOTTING WAR TAXES TO COST OF WAR AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

War Taxes Collected			3,573,538,000.
Debits:			
(a) Charged direct to Consolidated Fund - Cost of War and Cost of Demobilization, etc.		1,695,959,000.	
Soldier & General Land Settlement, etc.		23,106,000.	
(b) Charged to Non-Active Assets - Soldier & General Land Settlement, etc.		16,526,000.	
(c) Charged to Ordinary Revenue and Expenditure -			
Pensions		790,691,000.	
Board of Pension Commission		8,900,000.	
Soldier & General Land Settlement, etc.		25,841,000.	
Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment		261,549,000.	
		2,822,572,000.	
Less: Credits -			
Reparations from Germany	26,721,000.		
Custodian, etc.	13,328,000.		
Contribution	1,906,000.		
	41,955,000.		
Less - Reparations	8,718,000.		
	33,237,000.		
Imperial Government Exchange Settlement	17,138,000.	50,375,000.	2,772,197,000.
Surplus from War and Related Activities			$ 801,341,000.

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APPENDIX NO. 3

ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC WORKS

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - CANALS

(Information from Public Accounts of Canada)

	Balance 31st March 1914	Increase or Decrease	Balance 31st March 1939
St. Lawrence & Great Lakes System			
Burlington Bay	308,328.32	-	308,328.32
Lake St. Peter	1,164,235.08	-	1,164,235.08
Lachine	10,773,310.74	225,185.27	10,998,496.01
Quebec	34,841.69		34,841.69
Sault Ste. Marie	4,994,372.51	58,563.09	4,935,809.42
St. Lawrence	33,942,367.94	197,456.06	34,139,824.00
Welland	29,221,077.91	1,692,891.30	27,528,186.61
Welland Ship	994,257.60	129,849,708.33	130,843,965.93
St. Lawrence Ship	-	133,896.80	133,896.80
	$ 81,432,791.79	128,654,792.07	210,087,583.86
Other Systems			
Chambly & Richelieu	530,792.59	49,300.00	580,092.59
Trent - Improvement	559,067.70	-	559,067.70
Murray	1,248,946.71	-	1,248,946.71
Ottawa Works	6,865,580.62	5,663.55	6,871,244.17
St. Ours	5,690.91	608,735.48	614,426.39
St. Peters	492,023.82	-	492,023.82
Tay River, including Rideau	572,730.07	46,756.78	619,486.85
Trent River Navigation	13,301,102.14	5,792,591.62	19,093,693.76
Miscellaneous	125.00	-	125.00
St. Anne's Lock	-	150,000.00	150,000.00
	$ 23,576,059.56	6,653,047.43	30,229,106.99
Recapitulation			
St. Lawrence & Great Lakes System	81,432,791.79	128,654,792.07	210,087,583.86
Other Systems	23,576,059.56	6,653,047.43	30,229,106.99
Total	$ 105,008,851.35	135,307,839.50	240,316,690.85

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Collateral - Waterways - St Lawrence (1)

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THE GREAT LAKES - ST. LAWRENCE DEVELOPMENT

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I should like now to refer to another respect in which Canada's good relations with the United States have resulted in fruitful co-operation in the period since Parliament adjourned.

The vast expansion of our industrial production to meet wartime needs has resulted in a rapid and continuing rise in the demand for hydro-electric power. These power needs must be met, if our war effort is not to suffer. Similarly, in the United States, the immense programme of national defence is expected to result in increasing demands for power in that country.

Some weeks ago, in view of this rapidly rising demand for power, the government of the United States indicated its readiness to make a temporary arrangement to permit of the immediate development of additional power at Niagara, provided this arrangement were made to fit into any wider plan for the development of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence basin which might later be agreed upon. An agreement between the two governments to effect these ends was duly reached, and was announced on October 15th.

Before discussing the agreement which covers an important step in the solution of the international problems

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connected with the development of hydro-electric power at Niagara, and in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, it may be helpful to honourable members if I review briefly some of the recent stages in the consideration of these difficult problems.

The Niagara River has been for many years the chief source of hydro electric power for the highly industrialized areas of central and western Ontario. After lengthy enquiry, a Convention was signed in 1929 between the United States and Canada providing for increased temporary diversion at Niagara Falls on both sides of the border, and for the preservation and improvement of the natural scenic beauties. This Convention failed of approval in the United States Senate, largely because of opposition to the proposed participation of a private utility company in the development of power on the United States side.

In 1931, our Parliament passed "An Act to declare certain works of the Beauharnois Light Heat and Power Company, Limited, to be for the general advantage of Canada". In the debate which preceded its passage, the present Minister of Justice, at the time a member of the Opposition, pointed out to the House of Commons - it was on August 1, 1931 - that -- I quote the words he used:

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"For the first time Parliament is committed by this bill to a deep waterway scheme. I do not suppose there was any way of taking over a canal situated entirely in one province -- I am glad that my right hon. friend agrees with me -- and making it for the general advantage of Canada without linking it up with this other great national undertaking. Obviously this bill commits us to the development of a deep waterway system from the Great Lakes through the waters of the St. Lawrence."

The statement I have quoted will be found in Hansard for that year at page 4498.

It will be recalled that the question of lake levels and the Chicago diversion had ~~also~~ been the subject of long study. After years of enquiry, a treaty was signed in 1932 providing for the construction of a twenty-seven foot seaway, and the development of two million horse power. The treaty was subsequently brought before the United States Senate. While it was supported by a majority, it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote.

Though the treaty of 1932 was not adopted, great progress has been made in the last 10 years towards settling many matters which have been a subject of controversy. As the result of diplomatic representations on the part of Canada, the opposition of the Lake States, and combined pressure and financial aid from Washington, the Chicago diversion has been greatly reduced. Under the present Supreme Court Order, the authorized and actual diversion is now <u>five thousand</u> cubic second feet less than it was ten years ago.

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The International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence, while constituting a barrier to navigation, presents an opportunity for hydro electric power development. As regards navigation, over a long period of time, the river has been improved on the Canadian side by a series of canals now fourteen feet in depth. The development of power presents engineering and financial problems, and requires agreement between the governments of the United States, New York State, Canada, and Ontario.

In 1937, the United States Secretary of State suggested that all the problems mentioned should [redacted] be dealt with simultaneously in one Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Agreement. The Province of Ontario, whose co-operation was essential for the development and utilization of power in the International Rapids Section, declined to participate on the ground that further power was not then needed. Ontario put forward an alternative proposal for the utilization at Niagara Falls of water to be diverted through Long Lake into the Great Lakes Basin. The United States, however, was unwilling to enter into an Agreement confined to this single question. The Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario found a temporary solution for its power needs in the developments in the Ottawa and Gatineau, at Beauharnois, and from other sources.

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In October last year, after the outbreak of war, the Premier of Ontario, in view of the increased demand for power to meet the needs of war, indicated that the government of Ontario desired to proceed with the development of the International Rapids Section. Conferences were subsequently held in Ottawa and Washington for a review of the draft treaty. As an outcome of these conferences, the government of the United States agreed to the temporary arrangement I have mentioned to meet immediate power needs. At the same time, the arrangement was designed to fit into any wider plan that might be agreed upon later.

On October 15th, the following announcement was made with respect to the Agreement reached:

"In order to assure adequate power supplies to meet the requirements of defence production in the North Eastern part of the United States and Canada, steps have been taken by the Governments of the United States and Canada to initiate immediately preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project which is located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. These steps have been taken in order that the entire project may be started without loss of a favourable construction season when final decision is reached

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between the two Governments. The investigations will be made under the direction of Temporary Committees to be appointed by the two Governments.

Meanwhile, to assist in providing an adequate supply of power to meet Canadian defence needs, and contingent upon the Province of Ontario's agreeing to provide immediately for diversions into the Great Lakes System of waters from the Albany River Basin which normally flow into Hudson Bay, the Government of the United States have informed the Canadian Government that it will interpose no objection, pending the conclusion of a final Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Agreement between the two countries, to the immediate utilization for power at Niagara Falls by the Province of Ontario of additional waters equivalent in quantity to the diversion into the Great Lakes Basin above referred to."

Under this Agreement, it is possible to develop some 70,000 additional horse power at Niagara, and some 50,000 horse power on the Nipigon River, both in existing plants. The same additional water will also be available on the St. Lawrence. All the power so diverted will be used in Canada. An increased diversion is already being made at Niagara, and provision will be made at once for completing the Long Lake and beginning the Ogoki diversions from the

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Albany River Basin. The Agreement is another fine illustration of good-will on the part of the United States. It will prove extremely helpful in the development of Canada's war effort in the coming year.

In the International Rapids Section provision has been made for continued engineering enquiries as to the most feasible basis of development. Commissions have been appointed in the United States and Canada respectively, and after conferring on the subject, are already at work. The Canadian Commission consists of Guy A. Lindsay, Department of Transport, Chairman; Dr. T. H. Hogg, Chairman, Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario; Dr. Olivier Lefebvre, Provincial Electricity Board of Quebec; and John E. Read, Legal Adviser, Department of External Affairs.

I have already tabled the correspondence exchanged on this subject with the Premier of Ontario.

I may add that the Province of Quebec has always had a special interest in the development of the St. Lawrence, though of course it is not so directly concerned as Ontario. The Premier of Quebec, the Hon, Adelard Godbout, in an announcement on October 16th, stated that after studying carefully the recent Agreement, he had come to the conclusion it would prove to be of distinct advantage to Canada as a whole, as well as to the Province of Quebec.

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In a message to ~~the~~ Congress, the President of the United States has stated that the preliminary investigations in the International Rapids Section involve no actual construction, or commitment to construction, and that Congress would be kept advised of such further steps as ~~might~~ be necessary. Negotiations on the whole broad subject will continue. If later it appears possible and advisable to reach agreement on a basis which would provide the desired navigation and power facilities, without involving any substantial capital outlay on Canada's part during the war, that agreement will of course be submitted to Parliament. It would not be submitted until after it has been approved by the United States Senate. It is not therefore necessary to consider at this time the questions involved in the wider project.

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The Government of the United States is aware of the interest of the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario in the immediate temporary diversion of additional water at Niagara to take care of its pressing need for more power for the defense load. It has in mind, also, the correlative concern of Ontario with the possibility of including the development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River in its longer range plans for additional supplies of power.

In this connection it may be appropriate to refer, also, to the interest of the Government of the United States in the early development of mutual plans for the best utilization of the resources of the entire Great Lakes basin by the two peoples. Any understandings at this time, while necessarily of a temporary nature, should be such as to be in harmony with and to forward the more comprehensive plans for the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence undertaking.

The interest of the United States in the matter has been considerably heightened since the conversations of last winter, due to the necessity which has arisen of a major national defense effort. This program, which will necessarily extend over a period of years, may be expected to result in an acceleration in the upward trend in the demand for power. The development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River offers the best means of meeting the increasing demand in one of the most important areas of war material production.

In the light of these considerations, the United States is considering the following procedure as designed to further the above set forth interests of the two peoples:

1. Agreement on the diversion of water from the Albany River basin into Lake Superior to the extent of approximately 5,000 cubic feet per second, as contemplated in the proposed Ogoki and Long Lake projects of the Province of Ontario.

2. Agreement that, notwithstanding the provisions of Articles 5 and 8 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, the exclusive rights to the use of waters equivalent in quantity to waters so diverted shall be vested in Canada and may be diverted by the Ontario Commission in addition to the present diversion for power purposes at Niagara.

3. Understanding that there will be initiated immediately preliminary engineering and other investigations of the site of the International Rapids Section project, including core borings, test pits, soil analyses, preparation of specifications, etc., in order that the project may be undertaken without delay when final decision is reached by the two Governments. Such preliminary work will be under the direction of a Commission designated for that purpose to cooperate with a similar body representing the Canadian Government.

4. Agreement/

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4. Agreement that the cost of such preliminary investigations and engineering work shall be considered as part of the cost of the project for purposes of allocation to be reimbursed in proper proportion by the Ontario Commission as and when it develops its share of the International Rapids Section power.

5. Agreement that, as and when convenient, the necessary instrument will be signed by the United States and Canada to make possible the immediate undertaking of the International Rapids Section development.

It is the view of this Government that the mutual needs of both countries in the present emergency, especially in the matter of power, can be best served by proceeding along the general lines indicated above. In this connection, it would note that immediate advantages in the transportation of bulky commodities in the defense programs of both countries would be assured by the improvement of the navigable depths of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River which will follow the diversion of additional water into the Great Lakes basin.

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1932	1940
(b) National Section	
i. Canal under construction at Beauharnois. Locks remain to be built	No change.
ii. Lachine development for navigation and power: 27 foot canal.	No change.
(Note: As there is relatively little saving by proceeding with power and navigation simultaneously as joint project and power would be more costly to develop than elsewhere, it is not probable power works will be constructed for several years.	No change.
(c) Deep Waterway	
27 foot depth; 30 feet on lock sills	No change (U.S. may suggest greater lock width)
In International Section, one 27 foot canal in Canadian and one in United States territory.	Both in United States territory
In National section, Cornwall to Montreal, and at Welland, three 27 foot canals, all in Canadian territory.	No change
(d) Power: International Section, 1,100,000 h.p. for each country.	No material change
National Section, 3,000,000 h.p. available for Canada.	No change; at Beauharnois (1,800,000 h.p.net) 2,000,000 h.p. produced or available.
III. Time of Completion of St. Lawrence Works	
Estimated at 7 years from date of Agrdement	Say, 6 years (United States believe 5).
Declaration by Canada of intention to complete canals in Soulanges and Lachine area (and other links) not later than date of completion of waterway in International Rapids Section.	Agreement to complete same not later than Dec. 31,1950, with provision for delay if desired on account of war. (Note: United States will want this modified; does not fit into picture of a defence project).

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Laurier House
Fyle

return

J.A.G./G.
16. 1. 40

Waterways - St Lawrence ✓
Unemployment Insurance ✓

N-305-9.
1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: C228505

Re: Reactions to International Situation

1. St. Lawrence Waterway, negotiations with U.S.A.

The Women's Conservative Association of Montreal and District have passed a resolution urging that the proposed treaty be not proceeded with.

The text of this letter has appeared in the press under a Montreal date-line.

This is the first communication in this sense in several months. The majority of protests against the proposed seaway development received since 1935 have come from organizations of railway employees.

2. Contributory Unemployment Insurance

The Municipal Council of the Township of York asks that attention should be given to this subject because of the present probability of improved employment and the future prospect of serious depression.

3. Resolution of loyalty and support:

The Greek Community of the Province of Quebec.

A. D. P. H.

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DRAFT TREATY

(Based upon stencilled draft January 27, 1940. Certain minor drafting changes are included and are indicated by underlining. Additional paragraphs (f) & (g) are added to Article III.)

PREAMBLE

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of Canada, have decided to conclude a Treaty (an Agreement) in relation to the utilization of the water in the Great Lakes--St. Lawrence Basin and to that end have named as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America;

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada:

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

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Preliminary Article

For the purposes of the present Treaty (Agreement), unless otherwise expressly provided, the expression:

(a) "International Joint Commission" means the commission established pursuant to the provisions of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909;

(b) "Joint Board of Engineers" means the board appointed pursuant to an agreement between the Governments following the recommendation of the International Joint Commission, dated the 19th December 1921;

(c) "Great Lakes System" means Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron (including Georgian Bay), Erie and Ontario, and the connecting waters, including Lake St. Clair;

(d) "St. Lawrence River " means the river known by that name and includes the river channels and the lakes forming parts of the river channels from the outlet of Lake Ontario to the sea;

(e) "international boundary" means the international boundary between the United States of America and Canada as established by existing treaties;

(f) "International Section" means that part of the St. Lawrence River through which the international boundary line runs;

(g) "Canadian Section" means that part of the St. Lawrence River which lies wholly within Canada and which extends from the easterly limit of the International Section to Montreal;

(h) "International Rapids Section" means the easterly portion of the International Section extending from Chimney point to the village of St. Regis;

(i) "Governments" means the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada;

(j) "countries" means the United States of America and Canada;

(k) "Special International Niagara Board" means the board appointed by the two Governments in 1926 to ascertain and recommend ways and means to preserve the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls;

(l) "deep waterway . . . . . " means adequate provision for navigation requiring a controlling depth of 27 feet with lock sills at 30 feet, from the head of the Great Lakes to . . . . . Montreal via the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, in general accordance with the specifications set forth in the Report of the Joint Board of Engineers dated November 16, 1926;

(m) "rehabilitation" means provision for the rebuilding or relocation of towns or portions thereof.

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ARTICLE I

1. The High Contracting Parties agree to establish and maintain a Great Lakes — St. Lawrence Basin Commission, hereinafter referred to as the Commission, consisting of not more than ten members of whom an equal number shall be appointed by each Government. The duties of the Commission shall be:

(a) To prepare and to recommend plans and specifications for the construction of works in the International Rapids Section in accordance with and containing the features described in the Annex, attached to and made part of this Treaty (Agreement), with such modifications as may be agreed upon by the Governments, with a view to providing navigation facilities constituting essential links in the deep waterway to the sea, together with the most suitable works for the development of power;

(b) upon approval of the plans and specifications by the Governments, to prepare a schedule allocating the construction of the ..... works in the International Rapids Section on such a basis that, except as modified by Article III ..... of this Treaty, each Government shall construct the works within its own territory or an equivalent proportion of the recommended works;

(c) to approve all contracts entered into on behalf of either Government for the ..... works in the International Rapids Section;

(d) to supervise the construction of the ..... works and to submit reports to the Governments from time to time, and at least once each calendar year, on the progress of the works;

(e) upon satisfactory completion of the ..... works, to certify to the Governments that they meet the plans and the specifications drawn up by the Commission and approved by the Governments;

(f) to perform the other duties assigned to it in this Treaty (Agreement) or by the Governments by exchange of notes.

2. The Commission shall have the authority to employ such persons and to make such expenditures as may be necessary to carry out the duties set forth in this Treaty (Agreement). It shall have the authority to avail itself of the services

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of such governmental agencies, officers and employees of either country as may be made available. The remuneration, general expenses and all other expenses of its members shall be regulated and paid by their respective Governments; and the other expenses of the Commission, except as provided for under Article III, paragraph (b) of this Treaty (Agreement), shall be borne by the Governments in equal moieties.

3. The Governments agree to permit the entry into their respective countries, within areas immediately adjacent to the Niagara River and the International Section to be delimited by .. exchange of notes, of personnel employed by the Commission or employed in the construction of the works, and to exempt such personnel from the operation of their immigration laws and regulations within the areas so delimited. In the event that the Commission, pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (b) of this Article, allocates to either of the Governments the construction of ..... works, any part of which is within the territory of the other Government, the latter Government shall make provision for the according, within the area in which such a part is situated, of such exemption from customs, excise and other imposts, Federal, state and provincial, as may be reasonably practicable and necessary for the effective prosecution of the work. Regulations providing for such exemptions may be settled by the Governments by exchange of notes.

4. The Governments shall, by exchange of notes, prescribe

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rules and regulations for the conduct of the Commission. They may by the same means extend or abridge its powers and duties; and reduce or after reduction increase the number of members (provided that there must always be an equal number appointed by each Government and that the total number of members shall at no time exceed ten). Upon completion of its duties, they may terminate its existence.

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ARTICLE II

The Government of Canada agrees:

(a) in accordance with plans and specifications prepared by the Commission and approved by the Governments, to construct or arrange for the construction of the works in the International Rapids Section allocated to Canada by the Commission; and to operate and maintain the works situated in the territory of Canada;

(b) not later than six years after . . . . . construction of Canadian works for . . . . . power under this Treaty (Agreement) has begun, and, in any event, not later than December 31, 1950, to provide for the necessary deepening of the New Welland Ship Canal, and for the completion of the works in the Canadian Section which will constitute essential links in the deep waterway: provided that, in the event that the initiation or active prosecution of the undertakings by the Government of Canada under the provisions of this Article is delayed by the continuance of war conditions, the completion thereof may be deferred at the instance of the Government of Canada to such later date as may be settled by the Governments by exchange of notes.

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ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States of America agrees:

(a) in accordance with plans and specifications prepared by the Commission and approved by the Governments, to construct or arrange for the construction of the works in the International Rapids Section allocated to the United States of America by the Commission; and to operate and maintain the works situated in the territory of the United States of America;

(b) to provide, as required by the progress of the works, funds for the construction, including design and supervision, of all works in the International Rapids Section except (1) powerhouse superstructures, (2) machinery and equipment for the development of power, and (3) works required for rehabilitation on the Canadian side of the international boundary other than those referred to in paragraph (c) of this Article;

(c) taking into account the fact that extensive rehabilitation is required only on the Canadian side of the international boundary, to provide the funds required for rehabilitation at Morrisburg; but the total of such funds shall not exceed the estimate set forth in the

. . . . . ;

and, in allocating works to be constructed by the Governments in accordance with the provisions of Article I paragraph (b), of this Treaty (Agreement), the Commission shall increase the proportion to be constructed by the United States by an equivalent amount;

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(d) to provide, not later than the date of completion of the Canadian links in the deep waterway, for the completion of the works in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River and in the Great Lakes System above Lake Erie which will constitute essential links in the deep waterway . .....

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ARTICLE IV

The High Contracting Parties agree that:

(a) ... they may, in conformity with the general plans adopted for the project in the International Rapids Section, construct or arrange for the construction in their respective territories of such powerhouse superstructures, machinery and equipment as may be desired for the development of water power and at such time or times as may be most suitable in terms of their respective power requirements;

(b) ... in view of the need for coordination of the plans and specifications prepared by the Commission for general works in the International Rapids Section with plans for the development of power in the respective countries, the Commission may arrange with any agency in either country, which may be authorized to develop power in the International Rapids Section, for the engineering services necessary for the designing of the power works;

(c) ... except as modified by the provisions of Article VIII, paragraph (b) of this treaty, each country shall be entitled to utilize one-half of the water available for power purposes in the International Rapids Section;

(d) ... during the construction and upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the flow of water out of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River shall be controlled and the flow of water through the International Section shall be regulated so that the navigable depths of water for shipping in the Harbor of Montreal and throughout the navigable channel of the St. Lawrence River below Montreal, as such

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depths now exist or may hereafter be increased by dredging or other harbor or channel improvements, shall not be injuriously affected by the construction or operation of such works, and the power developments in the Canadian Section of the St. Lawrence River shall not be adversely affected;

(e) .... the Governments may, by exchange of notes, make provision for giving effect to paragraphs (c) and (d) of this Article;

(f) .... during the construction of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, existing navigation in that section shall be maintained;

(g) .... upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the power works shall be operated, initially, with the water level at the power houses held at a maximum elevation 238.0, sea level datum as defined in the Report of the Joint Board of Engineers, for a test period of ten years or such shorter period as may be approved by any board or authority established under the provisions of paragraph (e) of this Article; and in the event that such board or authority finds that operation with the water level at the power houses held to a maximum elevation exceeding 238.0 would be practicable and could be made effective within the limitations prescribed by paragraphs (c) and (d) of this Article, the Governments may, by exchange of notes, authorize operation, subject to the provisions of this Article, and for such times and subject to such terms, as may be prescribed in the notes, at a maximum elevation exceeding 238.0.

(All) (new)

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ARTICLE V

The High Contracting Parties agree that nothing done under the authority of the present Treaty (Agreement) shall confer upon either of them proprietary rights, or legislative, administrative or other jurisdiction, in the territory of the other, and that the works constructed under the provisions of this Treaty (Agreement) shall constitute a part of the territory of the country in which they are situated.

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ARTICLE VI

The High Contracting Parties agree that either of them may proceed at any time to construct, within its own territory and at its own cost, alternative canal and channel facilities for navigation in the International Section or in waters connecting the Great Lakes, and to utilize the water necessary for the operation of such facilities.

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ARTICLE VII

The High Contracting Parties agree that the rights of navigation accorded under the provisions of existing treaties between the United States of America and His Britannic Majesty shall be maintained notwithstanding the provisions for termination contained in any of such treaties, and declare that these treaties confer upon the citizens or subjects and upon the ships, vessels and boats of each High Contracting Party, rights of navigation in the St. Lawrence River, and the Great Lakes System, including the canals now existing or which may hereafter be constructed.

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ARTICLE VIII

The High Contracting Parties, recognizing their common interest in the preservation of the levels of the Great Lakes System, agree that:

(a)... each Government in its own territory shall measure the quantities of water which may at any point be diverted from or added to the Great Lakes System, and shall place the said measurements on record with the other Government semi-annually;

(b).. in the event of diversions being made into the Great Lakes System from other watersheds lying wholly within the borders of either country, the exclusive rights to the use of waters equivalent in quantity to any waters so diverted shall, notwithstanding the provisions of Article IV paragraph (c) of this Treaty (Agreement), be vested in the country diverting such waters, and the quantity of water so diverted shall be at all times available to that country for use for power below the point of entry, so long as it constitutes a part of boundary waters;

(c)..if any diversion of water from the Great Lakes System or the International Section, other or greater in amount than diversions permitted in either of the countries on January 1, 1940, is authorized, the Government of such country agrees to give immediate consideration to any representations respecting the matter which the other Government may make; if it is impossible otherwise to reach a satisfactory settlement, the Government of the country in

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which the diversion of water has been authorized agrees, on the request of the other Government, to submit the matter to an arbitral tribunal which shall be empowered to direct such compensatory or remedial measures as it may deem just and equitable; the arbitral tribunal shall consist of three members, one to be appointed by each of the Governments, and the third, who will be the chairman, to be selected by the Governments;

(d)...the Commission shall report upon the desirability of compensation and regulatory works in the Great Lakes System, and, upon the approval by the Governments of any such works, shall prepare plans and specifications for their construction and recommend to the Governments an equitable allocation of their cost; the Governments shall make arrangements by exchange of notes for the construction of such works as they may agree upon.

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ARTICLE IX

The High Contracting Parties, recognizing their primary obligation to preserve and enhance the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls and River, through preventing erosion and ensuring unbroken crest lines, and consistent with that obligation, their common interest in providing for the most beneficial use of the waters of that River, as envisaged in the Final Report of the Special International Niagara Board, agree that:

(a)...the Commission shall prepare and submit to the Governments plans and specifications for works in the Niagara River designed to distribute and control the waters thereof, to ensure at all seasons unbroken crest lines on both the American Falls and the Canadian Falls and to preserve and enhance their scenic beauty, taking into account the recommendations of the Special International Niagara Board; the Governments, ... may make arrangements by exchange of notes for the construction of such works in the Niagara River as they may agree upon, including provision for temporary diversions of the waters of the Niagara River for the purpose..of facilitating construction of the works; the cost of such works in the Niagara River shall be borne by the Governments in equal moieties;

(b) ... upon the completion of the works authorized in this Article, diversions of the waters of the Niagara River above the Falls from the natural course and streams thereof additional to the amounts specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, may be authorized and permitted by the respective governments of the

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United States and Canada to the extent and in the manner hereinafter provided:

(1) the United States may authorize and permit additional diversion within the State of New York of the waters of the ... river above the Falls for power purposes, in excess of the amount specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, not to exceed in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of five thousand cubic feet of water per second;

(2) Canada may authorize and permit additional diversion within the Province of Ontario of the waters of the ... river above the Falls for power purposes, in excess of the amount specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, not to exceed in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of five thousand cubic feet of water per second;

(c) ... upon completion of the works authorized in this Article, the Commission shall proceed immediately to test such works under a wide range of conditions, and to report and certify to the Governments the effect of such works, and to make recommendations respecting diversions of water from Lake Erie and the Niagara River, with particular reference to preserving perpetually the scenic beauty of the Falls and Rapids, to the requirements of navigation in the Great Lakes System, and to the efficient utilization and equitable apportionment of such waters as may be available for power purposes; on the basis of the Commission's reports and recommendations, the High Contracting Parties may by .. exchange of notes and concurrent legislation determine the methods by which these purposes may be attained.

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ARTICLE X

The High Contracting Parties agree that:

(a) ... each Party undertakes to make provision for the disposition of claims and for the satisfaction of any valid claims arising out of damage or injury to persons or property occurring in the territory of the other in the course of and in connection with construction by such party of any of the works authorized or provided for by this Treaty (Agreement);

(b) ... each Party is hereby released from responsibility for any damage or injury to persons or property in the territory of the other, which may be caused by any action authorized or provided for by this Treaty (Agreement), other than damage or injury covered by the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Article;

(c) ... subject to the provisions of Article III paragraph (c) of this Treaty (Agreement), each Party will assume the responsibility for and expense involved in the acquisition of any lands or interests in land in its own territory which may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Treaty (Agreement).

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ARTICLE XI

This Treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties. The ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington or in Ottawa as soon as practicable and the Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

(Alternative paragraph:

This Agreement is subject to . approval by the Congress of the United States of America and by the Parliament of Canada. Instruments of approval shall etc. etc.)

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty (Agreement) in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at New York City, the day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and forty-one.

(SEAL)

(SEAL)

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ANNEX

CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

238 - 242

The main features of the Controlled Single Stage Project (238 - 242), described in detail with cost estimates in the ....., are as follows:

1. A control dam in the vicinity of Iroquois Point.

2. A dam in the Long Sault Rapids at the head of Barnhart Island and two powerhouses, one on either side of the international boundary, at the foot of Barnhart Island.

3. A side canal, with one lock, on the United States mainland to carry navigation around the Control Dam and a side canal, with one guard gate and two locks, on the United States mainland south of Barnhart Island to carry navigation from above the main Long Sault Dam to the river south of Cornwall Island. All locks to provide 30 ft. depth of water on the mitre sills and to be of the general dimensions of those on the Welland Ship Canal. All navigation channels to be excavated to 27 ft. depth.

4. Dykes, where necessary on the United States and Canadian sides of the international boundary, to retain the pond level above the Long Sault Dam.

5. Channel enlargements from the head of Galop Island to below Lotus Island designed to give a maximum velocity in the navigation channel south of Galop Island not exceeding four feet per second at any time.

6. Channel enlargement between Lotus Island and the Control Dam and from above Point Three Points to below Ogden Island designed to give a maximum mean velocity in any cross-section not exceeding two and one-quarter feet per second with the flow and at the stage to be permitted on the 1st of January of any year, under regulation of outflow and levels of Lake Ontario.

7. The necessary railroad and highway modifications on either side of the international boundary.

8. The necessary works to permit the continuance of 14 ft. navigation on the Canadian Side around the Control Dam and from the pond above the Long Sault Dam to connect with the existing Cornwall Canal.

9. The rehabilitation of the towns of Iroquois and Morrisburg, Ontario.

All the works in the pond below the Control Dam shall be designed to provide for operation initially with the water level at the Barnhart Island powerhouses held to a maximum elevation 238.0 and ultimately with the maximum water level possible with all gates in the control dam open.

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ANONYMOUS.

SECRET
and
PERSONAL

3 February, 1940

C228526

Waterways - St Lawrence

ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

Political Implications.

It is certainly awkward to have the question of government policy on this project arising just before a General Election. The scheme is undoubtedly in the interests of the country. It is, however, not supported by any concentrated and vocal political or public section of opinion. The argument for the Treaty on the navigation side is largely the argument of spending enough additional money to make the amount already spent of some value, and to enable the country to escape the folly of spending $130,000,000 on a Welland Canal which leads nowhere; but this is an argument which would appeal to the diffused mass of taxpayers rather than to any special shipping or sectional interest. It is of undoubted and essential value for the power needs of the Province of Ontario, but unfortunately, while co-operating in a very fair way on the technical aspects of the question, the Provincial authorities are not exactly prepared to give

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wholehearted and enthusiastic general support to an Ottawa government which would undertake to carry the project through. It was doubtless in view of these and other considerations, including the question of expenditures involved, that the Canadian Government did not take the initiative in reviving the question, in spite of a strong desire to meet the wishes of President Roosevelt. Ontario, however, did revive the question, and once Ontario had done so and had taken up a fair position on the details of the project, our alibi to Mr. Roosevelt against action was gone.

Opposition has now developed in the City of Montreal. The three English-speaking newspapers oppose proceeding with the waterway now, or for that matter, any time, and there have been various Boards of Trade and Corn Exchange pronouncements to the same effect. Undoubtedly it could be made to some extent an adverse issue in some ridings in Montreal. No government is required to adopt a course on a question which is not a moral issue or involves an overwhelming national emergency which might lead to its defeat and hazard a greater issue. It cannot, however, be assumed without question that a pronouncement against ~~such~~ action or an

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unexplained decision to postpone signature of the Treaty would avoid political difficulty. As regards the Montreal opposition, the political factors involved might perhaps be summed up as follows:

Against any action or commitment at the present time, there is the very strong interest of the Shawinigan Power Company, which has been stirring up the whole of the current agitation in Montreal. The Shawinigan Company has plans and in some cases rights for developing power on the Ottawa River, particularly at Carillon, which it cannot develop unless the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission joins in the development on the Ontario side. Shawinigan therefore, as Dr.Hogg advised some months ago, is moving heaven and earth and some other quarters to block the St.Lawrence development in order to force Ontario Hydro to join in the alternative developments on the Ottawa. The financial interest of Shawinigan is such as to ensure its continuing to use all possible tactics to block the St.Lawrence development.

On the other hand, consideration must be given to the possible political reaction on the part of the Ontario Government. Granted it could not be more hostile

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in intent than it is at present, it might, however, very easily find in a rejection or indefinite stalling of the project very effective political weapons. Undoubtedly the argument would be raised that after spending $70,000,000 on developing the St.Lawrence below Montreal, Ottawa now hesitated to spend $40,000,000 to develop navigation in those sections of the St.Lawrence in which Ontario was primarily interested. Much more effective, however, would be the reversal of the power barons' argument. Some months ago it was held in several quarters that the opposition of the Ontario Government to the St.Lawrence Waterway was directly attributable to the influence of the Montreal power barons who wanted to throttle its competition. It is very easy to see how this argument could now be reversed and how it could be alleged that Ottawa had rejected the scheme because of the influence of its friends the power barons of Montreal.

Various arguments are of course brought up against the project. There is the argument against the vast expenditure involved, which ignores the fact the cost is less than $40,000,000 net expenditure by the Dominion.

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There is the argument that all projects cost more than the estimates, buttressed by illustrations which in three cases out of the four I have examined, are complete misrepresentations. I doubt if there has been a project in which the estimates have been so carefully checked and rechecked as in this case. The United States engineers agree the figures are extremely conservative; as a matter of fact certain pieces of work have been done since the project was initiated, at costs running from 50 to 70 per cent of the estimates. There is the argument against Chicago, which might stir up some prejudice, but can be met effectively, and there is the argument against any dealings with the United States, which has lost whatever force it may once have had. There is the argument that Montreal would be made a way port, which is a little difficult to understand in view of the hostility of the Port of New York and the Port of Buffalo to the project on the ground that it is going to build up the Port of Montreal.

There are only two sources of criticism that

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require consideration -

(1) the interested Shawinigan opposition, and

(2) the question of the attitude of the Province of Quebec.

I think every legitimate apprehension that the Quebec provincial authorities may have can be met, as is indicated in the official memorandum made on this subject. There is reason to believe that Dr.Lefebvre will report that the technical features of the scheme are satisfactory. It might, however, be considered desirable,whether the Government proposed to proceed with the treaty now or not, to have some discussion between a representative of the Canadian Government and a representative of the Quebec Government.

The above considerations are submitted not with the purpose of urging that the treaty be signed now. It is recognized that this question involves questions of political policy. It is,however,desired to indicate that a flat rejection might bring at least as much trouble in Canada. Nothing has been said of the effect on the situation in Washington.

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ANONYMOUS Waterways - St. Lawrence

GREAT LAKES ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT. FEB. 3, 1940

February 3, 1940. C228532

I. Discussions at Washington, January 22-25.

The discussions which took place in Washington on January 22-25 concluded the preliminary and technical considerations of the large project which had begun during the visit of the United States Delegation to Ottawa on January 8-10.

Those who participated in the discussion were -

For the United States:

Mr. A.A. Berle,
Mr. J.D. Hickerson, (State Department)

Mr. Leland Olds, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission,
Brigadier-General T.M. Robins, War Department.
Mr. R.B. McWhorter, Federal Power Commission,
Mr. G.V. Cruise of the New York State Power Authority.

For Canada:

O.D. Skelton, (Department of External Affairs)
J.E. Read,

Mr. Loring C. Christie, (Canadian Legation, Washington)
Mr. Escott Reid,

Mr. G.A. Lindsay, Department of Transport,

Dr. T.H. Hogg,
Mr. Murray Hendry, (Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario)
Dr. Olivier Lefebvre, of the Provincial Electricity Board of Quebec.

The following joint statement was issued to the morning press on January 25th:

> "During the discussions the whole field was covered, and definite progress was made. The discussions have now reached the point where it is necessary for the two Delegations to report to their respective Governments on various matters of policy requiring their consideration and decision.
>
> "The engineering advisers of the two Governments have reached substantial agreement on the feasibility and desirability of a project in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River which would involve a main dam in the vicinity of Barnhart Island, with a power house in each country, and a control dam upstream. This project is based upon a plan which was discussed in some detail in the 1926 report of the Joint Board of Engineers. The engineers of the two countries are in agreement that such a project is sound from an engineering

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standpoint, cheaper in cost than the project on which the 1932 Treaty was based, and affords full protection for all the interest in the various sections of the St. Lawrence River.

"The negotiations will continue through diplomatic channels.

II. Present situation.

As indicated in the press statement, the whole range of questions arising in connection with the project has now been reviewed so far as the relations between the United States and Canada are concerned, and the two delegations are reporting to their respective governments on matters of policy requiring their consideration and decision.

In the discussions in Washington complete agreement was reached by the engineering representatives as to the soundness and advisability of the controlled single-stage plan, with two dams but power-houses only on the Barnhart Island dam. As regards the allocation of costs the United States representatives had agreed in Ottawa to recommend that the United States should undertake to build both canals in the International Section, the canal around the upper or Iroquois Point dam being transferred to the United States side of the river and built at the cost of the United States. In Washington the United States representatives agreed to recommend the assumption by the United States of a further amount of work equivalent to the expenditure required at Morrisburg, now estimated at $5,024,000. Dr. Hogg further agreed to recommend on the part of Ontario making payments to Canada equivalent to the value of work to be done by the United States asregards Hydraulic equipment embedded in the substructure and the amount to be received by the Hydro for certain engineering services estimated at nearly $2,000,000. The time set for the completion of the Canadian works in the National Section was advanced to December 31st, 1950, with provision for a further extension if required in view of war conditions.

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It was agreed further that the provisions for permanent operation of the Commission as a joint planning body should be a made optional not obligatory. A compromise was reached regarding the Chicago diversion.

Many changes in detail were made in the 1938 draft treaty submitted by the United States. A revised draft dated January 27th is attached, but this is still subject to a number of drafting changes which are being discussed by correspondence.

III. Essential points of the Treaty.

(a) Method of control

The Treaty provides for the establishment of a Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Commission, consisting of not more than ten members, half appointed by each country. The Commission is empowered to prepare plans for construction of the works in the International Rapids Section and the remedial works at Niagara, in close cooperation with Government & agencies and in accordance with the general provisions outlined in the treaty. The plans are subject to approval by both governments. Generally speaking each country will build the works on its own side of the boundary but the Commission will vary this rule by allocations designed to make the expenditure by each government fit into the agreed division. The Commission will approve contracts and supervise and certify the construction.

(b) Deep Waterway.

The completion of the scheme will provide from head of lakes to tide water at Montreal a canal 27 ft. in depth with lock sills at 30 feet. The deep water canals at Welland and in the Soulanges and Lachine areas will be in Canadian territory. The deep water canals in the International Section will be in United States territory; 14 ft. canals will be retained in Canadian territory in the International section.

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(c) Power

The project provides in the first place for an immediate large addition of power at Niagara without capital cost. The Hydro Electric Power Commission and the United States authorities will each be entitled to utilize an additional 5000 cfs drawn from the Niagara River and in addition Ontario will be entitled to the use of the water diverted into the Great Lakes System from the Ogoki and Long Lac, amounting approximately to 5,250 cfs. This will make available almost immediately 100,000 additional horsepower for use in Canada. No immediate capital cost is required as the additional water can be utilized in existing old plants. Eventually, after the whole St. Lawrence power developed in the International Section of the St. Lawrence has been utilized, it will be possible to construct up-to-date plants at Niagara which will use with twice as great efficiency the additional water now authorized and any

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further water that the recommendations of the Commission, if approved by the Government, will make available at the Falls or the Rapids in the Niagara River.

In the International Section the project will provide 1,100,000 horsepower for Ontario and the same for New York State in about six or seven years time after construction has been begun, (following at least a year for necessary preliminary engineering and contract preparations).

In the national or Quebec Section, the project does not necessarily affect the power situation. The question whether the Beauharnois Power Company should be given a permit for the diversion of additional water which has already been approved by the Province of Quebed, is independent of the construction of the navigation works in this area. In the Lachine area the cost of developing power is too great to warrant this site being utilized until cheaper sites have been developed. In any case, the engineering situation is such that relatively little could be saved by proceeding with the power and navigation work in this area as a joint project. Power will eventually benefit, in a measure to be determined, from works being constructed by the Dominion for navigation purposes and which will be of some value for a later power project.

(d) Scenic effects.

Full provision is made for safe-guarding the scenic values at Niagara. Connection has been preserved in the new treaty with the report of the Special International Niagara Board, on which the United States scenic interests were strongly represented. In the International Rapids Section

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the controlled single-stage project now proposed involves flooding between six and seven thousand acres more land on the Canadian side and nearly five thousand acres more on the United States side. Ample provision has been made in the Estimates for the acquisition of the land. In the case of the village of Iroquois and of a part of the town of Morrisburg, it will be necessary to take over these areas and provision has been made in the Estimates for compensation to present owners or rebuilding in adjoining areas. Iroquois and Morrisburg are affected in the same way in both the Controlled Single - Stage Project now proposed and in the Two-Stage Project contemplated in 1932.

(e) Plan of Development of International Section

The main features of the controlled single-stage project are set forth in the Annex to the Draft. The main difference from the 1932 plan is that power houses are to be built only at the lower dam instead of both the lower and the upper dam. The upper dam will be a control dam and not as high as would have been required if it were to be utilized for the production of power. The lower dam will be higher than the under the former project and the level of the river between the two dams will require to be maintained at a higher level. This level is set at 238 feet above sea level. Provision is being made to construct the lower dam to permit of a level up to 242 feet if after lengthy experiment and agreement by the two governments this higher range should be found advisable. There has been no change in the engineering plans in the National Section, which will be under the control of the Dominion Government.

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(f) Time of completion.

Under Mr. Hull's 1938 draft Canada would undertake to complete the construction of the navigation works in the International Section (Welland and Quebec areas) by December 31st,1949. In the present draft this time is extended to December 31st,1950, and provision is made for such further extension of time as Canada may require as a result of "the continuance of war conditions". This will make it possible to postpone the great part of the work Canada is to undertake to such time as it is thought advisable as a post-war employment provision.

(g) Chicago Diversion.

It has been considered necessary to modify the 1932 and 1938 treaty provisions regarding Chicago, which provided for restricting any withdrawal of water through the Chicago Sanitary Canal to the 1500 c.f.s. level set by the United States Supreme Court decree of April 30,1930.

The United States representatives indicated that modification would be necessary to lessen the Mississippi Valley opposition to the project. On the Canadian side it was felt that the navigation situation in the Great Lakes will be materially improved by the diversion of Long Lac and Ogoki water to the Great Lakes, (all of which is assigned to Canada at all points for power purposes). It was further taken into account that the limitation imposed by the Supreme Court Decree is not necessarily permanent. In some measure the Supreme Court was interpreting existing law and an attempt is now being made in Congress to pass a new measure authorizing an increased diversion up to 5000 c.s.f. If the retantion of the 1932-1938 clause prevents the treaty being passed, a clause in a dead treaty would obviously afford no protection.

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With the strong support of the Hydro-Electric Power authorities a suggestion was made that a diversion of 3000 c.f.s. instead of 1500 c.f.s. should be permitted. The United States authorities did not find this acceptable. The did not think that Chicago should be offered any specific addition and the amount suggested would not satisfy the extreme Chicago demands. They suggested, therefore, omitting the clause altogether. The Canadian representatives were not prepared to accept this suggestion. A compromise was reached omitting the present clause and inserting a provision to the effect that if any further diversion of water from the Great Lakes is authorized in either country and a settlement cannot be reached between the two governments, the question can be submitted to an arbitral tribunal empowered to direct such compensatory or remedial measures as it may deem just and equitable. In substance this means that if a proposal for additional diversion at Chicago overcame the first three hurdles (a) being enacted by Congress (b) being approved by the President and (c) being upheld by the Supreme Court, before which Lake States would immediately bring the issue, an arbitral tribunal would still have power to provide compensation in money or power, adopt remedial measures, require the construction of compensatory works or to impose a regime to prevent or control the diversion.

(h) Protection of Quebec interests.

The Province of Quebec is not directly involved in the present project in the way that the Province of Ontario is. The works which the Dominion undertakes in the Quebec Section of the St. Lawrence are navigation projects which do not involve the development of additional power, much less a contract for the sale of such power as in the case of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of

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Ontario. The project has, however, a definite indirect interest for Quebec which has been kept in mind in the discussions.

One interest is the physical or engineering question of the possible effect of the construction and operation of the works in the International Section on the power developments below Cornwall; the protection of the harbor of Montreal is also important but is of course primarily a federal responsibility. Full provision has been made to meet any possible objection on this score. The plan of development in the International Section calls for a control dam in the upper section of the river, which is regarded as an essential feature of the project. The engineers are unanimous in the view that the dam at Barnhart Island will be so constructed as to prevent any possible damage to interests lower down the river. The possible raising of the 238 level to 242 is made contingent on continued experiment and agreement by both the Canadian and the United States Governments. A provision existed in the 1938 draft treaty to the following effect:-

> "during the construction and upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the flow of water out of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River shall be controlled and the flow of water through the International Section shall be regulated so that the navigable depths of water for shipping in the Harbor of Montreal and throughout the navigable channel of the St. Lawrence River below Montreal, as such depths now exist or may hereafter be increased by dredging or other harbor or channel improvements, shall not be injuriously affected by the construction or operation of such works".

This has been retained and the following clause added at the end of the paragraph:

> "and the power developments in the Canadian section of the St. Lawrence River shall not be adversely affected".

In addition it is understood that Quebec would be represented in the main Commission as well as in any control board established to supervise the Barnhart Island operation.

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A further point which has been raised in Quebec is that there would be objection if the Ontario power development were given more advantageous terms than those granted to the development in Quebec, e.g., Beauharnois. In the case of Beauharnois, the Dominion insisted on making the company pay for 100% of the common works and provide free power for the operation of the canals. The question whether any modification should be made is one that will require governmental consideration. In any event account would presumably be taken of the policy of the Province of Quebec and of the Provincial Electricity Board of insisting on passing on any reductions in hydraulic development costs to domestic and other small consumers, as was done by order of the Board in January,1939, in the reduction of $400,000 made by the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company.

(i) Allocation of costs between Canada and the United States.

The total cost of the works required for a deep waterway from the head of the Lakes to Montreal, including both works already built which are an essential link in the waterway, and works to be built in the future, are so divided as to allot practically equal total amounts to Canada and the United States. Canada, however, is credited with the whole amount already spent on the new Welland Ship Canal, namely $131,900,000, thus reducing its new construction to a much smaller amount than that to be undertaken by the United States. The adoption of the single-stage plan increased the relative proportion of the expenditure falling on the Canadian Federal Government and considerable adjustments by both the United States and Ontario were necessary and were made in order to reduce the Ottawa share. The following tables indicate briefly the division of works and costs:

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The following tables indicate briefly the division of works and costs.

(i) Total costs of Deep Waterway, including power in International Section, and including both existing works and works to be constructed.

	Canada	United States	TOTAL
Under 1932 Treaty	$276,280,500	$280,050,500	$556,331,000
Under 1940 Draft	258,646,000	262,234,000	520,880,000
GROSS SAVING	$ 17,634,500	$ 17,816,500	$ 35,451,000

(ii) Existing works credited to each country.

Canada (of which New Welland Ship Canal - $131,900,000)	132,371,000
United States (Upper Lakes)	19,164,000

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(iii) Gross New Expenditures by Federal Governments of Canada and United States.

	Canada				United States			
	1932 Treaty		1940 Draft		1932 Treaty		1940 Draft	
Upper Lakes	605,000				45,395,000		42,300,000	
Welland (to 27 ft.)	1,100,000		1,100,000					
International Section								
Lands.....5,698,000		14,011,000		3,134,000		4,657,000		
Rehab. Iroquois..3,379,000		3,379,000						
Rehab. Morris-burg .. 5,024,000						5,024,000		
Navig. works..8,219,000				25,969,000		34,720,000		
Dams escav....				90,867,000		94,077,000		
Power House substr.	22,320,000		17,390,000	58,591,000	178,561,000	37,461,000	175,939,000	
National Section								
Lake St. Francis 1,330,000								
Soulange Section 25,785,000								
Lachine Section 55,839,000	82,954,000		82,954,000					
TOTAL	106,979,000		101,444,000		223,956,000		218,239,000	

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(iv) Expenditure for Power by Ontario

	1932	1940
Power houses and machinery	$36,930,500	$24,831,000
Paid Federal government	67,202,500	61,700,000
		4,000,000
	$104,133,000	$90,531,000

NOTE: But, on the basis of a two-stage scheme Ontario might have claimed and did claim and was informally promised in 1935 a reduced payment to bring its payment into line with the New York State amount, a reduction of say - $13,000,000
And under a single-stage scheme it might claim a further reduction due to the fact one instead of two power houses is required amounting to - 12,100,000

25,100,000

Under the 1940 draft, Ontario saves $13,802,000 as compared with the 1932 agreement. The actual tentative 1940 agreement with Ontario can, therefore, be considered fair to both the Dominion and Ontario.

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(v) Net New Expenditure by Canadian Government.

	1932 Treaty	1940 Draft
Gross Expenditure	$106,979,000	$101,444,000
Less paid by Ontario International Section	67,202,500	61,700,000
	39,776,500	39,744,000
Ogoki diversion	4,000,000	
Net	$ 43,776,500	$ 39,744,000

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O. D. SKELTON. C228546 ODS/AH

April 4th, 1940.

Waterways - St Lawrence
Waterpower - Beauharnois

ST. LAWRENCE.

Present Position: Draft treaty prepared by United States, combining St. Lawrence and Niagara has been revised in conferences in Washington and Ottawa; financial arrangement with Ontario discussed and tentatively agreed upon by Mr. Howe and Dr. Hogg. Perhaps fortnight required for revising treaty and Ontario agreement for signature.

Plan: St. Lawrence, retain plan of two dams, but build power houses only at lower or Barnhart Island dam, 238-242 level; upper dam to be a control dam;
general engineering plans agreed to by Dominion, United States, Ontario and New York engineers, much detailed engineering investigation and drawing up specifications to be done after agreement signed.
No change in national section; Niagara revision by Joint Commission to be set up.

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C228547

Time of Completion: In Hull draft, completion of Canadian section was set at December 31,1949; now extended to December 31,1950, and provided also that if war conditions delay initiation, time to be extended at instance of Canada.

Division of Costs: On paper, equal division between Canada and the United States, but Canada credited with 131,000,000 for Welland and the United States some Upper Lakes work. The relative share of cost falling on the Dominion as compared with the 1932-33 agreement threatened to be largely increased as a result of two factors:

1. The fact that in 1933 the United States had made an agreement with New York State for use of the power very much more favourable to New York than the agreement previously made by Canada with Ontario led to demands by Ontario for revision and an informal agreement between Mr. Bennett and Mr. ~~King~~ Hepburn in 1935 that a revision on substantially the New York lines would be made. This would mean the Dominion would assume 12 or 15 million dollars more of the cost.

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2. The fact that the present single-stage plan means building only one power house and machinery instead of two naturally reduces the power proportion of the total cost.

In spite of these facts, tentative arrangements have been made with the United States and Ontario which make the net Dominion payment less than it would have been in 1932. The United States has agreed to assume the cost of both canals in the international section of the St. Lawrence; and a further sum of 5,000,000 equivalent to the cost of rehabilitating Morrisburg. Ontario came up in discussions with Mr. Howe from a payment of 55,000,000 to one of 61,700,000, and in addition assumes whole cost of Ogoki. Net cost to Dominion therefore only $40,000,000.

Costs based on 1926 data; no doubt above present costs; several projects completed in recent years actual cost 2/3 of estimates.

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Chicago Diversion:

Former provision limiting to Supreme Court decree.

Extreme: Ogoki offsets: Mississippi Valley opposition. Congress can pass new law at any time.
Our suggestion, increase from 1500 to c.s.f. not accepted.
Their suggestion, omit any restriction not accepted.

Compromise: arbitral tribunal re compensation or remedy if increase passes Congress, President, Supreme Court.

Quebec Angle.

No direct interest in power, as Ontario has since no power being now developed by canals.

Two points:-

(1) safeguarding navigation and power - amply done.

(2) compensation for more favourable bargain to Hydro than Beauharnois, to go into lower rates.

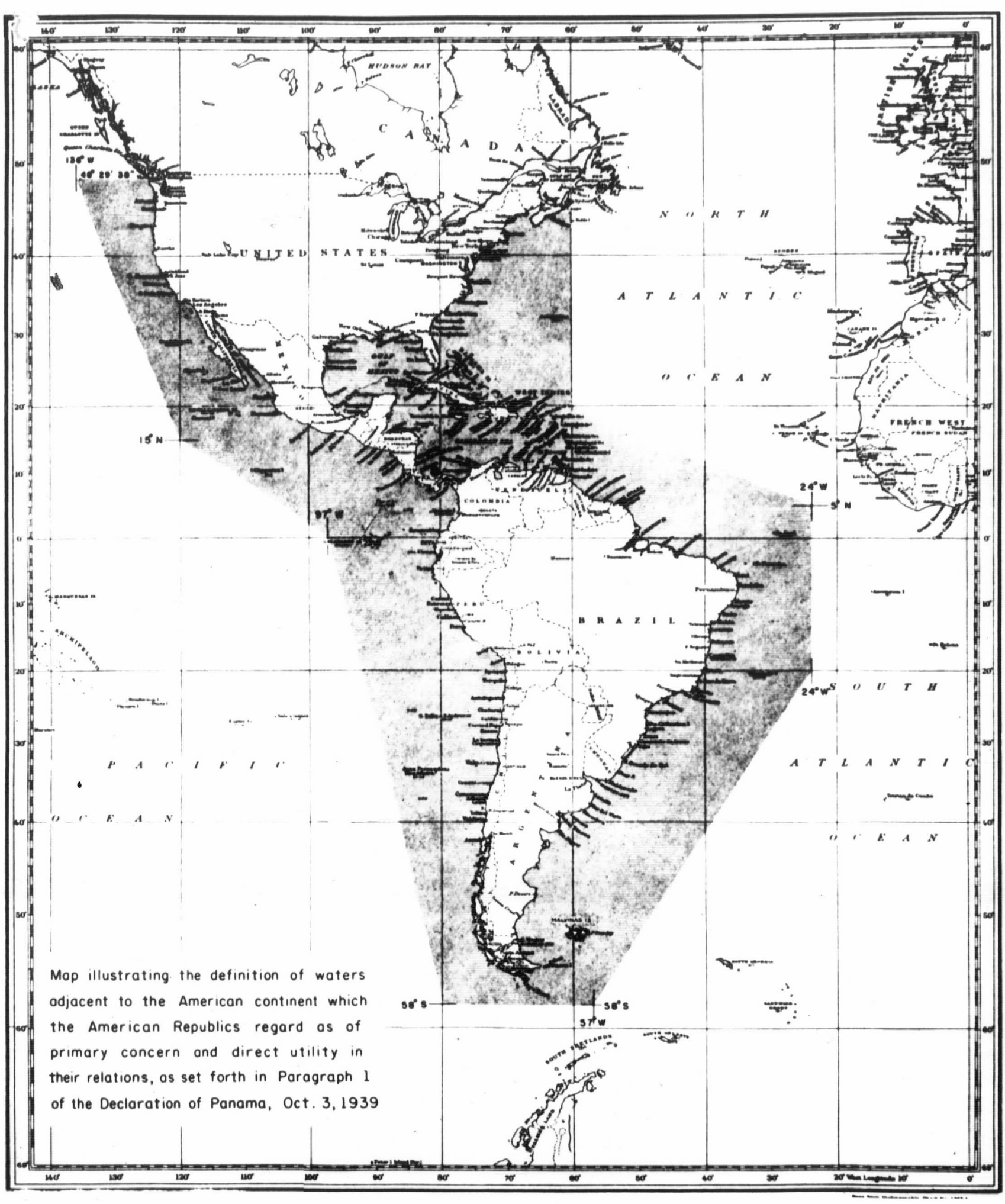
Real objection - Shawinigan.

Lefebvre O.K., but should see Ministers.

United States difficulties much greater than ours,
Atlantic ports, railways, Buffalo and barge canal, Chicago, anti-Roosevelt.

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Map illustrating the definition of waters adjacent to the American continent which the American Republics regard as of primary concern and direct utility in their relations, as set forth in Paragraph 1 of the Declaration of Panama, Oct. 3, 1939

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WLMK ✓Waterways - St. Lawrence

Dictated by the Prime Minister
April 6, 1940

C228551

MEMORANDUM

RE: ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAYS

At the meeting of Council, Thursday (April 4th), all present except Dandurand and Lapointe, Council agreed to my discussing with the American Minister on the day following, the St. Lawrence Waterway Agreement.

I was to urge that the United States should give some credit for work that had been done in the St. Lawrence River in the way of deepening the channel. To urge that as Canada's war expenditures were very heavy, the United States might be prepared to make concession regarding the deepening of the St. Lawrence as an offset - this was Ralston's suggestion. That this might make the proposal more palatable to Quebec and to financial interests as lessening Canada's financial obligations by say some twenty millions of dollars. Also to discuss possibility of tolls on foreign ships.

All present except Ralston were agreeable to going ahead, and Ralston himself did not take exception beyond registering his views that it would be better if the project could be left alone altogether.

Ilsley desired me to point out that the project would not mean anything to the Maritime Provinces; would not appeal to tax-payers there. It was suggested that same might be said of British Columbia. Further that this could mean little to Prairie interests. Indeed the transportation side was of no material concern to us.

Additional power to Ontario was the main consideration, saving the scenic aspects of Niagara; furtheringoutstanding interests with U.S. and above all helping to get the goodwill of the U.S. at this time. Also possibility of what disappointment to President in this matter would mean, were the project not proceeded with. This was considered to outweigh all other considerations.

Cardin and Howerwere to get Quebec's consent from Godbout.

Next-day: Friday, April 5th, 1940: American Minister did not raise question, so I did not raise it myself.

W.L.M.K.

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P.M. fyl

C228552

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR COUNCIL: April 11th, 1940.

SUBJECT: St. Lawrence Waterways.

REMARKS: Mr. Heeney's note attached.

CONSIDERED BY COUNCIL: April 11th, 1940.

ACTION TAKEN: Prime Minister reported on progress of negotiations.

DISPOSED OF:

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A.D.P HEENEY TO WLMK

Waterways - St Lawrence ✓ W-101 V.1

C228553

Ottawa, April 11th, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: St. Lawrence Waterways

The Prime Minister wished to speak, in Council again today, of the progress of negotiations with the United States regarding the St. Lawrence Waterways Treaty.

A. D. P. H.

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C228554

NIAGARA FRONTIER PLANNING BOARD
ERIE AND NIAGARA COUNTIES
NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
22D FLOOR, CITY HALL
BUFFALO, N. Y.
TELEPHONE CL 8299

E.T.

April 30, 1940

The Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario

Sir:

We are taking the privilege of mailing to you under separate cover a copy of our printed report on the St. Lawrence Seaway Project.

So far as we know, this report is the only comprehensive study of the Project as yet published which treats it from all angles. We are persuaded that a careful examination of our findings and the data upon which they are based will be convincing evidence that it would not be for the best interests of either Canada or the United States to proceed with the project.

Very respectfully yours,

Chauncey J. Hamlin,
Chairman

CJH:L

The Department of External Affairs
MAY 7 1940

enquired from L Hse 6/5

SECTION 1 OF CHAPTER 267 OF THE 1925 LAWS OF NEW YORK STATE PROVIDES

"There is hereby established 'The Niagara Frontier Planning Board' to consist of thirteen members. The mayors of the cities of Buffalo, Lackawanna, Lockport, Niagara Falls, North Tonawanda and Tonawanda, three members of the board of supervisors of Niagara County and three members of the board of supervisors of Erie County shall be ex-officio members of such board. The three representatives from each board of supervisors shall be appointed annually by the chairman of the respective board of supervisors, subject to the approval of their respective boards. The thirteenth member shall be elected annually by the ex-officio members and shall serve until his successor is elected. He shall be chairman of the Board."

MAY 4 1940

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C228555

ODS/AH

May 7th,1940.

MR. HENRY.

Niagara Frontier Report on St. Lawrence Seaway Project

It is a piece of very considerable cheek on the part of these people to write a letter saying that their findings will be "convincing evidence that it would not be for the best interests of either Canada or the United States to proceed with the project" seeing that a large part of their arguments is devoted to showing that Canada gets a better bargain under the Agreement than the United States.

I think it would be sufficient to send a reply simply to the effect that you wish to acknowledge receipt of the copy of the report on the Project which he has forwarded you.

O.D.

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O.D. SKELTON TO WLMK.

C228556

ODS/ET
6 May, 1940

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓
Waterpower ✓
Waterpower - Beauharnois ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

St.Lawrence Waterway

I discussed the present situation on Friday with Mr.Lindsay, the Transport Department Engineer-in-Charge, Mr.Marr of the Water Power Branch, Mr.Read and Mr.Keenleyside.

The immediate question is the position of Ontario Hydro.

It seems desirable to make enquiry in Washington as to the possibility of effecting, by treaty or administrative arrangement, some temporary provision covering Niagara, and if possible, the Ogoki and Long Lac diversions, which would make it possible to obtain immediate additional off-peak power for the Ontario Hydro. It is very doubtful if this can be done, but it seems desirable to press the enquiry as soon as possible.

The second alternative from Ontario's standpoint

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would be to go ahead with developments at Carillon and on the Upper Ottawa,which would involve large capital outlays.

The third possibility would be for Ontario to make a short-term contract with Beauharnois. Ontario is to receive from Beauharnois this year the last of the power already contracted for(100,000 horsepower),and which incidentally exhausts all the power which Beauharnois is authorized to ~~produce~~ develop. Beauharnois was,however, some two or three years ago,authorized by the Province of Quebec to make a further development,but cannot do so without a licence from the Dominion. If this licence were granted, it might be possible for Ontario to make a short-term contract as it already has completed or is cimpleting sufficient transmission wires.

The question that arises first is whether Dr.Hogg should be asked to come down to Ottawa to discuss the situation with Mr.Howe.

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O.D. SKELTON C228558 ODS/ET
2 May,1940

ST.LAWRENCE WATERWAY Waterways - St Lawrence

This question was discussed by the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt at Warm Springs on April 24th.

Mr.King had expected that the President would raise the question,but he did not do so. Mr.King considered it would not be desirable to leave the United States without obtaining a confidential indication of the view of the United States Administration,and particularly the President himself, on this question. He therefore remarked to the President that he had expected the question would come up,but felt that as their wide-ranging conversations had been of a personal character and he was the President's personal guest, the President had hesitated to refer to a specific matter of policy now under negotiation between the two countries. The President asked what the situation was as regards Canada. Mr.King replied that he had always taken the position that it would not be possible to come to an agreement with the United States until agreement had been come to with the Provinces. As regards Ontario,practically complete agreement had been reached as the result of Mr.Hepburn's change of attitude, which Mr.Hepburn had said was due to a readiness on his part to further the wishes of the Federal Administration in its relations with the United States at a time of war,

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and to the growing need of the Province for power as a consequence of industrial development which meeting war needs would necessitate, (and an increasing realization of the international factors involved.) In Quebec, owing to a change in government, the situation was more favourable for reaching an agreement than had been the case previously. He must add there was no substantial amount of enthusiasm for the project in Canada; it had not been a subject of discussion in the recent campaign. In view of the undertaking given that once an agreement with the provinces was reached, he, Mr. King, would be prepared to enter into negotiations regarding an agreement if that were strongly desired by the United States, the Canadian Government were now prepared to do so.

Mr. King added that some of his colleagues, and particularly the Minister of Finance, considered it desirable that a revision of the terms should be sought to cover part of the expenditure incurred by Canada in deepening the river channel from Montreal to the sea, which was an essential link in a waterway from the Upper Lakes to the sea. The President replied that he understood Canada had completed this waterway for her own purposes independently of whether or not the St. Lawrence Waterway

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C228560

were built. He would have the matter examined. Mr.King admitted this,but said that as Canada had large outlays to make on account of war,some consideration given by the United States on this account would help to offset opposition in Quebec,which was certain to come from some quarters there. It too would help the Minister of Finance in explaining his readiness to go ahead with the project. Mr.King referred further to the possibility of imposing tolls on vessels of foreign countries using the waterway. The President said he had a good deal of sympathy with imposing tolls of this nature,and would have this question examined also.

On the general question the President replied that in view of the fact that the Congressional session was now so far advanced, he doubted whether it would be possible to complete and put through an agreement before the Senate adjourned. It was doubtful also whether it would be desirable to throw an additional controversial issue into the campaign so short a time before the election.

Mr.King said the special difficulty that would be involved by postponement would arise in connection with Ontario's need for increased power. He also referred in the course of an earlier conversation to the unfortunate results fromthe continued erosion at Niagara. The President referred to a suggestion which had been put forward

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C228561

to turn the Falls off completely for part of the day (Mr. King said he would not think that would be accepted by public opinion), and to plans for a complete revision of the treatment of the present uneconomic and inadequate method of utilizing the water by having the diversions from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario controlled by a joint commission.

The President said the project was meeting much opposition from the Southern portion of the Mississippi, and would need to be more talked about in the West. He suggested that the two countries should continue their negotiations with a view to bringing matters as close to a finality as possible for treaty purposes, around the end of this year or in January next.

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C228733

B

At the President's suggestion, Mr. King informed Mr. Hull of the discussion which had taken place. Mr. Hull concurred in the view that it would not be feasible to put through a St. Lawrence Agreement at the present session.

(The question arises whether the United States would be willing, in order to meet the immediate power needs, to put through a temporary Niagara arrangement something on the lines of the 1929 Treaty, together with provisions covering the Ogoki and Long Lac diversions. This question might be examined before any public statement was made in either Ottawa or Washington, indicating that consideration of the wider St. Lawrence question would have to be deferred until after the election.)

I agree
WLMK
6-5-40

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C228563

DEPT. OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister

Re U.S. Interests on St Lawrence

Attached is a memo embodying your revisions. There was a word or two I was not sure about, but I think it is pretty close.

S.

Ottawa, May 7.

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ODS/ET
2 May, 1940

C228564

ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

This question was discussed by the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt in ~~Washington~~ on April 20th.

Mr. King had expected that the President would raise the question, but he did not do so. Mr. King considered it would not be desirable to ~~bring the discussions to a close~~ without ~~getting a frank~~ and confidential indication of the view of the United States Administration, and particularly the President himself, on this question. He therefore remarked to the President that he had expected the question would come up, but felt that as their wide-ranging ~~discussions~~ had been of a personal character, the President had hesitated to refer to a specific matter of policy now under negotiation between the two countries. The President asked what the situation was as regards Canada. Mr. King replied that he had always taken the position that it would not be possible to come to an agreement with the United States until ~~the matter had~~ been settled with the Provinces. As regards Ontario, practically

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complete agreement had been reached as the result of the growing need of the Province for power, and an increasing realization of the international factors involved. In Quebec the situation was more favourable for reaching an agreement than had been the case previously. He must add there was no substantial amount of enthusiasm for the project in Canada, but the Canadian Government would be prepared to enter into an agreement if that were strongly desired by the United States.

Mr.King added that some of his colleagues, and particularly the Minister of Finance, considered it desirable that a revision of the terms should be sought to cover part of the expenditure incurred by Canada in deepening the river channel from Montreal to the sea, which was an essential link in a waterway from the Upper Lakes to the sea. The President replied that he understood Canada had completed this waterway for her own purposes independently of whether or not the St.Lawrence Waterway were built. He would have the matter examined. Mr.King referred further to the possibility of imposing tolls on vessels of foreign countries using the waterway. The President said he had a good deal of sympathy with imposing tolls of this nature, and would have the question examined also.

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On the general question the President replied that in view of the fact that the Congressional session was now so far advanced, he doubted whether it would be possible to complete and put through an agreement before the Senate adjourned. It was doubtful also whether it would be desirable to throw an additional controversial issue into the campaign so short a time before the election.

Mr.King said the special difficulty that would be involved by postponement would arise in connection with Ontario's need for increased power. He also referred to the unfortunate results from the continued erosion at Niagara. The President referred to a suggestion which had been put forward to turn the Falls off completely for part of the day, (Mr.King said he would not think that would be accepted by public opinion), and to plans for a complete revision of the treatment of the present uneconomic and inadequate method of utilizing the water falling from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario.

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C228567

Note

The question arises whether the United States would be willing, in order to meet the immediate power needs, to put through a temporary Niagara arrangement something on the lines of the 1929 Treaty, together with provisions covering the Ogoki and Long Lac diversions. This question might be examined before any public statement was made in either Ottawa or Washington, indicating that consideration of the wider St.Lawrence question would have to be deferred until after the election.

Topic memo 8-5-40

At the President's suggestion, Mr.King informed Mr.Hull of the discussion which had taken place. Mr.Hull concurred in the view that it would not be feasible to put through a St.Lawrence Agreement at the present session.

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Hogg

ODS/HMP.
August 12, 1940.
Hand copy to [illegible]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE Mackenzie
PRIME MINISTER -

C228568

ST. LAWRENCE - NIAGARA

Dr. Hogg called this morning. He indicated the demand for electric power in Ontario was still increasing rapidly. If it could not be made available at Niagara, it would be necessary either to bring in coal or to limit the expansion.

Dr. Hogg said they were going ahead in the meantime with small developments in the Georgian Bay district and possibly on the Madawaska in an endeavour to avoid any large capital outlays. While some of the present demands were for temporary war purposes, he thought the bulk of the increasing load would prove permanent. He added that if the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty had gone through in 1933 it would have been possible to utilize all the power in Ontario without any export.

With regard to Niagara, I told him we had recently made further enquiry as to how the matter stood in Washington and had informed them that September was the deadline so far as Hydro was concerned. (The State Department is endeavouring to secure the President's attitude on a project for a temporary additional diversion of water through existing plants at Niagara, without waiting for the ratification of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Treaty).

Read Hansard
15-8-40

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Collateral - Waterways - St Lawrence

COPY

C228563

MEMORANDUM

United States State Department
re
Niagara - St. Lawrence
September, 1940.

The Government of the United States is aware of the interest of the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario in the immediate temporary diversion of additional water at Niagara to take care of its pressing need for more power for the defense load. It has in mind, also, the correlative concern of Ontario with the possibility of including the development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River in its longer range plans for additional supplies of power.

In this connection it may be appropriate to refer, also, to the interest of the Government of the United States in the early development of mutual plans for the best utilization of the resources of the entire Great Lakes basin by the two peoples. Any understandings at this time, while necessarily of a temporary nature, should be such as to be in harmony with and to forward the more comprehensive plans for the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence undertaking.

The interest of the United States in the matter has been considerably heightened since the conversations of last winter, due to the necessity which has arisen of a major national defense effort. This program, which will necessarily extend over a period of years, may be expected to result in an acceleration in the upward trend in the demand for power. The development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River offers the best means of meeting the increasing demand in one of the most important areas of war material production.

In the light of these considerations, the United States is considering the following procedure as designed to further the above set forth interests of the two peoples:

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C228570

1. Agreement on the diversion of water from the Albany River basin into Lake Superior to the extent of approximately 5,000 cubic feet per second, as contemplated in the proposed Ogoki and Long Lake projects of the Province of Ontario.

2. Agreement that, notwithstanding the provisions of Articles 5 and 8 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, the exclusive rights to the use of waters equivalent in quantity to waters so diverted shall be vested in Canada and may be diverted by the Ontario Commission in addition to the present diversion for power purposes at Niagara.

3. Understanding that there will be initiated immediately preliminary engineering and other investigations of the site of the International Rapids Section project, including core borings, test pits, soil analyses, preparation of specifications, etc., in order that the project may be undertaken without delay when final decision is reached by the two Governments. Such preliminary work will be under the direction of a Commission designated for that purpose to cooperate with a similar body representing the Canadian Government.

4. Agreement that the cost of such preliminary investigations and engineering work shall be considered as part of the cost of the project for purposes of allocation to be reimbursed in proper proportion by the Ontario Commission as and when it develops its share of the International Rapids Section power.

5. Agreement that, as and when convenient, the necessary instrument will be signed by the United States and Canada to make possible the immediate undertaking of the International Rapids Section development.

It is the view of this Government that the mutual needs of both countries in the present emergency, especially in the matter of power, can be best served by proceeding along the general lines indicated above. In this connection, it would note that immediate advantages in the transportation of bulky commodities in the defense programs of both countries would be assured by the improvement of the navigable depths of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River which will follow the diversion of additional water into the Great Lakes basin.

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O.D. SKELTON TO WLMIC

OCT. 13, 1940

file

C228571

ODS/PM
13.10,40

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓
waterpower - Ont. ✓
Hepburn, M. P. ✓

W-101
v. 1

W-106
v. 1

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Re: St. Lawrence and Niagara

✓ Tel.

When you receive Godbout's and Hepburn's letters, could Mr. Handy phone the office here so that we can advise Washington the way is clear for a press release to be given out on Monday for Tuesday morning's papers?

O.D.S.

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Collection - Waterways - St Lawrence
W-101
V.1

C228572

PRESS RELEASE

For Publication in papers Tuesday morning October 15, 1940 (including earlier editions which do not appear in the street for sale before 10 P.M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time Monday, October 14, 1940).

In order to assure adequate power supplies to meet the requirements of defence production in the North Eastern part of the United States and Canada, steps have been taken by the Governments of the United States and Canada to initiate immediately preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin project which is located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. These steps have been taken in order that the entire project may be started without loss of a favourable construction season when final decision is reached between the two Governments. The investigations will be made under the direction of Temporary ~~Commissions~~ Committees to be appointed by the two Governments.

Meanwhile, to assist in providing an adequate supply of power to meet Canadian defence needs, and contingent upon the Province of Ontario's agreeing to provide immediately for diversions into the Great Lakes System of waters from the Albany River Basin which normally flow into Hudson Bay, the Government of the United States have informed the Canadian Government that it will interpose no objection, pending the conclusion of a final Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin Agreement between the two countries, to the immediate utilization for power at Niagara Falls by the Province of Ontario of additional waters equivalent in quantity to the diversion into the Great Lakes Basin above referred to.

Noted by Mr Lapointe

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C228573

W-121
p. 1

Pour publication dans les journaux de mardi matin, 15 octobre 1940, (y compris les éditions qui ne paraissent pas dans la rue pour être vendues avant 10 heures p.m., heure d'été de l'Est, lundi, 14 octobre 1940).

"Afin d'assurer une quantité d'énergie suffisante pour faire face aux exigences de la production pour fins de défense dans la partie nord-est des Etats-Unis et du Canada, des mesures ont été prises par les gouvernements des Etats-Unis et du Canada pour commencer immédiatement des travaux de génie préliminaires et autres investigations en ce qui concerne la partie du projet du bassin des Grands Lacs et fleuve Saint-Laurent qui se trouve dans la section internationale des rapides du fleuve Saint-Laurent. Ces mesures ont été prises afin que tout le projet puisse être commencé sans perdre une saison de construction favorable lorsque les deux gouvernements auront abouti à une entente définitive.

Les investigations se poursuivront sous la direction de commissions temporaires que les deux gouvernements constitueront.

Dans l'intervalle, afin d'aider à créer une provision suffisante d'énergie pour faire face aux besoins du Canada pour fins de défense et sous réserve que la province d'Ontario consente à pourvoir immédiatement à une dérivation vers le réseau des Grands Lacs des eaux du bassin de la rivière Albanie qui s'écoulent normalement dans la baie d'Hudson, le gouvernement des Etats-Unis a fait savoir au gouvernement canadien qu'il ne fera intervenir aucune objection en attendant la conclusion entre les deux pays d'un accord définitif relatif au bassin des Grands Lacs et du fleuve Saint-Laurent, à l'utilisation immédiate pour fins d'énergie aux Chutes Niagara par la province d'Ontario, d'eaux additionnelles d'une quantité équivalente à la dérivation dans le bassin des Grands Lacs visés ci-dessus."

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Coll - Waterways - St Lawrence

C228574

DOCUMENTS RE ST. LAWRENCE AGREEMENT

Note from the Secretary of State of the United States to the Canadian Minister to the United States, October 14, 1940.

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to the conversations which have taken place recently between officials of the Governments of the United States and Canada in regard to the desirability of taking immediate steps looking to the early development of certain portions of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project. These conversations have indicated that there is apprehension in both countries over the possibility of a power shortage; those apprehensions have been heightened by the necessity for increased supplies of power in consequence of Canada's war effort and of the major national defence effort in the United States.

In the light of these considerations the Government of the United States proposes that each Government appoint forthwith a Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee consisting of not more than five members. These two Committees would co-operate in preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the project which is located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, in order that the entire project may be undertaken without delay when final decision is reached by the two Governments. The Government of the United States is prepared to advance the necessary funds up to $1,000,000 to pay for these preliminary engineering and other investigations, on the understanding that their cost shall ultimately be pro-rated by agreement between the two Governments.

Meanwhile, to assist in providing an adequate supply of power to meet Canadian defense needs and contingent upon the Province of Ontario's agreeing to provide immediately for diversions into the Great Lakes System of waters from the Albany River Basin which normally flow into Hudson Bay, the Government of the United States will interpose no objection, pending the conclusion of a final Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin agreement between the two countries, to the immediate utilization for power at Niagara Falls by the Province of Ontario of additional waters equivalent in quantity to the diversions into the Great Lakes Basin above referred to.

I shall be glad if you will let me know if your Government is in accord with the foregoing proposals.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

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C228575

Note from the Canadian Minister to the United States to the Secretary of State of the United States No. 316, October 14, 1940.

No. 316.

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to your Note of October 14, in which you proposed that the Governments of Canada and the United States take immediate steps looking to the early development of certain portions of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project.

I am instructed to inform you that the Canadian Government is in accord with the proposals which you have made.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest consideration,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,

LORING C. CHRISTIE

The Honourable Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

Note from the Canadian Minister to the United States to the Secretary of State of the United States, No. 340, October 31, 1940.

No. 340.

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to the third paragraph of your Note of October 14, concerning the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project, in which you state that to assist in providing an adequate supply of power to meet Canadian defence needs and contingent upon the Province of Ontario's agreeing to provide immediately for diversions into the Great Lakes System of waters from the Albany River Basin which normally flow into Hudson Bay, the Government of the United States would interpose no objection, pending the conclusion of a final Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Agreement between the two countries, to the immediate utilization for power at Niagara Falls by the Province of Ontario of additional waters equivalent in quantity to the diversions into the Great Lakes Basin above referred to.

I am instructed to inform you that the Canadian Government has received appropriate assurances that the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario is prepared to proceed immediately with the Long Lac-Ogoki diversions and that this action has been approved by the Government of the Province.

The Canadian Government is therefore giving appropriate instructions to authorize the additional diversion of 5,000 cubic feet per second at Niagara by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest consideration
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,

LORING C. CHRISTIE

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Note from the Secretary of State of the United States to the Canadian Minister to the United States, November 7, 1940.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Note No. 340 of October 31, 1940, stating that the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario is prepared to proceed immediately with the Long Lac-Ogoki diversions of waters from the Albany River Basin into the Great Lakes System and that this action has been approved by the Government of the Province.

I note also that the Canadian Government is giving appropriate instructions to authorize the additional diversion of 5,000 cubic feet per second of water at Niagara Falls by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State:

A. A. BERLE, JR.

The Honorable
Loring Christie,
Minister of Canada.

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IH/10

A.D.P. HEENEY
P.C. 5933

Waterways - St. Lawrence Deep
Waterpower - Ont.
Hepburn Mss 7

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V-1

C228577

W 10-6
V-1

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

WEDNESDAY, the 23rd day of OCTOBER, 1940.

PRESENT:

The Deputy of
HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL --

WHEREAS the Secretary of State for External Affairs reports that agreement has been reached between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States with regard to the desirability, in view of the hydraulic power situation, of taking immediate steps looking to the early development of certain portions of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project, and specifically that the Government of the United States has indicated it will interpose no objection, pending the conclusion of a final Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Agreement, to the immediate utilization for power at Niagara Falls by the Province of Ontario of additional water equivalent in quantity to the diversion to be made by the Province of Ontario into the Great Lakes System from the Albany River Basin, and, further, that the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States have each agreed to appoint a Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee, and that the two Committees will co-operate in preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the project which is located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River in order that the entire project may be undertaken without delay when a final decision is reached by the two Governments.

The Deputy of

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the concurrence of the Minister of Transport, is pleased to appoint and doth hereby appoint the following persons as members of the Canadian Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee for the purposes aforesaid:

The Right Honourable
the Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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Mr. Guy A. Lindsay
Engineer

Department of Transport
Chairman

Dr. T.H. Hogg, Chairman, The Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission;

Dr. Olivier Lefebvre, Member of the Provincial Electricity Board, Province of Quebec

Mr. J.E. Read, K.C., Legal Adviser, Department of External Affairs.

A. D. P. Heeney.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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Collateral - Waterways - St Lawrence

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JER/B

C228579

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Press Statement

Appointment of Members of Canadian Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee

The Governments of Canada and of the United States have recently announced their agreement with regard to the desirability of taking immediate steps looking to the early development of certain portions of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project. The Government of the United States indicated that it would interpose no objection, pending the conclusion of a final Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Agreement, to the immediate utilization for power at Niagara Falls by the Province of Ontario of additional water equivalent in quantity to the diversion to be made by the Province of Ontario into the Great Lakes system from the Albany River basin. The two Governments have also agreed that each will appoint a Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee and that the two Committees will cooperate in preliminary engineering and other investigations of that part of the project which is located in the International Rapid Section of the St. Lawrence River, in order that the entire project may be undertaken without further delay when a final decision is reached by the two Governments.

The President of the United States has announced the appointment of a Committee for this purpose, the members of which are:

Noted by Mr Hanna

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C225589

Leland Olds,
Chairman of the Federal Power
Commission, as Chairman.

A. A. Berle,
Assistant Secretary of State.

Brigadier General Thomas M. Robins
of the Board of Engineers for Rivers
and Harbours, Corps of Engineers,
United States Army.

Gerald V. Cruise
Representative of the Trustees
of the Power Authority of the
States of New York

The Government of Canada has made the following appointments to the Canadian Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee:

Guy A. Lindsay
Engineer in Charge, General
Engineering, Department of Transport,
as Chairman

Thomas H. Hogg
Chairman and Chief Engineer
Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario,
Toronto, Ontario

Olivier Lefebvre
Member of Quebec Electricity Board
Montreal, P.Q.

J. E. Read
Legal Adviser,
Department of External Affairs.

Arrangements will be made to convene this Committee without delay and also for consultation with the United States Committee with which it will be cooperating.

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le 24 oct./40

C228581

Communiqué de presse

Nomination de membres de la Commission provisoire du Canada concernant le bassin des Grands Lacs et du fleuve St-Laurent

Les Gouvernements du Canada et des Etats-Unis ont annoncé dernièrement qu'ils étaient tombés d'accord sur l'utilité de prendre immédiatement des mesures tendant au développement dans un avenir prochain de certaines parties du projet du bassin des Grands Lacs et du fleuve Saint-Laurent. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a fait savoir qu'il n'apporterait aucune objection, en attendant la conclusion d'un accord définitif relatif au bassin des Grands Lacs et fleuve Saint-Laurent, à l'utilisation immédiate pour fins d'énergie électrique aux Chutes Niagara, par la province d'Ontario, d'eaux additionnelles en quantité équivalente aux eaux détournées par la province d'Ontario du bassin de la rivière Albany dans le réseau des Grands Lacs. Les deux gouvernements sont également d'accord sur la nomination par chacun d'eux d'une Commission provisoire du bassin des Grands Lacs et du fleuve Saint-Laurent, et que les deux commissions se prêteront mutuellement leur concours dans les travaux de génie et autres recherches préliminaires à effectuer pour cette partie du projet qui se trouve dans la région internationale des rapides du fleuve Saint-Laurent, afin qu'on puisse mettre à exécution le projet entier sans plus de délai, lorsque les deux gouvernements en arriveront à une décision définitive.

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C228582

Le Président des Etats-Unis a annoncé la constitution d'une commission à cette fin, qui se composera de :

Leland Olds, président de la Federal Power Commission, comme président,

A. A. Berle, Secrétaire d'Etat adjoint,

Le Brigadier-Général Thomas M. Robins de la Commission des Ingénieurs de ports et rivières, corps de génie de l'armée des Etats-Unis,

Gerald V. Cruise, représentant des commissaires de la Power Authority de l'Etat de New-York.

Le Gouvernement du Canada a nommé les personnes suivantes à la Commission provisoire du bassin des Grands Lacs et du fleuve Saint-Laurent :

Guy A. Lindsay,
Ingénieur en charge du service du génie au ministère des Transports, comme président,

Thomas H. Hogg,
Président et ingénieur en chef de la Commission hydro-électrique de Québec, Montréal, P.Q.

J. E. Read,
Conseiller juridique au ministère des Affaires extérieures.

Des mesures seront prises sans retard, en vue de la réunion de cette commission et en vue également de la consultation avec la commission des Etats-Unis avec laquelle elle sera appelée à collaborer.

Olivier Lefebvre,
Membre de la Commission hydro-électrique de Québec, Montréal, P. Q.

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W.L.M.K TO W.J. TURNBULL

C228583

Waterways - St. Lawrence

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TURNBULL:

OCT. 26, 1940

Re St. Lawrence Waterway

Please see Statutes of Canada, 1930 (2nd session) - 1931, 21-22 Geo.V, Parts I-II. Chapter 20:

"An Act to declare certain works of the Beauharnois Light, Heat and Power Company, Limited, to be for the general advantage of Canada.

(Assented to 3rd August, 1931) "

Please get a copy of this Act by itself for me.

There was a formal declaration by the Parliament at Canada re development of a deep waterway being in progress - made by the administration of Mr. Bennett. See debate on this for statement by Mr. Lapointe where he mentions Parliament is formally committing itself to the St. Lawrence Waterway.

Then get from Dr. Skelton, in a paragraph or two, particulars as to treaty negotiated by Herridge and relation of same to subsequent agreement between present parliament and Roosevelt, the one dealing with the whole system as one.

W. L. M. K.

Oct. 26, 1940

shown to Dr Skelton 29 x. 40 (when received) JWP

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WLMK To O. D. SKELTON Waterways - St. Lawrence

Dictated by the Prime Minister
November 6, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. SKELTON: C228584

I append hereto a hastily dictated memorandum re: St. Lawrence Waterway development.

Dandurand, as you know, is most anxious to have in advance, as I am, what I propose saying in the House on this matter.

I should not like to take more than the equivalent of three pages at ~~outset~~ to set forth what I think Parliament will wish to know.

Could you possibly put this memo which is sketchy, inaccurate, etc. in hand, and someone to work on it at once, as this part of the speech is a part on which, thus far, I have nothing and which Dandurand is most anxious to have.

W. L. M. K.

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Dictated by the Prime Minister
November 6, 1940

MEMORANDUM

C228585

Re: St. Lawrence Waterway

In regard to the power development of the St. Lawrence Waterway, the House of Commons will wish to know first how far Canada is committed to the St. Lawrence Waterway scheme. This should be given in a brief outline in some such fashion as the following:

The project has been one which both countries have been considering over many years;

goes back to Adam Beck and Ferguson days;

subject of consideration by Joint Board under previous Liberal administration;

brought into the form of a treaty by Mr. Bennett, date, etc.;

understanding that it should pass Senate before submitted to Commons;

not passed by the United States Senate.

Plan of joint development embracing all international problems e.g. diversions from the North, Chicago diversion, Niagara Falls; power development, etc.

word as to significance of waterway side and power side.

Reference to Mr. Hepburn's desire for getting Beauharnois power, and right to export power from Beauharnois.

Hepburn's opposition to St. Lawrence Waterway; matter held in abeyance.

Hepburn's change of front during the war due to desire for power for Ontario ends.

Hepburn's request for diversion.

Agreement by President to permit diversion and allow Ontario Government to get immediate use of power from Niagara.

What is contemplated at present re International Rapids section development;

Board of Engineers appointed.

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Acceptance of matter by Ontario Government and Quebec Government.

What must be brought out here clearly is an answer to the question that it would take several years to develop the power at International Rapids; therefore folly to say that power is needed for war purposes.

Reference to part that Ontario gets for power purposes immediately.

Bring out point that ~~in~~ this being obtained now, ~~would~~ show international good-will;

President's attitude in allowing Canada full use of this power, etc.

Re: Finances:

Show that Canada does not become involved in financial outlays until 1948 or 49.

Give specific answer to question as to commitment to the whole St. Lawrence Waterway scheme.

What this means:

(a) Immediate development or development in stages over years;

(b) Parliament had endorsed principle of this in Bills regarding Beauharnois. (Statement by Lapointe in Parliament).

W. L. M. K.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C228567

November 6th,1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. SKELTON:

I append hereto a hastily dictated memorandum re: St. Lawrence Waterway development.

Dandurand, as you know, is most anxious to have in advance, as I am, what I propose saying in the House on this matter.

I should not like to take more than the equivalent of three pages at most to set forth what I think Parliament will wish to know.

Could you possibly put this memo which is sketchy, inaccurate, etc., in hand, and someone to work on it at once, as this part of the speech is a part on which, thus far, I have nothing, and which Dandurand is most anxious to have.

W.L. M.K.

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CANADA

November 6th,1940.

MEMORANDUM

Re: St. Lawrence Waterway C228588

In regard to the power development of the St. Lawrence Waterway, the House of Commons will wish to know first how far Canada is committed to the St. Lawrence Waterway scheme and particularly re the present development the financial commitment. This should be given in a brief outline in some such fashion as the following:

The project has been one which both countries have been considering over many years;

goes back to Adam Beck and Ferguson days;

subject of consideration by Joint Board under previous Liberal administration;

brought into the form of a treaty by Mr. Bennett, date, etc.;

understanding that it should pass U.S. Senate before submitted to Canadian Commons;

not passed by the United States Senate.

Plan of joint development embracing all international problems e.g. diversions from the North, Chicago diversion, Niagara Falls; power development,etc.

word as to significance of waterway side and power side.

Reference to Mr. Hepburn's desire for getting Beauharnois power, and right to export power from Beauharnois.

Hepburn's opposition to St. Lawrence Waterway; matter held in abeyance.

Government's point of view - never to create if possible an internal problem in effort to meet an external one.

Hepburn's change of front during the war due to desire for power for Ontario ends.

Hepburn's request for diversion.

Agreement by President to permit diversion and allow Ontario Government to get immediate use of power from Niagara.

What is contemplated at present re International Rapids section development;

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Board of Engineers appointed.

(There were two Journal articles (editorials) at time announcement was made which will be helpful. They might be attached.)

Acceptance of matter by Ontario Government and Quebec Government.

What must be brought out here clearly is an answer to the question that it would take several years to develop the power at International Rapids; therefore folly to say that power is needed for war purposes.

Reference to part that Ontario gets for power purposes immediately.

Bring out point that this being obtained now, shows international good-will;

President's attitude in allowing Canada full use of this power, etc.

Re: Finances:

Show that Canada does not become involved in financial outlays until 1948 or 49.

Give specific answer to question as to commitment to the whole St. Lawrence Waterway scheme.

What this means:

(a) Immediate development or development in stages over years;

(b) Parliament had endorsed principle of this in Bills regarding Beauharnois. See legislation. (Statement by Lapointe in Parliament).

W.L.M.K.

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O.D. SKELTON TO WLMK. ODS/ET

8 Nov.1940

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C228590

Exchange of Letters with Mr.Hepburn re St.Lawrence and Niagara.

Attached are copies of your letter of October 10th,Mr.Hepburn's reply of October 18th and your reply of October 30th. I have just noticed that your letter of October 10th refers to a memorandum from the State Department which we will not be able to table. It represented an incomplete stage in the negotiations and the State Department told us a fortnight ago that they did not wish this exchange of letters made public or referred to at the present. We have therefore been confining public references to the press notice of October 15th.

It might of course be possible to table these, and decline,if the question were asked, to table the interim memorandum referred to.

OD

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O.D. SKELTON TO W. J. TURNBULL ODS/ET
8 Nov.1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MR.TURNBULL

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

C228591 (2)

I enclose two copies of a note I have hurriedly dictated on the Niagara and St.Lawrence. Please send one to Prime Minister

I have not made any reference to the statement by Mr.Lapointe on Beauharnois to which Mr.King referred. I have not had time to look it up. Neither have I looked up the clippings from the 'Ottawa Journal' to which Mr. King refers. There were also good editorials in the 'Globe and Mail', 'Toronto Star' and 'Winnipeg Free Press' of which you may have copies.

I am sending a copy also to Senator Dandurand.

O. D. SKELTON

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O.D. SKELTON TO W.J. TURNBULL

ODS/AH

C228592 November 8th, 1940.

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

MR. TURNBULL

re Pickersgill photos. (1)

You spoke of a factual memorandum on St. Lawrence matters to which Mr. King had referred. I am not quite sure what he had in mind unless it is the long one of February 3rd, of which I enclose a copy.

It is of course to be borne in mind that this deals with a treaty that has not yet been concluded. The immediate question is the temporary Niagara-International Rapids Section Agreement. I do not think in the discussion in the House any reference should be made to the terms of the wider project which is still under discussion.

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GREAT LAKES ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT. C228593

February 3, 1940.

I. Discussions at Washington, January 22-25.

The discussions which took place in Washington on January 22-25 concluded the preliminary and technical considerations of the large project which had begun during the visit of the United States Delegation to Ottawa on January 8-10.

Those who participated in the discussion were -

For the United States:

Mr. A.A. Berle, (State Department)
Mr. J.D. Hickerson,

Mr. Leland Olds, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission,
Brigadier-General T.M. Robins, War Department.
Mr. R.B. McWhorter, Federal Power Commission,
Mr. G.V. Cruise of the New York State Power Authority.

For Canada:

O.D. Skelton, (Department of External Affairs)
J.E. Read,

Mr. Loring C. Christie, (Canadian Legation, Washington)
Mr. Escott Reid,

Mr. G.A. Lindsay, Department of Transport,

Dr. T.H. Hogg, (Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario)
Mr. Murray Hendry,
Dr. Olivier Lefebvre, of the Provincial Electricity Board of Quebec.

The following joint statement was issued to the morning press on January 25th:

> "During the discussions the whole field was covered, and definite progress was made. The discussions have now reached the point where it is necessary for the two Delegations to report to their respective Governments on various matters of policy requiring their consideration and decision.
>
> "The engineering advisers of the two Governments have reached substantial agreement on the feasibility and desirability of a project in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River which would involve a main dam in the vicinity of Barnhart Island, with a power house in each country, and a control dam upstream. This project is based upon a plan which was discussed in some detail in the 1926 report of the Joint Board of Engineers. The engineers of the two countries are in agreement that such a project is sound from an engineering

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C228594

standpoint, cheaper in cost than the project on which the 1932 Treaty was based, and affords full protection for all the interest in the various sections of the St. Lawrence River.

"The negotiations will continue through diplomatic channels.

II. Present situation.

As indicated in the press statement, the whole range of questions arising in connection with the project has now been reviewed so far as the relations between the United States and Canada are concerned, and the two delegations are reporting to their respective governments on matters of policy requiring their consideration and decision.

In the discussions in Washington complete agreement was reached by the engineering representatives as to the soundness and advisability of the controlled single-stage plan, with two dams but power-houses only on the Barnhart Island dam. As regards the allocation of costs the United States representatives had agreed in Ottawa to recommend that the United States should undertake to build both canals in the International Section, the canal around the upper or Iroquois Point dam being transferred to the United States side of the river and built at the cost of the United States. In Washington the United States representatives agreed to recommend the assumption by the United States of a further amount of work equivalent to the expenditure required at Morrisburg, now estimated at $5,024,000. Dr. Hogg further agreed to recommend on the part of Ontario making payments to Canada equivalent to the value of work to be done by the United States as regards Hydraulic equipment embedded in the substructure and the amount to be received by the Hydro for certain engineering services estimated at nearly $2,000,000. The time set for the completion of the Canadian works in the National Section was advanced to December 31st, 1950, with provision for a further extension if required in view of war conditions.

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It was agreed further that the provisions for permanent operation of the Commission as a joint planning body should be made optional not obligatory. A compromise was reached regarding the Chicago diversion.

Many changes in detail were made in the 1938 draft treaty submitted by the United States. A revised draft dated January 27th is attached, but this is still subject to a number of drafting changes which are being discussed by correspondence.

III. Essential points of the Treaty.

(a) Method of control

The Treaty provides for the establishment of a Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Commission, consisting of not more than ten members, half appointed by each country. The Commission is empowered to prepare plans for construction of the works in the International Rapids Section and the remedial works at Niagara, in close cooperation with Government & agencies and in accordance with the general provisions outlined in the treaty. The plans are subject to approval by both governments. Generally speaking each country will build the works on its own side of the boundary but the Commission will vary this rule by allocations designed to make the expenditure by each government fit into the agreed division. The Commission will approve contracts and supervise and certify the construction.

(b) Deep Waterway.

The completion of the scheme will provide from head of lakes to tide water at Montreal a canal 27 ft. in depth with lock sills at 30 feet. The deep water canals at Welland and in the Soulanges and Lachine areas will be in Canadian territory. The deep water canals in the International Section will be in United States territory; 14 ft. canals will be retained in Canadian territory in the International section.

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(c) Power

The project provides in the first place for an immediate large addition of power at Niagara without capital cost. The Hydro Electric Power Commission and the United States authorities will each be entitled to utilize an additional 5000 cfs drawn from the Niagara River and in addition Ontario will be entitled to the use of the water diverted into the Great Lakes System from the Ogoki and Long Lac, amounting approximately to 5,250 cfs. This will make available almost immediately 100,000 additional horsepower for use in Canada. No immediate capital cost is required as the additional water can be utilized in existing old plants. Eventually, after the whole St. Lawrence power developed in the International Section of the St. Lawrence has been utilized, it will be possible to construct up-to-date plants at Niagara which will use with twice as great efficiency the additional water now authorized and any

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further water that the recommendations of the Commission, if approved by the Government, will make available at the Falls or the Rapids in the Niagara River.

In the International Section the project will provide 1,100,000 horsepower for Ontario and the same for New York State in about six or seven years time after construction has been begun, (following at least a year for necessary preliminary engineering and contract preparations).

In the national or Quebec Section, the project does not necessarily affect the power situation. The question whether the Beauharnois Power Company should be given a permit for the diversion of additional water which has already been approved by the Province of Quebed, is independent of the construction of the navigation works in this area. In the Lachine area the cost of developing power is too great to warrant this site being utilized until cheaper sites have been developed. In any case, the engineering situation is such that relatively little could be saved by proceeding with the power and navigation work in this area as a joint project. Power will eventually benefit, in a measure to be determined, from works being constructed by the Dominion for navigation purposes and which will be of some value for a later power project.

(d) Scenic effects.

Full provision is made for safe-guarding the scenic values at Niagara. Connection has been preserved in the new treaty with the report of the Special International Niagara Board, on which the United States scenic interests were strongly represented. In the International Rapids Section

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the controlled single-stage project now proposed involves flooding between six and seven thousand acres more land on the Canadian side and nearly five thousand acres more on the United States side. Ample provision has been made in the Estimates for the acquisition of the land. In the case of the village of Iroquois and of a part of the town of Morrisburg, it will be necessary to take over these areas and provision has been made in the Estimates for compensation to present owners or rebuilding in adjoining areas. Iroquois and Morrisburg are affected in the same way in both the Controlled Single - Stage Project now proposed and in the Two-Stage Project contemplated in 1932.

(e) Plan of Development of International Section

The main features of the controlled single-stage project are set forth in the Annex to the Draft. The main difference from the 1932 plan is that power houses are to be built only at the lower dam instead of both the lower and the upper dam. The upper dam will be a control dam and not as high as would have been required if it were to be utilized for the production of power. The lower dam will be higher than the under the former project and the level of the river between the two dams will require to be maintained at a higher level. This level is set at 238 feet above sea level. Provision is being made to construct the lower dam to permit of a level up to 242 feet if after lengthy experiment and agreement by the two governments this higher range should be found advisable. There has been no change in the engineering plans in the National Section, which will be under the control of the Dominion Government.

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(f) Time of completion.

Under Mr. Hull's 1938 draft Canada would undertake to complete the construction of the navigation works in the International Section (Welland and Quebec areas) by December 31st,1949. In the present draft this time is extended to December 31st,1950, and provision is made for such further extension of time as Canada may require as a result of "the continuance of war conditions". This will make it possible to postpone the great part of the work Canada is to undertake to such time as it is thought advisable as a post-war employment provision.

(g) Chicago Diversion.

It has been considered necessary to modify the 1932 and 1938 treaty provisions regarding Chicago, which provided for restricting any withdrawal of water through the Chicago Sanitary Canal to the 1500 c.f.s. level set by the United States Supreme Court decree of April 30,1930.

The United States representatives indicated that modification would be necessary to lessen the Mississippi Valley opposition to the project. On the Canadian side it was felt that the navigation situation in the Great Lakes will be materially improved by the diversion of Long Lac and Ogoki water to the Great Lakes, (all of which is assigned to Canada at all points for power purposes). It was further taken into account that the limitation imposed by the Supreme Court Decree is not necessarily permanent. In some measure the Supreme Court was interpreting existing law and an attempt is now being made in Congress to pass a new measure authorizing an increased diversion up to 5000 c.s.f. If the retantion of the 1932-1938 clause prevents the treaty being passed, a clause in a dead treaty would obviously afford no protection.

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With the strong support of the Hydro-Electric Power authorities a suggestion was made that a diversion of 3000 c.f.s. instead of 1500 c.f.s. should be permitted. The United States authorities did not find this acceptable. The did not think that Chicago should be offered any specific addition and the amount suggested would not satisfy the extreme Chicago demands. They suggested, therefore, omitting the clause altogether. The Canadian representatives were not prepared to accept this suggestion. A compromise was reached omitting the present clause and inserting a provision to the effect that if any further diversion of water from the Great Lakes is authorized in either country and a settlement cannot be reached between the two governments, the question can be submitted to an arbitral tribunal empowered to direct such compensatory or remedial measures as it may deem just and equitable. In substance this means that if a proposal for additional diversion at Chicago overcame the first three hurdles (a) being enacted by Congress (b) being approved by the President and (c) being upheld by the Supreme Court, before which Lake States would immediately bring the issue, an arbitral tribunal would still have power to provide compensation in money or power, adopt remedial measures, require the construction of compensatory works or to impose a regime to prevent or control the diversion.

(h) <u>Protection of Quebec interests</u>.

The Province of Quebec is not directly involved in the present project in the way that the Province of Ontario is. The works which the Dominion undertakes in the Quebec Section of the St. Lawrence are navigation projects which do not involve the development of additional power, much less a contract for the sale of such power as in the case of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of

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Ontario. The project has, however, a definite indirect interest for Quebec which has been kept in mind in the discussions.

One interest is the physical or engineering question of the possible effect of the construction and operation of the works in the International Section on the power developments below Cornwall; the protection of the harbor of Montreal is also important but is of course primarily a federal responsibility. Full provision has been made to meet any possible objection on this score. The plan of development in the International Section calls for a control dam in the upper section of the river, which is regarded as an essential feature of the project. The engineers are unanimous in the view that the dam at Barnhart Island will be so constructed as to prevent any possible damage to interests lower down the river. The possible raising of the 238 level to 242 is made contingent on continued experiment and agreement by both the Canadian and the United States Governments. A provision existed in the 1938 draft treaty to the following effect:-

> "during the construction and upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the flow of water out of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River shall be controlled and the flow of water through the International Section shall be regulated so that the navigable depths of water for shipping in the Harbor of Montreal and throughout the navigable channel of the St. Lawrence River below Montreal, as such depths now exist or may hereafter be increased by dredging or other harbor or channel improvements, shall not be injuriously affected by the construction or operation of such works".

This has been retained and the following clause added at the end of the paragraph:

> "and the power developments in the Canadian section of the St. Lawrence River shall not be adversely affected".

In addition it is understood that Quebec would be represented in the main Commission as well as in any control board established to supervise the Barnhart Island operation.

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A further point which has been raised in Quebec is that there would be objection if the Ontario power development were given more advantageous terms than those granted to the development in Quebec, e.g., Beauharnois. In the case of Beauharnois, the Dominion insisted on making the company pay for 100% of the common works and provide free power for the operation of the canals. The question whether any modification should be made is one that will require governmental consideration. In any event account would presumably be taken of the policy of the Province of Quebec and of the Provincial Electricity Board of insisting on passing on any reductions in hydraulic development costs to domestic and other small consumers, as was done by order of the Board in January,1939, in the reduction of $400,000 made by the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company.

(1) Allocation of costs between Canada and the United States.

The total cost of the works required for a deep waterway from the head of the Lakes to Montreal, including both works already built which are an essential link in the waterway, and works to be built in the future, are so divided as to allot practically equal total amounts to Canada and the United States. Canada, however, is credited with the whole amount already spent on the new Welland Ship Canal, namely $131,900,000, thus reducing its new construction to a much smaller amount than that to be undertaken by the United States. The adoption of the single-stage plan increased the relative proportion of the expenditure falling on the Canadian Federal Government and considerable adjustments by both the United States and Ontario were necessary and were made in order to reduce the Ottawa share. The following tables indicate briefly the division of works and costs:

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The following tables indicate briefly the division of works and costs.

(i) Total costs of Deep Waterway, including power in International Section, and including both existing works and works to be constructed.

	Canada	United States	TOTAL
Under 1932 Treaty	$276,280,500	$280,050,500	$556,331,000
Under 1940 Draft	258,646,000	262,234,000	520,880,000
GROSS SAVING	$ 17,634,500	$ 17,816,500	$ 35,451,000

(ii) Existing works credited to each country.

Canada (of which New Welland Ship Canal - $131,900,000)	132,371,000
United States (Upper Lakes)	19,164,000

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(iii) **Gross New Expenditures by Federal Governments of Canada and United States.**

	Canada			United States		
	1932 Treaty		1940 Draft	1932 Treaty		1940 Draft
Upper Lakes	605,000			45,395,000		42,300,000
Welland (to 27 ft.)	1,100,000		1,100,000			
International Section						
Lands.....5,698,000		14,011,000		3,134,000	4;657,000	
Rehab. Iroquois..3,379,000		3,379,000				
Rehab. Morris- burg .. 5,024,000					5,024,000	
Navig. works..8,219,000				25,969,000	34,720,000	
Dams escav....				90,867,000	94,077,000	
Power House substr.	22,320,000		17,390,000	58,591,000	178,561,000 37,461,000	175,939,000
National Section						
Lake St. Francis 1,330,000						
Soulange Section 25,785,000						
Lachine Section 55,839,000	82,954,000		82,954,000			
TOTAL	106,979,000		101,444,000	223,956,000		218,239,000

C228604

(iv) Expenditure for Power by Ontario

	1932	1940
Power houses and machinery	$36,930,500	$24,831,000
Paid Federal government	67,202,500	61,700,000
		4,000,000
	$104,133,000	$90,531,000

NOTE: But, on the basis of a two-stage scheme Ontario might have claimed and did claim and was informally promised in 1935 a reduced payment to bring its payment into line with the New York State amount, a reduction of say - $13,000,000
And under a single-stage scheme it might claim a further reduction due to the fact one instead of two power houses is required amounting to - 12,100,000
25,100,000

Under the 1940 draft, Ontario saves $13,802,000 as compared with the 1932 agreement. The actual tentative 1940 agreement with Ontario can, therefore, be considered fair to both the Dominion and Ontario.

C228605

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(v) Net New Expenditure by Canadian Government.

	1932 Treaty	1940 Draft
Gross Expenditure	$106,979,000	$101,444,000
Less paid by Ontario International Section	67,202,500	61,700,000
	39,776,500	39,744,000
Ogoki diversion	4,000,000	
Net	$ 43,776,500	$ 39,744,000

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J.E. READ TO WLMK.

C228607

JER/MDS
9.11.40

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

TABLING OF RECENT CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING
OGOKI AND LONG LAC DIVERSIONS

1. The Canadian Minister is consulting the State Department concerning the release of this correspondence. He does not expect to get a decision before Tuesday morning.

2. The correspondence might be dealt with by tabling it independently.

I may place on record the recent correspondence between the Canadian Minister to the United States and the Secretary of State of the United States, whereby provision was made for the diversion of water from the Albany River Basin into the Great Lakes System and for the utilization of an equivalent quantity of water estimated at 5,000 cubic feet per second at Niagara by the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

1. Note from the Secretary of State of the United States to the Canadian Minister to the United States, October 14, 1940.

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2. Note from the Canadian Minister to the United States to the Secretary of State of the United States, No. 316, October 14, 1940.

3. Note from the Canadian Minister to the United States to the Secretary of State of the United States, No. 340, October 31, 1940.

This arrangement was made effective at the beginning of this month and has been of substantial benefit in augmenting the supply of power for essential war industry.

3. In the alternative, it might be incorporated in a broader statement. Refer to Dr. Skelton's draft "Note Re St. Lawrence-Niagara, 8 Nov. 1940" at page 6 following first paragraph and insert:

I may place on record the correspondence giving effect to this Agreement.

1. Note from the Secretary of State of the United States to the Canadian Minister to the United States, October 14, 1940.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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2. Note from the Canadian Minister to the United States to the Secretary of State of the United States, No. 316, October 14, 1940.

3. Note from the Canadian Minister to the United States to the Secretary of State of the United States, No. 340, October 31, 1940.

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C228610

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

file 243

Ottawa, November 9th, 1940.

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Since the attached note was written authority for release has been obtained from the United States Department of State of these three letters and of a fourth, which has not yet arrived in Ottawa. It is merely a formal acknowledgment of our letter of October 31st attached. This will be given to the Prime Minister as soon as it has been obtained.

J.E.R.

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ANONYMOUS.

CONFIDENTIAL

December, 1940

Waterways - St. Lawrence

Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Agreement

C228611

The 1940 draft covers substantially the same ground as the 1929 Niagara Convention plus the 1932 St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty:

1. development of the St. Lawrence between Kingston and Montreal for navigation and power;
2. preservation of the scenic values of Niagara Falls combined with increased utilization of Niagara power;
3. stabilization of Great Lakes levels and of the Chicago diversion.

In the decade that has elapsed since the previous Agreements were negotiated, there has been some change in the relative weight of the factors involved. Power is more important. Navigation is less urgent. Defence has latterly been thrust into the picture.

The problems to be dealt with have been modified in some respects. A large part of the development in the national section in the St. Lawrence has already taken place through the construction of the Beauharnois Canal. The reduction of the Chicago diversion has become an actuality, not a programme. Lake levels have been raised as a result of some years of greater average rainfall.

There is no material change in the obligations imposed on the Dominion. The financial basis remains the same - the costs of a deep waterway from the head of the Lakes to Montreal being divided practically equally between the United States and Canada, but Canada being credited with the $132,000,000, already spent on the New Welland Ship Canal. As will be noted below, the change in engineering plans has required a good deal of readjustment in the Canada - United States and the Canada - Ontario financial set-up, but the net result is that the estimated net new expenditure by the Dominion under the 1940 arrangement is some $4,000,000 less than under the 1932 Treaty.

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C228612

The main features of the development may be noted by comparing the 1932(and 1929) Agreements with the 1940 draft:-

I. Method of Control of Joint Development in International Section of St.Lawrence

1932	1940
Temporary St.Lawrence Commission of 10 members	Great Lakes - St.Lawrence Commission of not more than 10 members.
Empowered to construct all works except power houses.	Commission (a) to prepare plans (b) allot work to be done by each Government in its own territory (minor exceptions) (c) approve Government contracts and supervise construction.

II. Main Engineering Features of Development in St.Lawrence.

(a) International Rapids Section Double-Stage Development.	Controlled single-stage development
upper dam and power house at Crysler Island lower dam and power house at Barnhart Island. (27 foot canals around each dam)	control dam at Iroquois Point dam and power house at Barnhart(initial elevation 238') (27 foot canals around each dam)
Building of dikes	Same.
Purchase or Rehabilitation of flooded areas including Morrisburg and Iroquois (5,890 acres to be acquired in Canada)	Purchase or Rehabilitation of flooded areas, Morrisburg and Iroquois (16,910 acres to be acquired in Canada).

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1932	1940 C228613
(b) National Section	
i. Soulanges development on north shore for navigation and power: 27 foot canal	Canal already constructed on south shore at Beauharnois; dam and power houses already built. Locks remain to be built
ii. Lachine development for navigation and power: 27 foot canal.	No change
(Note: As there is relatively little saving by proceeding with power and navigation simultaneously as joint project and power would be more costly to develop than elsewhere, it is not probable power works will be constructed for several years.	No change
(c) Deep Waterway	
27 foot depth; 30 feet on lock sills	No change
In international section, one 27 foot canal in Canadian and one in United States territory	Both in United States territory
In national section, Cornwall to Montreal, and at Welland, three 27 foot canals, all in Canadian territory.	No change
(d) Power: International Section, 1,100,000 h.p. for each country	No material change
National Section, 3,000,000 h.p. available for Canada	No change; at Beauharnois (1,800,000 h.p. net) 2,000,000 h.p. produced or available.
III. Time of Completion of St. Lawrence Works	
Estimated at 7 years from date of Agreement	Say, 6 years (United States believe 5).
Declaration by Canada of intention to complete canals in Soulanges and Lachine area (and other links) not later than date of completion of waterway in International Rapids Section.	Agreement to complete same not later than Dec. 31, 1950, with provision for delay if desired on account of war. (Note: United States will want this modified; does not fit into picture of a defence project)

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IV Allocation of Costs

The adoption of the controlled single-stage project made possible a total saving to both countries of $35,000,000. From the Dominion stand-point, the drawback was that the chief saving accrued to power, (i.e. to Ontario), because of the necessity of building only one power house instead of two, and that the chief additional costs, because of larger diking and rehabilitation requirements, fell to the Dominion. Further, quite aside from the saving to Ontario and New York State through the change in plan, it was necessary to take account of the fact that the United States had promised New York State a $13,000,000 better bargain than the Dominion had previously promised Ontario. Under these circumstances it was difficult to keep the Dominions net cost from rising above the 1932 figure, but a fair solution has been tentatively secured; in fact, the net cost to the Dominion is some $4,000,000 less than under the 1932 arrangement. This was made possible by the United States agreeing to build and pay for both the canals in the International Section instead of one, and to assume an extra amount of $5,000,000 required for the rehabilitation of Morrisburg. Some concessions by Ontario and its assumption of the whole instead of half the cost of building the Ogoki (and Long Lake) diversions provided the balance.

In the International Rapids Section on the Canadian side the dams and substructures will be built by Canada and paid for by the United States. The purchase of lands and the rehabilitation of Iroquois will be paid for by Canada; the rehabilitation of Morrisburg by the United States. The power-houses will be built and the machinery installed by Ontario at its own cost. The total value of works to be built in Canada and paid for by the United States is $46,396,000.

The following tables indicate briefly the division of works and costs:

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Total costs of Deep Waterway, including power in International Section, and including both existing works and works to be constructed.

	Canada	United States	TOTAL
Under 1932 Treaty	$276,280,500	$280,950,500	$556,331,000
Under 1940 Draft	258,646,000	262,234,000	520,880,000
GROSS SAVING	$ 17,634,500	$17,816,500	$ 35,451,000
			132,371,000
			19,164,000

Existing works credited to each country.

Canada (of which New Welland Ship Canal - $131,900,000)

United States (Upper Lakes)

C228615

C228616

(iii) Gross New Expenditures by Federal Governments of Canada and United States.

	Canada		United States	
	1932 Treaty	1940 Draft	1932 Treaty	1940 Draft
Upper Lakes	605,000		45,395,000	42,500,000
Welland (to 27 ft.	1,100,000	1,100,000		
International Section				
Lands	5,698,000	14,011,000	3,134,000	4,657,000
Rehab. Iroquois	3,379,000	3,379,000		
Rehab. Morrisburg	5,024,000			5,024,000
Navig. works	8,219,000		25,969,000	34,720,000
Dams excav.			90,867,000	94,077,000
Power House substr.			58,591,000	37,461,000
National Section				
Lake St. Francis	1,330,000			
Soulange Section	25,785,000			
Lachine Section	55,839,000	82,954,000		
TOTAL	106,979,000	101,444,000	223,956,000	218,239,000

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(iv) Expenditure for Power by Ontario

	1932	1940
Power houses and machinery	$36,930,500	$24,831,000
Paid Federal government	67,202,500	61,700,000
		4,000,000
	$104,133,000	$90,531,000

(v) Net New Expenditure by Canadian Government.

	1932 Treaty	1940 Draft
Gross Expenditure	$106,979,000	$101,444,000
Less paid by Ontario International Section	67,202,500	61,700,000
	39,776,500	39,744,000
Ogoki diversion	4,000,000	
Net	$ 43,776,500	$ 39,744,000

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V. Time-table of Dominion Expenditures and Receipts

It will be noted that the total net capital expenditure to be undertaken by the Dominion is estimated at $39,744,000. The following break-up of this total, showing expenditures and receipts based on the time assumptions noted, has been made by the Engineer in charge:

ST. LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

ESTIMATED ANNUAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURES REQUIRED BY CANADA

Based on (a) Controlled Single Stage Project in International Rapids Section.
(b) Construction Period of 6 years in International Rapids Section.
(c) Draft Treaty and Draft Canada - Ontario Agreement of Dec. 21, 1940

Year	Expenditures in 1,000 dollars				Received from Ontario in 1,000 dollars	Net Expenditures by Canada in 1,000 dollars
	Welland Ship Canal	Int. Rapids Section	Canadian Section	Total		
1941		325		325		325
42		325		325		325
43		1,365		1,365		1,365
44		5,125		5,125		5,125
45		5,125	2,067	7,192		7,192
46		5,125	5,108	10,233		10,233
47	275		11,785	12,060	20,000	- 7,940
48	275		18,623	18,898	2,840	16,058
49	275		26,124	25,399	2,840	22,559
50	275		20,247	20,522	2,840	17,682
51					2,840	- 2,840
52					2,840	- 2,840
53-57	In five equal payments				27,500	-27,500
Totals	1,100	17,390	82,954	101,444	61,700	39,744

Dec. 24, 1940

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VI. Agreement with Ontario

The 1932 agreementlapsed under its own terms. The basis of a new agreement has been discussed between Mr. Howe and Dr. Hogg, and by engineers and legal advisers. A draft on the basis discussed has been prepared, (separate document), and sent to the Hydro-Electric Commission.

VII. Position as to Quebec

Protection of Quebec interests.

The Province of Quebec is not directly involved in the present project in the way that the Province of Ontario is. The works which the Dominion undertakes in the Quebec Section of the St. Lawrence are navigation projects which do not involve the present development of additional power, much less a contract for the sale of such power as in the case of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. The project has, however a definite indirect interest for Quebec which has been kept in mind in the discussions.

One interest is the physical or engineering question of the possible effect of the construction and operation of the works in the International Section on the power developments below Cornwall; the protection of the harbor of Montreal is also important but is of course primarily a federal responsibility. .Full provision has been made to meet any possible objection on this score. The plan of development in the International Section calls for a control dam in the upper section of the river, which is regarded as an essential feature of the project. The engineers are unanimous in the view that the dam at Barnhart Island will be so constructed as to prevent any possible damage to interests lower down the river. The possible raising of the 238 level to 242 is made contingent on continued

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continued experiment and agreement by both the Canadian and the United States Governments. A provision existed in the 1938 draft treaty to the following effect:-

> "during the construction and upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the flow of water out of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River shall be controlled and the flow of water through the International Section shall be regulated so that the navigable depths of water for shipping in the Harbor of Montreal and throughout the navigable channel of the St. Lawrence River below Montreal, as such depths now exist or may hereafter be increased by dredging or other harbor or channel improvements, shall not be injuriously affected by the construction or operation of such works".

This has been retained and the following clause added at the end of the paragraph:

> "and the power developments in the Canadian section of the St. Lawrence River shall not be adversely affected."

In addition it is understood that Quebec would be represented in the main Commission as well as in any control board established to supervise the Barnhart Island operation.

A further point which has been raised in Quebec is that there would be objection if the Ontario power development were given more advantageous terms than those granted to the development in Quebec, e.g., Beauharnois. In the case of Beauharnois, the Dominion insisted on making the company pay for 100% of the common works and provide free power for the operation of the canals. The question whether any modification should be made is one that will require governmental consideration. In any event account would presumably be taken of the policy of the Province of Quebec and of the Provincial Electricity Board of insisting on passing on any reductions in hydraulic development costs to domestic and other small consumers, as was done by order of the Board in January, 1939, in the reduction of $400,000 made by the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company.

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C228621

The division of costs of the common works in the International Rapids Section under the proposed agreement would be appropriately 28% to navigation and 72% to power. If the same basis had been applied to the Beauharnois development and the cost of the common works there to be at $14,649,000, navigation (i.e. the Dominion) would have some $4,102,000. At the same time it may be noted that the position would be reversed in the Lachine section, where common works may be taken at $7,559,000, of which on the same percentage division, $5,442,000 should be changed to power.

In a public statement on Oct. 16, 1940, Mr. Godbout expressed approval of the agreement regarding the International Rapids Section and Ogoki announced by Mr. King a few days earlier, as a distinct advantage to Canada as a whole and a benefit to Quebec. The St. Lawrence Waterways project, he added, would remain in abeyance pending further study by the Engineers Commission, on which Quebec would be interested "Until its task is completed, I do not see any reason to discuss the problem."

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VIII. Rehabilitation, International Rapids Section. C228622

The controlled single-stage project now proposed involves flooding between six and seven thousand acres more land on the Canadian side and nearly five thousand acres more on the United States side. Ample provision has been made in the Estimates for the acquisition of the land. In the case of the village of Iroquois and of a part of the town of Morrisburg, it will be necessary to take over these areas and provision has been made in the Estimates for compensation to present owners or rebuilding in adjoining areas. Iroquois and Morrisburg are affected in the same way in both the Controlled Single-state Project now proposed and in the Two-stage Project contemplated in 1932. The present project, however, involves the removal or compensation of a greater number of churches and cemeteries.

IX. Niagara

1929 Convention	1940 Draft
1. Remedial works to be built in Niagara River above the Falls to improve scenic qualities, on lines recommended by Special International Niagara Board Report of 1928	The Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Commission to prepare plans taking into account Niagara Board plans, and Governments may agree to build such work.
2. Cost of works (estimated at slightly over $1,000,000) to be borne equally by Hydro Electric Commission of Ontario and Niagara Falls Power Company of New York.	Cost to be divided between Canadian and U.S. Governments but Ontario Hydro to reimburse Canada.
3. Temporary diversion from the Niagara River above the Falls authorized for seven years, from October 1 to March 31 of each year, of 10,000 c.s.f. extra for power, on each side of the boundary.	On completion of works, diversions for whole year, without limitation of term, of 5,000 c.s.f. may be permitted on each side. The Commission after study may recommend other diversions or rearrangements of existing diversions.

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X. Great Lakes Levels: Ogoki Diversion inwards; Chidago Diversion outwards.

(a) Great Lakes Levels Compensation works to restore lake levels to be built in Niagara and St. Clair rivers.	Commission to report on necessity and prepare plans for decision of the two Governments.
(b) Diversion into Great Lakes To be credited for power purposes to the country diverting the waters (Ogoki and Long Lake)	Same: United States in October,1940, agreed to immediate use at Nipigon, Niagara and St. Lawrence of Ogoki and Long Lake amount, as part of forthcoming general agreement.
(c) Diversion from Great Lakes (Chicago)	Diversion has been thus reduced (over 5,000 c.s.f. reduction).
i. Chicago diversion to be reduced by end of 1938 to amount set in United States Supreme Court decree.	
ii. If United States proposes increase and Canada objects, question to be referred to arbitral tribunal.	If any increase is authorized and not agreed to by Canada, United States will submit to arbitral tribunal with power to direct compensatory or remedial measures.

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XI. Method of Approval of Agreement:

The 1932 agreement took the form of a Treaty, to be ratified on the one side by the President after approval by two-thirds of the Senate, and on the other by His Majesty after approval by a vote of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada. That Treaty was approved by a majority but not by the necessary two-thirds of the Senate.

The United States now suggest that approval be given by joint resolution (or statute) in both countries. The reason doubtless is the belief that it would be easier to get a majority in both Senate and House of Representatives than a two-third vote in the Senate alone. They argue that from Canada's stand-point this course will be as binding, and preferable in view of the fact that the House of Representatives would have to vote the money anyway from year to year and would be more likely to do so if they had already been consulted and had approved. Mr. Read has prepared a memo on the point.

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ODS/ET
23 Dec.1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

St.Lawrence Agreement C228925

If the Agreement is to be signed before Congress meets on January 4th,as the United States have indicated they would wish, a good deal of work remains to be done.

1. Agreement with the United States.

Enclosed is a revised draft of the Agreement,still in treaty form, embodying a few drafting changes we have made,none of them concerning points of substance. This is going down to the Legation today in response to a United States request. As soon as they receive it,they will probably suggest amendments covering a few points, particularly the question of procedure by resolution rather than by treaty ratification.

2. Agreement with Ontario

Mr.Read and the engineers have revised the draft agreement between the Dominion and Ontario which was discussed with the Hydro people some months ago. Copies of this revised draft are being sent to the Hydro Electric Commission today.

3. Notification to Quebec.

I am sending Mr.Cardin two copies of the latest draft of the treaty,suggesting that he might send one to the Province of Quebec if he thinks it advisable. (Not sent - Mr. Howe enclosed I/S)

It seems essential that some member or members of the Dominion Government should have a conversation very shortly with Mr.Godbout or some of his Ministers. Mr.Howe some months ago had a quite satisfactory conversation with Mr.Godbout, and other members of his Cabinet, but the Quebec angle of the situation should, if possible, be clinched definitely before the Agreement is signed.

O.D. SKELTON

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ODS/ET
23 Dec.1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE
PRIME MINISTER: . Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

ST.LAWRENCE AGREEMENT C228626

Procedure in the United States.

19 Dec. Attached is a note from Mahoney, together with three memoranda, A, B, and C, from the State Department, as to proceeding by joint resolution rather than treaty ratification. The memoranda were originally prepared back in 1939 for the use of the State Department itself. The short one "B" deals most directly with the question whether, from a legal standpoint, a joint resolution would be as satisfactory to Canada as a treaty.

Mr.Read is preparing a short note on the subject.

O. D. SKELTON

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PERSONAL COPY

CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON
December 19,1940

C228927

Dear Dr.Skelton:

In your telegram No. 277 of December 18 you asked me to secure for you from the State Department copies of the memorandum by Mr.Hackworth concerning the proposed Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin Agreement.

This matter has been discussed with Mr.Hickerson of the State Department. Mr.Hickerson regrets that it will not be possible for Mr. Hackworth to prepare at short notice a special memorandum for you. Mr. Hickerson has,however,been good enough to lend me a copy of memoranda prepared last February for Mr.Berle and himself,and has given me permission to have these memoranda copied and sent to you. He requests that the memoranda be not put in your official files.

Three copies of each of the memoranda are enclosed. They consist of a memorandum from Mr.Hackworth dated February 10 enclosing two memoranda dated February 3 which were prepared by Mr.Vallance under Mr.Hackworth's supervision. The second of these memoranda gives the answer to the following question:

> "If such a St.Lawrence Deep Waterway Agreement can legally be concluded with Canada in pursuance of a joint resolution of Congress, should not such an agreement be from a legal standpoint as satisfactory to Canada as a treaty?"

The file also includes an undated memorandum prepared by Miss Borjes at Mr.Hickerson's request. Miss Borjes is a member of the Bar and is a divisional assistant in the European Division. She gives a list of international agreements cited in Moore's International Law Digest which were not submitted to the Senate.

Yours sincerely,

M.M.MAHONEY

O.D.Skelton,Esquire,PH.D.,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa,Canada.

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C228628

A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Legal Adviser

February 10, 1939.

Eu
Mr. Hickerson:

A-B
Mr. Berle:

Pursuant to our conversation some days ago, I have had Mr. Vallance assemble material on the question of bringing about an agreement concerning the proposed St. Lawrence Waterway project by an executive agreement approved by concurrent legislation in the United States and Canada.

Mr. Vallance has discussed a three-step method of procedure, namely (1) enabling legislation, (2) an agreement between the two Governments, and (3) approval by the legislative bodies of the two countries.

There is, however, another method that could be followed which would shorten the process, that is to say, the conclusion of an agreement subject to approval by the Congress and the Canadian Parliament. This would be more expeditious but it would involve greater risk of failure of legislative approval in the absence of the prior authorizations.

A

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A further argument in favor of the legality, in so far as the United States is concerned, of either process is the fact that the whole project is primarily one of commerce and navigation falling within the jurisdiction of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution (Article I, Section 8). The conversion of the proposed treaty into a simple agreement, subject to approval by the legislative bodies of the two countries, would be merely a matter of drafting.

Green H. Hackworth.

Le GHH:AD

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C228630

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Legal Adviser

MEMORANDUM

February 3, 1939

Question 1. Would it be legal to conclude an arrangement with Canada concerning the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project on the basis of a joint resolution of Congress?

It is understood that this question contemplates the adoption by the Congress of a joint resolution authorizing the President to enter into an arrangement with Canada for the construction of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project. The Constitutional question involved is whether the procedure set forth in Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution is the exclusive method whereby the United States can assume international obligations. Article II, Section 2, provides in part as follows:

> "He (the President) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur."

The Constitution does not contain any statement that arrangements with foreign governments can only be effected by following the procedure laid down with respect to a treaty.

In

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In support of the view that it would be legal to reach an agreement with Canada concerning the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project, reference is made to the trade or reciprocity agreements with other countries concluded by Presidents of the United States in pursuance of authority conferred by acts of Congress passed only by a majority of both Houses. In the case of B. Altman and Company v. United States, 224 U.S. 583, concerning a reciprocal commercial agreement between the United States and France (30 Stat. 1774), Mr. Justice Day, a former Secretary of State, in writing the unanimous opinion of the court upholding the right of appeal under Section 5 of the Circuit Court of Appeals Act, made the following statements:

> "While it may be true that this commercial agreement, made under authority of the Tariff Act of 1897, s3, was not a treaty possessing the dignity of one requiring ratification by the Senate of the United States, it was an international compact, negotiated between the representatives of two sovereign nations and made in the name and on behalf of the contracting countries, and dealing with important commercial relations between the two countries, and was proclaimed by the President. If not technically a treaty requiring ratification, nevertheless it was a compact authorized by the Congress of the United States, negotiated and proclaimed under the authority of its President. We think such a compact is a treaty under the Circuit Court of Appeals Act, and, where its construction is directly involved, as it is here, there is a right of review by direct appeal to this court." (224 U.S. 601)

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In the case of United States v. Belmont, 301 U.S. 324, the question was raised whether a deposit in the defendant's bank was transferred to the United States by the so-called Litvinoff Agreement. In upholding the validity of the agreement, the Supreme Court stated:

> "The recognition, establishment of diplomatic relations, the assignment, and agreements with respect thereto, were all parts of one transaction, resulting in an international compact between the two governments ..... The assignment and the agreements in connection therewith did not, as in the case of treaties, as that term is used in the treaty making clause of the Constitution (Art. II, §2), require the advice and consent of the Senate.
>
> "A treaty signifies 'a compact made between two or more independent nations with a view to the public welfare.' Altman & Co. v. United States, 224 U.S. 583, 600. But an international compact, as this was, is not always a treaty which requires the participation of the Senate. There are many such compacts, of which a protocol, a modus vivendi, a postal convention, and agreements like that now under consideration are illustrations. See 5 Moore, Int. Law Digest, 210-221."

Section 398 of the Revised Statutes (U.S.C. Title 5, Section 372) provided that the Postmaster General, "by and with the advice and consent of the President, may negotiate and conclude postal treaties or conventions, and may reduce or increase the rates of postage on mail matter conveyed between the United States and foreign countries."

The Postmaster General has concluded a great many

postal

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postal conventions with foreign countries pursuant to this provision by and with the advice and consent of the President, but without obtaining the advice and consent of two thirds of the Senate. The Constitutionality of postal conventions with foreign countries concluded under the authority of this act was upheld by Solicitor General Taft in 1890 (19 Op. Att. Gen. p.520). This opinion reads in part as follows:

> "From the foundation of the Government to the present day, then, the Constitution has been interpreted to mean that the power vested in the President to make treaties, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate, does not exclude the right of Congress to vest in the Postmaster-General power to conclude conventions with foreign governments for the cheaper, safer, and more convenient carriage of foreign mails . . . . The delegation of these implied powers by Congress to the Postmaster General, sanctioned by usage since the adoption of the Constitution, on the principles laid down in the case of Ware v. United States, supra, has acquired constitutional validity."

The provision contained in section 398 R.S. authorizing the negotiation of postal conventions was reenacted with an amendment by the Act of Congress of June 12, 1934 (58 Stat. 943).

This method of entering into international agreements was upheld by the courts in the decision in the case of United States v. Four Packages of Cut Diamonds, 247 Fed. 354, which reads in part as follows:

> "Article 16 of the Universal Postal Convention, dated May 26, 1906, under the title 'Prohibition,' provides:
>
> "'It is forbidden to *** insert in ordinary or registered correspondence consigned to the post (b) articles liable to customs duty.'
>
> "When these packages of diamonds were inserted or consigned to the post, it was a violation of the terms of this Postal Convention which has been adopted by the United States as well as by Cuba. Section 3, paragraph H, of the Tariff Act of October 3, 1913, provides for forfeiture of consignments of merchandise into the commerce of the United States which violated any of its provisions.

The reading/

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> The reading of this section does not state how the importation may be made, whether by express, freight, or mail. Then, again, the adoption of these Postal Convention laws does not make a violation of any of its provisions a violation of the law. The Postal Conventions cannot be deemed treaties, because they are not adopted by the Senate, and they cannot be deemed statutes, because Congress alone has power to adopt statutes, and that power cannot be delegated. They cannot be considered treaties, because the treaty-making power is confined in the President and the Senate by the Constitution. They are but provisions which determine what merchandise may be received in the mail, but in this case it was a medium for introduction into the commerce of the United States. If it was a violation of the Universal Postal Convention's rules, it is a means of introduction which is accomplished by a forbidden fraudulent practice, such as is condemned by the statute under which forfeiture is claimed. I therefore think that the contention of the government as to three of these packages must be sustained upon this ground." (247 Fed. 358) /Underscoring added/

The trade agreements which have been negotiated under authority conferred on the President by the Trade Agreements Act of June 12, 1934, (48 Stat. 943) also constitute precedents for the proposed agreement with Canada. The courts have upheld provisions of this act.

(As the answer to question 2 takes the grounds upon which an agreement concluded with Canada, in pursuance of a joint resolution, should be satisfactory to Canada as a treaty and may be used separately in discussions with Canadian officials, it is typed in as a separate memorandum).

Question 3. What general procedure should be followed if an agreement by joint resolution is decided upon by the President?

Either of two methods of procedure could be followed. The first would be similar to that adopted in the case of the trade agreements, namely, passage by Congress of a joint resolution authorizing the President, within certain limitations, to conclude the agreement, and to bring it into force by proclamation. The second would be authorization legislation and subsequent approval of the agreement by the Congress. The latter method was

followed/

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followed in connection with the Debt Settlement Agreements concluded between the United States and foreign countries under the Act of Congress of February 9, 1922 (42 Stat. 363).

Question 4. What precedents are there for reaching agreements by joint resolution after a treaty has been signed but not ratified other than annexation of Texas and Hawaii?

In the case of Texas it might be recalled that when the treaty of April 12, 1844 for the annexation failed to receive a two-thirds vote by the Senate the annexation was accomplished by a joint resolution passed on March 1, 1845 (5 Stat. 797) by a simple majority, the vote in the Senate being 27 for the resolution and 25 against it. With respect to this action Secretary of State Calhoun wrote to the American Chargé d'Affaires in Texas as follows:

> "It is now admitted that what was sought to be effected by the Treaty submitted to the Senate, may be secured by a joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress incorporating all its provisions. This mode of effecting it will have the advantage * of the two Houses, instead of two thirds of the Senate."

*of requiring only a majority

In the case of Hawaii the treaty was signed on June 16, 1897 but it was ascertained that it would not receive the approval of two thirds of the Senate. Thereafter a joint resolution was passed by Congress on July 7, 1898 (30 Stat. 750). A certified copy of the resolution was delivered on August 12, 1898 to the President of the Republic of Hawaii by the American Minister when the formalities of the transfer took place (1 Moore Digest 510).

A somewhat/

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C228636

A somewhat similar situation existed with respect to the reciprocal tariff arrangement between the United States and Canada which President Taft had negotiated in 1911. As it was realized that a treaty for this purpose could not obtain a vote of two thirds of the Senate an understanding was reached by which both countries were to pass acts providing for certain tariff reductions on the goods imported into their respective countries from the other. On July 26, 1911, President Taft approved the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to Promote Reciprocal Trade Relations with the Dominion of Canada, and for other Purposes" (37 Stat. 4), which set forth duties to be collected on articles produced or manufactured in the Dominion of Canada with the following proviso:

> "Provided, That the articles above enumerated, the growth, product, or manufacture of the Dominion of Canada, shall be exempt from duty when the President of the United States shall have satisfactory evidence and shall make proclamation that the following articles, the growth, product, or manufacture of the United States or any of its possessions (except the Philippine Islands and the Islands of Guam and Tutuila), are admitted into the Dominion of Canada free of duty, namely:" (37 Stat. 10)

A list of articles to be admitted free of duty into Canada was then enumerated. Section 3 of the Act read as follows:

> "SEC. 3. That for the purpose of further readjusting the duties on importations into the United States of article or articles the growth, product, or manufacture of the Dominion of Canada, and of the exportation into the Dominion of Canada of article or articles the growth, product, or manufacture of the United States, the President of the United States is authorized and requested to negotiate trade agreements with the Dominion of Canada wherein mutual concessions are made looking toward freer trade relations and the further reciprocal expansion of trade and commerce: Provided, however, That said trade agreements before becoming operative shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States for ratification or rejection." (37 Stat. 12)

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In addition to the tariff reciprocity agreements hereinbefore mentioned which were negotiated by Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, the Reciprocity Arrangement with Canada and the postal conventions, particular attention is invited to the joint resolution passed on July 2, 1921 (42 Stat. 105), declaring "that the state of war declared to exist" between the United States and Germany and between the United States and Austria on April 6 and December 7, 1917 respectively, "is hereby declared at an end". The previous practice for the termination of a war was by means of a treaty of peace between the belligerent parties. Certain members of Congress opposed the adoption of the joint resolution on the ground that Congress was not competent to make peace by means of a joint resolution. The view of the majority was that since the state of war had been created by a resolution of Congress, it could be terminated by the same authority and by the same procedure.

A further precedent is found in the Joint Resolution of June 19, 1934 which authorized the President "to accept membership for the Government of the United States of America in the International Labor Organization" (48 Stat. 1182). The constitution of the International Labor Organization which was Part XIII of the rejected Treaty of Versailles contains far-reaching provisions obligating the United States in some cases to submit draft conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Conference to the competent authority or authorities.

Reference may also be made to the debt agreements with foreign countries concluded under the authority

of/

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of the Act of Congress of February 9, 1922 (42 Stat. 363) as a precedent for the second method of procedure above described. The World War Foreign Debt Commission created by that act concluded agreements with various foreign countries for the funding of their war debts to the United States. These agreements were approved by the President and Congress by a majority vote but were not subject to ratification by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, two thirds of the Senators concurring. In some cases, such as that of the agreement with Italy, the vote of the Senate was less than two thirds, which would have been required had the agreements been in the form of treaties.

A number of joint resolutions authorizing the construction of bridges across international boundary streams have been passed by Congress with the understanding that similar authorizing legislation had been or would be passed by the Canadian Parliament. A recent instance of such action is Public Resolution No. 117, 75th Congress entitled "Joint Resolution Creating the Niagara Falls Bridge Commission and authorizing said commissions and its successors to construct, maintain and operate a bridge across the Niagara River at or near the City of Niagara Falls, New York" approved July 16, 1938. Bill 15 entitled "An Act to Incorporate Niagara Falls Observation Bridge Company" was passed by the Canadian House of Commons on May 10, 1938.

Construction of tunnels under boundary waters between the United States and Canada has been authorized so far as the part in the United States up to the international boundary line is concerned by a Presidential license. It is understood that construction of the part of the tunnel in Canada has been authorized by an Order in

Council/

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Council. On November 11, 1927 President Coolidge issued a Presidential license to the Detroit-Ontario Subway Incorporated authorizing the Company to construct, operate and maintain a tunnel from a point in or near Brush or Randolf Street in the City of Detroit to a point on the international boundary line under the Detroit River.

The operation of ferries on boundary waters is also carried on between the United States and Canada under the provisions of Section 7 of the Canadian Ferries Act, Chapter 68 of the Revised Statutes of Canada 1927 and Orders in Council issued thereunder and so far as the United States is concerned under the Provisions of Revised Statutes Section 2792 as amended (19 U.S.C. 289) and Section 441 (2) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (See 711. 42155 Ferries/66 and/68.)

Reciprocal acceptance of foreign certificates of inspection of steamboats is also arranged with foreign countries in accordance with the provisions of 46 U.S. Code, Section 362 which provides that any foreign passenger steamers belonging to countries having inspection laws approximating those of the United States and having unexpired certificates of inspection issued by the proper authorities in the respective countries to which they belong, shall be subject to no other inspection than necessary to satisfy the local inspectors that the condition of the vessel, her boilers and life saving equipment are as stated in the current certificate of inspection but no such certificate of inspection shall be accepted as evidence of lawful inspection except when presented by steam vessels of other countries which have by their laws accorded to the steam vessels of the United States visiting such countries the same privilege accorded to the steam vessels of such countries visiting the United States.

Le:WRV:HJM:SS

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B

MEMORANDUM

February 3, 1939.

If such a St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Agreement can legally be concluded with Canada in pursuance of a joint resolution of Congress, should not such an agreement be from a legal standpoint as satisfactory to Canada as a treaty?

Such an agreement entered into with Canada pursuant to the joint resolution of Congress would be as binding in the United States as a treaty negotiated under the Constitutional authority contained in Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution above quoted, and ratified after receiving the advice and consent of two thirds of the Senate. The following grounds in support of this view are set forth:

1. Appropriations to provide the necessary funds to carry out the agreement must originate in the House of Representatives and require the majority of the House for their enactment. (Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution).

Although treaties concluded with foreign governments involving the expenditure of money have thus far been executed by the appropriation of the necessary funds through appropriation bills originating in the House of Representatives, so far as I am aware no treaty that the United States has entered into in the past has required the appropriation of anything approximating the amount necessary to carry out the obligations of the United States under the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project. Furthermore, the amounts appropriated would normally be on an annual basis upon the progress of the work and the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives would, therefore, be called upon to deal with the subject annually until completion of the project. Canada should, therefore, prefer an agreement negotiated on the basis of a joint resolution of Congress in which the House of Representatives was equally obligated with the Senate rather than a treaty in the conclusion of which the House of Representatives had no voice.

2. An Executive/

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2. An Executive agreement concerning the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project could be enforced to the same extent as a treaty between the United States and Canada dealing with the same subject. If a treaty were brought into full force and effect between the United States and Canada on this subject it would for practical purposes become inoperative if the Congress failed to enact necessary legislation, or enacted legislation inconsistent with its terms. Canada would be no better off with a treaty than with an Executive agreement based upon a joint resolution of Congress. In either case the performance of the obligations undertaken by the United States would depend upon its decision to live up to its international promises. If the United States should undertake obligations under an Executive agreement of this character it is not to be supposed that it would fail to perform them.

3. An Executive agreement on the subject would doubtless provide for the arbitration of differences in much the same way that a treaty would deal with the subject. Canada would, therefore, have nothing to gain from a treaty in this respect.

WILLIAM R. VALLANCE

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Among international agreements cited in Moore's International Law Digest, Vol. V, pp. 210-218, which were not submitted to the Senate may be mentioned the following:

(1) A memorandum of agreement was drawn up and signed by Abbott Lawrence, American Minister, and Lord Palmerston, of the British Foreign Office, on December 9, 1850, by which the Canadian territory of Horseshoe Reef in the Niagara River was ceded to the United States for the purpose of erecting a lighthouse thereon. No ratification occurred on either side. Congress appropriated money for the erection of the lighthouse..

(2) On February 11, 1871, the American Minister to Spain addressed a note to the Spanish Minister of State formulating his understanding of an agreement which had been reached through conference and correspondence relative to certain claims of American citizens arising from acts of the Spanish authorities in Cuba. The settlement was reported to Congress for its information, appropriations were voted to carry on the arbitration, an international committee was organized, and after nearly twelve years of labor awards against Spain were made and duly paid, all this being accomplished by a mere exchange of notes.

(3) The Joint Resolution of Congress of March 3, 1883, provided for the termination of the fishing articles of the treaty of May 8, 1871, having repealed in terms the acts of Marchl, 1873 for the execution of the fishing articles. A temporary diplomatic agreement was therefore entered into between the Government of the United States and the British Government whereby the fishing privileges, which would otherwise have terminated in the midst of the fishing season, were continued through the season of 1885.

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The Secretary of State announced: "As part of this agreement the President will bring the whole question of the fisheries before Congress at its next session in December and recommend the appointment of a joint commission by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to consider the matter, in the interest of maintaining good neighborhood and friendly intercourse between the two countries ***."

(4) On August 10, 1899, Brig. Gen. J. C. Bates negotiated with the Sultan of Sulu and his principal chiefs an agreement by the first articles of which the sovereignty of the United States was acknowledged over the whole of the Sulu Archipelago, and it was agreed, inter alia, that the United States should not sell any island of the archipelago without the Sultan's consent, and that certain salaries should be paid to the Sultan and his associates in the administration of the islands. The agreement was made subject to confirmation by the President and to future modifications by the consent of the parties in interest. President McKinley, in his annual message to Congress December 5, 1899, said: "I have confirmed said agreement, subject to the action of the Congress ***." However, the agreement was not submitted to the Senate as a treaty nor does any affirmative action appear to have been taken by Congress on the agreement. On March 14, 1904, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives confirming the action of the President and the Secretary of War in unqualifiedly abrogating the agreement entered into with the Sultan.

(5) "Doubtless the most important international agreement ever entered into by the Executive of the United States without the advice and consent of the Senate, was the armistice, or peace protocol, with Spain, concluded at Washington August 12, 1898. This protocol constituted upon its face a preliminary treaty of peace; but in its stipulation for the immediate evacuation by Spain of Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, in connection with the promise, made in the same instrument, of the subsequent formal cession of those islands to the United States, it seemed in a measure to anticipate the definitive peace."

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PAPIER DE COULEUR

SECRET

DRAFT CANADA - ONTARIO AGREEMENT

ST. LAWRENCE DEVELOPMENT

AGREEMENT made this _____ day of January, 1941 between

The Government of Canada herein represented by _____

_____ and hereinafter

referred to as Canada of the first part

And the Government of Ontario herein represented by

_____ and hereinafter

referred to as Ontario of the second part:

WHEREAS a treaty (Agreement), hereinafter referred to as the treaty, is now in process of negotiation between His Majesty in respect of Canada and the President of the United States of America for the purpose of the utilization of the waters in the Great Lakes—St. Lawrence Basin; and

WHEREAS the proposed treaty makes provision for the construction of certain works in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, hereinafter referred to as the International Rapids Section, through which runs the international boundary between Canada and the United States of America, some of which will be used solely for navigation, hereinafter referred to as the navigation works; some of which will be used solely for the development of power, hereinafter referred to as the power works; and some of which will be used in common both for navigation and for the development of power, hereinafter referred to as the common works; and

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WHEREAS it is intended that the Canadian share of the power developed in the International Rapids Section will be available to Ontario; and

WHEREAS it is desirable that an Agreement should be made between Canada and Ontario concerning the construction and use of the works in the International Rapids Section, the apportionment between them of the costs thereof, and the use of the water available for the development of power; and

WHEREAS it is desirable to regulate and define the rights and obligations of Canada and Ontario in respect of diversions of water into the Great Lakes System, and in respect of the utilization of the flow of the waters of the Niagara River:

NOW THEREFORE THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH:

ARTICLE I

This Agreement is conditional upon the negotiation and ratification of a treaty which provides for the construction of a Controlled Single Stage Project in the International Rapids Section as described in Schedule A, Part I, which is attached to and made part of this Agreement.

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ARTICLE II

Canada undertakes to provide on the Canadian side of the international boundary all navigation works, all common works, and certain of the power works, which power works are more particularly described in Schedule A, Part II, and, after completion, Canada will assume responsibility for the operation and maintenance of all such navigation and common works: Ontario will assume responsibility for the provision of all other power works on the Canadian side of the international boundary.

ARTICLE III

At a date not later than the date of the first payment of the sum of Twenty Million Dollars ($20,000,000) under the provisions of Article XI, the Canadian power works in the International Rapids Section, which are described in Schedule A, Part II, and all lands connected therewith, shall become the property of Ontario; and Ontario will be responsible for the operation and maintenance thereof.

ARTICLE IV

Canada assumes responsibility for the provision of all lands and, on the date referred to in Article III, will assure to Ontario such lands as are required for power works, including high tension switching. In addition, and in the event that any lands required for transmission lines have been acquired by Canada in consequence of transactions connected with works under this Agreement, Canada will make such

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of these lands as are required available to Ontario for transmission purposes, provided that such use of the lands by Ontario would not interfere with their use by Canada for the purpose for which they were acquired.

ARTICLE V

Ontario shall be responsible for the design of all power works on the Canadian side of the international boundary, and its approval shall be obtained as to the stability, suitability and adequacy of all common works, except those relating to 14-ft. navigation; and Canada shall be responsible for the design of all navigation and common works, and its approval shall be obtained as to the provision for the passage and for the regulation of water through all power structures and as to the stability and suitability of power structures, in so far as they may affect navigation.

ARTICLE VI

Canada shall make available to Ontario for the development of power all the Canadian share of the flow of the water in the International Rapids Section, being ..... one-half of the water available for power purposes in the International Rapids Section; and Ontario shall be deemed to be the owner of the Canadian share of water power in the International Rapids Section, and shall have, solely for power purposes, the perpetual right to the use, in common with Canada, of the common works. .....

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ARTICLE VII

Ontario assumes responsibility for all costs and charges on account of the Ogoki River diversion and the Long Lac diversion, and on account of the remedial works in the Niagara River, in the vicinity of Niagara Falls on the Canadian side of the international boundary, as recommended by the Final Report of the Special International Niagara Board, and to the extent of the estimated costs of such remedial works, as set out in Appendix III of the Convention and Protocol between Canada and the United States regarding the Niagara Falls and the Niagara River signed at Ottawa, January 2, 1929. Ontario undertakes to proceed with such diversions in accordance with ... commitments already made, and to proceed with the construction of remedial works pursuant to the provisions of the treaty.

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ARTICLE VIII

Canada agrees that Ontario may make arrangements for the enjoyment and exercise by The Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario, of all Ontario's rights and benefits under this Agreement.

ARTICLE IX

Ontario will furnish, at cost, such power as may from time to time be required by Canada for the operation of the navigation works and for other purposes of navigation in the International Rapids Section.

ARTICLE X

Canada undertakes that on any International Boards or other bodies, directing the design or construction of the works provided for in the treaty or directing the regulation or control of the flow of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence river for navigation and power, Ontario, at all times, shall have adequate and acceptable representation.

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ARTICLE XI

In consideration of the premises, Ontario will pay to Canada, in full payment for everything under this Agreement, the sum of Sixty-one million seven hundred thousand dollars ($61,700,000), payable as follows:

Twenty million dollars ($20,000,000) one year after power is first developed and sold from the power works, or in two years after completion of the common works and the power works described in Schedule A, Part II of this Agreement, whichever date is earlier;

Two million eight hundred and forty thousand dollars ($2,840,000) per year for five years, commencing one year after the first payment aforesaid;

Five million five hundred thousand dollars ($5,500,000) per year for five years, commencing six years after the first payment aforesaid.

ARTICLE XII

In addition to the provisions of Article XI, Ontario undertakes to indemnify Canada against any charges or expenses incurred in respect of the power works, other than those which are described in Schedule A Part II of this Agreement, such indemnification to be made from time to time as the charges or expenses are incurred.

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ARTICLE XIII

Canada undertakes that, if Ontario diverts waters into the Great Lakes Basin, Ontario will have the right to the us of additional waters, equivalent in quantity to the waters so diverted, for the development of power from the point or points of diversion to the easterly end of the International Rapids Section.

ARTICLE XIV

This Agreement is made subject to its approval by the Parliament of Canada and by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario. If, however, the treaty has not been concluded between and ratified by the High Contracting Parties thereto within three years from the date of this Agreement, either party hereto may, notwithstanding such approval, on notice to the other, cancel this Agreement.

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SCHEDULE A

to the

DRAFT CANADA-ONTARIO AGREEMENT

ST. LAWRENCE DEVELOPMENT

Reference should be made to Article I, Article II, Article V and Article XI.

PART I

The scheme of development shall conform generally to that known as a Controlled Single Stage Project, described in the Annex to the treaty, the features of which are as follows:

1. A control dam in the vicinity of Iroquois Point.

2. A dam in the Long Sault Rapids at the head of Barnhart Island and two powerhouses, one on either side of the international boundary, at the foot of Barnhart Island.

3. A side canal, with one lock on the United States mainland to carry navigation around the Control Dam, and a side canal, with one guard gate and two locks, on the United States mainland south of Barnhart Island to carry navigation from above the main Long Sault Dam to the river south of Cornwall Island. All locks to provide 30-ft. depth of water on the mitre sills and to be of the general dimensions of those on the Welland Ship Canal. All navigation canals to be excavated to 27-ft. depth.

4. Dykes, where necessary on the United States and Canadian sides of the International boundary, to retain the pond level above the Long Sault Dam.

5. Channel enlargement from the head of Galop Island to below Lotus Island designed to give a maximum velocity in the navigation channel south of Galop Island not exceeding four feet per second at any time.

6. Channel enlargement between Lotus Island and the control dam and from above Point Three Points to below Ogden Island designed to give a maximum mean velocity in any cross-section not exceeding two and one-quarter feet per second with the flow and at the stage to be permitted on the 1st of January of any year, under regulation of outflow and levels of Lake Ontario.

7. The necessary railroad and highway modifications on either side of the international boundary.

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8. The necessary works to permit the continuance of 14-ft. navigation on the Canadian side around the control dam and from the pond above the Long Sault Dam to connect with the existing Cornwall Canal.

9. The rehabilitation of the towns of Iroquois and Morrisburg, Ontario.

All the works in the pond below the control dam shall be designed to provide for operation initially with the water level at the Barnhart Island powerhouses held to a maximum elevation 238.0 and ultimately with the maximum water level possible with all gates in the control dam open.

PART II

The power works which Canada undertakes to provide in Article II of this Agreement shall comprise generally, all excavation, disposal and fill, unwatering, headrace, tailrace, sluiceways, concrete bulkheads, embankments, railway and roadway connections incidental to the power development and the powerhouse substructure and headworks complete up to the floor and deck level of each respectively, ready for the erection of the powerhouse superstructure and the installation of equipment. They are to be constructed according to the design provided for in Article V of this Agreement.

The powerhouse substructure shall include headworks, gates, racks, unwatering gates, gate checks, all gate-operating equipment, intakes, water passages, draft tubes, tailrace piers and deck, all covers for openings, railings, gratings, ladders, drains, piping, conduit, pit liners, speed rings, throat rings, draft-tube liners, scroll cases (whether moulded in concrete or of cast or plate steel), and all parts embedded in the substructure incidental thereto or connected therewith. The substructure shall be of sufficient

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dimensions to accommodate all equipment and apparatus including transformers and shall provide the necessary space for assembly, operation and maintenance.

The power works, payment for which is provided for in Article XI of this Agreement, shall be as described above in this Part II of Schedule "A".

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PAPIER DE COULEUR

J.E READ

JER/S
Jan. 2/41

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

C22[illegible]

PRESS NOTICE

Meeting of St. Lawrence Committees

As a result of an exchange of Notes between the Governments of Canada and of the United States, October 14, 1940, two committees were set up to co-operate in the making of an engineering investigation of the St. Lawrence development in the International Rapids Section.

The Canadian Committee, which is known as "The Canadian Temporary Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Committee", consists of four members:-

Mr. Guy A. Lindsay, Chairman,
Department of Transport;

Dr. Thomas Hogg,
Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario;

Dr. Olivier O. Lefebvre,
Quebec Streams Commission;

Mr. J. E. Read,
Department of External Affairs.

The United States Committee, which is known as the St. Lawrence Advisory Committee, is under the Chairmanship of Mr. Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission. Associated with him are Mr. A. A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State; Brig.-Gen. Thomas M. Robins of the Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army; and Mr. Gerald V. Cruise, representative of the trustees of the power authority of the State of New York.

These committees will meet in Ottawa this afternoon, and also on the morning of January third, in order to discuss certain engineering phases of the St.Lawrence development.

The Canadian representatives at the meeting will be Mr. Read, Dr. Hogg and Dr. Lefebvre and associated with them will be Mr. Norman Marr of the Dominion Water and Power Bureau, Department of Mines and Resources. Mr. Guy A. Lindsay is prevented by illness from being present, and Mr. Thomas R. Moore of the Department of Transport will take his place at the meeting.

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ODS/ET
2 Jan.1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE
PRIME MINISTER:

Waterways - St. Lawrence

ST.LAWRENCE

C228656

As indicated in Tuesday's memorandum, the Engineering Committees will be here Thursday afternoon,with Berle and Hickerson to follow Friday afternoon.

Would you find it possible or desirable to give a half hour Saturday morning,say, to hear from Berle and Hickerson the considerations affecting ratification versus joint legislation? Mr.Read could be present also. You have his memorandum. It would not be necessary to make a decision on the spot,but I think it would help to get their view firsthand.

For some reason not explained, the State Department have suggested the Agreement be signed in Ottawa rather than in Washington. Full powers were got last spring for Christie to sign, and he will be back in Washington by the 12th or 15th. It is not easy in these times to get new powers. However,on this point too the views of Berle and Hickerson might be secured if you thought advisable.

O.D.S.

O. D SKELTON

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Jan.2/41

PRESS NOTICE

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PROJET DE COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

Réunion des Comités du St. Laurent

Comme résultat d'un échange de notes entre les Gouvernements du Canada et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique du 14 octobre 1940, deux comités ont été constitués en vue de collaborer dans les travaux d'investigation technique du projet du St. Laurent dans la Section internationale des Rapides.

Le Comité canadien, connu sous le nom de "Comité temporaire canadien du bassin des Grands Lacs et Fleuve St. Laurent, ~~consiste~~ se compose de quatre membres:-

M. Guy A. Lindsay, Président,
Ministère des Transports;

Le Docteur Thomas Hogg,
Commission Hydro-Electrique d'Ontario;

Le Docteur Olivier O. Lefebvre,
Commission des Eaux courantes de Québec;

M. J.E. Read,
Ministère des Affaires extérieures.

Le Comité des Etats-Unis, connu sous le nom de "Comité consultatif du St. Laurent" fonctionne sous la présidence de M. Leland Olds de la "Federal Power Commission". Associés avec lui sont M. A.A. Berle, Secrétaire d'Etat adjoint; le Brigadier-Général Thomas M. Robins du Corps d'ingénieurs de l'Armée des Etats-Unis; et M. Gerald V. Cruise, représentant des Commissaires du Service d'énergie électrique de l'Etat de New-York.

Ces deux comités se réuniront à Ottawa cette après-midi ainsi que dans la matinée du 3 janvier afin de discuter certaines phases techniques du projet du St. Laurent.

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Les représentants canadiens à ces réunions seront M. Read, le Docteur Hogg et le Docteur Lefebvre, et associé à eux sera M. Norman Marr du Bureau fédéral d'Energie électrique, Ministère des Transports. M. Guy A. Lindsay sera absent pour cause de maladie, et M. Thomas R. Moore, du Ministère des Transports, le remplacera aux réuhions.

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ST. LAWRENCE DOCUMENTS

1. Draft Report (covering the meetings held January 2, 3 and 4, 1941).

2. Draft Treaty.

3. Draft Joint Report from Temporary Great Lakes—St. Lawrence Basin Committees.

4. Draft Engineering Report.

5. Estimate of Costs annexed to Engineering Report.

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Jan.7/41.
JER/B

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DRAFT REPORT

1. The Canadian Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Committee and the United States St. Lawrence Advisory Committee met at Ottawa January 2nd and 3rd, 1941, with a view to furnishing a joint report on the preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin project which is located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River.

2. The Committees have prepared a joint report addressed to the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada, submitting a report of a board of engineers as embodying the conclusions of the Committees and their recommendations which are that if the Governments decide to proceed with the development of the International Rapids Section, the work should be undertaken in general accordance with the plan of the "238-242" Controlled Single Project described therein.

3. The draft report, dated January 3, 1941, of the board of engineers, to be signed by General Robins and Mr. Lindsay, is included as Appendix A.

The annex to this Report, which sets forth the estimates of costs, is included as Appendix B. The joint report of the Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Committees, dated January 3, 1941, is included as Appendix C.

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4. The work of the Committees was completed at one p.m. January 3, and furnished the basis for the negotiations with regard to a Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Treaty, which commenced at 2.30 p.m. on the same day.

5. In the negotiations the United States was represented by: A. A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State; J. Hickerson, Department of the Secretary of State; Brig.-Gen. Thomas M. Robins, United States Corps of Engineers; Leland Olds, Chairman Federal Power Commission; Gerald V. Cruise, Representative (and Chief Engineer) of the Trustees of the Power Authority of the State of New York; Professor James Bonbright; and Jay P. Moffatt, United States Minister to Canada.

They were assisted for part of the time by Colonel Jones, Colonel Grant and Mr. Fifer, United States Corps of Engineers' Office (St. Lawrence District) at Massena.

6. The Canadian Government was represented by J. E. Read, Legal Adviser, and Hugh L. Keenleyside, Counsellor, of the Department of External Affairs; Thomas R. Moore, Engineer, Department of Transport (acting for Mr. Guy A. Lindsay); Norman Marr, Chief Engineer, Dominion Water and Power Bureau, Department of Mines and Resources; Dr. Thomas Hogg, Chairman and Chief Engineer, Hydro Electric Power Commission

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of Ontario; and Dr. Olivier Lefebvre, Vice-Chairman, Quebec Streams Commission.

They were assisted by Escott Reid, Second Secretary, Canadian Legation, Washington; Max Wershof, Third Secretary, Department of External Affairs; and W. H. Measures, Department of External Affairs.

7. The negotiations were concluded at 5.00 p.m. January 4th. As a result, the existing Draft Treaty was revised in its present form. It is included as Appendix D.

8. The Draft does not present any fundamental points of difference from the Drafts of June 1938 and of January 1940. It covers the whole of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence basin including provisions to deal with diversions at Ogoki, Long Lac and Chicago, provisions to deal with Niagara, provisions for the development of the International Rapids Section and provisions for the development of the Canadian Section between Cornwall and Montreal.

9. In addition to the points which have already been considered, three main questions emerged during the negotiations. They are indicated in the Draft and, indeed, there are alternative provisions set forth in the Draft which will be referred to later. These questions are:

A. The procedural question as to whether the contract between the two countries should be embodied in a Treaty concluded in exercise

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of the treaty-making power in both countries or in an Agreement having its legal foundation not in the treaty-making power but in enabling legislation.

B. The question of the timing of the project. That is to say whether it is to be constructed as a post-war public work or as an immediate defence measure.

C. The financial question, and particularly the question of the elimination of an undertaking by the United States Government to pay for the rehabilitation of Morrisburg.

The Procedural Question

10. Mr. Berle and Mr. Hickerson urged that the St. Lawrence development should be embodied in an agreement which would have its legal foundation in enabling legislation. Their reasons for the adoption of this course were as follows:

(a) They were very doubtful as to the possibility of obtaining the majority in the Senate to comply with the constitutional requirement.

(b) They were confident that the necessary majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives could be obtained for legislation giving effect to an Agreement.

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(c) They contended that an Agreement, founded upon legislation, would be as effective as a Treaty, from the point of view of both Countries. They pointed out:

(i) that the Courts of the United States, including the Supreme Court, recognize that Agreement based upon enabling legislation creates a valid obligation which will be enforced by the Courts;

(ii) that international tribunals recognize that such Agreements are a proper subject matter for international arbitration;

(iii) that there have been important precedents, including the Trade Agreement;

(iv) that such a course would be justified by the provisions of the Boundary Waters Treaty.

(d) They contended that an Agreement supported by the approval of the Senate and House of Representatives would be especially appropriate in the case of a transaction that would involve the voting of large sums of money from year to year by the House of Representatives. In this respect, it might be preferable to a Treaty.

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11. The reasons for adopting the proposal to proceed by Agreement, rather than by Treaty, are set forth sufficiently and at length in the Memorandum, December 26, 1940. There would be doubt as to the contention that this course would be supported by the Boundary Waters Treaty. On the other hand, it is clear that an Agreement in a matter which would normally be within the legislative competence of Congress, would create a legal obligation that would be recognized and given effect to by the Courts of the United States or by international arbitral tribunals. It is also clear that the permanence of an arrangement of this sort would depend, not upon legal theories, but upon the actual state of affairs created by the development, and that permanence would be insured by factual considerations irrespective of the form in which the arrangements were embodied.

12. In so far as the draft is concerned, the changes that would be needed, assuming that the arrangement was embodied in an Agreement, are indicated throughout the text, and especially at page 19, where an alternative draft is furnished for Article XI.

The Timing of the Project

13. Reference to page 6, Article II (b), and to page 8, Article III (d) or (e), will indicate the scheme for timing of the works. Assuming a

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reasonable program, the completion of the project would take not more than six years. We had been thinking of this as a post-war public work to furnish employment for returned soldiers during the years of post-war adjustment. Upon this assumption, and assuming that the war comes to an end not later than the end of 1942, the date of completion (namely December 31, 1948) would be entirely practicable.

Accordingly, this date is set as the normal date of completion of the Canadian section. The United States is to complete the additional works not later than that date. The river works in the International Rapids Section are subject to no specific timing, as they are under the control of the two Governments through the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Commission.

It will be observed that the proviso in Article II (b) enables this timing to be modified to meet the war problem of the Canadian Government or the defence program of the United States Government.

It is the view of the United States representatives that if we hold our own or progressively improve our position in the war, the United States would not urge an acceleration of the rate of building. On the other hand, in the event of an unexpected deterioration in the war position, such as that which

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would be involved in the driving of the British Government and British forces out of England and the falling back of a system of continental defence, the United States Government would expect the Canadian Government to acquiesce in an acceleration of the project.

14. It will be observed that the draft does not commit either Government on the issue of timing and leaves this situation to be met in the light of the development of the next few months.

The Financial Question - Costs

15. A special financial question emerged as a result of the engineering report. The United States engineers were confronted with the possibility of an increase in costs that might result from the acceleration of the completion of the works. It therefore became necessary to revise the estimates of costs as embodied in the Report made in January last in Washington, to take into account these factors, together with the results of the investigations that have been made during the last two months.

In the terms of the bargain, as worked out in the settlement of January 1940, the United States negotiators included an undertaking by the United States to meet the costs of the rehabilitation of Morrisburg, subject to a maximum of $5,024,000. They did this to equalize expenditures throughout the

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project, including the Great Lakes works, the Welland Canal, the works in the International Rapids Section and the works in the Canadian Section.

The revision upwards in costs upset the balance and created a disproportion as against the United States. It became impossible, from the United States point of view, to justify the undertaking to meet the costs of this item.

The arrangement with regard to Morrisburg has always been unsound. It is unsound for one country to undertake to meet costs of this sort incurred in another country. Expenses of acquisition of land and rehabilitation are bound to increase when another government is footing the bill. On the other hand, there would be bound to be bad feeling in the United States when the people imagined that Morrisburg was being treated with disproportionate generosity at their expense.

The United States negotiators suggested the striking out of the Morrisburg item and the substitution of an undertaking to meet the cost of construction of the powerhouse superstructure.

This would involve the undertaking by the United States of an expenditure estimated at $2,425,000. Ontario would undertake to pay the Canadian Government the amount of the expenditure duly certified by the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Commission.

Under this arrangement, as compared with that embodied in the draft of January 1940, Canada would lose

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an indefinite amount that could not exceed $5,024,000. Canada would gain the estimated cost of the superstructure, $2,476,000. It is unlikely that there would be much variation in this amount. It is probable, but not certain, that the Morrisburg amount would exceed this sum.

16. The other aspect of the question of costs would depend almost entirely upon the ultimate decision as to timing. The Canadian engineers think that there is ample margin in the estimates if the work is deferred until after the war and then made a part of a normal works program.

If, on the other hand, the contingency arises that the United States negotiators have in mind, and an accelerated program of development is undertaken, there can be no doubt that there will be an appreciable increase in the net cost to Canada. It could, however, be confidentially assumed that the net cost to Canada would be unlikely to be increased by more than $5,000,000, and that the increase would, in no circumstances, bring the net cost above $50,000,000.

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ST LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION

Ottawa, Canada.
January 3,1941.

In view of the re-opening of negotiations between representatives of the United States and Canada in respect of the improvement both for navigation and power of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, engineers representing both countries were asked to examine the various plans proposed with their estimates of cost.

The engineers representing the United States were:

Brig. Gen. Thomas M. Robins,
Corps of Engineers,
U.S. Army.

Mr. Roger B. McWhorter,
Chief Engineer,
Federal Power Commission.

Mr. Gerald V. Cruise,
Executive Secretary and Acting Chief Engineer,
New York State Power Authority.

The engineers representing Canada were:

Mr. Guy A. Lindsay,
Engineer-in-Charge,
General Engineering Branch,
Department of Transport.

Dr. Olivier O. Lefebvre,
Vice-Chairman, Quebec Streams Commission.

Dr. T. H. Hogg,
Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

Mr. M. C. H endry,
Assistant Engineer,
Hydro Electric Power Commisaion of Ontario.

After careful consideration of the projects proposed and the estimates of cost thereof, the engineers agreed that the "238-242" Controlled Single Stage Project is, in their opinion, the best from an engineering and economic point of view, bearing in mind the requirements of navigation and power and the protection of down river interests.

The main features of the "238-242" Controlled Single Stage Project are as follows:

1. A control dam in the vicinity of Iroquois Point.

2. A dam in the Long Sault Rapids at the head of Barnhart Island and two power houses, one on either side of the International Boundary, at the foot of Barnhart Island.

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3. A side canal, with one lock on the United States mainland to carry navigation around the control dam and a side canal, with one guard gate and two locks, on the United States mainland south of Barnhart Island to carry navigation from above the main Long Sault Dam to the river south of Cornwall Island. All locks to provide 30 ft. depth of water on the mitre sills and to be of the general dimensions of those on the Welland Ship Canal. All navigation channels to be excavated to 27 ft. depth.

4. Dykes, where necessary, on the United States and Canadian sides of the International Boundary, to retain the pool level above the Long Sault Dam.

5. Channel enlargement from the head of Galop Island to below Lotus Island designed to give a maximum velocity in the navigation channel south of Galop Island not exceeding four feet per seond at any time.

6. Channel enlargement between Lotus Island and the control dam and from above Point Three Points to below Ogden Island designed to give a maximum mean velocity in any cross-section not exceeding two and one-quarter feet per second with the flow, and at the stage, to be permitted on the 1st of January of any year, under regulation of outflow and levels of Lake Ontario.

7. The necessary railroad and highway modifications on either side of the International Boundary.

8. The necessary works to permit the continuance of 14 ft. navigation on the Canadian Side around the Control dam and from the pool above the Long Sault Dam to connect with the existing Cornwall Canal.

9. The rehabilitation of the towns of Iroquois and Morrisburg, Ontario.

All the works in the pool below the control dam shall be designed to provide for full Lake Ontario level but initially the pool shall be operated at maximum elevation 238.0.

Attached hereto is the detailed estimate of cost of this project revised to take into account rising construction costs and additional expense likely to be incurred in expediting the work in the interest of National Defence. The unit prices used are considered adequate and the total estimated cost is believed to be sufficient to complete the work.

Thomas M. Robins,
Brigadier General,
Corps of Engineers,
U.S. Army.

Guy A. Lindsay,
Engineer-in-Charge,
General Engineering
Branch, Department
of Transport, Ottawa,
Ont.

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ST. LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION

DETAILED ESTIMATE OF COST

OF

CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

"238 - 242"

To Accompany the Report of the Canadian and United States Engineers, dated Ottawa, Canada, January 3rd, 1941.

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DETAILED ESTIMATES OF CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

"238 - 242"

The detailed estimates are set up under three main divisions:

A - Works Solely for Navigation
B - Works Primarily for Power
C - Works Common to Navigation and Power.

A - Works Solely for Navigation - Under this heading are included the locks, entrance piers, channel or canal excavation and all other works required solely for the purposes of navigation.

B - Works Primarily for Power - The items included under this heading are subdivided into:

I - Structures, Head and Tailrace Excavation - Under this heading are included all earth and rock excavation, ice sluices, railway connections, etc., required primarily for power, as well as the sub-structures and superstructures of the power houses. The sub-structures include headworks, gates, racks, unwatering gates, gate checks, all gate - operating equipment, intakes, water passages, draft tubes, tailrace piers and deck, all covers for openings, railings, gratings, ladders, drains, piping, conduit, pit liners, speed rings, throat rings, draft-tube liners, scroll cases (whether moulded in concrete or of cast or plate steel), and all parts embedded in the substructures incidental thereto or connected therewith. The substructures, as estimated, are of sufficient dimensions to accomodate all equipment and apparatus including transformers and provide the necessary space for assembly, operation and maintenance.

II - Machinery and Equipment - Under this heading are included turbines, governors, generators, and all other auxiliary machinery required above the generator floor, as well as the low voltage switching, control and operating apparatus.

C - Works Common to Navigation and Power - Under this heading are included all channel excavation required for river enlargement, all dams, and dykes required to retain the levels in the pools created for navigation and power purposes, all land and property damages resulting from the raised water levels, all works in connection with the rehabilitation of Morrisburg and Iroquois, the preservation of 14 ft. navigation on the Canadian side, railway and highway modifications and all other works not included under "A" and "B".

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ST. LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION

CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

"238 - 242"

SUMMARY OF ESTIMATE

	$	$
A - Works solely for Navigation.		
I - Upper Pool - at Point Rockway.	7,497,000	
II - Lower Pool - Opposite Barnhart Isd.	31,081,000	38,578,000
B - Works primarily for Power.		
I - Structures, Head and Tailrace Exc'n.	46,476,000	
II - Machinery and Equipment.	50,328,000	96,804,000
C - Works common to Navigation and Power.		
1. Channel excavation.	48,136,000	
2. Ice cribs above Prescott and above Galop Isd.	656,000	
3. Iroquois Point Dam.	7,310,000	
4. Dykes.	12,374,000	
5. Supply channel and weir at Massena.	2,363,000	
6. Diversion cut through Long Sault Isd.	2,569,000	
7. Main Long Sault Dam.	20,055,000	
8. Guard Gate, 14 ft. Lock and Weir at Maple Grove.	2,624,000	
9. 14 ft. Lock and Dykes at Iroquois.	604,000	
10. Railroad relocation.	3,696,000	
11. Clearing pool.	518,000	
12. Rehabilitation of Morrisburg.	5,024,000	
13. Rehabilitation of Iroquois.	3,379,000	
14. Acquisition of lands, etc. U.S. side.	4,657,000	
15. Acquisition of lands, etc. Can. side.	14,011,000	
16. Highway relocation.	2,812,000	130,788,000
GRAND TOTAL.		$266,170,000

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ST. LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION

CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

"238 - 242"

A - WORKS SOLELY FOR NAVIGATION

(27 FT. DEPTH)

I - UPPER POOL AT POINT ROCKWAY

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
1	Guide Pier in South Galop.					
	Cribwork	c.y.	6,000	5.00	30,000	30,000
2	Point, Three Points Lock and Entrance Piers.					
	Concrete	c.y.	141,960	10.00	1,419,600	
	Cribwork	c.y.	94,730	5.00	473,650	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	220,000	0.40	88,000	
	- earth	c.y.	40,000	0.65	26,000	
	Lock gates, valves, operating machinery, etc.				947,700	
	Emergency gate				175,000	3,129,950
				Carried forward.		$3,159,950

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ST. LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION

CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

"238 - 242"

A - WORKS SOLELY FOR NAVIGATION

(27 FT. DEPTH)

I - UPPER POOL AT POINT ROCKWAY

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
1	Guide Pier in South Galop.					
	Cribwork	c.y.	6,000	5.00	30,000	30,000
2	Point, Three Points Lock and Entrance Piers.					
	Concrete	c.y.	141,960	10.00	1,419,600	
	Cribwork	c.y.	94,730	5.00	473,650	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	220,000	0.40	88,000	
	- earth	c.y.	40,000	0.65	26,000	
	Lock gates, valves, operating machinery, etc.				947,700	
	Emergency gate				175,000	3,129,950
				Carried forward.		$3,159,950

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I - UPPER POOL - AT POINT ROCKWAY (Cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
					Brought forward.	$3,159,950
3	Approach channels to Point Three Points Lock.					
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	3,030,000	0.40	1,212,000	
	- earth	c.y.	106,000	0.65	68,900	
	- dredging	c.y.	320,500	0.90	288,450	1,569,350
4	Dykes.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	1,002,770	0.90	902,490	
	Rock fill	c.y.	63,740	1.00	63,740	
	Stripping	c.y.	156,560	0.65	101,760	1,067,990
5	Land Damage				200,000	200,000
6	Engineering and Contingencies.		25%			1,499,710
7	Total.					$7,497,000

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II - LOWER POOL - OPPOSITE BARNHART ISLAND

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total.
1	Channel Excavation.					
	(a) Above Long Sault Isd. to Robinson Bay Lock.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	2,513,880	0.65	1,634,020	
	Paving	c.y.	10,020	11.00	110,220	1,744,240
	(b) Robinson Bay Lock to Grass River Lock.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	2,942,200	0.65	1,912,430	1,912,430
	(c) Grass River Lock to Shore Line.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	374,000	0.80	299,200	299,200
	(d) At lower end of Cornwall Isd.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	522,000	0.80	417,600	
	- overdepth	c.y.	100,000	0.80	80,000	497,600
	(e) At mouth of Grass River.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	227,000	0.80	181,600	181,600
2	Drainage ditch.					
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	10,200	0.65	6,630	6,630
3	Dykes.					
	(a) Above Robinson Bay Lock.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	807,860	0.42	339,300	
	Earth fill	c.y.	2,262,560	0.90	2,036,310	
	Rock fill	c.y.	49,500	1.00	49,500	
	Stripping	c.y.	312,110	0.65	202,880	
	Trimming	s.y.	191,370	0.25	47,840	
	Sodding	s.y.	17,000	0.45	7,650	2,683,480
					Carried forward.	$7,325,180

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II - LOWER POOL - OPPOSITE BARNHART ISLAND (Cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$7,325,180
	(b) Robinson Bay Lock to Grass River.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	669,270	0.42	281,090	
	Earth fill	c.y.	357,250	0.60	214,350	
	Stripping	c.y.	146,510	0.65	95,230	
	Trimming	s.y.	167,010	0.25	41,750	
	Sodding	s.y.	22,000	0.45	9,900	
	Paving - concrete	c.y.	13,880	11.00	152,680	795,000
	(c) Rock fill guide dyke below Grass River Lock.					
	Rock fill	c.y.	63,000	2.00	126,000	126,000
4	Guard Gate and Supply Weir above Robinson Bay Lock.					
	Concrete	c.y.	4,520	12.00	54,240	
	Concrete	c.y.	38,080	10.00	380,800	
	Foundation contingency				5,400	
	Cribwork	c.y.	41,720	5.00	208,600	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	39,240	0.65	25,510	
	trench	c.y.	3,310	3.10	10,260	
	Sheeting and bracing	M.F.B.M.	59	110.00	6,490	
	Lock gates, operating machinery, etc.				149,000	
	Sluice gates, hoists, etc.				33,800	874,120
5	Robinson Bay Lock - Entrance piers and weir.					
	Concrete	c.y.	305,920	10.00	3,059,200	
	Concrete	c.y.	114,600	15.00	1,719,000	
	Cribwork	c.y.	84,390	5.00	421,950	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	878,530	0.65	571,040	
	Lock gates and operating machinery				801,000	
	Lock valves and operating machinery				100,000	
	Emergency gate				175,000	
	Fenders, capstans, lighting equipment, etc.				206,700	
	Sluice gates, hoists, etc.				52,690	7,106,580
				Carried forward.		$16,226,880

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II - LOWER POOL - OPPOSITE BARNHART ISLAND (Cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$16,226,880
6	Regulating weir at Robinson Bay.					
	Concrete	c.y.	13,200	12.00	158,400	
	Concrete	c.y.	22,190	10.00	221,900	
	Foundation contingency				15,840	
	Excavation - Rock footings	c.y.	2,970	2.40	7,130	
	- Rock trench	c.y.	450	4.10	1,850	
	- earth	c.y.	348,360	0.65	226,430	
	Unwatering				35,650	
	Sluice gates, hoists, etc.				30,800	698,000
7	Grass River Lock and Entrance Piers.					
	Concrete	c.y.	351,060	10.00	3,510,600	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	1,296,950	0.65	843,020	
	Cribwork	c.y.	76,050	5.00	380,250	
	Lock gates and operating machinery				845,600	
	Lock valves and operating machinery				100,000	
	Fenders, capstans, lighting equipment, etc.				206,700	5,886,170
8	N.Y.C. Rly. Diversion and bridges.				1,308,000	1,308,000
9	Canal lighting and office.				16,000	16,000
10	Clearing pool.					
	Clearing	acre	150	100.00	15,000	15,000
11	Roads.					
	Diversion	Mile	1.25	30,000	37,500	
	Improvements	Mile	2.75	3,000	8,250	
	New	Mile	2.40	30,000	72,000	117,750
				Carried forward.		$24,267,800

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II - LOWER POOL - OPPOSITE BARNHART ISLAND (Cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$24,267,800
12	Property damages - Lower Pool.					
	Flowage				330,330	
	Severance				266,600	596,930
13	Engineering and Contingencies.		25%			6,216,270
14	Total (27 ft. depth).					$31,081,000

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B - WORKS PRIMARILY FOR POWER

I - STRUCTURES, HEAD AND TAILRACE EXCAVATION

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
1	Tailrace Excavation.					
	(a) Tailrace.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	3,868,300	0.65	2,514,400	
	dry rock	c.y.	327,320	1.60	523,710	
	dredging	c.y.	844,560	0.90	760,100	
					3,798,210	
	Credit for rock excavation				327,320	3,470,890
	(b) Crab Island Shoal.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	1,284,930	0.90	1,156,440	
	" overdepth	c.y.	178,000	0.90	160,200	1,316,640
2	Ice Sluices and Walls at Powerhouse.					
	Concrete	c.y.	169,130	12.00	2,029,560	
	Concrete	c.y.	115,050	10.00	1,150,500	
	Foundation contingency				202,960	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	214,020	0.65	139,110	
	rock footing	c.y.	23,920	2.40	57,410	
	Sluice gates, hoists, etc.				133,600	3,713,140
				Carried forward.		$8,500,670

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I - STRUCTURES, HEAD AND TAILRACE EXCAVATION (Cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$ 8,500,670
3	Powerhouse Structures.					
	Concrete in substructures	c.y.	1,209,360	15.00	18,140,400	
	Superstructures				3,880,010	
	Gates and racks				3,584,090	
	Unwatering				1,943,500	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	1,135,850	0.65	738,300	
	dry rock	c.y.	235,510	1.60	376,820	
					28,663,120	
	Credit for rock excavation				235,510	28,427,610
4	Railway Connection to Powerhouse.					250,000
5	Engineering and Contingencies.			25%		9,297,720
6	Total.					$46,476,000

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II - MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
1	Machinery and Equipment.					
	Generators and turbines				31,069,260	
	Switching				8,695,780	
	Cranes and service units				498,480	40,263,520
2	Engineering and contingencies		25%			10,064,480
3	Total.					$50,328,000

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C - WORKS COMMON TO NAVIGATION AND POWER

No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
1	Channel excavation.					
	(a) Chimney Point.					
	Excavation - wet rock	c.y.	180,500	4.25	767,130	
	dredging	c.y.	255,190	0.90	229,670	996,800
	(b) Removal of Spencer Isd. pier.					
	Excavation	c.y.	123,950	1.50	185,930	185,930
	(c) Removal of Gut Dam.					
	Excavation	c.y.	44,640	1.50	66,960	66,960
	(d) Removal of centre wall Locks 27 & 25 and Canal Bank.					
	Excavation - Masonry and cribwork	c.y.	14,630	1.60	23,410	
	Dredging	c.y.	181,000	0.90	162,900	186,310
	(e) North Galop Channel to below Baycraft Island.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	2,839,980	0.65	1,845,980	
	- dry rock	c.y.	224,540	1.60	359,260	
	- dredging	c.y.	2,197,000	0.90	1,977,300	
	- wet rock	c.y.	232,690	4.25	988,930	5,171,470
	(f) South Galop Channel - from Butternut Isd. to south of Baycraft Isd.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	464,610	0.65	302,000	
	- dry rock	c.y.	2,620,530	1.60	4,192,850	
	- dredging	c.y.	362,520	0.90	326,270	
	Unwatering - incl. banks				1,422,960	6,244,080
				Carried forward.		$12,851,550

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$12,851,550
(g)	South of Baycraft Isd. to below Lotus Isd.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	416,030	0.65	270,420	
	- dry rock	c.y.	289,670	1.60	463,470	
	- dredging	c.y.	2,648,780	0.90	2,383,910	3,117,800
(h)	South of Lalone Isd.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	289,200	0.65	187,980	
	- dry rock	c.y.	263,200	1.60	421,120	609,100
(i)	Sparrowhawk Point.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	3,004,090	0.90	2,704,040	
	- dry earth	c.y.	1,490,790	0.65	969,010	3,673,050
(j)	Galop Canal Bank, Presqu'isle & Toussaints Isd.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	2,557,600	0.90	2,301,840	
	- dry earth	c.y.	324,770	0.65	211,100	2,512,940
(k)	Point Three Points.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	3,442,590	0.90	3,098,330	
	- dry earth	c.y.	1,052,130	0.65	683,880	3,782,210
(l)	Leishman's Point and Opposite Leishman's Point.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	1,719,620	0.90	1,547,660	
	- dry earth	c.y.	1,582,580	0.65	1,028,680	2,576,340
(m)	North and South side of Ogden Island.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	1,400,780	0.90	1,260,700	
	- dry earth	c.y.	3,814,700	0.65	2,479,560	
	- dry rock	c.y.	65,490	1.60	104,780	
	Unwatering				194,930	4,039,970
				Carried forward.		$33,162,960

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$33,162,960
(n)	Morrisburg Canal Bank and Canada Island.					
	Excavation - dredging	c.y.	1,364,930	0.90	1,228,440	
	- dry earth	c.y.	201,300	0.65	130,850	
	- masonry	c.y.	13,770	1.60	22,030	
	Rip-rap	c.y.	5,180	2.70	13,990	1,395,310
(o)	North side of Cornwall Island.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	800,000	0.65	520,000	
	- dredging	c.y.	634,560	0.80	507,650	1,027,650
(p)	South side of Cornwall Island.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	618,270	0.65	401,880	
	dredging	c.y.	3,150,370	0.80	2,520,300	2,922,180
(q)	Engineering and Contingencies.		25%			9,627,900
(r)	Total.					$48,136,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
2	Ice Cribs above Prescott and above Galop Isd.					
	(a) Cribs, booms and rockfill.					
	Cribwork				200,000	
	Booms				45,000	
	Rock fill				281,000	526,000
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies.		25%			130,000
	(c) Total.					$656,000
3	Iroquois Point Dam.					
	(a) Dam.					
	Concrete	c.y.	91,340	16.00	1,461,440	
	Concrete	c.y.	22,450	12.00	269,400	
	Concrete	c.y.	6,470	10.00	64,700	
	Foundation contingency				173,080	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	37,890	19.00	719,910	
	- rock	c.y.	7,060	27.00	190,620	
	- earth	c.y.	69,920	0.90	62,930	
	Rock fill	c.y.	234,550	2.00	469,100	
	Gates, bridges, etc.				682,200	
	Placing caissons				780,000	4,873,380
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies					2,436,620
	(c) Total.					$7,310,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
4	Dykes.					
	(a) North and South end of Iroquois Pt. Dam.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	83,720	0.90	75,350	
	Rock fill	c.y.	6,790	1.00	6,790	
	Stripping	c.y.	16,500	0.65	10,730	92,870
	(b) U.S. Shore - Wilson Hill to Louisville Landing.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	556,640	0.90	500,980	
	Rock fill	c.y.	50,120	1.00	50,120	
	Stripping	c.y.	106,400	0.65	69,160	620,260
	(c) West and East of Massena Canal.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	1,843,600	0.90	1,659,240	
	Rock fill	c.y.	185,990	1.00	185,990	
	Stripping	c.y.	231,920	0.65	150,750	1,995,980
	(d) Between Massena Canal and Navigation Canal.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	478,660	0.90	430,800	
	Rock fill	c.y.	29,510	1.00	29,510	
	Stripping	c.y.	72,170	0.65	46,910	507,220
	(e) East and West of Long Sault Dam.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	339,530	0.90	305,580	
	Rock fill	c.y.	48,840	1.00	48,840	
	Stripping	c.y.	32,360	0.65	21,030	375,450
				Carried forward.		$3,591,780

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
				Brought forward.		$3,591,780
(f)	Canadian side.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	4,212,180	0.90	3,790,960	
	Rock fill	c.y.	583,550	1.00	583,550	
	Stripping	c.y.	392,820	0.65	255,330	4,629,840
(g)	On Barnhart Island.					
	Earth fill	c.y.	1,578,480	0.90	1,420,630	
	Rock fill	c.y.	126,600	1.00	126,600	
	Stripping	c.y.	201,590	0.65	131,030	1,678,260
(h)	Engineering and contingencies.			25%		2,474,120
(i)	Total.					$ 12,374,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
5	Supply channel and weir at Massena.					
	(a) Supply channel and weir.					
	Concrete	c.y.	28,260	12.00	339,120	
	Concrete	c.y.	66,410	10.00	664,100	
	Foundation contingency				33,910	
	Excavation - rock footing	c.y.	5,400	2.40	12,960	
	- rock trench	c.y.	650	4.10	2,660	
	- earth	c.y.	988,540	0.65	642,550	
	- dredging	c.y.	46,000	0.90	41,400	
	Concrete paving	c.y.	6,550	11.00	72,050	
	Gates, bridges, hoists, etc.				82,100	1,890,850
	(b) Engineering and contingencies.			25%		472,150
	(c) Total.					$2,363,000
6	Diversion cut through Long Sault Island.					
	(a) Diversion cut.					
	Excavation - dry earth	c.y.	2,172,420	0.65	1,412,070	
	- dry rock	c.y.	29,110	1.60	46,580	
	- dredging	c.y.	317,500	0.90	285,750	
	Concrete paving	c.y.	28,270	11.00	310,970	2,055,370
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies			25%		513,630
	(c) Total.					$2,569,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
7	Main Long Sault Dam.					
	(a) Dam.					
	Concrete	c.y.	709,070	12.00	8,508,840	
	Concrete	c.y.	81,290	10.00	812,900	
	Foundation contingency				850,880	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	1,402,490	0.65	911,620	
	- rock footings	c.y.	116,260	2.40	279,020	
	- rock trench	c.y.	530	4.10	1,640	
	Gates, towers, hoists, etc.				978,300	
	Unwatering				3,700,000	16,043,200
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies		25%			4,011,800
	(c) Total.					$20,055,000
8	Guard Gate, 14 ft. Lock and Weir at Maple Grove.					
	(a) Lock, entrance piers and weir					
	Concrete	c.y.	98,340	10.00	983,400	
	Cribwork	c.y.	40,870	5.00	204,350	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	859,600	0.65	558,740	
	- earth trench	c.y.	5,790	4.00	23,160	
	Sheeting and bracing				15,950	
	Lock gates sluice gates. hoists, etc.				314,000	2,099,600
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies.		25%			524,400
	(c) Total.					$2,624,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
7	Main Long Sault Dam.					
	(a) Dam.					
	Concrete	c.y.	709,070	12.00	8,508,840	
	Concrete	c.y.	81,290	10.00	812,900	
	Foundation contingency				850,880	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	1,402,490	0.65	911,620	
	- rock footings	c.y.	116,260	2.40	279,020	
	- rock trench	c.y.	530	4.10	1,640	
	Gates, towers, hoists, etc.				978,300	
	Unwatering				3,700,000	16,043,200
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies		25%			4,011,800
	(c) Total.					$20,055,000
8	Guard Gate, 14 ft. Lock and Weir at Maple Grove.					
	(a) Lock, entrance piers and weir					
	Concrete	c.y.	98,340	10.00	983,400	
	Cribwork	c.y.	40,870	5.00	204,350	
	Excavation - earth	c.y.	859,600	0.65	558,740	
	- earth trench	c.y.	5,790	4.00	23,160	
	Sheeting and bracing				15,950	
	Lock gates sluice gates. hoists, etc.				314,000	2,099,600
	(b) Engineering and Contingencies.		25%			524,400
	(c) Total.					$2,624,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
9	14 ft. Lock and Dykes at Iroquois.					
	(a) Lock.					
	Concrete	cu.yd.	19,140	10.00	191,400	
	Excavation - earth	cu.yd.	78,100	0.65	50,770	
	Earth fill	cu.yd.	162,040	0.90	145,840	
	Rock fill	cu.yd.	13,650	1.00	13,650	
	Stripping	cu.yd.	31,630	0.65	20,560	
	Lock gates, etc.				60,000	482,220
	(b) Engineering and contingencies.		25%			121,780
	(c) Total.					$604,000
10	Railroad relocation.					
	(a) Norwood and St. Lawrence Rly.				207,500	
	(b) Canadian National Rly.				2,750,000	2,957,500
	(c) Engineering and contingencies.		25%			738,500
	(d) Total.					$3,696,000
11	Clearing Pool.					
	(a) U.S. side				359,000	
	(b) Can. side				55,000	414,000
	(c) Engineering and contingencies.		25%			104,000
	(d) Total.					$518,000

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No.	Item	Unit	Quantity	Rate	Amount	Total
12.	Rehabilitation of Morrisburg.					$5,024,000
13.	Rehabilitation of Iroquois.					$3,379,000
14.	Acquisition of land, etc., U. S. side.					$4,657,000
15.	Acquisition of lands, etc., Can. side.					$14,011,000
16.	Highway relocation.					
	(a) U.S. shore				549,500	
	(b) Can. shore				1,700,000	2,249,500
	(c) Engineering and contingencies.		25%			562,500
	(d) Total.					$2,812,000

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PAPIER DE COULEUR

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TO: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

The Canadian Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Committee and the United States St. Lawrence Advisory Committee, meeting at Ottawa, January 2 and 3, 1941, respectfully submit the following joint report on the preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the Great Lakes--St. Lawrence Basin project located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River.

The two Committees held their first joint meeting at Massena, N.Y. on October 31, 1940, to determine upon the project plan best designed to serve the interests of both countries and to agree upon the general lines which the engineering investigation should follow. The Committees met again at Massena on November 15, 1940, to consult with a group of outstanding hydraulic and electric experts on technical aspects of the proposed undertaking.

Special consideration has been given to the joint report prepared in January, 1940, by a board of engineers representing Canada and the United States, including for Canada: Guy A. Lindsay, Engineer in Charge, General Engineering Branch, Department of Transport; Olivier O. Lefebvre, Vice-Chairman of the Quebec Streams Commission; T.H. Hogg, Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and M.C. Hendry, Assistant Engineer, Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario;for the United States: Brigadier General Thomas M. Robins, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army; Roger B. McWhorter, Chief Engineer, Federal Power Commission; and Gerald V. Cruise, Executive Secretary and Acting Chief Engineer of the Power Authority of the State of New York.

These engineers were requested by the two Governments to examine the various plans proposed for the development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, together with their estimates of cost, and to recommend the plan best adapted to the needs of both countries. They agreed unanimously that the "238 - 242" Controlled Single Stage Project was the best from an engineering and economic point of view, bearing in mind the requirements of navigation and power and the protection of down-river interests.

The two Committees, at the meeting of October 31, 1940, agreed that the engineering investigations should be undertaken in accord with the project as described in the engineering report above referred to. Subsequent investigations, including the testing of foundation conditions, etc., which have been proceeding rapidly, have sustained the conclusion that the "238 - 242" Controlled Single Stage Project is the plan best adapted for the development of that part of the Great Lakes---St. Lawrence Basin project located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River for the following reasons:

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(1) The plan combines the essential features which have been continuously advocated by the representatives of both countries throughout the long period of study and negotiation devoted to the undertaking. Specifically, it provides for the development of all the power in one stage at power houses located at the foot of Barnhart Island, while at the same time providing for complete control of the River at a control dam located near the head of the present rapids.

(2) The plan is especially designed to assure full protection to the down-stream power and navigation interests in the Province of Quebec, including the harbor of Montreal, while at the same time providing for the economical development of the International Rapids Section for navigation and power as a part of the general Great Lakes--St. Lawrence Basin project.

(3) The recent investigations, including the checking of previous explorations, new core borings, etc., indicate that the foundation conditions for the proposed dams, navigation locks and power houses are satisfactory, while consultations with outstanding hydro-electric engineers asure that the project works will be sound and the construction and equipment of the power houses in accord with the best modern practice.

(4) The construction program can be arranged so that delivery of power can be begun and navigation provided within four years of the time when active work is initiated, time being an essential factor in the emergency.

Throughout their investigations, the two Committees have been constantly impressed with the defense aspects of the project as a part of a long range program for use of the Great Lakes--St. Lawrence basin by both peoples to strengthen the defenses of the North American Continent. The power which the project will provide is urgently needed for expansion of essential defense production on both sides of the border. A deep waterway will afford an unexampled opportunity for the expansion of shipbuilding, both cargo vessels and naval vessels, in naturally protected waters.

At the request of the two Committees, the engineers who prepared the report of January 1940, have carefully reconsidered that report in the light of the engineering investigations and have revised the cost estimates to take account of the effect of recent increases in construction costs and the acceleration of the construction program in the interest of defense. Their final conclusions, embodied in a report dated January 3, 1941, confirm the conclusions of the previous report.

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The two Committees submit herewith the report of the board of engineers as embodying their own conclusions and recommend that, in the event that the Governments decide to proceed with the development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, the work be undertaken in general accordance with the plan of the "238 - 242" Controlled Single Stage Project described therein.

Respectfully submitted,

Canadian Committee	United States Committee
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Ottawa, Canada, January 3, 1941.

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Strictly Confidential 41 (1)

D R A F T T R E A T Y

PREAMBLE

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of Canada, have decided to conclude a Treaty(an Agreement) in relation to the utilization of the water in the Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin and to that end have named as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada :

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

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Preliminary Article

For the purposes of the present Treaty (Agreement), unless otherwise expressly provided, the expressions:

(a) "Joint Board of Engineers" means the board appointed pursuant to an agreement between the Governments following the recommendation of the International Joint Commission, dated December 19,1921;

(b) "Great Lakes System" means Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron (including Georgian Bay), Erie and Ontario, and the connecting waters, including Lake St.Clair;

(c) "St. Lawrence River" includes the river channels and the lakes forming parts of the river channels from the outlet of Lake Ontario to the sea;

(d) "International Section" means that part of the St. Lawrence River through which the international boundary line runs;

(e) "Canadian Section" means that part of the St. Lawrence River which lies wholly within Canada and which extends from the easterly limit of the International Section to Montreal harbour;

(f) "International Rapids Section" means that part of the International Section which extends from Chimney point to the village of St. Regis;

(g) "Governments" means the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada;

(h) "countries" means the United States of America and Canada;

(i) "Special International Niagara Board" means the board appointed by the Governments in 1926 to ascertain and recommend ways and means to preserve the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls;

(j) "deep waterway" means adequate provision for navigation requiring a controlling channel depth of 27 feet with a depth of 30 feet over lock sills, from the head of the Great Lakes to Montreal harbour via the Great Lakes System and St. Lawrence River, in general accordance with the specifications set forth in the Report of the Joint Board of Engineers, dated November 16,1926;

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ARTICLE I

1. The Governments agree to establish and maintain a Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Commission, hereinafter referred to as the Commission, consisting of not more than ten members of whom an equal number shall be appointed by each Government. The duties of the Commission shall be:

(a) to prepare and to recommend plans and specifications for the construction of works in the International Rapids Section in accordance with and containing the features described in the Annex attached to and made part of this Treaty (Agreement), with such modifications as may be agreed upon by the Governments;

(b) upon approval of the plans and specifications by the Governments, to prepare a schedule allocating the construction of the works in the International Rapids Section on such a basis that, except as modified by Article III of this Treaty (Agreement), each Government shall construct the works within its own territory or an equivalent proportion of the works so approved;

(c) to approve all contracts entered into on behalf of either Government for the works in the International Rapids Section;

(d) to supervise the construction of the works and to submit reports to the Governments from time to time, and at least once each calendar year, on the progress of the works;

(e) upon satisfactory completion of the works, to certify to the Governments that they meet the plans and specifications drawn up by the Commission and approved by the Governments;

(f) to perform the other duties assigned to it in this Treaty (Agreement).

2. The Commission shall have the authority to employ such persons and to make such expenditures as may be necessary to carry out the duties set forth in this Treaty (Agreement). It shall have the authority to avail itself of the services

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of such governmental agencies, officers and employees of either country as may be made available. The remuneration, general expenses and all other expenses of its members shall be regulated and paid by their respective Governments; and the other expenses of the Commission, except as provided for under Article III, paragraph (b) of this Treaty (Agreement), shall be borne by the Governments in equal moieties.

3. The Governments agree to permit the entry into their respective countries, within areas immediately adjacent to the Niagara River and the International Section to be delimited by .. exchange of notes, of personnel employed by the Commission or employed in the construction of the works, and to exempt such personnel from the operation of their immigration laws and regulations within the areas so delimited. In the event that the Commission, pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 1.(b) of this Article, allocates to either of the Governments the construction of works, any part of ~~---~~ which is within the territory of the other Government, the latter Government shall make provision for the according, within the area in which such a part is situated, of such exemption from customs, excise and other imposts, federal, state and provincial, as may be reasonably practicable for the effective and economical prosecution of the work. Regulations providing for such exemptions may be settled by the Governments by exchange of notes.

4. The Governments shall, by exchange of notes, prescribe

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rules and regulations for the conduct of the Commission. They may by the same means extend or abridge its powers and duties; and reduce or after reduction increase the number of members (provided that there must always be an equal number appointed by each Government and that the total number of members shall at no time exceed ten); and upon completion of its duties, the Governments may terminate its existence.

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ARTICLE II

The Government of Canada agrees:

(a) in accordance with the plans and specifications prepared by the Commission and approved by the Governments, to construct ~~or arrange for the construction of~~ the works in the International Rapids Section allocated to Canada by the Commission; and to operate and maintain or arrange for the operation and maintenance of the works situated in the territory of Cahada;

(b) to complete, ~~or arrange for the completion~~ not later than December 31, 1948, ~~of~~ the essential Canadian links in the deep waterway, including the necessary deepening of the new Welland Ship Canal and the construction of canals and other works to provide the necessary depth in the Canadian section of the St. Lawrence River: provided that, if the continuance of war conditions or the requirements of defence shall justify a modification of the period within which such works shall be completed, the two Governments may, by exchange of notes, arrange to defer or expedite their completion as circumstances may require.

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ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States of America agrees:

(a) in accordance with the plans and specifications prepared by the Commission and approved by the Governments, to construct ~~or arrange for the construction of~~ the works in the International Rapids Section allocated to the United States of America by the Commission; and to operate and maintain or arrange for the operation and maintenance of the works situated in the territory of the United States of America;

(b) to provide, as required by the progress of the works, funds for the construction, including design and supervision, of all works in the International Rapids Section except (1) powerhouse superstructures, (2) machinery and equipment for the development of power, and (3) works required for rehabilitation on the Canadian side of the international boundary other than those referred to in paragraph (c) of this Article;

(c) taking into account the fact that extensive rehabilitation is required only on the Canadian side of the international boundary, to provide the funds required for rehabilitation at Morrisburg; but the total of such funds shall not exceed five million dollars; and, in allocating works to be constructed by the Governments in accordance with the provisions of Article I paragraph 1 (b), of this Treaty (Agreement), the Commission shall increase the proportion to be constructed by the United States by an equivalent amount;

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ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States of America agrees:

(a) in accordance with the plans and specifications prepared by the Commission and approved by the Governments, to construct the works in the International Rapids Section allocated to the United States of America by the Commission; and to operate and maintain or arrange for the operation and maintenance of the works situated in the territory of the United States of America;

(b) to provide, as required by the progress of the works, funds for the construction, including design and supervision, of all works in the International Rapids Section except (1) machinery and equipment for the development of power, and (2) works required for rehabilitation on the Canadian side of the international boundary;

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(d) or (c) not later than the date of completion of the essential Canadian links in the deep waterway, to complete the works allocated to it in the International Section and the works in the Great Lakes System above Lake Erie required to create essential links in the deep waterway.

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ARTICLE IV

The Governments agree that:

(a) they may, in conformity with the general plans for the project in the International Rapids Section, instal or arrange for the installation in their respective territories of such machinery and equipment as may be desired for the development of power and at such time or times as may be most suitable in terms of their respective power requirements;

(b) in view of the need for coordination of the plans and specifications prepared by the Commission for general works in the International Rapids Section with plans for the development of power in the respective countries, the Commission may arrange for engineering services with any agency in either country, which may be authorized to develop power in the International Rapids Section;

(c) except as modified by the provisions of Article VIII, paragraph (b) of this Treaty (Agreement), each country shall be entitled to utilize one-half of the water available for power purposes in the International Rapids Section;

(d) during the construction and upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the flow of water out of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River shall be controlled and the flow of water through the International Section shall be regulated so that the navigable depths of water for shipping in the Harbour of Montreal and throughout the navigable channel of the St. Lawrence River below Montreal, as such

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ARTICLE IV

The Governments agree that:

(a) they may, in conformity with the general plans for the project in the International Rapids Section, instal or arrange for the installation in their respective territories of such machinery and equipment as may be desired for the development of power and at such time or times as may be most suitable in terms of their respective power requirements;

(b) in view of the need for coordination of the plans and specifications prepared by the Commission for general works in the International Rapids Section with plans for the development of power in the respective countries, the Commission may arrange for engineering services with any agency in either country, which may be authorized to develop power in the International Rapids Section;

(c) except as modified by the provisions of Article VIII, paragraph (b) of this Treaty (Agreement), each country shall be entitled to utilize one-half of the water available for power purposes in the International Rapids Section;

(d) during the construction and upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the flow of water out of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River shall be controlled and the flow of water through the International Section shall be regulated so that the navigable depths of water for shipping in the Harbour of Montreal and throughout the navigable channel of the St. Lawrence River below Montreal, as such

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depths now exist or may hereafter be increased by dredging or other harbour or channel improvements, shall not be injuriously affected by the construction or operation of such works, and the power developments in the Canadian Section of the St. Lawrence River shall not be adversely affected;

(e) upon the completion of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, the power works shall be operated, initially, with the water level at the power houses held at a maximum elevation 238.0, sea level datum as defined in the Report of the Joint Board of Engineers, for a test period of ten years or such shorter period as may be approved by any board or authority established under the provisions of paragraph (f) of this Article; and, in the event that such board or authority considers that operation with the water level at the power houses held to a maximum elevation exceeding 238.0 would be practicable and could be made effective within the limitations prescribed by paragraphs (c) and (d) of this Article, the Governments may, by exchange of notes, authorize operation, subject to the provisions of this Article, and for such times and subject to such terms as may be prescribed in the notes, at a maximum elevation exceeding 238.0.

(f) the Governments may, by exchange of notes, make provision for giving effect to paragraphs (c), (d) and (e) of this Article;

(g) during the construction of the works provided for in the International Rapids Section, existing canal facilities in that Section shall be maintained;

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ARTICLE V

The Governments agree that nothing done under the authority of the present Treaty (Agreement) shall confer upon either of them proprietary rights, or legislative, administrative or other jurisdiction in the territory of the other, and that the works constructed under the provisions of this Treaty (Agreement) shall constitute a part of the territory of the country in which they are situated.

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ARTICLE VI

The Governments agree that either of them may proceed at any time to construct, within its own territory and at its own cost, alternative canal and channel facilities for navigation in the International Section or in waters connecting the Great Lakes, and to utilize the water necessary for the operation of such facilities.

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ARTICLE VII

The High Contracting Parties agree that the rights of navigation accorded under the provisions of existing treaties between the United States of America and His Britannic Majesty shall be maintained notwithstanding the provisions for termination contained in any of such treaties, and declare that these treaties confer upon the citizens or subjects and upon the ships, vessels and boats of each High Contracting Party, rights of navigation in the St. Lawrence River, and the Great Lakes System, including the canals now existing or which may hereafter be constructed.

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ARTICLE VIII

The Governments, recognizing their common interest in the preservation of the levels of the Great Lakes System, agree that:

(a) each Government in its own territory shall measure the quantities of water which at any point are diverted from or added to the Great Lakes System, and shall place such measurements on record with the other Government semi-annually;

(b) in the event of diversions being made into the Great Lakes System from other watersheds lying wholly within the borders of either country, the exclusive rights to the use of waters which are determined by the Governments to be equivalent in quantity to any waters so diverted shall, notwithstanding the provisions of Article IV paragraph (c) of this Treaty (Agreement), be vested in the country diverting such waters, and the quantity of water so diverted shall be at all times available to that country for use for power below the point of entry, so long as it constitutes a part of boundary waters;

(c) if any diversion of water from the Great Lakes System or the International Section, other or greater in amount than diversions permitted in either of the countries on January 1,1940, is authorized, the Government of such country agrees to give immediate consideration to any representations respecting the matter which the other Government may make; if it is impossible otherwise to reach a satisfactory settlement, the Government of the country in

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which the diversion of water has been authorized agrees, on the request of the other Government, to submit the matter to an arbitral tribunal which shall be empowered to direct such compensatory or remedial measures as it may deem just and equitable; the arbitral tribunal shall consist of three members, one to be appointed by each of the Governments, and the third, who will be the chairman, to be selected by the Governments;

(d) the Commission shall report upon the desirability of works for compensation and regulation in the Great Lakes System, and, upon the approval by the Governments of any such works, shall prepare plans and specifications for their construction and recommend to the Governments an equitable allocation of their cost; the Governments shall make arrangements by exchange of notes for the construction of such works as they may agree upon.

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ARTICLE IX

The Governments, redognizing their primary obligation to preserve and enhance the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls and River, and consistent with that obligation, their common interest in providing for the most beneficial use of the waters of that River, as envisaged in the Final Report of the Special International Niagara B oard, agree that:

(a) the Commission shall prepare and submit to the Governments plans and specifications for works in the Niagara River designed to distribute and control the waters thereof, to prevent erosion and to ensure at all seasons unbroken crest lines on both the American Falls and the Canadian Falls and to preserve and enhance their scenic beauty, taking into account the recommendations of the Special International Niagara Board; the Governments may make arrangements by exchange of notes for the construction of such works in the Niagara River as they may agree upon, including provision for temporary diversions of the waters of the Niagara River for the purpose of facilitating construction of the works; the cost of such works in the Niagara River shall be borne by the Governments in equal moieties;

(b) upon the completion of the works authorized in this Article, diversions of the waters of the Niagara River above the Falls from the natural course and stream thereof additional to the amounts specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 may be authorized and permitted by the Governments to the extent and in

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the manner hereinafter provided:

(1) the United States may authorize and permit additional diversion within the State of New York of the waters of the River above the Falls for power purposes, in excess of the amount specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, not to exceed in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of five thousand cubic feet of water per second;

(2) Canada may authorize and permit additional diversion within the Province of Ontario of the waters of the River above the Falls for power purposes, in excess of the amount specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, not to exceed in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of five thousand cubic feet of water per second;

(c) upon completion of the works authorized in this Article, the Commission shall proceed immediately to test such works under a wide range of conditions, and to report and certify to the Governments the effect of such works, and to make recommendations respecting diversions of water from Lake Erie and the Niagara River, with particular reference (1) to perpetual preservation of the scenic beauty of the Falls and Rapids, (2) to the requirements of navigation in the Great Lakes System, and (3) to the efficient utilization and equitable apportionment of such waters as may be available for power purposes; on the basis of the Commission's reports and recommendations, the Governments may by exchange of notes and concurrent legislation determine the methods by which these purposes may be attained.

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ARTICLE X

The Governments agree that:

(a) each Government undertakes to make provision for the disposition of claims and for the satisfaction of any valid claims arising out of damage or injury to persons or property occurring in the territory of the other in the course of and in connection with construction by such party of any of the works authorized or provided for by this Treaty (Agreement);

(b) each Government is hereby released from responsibility for any damage or injury to persons or property in the territory of the other, which may be caused by any action authorized or provided for by this Treaty (Agreement), other than damage or injury covered by the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Article;

(c) subject to the provisions of Article III paragraph (c) of this Treaty (Agreement), each Government will assume the responsibility for and expense involved in the acquisition of any lands or interests in land in its own territory which may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Treaty (Agreement).

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ARTICLE X

The Governments agree that:

(a) each Government undertakes to make provision for the disposition of claims and for the satisfaction of any valid claims arising out of damage or injury to persons or property occurring in the territory of the other in the course of and in connection with construction by such party of any of the works authorized or provided for by this Treaty (Agreement);

(b) each Government is hereby released from responsibility for any damage or injury to persons or property in the territory of the other, which may be caused by any action authorized or provided for by this Treaty (Agreement), other than damage or injury covered by the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Article;

(c) each Government will assume the responsibility for and expense involved in the acquisition of any lands or interests in land in its own territory which may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Treaty (Agreement).

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ARTICLE XI

This Treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties. The ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington or in Ottawa as soon as practicable and the Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at , the day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one.

(SEAL)

(SEAL)

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ARTICLE XI

This Agreement shall be subject to approval by the Congress of the United States of America and the Parliament of Canada. Following such approval it shall be proclaimed by the President of the United States and ratified by His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of Canada. It shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of the instrument of ratification and a copy of the proclamation, which shall take place at

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Agreement in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at _____, the _____day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one.

(SEAL)

(SEAL)

(SEAL)

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ANNEX

CONTROLLED SINGLE STAGE PROJECT

238 - 242

The main features of the Controlled Single Stage Project (238 - 242), described in detail with cost estimates in the report of the Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committees dated January 3, 1941, are as follows:

1. A control dam in the vicinity of Iroquois Point.

2. A dam in the Long Sault Rapids at the head of Barnhart Island and two power houses, one on either side of the international boundary, at the foot of Barnhart Island.

3. A side canal, with one lock, on the United States mainland to carry navigation around the Control Dam and a side canal, with one guard gate and two locks, on the United States mainland south of Barnhart Island to carry navigation from above the main Long Sault Dam to the river south of Cornwall Island. All locks to provide 30 ft. depth of water on the mitre sills and to be of the general dimensions of those on the Welland Ship Canal. All navigation channels to be excavated to 27 ft. depth.

4. Dykes, where necessary on the United States and Canadian sides of the international boundary, to retain the pool level above the Long Sault Dam.

5. Channel enlargements from the head of Galop Island to below Lotus Island designed to give a maximum velocity in the navigation channel south of Galop Island not exceeding four feet per second at any time.

6. Channel enlargement between Lotus Island and the Control Dam and from above Point Three Points to below Ogden Island designed to give a maximum mean velocity, in any cross-section, not exceeding two and one-quarter feet per second with the flow and at the stage to be permitted on the 1st of January of any year, under regulation of outflow and levels of Lake Ontario.

7. The necessary railroad and highway modifications on either side of the international boundary.

8. The necessary works to permit the continuance of 14 ft. navigation on the Canadian side around the Control Dam and from the pool above the Long Sault Dam to connect with the existing Cornwall Canal.

9. The rehabilitation of the towns of Iroquois and Morrisburg, Ontario.

All the works in the pool below the Control Dam shall be designed to provide for full Lake Ontario level but initially the pool shall be operated at maximum elevation 238.0.

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J. E. READ

JER/S
Feb. 21/41

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

ST. LAWRENCE NEGOTIATIONS

1. Negotations with United States

Negotiations with the United States, with regard to the St. Lawrence development, took place in Ottawa and Washington in January 1940. They were deferred, and resumed later in September, when a proposal was made culminating in an exchange of Notes October 14, enabling the diversion of the Ogoki and Long Lac waters into Lake Superior and the immediate utilization of 5,000 c.f.s. at Niagara. The use of this water commenced at the beginning of November. Under the exchange of Notes, temporary Great Lakes—St. Lawrence Basin committees were set up by the two Governments to work in co-operation and to supervise engineering investigations, with a view to facilitating work, in the event of the conclusion of an agreement. These committees have been carrying on their work at Ottawa, Washington, and Massena. General negotiations with representatives of the United States took place at the beginning of January 1941, and a draft Agreement has now been prepared and is under consideration by the Governments.

2. Negotiations with Ontario

Negotiations for the conclusion of an Agreement with Ontario for the taking over of the power works in the St. Lawrence, in the event of the conclusion of an Agreement with the United States, were carried out in the autumn of 1939 and resumed in April and December 1940 and again in February of this year. The Agreement has been prepared and is under consideration by the Governments.

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3. Negotiations with Quebec

There are certain aspects of the St. Lawrence development which are of interest to the Province of Quebec, and negotiations were carried out in the autumn of 1940 and at the end of January of this year. They are still under consideration by the Governments.

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J.E. READ TO WLMK

JER/S
Feb.25/41

Waterways - St. Lawrence

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C228723

ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

Reference: House of Commons Debates
Fol.79, #27, Monday, Feb.24, 1941.
page 1061.

1. Mr. Casselman (Grenville-Dundas), at page 1062, asked for information as to where plans of the St. Lawrence development in the International Rapids Section could be seen.

2. The final plans for the development in the International Rapids Section have not been settled and cannot finally be settled until after the conclusion of an agreement or treaty with the United States and the setting up of an International Commission which, among other things, would be charged with the duty of the preparation of the final plans. It is impossible, therefore, at the present stage to indicate with precision the limits of flooding, or even the locations of dams, powerhouses and other works.

3. It is, however, possible to show, in a general way, the nature of the development and the limits of the flooding. A plan has been prepared and can be seen by Mr. Casselman at the office of the Legal Adviser of the Department of External Affairs, Room 271, East Block. This plan cannot be made available for general publication without the concurrence of the United States authorities, but it is hoped that reproductions may be made generally available in the near future.

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Defence Aspects of the St. Lawrence Project

Summary of discussions at Federal Power Commission on April 10, 1941, with Mr. William S. Youngman, Jr., General Counsel of the Federal Power Commission; Mr. H. H. Fowler and Mr. Whiting Willauer, special Counsel on the St. Lawrence project for the Federal Power Commission; Mr. N. R. Danielian, Director of the St. Lawrence Survey of the Department of Commerce; and Mr. G. V. Cruise, of the New York State Power Authority.

"I am sure you will agree with me that, while our countries must put forth the maximum immediate defense effort, we must also prepare for the possibility of a protracted emergency which will call upon the industries on both sides of the border to meet constantly expanding demands. The combination of advantages offered by the St. Lawrence project makes it imperative that we undertake it immediately.

"In terms of the time factor, the St. Lawrence project as a part of our defense program is not exceptional, since we are to-day appropriating money for construction of vessels of war which will not be ready for service until the completion of the St. Lawrence undertaking."

(President's message to the Prime Minister, March, 1941).

PART ONE

SHIPBUILDING

"I am also convinced that the opening of the St. Lawrence deep waterway to afford an outlet for naval and cargo ships constructed in Great Lakes shipyards, far from representing a diversion of funds and resources from the defense effort, would have the opposite effect. Our shipbuilding program, to meet the requirements of defense, will call for a great expansion of shipyards with their associated machine shops and adequate supplies of skilled labor. The extent to which intensified submarine and air attacks on convoys may necessitate an expansion of the program is still unknown. If the war is protracted however it seems certain that the number of shipyards required will have to be several times those at present available. In terms of our present industrial arrangements, many of these can be made most readily and economically available in the Great Lakes area.

"If the full burden of our expanding ship construction must fall on seaboard shipyards the

time/

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"time required to complete the vessels themselves must, in many instances, be increased by the period necessary to construct new shipyards and facilities. With this in mind it is apparent that the deep waterway could be completed in time to provide an outlet to the sea for many of the new vessels included in the present program."

(President's message).

The present merchant marine shipbuilding programme of the United States will require all the capacity of shipyards outside the Great Lakes. Even then it will be inadequate for the requirements of the British. At best the "ugly duckling" programme for the construction of 7,500-ton vessels will result in the addition of 3,000,000 tons of merchant ships by the end of the year 1943. (50 in 1941, 150 in 1942, 200 in 1943). This is in addition to the normal 50-ship-a-year programme of the Maritime Commission and the programme for the construction of 60 ships for the British, mainly in Maine and Seattle. The present programme will thus result, by the end of 1943, in the construction of about 5,000,000 tons of merchant shipping, while the destruction of British merchant shipping is running at the rate of about 5,000,000 tons a year. Admiral Land is of the opinion that capacity cannot be expanded by the construction of new shipyards without interfering with construction at existing shipyards. This is due to shortage of management, machinery and labour. Thus the construction of new shipyards would slow down the rate of construction of the existing programme. The naval shipbuilding programme is in addition to the merchant shipbuilding programme.

This leads to the conclusion that in order to

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expand production in the long run without slowing down production in the short run, it is necessary to use existing shipbuilding capacity to the fullest possible extent.

At the present time the only naval ships which are being constructed on the Great Lakes are the small naval ships under the recent $300,000,000 programme. These can be constructed on the small ways on the Great Lakes. There are also on the United States side of the Great Lakes 15 ways of over 500 ft. length, and 15 drydocks of the same dimensions. The drydocks are at present used for repairs but they constitute potential shipbuilding capacity. (Corresponding figures for Canada are 9 ways and 4 drydocks).

Thus, if the St. Lawrence Seaway project is approved of, it will be possible to transfer to Great Lakes shipyards the construction of a certain number of cruisers and destroyers. This would make it possible to use the shipyards on the "coastal range" for the construction of merchant ships.

There are two possibilities. The first is the construction of new shipyards for cruisers, for example. A new way would take 18 months to construct'- a cruiser takes 30 to 36 months to construct. Thus the construction of a cruiser on a new way would take from 4 to 4 1/2 years. Since the St. Lawrence canals could be completed in 4 years, no time would be lost by the construction of new shipyards on the Great Lakes, rather than on the coastal range. In other words, if it is necessary to

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expand naval construction capacity, the expansion might as well take place on the Great Lakes.

The alternative would be gradually to transfer the construction of the cruisers to existing shipyards on the Great Lakes as the cruisers come off the ways on the coastal range. The ways on the coastal range would thus gradually be freed for the construction of cargo ships and one way on the coastal range could construct 6 to 8 cargo ships in the same time that it now takes to construct one cruiser. At the present time there are 30 or more ways on the coastal range which are being used for the construction of cruisers and destroyers.

The general effect of the transfer can be indicated by the effect of removing from the coastal range to the Great Lakes the construction of 15 cruisers during the first year, and 30 cruisers the second year. This would enable the ways on the coastal range to increase their construction of merchant ships by 120 ships of 8,000 tons each, which would total 960,000 tons.

This is a theoretical approach, since it is clear that the construction of all cruisers would not be removed from the coastal range to the Great Lakes. It indicates, however, the magnitude of the contribution which the Great Lakes could, after the adoption of the St. Lawrence agreement, make to an expansion of the merchant shipbuilding programme of the United States.

There is not only the time element to be considered, but also the labour supply. The Great Lakes

area/

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area constitutes the largest reservoir of white skilled labour in the United States. With the cutting down of production for civilian consumption, labour from the automotive industry, for example, could easily be transferred to shipbuilding on the Great Lakes. Due to the immobility of labour it could much less easily be transferred to shipbuilding on the coastal range. The transference of labour from one region to another would also result in social costs which would be avoided if labour did not have to move from the Great Lakes to the coast. In addition to skilled labour in the Great Lakes area, there is also an invisible labour supply of green men with some native skills who could be trained for shipbuilding. This invisible labour supply is larger in the Great Lakes district than elsewhere, since farm labourers, for example, in the Great Lakes area are more accustomed to dealing with machinery than are farm labourers in other parts of the country.

N.B. This general approach to the problem has not yet received the approval of the Navy Department and the Maritime Commission. Even after it has received their approval, the argument should, for political reasons, be first put forward from Washington rather than from Ottawa.

PART TWO

POWER

"I am convinced of the urgent need for the large increment in low cost electric power which the St. Lawrence project will provide. Already the demand for power is running ahead of expectations. In fact one of the most serious

handicaps/

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"handicaps to the rapid expansion of airplane production is the difficulty of finding the large supplies of high-load factor power required for aluminum production. We are of course expanding our electric facilities for this purpose as fast as practicable but by the time the St. Lawrence power is available other sources of cheap power will have been largely allocated.

"The St. Lawrence project offers by far the soundest and most economical provision for the power requirements of certain portions of our long-range defense program, more particularly for certain high-load factor defense industries. Furthermore the manufacturing facilities and skilled labor available for the construction of steel turbines and electric equipment will be needed to meet the requirements of the vast areas of our continent where water power is not so economically available."

(President's message).

The construction of power facilities in the International Rapids section will take 3 1/2 to 4 years to complete. The earliest date at which power will be available is therefore the end of 1944. Ontario has alternative sources of hydroelectric power but for New York State the only alternative is steam plants. The new York State Power Authority intends to build steam plants to take up the load growth to the end of 1944, but they want hydroelectric plants to take up the load growth from then on.

There is no basis to the argument that there would be a smaller diversion of men and resources for the construction of steam plants than for the construction of hydroelectric plants. Just as many men and men of higher skills are needed for the construction of steam plants and for the building of the machinery that goes into those plants. It takes, for example, ten years to

train/

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train a man to construct steam turbines. Moreover, the labour supply is the same for the construction of steam turbines for naval and merchant ships, and for power plants. In the construction of hydroelectric turbines, the forging of the shafts of these turbines is the only place where there is direct competition with the defence programme since this competes with the manufacture of gun forgings.

The actual construction of the project in the International Rapids Section would not divert men from the defence programme. The man power required on the International Rapids Section will average between 5,000 and 6,000, and reach a peak of 10,000 at the height of activity. These men will be mainly unskilled, and will not be required for the defence programme. There will indeed be an oversupply of construction mechanics this year when the building of cantonments for the army is completed.

PART THREE

OTHER DEFENCE ASPECTS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

In any discussion of the other defence aspects of the St. Lawrence project, three contingencies must be kept in mind: (1) an indefinite continuation of the war; (2) a British victory in the near future; (3) a British defeat. Either the first or third contingency would result in what the President has called "a protracted emergency".

1. Continuation of/

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1. Continuation of the War.

If the war continues, there will be a strain not only on shipbuilding capacity in the United States but also on transportation facilities. The capacity of the United States railroads was strained in the last war and will be subjected to an even severer strain in this war, especially if the destruction of merchant tonnage continues at its present rate. The Great Lakes will therefore be needed more than before for transportation. The continuation of the war will also mean a greater strain on existing ocean harbours. Experience to date has shown that inadequate facilities in ocean harbours is gravely holding up the despatch of ships to Great Britain. The construction of the Seaway will make it possible to have ocean ships loaded at a large number of lake ports. It is also possible that an argument can be made that shipping via the St. Lawrence route will relieve the strain on convoys, since the length of the ocean trip via the Great Lakes is much shorter than from other ports such as New York. The protected part of the ocean trip would be lengthened if the convoy route were via Newfoundland and Greenland, and if the United States had established adequate bases in both countries. If the strain on oil tankers becomes serious enough, it would be possible to increase the use of the pipe lines which now run to Great Lakes ports, and to have the oil piped on board tankers at these ports which could go direct, not only to the bases in Newfoundland and Greenland, but also to the British Isles without transshipment at Montreal.

2. A British Victory/

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2. A British Victory in the Near Future.

If the war ends with a British victory, it will be essential, not only in the interests of North America but also of Great Britain, that costs of transportation between North America and Great Britain be reduced as far as possible. Great Britain and the countries of continental Europe will be impoverished by the war; they will have lost their overseas investments and much of their invisible exports in the form of shipping and insurance services. In order to purchase essential imports they will be forced to subsidize exports. North America, in order to compete, will also have to cut down its costs of production and development of the St. Lawrence project will mean that it will be possible to cut down costs of transportation and of power. This argument could be twisted into a demand that Canada indulge in cutthroat competition with Great Britain. The emphasis should therefore be on the necessity of reducing the high cost of trade between North America and Great Britain. In the post-war world it will be necessary to increase the interchange of commodities between North America and Great Britain, and one way in which this interchange can be increased is by making sure that trade between the two countries will not have to bear high costs of transportation. In this war, the St. Lawrence valley can be considered as a life-line of Canada, and thus as a life-line of Great Britain. After the war, it is possible that the countries of the North Atlantic will be a bastion of civilization. The St. Lawrence is an

essential/

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essential element in the construction of that bastion, and it could thus be considered as a life-line of the English-speaking world after the war. One further argument is that the longer the ocean coast line of North America, the greater are the peacetime sea-going merchant fleets which can be maintained by North America. This merchant marine is an auxiliary to the naval services of the two countries. (An argument which could scarcely be used in the United States, and which could be used only with the greatest of discretion in Canada, is the possible long run effect on public opinion of making the Great Lakes ports ocean ports. At the present time the President is greatly worried by the continued non-interventionist sentiment in the mid-West. It is possible that over a ten- or fifteen-year period this non-interventionist sentiment would be greatly weakened, were the Great Lakes ports to be ocean ports.)

3. A British Defeat.

The arguments for the St. Lawrence project in the event of a British defeat are obvious and do not need expansion. One of the main arguments was put by Colonel Knox in his testimony before the House Committee on the Lease-Lend Bill, when he referred to the great shipbuilding capacity of a German-dominated Europe as compared to the shipbuilding capacity of North America. (The way that Mr. Berle has put this argument in private conversation is to say that if Great Britain is defeated, it will be necessary for North America to retire behind its second line of defence and to create there a force so overwhelming that North America can eventually re-conquer the British Isles from Germany.)

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C228734 N1-17

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THE
UNITED STATES MINISTER TO CANADA

GREAT LAKES-ST. LAWRENCE BASIN NEGOTIATIONS

[redacted] March 5, 1941,
From the Secretary of State for External Affairs
To the United States Minister to Canada

[redacted] Ottawa, March 5, 1941.

Sir:

- I have the honour to refer to certain questions which have arisen in the course of the St. Lawrence Waterway negotiations, and which we have discussed recently.

2. As you are aware, my colleagues and I have been giving prolonged consideration to the problems presented by the St. Lawrence Waterway project. We have noted the progress made in the preparation of the engineering plan for the international section and in the drafting of the general agreement. There is, however, one consideration of a fundamental character to which we desire to call attention.

3. The growing intensity of the war operations and the apprehension that still more serious perils will have to be faced in the very near future, necessitate the most careful examination of any proposed expenditure from the point of view of public need and in the light of war requirements.

4. In existing circumstances, the Canadian Government desires to know whether the Government of the United States is of the opinion, in view of the position in Canada, and, of course, the position in the United States as well,

The United States Minister to Canada,
Legation of the United States of America,
Ottawa, Canada.

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that the project, as outlined in the State Department's proposals of 1936 and 1938, and under consideration since that time, should now be proceeded with.

5. We have, of course, been fully aware of the desire of the Government of the United States to have a treaty or agreement respecting the St. Lawrence Waterway concluded at as early a date as possible, and negotiations, which have been carried on more or less continuously for some time past, have had in view the desire on our part to arrive, at the earliest possible date, at terms of agreement which would be mutually advantageous. We are also aware of the pronouncements, which have been made from time to time by the President, respecting the added emphasis given by the war to the importance alike of power and navigation developments in the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Waterway project. We are also duly appreciative of the agreement recently reached between our respective Governments, whereby the Province of Ontario has obtained the right to the immediate use of additional power at Niagara, and the diversion of the waters of the Ogoki and Long Lac Rivers into Lake Superior, in consideration of which, authority was given for the immediate investigation by United States engineers of the project in the international section of the St. Lawrence River in Ontario, in order to enable work of future development to proceed with the least possible delay, once an agreement between the two Governments, respecting the St. Lawrence development was concluded.

6. We would naturally be prepared to give every consideration to power or navigation developments which the United States may deem necessary to the prosecution of measures calculated to aid Great Britain, Canada and other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations in the present war, or to further the security of the United States itself against

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possible future events, which, at the moment, cannot be foreseen, but of which in times like the present full account must be taken. We realize that the Government of the United States will be as solicitous as our own Government to appraise the project at the present time in terms of its contribution to the efforts which are being put forward by our respective countries to preserve and to restore freedom.

7. It is from this point of view and in this spirit that we would ask that the St. Lawrence project be again reviewed by the Government of the United States before an agreement or treaty be finally entered into.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Sgd) W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Secretary of State for
External Affairs

Note No. 303, March 10, 1941
From the United States Minister to Canada
To the Secretary of State for External Affairs

Legation of the United State
of America

No. 303

Ottawa, March 10, 1941.

Sir:

I lost no time in bringing to the attention of my Government your note of March 5 in regard to the St. Lawrence waterway negotiations. In view of the importance of the question you raised, the matter was laid before the President, and I have been instructed by way of reply, to transmit the following personal message from him to you:

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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"I have given careful consideration to your recent request that in view of the growing intensity of current war operations and the apprehension over perils which may have to be faced in the near future, the Government of the United States review the St. Lawrence project and give you an indication of its views as to whether, in the existing circumstances, this project as outlined in the State Department's proposals of 1936 and 1938 should now be proceeded with.

"May I say at the outset that I am aware of Canada's increasing war effort and I readily agree that it must have first call upon your country's resources and man power. I also agree that in view of the existing situation the most careful examination of any proposed expenditure is necessary from the point of view of the public need and in the light of defense requirements.

"With these considerations in mind, the Government of the United States has as you requested reviewed the St. Lawrence project. We have welcomed this occasion to review the project because of the fact that our own defense program renders it desirable that all public expenditures in the United States be weighed in the light of considerations similar to those set forth in your communication. The Government of the United States is engaged in a great defense program. It is determined to supply such aid in material to Great Britain, the members of the Commonwealth and their allies as may be necessary to enable them to bring the war to a successful termination. Simultaneously our own defenses are being strengthened to the extent necessary to prevent any foe from menacing the security of this hemisphere. It is

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indispensable that all public projects contemplated by the Government of the United States be considered from the standpoint of their relationship to these supreme objectives.

"The Government of the United States regards the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence basin project as directly associated with the accomplishment of the foremost national objectives of this Government. It believes that the project should be proceeded with and that construction should commence at the earliest possible moment. It regards the construction of this project as a matter of vital necessity.

"You refer to the engineering investigation now being conducted in the international section of the St. Lawrence River. I need hardly say that I directed the release of $1,000,000 from the special defense fund for this purpose only because of my conviction that the completion of this project by 1945 might prove of vital importance to our defense effort. It is gratifying that there has been sufficient progress to make possible the initiation of construction this spring.

"I am sure you will agree with me that, while our countries must put forth maximum immediate defense effort, we must also prepare for the possibility of a protracted emergency which will call upon the industries on both sides of the border to meet constantly expanding demands. The combination of advantages offered by the St. Lawrence project makes it imperative that we undertake it immediately.

"In terms of the time factor, the St. Lawrence project as a part of our defense-program is not exceptional, since we are today appropriating money for construction of vessels of war which will not be ready for service until the completion

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of the St. Lawrence undertaking.

"I am convinced of the urgent need for the large increment in low cost electric power which the St. Lawrence project will provide. Already the demand for power is running ahead of expectations. In fact one of the most serious handicaps to the rapid expansion of airplane production is the difficulty of finding the large supplies of high-load factor power required for aluminum production. We are of course expanding our electric facilities for this purpose as fast as practicable but by the time the St. Lawrence power is available other sources of cheap power will have been largely allocated.

"The St. Lawrence project offers by far the soundest and most economical provision for the power requirements of certain portions of our long-range defense program, more particularly for certain high-load factor defense industries. Furthermore the manufacturing facilities and skilled labor available for the construction of steel turbines and electric equipment will be needed to meet the requirements of the vast areas of our continent where water power is not so economically available.

"I am also convinced that the opening of the St. Lawrence deep waterway to afford an outlet for naval and cargo ships constructed in Great Lakes shipyards, far from representing a diversion of funds and resources from the defense effort, would have the opposite effect. Our ship-building program, to meet the requirements of defense, will call for a great expansion of shipyards with their associated machine shops and adequate supplies of skilled

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labor. The extent to which intensified submarine and air attacks on convoys may necessitate an expansion of the program is still unknown. If the war is protracted however it seems certain that the number of shipyards required will have to be several times those at present available. In terms of our present industrial arrangements, many of these can be most readily and economically available in the Great Lakes area.

"If the full burden of our expanding ship construction must fall on seaboard shipyards the time required to complete the vessels themselves must, in many instances, be increased by the period necessary to construct new shipyards and facilities. With this in mind it is apparent that the deep waterway could be completed in time to provide an outlet to the sea for many of the new vessels included in the present program.

"In the light of these facts it is my belief that the funds and man power required for the earliest possible completion of the St. Lawrence project could not be better spent for our joint defense effort, including aid to Great Britain. It is my feeling that failure to take advantage of the possibilities of this project would be shortsighted, in no way contributing to an increase in our immediate defense effort, while limiting our defense program in the difficult years which lie ahead."

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(SGD) PIERREPONT MOFFAT

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ROLAND COOPER TO N.R. DANIELIAN, ... C228741

(C O P Y)

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION AGAINST
THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY AND POWER PROJECT

March 24, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. N. R. DANIELIAN: Roland Cooper

PROJECT'S NAVIGATION ASPECTS

FARMERS

1. Grain exportation in the future will not exceed the acreage of the last eight years, which is approximately 446,000 tons per year. The maximum saving over the present rate, 12.34 cents per bushel from the Head-of-the-Lakes to London, is 3.09 cents per bushel, or $1.03 per ton. Thus the most that could be saved would be $459,000 per year (N.F.P.B. p. 62).

2. This benefit would not accrue to the benefit of the American farmer. The world's grain prices are set at Liverpool, and a saving of such minuteness would be absorbed by the purchaser in the European market. It would merely enable the buyer to pay less for the grain (N.F.P.B. p. 62).

3. The farmers are now receiving subsidies through various legislative measures such as the Agricultural Marketing Adjustment Act and are working under a planned agricultural economy which would be disrupted by granting them the further subsidy of the seaway project.

4. Packing house products require special handling and rapid and frequent transportation service,, and their main export season is the five months during which the seaway would be closed, all reasons militating against the shipment through the seaway of livestock products. Moreover, there has been a sharp decline in meat and animal fat exports during recent years (Moulton).

SHIPPING

5. The route would be so tortuous and hazardous that the consequent insurance rates would be prohibitive. There has

been/

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been no evidence that responsible ocean shipping men would take the risk of sending their steamships up this hazardous course, nor any evidence that it would be profitable for them to do so.

6. Only 5% of the world's tonnage consists of American-owned ships which could use the seaway (N.F.P.B. p. 48).

7. Atlantic shipping rates for the most part have been estimated as a result of negotiations carried out between members of shipping line conferences. They have been successful in minimizing the extent and effect of cut-throat tramp steamship competition. 62% of the tonnage and 85% of the faster cargo vessels which now enter American ports could not navigate a 27-foot water course according to Moulton's study. An analysis of the U. S. Maritime Commission's report of December 31, 1937 shows no more than 30% of the registered tonnage in ships of the world of more than 2,000 gross tons capacity, capable of navigating a 27-foot fresh water channel. The trend in ship building now, as shown by study of the five distinct vessel types built under the program of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 is toward a deeper draft, thus they will not be able successfully to navigate the seaway. All these facts indicate that tramp steamships would be resuscitated with a consequent detriment to the orderly conference-agreed rates of the largest steamship operators who offer the most dependable service. Once a 27-foot canal is opened and it is possible for tramps under foreign flags to call at the Lake ports for export traffic, a demand for lower rates from seaboard ports will be heard. If Atlantic rate concessions are made and the inland voyage is not profitable, the tramps, and a greater number of them is feared, will transfer their operations to competition at the seaboard ports. In whatever direction the competition leads, Atlantic rates, already scarcely profitable, will be depressed more, liberal national subsidies will be required and shipping will move in the direction of/a national enterprise. (This is from L. K. Sillcox's "Inland

Ocean/

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Ocean", an address delivered at Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, January 9, 1941.)

8. When the coal movement to the head of the Lakes exceeds vessel capacity required for the eastern shipment of ore, some ships will enter the grain trade to avoid a return trip in ballast. This would force a distress rate on grain. The New York ocean grain rate is now less than the Montreal rate by amounts ranging from 0.5 cent to 2.5 cents and this is in combination with a cheap movement via the New York City Barge Canal, despite the two transfers which the shallow canal draft requires.

9. The Lake shippers would lose their business to foreign vessels, built and manned by cheap labor and the result would depress the wages of the lake seamen, now the highest in the world.

10. The project would be ruinous to Lake shippers, who would lose their business to ocean going vessels.

11. The fact that the New York Barge Canal has not been successful since 1905 when enlarged at a cost which has now amounted to $230,000,000, is an argument against the success of any large inland shipping route. Furthermore, the value for the money invested in the barge canal will never be realized if this seaway project is put through.

12. The ports of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore have been built up by the investment of millions of dollars of Government subsidy. It would be economically unwise now for the Government to subsidize this seaway, thus impairing its own investment in these national ports. Thousands of dock workers would lose their employment.

13. Buffalo would become a ghost port. The very property owners, commercial and residential, who now depend on the port business for a livelihood would at the same time lose their means and be asked to pay higher taxes.

14. Because/

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14. Because of the limitation of diversion from Lake Michigan to the Chicago Drainage Canal, the Mississippi Valley Association on behalf of the Gulf Ports protests the seaway on the ground that it will impair the commercial navigation of the water-way from the Lakes to the Gulf.

15. Canadian Ports will gain at the expense of American Ports.

FOREIGN COMPETITION

16. Cheap coal from Great Britain and Russia would flood our markets. Crude petroleum and fuel oil would flow freely from Venezuela, Russia, and other fields outside our borders. Foreign pulpwood would threaten a growing paper industry in the south. Every competitive mineral would be available at interior ports more cheaply no doubt than it could be produced under American standards, despite probable tariff modifications. (This is from Sillcox's "Inland Ocean".)

17. The manufacturers around the Great Lakes region would suffer from the importation of foreign products manufactured by cheap labor and unselling their own goods.

RAILROADS

18. Transportation facilities are adequate now. If the seaway is greatly used the railroads will suffer. If it is not, then it will be a waste. In either event the result is indefensible.

19. If it is bad for the railroads, it is bad for the coal industry. If it is bad for the coal industry, it is bad for the miners, of whom there are thousands employed. The seaway project is in fact bad for the coal interests in two respects, first that it would subject domestic coal to cheap foreign competition from British coal and second, the business of the railroads being impaired, they would consequently use less coal themselves. We would lose an annual 17,000,000 ton per year coal market in Canada, to Welsh coal.

20. If the/

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20. If the railroads suffer the railway employees must consequently suffer. There are thousands of railway employees who would be adversely affected.

21. If the railroads were hurt, this would be a severe blow to the whole economy of the nation, since railway bonds and stocks represent the investment of insurance companies, savings banks, and many other fiduciary investors.

22. It is unfair to the railroads to take away their revenue during the summer months when business is good and profitable and expect them to render service in the winter months when business is poor and the cost of doing business because of adverse weather conditions is so increased as to render a profit impossible or unlikely.

23. The Government has so much money already invested in railroads that it would be bad business policy for it to subsidize a competitor and thereby render the chances of its sometime collecting its money that much less likely.

24. The waterway would not be an effective agency for controlling railroad rates in general. Moreover, transportation costs can be regulated more cheaply by other means (Moulton, pp. 186 to 189. It is significant that Moulton goes on to say that the waterway would not seriously affect the financial position of American railroads; that in fact, less than 2% of the total traffic now carried by the railroads of the eastern district would be diverted from these roads by the waterway. The loss of revenues involved, he goes on to say, would clearly not be a matter of vital concern to the railways).

25. The grain shipper would be subsidized at the expense of the railways and the taxpayers and the greatest burden of taxation would fall on the seaboard states which would also lose their ocean traffic.

COST

26. There has not been an accurate estimate of the cost of the project. The following items have been omitted:

(1) improvement/

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(1) improvement of harbors, (2) contingencies (see the actual cost of the Suez, Panama, Chicago Drainage Canals as compared with their estimated costs), (3) interest during construction, (4) interest during period of amortization, and (5) maintenance charges.

27. According to the Government's interdepartmental report dealing with the economics of the situation, the seaway is not expected to be of direct benefit to so much of the population as pays 64% of the cost in the non-tributary area of New England, the middle states of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia; the southeastern states of Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi; the southwestern states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona; the far western states of Utah, Nevada, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon and Washington. In addition, according to this Government report, outside of the tributary area is 80% of the area of New York, 70% of the area of Pennsylvania, 20% of the area of Ohio, 30% of the area of Missouri, 70% of the area of Colorado, 40% of the area of Wyoming and 20% of the area of Montana. It may, in fact, be confidently asserted that 90% of the cost of this gigantic project will be borne by citizens who will be damaged rather than benefited by the construction and operation of the canal (Fletcher's speech of January 9, 1941).

28. Summary of losses based on interdepartmental report's estimated use of the St. Lawrence Seaway:

Annual Costs, Interest and Maintenance	$12,464,000.00
Loss to the United States Inland Transportation Systems	77,802,000.00
Loss to United States Ocean Carriers	9,680,000.00
Loss through Diversion of Canadian Grain from United States Routes and Ocean Carriers	4,665,000.00
Loss to United States Coal Industry Resulting from Foreign Competition	17,500,000.00
Total	$122,111,000.00
Less Public Savings	45,516,000.00
Annual Net Loss . . .	$76,595,000.00

(These figures are accompanied by tables and explanations and come from pp. 82 to 88, Niagara Planning Board.)

MISCELLANEOUS/

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MISCELLANEOUS

29. Most of the work would be done with American money but foreign labor and materials.

30. This seaway can only be utilized seven to eight months during the year because of ice in the remaining months. In its limited annual use it cannot be commercially successful.

31. Lake Michigan would be internationalized despite the fact that the proposed treaty of 1938 specifically provided what the treaty of 1932 did not provide--that nothing in the treaty should be construed as infringing or impairing the sovereignty of the United States over Lake Michigan. The present article limits the amount of water which may be withdrawn from Lake Michigan at Chicago for the sanitary requirements of that city and the further development of the Great Lakes-Mississippi Valley-Gulf of Mexico Waterway. The United States has no existing treaty with Canada which in any way would interfere with the development of such a canal. By writing such a provision into the proposed treaty, the United States surrenders her right to develop a deep waterway from Chicago to the Gulf if at any time she should deem it to her interest to do so.

32. The treaty, because of the complexity of the matters with which it deals, would be a fruitful source of irritation in the relations between Canada and the United States and might eventually lead to the estrangement of good feeling (Niagara Frontiers Planning Board's "The St. Lawrence Seaway Project" published in 1940, p. 13).

33. It is not to the national interest to develop a highway to the sea through foreign territory. In the event of war between Canada or England and any other power, we would not be able to ship through the seaway without breaking the neutrality laws.

34. It will result in annual losses to American labor, transportation and industry of $109,647,000 according to Government witnesses before the Senate Foreign Relations Committees/

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Committees in 1934 (N.F.P.B.).

PROJECT'S CHEAP POWER ASPECT

35. The proceeds from the sale of the power generated at the project and transmitted over an independent transmission system would not cover the costs involved for the Government (Moulton on Sanderson & Porter's Engineering Report, p. 217; Niagara Planning Board).

36. Whatever power benefits might result from the St. Lawrence project would affect only the State of New York and neither New York City nor western New York is a practical market for St. Lawrence power. Under existing delivery conditions power from nearer sources is more practical and economic for these areas. Previous estimates of increased power demand in New York State are too optimistic. The demand in 1952 possibly will not exceed 21 billion kwh (Niagara Planning Board).

37. Over-development of hydro-electric power is a dangerous policy to pursue. When generating plants are built without an adequate market for the power, the capital charges accumulate to such an extent that the project never pays (Niagara Planning Board.)

38. Progressive development of Niagara Falls power potentialities independent of the seaway and in step with power needs, is the most practical plan. This would eliminate economic hazards to the new developments and to existing plants.

39. Electric energy can be generated more cheaply now by the use of modern improved steam generating plants than by the use of water power.

40. The amount of power which would be created on the United States side of the river for $206,065,000 in the present St. Lawrence scheme could be produced for only $90,000,000 without the navigation project (N.F.P.B.) Existing steam generating electric energy facilities are adequate. Private utility companies are growing along with the need and there

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is no evidence that they cannot keep pace. Moreover, they use coal which is not only a cheaper source of electric energy than water, but is also a boon to national industrial health.

41. If the northern New York area should become the scene of a great industrial growth, this would not be new business but would only mean the transplantation of industrial business which already exists in other places and would be attracted to the scene of this cheaper power. It would be accompanied by dislocation of labor and industry in other sections of the country with consequent misery and distress which always accompanies such economic and industrial change.

PROJECT'S NATIONAL DEFENSE ASPECT

42. The seaway would be too easy a mark for aerial bombardment and sabotage to be at all valuable.

43. The project would not be finished until years after the need for it had passed.

44. Ships traveling certain narrow parts of this seaway would be helpless objects of attack for enemy action.

45. Destruction of the locks would bottle up whatever part of the fleet happened to be inside the sea-way for the duration of the war.

46. There is already a shortage of skilled workers and defense products, and work on this project would intensify it.

47. Steam plants are quicker and cheaper to build. They could be built while there is still a need for them in National Defense.

48. Other inland ship yards in the Mississippi River, for instance, where there is no five month period of ice, are safer and cheaper.

49. Defense projects should never be on the country's borders.

50. It/

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50. It would be far more strategic to have the power supply steam-generated and scattered in many places near the source of the materials which require it and presenting many small targets rather than one large target.

51. Canada is a country now at war. We do not know how she will be affected by the terms of the treaty of the present war. We should, therefore, not make any arrangement with her affecting the borders of our country.

52. This would be a diversion away from rather than toward National Defense of men, money amd materials - sorely needed for the production of guns, planes, tanks and other arms of war.

53. This project should be saved until after the war when work on it would serve to take up the slack in unemployment produced by the dislocation of economy after the cessation of the manufacture of war materials.

54. National Defense is only a cloak to hide the real purpose of the seaway which is President' Roosevelt's desire to get even with the electric generating public utilities of New York, as he once told them he would when Governor of New York. This is another illustration of the subterfuge used by the President, an even better illustration of the trickery being his intention to submit the project as legislation rather than as a treaty to escape the necessity of having to secure a two-thirds majority in the Senate.

55. By the time the project is finished, there will be an over capacity of shipbuilding facilities at tide water. We will not need any new yards in the Lakes.

56. If the British and Canadian interests establish ship construction facilities on the Great Lakes (on the Canadian side) they will compete with American yards after the war is over.

57. Use of the seaway for national defense purposes would invite attack, which would destroy the transportation use.

(sgd.) ROLAND COOPER

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JER/S

C228951 Mar. 31/41

Waterways - St Lawrence ✓
Dom. Prov. Relations - Ont ✓
W W II - Munitions ✓

NOTE FOR MR. HENRY

Attached is a photostat copy of the Canada—Ontario Agreement, November 19, 1941, in case the Prime Minister wants it for his own records.

J.E. READ.

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Agreement made this nineteenth day of March, A.D. 1941,

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, herein represented by the Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Secretary of State for External Affairs, and the Honourable CLARENCE D. HOWE, Minister of Munitions and Supply, and hereinafter referred to as Canada,

of the First Part;

AND

THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO, herein represented by the Honourable MITCHELL F. HEPBURN, Premier and President of the Executive Council of Ontario, and the Honourable HARRY C. NIXON, Provincial Secretary of Ontario, and hereinafter referred to as Ontario,

of the Second Part:

WHEREAS an agreement, hereinafter referred to as the Canada-United States Agreement, is now in process of negotiation between His Majesty in respect of Canada and the President of the United States of America for the purpose of the utilization of the water in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin; and

WHEREAS the proposed Canada-United States Agreement makes provision for the construction of certain works in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, hereinafter referred to as the International Rapids Section, through which runs the international boundary between Canada and the United States of America, some of which will be used solely for navigation, hereinafter referred to as the navigation works; some of which will be used solely for the development of power, hereinafter referred to as the power works; and some of which will be used in common both for navigation and for the development of power, hereinafter referred to as the common works; and

WHEREAS it is intended that the Canadian share of the power developed in the International Rapids Section will be available to Ontario; and

WHEREAS it is desirable that an Agreement should be made between Canada and Ontario concerning the construction and use of the works in the International Rapids Section, the apportionment between them of the costs thereof, and the use of the water available for the development of power; and

WHEREAS it is desirable to regulate and define the rights and obligations of Canada and Ontario in respect of diversions of water into the Great Lakes System, and in respect of the utilization of the flow of the waters of the Niagara River:

NOW THEREFORE THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH:

ARTICLE I

This Agreement is conditional upon the negotiation and ratification of the Canada-United States Agreement which provides for the construction of a Controlled Single Stage Project in the International Rapids Section as described in the Schedule which is attached to and made part of this Agreement.

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ARTICLE II

Canada undertakes to provide on the Canadian side of the international boundary all navigation works, all common works, and certain of the power works, which power works are more particularly described in the Schedule, Part II, and, after completion, Canada will assume responsibility for the operation and maintenance of all such navigation and common works. Ontario will assume responsibility for the provision of any works which Ontario may require for power on the Canadian side of the international boundary, other than the power works which are more particularly described in the Schedule, Part II.

ARTICLE III

(*a*) At a date not later than the date of the first payment of the sum of twenty million dollars ($20,000,000) under the provisions of Article XI, the Canadian power works in the International Rapids Section, which are described in the Schedule, Part II, and all lands connected therewith, will become the property of Ontario; and Ontario will be responsible for the operation and maintenance thereof; provided that, in the operation and maintenance of the property transferred to the Province under the provisions of this Article, Ontario undertakes that it will conform with the provisions of the Canada-United States Agreement and will refrain from doing any act inconsistent therewith.

(*b*) Prior to the vesting of the property in Ontario pursuant to paragraph (*a*) of this Article, Ontario will have the right to enter upon the works and lands mentioned in the Schedule for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Agreement, and the ownership of any works provided by Ontario will remain in Ontario. The rights given to Ontario by this paragraph will not be exercised unreasonably.

(*c*) In the event of Ontario failing to make on the due date any of the subsequent payments required by Article XI, and in the event of such default continuing for a period of one year, the power works and lands mentioned in paragraph (*a*) of this Article will cease to be the property of Ontario and will vest in Canada; provided that, after the property has so revested in Canada the default may be cured by Ontario making the defaulted payment and any further payments which have become due. In that event, the power works and lands will again become the property of Ontario and all the provisions of this Agreement will have full force and effect as if no default had taken place.

ARTICLE IV

(*a*) Canada assumes responsibility for the provision of all lands required for the purposes of this Agreement and agrees to save Ontario harmless from any claims which may arise therefrom or in consequence of Canada's failure to provide sufficient lands for such purposes.

(*b*) Canada agrees that, in all cases in which a municipal body has suffered serious loss in tax revenue or has suffered serious impairment of security for debentures issued, by reason of the taking of a substantial proportion of its taxable property, equitable claims by such municipal bodies may be submitted for settlement by an arbitral tribunal established under the provisions of Article XIV. Such tribunal will have jurisdiction to entertain and determine such claims and Canada undertakes to pay any awards made by the tribunal thereunder. Such awards shall be paid to such persons or corporations in such manner and proportions as the Ontario Municipal Board may direct.

(*c*) Canada will assure to Ontario such lands as are required for power works, including lands required for electric switching structures, and such other lands as may be reasonably necessary for the proper operation and maintenance of the power development. Such lands will become the property of Ontario at the time provided in, and subject to the provisions of, Article III.

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(*d*) In addition, and in the event that any lands useful for transmission lines have been acquired by Canada in consequence of transactions connected with works under this Agreement, Canada will make such of these lands as are required available without cost to Ontario for transmission purposes, provided that such use of the lands by Ontario does not interfere with their reasonable and early use by Canada for a specific purpose.

ARTICLE V

(*a*) (i) Ontario will be consulted as to the plans and specifications of all common works in so far as those works may affect the development of power, and of all the power works in Canada, and will be kept informed as to the progress thereof.

(ii) Canada will not approve

the plans and specifications of any common works unless Ontario has signified that it is satisfied as to their stability and adequacy for any purposes that are of interest to Ontario, or

the plans and specifications of any power works in Canada without the prior approval of Ontario;

provided that Ontario's approval or signification as aforesaid will not be unreasonably withheld or delayed.

(iii) All the works mentioned in this paragraph will be constructed in conformity with the plans and specifications, in respect of which Ontario has signified its satisfaction or approval.

(*b*) Canada assumes responsibility for the design of all navigation and common works. The provision for the passage and for the regulation of water through all power structures and the stability and adequacy of power structures, in so far as they may affect navigation, will be subject to Canada's approval.

ARTICLE VI

In addition to the waters available to Ontario under Article XIII, Canada will make available to Ontario for the development of power all the share of the water in the International Rapids Section, as made available for use in Canada by the Canada-United States Agreement, being one-half of the water available for power purposes in the International Rapids Section exclusive of diversions into the Great Lakes System under the provisions of Article VIII of the Canada-United States Agreement, and Ontario will be deemed to be the owner of the Canadian share of water power in the International Rapids Section and will have, solely for power purposes, the perpetual right to the use, in common with Canada, of the common works.

ARTICLE VII

(*a*) Ontario assumes responsibility for all costs and charges on account of the Ogoki River diversion and the Long Lac diversion and undertakes to proceed with these diversions in accordance with commitments already made.

(*b*) Ontario undertakes to construct, pursuant to the provisions of Article IX of the Canada-United States Agreement, remedial works in the Niagara River, and to pay the costs thereof up to eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty dollars ($838,450), and Canada undertakes to reimburse Ontario as accounts are rendered the costs in excess of that amount.

(*c*) Upon completion of the remedial works authorized under Article IX of the Canada-United States Agreement, Canada, without delay, will authorize such diversions of water above the Falls, for power purposes, in addition to the amounts specified in Article 5 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, as Canada is from time to time enabled to authorize under Article IX of the

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Canada-United States Agreement and Canada will promptly take any steps that may be necessary under the Canada-United States Agreement to enable Canada to authorize at all times the maximum permissible diversion of water for power.

ARTICLE VIII

Canada agrees that Ontario may make arrangements for the enjoyment and exercise by The Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario, of any of Ontario's rights and benefits under this Agreement.

ARTICLE IX

Ontario will furnish, at cost, such power as may from time to time be required by Canada for the operation of the navigation works and for other purposes of navigation in the International Rapids Section.

ARTICLE X

Canada undertakes that, on any International Boards or other bodies directing the design construction or operation of the works provided for in the Canada-United States Agreement or directing the regulation or control of the waters of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River for navigation and power, Ontario will at all times have adequate and acceptable representation.

ARTICLE XI

In consideration of the premises, and in addition to the obligations incurred under Article VII, Ontario will pay to Canada, in full payment for everything under this Agreement, the sum of sixty-four million one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars ($64,125,000), payable as follows:

(*a*) twenty million dollars ($20,000,000) one year after power is first developed and sold from the power works in Canada, or two years after completion of the common works and of the power works mentioned in the Schedule, Part II, whichever date is earlier;

(*b*) three million eighty-two thousand five hundred dollars ($3,082,500) per year for five years, commencing one year after the first payment aforesaid;

(*c*) five million seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred dollars ($5,742,500) per year for five years, commencing six years after the first payment aforesaid.

ARTICLE XII

Interest will be payable by Canada and Ontario on any arrears of payments due under the provisions of Article VII and Article XI at the rate of three and one-quarter per cent per annum. Interest will be calculated from and after the expiration of thirty days after the due date in the case of payments due under Article XI and from and after the expiration of sixty days after the rendering of the accounts pursuant to the provisions of Article VII.

ARTICLE XIII

In addition to the rights secured to Ontario by Article VI, Canada undertakes that, with respect to waters diverted by Ontario into the Great Lakes Basin, Ontario will have the right to the use of additional waters, equivalent in quantity to the waters so diverted, for the development of power from the point or points of diversion to the easterly end of the International Rapids Section.

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ARTICLE XIV

(*a*) In the event of Canada and Ontario failing to agree on the interpretation of any part of this Agreement or on any matter arising therefrom, either party shall have the right to refer the matter to an arbitral tribunal.

(*b*) Each arbitral tribunal shall consist of one person chosen by Canada, one person chosen by Ontario and one person chosen by agreement between Canada and Ontario. If they fail to agree, the third member of the tribunal shall be chosen by the Chief Justice of Canada.

(*c*) Both parties agree to facilitate the constitution and functioning of arbitral tribunals and to accept their decisions.

(*d*) The procedure in any arbitration under the provisions of this Article will be determined by agreement between the parties thereto.

(*e*) If by reason of a dispute between the parties any payment provided for in any Article under this Agreement is delayed, the land will not vest or re-vest pending the settlement of such dispute, and the payment of interest on any payment delayed by such arbitration proceedings will be in the disposition of the arbitral tribunal.

ARTICLE XV

This Agreement is made subject to its approval by the Parliament of Canada and by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario. If, however, the Canada-United States Agreement has not come into force within three years from the date of this Agreement, either party hereto may, by written notice to the other, forthwith cancel this Agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING and the Honourable CLARENCE D. HOWE have hereunto set their hands on behalf of Canada and the Honourable MITCHELL F. HEPBURN and the Honourable HARRY C. NIXON have hereunto set their hands on behalf of Ontario; both upon the nineteenth day of March, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one.

W. L. Mackenzie King

C. D. Howe

Witness to the signatures of Messrs. King and Howe

H. C. Nixon

Witness to the signature of Mr. Nixon

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SCHEDULE

TO THE

CANADA-ONTARIO AGREEMENT

(See Articles, I, II, III, V and XI)

PART I

The scheme of development shall conform generally to that known as a Controlled Single Stage Project, described in the Annex to the Canada-United States Agreement, the main features of which are as follows:

(1) A control dam in the vicinity of Iroquois Point.

(2) A dam in the Long Sault Rapids at the head of Barnhart Island and two power houses, one on either side of the international boundary, at the foot of Barnhart Island.

(3) A side canal, with one lock on the United States mainland to carry navigation around the control dam and a side canal, with one guard gate and two locks, on the United States mainland south of Barnhart Island to carry navigation from above the main Long Sault Dam to the river south of Cornwall Island. All locks to provide 30 ft. depth of water on the mitre sills and to be of the general dimensions of those of the Welland Ship Canal. All navigation channels to be excavated to 27 ft. depth.

(4) Dykes, where necessary, on the United States and Canadian sides of the international boundary, to retain the pool level above the Long Sault Dam.

(5) Channel enlargement from the head of Galop Island to below Lotus Island designed to give a maximum velocity in the navigation channel south of Galop Island not exceeding four feet per second at any time.

(6) Channel enlargement between Lotus Island and the control dam and from above Point Three Points to below Ogden Island designed to give a maximum mean velocity in any cross-section not exceeding two and one-quarter feet per second with the flow and at the stage to be permitted on the 1st of January of any year, under regulation of outflow and levels of Lake Ontario.

(7) The necessary railroad and highway modifications on either side of the international boundary.

(8) The necessary works to permit the continuance of 14 ft. navigation on the Canadian side around the control dam and from the pool above the Long Sault Dam to connect with the existing Cornwall Canal.

(9) The rehabilitation of the towns of Iroquois and Morrisburg, Ontario.

All the works in the pool below the control dam shall be designed to provide for full Lake Ontario level but initially the pool shall be operated at maximum elevation 238.0.

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C228758

PART II

The power works which Canada undertakes to provide in Article II shall comprise generally, all excavation, disposal and fill, unwatering, headrace, tailrace, sluiceways, concrete bulkheads, embankments, railway and roadway connections incidental to the power development and the power house substructure, headworks and superstructure, all complete, ready for the installation of equipment. They are to be constructed according to the plans and specifications referred to in Article V of this Agreement.

The power house substructure shall include headworks, gates, racks, unwatering gates, gate checks, all gate-operating equipment, intakes, water passages, draft tubes, tailrace piers and deck, all covers for openings, railings, gratings, ladders, drains, piping, conduit, pit liners, speed rings, throat rings, draft-tube liners, scroll cases (whether moulded in concrete or of cast or plate steel), and all parts embedded in the substructure incidental thereto or connected therewith. The substructure shall be of sufficient dimensions to accommodate all equipment and apparatus including transformers and shall provide the necessary space for assembly, operation and maintenance.

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C228759

JER/S
Apr.2/41

file

W-121
V.1

NOTE FOR MR. PICKERSGILL

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum to Miss McKenzie from Mr. Gibson, with attached copy of Canadian Legation despatch No.574, March 11, 1941.

I note that Mr. King wants to have complete sets of this document, in triplicate.

The Prime Minister's Office has already received the following:-

(a) 1 set, complete to date, sent to the Prime Minister directly from the United States Department of Commerce;

(b) 1 set of Part I and Part II, sent to the Prime Minister's Office from this Department: one of these is apparently at Laurier House, in Mr. Gibson's hands; the other is probably in the East Block, in your possession.

J.A.G.

For Ferns To supply to JAG

To even up, so that you will have two sets complete to date, I am enclosing one copy of Part VI. — sent to JAG

To make up your sets to three complete to date, I am enclosing one set complete to date,- which means Parts I, II and VI.

Hereafter you will be receiving the additional parts as they are issued, one copy of each, directly from the Department of Commerce; and two copies of each from External Affairs.

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C228760

Miss McKenzie

Washington Despatch No. 574, March 11 enclosing copy of The St. Lawrence Seaway Part II.

Mr. King has directed me to secure the complete series in triplicate (why three I am not informed) and to give one set to Pickersgill.

I have at L H one copy of Part II, but have not a copy of Part I (evidently enclosed in Washington Despatch No. 304 of February 11). Could you send me a copy of this latter, and a copy of each to Pickersgill?

J.A.G.

2/4.

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COPY(MJS)
C228761

Canadian Legation
Washington
March 11, 1941.

No. 574.

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 304 of February 11, under cover of which I transmitted to you the first of a series of seven reports prepared by the Department of Commerce on the economic advantages and disadvantages of the St. Lawrence Waterway and Power Project, and to enclose seven additional copies of the first report and seven copies of the second report. The second report is entitled, "Shipping Services on the St. Lawrence River."

I have the honour, etc.,

M. M. MAHONEY

Charge d'Affaires

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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N.A. ROBERTSON TO WLMK. C220762

NAR/SR
9.5.41

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am enclosing, herewith, two copies of a memorandum on the ownership of the bed of the St. Lawrence River, prepared by Mr. Wershof of the Department under the direction of the Legal Adviser. This is the memorandum which President Roosevelt requested for his own information.

Mr. Read sees no objection to this memorandum being communicated to the United States authorities for their confidential information, but feels that its publication might be undesirable as the Dominion has always been careful to reserve whatever rights it may have in the ownership of the bed of the river.

N.A. ROBERTSON

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JER/S
C228763 May 7/41

MEMORANDUM WITH REGARD TO THE OWNERSHIP OF THE BED OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

1. This question has been examined by Mr. Wershof of this Department, and a copy of his Memorandum, which goes into the matter in detail, is annexed.

2. I have examined the points raised by Mr. Wershof in his Memorandum, and have discussed the various questions involved, and have given such additional consideration to the question as appeared to be necessary in order to reach a conclusion on the points at issue.

3. I agree, generally, with the conclusions reached by Mr. Wershof, and in particular I am of the opinion:

(a) that the bed of the International Section of the St. Lawrence River is vested in the Crown in the right of Ontario, in so far as it lies within the boundaries of Canada;

(b) that the position is not affected by the ownership of the canals, which include most of the riparian land on the Canadian side.

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4. It is necessary to point out that the ownership of the bed of the St. Lawrence by the Crown, in right of the Province of Ontario, does not in any way prevent the improvement of the St. Lawrence by the Canadian Government. It does not enable the province to authorize the excavation of the bed or the erection upon it of structures, or any other action that would prejudicially affect navigation. In the case of excavation by Dominion authorities, the excavated material could be spoiled anywhere within the limits of the River, but if it were detached from the bed it would, of course, be subject to ownership either by a private proprietor or by the Provincial Crown, depending upon the circumstances.

5. The Canadian Government has not, officially, conceded the provincial claim to title in the bed of the River, and, in the Agreement with Ontario, care has been taken by both the Canadian Government and the Ontario Government, to avoid any concession on this point. The Canadian Government will not expropriate, or in any other way recognize Ontario's title to the sites of power house, dams or dykes, when they are in the bed of the River, but upon completion the title to the power works becomes vested in the Province.

J.L.R.

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C228765

Apr.29/41
MW/LF/B

MEMORANDUM RE OWNERSHIP OF THE BED OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

The conclusion of this memorandum is that His Majesty in right of Ontario owns the bed of the part of the International Section of the St. Lawrence River that lies within the boundaries of Canada, hereinafter referred to as "the International Section in Canada".

To reach this conclusion, the subject is considered under three headings:

The International Section and the Boundaries of Ontario (page 1).

The Ownership of the Beds of Rivers in General and the St. Lawrence in Particular (page 4).

The Problem of Riparian Owners (page 9).

The International Section and the Boundaries of Ontario

Before discussing the ownership of the bed of the International Section in Canada, it is necessary to be certain that this Section is within the boundaries of Ontario. In theory, it would have been possible and

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even defensible to exclude the International Section in Canada from the boundaries of Ontario. In fact, as will be shown, the International Section in Canada is without doubt within the boundaries of Ontario.

By the Treaty of Paris of 1763 the King of France ceded to His Britannic Majesty "Canada, with all its dependencies . . . and all the . . . islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence". The whole of the St. Lawrence River was thereby ceded to His Britannic Majesty.

By Royal Proclamation of 1763 His Majesty created the Province of Quebec. The boundaries of this Province did not include any part of what is now the International Section of the Stl Lawrence.

The Quebec Act, 1774, annexed to the Province of Quebec considerable territory, including the whole of the International Section of the St. Lawrence.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783 drew the boundaries of the United States of America along the middle of the International Section of the St. Lawrence. Half of the International Section was therefore left where it was before, namely, within the boundaries of the Province of Quebec.

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The Constitutional Act 1791 recited the Royal intention to divide the Province of Quebec into two separate Provinces: Upper Canada and Lower Canada.

This intention was carried out by an Order in Council of August 24, 1791, which drew the boundary between Upper Canada and Lower Canada. The Order did not define the complete boundaries of each province, but only the boundary between them, beginning at a point on the north bank of Lake St. Francis. The definition concluded with these words - "including all the Territory to the westward and southward of the said Line, to the utmost Extent of the Country commonly called or known by the Name of Canada". It follows that the International Section in Canada was within the boundaries of the Province of Upper Canada.

The Union Act, 1840, reunited the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada to form one Province of Canada.

The British North America Act, 1867, united the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, into one Dominion under the name of Canada. The Act divided Canada into four provinces, including Ontario. Section 6 of the Act provided:

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"6. The Parts of the Province of Canada (as it exists at the passing of this Act) which formerly constituted respectively the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada shall be deemed to be severed, and shall form two separate Provinces. The Part which formerly constituted the Province of Upper Canada shall constitute the Province of Ontario; and the Part which formerly constituted the Province of Lower Canada shall constitute the Province of Quebec."

It follows that the International Section in Canada is within the boundaries of Ontario.

The Ownership of the Beds of Rivers in General and the St. Lawrence in Particular

The fact that the International Section in Canada is within the boundaries of Ontario does not of itself prove that its bed belongs to His Majesty in right of Ontario. The conclusion that it does belong to His Majesty in right of Ontario is based on additional evidence.

The legislative provisions to be considered are:

Sections 53 and 54 of The Union Act, 1840

Section 52 provided for the payment of certain sums out of the consolidated revenue fund of the Province of Canada to her Majesty, her heirs and successors. Section 54 provided that "during the time for which the said several sums . . . are severally payable the same shall be accepted and

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taken by Her Majesty by way of Civil List, instead of all territorial and other revenues now at the disposal of the Crown, arising in either of the said Provinces of Upper Canada or Lower Canada, or in the Province of Canada . . ."

Section 108 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867

"The Public Works and Property of each Province, enumerated in the Third Schedule to this Act, shall be the property of Canada."

The Third Schedule included - "Rivers and Lake Improvements".

Section 109 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867

"All Lands, Mines, Minerals, and Royalties belonging to the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union . . . shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in which the same are situate or arise . . ."

Section 117 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867

"The several Provinces shall retain all their respective Public Property not otherwise disposed of in this Act, subject to the Right of Canada to assume any Lands or Public Property required for Fortifications or for the Defence of the Country."

Before discussing the ownership of the beds of rivers it is useful to consider the ownership of Crown lands in general. This was done by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Co. v. The Queen (1888, 14 App. Ca.46). The following is from the judgment:

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"By an Imperial statute passed in the year 1840 (3 & 4 Vict. c. 35), the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, then known as Upper and Lower Canada, were united under the name of the Province of Canada, and it was, inter alia, enacted that, in consideration of certain annual payments which Her Majesty had agreed to accept by way of civil list, the produce of all territorial and other revenues at the disposal of the Crown arising in either of the united Provinces should be paid into the consolidated fund of the new Province. There was no transfer to the Province of any legal estate in the Crown lands, which continued to be vested in the Sovereign; but all moneys realized by sales or in any other manner became the property of the Province. In other words, all beneficial interest in such lands within the provincial boundaries belonging to the Queen, and either producing or capable of producing revenue, passed to the Province, the title still remaining in the Crown. That continued to be right of the Province until the passing of the British North America Act, 1867."

". . . The Act of 1867, which created the Federal Government, repealed the Act of 1840, and restored the Upper and Lower Canadas to the condition of separate Provinces, under the titles of Ontario and Quebec . . ."

"The conflicting claims to the ceded territory maintained by the Dominion and the Province of Ontario are wholly dependent upon these statutory provisions. In construing these enactments, it must always be kept in view that, wherever public land with its incidents is described as the property of or as belonging to the Dominion or a Province, these expressions merely import that the right to its beneficial use, or to its proceeds, has been appropriated to the Dominion or the Province, as the case may be, and is subject to the control of its legislature, the land itself being vested in the Crown." . . .

"The enactments of Sect. 109 are, in the opinion of their Lordships, sufficient to give to each Province, subject to the administration and control

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of its Legislature, the entire beneficial interest of the Crown in all lands within its boundaries, which at the time of the union were vested in the Crown, with the exception of such lands as the Dominion acquired right to under Sect. 108, or might assume for the purposes specified in Sect. 117."

With this in mind, we may pass to the question of the ownership of the beds of rivers, including the International Section in Canada. This was settled by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Attorney-General for the Dominion of Canada v. Attorneys-General for the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia, commonly known as the Fisheries case (1898 A.C. 700). This was an appeal from a judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada delivered upon seventeen questions referred to it by the Governor-General of Canada. The first question was:

"(1) Did the beds of all lakes, rivers, public harbours, and other waters, or any and which of them, situate within the territorial limits of the several provinces, and not granted before confederation, become under the British North America Act the property of the Dominion or the property of the province in which the same respectively are situate, and is there in that respect any and what distinction between the various classes of waters, whether salt waters or fresh waters, tidal or non-tidal, navigable or non-navigable, or between the so-called great lakes, such as Lakes Superior, Huron, Erie, &c., and the other lakes, or the so-called great rivers, such as the

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St. Lawrence River, the Richelieu, the Ottawa, &c., and other rivers, or between waters directly and immediately connected with the sea-coast and waters not so connected, or between other waters and waters separating (and so far as they do separate) two or more provinces of the Dominion from one another, or between other waters and waters separating (and so far as they do separate) the Dominion from the territory of a foreign nation?"

The answer (so far as rivers are concerned) was that only the improvements in rivers within the provinces became the property of the Dominion of Canada. The judgment states that the words "Rivers and Lake Improvements" in The Third Schedule mean river improvements and lake improvements. The beds of rivers, if they were vested in the Crown prior to the enactment of the B.N.A. Act, remained the property of the provinces.

It follows from this judgment that the bed of the International Section in Canada is owned by His Majesty in right of Ontario.

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THE PROBLEM OF RIPARIAN OWNERS

This section of the memorandum would be superfluous if it were not for two things:-

First, the Third Schedule of the B.N.A. Act, when read in conjunction with Section 108, provides that the following property of the provinces shall be the property of Canada:

"Canals, with Lands ... connected therewith."

Second, Mr. Justice Smith of the Supreme Court of Canada made the following dictum in his judgement in the Reference re Waters and Water-Powers (1929 S.C.R. 200, at 230):

> "it may be noted in passing that a question may be raised as to whether the bed of these rapids (in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence)is in the province or the Dominion. Under the British North America Act, the canal and canal lands became the property of the Dominion, so that the Dominion became riparian owner of the lands bordering on the stream opposite these rapids for nearly their whole length. It has been held by the Ontario Court of Appeal that the common law presumption that the riparian proprietor owns to the middle of the bed applies in Ontario, and although the Ontario Legislature promptly nullified the effect of that decision by an Act (1 Geo. V.c.6) declaring that the presumption shall be the other way, as to grants, both before and after the passing of the Act, that Act could not affect the Dominion title, if it had any. It may be, as intimated in later Ontario decision, that the presumption would not in any case apply to the St. Lawrence river. I am merely pointing out the possibility of the question being raised in a higher court. We have, of course, nothing to do with it here."

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The common law presumption to which Mr. Justice Smith refers is stated in Halsbury's Laws of England (2nd ed., Vol. 33, p. 561) as follows:

> "The bed of non-tidal rivers and streams belongs, in the absence of any evidence of ownership to the contrary, by presumption of law, in equal moieties to the owners of the riparian lands.
>
> "This presumption that the riparian owners own the bed of the river usque ad medium filum aquae applies whether that land is freehold, copyhold, or leasehold, and whether the river is navigable or non-navigable.
>
> "A grant or lease of land described as abutting on a river made by a person who is in a position to part with the soil of the bed is sufficient to pass half the bed of the river without any reference in the document to the river, and the fact that the river is of great breadth does not affect the case.
>
> "The presumption may be rebutted by showing (1) that there exists over the bed of the moiety in question a several fishery not belonging to the grantor, because the presumption that the owner of a several fishery is owner of the bed displaces the presumption that arises in favour of the riparian owners; or (2) that at the time of the grant of the riparian land there was not intention on the grantor's part to part with the bed ad medium filum aquae; to ascertain this, the facts known to the parties at the time of the conveyance may be investigated, but not circumstances which afterwards occur; or (3) that the grantor had not the bed of the river to convey. The riparian presumption refers only to the origin of title, for the right to the bed of the river is not inseparably bound up for ever with the right to the land, and an owner may retain one and part with the other."

The Ontario Court of Appeal case to which Mr. Justice Smith refers is The Keewatin Power Company v. The Town of Kenora (16 P.L.R. 184, 1908). The Court was here dealing

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with a grant of land bounded by the Winnipeg River, a non-tidal river. The Court decided that the common law presumption was part of the law of Ontario and that the owners of the land owned the river bed to the "medium filum aquae".

The Ontario Act to which Mr. Justice Smith refers is The Bed of Navigable Waters Act, R.S.O. 1937, Chap. 44, Sect. 1 of which provides:

> "1. Where land bordering on a navigable body of water or stream has been heretofore, or shall hereafter, be granted by the Crown, it shall be presumed, in the absence of an express grant of it, that the bed of such body of water or stream was not intended to pass to the grantee of the land, and the grant shall be construed accordingly and not in accordance with the rules of the English Common Law."

Mr. Justice Smith's suggestion is that, if that judgment in the Keewatin case is correct, the Government of Canada, in its capacity of riparian owner, may own those parts of the International Rapids Section in Canada which adjoins its canal lands.

It is submitted that Mr. Justice Smith's suggestion is wrong, for the following reasons:

First, even Chief Justice Moss, who wrote one of the two judgments in the Keewatin case, did not believe that the common law presumption would last long when applied to the International Section of the St. Lawrence. He said, at p. 190:

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"But what reason exists for not applying a well-understood doctrine of the common law of England, to a non-tidal but navigable stream in this Province, where it is found, as in this instance, that it is short and narrow - indeed, very much shorter and very much narrower than many streams to which the doctrine is applicable in England? It is said that the rule must be of general application, and that to apply it to some streams or the Great Lakes would lead to incongruities and possible absurdities. But is there any ground for saying that the application of the rule of presumption would necessarily lead to such a result? It is nothing more than a prima facie presumption, and, like all rebuttable presumptions, may be repelled by countervailing circumstances. There is nothing incongruous in the fact that in some cases the presumption prevails and in others it is rebutted, and that in that sense the rule does not apply generally to all cases. That is the case in many instances in England. Occasionally in tidal streams and not infrequently in nontidal navigable streams. Whichever prima facie presumption is applicable, it may yield to some extent or wholly to other circumstances. In this case we are not dealing with the Great Lakes nor with a river forming part of the international boundary. But in these instances the prima facie presumption would probably be not difficult of rebuttal."

Second, The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario, in a case subsequent to the Keewatin case, held that the common law presumption was rebutted in the case of the St. Lawrence River, and this conclusion was reached quite apart from The Bed of Navigable Waters Act. The case in question is Haggerty v. Latreille (29 O.L.R. 300, 1913), which concerned privately-owned land bounded by the St. Lawrence. The trial judge, whose judgment was approved by the Appellate Division, quoted the statement in the Keewatin case that it would not be difficult to

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rebut the presumption in the case of the Great Lakes or rivers forming part of the international boundary, and then said at p. 307:

> "if it cannot be rebutted as regards the St. Lawrence, in what international river could it be rebutted?
>
> "The St. Lawrence is the greatest international river that we have in this Province.
>
> "True it is that the international boundary, which follows the course of the St. Lawrence downward for a great distance, veers to the south and leaves the course of the river at a point five or six miles above Summertown, and that the mainland on the other side of the river, opposite the parcels of land in question, is in the Province of Quebec; but I take it that the presumption must be deemed to be rebutted as regards the whole river, if rebutted at all, and cannot be deemed as rebutted just above where the international boundary veers south and to be applicable below that point.
>
> "In any event, even if the river St. Lawrence were not an international boundary river, I strongly believe that the mere fact that the river opposite the parcels in question is two miles wide is sufficient in itself to rebut the presumption."

Third, Canada's title to the canals in the International Rapids Section is derived from the B.N.A. Act, which is, so to speak, its "grant". The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided, in the Fisheries Case, that the intent and result of other parts of the Act was to give to the provinces and not to the Dominion the ownership of the beds of rivers. These other parts of the Act therefore rebut any presumption arising from the Dominion's title to the canals.

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It is therefore concluded that Mr. Justice Smith's suggestion is not correct and that the Dominion Government cannot claim ownership of any part of the bed of the International Section in Canada as a consequence of its ownership of the canals.

SUMMARY

1. The International Section in Canada is within the boundaries of Ontario.

2. The beds of rivers within Ontario generally, and the beds of the International Section in Canada in particular, are owned by His Majesty in right of Ontario.

3. The Dominion cannot claim ownership of any part of the bed of the International Section in Canada as a consequence of its ownership of the canals.

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J+L W

J.E. READ TO WLMK

JER/S
May 17/41

C228479

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Waterways - St Lawrence ✓

PROPOSED EXCHANGE OF NOTES AT
WASHINGTON WITH REGARD TO
FURTHER DIVERSIONS AT NIAGARA

1. It does not seem to be possible to complete the exchange today.

2. In discussing the matter with Mr. Wrong, at Washington, it appears that the State Department had in mind the present exchange as an isolated bargain, with no commitment as to proceeding with remedial works this year, and no commitment as to additional diversion on the United States side in September.

3. They have in mind the coming into force of the Agreement, the establishment of the Great-Lakes—St. Lawrence Basin Commission under the provisions of the Agreement, and the working out of an arrangement by the Commission under the Agreement, to provide for the remedial works and the additional 7,500 c.f.s. in September.

4. It does not seem that there could be any reasonable objection to the proposed arrangement from the Canadian point of view. The State Department's idea with regard to the functioning of the Commission under the Agreement is impracticable. There is no possibility of the

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coming into force of the Agreement in time to cope with remedial works this year, and an additional apportionment of water in September. The September arrangement can, however, be carried out along the lines that the Canadian Government had in mind as a separate negotiation.

5. There is no doubt that the present exchange of Notes would make a substantial addition to the available power, both in the United States and Canada.

J.E. READ

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SH L/W

C228781

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June 5, 1941

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STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- -

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I recommend authorization of construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project, pursuant to the agreement of March 19, 1941, with Canada, as an integral part of the joint defense of the North American continent.

Production and more production is the keynote of our all-out race for national defense. Electric power and transportation are limiting factors in the production of planes, guns, tanks and ships.

The enemies of democracy are developing every hydroelectric resource and every waterway from Norway to the Dardanelles. Are we to allow this continent to be out-matched because shortsighted interests oppose the development of one of our greatest resources?

Your action on this project will either make available or withhold 2,200,000 horsepower of low-cost electric power for the joint defense of North America.

Your action on this project will either open or keep bottled up one of the greatest transportation resources ever offered a people.

Both countries need the power. Both face power shortages which threaten to grow more serious as the demands of the defense program multiply with almost incredible rapidity.

Let us remember that it takes tens of thousands of kilowatt-hours of electricity to produce the materials that go into a single airplane. Our present aluminum program alone calls for more than ten billion kilowatt-hours a year. It is constantly expanding with the need for more planes to outstrip the aggressors.

Steam power plant construction offers no substitute for St. Lawrence power. No steam plants can provide the large blocks of low-cost electric energy required for certain essential defense industries. Furthermore, we are going to need all our capacity to produce steam power plant equipment to meet the tremendous demands which are growing in other parts of the country and to build power installations to drive our merchant and naval vessels.

Our defense production is a gigantic assembly line. Transportation is its conveyor belt. If raw materials cannot flow freely to our great industrial plants and the products cannot move continuously to the front, defense breaks down. Bottlenecks in transportation are as serious as shortages of power.

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St L/W

C228781

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

June 5, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until the READING of the President's Message has begun in the Senate or the House of Representatives. Extreme care must therefore be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- -

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Expanding production is going to burden the railroads to the limit. We are expanding their rolling stock as fast as we can, but even the present orders for new cars and locomotives are competing for manufacturing capacity which could otherwise produce tanks and other items of heavy armament.

The Seaway will help prevent transportation bottlenecks. It will provide a great highway to and from important defense production areas. It will cut by more than a thousand miles the stretch of dangerous open water which must be travelled by supplies to Great Britain and strategic North Atlantic bases. It will increase our capacity to build ships.

The Great Lakes today hold many shipways and dry docks, as well as resources of men and materials for ship-building. They are bottled up because we have delayed completing the Seaway. If we start the Seaway now, scores of additional merchant ships may be built in coastal yards freed by transferring a portion of the longer-term naval program to the Great Lakes.

The St. Lawrence Project must be expedited. No comparable power, shipbuilding and transportation facilities can be made available in the time required to construct this project.

In dealing with the present emergency, too many people have underestimated the degree to which our resources will be taxed. We cannot afford to make any more mistakes of that kind.

I am advised that we can build the St. Lawrence Project in four years. Under emergency pressure it may be completed in less time. I should like to agree with the people who say that the country's danger will be over sooner than that. But the course of world events gives no such assurance; and we have no right to take chances with the national safety.

I know of no single project of this nature more important to this country's future in peace or war. Its authorization will demonstrate to the enemies of democracy that, however long the effort, we intend to outstrip them in the race of production. In the modern world, that race determines the rise and fall of nations.

I hope that authorization will not be delayed.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 5, 1941.

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FILE : M. WERSHOF TO WLMK.

June 8, 1941
MW/LF

Waterways - St. Lawrence
WWII - Ogdensburg Agreement
Dom. Prov. Relations - Ont.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C228783

re Niagara Diversion

Following your statement in the House of Commons on June 5, points were raised by the Honourable Mr. Hanson, Mr. MacNicol, and Mr. Church.

MR. HANSON

Ogdensburg Agreement

Referring presumably to your statement that "it has never been the practice in Canada to ask Parliament or the House of Commons to approve agreements which are in the form of exchange of notes", Mr. Hanson said:

> "But have we not in one important event at any rate departed from that practice, namely, the joint defence board?"

Mr. Hanson's recollection was at fault. The agreement with the United States to set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was not in the form of an exchange of notes -- it was in the form of a joint statement released for publication by the President and yourself regarding your conversations at Ogdensburg. Furthermore, neither Parliament nor the House of Commons was asked to approve the agreement.

Exchange Agreement - not a treaty - a joint statement, cannot be considered to be either one or the other - decision of board reported to Parliament - action taken by Parliament.

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Mr. Hanson may have been thinking of the fact that you read to the House of Commons, in your speech on November 12, 1940, in the debate on the Address in Reply to the Governor General's Speech, the Order in Council approving your agreement with the President.

You may wish to wait until Mr. Hanson raises the matter again before setting him right.

MR. MACNICOL (DAVENPORT)

Following your statement, Mr. MacNicol said:

> "As I raised the question I should like first to thank the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) for his remarks to-day. I shall consider them thoroughly and perhaps not make a decision until early next week. That is, I will not interfere with the estimates as they come in to-day and to-morrow, but after reviewing the matter I may say something on Monday or Tuesday, because I am concerned about the principle involved.
>
> As the amount of water now referred to in the notes will raise the total diversion at Niagara Falls to I believe some 69,000 cubic feet per second, it is a matter of major importance to this parliament, and perhaps a brief statement on Monday or Tuesday might clear the air a little."

It is not clear whether he intends to speak on the merits of the diversion agreement or on the procedure followed in making the exchange of notes

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without seeking parliamentary approval.

On the question of procedure, it is submitted that there is nothing to add to your statement of June 5, a copy of which is annexed hereto.

On the question of the merits, the Government's case was given as fully as possible in the statement read by the Honourable Mr. Crerar on May 29, a copy of which is also annexed.

If it becomes necessary to answer a speech by Mr. MacNicol on the merits, you may wish to ask the Honourable Mr. Howe to join in the debate. A copy of this memorandum, and of the enclosures, is therefore being sent to Mr. Howe for his information.

MR. CHURCH (BROADVIEW)

His speech is too long for reproduction in this memorandum, but may be found in the annexed excerpt from Hansard.

Mr. Church mentions the 1929 Niagara Convention with the United States, which provided for an increased diversion of 10,000 cubic feet per second by Canada and also by the United States. This Convention was submitted to and was approved by the Senate and House

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of Commons. It failed to pass the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, and therefore never came into force.

Mr. Church says that Ontario owns the Canadian half of the river bed and the water for power purposes in half the river.

Mr. Church then says:

> "I would ask the Prime Minister if, having regard to the decision of the privy council on the waterways, this can now be accomplished over the head of parliament as a war measure and not, as in 1929, by treaty. I suggest that he read the briefs and the debates which took place here in 1929 as to this new procedure. There is a great principle involved and all papers and plans should be tabled."

Mr. Church's reference to a decision or decisions of the Privy Council is loose and inaccurate. The Privy Council has decided that the provinces and not the Dominion own the beds of rivers -- it has not passed on the ownership of water power in boundary rivers or on the right of Canada to legislate or make agreements with the United States on such matters. The Supreme Court of Canada, in its 1929 judgment in the Water Power Reference, gave inconclusive answers on the ownership of, and legislative jurisdiction over, water power. Mr. Church may have this judgment in mind.

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As for his reference to the 1929 debate, an examination of the debate shows that the only constitutional question discussed was whether parliamentary approval (which was invited in a resolution) should instead have been requested in a bill. That question is not in issue at present.

It is not clear whether Mr. Church is chiefly concerned with --

(a) the question of procedure, i.e., whether it is legal and proper to refrain from asking Parliament for approval,

or

(b) the much more fundamental and delicate question of whether even Parliament can authorize an agreement with the United States which, in effect, gives to the United States more than one-half of prospective new water-power available at Niagara, to the possible detriment of Ontario.

If he is thinking of procedure, it is clear that the fact that Parliament was asked to approve the 1929 Niagara Convention is a confirmation and not a disproof of your explanation of June 5. Parliament

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was asked to approve the 1929 Convention not because of legal necessity but because, as you have explained, the custom in Canada is to obtain such approval before ratifying an important formal convention. Parliament was not asked to approve the Exchange of Notes of May 20, 1941 because, as you have explained, there is neither legal nor customary reason for obtaining such approval.

If Mr. Church is thinking of the wider constitutional question, it is respectfully submitted that the Government should if possible avoid discussing it.

There is, in the opinion of the Department of External Affairs, no doubt of the legal powers of Canada to make and carry out such agreements with the United States. However, the Government of Ontario is not likely to accept in silence a public statement to that effect. Therefore, such a statement may provoke a needless controversy with Ontario, one which was successfully avoided during the negotiation of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Agreements of 1941.

However, if the Government wishes to make a statement in the House on this constitutional question,

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the following is submitted:

(1) The honourable member for Broadview, speaking on June 5 about the exchange of notes with the United States providing for increased diversion at Niagara, asked this question:

> "I would ask the Prime Minister if, having regard to the decision of the Privy Council on the waterways, this can now be accomplished over the head of Parliament as a war measure and not, as in 1929, by treaty."

(2) May I say first that there is no decision of the Privy Council restricting the authority of the Government of Canada to make an agreement with the United States regarding the diversion of water for power purposes from a boundary river.

(3) In the second place, while the increased diversion agreed upon on May 20 is a war measure in the sense that war needs make it essential, it is <u>not</u> a war measure so far as its legal basis is concerned. The Government is satisfied that it would have as much legal authority in peacetime to make such an agreement.

(4) If I understand my honourable friend correctly, his real point is that there is doubt of the authority of Canada (not merely the

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Government of Canada) to agree to the United States using more than one-half of the water available for power purposes and that this doubt comes from Ontario's ownership of half the river bed and alleged ownership of the water for power purposes in half the river.

(5) If that is the question, the Government's answer is clear. There is no doubt of Canada's authority to make and carry out such an agreement. The question of the ownership of water power in boundary rivers as between the Dominion and the Provinces has not been settled by the Privy Council, though it was discussed inconclusively by the Supreme Court of Canada in the 1929 Water Power Reference.

(6) The Canadian Government's view is that any ownership that Ontario may have of the Canadian share of water power in boundary rivers is and must be subject to the Canadian Government's right to *settle* ~~agree~~ with the United States what the Canadian share shall be.

(7) The conduct of foreign relations and the making of international agreements is the exclusive prerogative of the Crown in right of Canada, that is to say, the Government of Canada. (Whether the Government of Canada obtains the approval of

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Parliament in any particular case is not relevant to the point now under discussion). The most that Ontario can may own, and even this cannot be regarded as legally settled, is that part of the water power in boundary rivers which is set aside as the Canadian share by agreement between the Crown and the United States of America.

(8) In declaring its legal authority in the way I have outlined, the Canadian Government has no intention of ignoring or injuring the interests of Ontario. The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement with the United States was made with the full knowledge of Ontario and the collaboration of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. As for the exchange of notes of May 20, 1941, the House already knows that the chairman of Ontario Hydro was a member of the committee that favourably reported on the plan to the Canadian Government, and we have no reason to think that the Ontario Government has any objection to it.

(M. WERSHOF)
Jr.

I have examined Mr. Wershof's memo and concur.
J.E.R.

A copy of the Exchange of Notes of May 20, 1941 is annexed.

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Jas STL/W Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

NAR/SR
15.7.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C228703

Mr. Moffat called this morning on his return from Washington and reported that Administration circles were much more hopeful about the early passage of the St. Lawrence legislation than when he had been in Washington a month before. Berle had told him, and this information had been confirmed from other sources, that the House Committee was likely to report the Bill favourably by a vote of 15 to 10. This report should assure approval by the House of Representatives. I asked him whether he thought the opposition to the St. Lawrence project was going to make much use of Canada's alleged reluctance to cooperate, as seemed likely some weeks ago. His impression was that this particular line of attack on the Bill would not be pressed very hard.

As you know, the House Committee which is considering the St. Lawrence project plans to inspect the International and Canadian sections of the Waterway route this week. They are arriving in Ogdensburg on Saturday, spending Sunday in the Thousand Islands, and will reach Montreal on Monday. I believe plans have been made to offer them a buffet lunch in Montreal as the Canadian Government's guests.

N. A. Robertson

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Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

C228793

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

St. Lawrence Developments

Mr. Moffat, who had accompanied the United States Congressional Party on their tour of the International and Canadian Sections of the St. Lawrence, called this morning. He thought that their visit to Canada had been well worthwhile, and probably had converted one or two doubtful Congressmen into supporters of the project. He is now quite satisfied in his own mind that the House Committee would report favourably. He was afraid, however, that they might not report for another fortnight. The Chairman, who is a supporter of the Bill, does not wish to be accused of railroading and is determined to listen to all the arguments the opponents of the measure wish to produce. If the Bill is held too long in Committee, it may have to grant right of way to the Revenue Bill, which is also in process of preparation and which normally takes precedence over all other legislation.

N.A. ROBERTSON

OTTAWA, July 22nd, 1941.

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JER/S
Jul.31/41.

C228784

W-101
V-1

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

St. Lawrence Agreement

1. The annexed letter from the Seaway for Defense Committee is like many other letters that come in dealing with the St. Lawrence question. It raises the issue which has developed into an important question in the United States, namely, whether the Canadian Government is in favour of the project, or whether the project is being forced upon Canada by the President.

2. There are two possible ways to draft a reply to letters of this sort.

3. One is to acknowledge them and to point out that it would be inappropriate for the Prime Minister to offer any comments upon this question while the matter is before Congress, except possibly in answer to an official request from the United States Government.

4. The second course would be to point out that the Canadian Government, by signing the Agreement, had completely indicated its position.

5. Alternative drafts are submitted for consideration.

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Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BROCKINGTON AND MR. GIBSON: C228795

Mr. King is most anxious that ~~the~~ a full brief be prepared for him in connection with the St. Lawrence Waterways. This is more than likely to come up when Parliament reassembles, and it is essential that all the necessary data be available for his use.

Mr. King thinks that Mr. Brockington would be particularly valuable in this, and wishes Mr. Gibson to give whatever aid he may be able to furnish.

W. J. T.
(W. J. TURNBULL)

August 16, 1941.

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N.A. ROBERTSON TO WLMK

DL/WJ

SFR/SR
13.5.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C228793

On May 8th Mr. D.G. Ross (St. Paul's) asked the following question:

waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

> "In view of the serious shortage of power, will the Prime Minister inform the House whether there have been any further developments in the situation regarding the St. Lawrence Waterway project?"

Although at the time the Speaker of the House stated that this was clearly a question that should be placed on the Order Paper, no such action was subsequently taken by Mr. D.G. Ross. You may recall, however, that on April 20th Mr. Church raised a question as to the present position of negotiations between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States on the St. Lawrence Waterways and power development. A return to this question was made by Mr. Crerar on April 22nd, in the following terms:

> "An Agreement providing for the St. Lawrence Waterways and power development was signed at Ottawa March 19, 1941. It is now before Congress in Washington for approval. It has not been ratified."

N.A. ROBERTSON

WLK

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RAJP:DH

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

April 8, 1946.

C228797

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Article VIII (c), St. Lawrence Agreement.

1. On March 6th, the Canadian Embassy in Washington advised that the State Department wished to have an expression of Canadian opinion on the possible deletion of Article VIII (c) of the 1941 Agreement (attached) for an arbitral tribunal in the event of disagreement over the diversion of water from the Great Lakes system or the International Section. It was felt that the deletion of this article would answer some opposition from Chicago and the Mississippi Valley Region.

2. At a meeting of the Ottawa members of the Canadian Temporary Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Committee, it was agreed that the main reasons for including the section were political and that it could perhaps be left out without endangering Canadian interests. It was decided that the best procedure would be to call a meeting of the full St. Lawrence Committee at which the question could be discussed informally with the representatives of Ontario and Quebec.

3. On March 13th, the State Department advised that there was no immediate urgency for a decision as it might be three weeks before the Bill would come before the Senate.

4. On April 5th a meeting of the full St. Lawrence Committee was held. A written report was drawn up to which approval was given by all members of the Committee. A copy is attached.

5. It will be noted that the Committee is of the opinion that from a purely practical viewpoint, there is no objection to the deletion of Article VIII (c). The political considerations are set forth in the report for ministerial consideration.

6. Advice has since been received that the State Department desires an indication of our attitude as soon as possible as the Sub-Committee report may go before the Foreign Relations Committee on Wednesday, April 10th; Senator Lucas is reported to be preparing an amendment to Article VIII for submission at these hearings.

N.A. ROBERTSON

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C228798

COPY

Article VIII(c)

of

St. Lawrence Agreement of March 19, 1941.

VIII(c) if any diversion of water from the Great Lakes System or the International Section, other or greater in amount than diversions permitted in either of the countries on January 1,1940, is authorized, the Government of such country agrees to give immediate consideration to any representations respecting the matter which the other Government may make; if it is impossible otherwise to reach a satisfactory settlement, the Government of the country in which the diversion of water has been authorized agrees, on the request of the other Government, to submit the matter to an arbitral tribunal which shall be empowered to direct such compensatory or remedial measures as it may deem just and equitable; the arbitral tribunal shall consist of three members, one to be appointed by each of the Governments, and the third, who will be the chairman, to be selected by the Governments;

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C228799

Ottawa, Ontario,

April 8, 1946.

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,

Ottawa, Ont.

The Canadian Temporary Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Committee have given consideration to teletype message WA-1067 of March 6, from the Canadian Embassy in Washington, dealing with an inquiry from the State Department as to Canada's attitude in case a situation arose in which the St. Lawrence Agreement could only pass the United States Senate if Article VIII(c) were deleted.

This Article provides that in the event that either country should authorize any additional diversions from the Great Lakes System, or from the International Section of the St.Lawrence River, immediate consideration would be given to diplomatic representations and if a satisfactory settlement was not reached by this means the matter would be referred to an arbitral tribunal.

The objection to Article VIII(c) by certain interests in the United States is no doubt its application to the question of any increase in diversion of water through the Chicago Drainage Canal and the possible loss of United States sovereignty over Lake Michigan by transference of judicial jurisdiction from the United States courts to an international tribunal.

The effect of the deletion of this Article from the Agreement must be considered from both the practical and political point of view.

Under present conditions and without attempting to predict the future course of events, the Committee believes that from a

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purely practical point of view, Article VIII(c) could be deleted from the Agreement without any effect on the satisfactory completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Project. The interests of the Lake-bordering States at the present time are as great as those of Canada in preventing any further increase in the Chicago Diversion. The fact that the United States Supreme Court Decree, which now limits the diversion by the Sanitary District, is the result of action brought about by these States is evidence of this fact. With the St. Lawrence Project completed and a million horsepower from the International Section being marketed in New York State and the New England States, it is believed that the objection of these States alone to any increase in diversion which would result in curtailment of power production, would be insurmountable.

Any Chicago interests advocating an additional diversion would be confronted, first, by the necessity of obtaining passage by Congress of an authorizing Act which certainly under present conditions would be strenuously opposed by not only the Lake-bordering States but by New York State and any other States that might be affected by curtailment of power production and interference with navigation resulting from the diversion of water from the St.Lawrence. Secondly, the possibility of a Presidential veto would have to be considered. Even if such an Act were passed and approved, there is no doubt under present conditions, that the Lake States would immediately appeal to the United States Supreme Court which has already ruled against any further increase in diversion. Only after all these obstacles have been overcome, would the procedure provided

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for in Article VIII(c) become effective.

Of course it is impossible to say for how long the interests of the Lake-bordering States will coincide with those of Canada in this matter. It may be that, due to circumstances which cannot be foreseen, after the completion of the Project, conditions will change so that opinion in the United States in favour of an increase in the diversion will be unanimous. In that case, the question is raised whether it is advisable to abandon the international tribunal stipulation at this time. The deletion of Article VIII(c), (a clause which may have achieved some measure of support for the Agreement in certain sections of Canada,) will have been decided on the assumption that the Agreement may be rejected in the Foreign Relations Committee stage by the vote of one or two Senators and before the matter has really come before the Senate. However, if this Article is deleted, should a dispute arise over this question, Canada may bring the case before the International Court of Justice.

From the political point of view, it should be borne in mind that the Chicago Diversion has been strongly opposed in Canada for many years both in the Press and in Parliament, and every effort of Chicago interests to secure an increase in the diversion has been given wide publicity. The obstacles that would be set up by other United States interests to prevent Chicago from obtaining its objective are not generally understood in this country, and there is no doubt that the provisions of Article VIII(c) would have an important effect in allaying public apprehension in regard to this matter.

For the Committee,

Guy A. Lindsay,
Chairman, Canadian Temporary
Great Lakes-St. Lawrence
Basin Committee.

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SfL/W ~~Jas Gibson~~

RAJP:MM
April 10, 1946

Waterways - St Lawrence ✓

C228802

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Article VIII(c). St. Lawrence Agreement.

1. No further advice has been received from Washington since April 5 on the progress of hearings on the St. Lawrence Agreement.

2. Having examined the report of the Canadian Temporary Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Basin Committee, would you now agree to the deletion of Article VIII(c) from the 1941 Agreement, should such a move be necessary to ensure approval of the Agreement by the U.S. Senate? In my judgement, it would be advisable as a means of facilitating the handling of the measure in Washington, and the Departments concerned as well as the representatives of Ontario and Quebec on the St. Lawrence Committee are in agreement.

10-4-46 noted

N. A. ROBERTSON

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C228033

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Under-Secretary

Mr King asks if you recommend that the Article VIII(c) be deleted ?

I understand 3rd Political Division are preparing a further note on the question

Jacq.

Ottawa, 15/10/46

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(J.A.GIBSON TO W.L.M.K.)

JAG/AEH
9.6.47

C228804

(JUNE 9, 1947)

NOTE re St. Lawrence Seaway

Waterways - St. Lawrence ✓

1. The basic agreement relating to the St. Lawrence Seaway is still that of March 19, 1941. This agreement has not yet received the approval of Congress.

2. On June 5, 1941, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress recommending construction as an integral part of the joint defence of the North American continent.

3. On October 4, 1945, President Truman, in a message to Congress, recommended the speedy approval by Congress of the agreement "as a part of our program of international co-operation, expanding foreign trade, and domestic progress in commerce and industry".

4. During 1946, the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate held extensive hearings and favourably reported the bill for approval of the Agreement, but the question did not come to a vote.

5. In the House of Commons on April 24, Mr. St.Laurent stated that the Government of Canada had concurred in principle with the proposal to make the St. Lawrence Seaway self-liquidating by means of toll charges (subject to the conclusion of arrangements satisfactory to both governments for the implementation of this principle).

6. The most recent activity in Congress dates from May 9, 1947, when identical bills were introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives providing for construction of the seaway on a self-liquidating basis.

7. In introducing the bill in the Senate, Senator Vandenburg said that the present proposal differed from all earlier legislation. Instead of proposing payment principally out of the national treasury (as "public works") it was now proposed to make the St. Lawrence Seaway self-liquidating in both its power and navigation phases. Only the new deep-water navigation facilities on the St. Lawrence River would be affected by the self-liquidating principle, which would not

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C228805

apply

to present navigation facilities within the Great Lakes system

nor to local domestic Great Lakes traffic of U.S.A. and Canada using the "Soo" locks and the Welland Canal

nor to the 14-foot canals on the St. Lawrence River.

8. Senator Vandenburg mentioned that

the Secretary of State (Mr. Marshall)
the Joint Chiefs of Staff
the Corps of Engineers, U.S.Army, and
the U. S. Maritime Commission

had severally represented that the Seaway project was an important contribution to national security and preparedness for any national emergency. He added: "In the co-operative working relationship which it establishes with our cherished neighbour, Canada, (the legislation) exemplifies a continental solidarity which will not fail to have a favourable effect abroad."

9. In this connection it is of interest to note that at its last meeting (in Dayton, Ohio, May 21-22) the Permanent Joint Board on Defence recorded in its Journal the following conclusion:

> "The Board considered the significance of the St.Lawrence Seaway project from the point of view of the joint defence of United States and Canada. It was recognized that the completion of a deep water navigation route from the Sea to the heart of the continent would provide additional facilities for the movement of ships and essential supplies in wartime and would also make possible the construction of ocean going vessels in inland areas. Furthermore, the new source of power made available by the St. Lawrence project would greatly increase the defence potential of the two countries. It is therefore the view of the Board that the early completion of this long delayed enterprise on a cooperative basis satisfactory to both governments would directly contribute to the to the security of the North American continent."

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This view was made public by the Secretary of State in hearings before a sub-committee of the Foreign Relations Committee a fortnight ago.

10. Senator Vandenburg has indicated, and Mr. Wrong has confirmed from Washington, that although the measure may be brought up for debate at the present session of Congress, the long list of treaties and other "policy" measures which have been awaiting hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will preclude any early consideration by this Committee of the Seaway Bill.

J.A.G.

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L.B. PEARSON TO WLMK.

C220807

Waterways - St Lawrence

Ottawa, June 9, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The Status of the St.Lawrence Seaway Project.

The Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin Agreement was signed on March 19, 1941. Since that time the Agreement has been regularly submitted to Congress but has never been approved. In 1946 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, after extensive hearings, made a favourable report on the Bill but the matter did not come to a vote in the Senate.

Early in 1947 the Canadian Government was approached by the United States authorities regarding the possibility of reaching Agreement in principle that the Seaway be made self-liquidating through an agreed system of tolls, the details of which could be worked out at a later date. On April 24 Mr. St.Laurent announced in the House that the Canadian Government concurred in principle with this proposal subject to the conclusion of arrangements satisfactory to both Governments for the implementation of this principle.

The most recent development is the introduction on May 9 of identical Bills in the Senate and the House of Representatives, the adoption of which would constitute approval, with certain reservations and modifications, of the Agreement of March 19, 1941. Hearings were recently conducted in Washington before a Sub-Committee of the Senate in the course of which the United States Secretary of State made public the view of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence that the completion of the Seaway Project would contribute directly to the defence of the North American continent. An explanatory memorandum summarizing the present legislation now before Congress is attached, together with a brief note on the Canadian position with respect to the proposed modifications.

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C227993

On the Canadian side it will be necessary to set up an interdepartmental Committee to revise the existing estimates of cost and to make an overall economic study of the Project. While the estimates of the cost of the Project proposed for the International Rapids Section have been revised recently as the result of collaboration between the Department of Transport and the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission, the revision of the costs of the proposed works in the all-Canadian portion of the St.Lawrence River (the Lake St.Francis, the Soulanges and the Lachine Sections) which are the main costs to be borne by Canada, has still to be undertaken.

There will also be a need to reconstitute the Temporary Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin Committees which each country appointed under an Exchange of Notes of October 14, 1940. A number of changes have taken place in both the Canadian and United States Committees which were originally set up "to cooperate in preliminary engineering and other investigations for that part of the Project located in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River in order that the entire Project might be undertaken without delay when a final decision was reached by the two Governments". In view of the valuable work carried out by these two Committees in the past and the possibility that the present legislation may be adopted, it will be necessary to reconstitute both the Canadian and United States Committees at an early date.

L B Pearson

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APPENDIX I

C228809

(a) Explanatory Memorandum

Joint Resolution Authorizing the St. Lawrence Project.

Section 1. This section has the effect of authorizing the President to construct the United States share of the St.Lawrence project, which in the present case means principally the International Rapids Section, and the dredging of connecting channels in the Great Lakes, as provided by the Canadian-American Agreement of March 19, 1941, upon the following conditions:

A. The Canadian Parliament also approves the said Agreement.
B. In approving the Agreement, the Canadian Government agrees to the elimination of article VII, article VIII, paragraph (c), and article IX of the Canadian-American Agreement.
C. The Canadian Government agrees to the principle of self-liquidation of the deep water navigation works on the St. Lawrence River authorized by the joint resolution.

The articles deleted from the Agreement as a condition of approval by the Congress deal with the following subjects:

Article VII extended perpetual navigation rights to the two countries in boundary waters and connecting channels and canals where those navigation rights are now terminable with the life of existing treaties.

Article VIII, paragraph (c), established a procedure of arbitration in case of damages resulting in either country in consequence of unilateral diversion of water from the Great Lakes by the other country. This was specifically applicable to the so-called "Chicago Diversion", and is permanently deleted from the Agreement.

Article IX amended the provisions of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, increasing the amount of diversion of water allowed to each country at Niagara River.

Articles VII and IX were eliminated to meet the view that they required the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senate, because they were considered to be matters properly dealt with by means of treaties.

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With the elimination of articles VII, VIII (c) and IX from the Agreement, the effect of the remaining provisions of the Agreement is to authorize the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project, which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee decided last year could be accomplished by majority vote of both houses of Congress.

Section 2. Authorizes the President to negotiate the necessary treaty arrangements to achieve the purposes of articles VII and IX deleted from the Agreement by Section 1 of joint resolution.

Section 3 (a). This section authorizes and directs the President to negotiate a new Agreement, during the period of construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, to define and establish the necessary toll charges to make the new deep water navigation facilities on the St. Lawrence River self-liquidating. The negotiation of this new Agreement will not delay the construction of the project. On the contrary, the Canadian-American Agreement will come into full force by the provisions of article XI of that Agreement when the Congress and the Parliament of Canada approve said Agreement, with the exceptions of article VII, article VIII, paragraph (c), and article IX, and the additional proviso that before the Agreement comes into force according to article XI of the Agreement, the Canadian Government gives satisfactory assurance that they agree to the principle of self-liquidation.

Certain policies are to be followed in the negotiations of these details with Canada. These policies are: (a) the total charges will be fair and will give encouragement to increased utilization of the navigation facilities, (b) the special character of bulk agricultural, mineral and other raw materials would be recognized and they may carry differential (lower) rates as compared with other types of cargo, (c) that the maximum charge on any type of cargo shall not exceed the equivalent of $1.25 per short ton of laden cargo and may be lower, (d) that tolls shall apply only on traffic utilizing the new deep water navigation works on the St. Lawrence River, excluding the 14-foot canals on the Canadian side now in existence, and excluding navigation within the Great Lakes system, the "Soo" Locks and connecting channels, from toll charges.

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Section 3 (b) gives discretionary authority to the President to appoint a St. Lawrence Advisory Commission, which, in cooperation with representatives of Canada and after public hearings, may make recommendations to the two governments on the administrative, technical and economic aspects of a toll system.

The resultant Agreement on the basis of such studies will be subject to the approval of the United States Congress and the Parliament of Canada.

Section 4. This section authorizes the expenditure of the necessary funds for the accomplishment of the purposes and the undertakings approved by this joint resolution, but prohibits the change in the amount of such authorization by exchanges of notes between the executive agencies of the United States and Canada.

Section 5. Authorizes the President to negotiate an Agreement with the Government of the State of New York for the transfer of the power facilities to an appropriate state agency under a formula agreed to by New York State and the U.S. Corps of Engineers, which provides in essence that the State of New York will pay all of the costs of the power house and equipment, plus one-half of the United States share of the joint costs for navigation and power at the International Rapids Section. It is also provided that this arrangement with the State of New York will protect the interests of the United States and of other States, which has particular reference, as a practical matter, to the New England States. Furthermore, this Agreement will also be subject to approval by the Congress of the United States and the Legislature of the State of New York.

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(b) Note on the Canadian position with respect to proposed modifications.

Deletion of Article VII.

Article VII extended perpetual navigation rights to the two countries in boundary waters and connecting channels with those navigation rights which are now terminable with the life of existing treaties. In 1945 the State Department drew the attention of the Embassy in Washington to the intention of the sponsors of the Seaway Project to delete Article VII and to provide for the negotiation of a separate treaty to cover its subject matter. On August 27, 1945, the State Department was informally advised that neither the officials of the Department of External Affairs nor the Minister of Reconstruction saw any flaws in the procedure suggested. The proposed deletion of Article VII, however, was not discussed with the Provinces, nor was it considered by the Canadian Temporary Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin Committee.

Deletion of Article VIII (c)

On April 8, 1946, a memorandum was sent to the Prime Minister indicating that the State Department had requested the views of the Canadian Government on the possible deletion of VIII (c). The view of the Canadian Temporary Great Lakes-St.Lawrence Basin Committee was that from a purely practical viewpoint there was no objection to the deletion of Article VIII (c). On April 10, 1946, the Embassy in Washington was advised that this matter had been placed before you and that you had approved the deletion of this Article should such a move be necessary to ensure approval of the Agreement in the United States.

Deletion of Article IX

Article IX amended the provisions of the boundary waters Treaty of 1909, increasing the amount of diversion of water allowed to each country at Niagara River. The same comment applies as to Article VII above.

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New Section re toll charges

Following a Cabinet decision, the Secretary of State for External Affairs announced in the House of Commons (April 11, 1947) that the Canadian Government has "agreed in principle with the proposal to make the St. Lawrence self-liquidating by means of toll charges subject to the conclusion of arrangements satisfactory to both Governments for the implementation of this principle".

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C228814

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 9/6/47

The Prime Minister

re: St. Lawrence Seaway

1) note by Dey
2) memorandum from External Affairs on present status of negotiations. /Dey

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JAG/AEH
9.6.47

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C228815

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C228816

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to present navigation facilities within the Great Lakes system

nor to local domestic Great Lakes traffic of U.S.A. and Canada using the "Soo" locks and the Welland Canal

nor to the 14-foot canals on the St. Lawrence River.

8. Senator Vandenburg mentioned that

the Secretary of State (Mr. Marshall)
the Joint Chiefs of Staff
the Corps of Engineers, U.S.Army, and
the U. S. Maritime Commission

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9. In this connection it is of interest to note that at its last meeting (in Dayton, Ohio, May 21-22) the Permanent Joint Board on Defence recorded in its Journal the following conclusion:

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I submit to you, Sir, that this member should be required to withdraw this imputation unless he sees fit to make specific charges in the usual way. When he was speaking I thought his statement was to the effect that three new millionaires had been added to the Cabinet since the beginning of the war. As there are eight ministers who have been added to it since that date and as I felt that everyone here knew I was not, never have been and never expected to be, a millionaire, I did not feel that this could be directed at me, but in the form in which it appears in Hansard I submit it is a statement which must be withdrawn or converted into specific charges with the request they be investigated in the usual way and with the usual consequences.

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KING:

C228819

Mr. Mecklin, of Time Magazine, telephoned this afternoon, to ask if you could verify the following story for him:

"This concerns the procedure in 1941 in getting Mr. St. Laurent to come into the Cabinet. One of our sources in Quebec City, in whom we have some confidence, says that it happened this way. That Mr. King asked Mr. St. Laurent to be Minister of Justice. Mr. St. Laurent refused. Mr. King then appealed to Cardinal Villeneuve asking him to use his influence, if any, with Mr. St. Laurent. Cardinal Villeneuve telephoned Mr. St.Laurent and asked him to come to his Palace. At the Palace, the Cardinal said to Mr. St. Laurent, 'If a soldier serves his country at $1.30 a day, I do not see why a man like you should not do his duty for a much higher salary.' Mr. St.Laurent then reconsidered the decision and accepted the portfolio."

Mr. Mecklin asks me to say he is very embarrassed to ask you about this in view of the fact that he had already discussed the event with you. He wonders, however, if the above details might have slipped your mind when you and he were talking. Do you wish to speak to Mr. Mecklin? L.B.

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

C228820

PRESS RELEASES

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

HOLD FOR RELEASE UNTIL DELIVERED AT 8.00 P.M. E.D.T. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AT THE DINNER OF THE OTTAWA BRANCH OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION IN CANADA AT THE CHATEAU LAURIER ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

(Mr. St. Laurent will be introduced by Major-General E.L.M. Burns, Assistant Deputy Minister of Veterans Affairs and President of the Ottawa branch of the United Nations Association.)

I am grateful for the opportunity which you have given me on the eve of the meeting of the Second Session of the General Assembly, to discuss With you the relations between our country and the United Nations. I think that the government has a particular responsibility to acquaint the public with its policies in regard to the United Nations, and I count myself fortunate at this time to be able to speak to my fellow countrymen through the United Nations Association which on this important subject represents a large body of Canadian opinion. In these circumstances, the occasion seems to me to have double significance. On the one hand you, in this Association, are demonstrating your interest and confidence in the future of the United Nations. You are also making known to the Delegation which will shortly set forth for New York, the extent to which the hopes and anxieties of all Canadians go with it. I can assure you that the Delegation will be fully conscious of your interest and concern.

First of all, let me say how important a responsibility I think rests upon you in the United Nations Association. Canada's membership in the United Nations is, in a very real sense, an act of national faith. We have entered this organization and we are expending very considerable effort and resources in maintaining that membership in the faith that we are engaged in the establishment of new world order. It is of the greatest importance that you and like-minded people elsewhere should hold continuously before the public of Canada the high purposes to which we have committed ourselves as a nation. We shall inevitably fall short of our objectives unless the policies of the government genuinely reflect the will of a large group of informed citizens who are aware of the nature of our commitment and who are constantly scrutinizing its consequences. The activities of your society, are, therefore, closely bound up with our national welfare, and I commend you for the high sense of public responsibility which has brought you together. I am glad that we shall have as a member of our Delegation in New York, one of your national Vice-Presidents, Mr. L. R. Beaudoin. Every action which you take to inform your fellow citizens more clearly concerning the United Nations, to warn them of its weaknesses, to encourage them with its successes, to acquaint them with the issues which confront it, will give strength to the effort we are making as a nation to help build a new world order.

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C228821

As you go forward in this work, you may be confident that your purposes have the full support of the government. This attitude has been made clear on many occasions but I may perhaps be permitted now to remind you of two statements which I think are of particular consequence. In an address at the opening of the Toronto Exhibition in August of this year, the Prime Minister made a statement which I think indicates clearly the extent to which the government is committed to this venture in international organization. He said:

> "Whether we like it or not, Canada's opportunities and responsibilities have ceased to be mainly national. They have become largely international. National trade has become increasingly a part of international trade, national progress a part of world progress, national peace and security, a part of the security and peace of the world".

I should also like to quote a statement which I, myself, made recently on an occasion when I endeavoured to define in general terms the basis of Canadian foreign policy. These are views to which I subscribe no less fully now than I did at that time:

> "The growth in this country of a sense of political responsibility on an international scale has perhaps been less rapid than some of us would like. It has nevertheless been a perceptible growth; and again and again on the major questions of participation in international organization, both in peace and war, we have taken our decision to be present. If there is one conclusion that our common experience has led us to accept, it is that security for this country lies in the development of a firm structure of international organization".

It is not my place, of course, to speak for political groups in Canada other than my own, but I do not know of an occasion on which any responsible political leader in this country has dissociated himself from the policies which we are following in regard to the United Nations. In this respect, I am glad that we shall have with us in New York, representatives of the Progressive Conservative Party, the CCF Party and the Social Credit Party, who will act as parliamentary advisers to the Delegation. As you know, the government has thought it wise this year to free the representatives of other political groups who join the Delegation from the necessity of giving public support to the policies of the government or of openly disagreeing with them outside our own country by accepting full membership. With the consent and approval of the leaders of these groups we have, therefore, established a new category of "parliamentary advisers" in which the opposition will be represented. Even though these parliamentary advisers will not be asked in New York to subscribe officially to the policies adopted there by the government, we will have the benefit of their views before enunciating policies for which, of course, the government alone will be responsible and which they will remain free to criticize afterwards in Parliament or elsewhere here at home. They will be in a position to make their comments and criticisms with full knowledge of what went on and I feel confident that their presence will be an indication that it is the wish of us all to support such policies as will be apt to meet with as wide a measure of approval as possible from the Canadian public.

There is one further evidence of the seriousness with which we view our obligations under the United Nations that I should like to make known to you. This is the fact that we intend, at the forthcoming session of the Assembly, to stand as a candidate for membership on the Security

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C220822

Council. Some comment about this possibility has already been made in Canada, but the government has not previously made known its intentions in this respect formally and publicly. I think it appropriate that I should do so now in the presence of this group of Canadian citizens, and I know that this is once in my life, at least, when I can announce an election campaign and be confident of the good wishes of every person present. We have already informed other members of the United Nations of our candidacy for membership on the Security Council. We have not asked any state to pledge its vote to us, because it is not the policy of the Canadian Government either to seek or to give pledges of this nature. We have, however, asked that sympathetic consideration be given to our candidature and that our qualifications be judged on our record. I may say that the response has been most gratifying.

This decision in respect of the Security Council has been made only after the most careful consideration. We realize, in the first place, that if we are elected the people of Canada will be confronted with new and onerous responsibilities. We realize also that we shall have the weaknesses and difficulties from which the United Nations suffers brought home to us in an urgent and direct manner that will test to the utmost our confidence in that organization. I am sure that the members of this organization are sufficiently familiar with the activities of the United Nations to understand the heavy responsbilities which we are offering to assume. We shall have to increase our Delegation in New York, and this will be an added burden on a Department of Government which is already carrying a heavy load. We shall have, at the same time, to maintain at full strength the facilities in Ottawa and elsewhere through which we shall inform our Delegation in New York concerning the problems which are on the agenda of the Security Council. Most important of all, we shall be forced, as never before in Canada in times of peace, to make decisions on major questions of policy arising from situations which exist far from our shores and which some may feel do not directly affect us.

Our faith in the organization will also be tested by the practical experience which we will have of the frailties of the United Nations. I know of no more frustrating experience, either for an individual or a nation, than to be engaged in an enterprise which is not prospering. We should indeed be misrepresenting the situation if we did not make clear our realization that we are standing for membership on a body with a discouraging record. We must not delude either ourselves or anyone else about the fact that membership on the Security Council will embody greater risks and responsibilities and fewer rewards and honours than it seemed to offer two years ago when Canada withdrew its candidacy in the original elections, in order to enable Australia to be elected without further contest.

The Security Council was established in the hope that it would provide means to dissolve threats to the peace through that gradual process of negotiation and discussion which is at the heart of the democratic process. It was founded in the faith that there is no problem in human relations which it is beyond the power of human ingenuity and intelligence to solve. It was also established in the belief that the nations which constituted it would be able and ready to judge world problems, not only in the light of their own national interests but in terms of the welfare of the world community.

It is a great disappointment to us all that the organization has fallen so far short of realizing these expectations. The Security

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Council has become a forum in which the issues of world politics have been subjected to public debate. It has so far failed to provide a conference table at which reconciliation might be achieved through compromise. There has been little evidence of sincere desire to reach agreed solutions. All too frequently, on the other hand, there has been the continual re-statement in uncompromising terms of inflexible positions. The misuse of the veto, which we all so much regret, has been a disturbing symptom of the failure to reach agreed solutions on any of the major problems brought before the United Nations.

I would not like to suggest that, in seeking membership on the Security Council, we feel ourselves in a position to provide the remedy for these difficulties. The remedy can only lie in the attitude of the Permanent Members of the Council. There is no form of words, nor method of procedure which will be proof against the determination of any state to misuse its position as a Member of the Council. The Security Council is essentially a democratic political device. It is basic in democratic practice that no member of a democratic community shall so use his privileges that the system by which his community is governed is weakened or discredited. In a true democracy there is no end which justifies a means that brings into contempt the instrument of government. It is only by the practice of these restraints that the Security Council can be redeemed.

We have, of course, our own ideas about the ways in which the operations of the United Nations could be improved and we shall make these views known, wherever and whenever it is possible, in our contacts with that organization. In this respect, I think our record is particularly good. From the very inception of the United Nations, Canadian Delegations have advocated methods of procedure which would simplify and expedite its work. We shall continue to make these views known and to press for the improvements in organization which we think would be beneficial. We have views, also, about constitutional problems such as the veto. We realize that this provision of the Charter was a necessary expedient for resolving, on a temporary basis at least, the basic problem of voting procedure in a world of unequal powers. We shall never be reconciled, however, to a permanent situation in which a distinction is made between five nations of the world which are defined as Great Powers and all other nations which, despite the great differences amongst them, are placed together in a less privileged position. The solution of this problem will not be easy, and I do not think that any simple constitutional amendment nor any mere reform in procedure will solve it. Our difficulties will be removed only by the establishment, over a period of time, of precedents and practices which will lead to a modification of the veto power. We are fully conscious, therefore, that if we are elected to the Security Council, our influence on that body will be limited by the superior voting powers which are enjoyed by some members of that body.

You may well ask, therefore, why the government, in the presence of these difficulties, has decided to make known its readiness to serve on the Security Council. We shall become involved directly with questions such as the Balkan dispute and the Indonesian problem which do not now come immediately before our attention. We shall be endeavouring to find solutions to problems which are complicated by the unresolved differences amongst the Great Powers and we shall be taking part in the activities of a body which the world knows to be far from perfect. Why should we state our willingness to serve?

To my mind there is only one answer to this question. In spite of its shortcomings, we in this country continue to believe that

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the best hope for mankind lies in the establishment of a world organization for the maintenance of peace. We ourselves in this country have built a nation which is as wide as the continent and which is based on the consent of many diversified groups. There is no reason to believe that our experience here and the experience of other peoples who have built political organizations over wide areas cannot be repeated amongst the nations. We believe that, particularly for a people such as our own which wishes to maintain its freedom and to leave other people in the enjoyment of theirs, the greatest hope for our survival lies in the development of machinery for international cooperation.

If we wish to enjoy the benefits of such a development we must also accept its responsibilities. We must even be prepared to accept these responsibilities at a time when the going is hard and when the future is by no means certain. I do not think that the people of this country would tolerate any other attitude on the part of its representatives to the United Nations. I am certain that we carry the support of every thoughtful Canadian in our determination to make every effort towards the success of this new experiment in international organization. I have already made a statement to this general effect in Parliament during the Debate on the Estimates of the Department of External Affairs on July 4th last, and I should like to repeat now what I said at that time, because it seemed to meet with approval from all parts of the House:

> "It had been hoped, and indeed it is still hoped, at least as far as I am concerned, that the United Nations can be the agency to counteract these dividing forces, that it can act as an organization of civilized states within which universal and friendly cooperation will become possible and should be realized. It is because it still thinks that this can be done that the Canadian Government feels that the growth and strengthening of the United Nations must be a real cornerstone of Canada's policy in foreign affairs. It would be folly to disparage the organization merely because it has not, in its short history, already accomplished all that we hoped for from it. The weaknesses which have been displayed make it all the more necessary that support for it be strong and steadfast with a view to removing those weaknesses. At the same time we must not complacently allow any one state or group of states to use the United Nations for their own selfish national or propagandist purposes. It must be a forum for the expression of the collective will of all peoples and not a sounding board for false and misleading propaganda".

I conclude, then, on a note of reserved optimism. We in Canada, regard our membership in the United Nations not as a temporary expedient but as a permanent partnership. At the same time, we are conscious of the effort which must be made to offset the danger in which this partnership lies.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C228825

For the Prime Minister.

Mr. Bernier (Secretary) telephoned me to say that Mr. St. Laurent, in getting off the train at Quebec, had a fall and slightly twisted his back. There is no serious injury and Mr. St. Laurent, as a precaution, has had an x-ray taken which confirms this. However, he is resting at home and will remain in Quebec the rest of the week unless he is urgently required in Ottawa.

I told Mr. Bernier I thought your wish would be for Mr. St. Laurent to take the best of care of himself and see that he did not venture out until he had completely recovered.

W.J.T.

November 22, 1943.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER Appt Corgl.

MEMORANDUM C228825 File

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WJT/CEB/

Telephoned Mr. Heeney's office, Nov. 23.
-C.E.B.

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MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 27. x. 43

Prime Minister

Thank you for your St Laurent to yr excellent and suggestive.

WLP.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C222883

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Oct 15/43

St. Laurent Submits Plan For Constitution Change

Amendment Should Be Effected Within Canada, Women's Club Told

WHENEVER the Constitution of Canada has to be amended that operation should be performed "by our own representatives right here within the Dominion," Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Minister of Justice, told the Women's Canadian Club of Montreal today at a lunch at the Mount Royal Hotel. The Minister pointed out that the restriction making such an amendment of the British North America Act subject to the approval of the British Parliament had been placed in the Statute of Westminster at Canada's request, and that as yet a scheme had not yet been devised which would, in making such amendments, provide proper safeguards for the rights of minorities or provincial rights although he believed that when necessity pressed Canadian national ingenuity would rise to the occasion.

Mr. St. Laurent, speaking on the subject title of "Still Great Tasks Ahead", emphasized at the outset of his address that the first and all-absorbing task which still lies ahead is to win the war. "We have commenced to win it," he said, "and we have every reason to hope and to expect that the series of our successes will continue uninterrupted. But we have nevertheless to realize that our enemies still have great strength which we must overcome and that the price to be paid for complete victory will be a very heavy one."

Cost Will Be Great

"We have made great preparations and we all of us have dear ones whose clashes with a redoubtable enemy will no doubt add glory to the war annals of our young country, but will also sadden many Canadian homes and wring anguish and lasting regrets from many Canadian hearts. The cost will be great, but it is a cost we have resolved to pay, for it is necessary this time that the defeat of our enemies be such that it will convince both their leaders and those who follow their mad leadership and short-sighted reliance on the right of might to dominate and to enslave, that the free nations of the world have might greater than their own and that they can and they do, when freedom and the God-given dignity of conscious self-control by the individual are at stake, succeed in mustering that might and in making it prevail. They must be made to realize that the resources and staying powers of civilized mankind are greater than anything barbarity can align against them, and that there are laws which govern the affairs of men just as inexorably as those which order the other beings and things of this created universe.

Purpose Not Revenge

"I have to deal every day with the cases of erring individuals sentenced in various degrees of penalties for breaking laws conceived and promulgated by human authorities. The purpose of these penalties is not revenge nor retaliation: their purpose is to cause these laws to be observed and respected, and experience has shown that the surest way to that end is to force the erring offender to realize that crime does not pay and that organized society is so organized that it is stronger than the powers of evil and that it can and does curb evil and disorder and makes it in the long run unprofitable and futile. International gangsterism is not different in essence from localized gangsterism, and whatever the cost of so doing may be international gangsterism must be dealt with by the expansion of the same methods which experience has shown to be the only effective methods of dealing with localized gangsterism.

"The task of winning the war to the extent to which it must be won therefore involves also the task for us of contributing to the securing for the free nations of the world of peace and order on a firm and lasting foundation.

Must Prepare For Peace

"We must keep our economic life from being disrupted and we must be ready to re-establish in their proper places the hundreds of thousands of men and women who now make up our armed forces, the hundreds of thousands who are now engaged in the production of implements of warfare; and we must see to it that the co-operation between our citizens which is susceptible of making for each one of us better living conditions than each one could alone provide for himself, realizes that end of organized human society and does so in a manner that is really fair and beneficial to all."

Mr. St. Laurent, after pointing out the necessity for price fixing, freezing orders and rationing to stabilize prices and prevent them from sky-rocketing, emphasized that these methods could succeed only in the measure in which they met with a helpful response from the people themselves, adding that the degree of success with which they had been attended was fairly clear evidence that Canadians generally did recognize their inter-dependence on each other and could put the interest of all above the interest of self.

Traces Canada's History

It was while he was tracing the history of the Dominion from its early days that Mr. St. Laurent came to the question of amendment of the B.N.A. Act and outlined the meaning of the Statute of Westminster passed in December ,1931. This in a general way recorded the fact that the Dominion of Canada had become as free and autonomous a nation as the United Kingdom itself. "The Crown is the Crown of Canada to the same extent that it is the Crown of the United Kingdom", he declared, "the Governor-General is the representative of the Crown holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by the King in Great Britain. He is the representative of the King and the King himself may and does act on the advice of his Canadian Ministers as he did when we had the honor of his visit in 1939, as he did from Buckingham Palace when he declared war against Germany in 1939, against Italy in 1940 and against Japan in 1941.

One Restriction Remains

"There is still one restriction expressed in the Statute of Westminster, and that was placed there at our own request," continued Mr. St. Laurent, "it is with respect to the amendment of our Constitution. We are all, I think, agreed that whenever it has to be amended that operation should be performed by our own representatives right here within our own Dominion, but we have not yet devised a scheme to make such amendments which will provide proper safeguards for the rights of provincial authorities and of minorities now secured un-

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Office of
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der the terms of the B.N.A. Act. But I am sure we may well feel that with us as a nation it will be found to be just as true as it is about each one of us as an individual: necessity is the mother of invention, and when necessity presses our national ingenuity will rise to the occasion.

"With some there is the suspicion that when these various stages of our national development are referred to it indicates an inclination to gloat over the shaking off of ties between ourselves and the other members of the great Commonwealth of British Nations. That may be true about a few, but I am sure it is not true about the great majority.

Comparison Given

"No one is entitled to feel that when a son reaches manhood, takes a wife to his bosom and establishes a household of his own, he is being unfaithful to the family circle from which he is sprung. If he is the right kind of a son and establishes the right kind of a household it is merely an extension of the original family circle and it means in fact an addition to its original strength.

"Most of us do, I think, rejoice in the place we occupy within the British Commonwealth of Nations and feel that it is in that place that we can best serve the true interests of the Canadian nation and the true interests of that wider circle, the united family of democratic and Christian nations pledged together to maintain for all and for each one of them at one and the same time, national freedom and the sacred rights of individual human personality."

Mr. St. Laurent asked who did not rejoice at the declaration of Ogdensburg and the setting up of the Permanent Joint Board on the defence of Canada and the United States. This, he said, meant more than that Canada could count on the United States and vice versa at all times and under all conditions to defend and protect freedom and civilization for the men and women of the North American continent. "It meant," he said, "that each of us assumed and promised to bear the responsibility of so shaping our national conduct that we would not expose the other to entanglements and strifes that he might not otherwise have to envisage for the ultimate security of his own people and nation."

Should Stimulate Patriotism

Such a thing should stimulate Canadian patriotism both as a great task and as a great privilege, he said, continuing:

"We have grown up, and what we do and how we act is inevitably a part of world affairs. As a nation we wish to maintain the closest possible relations with the other members of the British Commonwealth, and as a nation we have established firm and honorable ties for mutual protection and defence with our great New World neighbor to the south of our border. It is and it will be our responsibility and our privilege to so shape our course as a nation and strive to influence the course of those to whom we are thus more immediately bound to the end that we may at the same time retain our place and discharge our true responsibilities in the British Commonwealth, and also honor the trust and confidence mutually pledged and sealed in common endeavor and sacrifice between our 11,500,000 Canadians and the 135,000,000 who make up the household of our immediate neighbor.

Hopes for Great Unity

"But that is not all. Our own nation is drawn in the main from the races whose traditional heritages are those of the two greatest Christian civilizations of Europe; the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon; and it so happens that the same is true of the main streams of population in the whole Western hemisphere. May we not look forward not only to greater unity between those two main streams in our own country, but to serving the best interests of many peoples as well as our own by fostering better relations and closer co-operation between the representatives of those two great civilizations? A Pan-Americanism that would draw together all the nations of this hemisphere through respect for and conservation of all that is best in their ancestral traditions and culture, would necessarily embrace men and women of the Old World, even more direct and immediate participants in those same traditions and culture.

"And if millions of men and women of two quite distinct streams of traditions and culture can in thus coming together, recognize and appreciate the good that is in each other, may there not be some hope for the day when the answer to the question 'who is my neighbor?' will approximate that which was taught in the parable of the Good Samaritan?

Good in Other Methods

"Of course, each one prefers that which he knows best, and he knows best the way of living and thinking of his own people and race; but when he comes to know well the way of living and thinking of other peoples and races may he not, without any lessening of loyalty to his own, appreciate and concede that there is good in them too? Some seem to forget that there need be no hatred nor unworthy distrust of others in true patriotism, in the true love of one's country and kin."

The Minister quoted figures regarding the army, navy and air force, and of the total expenditures made, mentioning that only 30 per cent of the munitions and implements of war produced were required for Canadian forces at home or abroad, 50 per cent had gone to the United Kingdom, British combat areas and to Russia and 20 per cent to the United States, Australia, China and the Pacific theatres of war. He mentioned that up to the end of last March Canadians had paid in taxes to the Federal Government since the beginning of the war $5,250,000,000 dollars and had lent to the government $3,250,000,000.

$8,000,000,000 in Taxes

"The people of Canada by the end of this fiscal year will have paid since the beginning of the war $8,000,000,000 in taxes, subscribed $6,000,000,000 to War Loans and increased their holdings in cash and in bank credits by almost $2,000,000,000," he said.

Turning to re-establishment after the war, Mr. St. Laurent thought the statement that 2,000,000 new jobs would have to be found for men and women released from the armed forces and war industries was "overstated", but admitted it would be great, but on the other hand, he said the material resources of the country were also very great.

"The task can be accomplished," he said, "and it will be accomplished if the people of Canada, all the people of Canada, keep faith in one another and with one another, for the needs of the people of Canada will also be very great." He outlined some of the public projects that could be undertaken, which he said were "being prepared to supplement and to provide additional outlets for the useful integration in the economy of the nation of all those goods and services which private enterprise will be only too willing to turn out in a stream that it will take many men and many women to keep uninterrupted."

Activity Must Be High

Concluding, Mr. St. Laurent said: "The way to national prosperity lies in the maintenance of a high degree of productive activity and in the recognition of each one of us that the greatest of all Canadian resources is Canada's sons and daughters of every race, every creed and every class. It must be our main concern to see to it that each and every one is allowed his and her opportunity to participate in the production, distribution and enjoyment of all those things. The years of trial and warfare—of which some may still be lying ahead—will have shown it is pos-

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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C223830

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"Mrs. Joseph Edouard Perrault, president of the club who was in the chair, introduced the Minister and thanked him for his address.

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Speech by Hon. L.S. St. Laurent K.C., M.P.

San Francisco, May 8, 1945

C228831

Mes chers compatriotes,

La guerre en Europe est finie. Vous venez d'entendre le message de victoire que Sa Majesté le Roi adresse aux peuples du "Commonwealth" à travers le monde.

A ce tournant de l'histoire, j'invite, au nom du Gouvernement canadien, tous nos compatriotes à s'unir pour manifester la grande joie que nous procure l'écrasement complet des forces du mal de l'Allemagne nazie. Unissons-nous dans des sentiments communs d'humble reconnaissance et rendons grâce à Dieu de nous avoir sauvés, nous et tous les autres peuples des nations unies.

Réjouissons-nous d'une victoire si longtemps attendue et qui nous a coûté tant de sacrifices. Notre joie trahirait cependant nos sentiments profonds si nous n'élevions d'abord nos pensées vers ceux qui ont donné leur vie pour que cette victoire soit la nôtre et non pas celle de nos ennemis. Nous trahirions aussi nos sentiments, si nous ne disions pas que notre plus vive sympathie se porte en ce moment vers ceux qui pleurent les êtres chers que cette affreuse guerre leur a enlevés.

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C228032

La nouvelle de la défaite de cette Allemagne nazie apporte à tous un immense soulagement. Elle intensifie toutefois les sentiments de douleur dans des milliers de foyers canadiens à la pensée de ceux qui ne reviendront jamais. Les mots peuvent bien peu pour consoler les coeurs affligés. Qu'on sache cependant qu'en ce moment toute la nation s'incline avec respect devant les hommes et les femmes de chez-nous qui ont fait le suprême sacrifice. Chérissons la pensée qu'ils appartiennent désormais aux cohortes de l'Eternel.

Nous songeons aussi à nos blessés, à nos mutilés, à nos invalides et à ceux qui gisent encore dans des camps d'internement. Nous reportons également nos pensées vers ceux qui combattent encore dans les régions où la guerre continue et aussi vers ceux qui endurent des privations de toutes sortes. Prions que tous soient soulagés dans le plus bref délai possible.

Il est trop tôt pour narrer les exploits héroiques de ceux qui nous ont mérité ce jour de victoire.

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C228833

A ce moment, disons simplement que nos combattants ont écrit de glorieuses pages d'histoire dont le Canada leur gardera toujours un souvenir reconnaissant. Nous qui avons vécu les heures pénibles de la guerre, nous pouvons laisser avec confiance aux générations à venir, ces pages d'histoire qui diront la contribution du Canada à la victoire alliée en Europe et en compareront l'importance à celle de nos alliés les plus puissants.

Nous attendons maintenant avec hâte le retour de ceux qui ont mené le combat de la liberté sur mer, sur terre et dans l'air, et qui ont survécu aux risques incessants de la guerre. Quelle bienvenue n'allons-nous pas leur donner! Ils ont le droit de compter que leur bien-être sera notre première préoccupation toute la durée de leur vie. Il nous incombe aussi de voir, d'une façon toute spéciale, au bien-être de ceux que soutenaient les héros morts au champ d'honneur. Aucun sacrifice et aucun service ne doit jamais être oublié.

L'immense contribution du Canada à la victoire que nous fêtons n'a été possible qu'à cause de l'association étroite de nos combattants et de nos ouvriers. Chacun a fait tout ce qui pouvait dépendre de lui pour appuyer nos combattants.

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En cette heure de triomphe sur les forces du mal de l'Allemagne nazie, que vous tous qui avez accompli le devoir qui vous incombait qui par la parole, la prière, ou le geste, avez fait votre possible, que vous tous qui avez contribué à la victoire sous quelque forme que ce soit, ayez conscience que vous avez aidé à débarrasser l'humanité d'un terrible fléau. Il vous sera éternellement donné de rappeler votre contribution à la cause du droit. Dans la mesure où chacun a été à la peine, il a acquis le privilège d'être compté parmi les bienfaiteurs de l'humanité.

Nous nous réjouissons à la pensée qu'en Europe les forces armées du Canada ont participé si largement à vaincre l'ennemi et ont joué un si grand rôle dans la défense et la libération de peuples dont l'histoire et la civilisation sont si intimement liées aux nôtres. En cette heure de victoire, gardons-nous d'oublier que sans la résistance opiniâtre des pays qui ont été outrageusement envahis et opprimés, notre patrie aurait pu perdre la liberté dont elle n'a cessé de jouir un seul moment.

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Il reste encore beaucoup à faire. La faim, les privations et la maladie planent maintenant sur les nations opprimées de l'Europe dans le sillage de la guerre. Il nous incombe d'aider à soulager les souffrances et à réparer les dégâts dans les pays libérés de nos alliés. Tant que les souffrances n'auront pas été éliminées, que les affamés n'auront pas été rassasiés, les sans-demeure abrités, les blessés guéris, nous ne pourrons prétendre à une victoire définitive sur les forces du mal qui ont tenté de détruire notre civilisation elle-même.

Durant cette guerre, notre peuple a généreusement répondu à tous les appels qu'on lui a faits au nom de l'humanité. Dans chacun des pays d'Europe, le nom du Canada évoque les bienfaits de la Croix-Rouge canadienne. En continuant de faire notre part pour guérir les plaies et sécher les pleurs de millions d'affligés, nous exprimerons, de la façon la plus noble et la plus utile, la joie que nous ressentons si vivement.

Les Nations Unies se réjouissent aujourd'hui de la défaite écrasante de l'Allemagne. Mais la fin des hostilités en Europe ne signifie pas la fin de la guerre. Il reste encore un ennemi à vaincre. Il nous faut aussi la reddition sans condition du Japon. Cet agresseur doit aussi être écrasé et ses ambitions désordonnées réduites au néant.

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Notre effort de guerre national doit continuer et il continuera jusqu'à la victoire complète en Extrême-Orient.

Au Canada, nous avons été parmi les premiers à nous rendre compte du caractère universel du présent conflit. Nous avons vu clairement que la guerre déchaînée en Europe et la guerre en Asie ne formaient qu'une seule et même guerre. Nous y avons vu une combinaison de tyrannie et d'agression tendant à la conquête et à la domination du monde. Nous avons résolu de participer à la lutte contre ce dessein monstrueux. La bête nazie a été enfin abattue dans son repaire natal. Il reste à écraser le militarisme japonais partout où cette vipère traîtresse continue à dresser sa tête venimeuse. La défaite de l'Allemagne nazie devrait nous donner de nouvelles forces pour hâter la fin de la guerre dans toutes les parties du globe. Il ne doit pas y avoir de répit jusqu'à ce que la victoire totale soit un fait accompli. Une manière de réaffirmer notre détermination de rester ferme jusqu'à la fin, c'est de souscrire tous généreusement au présent Emprunt de la Victoire.

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Nous devons enfin mener à une fin victorieuse la guerre entreprise contre la guerre même. Le dur combat pour la paix se continuera longtemps après que les canons se seront tus. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons gagné ce combat, nous ne pouvons vraiment dire que nous avons gagné la guerre.

Il y a plus de deux ans et demi, en parlant de la défense de nos communes libertés, le premier ministre disait:

"Un jour viendra où la victoire et la paix couronneront les sacrifices de ceux qui combattent pour la liberté. Quand cette heure viendra, les peuples du Commonwealth britannique et des Etats-Unis se trouveront au côté les uns des autres, unis plus étroitement que jamais, mais faisant partie d'une plus grande société. Dans cette société, toutes les nations maintenant unies pour la défense de la liberté demeureront unies au service du genre humain".

En Europe, la victoire est venue, et le reste de cette prédiction est en voie de s'accomplir, dans une mesure qui dépasse nos espoirs.

Je vous parle de San Francisco. Ici les représentants des peuples du Commonwealth britannique et des Etats-Unis sont au côté les uns des autres. Ils sont unis plus étroitement que jamais. Mais ils font parties d'une plus grande société. C'est la société des

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Nations Unies comptant maintenant près de cinquante membres en tout. Ces nations sont unies dans la défense de la liberté. Elles se sont assemblées à San Francisco pour instituer une organisation de paix et de sécurité. Elles rédigent une charte sous l'empire de laquelle elles resteront unies au service de l'humanité.

Dans la fournaise de la guerre, la Conférence de San Francisco est en train de forger et de façonner un puissant moyen d'assurer la sécurité au monde. Les nations ont vu que les monuments de pierre ou de bronze ne serviront plus à commémorer, pour les générations futures, les services et les sacrifices de la guerre. Déjà comme garants de l'honneur des millions qui ont donné leur vie pour la cause de la liberté du monde, les représentants des nations assemblées en ce lieu portent leurs yeux au delà des théâtres de la guerre et au delà de la fin des hostilités. Ils cherchent à assurer aux peuples de toute la terre et pour les générations qui ne sont pas encore nées les avantages d'une vie plus abondante. En cela ils voient le seul monument commémoratif digne de l'oeuvre des nations libres dans la présente guerre.

Dans cette grande tâche, la Conférence des Nations Unies réussira, j'en suis sûr. Dans ce succès, la Victoire et la Paix couronneront, à la vérité, les sacrifices de tous ceux qui ont combattu pour la liberté.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister: (illegible)

We are informed that an address by Mr. St.Laurent will be broadcast today (Friday) at 6:30 p.m. over Station CBO.

J.A.G.

Jan 18/46
4:45 p.m.

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PAPIER DE COULEUR

C223840

TEXT OF THE SPEECH OF THE RT. HON. LOUIS ST. LAURENT, CHAIRMAN OF THE CANADIAN DELEGATION, ADDRESSING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN LONDON ON JANUARY 18, 1946.

Plusieurs orateurs ont déjà indiqué combien il sied que la première session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, se réunissant au cours de la première année de la paix, se tienne ici, à Londres, l'une de ces cités historiques qui portent tant de blessures de guerre; elle rappelle ainsi que l'idée des nations unies dans la cause de la paix a été conçue au cours du terrible conflit mondial qui vient de se terminer. L'Organisation n'est-elle pas la protestation unanime des peuples civilisés contre l'inanité de ces tueries massives d'êtres humains, contre ces destructions massives de richesses créées pour améliorer la vie humaine? La guerre ne peut plus être le mode normal d'établir, de maintenir ou de rétablir la justice et l'ordre dans les relations internationales.

Parmi les nations assemblées ici, plusieurs ont été abreuvées des horreurs de la guerre, et c'est précisément de l'une de ces nations que nous avons choisi notre Président. La délégation canadienne tient à vous faire, Monsieur le Président, l'hommage de ses félicitations et de ses voeux. Nous sommes heureux de voir à la tête de cette Assemblée une personnalité dont le tact et la sagesse ne sont égalés que par sa longue expérience des assemblées parlementaires internationales, où elle a si souvent exprimé son horreur de la guerre.

Après la ratification de la Charte par les Gouvernements qui l'avaient signée à San-Francisco, il restait encore beaucoup de travail préparatoire à faire avant qu'elle pût produire ses fruits. La Commission préparatoire s'est occupée avec diligence de ce travail essentiel et de son labeur est sorti le 'Rapport' que nous sommes en train d'étudier. La Commission a travaillé dans une atmosphère de coopération pratique et amicale. Que l'Assemblée fasse de même et elle aura assurément d'excellents motifs de reconnaissance à l'endroit de la Commission, du Secrétaire exécutif et du Secrétariat. Pour notre part, nous voulons aussi exprimer l'admiration que nous avons pour la contribution éclatante apportée au travail de la Commission préparatoire par le Président de celle-ci, le Dr. Zuleta Angel, représentant de la Colombie.

The first weeks in the life of the Assembly of the United Nations are bound to be of special significance. We have to pass from the abstract ideal of a World Organization to ensure peace to its concrete realization.

We have the instrument created at San Francisco and we know that the 51 nations who signed it there have now ratified it, in the most formal manner in which international undertakings can be made. We must now demonstrate to the millions of common men and women throughout the world, whose eyes are upon us at this time, that this instrument will be strong enough and supple enough for the formidable tasks which appear to await us; that it will be capable of defeating those eternal enemies of any advance in human affairs: fear, suspicion, mistrust, cynicism, despondency, selfish greed and overweening ambition.

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It is true that all Member States have pledged themselves in this most solemn manner to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them under the Charter, that they are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

It is true that they have undertaken to ensure that States which are not members of the United Nations shall act in accordance with the same principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

They have undertaken to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and to bring about, by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

They have also undertaken not to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or to require members to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter - with the sole exception that this principle is not to prejudice the application of enforcement measures properly adopted by the Security Council.

We have also all of us agreed that, in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, there shall be a Security Council and that the Security Council shall have conferred upon it primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, that it shall be assisted by a military staff committee and shall have available on its call Armed Forces, assistance and facilities provided by each of us in accordance with special agreements to the extent deemed for the purposes of maintaining international peace and security.

We have agreed that the five great powers, whose participation is at all times essential to world security, shall be permanent members of the Security Council.

It is true we have also agreed that on most important matters the decisions of the Security Council shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members, and we have called that the "veto" right of the great powers, and there are many to whom it has given some concern. But is not the Charter itself, its purposes and its principles, solemnly accepted and ratified by these great powers, a firm pledge on which each one of us can implicitly rely that they will use their privileged position only as a sacred trust for the whole of mankind?

We have also provided machinery to deal with the economic and social disorders which produce wars and each one of us has pledged the people of his nation to international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Did we not, therefore, have, before this meeting opened, the basis for the extension of the rule of law throughout the world which we regard as essential to free mankind from the dreadful

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scourge of war and may we not hope to build upon that basis the structure of an international order that will be both sound and strong?

We can already look back with some satisfaction at some measure of accomplishment. Two of the organs of the United Nations, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have now been brought into being.

The Security Council meets at a time in the world's history when the nations are still recovering from the shock of a terrible convulsion, when the suspicions and fears which war leaves behind it are still in the minds of many men. Its first task will be to see that in this transition period these evil legacies of war are not the cause of further enmities among nations.

The Economic and Social Council, with the network of special agencies and commissions which are to be associated with it, will be faced with most formidable tasks and with farreaching opportunities. It is in a large measure to the Economic and Social Council that we in Canada look to foster those conditions of well ordered prosperity which will eliminate some of the most dangerous causes of wars and which will bring men and nations into new paths of constructive activity.

We sincerely hope that the Council may give speedy and effective leads in the task of world reconstruction and that it will at once welcome, as the Canadian Delegation does so warmly, the initiative taken by the United States to bring about an early meeting of an international conference on trade and employment.

The Charter of the United Nations enshrines two principles which are explicitly stated in Article 23 in connection with the election of non-permanent members to the Security Council. It is stated that due regard should specially be paid in these elections, "in the first instance, to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also, to equitable geographical distribution."

Our Government has always attached great importance to the first of these criteria, to what has been called the functional principle. It is not really an abstract principle at all but a commonsense prerequisite for the success of the Organization. We believe that special responsibilities within the framework of the Organization should be entrusted to those nations which have the means and the will to make the greatest contribution to the solution of the special problem in hand, and that is not because of any selfish interest in the application of the principle involved. It is because we wish to see the greatest possible measure of achievement, believing, as we do, that the interests of our country can best be served by that which best serves the whole community of nations.

Fortunately, there is no contradiction between this principle and that of equitable geographical distribution. There are enough nations widely dispersed throughout the world which have contributions to make to the different sides of the work of the Organization. There is plenty of work and plenty of responsibility for all of us.

May I express the hope that membership in the various organs and agencies of the United Nations will always be

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regarded as no mere prize or token of prestige, but as an honourable and arduous responsibility to the world community. In the same line of thought, the Canadian Delegation desires to associate itself unreservedly with what was said yesterday by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom. We also feel that it is essential to the success of the United Nations that it should have in its Secretariat a strong, international [redacted] civil service.

At the beginning of this, a new venture in international cooperation with an Organization which will increasingly become the world community in action, we should recognize that the achievement of our aims may ere long require some amendment of the Charter. Changes may be needed if we are to give effect in a changing world to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Let us, therefore, keep our minds open on this subject.

We cannot foresee the nature of all the tasks that may confront us in the future. They may well be on a scale which will necessitate some voluntary abatement of the narrower conceptions of national sovereignty. Sovereignty must not mean liberty to defeat the purposes of international peace and security to which we are all so solemnly dedicated.

Within democratic and well ordered states, to ensure that the individual shall have free scope to exercise all his activities, except, of course, those which might interfere with the similar liberty of his fellow citizens, or injure the welfare of the community, it has been necessary to replace personal redress and privately armed retainers by laws and by courts of justice, and by officers of the peace. So it should be in the sphere of international affairs.

If this be the way to world government, then the Canadian Delegation wholeheartedly supports World Government.

Since we met at San Francisco, a new discovery with immense potentialities for good and evil has shaken the world. The possibility of harnessing atomic energy to the purposes of mankind has been demonstrated and it is now proposed, and proposed by the very nations who appear to have made the greatest advances in that field - and my country is one of them - that the vast problems and possibilities which this discovery has opened before us shall be dealt with within the framework of the United Nations.

"This appears to be a most striking instance of a world problem which is of direct concern to every human being, and also of the manner in which it should be handled. But it does not stand alone. The achievement of prosperity and of peace, the alleviation of human suffering, and the protection of individual liberty are also worldwide in their scope and implications. They must also be approached in a boldly imaginative spirit if we are truly to achieve the purposes stated in the preamble to the Charter: "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind."

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Mem. King - Requests for Interviews re
L.S. St. Laurent

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

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MEMORANDUM

P-10-1
1946

Prime Minister C228844

Mr. St.Laurent telephoned to Mr. Pickersgill to say that he would be available in case you should wish to see him before the meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee this afternoon. (He was not asking for an interview).

H.A.Gibson

Jan 28/46

P.M. saw Hon. St Laurent
East Block = 11.30 a.m.
Jan. 28/46

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Text of the address delivered by the Right Honourable Louis S. St-Laurent, Minister of Justice, Attorney General of Canada and Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the dinner given in his honour at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, on November 29, 1946.

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I will not try to find any new formula to express to you my gratitude, that of my wife and that of all my family for this splendid tribute of esteem and friendship which you are giving me tonight. One would be quite devoid of any sensibility if one failed to be profoundly moved by it and it is from the very depth of my being, much more than from the lips that I say to you, to each one of you in particular, I thank you.

One would also have to be devoid of any sentiment of pride, be modest to a degree which few men can achieve, especially men in politics, not to feel as proud inside as one must appear embarrassed outside, at hearing about oneself such praise as has been spoken by the Right Honourable Mackenzie King and Honourable Adélard Godbout. Oh, I know how large a part of it must be attributed to the friendship with which they honour me. I also know how large a part of the cordial plaudits with which you have greeted this praise should be attributed to a similar sentiment of generous friendship. But it is none the less very flattering for me and for all those who are close to me to be given this demonstration that I have been able to win and to keep their friendship and yours.

This is the second time in my life that I am feasted in a banquet. The first one was far from being as brilliant as this. It was tendered to me in my native village of Compton, 41 years ago, when I was admitted to the Bar of the Province of Quebec. I was the first from my parish to become a lawyer and the friends in whose midst I had grown up came together to rejoice over such successes as I had won at school and at University and to wish me others in the career upon which I was embarking.

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This first banquet, modest as it was compared to this one, nevertheless had the same essential characteristic. It was a tribute of congratulations, of esteem and of friendship which I have never forgotten. And the moving memory which it left with me is an earnest to you that I shall no more forget this evening's feast and the generous participation of each one of you which has made it such a grand success.

It is true that it was five years ago that Mr. King invited me to take part in the administration of the Government of Canada and it is almost five years ago that the electors of Quebec East chose me to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe as their representative in the House of Commons.

To have one's name bracketed with that of Wilfrid Laurier and Ernest Lapointe constitutes in itself a title to fame in the political history of the Canadians of my province. No one has equalled them in winning the admiration of their fellow-citizens of the two last generations from one end to the other of our broad country. To succeed them, to be called upon to continue their work, is fame if you will, but also what dangerous fame! There had to be a war to make me dare to have Compton thus brought into contact with St-Lin and St-Eloi. I felt however that the state of war and your own traditional generosity would prevent comparisons and that if I did my best, I might continue to stand on my own feet and perhaps even some day be able to assert without the swagger of Rostand's hero: My own glass is a small one but it is the one from which I am accustomed to drink.

I have recalled that we were then at war. I wonder if you all remember as I do what was the phase of the war when I was invited by Mr. King to become a member

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of his Cabinet. The day on which I took my oaths of office was the day when the papers told us about the attack on Pearl Harbour and the sinking of the Repulse and of the Prince of Wales. Japan was thus asserting by its simultaneous attacks on the United States and on the British Commonwealth its firm belief that with the Axis powers it would triumph over the Allied Nations and would impose upon them the conditions of serfdom intended by their war lords.

The following weeks and even months were weeks and months of constant repulses and increasing anxiety for the military chiefs of the Allied Forces. They were also weeks and months of anxiety for our own public and especially for those who were members of the government. The public was aware of the agitation of the two hundred in Toronto. It was aware of the stormy debate in the House of Commons on the plebiscite act. It was aware of the no less stormy campaign which preceded the vote on the plebiscite. It was aware of the subsequent debate in the House on the amendment of the Mobilisation Act. But it was perhaps less aware of the danger which threatened during all those weeks and months of a dissolution of Parliament and of a general election where the question of total and immediate conscription would have brought about a profound and lasting division in our population, a division all the more lasting and profound because it would have been based on sincere and honest convictions on both sides.

That would have been a misfortune, a great misfortune, a misfortune which would have impeded our war effort, which would have lessened the contribution which we were able to make to the cause of the Allied Nations, and which if it had not made final victory uncertain might have retarded it and resulted in the loss of many more

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masses of human lives during the period thus added to the terrible conflict. It would have been a misfortune which would have poisoned Canadian national life for many long years with social and economical consequences that it is not easy to assess exactly but the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate.

Gentlemen, in spite of my 64 years and more, I am still young enough, especially in politics, to have retained some illusions. I confess to retaining the illusion that I was able to play a not inconsiderable part in warding off that misfortune. Now if I were to have no other satisfaction than that illusion to compensate for the years I have spent in Ottawa instead of continuing the peaceful but rather satisfactory practice of my profession in Quebec, I would have no regrets. And this satisfaction comes not only from the feeling of having contributed to the performance of a public service which I deem to have been of major importance; during those weeks and months I had the satisfaction of becoming convinced that the enlightened patriotism of Canadian public men was real and was fruitful. It was given to me to see, as a fact, that the devotion to public duty and the patriotic selflessness of those with whom I had to collaborate could revive memories of the devotion to public duty and the selflessness of the great figures of all histories and of all centuries.

There were diverging views profoundly, sincerely and almost passionately held as to the best way to safeguard effectively the vital interests of the Canadian nation, the very existence of the Canadian nation.

But in every one without any exception, those views were inspired by the most lofty patriotism. And yet they were none the less diverging, very diverging and, for

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weeks and months, those divergencies constituted serious and agonizing conscientious problems for each one. Should he, could he sacrifice his personal convictions to continue to collaborate in carrying out policies which were yielding some results but which he could not bring himself to believe were the best?

Was it really inevitable that his refusal to do so would provoke a crisis and would paralyze efforts which were important and even indispensable without a serious prospect of seeing them resumed soon enough and with increased vigour. And while the pros and cons are being weighed and re-weighed there is the haunting and constant spectre of the war which is going relentlessly on, the spectre of the war where men are being wounded and killed each day and where men will continue to be wounded and killed each day that it shall last.

I was the newest arrival in this company of some twenty Ministers who were carrying and who knew they were carrying this heavy responsibility. Several had been my friends before I became their colleague and as to the others, friendship, and even intimacy, comes quickly in the presence of heavy responsibilities which have to be borne in common. We gave each other enlightenment, moral support, example and encouragement and the danger passed. Our war effort continued with a constantly increasing tempo and with, in fact a very general, almost unanimous support from our population.

Oh, there were discordant notes from time to time and here and there but these discordant notes took the form of speeches and writings and did not prevent the population generally from giving a very satisfactory response to the directives which we sought to formulate.

And then, in the Fall of 1944, there was another critical period for consciences and convictions.

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To say that it was more agonizing than the first one as far as I am concerned would not be wholly true because not for a moment was I able to hesitate as to the line of conduct that I was in duty bound to follow. But that line of conduct was indicated to me by facts known to me and that I could not communicate to my friends. I therefore found myself in the painful necessity of following a line of conduct which many of you, my friends, sincerely and honestly felt to be wrong. It was all the more painful because I could not but recognize your good faith and because I was convinced that if I had been able to reveal to you the motives which made me act, you would have approved them unanimously as in fact they were approved in the election of June 1945.

By that time, the security reasons which prevented me from speaking in November 1944, no longer existed and happenings which had occurred in the interval constituted a complete demonstration that we had been right.

It was hard, however, to have to disappoint one's friends, to have to appear even momentarily to have betrayed their confidence, to do things which seemed to them to be wrong, and to feel that one had to keep inviolate the secret of facts which had it been possible to reveal them would have cleared away all these appearances and made everything acceptable.

It was hard but it was inevitable and it is partly because I had to do it that you are giving me this tribute tonight.

It was hard but it was not nearly as hard as that which was accepted by the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians who joined the colours, who underwent long periods of training under conditions so different from those of

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the normal life of the citizens of our country, who surrendered almost completely their own individual wills to accept the commands of their superior officers, who volunteered to go and fight, to be wounded, to be crippled, perhaps even to die so that we might live and so that the Canadian nation might continue to live.

What was done by those who were engaged in war activities on the home-front is little compared to that which was done by those who went to the battle front and this banquet which you have tendered me, and of which I am so proud, I accepted it and I now accept it as a tribute to all those who tried to serve their country during the years we have just gone through.

This is a tribute to me but it is also a tribute to the Prime Minister of Canada, one whose whole career had been that of a man of peace but who revealed himself a war leader whose contribution to everything that made possible the final victory of the Allied Nations will be assessed as inferior to that of no other of all our great leaders when the perspective of years will have allowed historians to assess it at its full worth.

It is also a tribute to all his colleagues, the Mackenzies, the Ralstons, the Chubby Powers, the Ilsleys, the Howes, Angus MacDonald, McNaughton, Gardiner, MacKinnon, Gibson, Mitchell, Fournier, Bertrand, LaFlèche, to name only a few of those who are still with us and whose names, with those of the great departed Lapointe, Rogers, Cardin, will head the different chapters of the history to be written of the universal mobilisation of the human and the material resources which our country contributed to the defence of christian civilization against the forces of evil.

But it is also a tribute and it is especially a tribute to the lads of the 22e Regiment, of the Royal Rifles,

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of the Régiment de la Chaudière, of the Régiment de Maisonneuve, and of all our other regiments, to the lads of the Canadian Navy, to those of the Air Force, to all those who carried our participation on to the fields of battle, on to the oceans and in the skies.

It is at the same time a tribute to the millions of Canadian men and women who, in the forests, on the farms, in the mines, in the plants and in the factories, in the banking and in the financial houses, everywhere, came together and with such ardour put forth the national effort that this world crisis forced upon us.

Let me remind you now of some of the peacetime realizations with which I had something to do since I went to Ottawa. The first I wish to mention is the Family Allowance Act. I will not go so far as to say that that Act was perfect in all its details, but it is a good Act. It is the best social Act the Canadian Parliament ever enacted. It takes care in some important degree of the anomaly under which 80% of the Canadian children - 80% of the Canadian citizens of the next generation - were supported by 15% of the present generation. And there was no other efficient cure for that anomaly. It is all very well to talk about the family wage, but in a country like ours whose economy is so dependent on international trade, on our capacity to produce and to sell in competition with other countries, it must be admitted that wages and salaries have to be kept in a direct relationship with the exchange value of that which is produced through the work for which the wages and salaries are paid. To fix them at the level required by the householder maintaining the largest number of children would put a load on our

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industries that competition makes it impossible for them to carry. On the other hand, any attempt to proportion wages and salaries to the domestic requirements of those to whom they are paid would necessarily prevent the hiring of precisely the persons the system would be designed to favour. Equal pay for equal work is an unavoidable consequence of the system under which we live. But the system under which we live is one by which we all profit and it was only fair to distribute on the whole community a part of the burden which bore too heavily on the fathers of large families.

The Act which came into operation on the 1st July, 1945, provides for the distribution of about $250,000,000 a year to that end. Not only does it help the fathers of those families whose wealth consists principally of future Canadian citizens, but it places at their disposal a purchasing power of $250,000,000 a year, which is currently expended and creates a stable and continuing market for a corresponding volume of consumer goods.

Certain details of this Act have been criticised. For example, it has been said that allocations should not start before the 3rd child. This objection fails to take into account the fact that the allocations are paid periodically for all children of less than 16 years at the time they are paid, and that statistics show that at the time of each payment in almost half the families with young children there are not more than two of that age. That does not mean that the families which are beginning will not become more numerous, nor does it mean that in those where the youngest have reached the ages of 14 and 15 they have not been more numerous. What it does mean is that in every family from the beginning to its full development the allocations

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are paid each month according to the number of children of the age required to receive them during that month.

The law has also been criticised because it provides for a decreasing rate when there are more than four children entitled to receive allocations at the same time in the same family. It may be that experience will show that the rate of decrease has not been properly adjusted, but I do not think it can be seriously contended that it is unfair to give some consideration to the fact that the monthly expenditures required in a family where there are seven or eight children under 16 years of age are not exactly twice as high as those which have to be made in a family where there are three or four.

And, after all gentlemen, what are the human realizations which can be said to be absolutely perfect from the start. It may be that this one is, but even if it is not it is still a good Act, a very good Act and the party I belong to is proud to have written it into our Statutes.

Another reform our party is proud of and in which I am proud of having taken a part is the re-adjustment of the representation of the population of our provinces in our national parliament. We started out in 1867 with a representation based on the population of each province. Sixty-five members were allotted to the Province of Quebec and the unit of representation for the other provinces was fixed at 1/65th of the population of Quebec.

There was to be a re-adjustment of representation after each decennial census, but there was a clause in the Constitutional Act to the effect that no province would have its representation diminished unless the proportion

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of its population compared to that of the whole nation showed a decrease of 1/20th since the last re-adjustment.

Apparently the writers of this clause agreed that there might be some departure from the principle of proportionate representation, but they expected that it would be corrected from decade to decade, or at least as soon as it had become as much as 1/20th. But the Privy Council called upon to construe that clause in 1904 reached the conclusion that there was a re-adjustment of representation each time that representation was compared to the last census and the result was that there had to be a diminution of 1/20th between two consecutive censuses to bring about a reduction in representation.

That made possible departures of much more than 1/20th between the representation of Quebec and that of other provinces in the event the decrease in the proportion of the population thereof, though progressive and cumulative, did not amount to 1/20th in a single decade. Now, after the census of 1941, the people of Ontario had 8 members more than their true proportionate representation and that departure might have increased indefinitely if its progress had been the same as during the three last decades. When the compilations of the 1941 census were published in 1943, a re-distribution would have been in order. In making that re-distribution due regard would have to be given to the judgment of the Privy Council. That re-distribution would have meant a loss of several seats to Manitoba and in Saskatchewan, but Ontario would have retained the eight it has had in excess of proportionate representation. The government reached the conclusion that such a re-distribution would have been unfair and it sought an amendment to the Constitution to postpone it until after the war, because there was such tension during the war period that it probably would not have been possible to have an amendment accepted which would have brought about an increase in

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Quebec's representation in the national parliament. At the time I agreed to share the responsibility for this adjournment of the re-distribution and I declared in the House that I was doing so because re-distribution under those conditions would have been unfair for the people of Manitoba and of Saskatchewan, but would also have been unfair for the people of Quebec and because I was confident that with an adjournment it would be possible to have a system accepted which would be fair for everybody.

At the time there were some who mocked at my naive confidence. It was even felt in certain quarters that the public could be persuaded I was making a cowardly concession to satisfy others at the expense of the people of my own province. To lay oneself open so naively to the criticism of opponents is perhaps one [redacted] reason for the opinion expressed so often about me.

"St. Laurent - he may have been a good enough lawyer but he knows nothing about politics".

I confess that I know nothing about a certain kind of politics. Not only do I confess it, but I glory in it. What little experience I have about men and the manner in which they react I acquired by appearing before Judges whose intelligence and good faith I always respected. In seeking judgments from them I felt I had to submit to their appreciation all the pertinent facts and nothing but the pertinent facts; in other words, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Now during more than 36 years at the Bar I found that a pretty successful system and when I had to go to another forum and plead my cases before the public at large, which is our judge in political affairs, I had become too old to change to any other system. I continued

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to respect the intelligence and the good faith of my new judges and, quite frankly, I am under the impression that it is a system which they do not dislike.

But let us get back to re-distribution. The confidence I expressed in 1943 does not now appear to have been so naive. You know that during the last session we secured another amendment to the Constitution to re-establish the principle of proportionate representation in all the provinces. From now on it will not take more to entitle people in Quebec to a member in the Commons than it takes in any other province. There were only three members who openly opposed the principle - so just in fact - of the same unit of representation for everybody. But our opponents tried to hide their real opposition under the argument that we had no right to proceed without obtaining the prior consent of provincial governments.

They said that we should have requested prior leave at least from certain provincial governments, notably that of Mr. Duplessis and that of his friend Mr. George Drew. And because we did not do so, those who seem to know so much about the political strategies about which I am so ignorant, now think they can convince the people of Quebec that we have imperilled the use of the French language in our country.

This is a report published in Le Devoir of the 19th August and what Mr. Duplessis said at a big public meeting at St. Rose on the preceding Sunday:

"During the whole period of almost 80 years that we have had Confederation there have never been such fanatics as in 1946 - fanatics who have gone so far as to

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say that the French language has no longer any rights in the Province of Quebec. And that was said by a French speaking Liberal Minister".

Mr. Ivan Sabourin, the chief organizer in our Province of the Progressive-Conservative party has several times said almost the same thing. Now, all that was prepared during the debate in the House of Commons on our draft amendment. Mr. Arthur Smith, Progressive-Conservative Member for Calgary West, had defied me, as Minister of Justice, to answer the following objection: if Parliament can, without the consent of provincial governments, secure an amendment of the Constitution to change the proportion of the members for each province, would it not have the same right to secure an amendment to section 133, concerning the use of the French language?

One of these experts in political strategy might have avoided giving a clear answer to such a question. He might have been content with saying that what we were doing was to remove an injustice and that the right to remove an injustice did not imply the right to commit another one. But we were discussing the true effect of the Constitution from a strictly legal angle and I answered him that from this strictly legal angle that provincial governments had nothing to do with the use of the French language in the Federal Parliament.

I was able to add in all confidence that we, Canadians of my race and my religion, have a much more effective guarantee than anything to be found in section 133 of the Constitution to protect our essential rights: it is the fact that it is not

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[redacted] the custom of those who had been nurtured in the traditional principles of liberty and British fair-play, to do things which the conscience of mankind would brand as dishonourable.

I am not responsible for the drafting of the Constitution of 1867 and when I am called upon to construe it as a lawyer I have to construe it as it is and not as some might wish it to be. As a matter of fact, until we shall have adopted a system to amend it at home, it can be amended only by statutes enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Now since the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of the United Kingdom legislates for us only when we ask that it be done and in the manner in which we ask that it be done and provided that the request be made by those who, under the Constitution have jurisdiction in the matter to which the amendment is to apply.

Certain matters are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. With respect to them, no request for an amendment coming from the Federal Parliament could be entertained. As to the other matters [redacted] those which are not expressly allotted to the Provincial Legislatures by the terms of the Constitution, requests for amendments must come from the Federal Parliament and it is that Parliament alone which is responsible to the citizens of Canada for the content of such requests. Now it must not be forgotten that the Federal Parliament is our Parliament just as much as it is that of Canadians of other provinces. The jurisdiction exercised by it is exercised by you through the representatives you send there and those representatives are responsible to you for the integrity of your rights in federal matters, just as your representatives in the

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Legislature are responsible to you for their integrity in the provincial field. Our rights to the use of the French language in the Federal field are in no greater danger because of the fact that the Provincial Legislatures have no competence in that respect than are your bank accounts, your rights to vote in Federal elections and your rights to enjoy the protection of the criminal code against assassins and thieves. Mr. Duplessis was all the less entitled to make about me an assertion like that which I cited to you a few moments ago, because I had written to him five or six weeks before - to be exact on the 9th July, 1946 - a letter from which I will cite a few extracts. They are these:

"It seems strange to me that you should introduce into this controversy any question about the use of the French language. It is true that question was raised by a Conservative Member from the West but the veiled threat which it implied was recognized as a scarecrow which frightened no one. It was clearly a manoeuver designed to prevent the Quebec Members from insisting on the allotment to our population of the numerical representation in Parliament to which you will admit with me we have a non-contestable right, both in accordance with the spirit of the Act of 1867, and with what we thought to be the meaning of its text before the interpretation put upon that text by the judgment of the Privy Council in the Prince Edward Island case.

Article 133 of the Constitution deals with the use of the two languages, English and French, in the Federal Parliament and in the Legislature of Quebec, as well as before certain courts.

It is clear that the Federal Parliament would be impinging on the rights of the Quebec Legislature if

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it attempted to decide anything with respect to the use of these languages in the proceedings of the Houses of the Quebec Legislature or of the courts of our province. But as to the use of these languages in the Federal Parliament, or before the Federal courts, that is a matter which concerns the Canadian population represented, otherwise, in my view, than by the members elected to the Quebec Legislature. When a mandator has two mandatories to whom he has delegated powers for specific purposes as to each, the fact that one of them fails to discharge the responsibilities of his mandate, does not transfer his powers to the other mandatory. Moreover in this case the Federal mandatory of the Canadian population has not failed to discharge his mandate, shows no intention of doing so and personally I am convinced that he will never do so".

I would have liked to say something about Dominion-Provincial relations, but I have already spoken too long. And, in fact, you are not the ones who have to be warned against the speeches made by Mr. Duplessis or by those who are seeking with him to create the impression that the Ottawa Government is seeking to encroach upon Provincial autonomy.

The Ottawa Government made to the provinces certain financial proposals which it felt would be apt to facilitate the fulfilling as well by the Provincial Governments as by the Federal Government of their respective responsibilities under the Constitution and it did so to the end that the Constitution might be fully respected.

The Quebec Government has not seen fit to accept those proposals, but in spite of all the wordy declarations of its present leader as to his desire to collaborate with the Federal authorities, it has never been possible to obtain from him the slightest precise

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indication as to what conditions he might find acceptable. I will mention only one item of his objections as an example of his method of expounding the controversy.

In order to meet the enormous expenditures imposed upon us by the war, the Federal Parliament had to make important increases in respect of income taxes. It was also compelled to exercise its uncontestable right to impose succession duties. Now in administering these two Acts it was found that the collection of succession duties brought to light many evasions under the Income Tax Act. The scrutiny of the list of assets in an estate makes it possible to determine what proportion of those assets represents the capitalization of previous income and often makes it possible to collect taxes on income which had not been declared.

In general when the rate of taxation is high and everyone is hoping, as we are now, that it may be lowered, an indispensable condition to any possible decrease is that everyone pay without any evasion whatsoever what becomes due under existing rates. When a taxpayer fails to remit the amount he owes under the existing rate, it is not the government that suffers thereby but all the other taxpayers. The government will always succeed in raising the aggregate sum it requires and if it does not get from each taxpayer the portion he should pay, it will still get the aggregate sum by raising the rate or by maintaining at a high level the rate at which others are required to pay.

The Federal Government, therefore, felt that for the time being, at least, it was in the general interest of the whole body of Canadian tax payers that it continue to collect succession duties. It even proposed that the provinces abstain temporarily from imposing such duties in return for certain payments it would make to each. But

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that did not appear acceptable to certain provinces and as the rate of taxation has to be the same everywhere and as it had to be fixed for the provinces accepting the federal proposal at a rate high enough to cover both the federal rate and the provincial rate heretofore prevailing and thus enable the agreed refunds to be made, the government was constrained to recommend, and Parliament enacted the Act establishing the same new rate for all the provinces. But in order to avoid injustices in those which did not accept the Federal proposal, the government recommended and Parliament enacted that each taxpayer would be entitled to a credit against his Federal tax equal to the amount he would have to pay as succession tax to the government of his own province.

If, under the new Federal rate the tax is 100 and the taxpayer has to pay 50 to the government of his own province, he has only 50 to pay to the Federal Treasury.

Now you are hearing the present Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec complaining in his speeches of the provocative attitude of the Federal Government; not only did it refuse at the Conference to retire from the field of succession duties, but under the law enacted at the last session the rate of those duties was doubled!

Gentlemen, that is not the way I think the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth should be told. It may be evidence of certain experience in political strategy, but I still believe it is preferable to respect the intelligence and the good faith of those who have the responsibilities of passing judgment on the doing of men in politics.

Now we are all citizens of a country which is still young but whose inhabitants have already become a nation. I am taking part just now in a Conference of 54 nations and I can assure you that the rank and roll of ours is not among the least important.

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We are the ones who, under providence and the stress of events, which it is sometimes difficult for men to control, are the sole masters of our own destiny. The Constitution under which we live has made a judicious distribution of the prerogatives and responsibilities of sovereignty between the central authority and the provincial institutions. The system may not be perfect but I know of none which would be better fitted to the situation which events have made for us. We intend that it shall be maintained. Our Prime Minister said in a speech made in 1942:

> ".....Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.
> Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationality means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being; without them, it cannot survive."

Canadian nationhood is also based on the fundamental principle of the distribution of sovereign powers to a Parliament which deals with and determines the problems which all Canadians have in common and to Legislatures who have exclusive competence to deal with and determine those which concern separately the residents of each province.

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The party to which I belong has always been and will continue to be the firm supporter of that distribution so just, so logical and so indispensable to the healthy development of our Canadian nationality. I repeat here both as a statement of fact and as a promise some additional lines taken from the letter I wrote to Mr. Duplessis on the 9th July last and in which I used language from the Order in Council he had caused to be passed on the 3rd July and of which he had sent me a copy.

The Government of Canada did take the appropriate measures to meet "the desires of the Province of Quebec, that all the provinces, Quebec in particular, secure by proceedings carried out in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Canadian Constitution a just and fair Federal representation.

The Province of Quebec will always see due regard paid to "its irrevocable desire to safeguard fully the constitutional prerogatives to which it is entitled and to conserve intact the intangible and unalienable rights of the French language."

The Quebec Government has no reason to fear any lack of "integral respect for the Canadian federating pact."

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Texte du discours prononcé
par le T.H. Louis S. St-Laurent,
Ministre de la Justice, Procureur
général du Canada et Secrétaire d'Etat
aux Affaires extérieures, à l'occasion
du banquet qui lui a été offert au
Château Frontenac, à Québec, le 29
novembre 1946.

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Je ne chercherai pas de formule nouvelle pour vous exprimer ma gratitude, celle de ma femme et celle de toute ma famille pour ce splendide témoignage d'estime et d'amitié que vous me donnez ce soir. Il faudrait être entièrement dépourvu de toute sensibilité pour n'en être pas profondément ému. Aussi est-ce du plus profond de mon être beaucoup plus que du bout des lèvres, que je vous dis à tous, et à chacun de vous en particulier, je vous remercie.

Il faudrait aussi être dépourvu de tout sentiment d'orgueuil, être modeste à un degré que peu d'hommes peuvent atteindre, surtout en politique, pour n'être pas aussi fier intérieurement qu'on est embarrassé extérieurement d'entendre dire de soi autant de louanges que viennent d'en prononcer à mon endroit le Très Honorable Mackenzie King et l'Honorable Adélard Godbout.

Oh! je sais bien quelle large part il convient d'en attribuer à l'amitié dont ils m'honorent. Je sais aussi quelle large part des applaudissements si cordiaux dont vous les avez acceuillis il convient d'attribuer à un même sentiment de généreuse amitié. Mais c'est déjà très flatteur pour moi et tous les miens d'avoir cette éclatante démonstration que j'ai pu gagner et conserver leur amitié et la vôtre.

C'est la deuxième fois dans ma vie qu'on me fête dans un banquet. Le premier n'avait pas l'éclat de celui-ci. Il me fut donné dans mon village de Compton il y a 41 ans lors de mon admission au barreau de la Province de Québec. J'étais le premier

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de ma paroisse à devenir avocat et les amis au milieu desquels j'avais grandi s'étaient réunis pour se réjouir des quelques succès que j'avais eus au collège et à l'Université et pour m'en souhaiter d'autres dans la carrière où je me lançais.

Ce premier banquet - si modeste fut-il en comparaison de celui-ci - en avait cependant la même caractéristique essentielle; c'était un témoignage de félicitations, d'estime et d'amitié que je n'ai jamais oublié. Et le souvenir ému que j'en ai gardé vous est un gage que je n'oublierai jamais non plus la fête de ce soir et la généreuse participation de chacun de vous qui en fait un succès si éclatant.

Il y a cinq ans, en effet, que monsieur King m'a appelé à participer à l'administration du gouvernment du Canada et, près de cinq ans, que les électeurs de Québec-Est m'ont élu pour succéder à Sir Wilfrid Laurier et au Très Honorable Ernest Lapointe comme leur député à la Chambre des Communes.

Voir son nom accolé à ceux de Wilfrid Laurier et Ernest Lapointe, c'est déjà un titre glorieux dans l'histoire politique des Canadiens de notre province. Nul autant qu'eux ne s'est imposé à l'admiration de leurs concitoyens des deux dernières générations d'un bout à l'autre de notre immense pays. Leur succéder, se voir chargé de continuer leur oeuvre était glorieux, si vous voulez, mais combien périlleux.

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Il fallait que nous fussions en guerre pour que j'aie osé affronter le péril de rapprocher Compton de St-Lin et de St-Eloi. Je comptais que l'état de guerre et votre générosité traditionnelle interdiraient les comparaisons et qu'en faisant mon possible, je pourrais continuer à me tenir debout en public et peut-être même un jour me permettre sans fanfaronnade de répéter avec le héros de Rostand: "Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre".

J'ai rappelé que nous étions alors en guerre; je ne sais si tous se souviennent comme moi de la phase de la guerre où nous étions lorsque j'ai été invité par monsieur King à faire partie de son Cabinet. Le jour où j'ai été assermenté, les journaux nous apprenaient l'attaque sur Pearl Harbour et le coulage du Repulse et du Prince of Wales. Le Japon affirmait ainsi, en s'attaquant simultanément aux Etats-Unis et au Commonwealth Britannique, sa croyance ferme qu'il allait avec les puissances de l'Axe vaincre les nations alliées et leur imposer les conditions de servage rêvées par leurs géopolitiques.

Les semaines et même les mois qui ont suivi ont été des semaines et des mois de reculs constants et d'anxiété croissante pour les chefs militaires des forces alliées. Ils ont été aussi des semaines et des mois d'anxiété pour notre public et surtout pour tous ceux qui faisaient partie du gouvernement. Le public a connu l'agitation des deux cents, à Toronto; il a connu les débats orageux à la Chambre sur la loi du plébiscite, il a connu la campagne non moins

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orageuse qui a abouti au vote du plébiscite, il a connu les débats subséquents à la Chambre sur l'amendement de la loi de mobilisation. Ce qu'il a peut-être moins connu, c'est le danger qu'il a couru pendant toutes ces semaines et ces mois de dissolution des Chambres, d'élections générales, où la question de conscription générale et immédiate aurait causé une division profonde et durable dans notre population, d'autant plus profonde et plus durable qu'elle aurait été basée sur des convictions honnêtes et sincères de part et d'autre. C'eut été un grand, un très grand malheur. Un malheur qui aurait mui à notre effort de guerre, qui aurait amoindri la contribution que nous avons pu fournir qux nations alliées, qui s'il n'avait pas compromis la victoire finale, aurait pu la retarder et se traduire en hécatombes additionnelles pendant la période qui eut été ajoutée au terrible conflit. C'eut été aussi un malheur qui aurait empoisonné la vie nationale canadienne pour de longues années, avec des conséquences sociales et économiques dont il n'est pas facile d'apprécier exactement l'importance mais dont il n'est pas facile non plus de s'exagérer les dangers.

Messieurs, malgré mes 64 ans et plus, je suis encore assez jeune, surtout en politique, pour qu'il me reste des illusions. J'ai l'illusion d'avoir pris une part assez considérable à conjurer ce danger et s'il ne me restait aucune autre satisfaction que cette illusion pour compenser les années que j'ai passées à Ottawa au lieu de continuer l'exercice tranquille mais assez satisfaisant de ma profession à Québec, je n'en aurais aucun regret. Et ce n'est

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pas seulement la satisfaction d'avoir contribué à rendre à son pays un service que j'estime de conséquence majeure; j'ai eu pendant ces semaines et ces mois la satisfaction de me convaincre que le patriotisme éclairé des hommes publics canadiens était réel et qu'il était fécond. J'ai été à même de constater que tous ceux avec qui je collaborais étaient d'un dévouement à la cause publique et d'un désintéressement patriotique qui rappelaient les dévouements et le désintéressement des grandes figures de toutes les histoires et de tous les siècles.

Il y avait des divergences d'opinion, profondes, sincères et presque passionément convaincues quant aux meilleurs moyens de sauvegarder efficacement les intérêts de la nation canadienne, l'existence même de la nation canadienne. Pour tous, sans aucune exception, ces opinions étaient inspirées du plus pur patriotisme mais elles n'en étaient pas moins divergentes, très divergentes, et ce fut pendant des semaines et des mois, des problèmes de conscience sérieux et angoissants pour chacun. Devait-il, pouvait-il sacrifier ses convictions personnelles pour collaborer à une politique d'action qui donnait des résultats mais qu'il ne pouvait pas croire être la meilleure?

Etait-il bien inévitable que son refus de le faire provoquerait une crise et paralyserait des efforts importants, peut-être indispensables, sans chance sérieuse de les faire reprendre assez tôt et avec une vigueur augmentée? Pendant qu'on pèse et qu'on soupèse le pour et le contre il y a la hantise

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constante du spectre de la guerre qui marche toujours, du spectre de la guerre où des hommes souffrent et meurent chaque jour et où des hommes souffriront et mourront chaque jour tant qu'elle durera.

J'étais le dernier venu dans cette compagnie d'une vingtaine de ministres qui portaient, et qui savaient qu'ils portaient cette lourde responsabilité. Plusieurs avaient été de mes amis avant que je devienne leur collègue et quant aux autres, l'amitié, et même l'intimité, se produisent vite en face d'une lourde responsabilité qu'il faut porter en commun.

Nous nous sommes fourni mutuellement éclaircissements, aide morale, exemple et encouragements, et le danger a été conjuré. Notre effort de guerre a continué à une allure constamment croissante et avec l'appui, en fait, très général presque unanime, de toute notre population. Oh, il y a bien eu des notes discordantes de temps à autre et en certains quartiers, mais ces notes discordantes se traduisaient surtout en paroles et en écrits, et n'ont pas empêché l'ensemble de la population de répondre avec un élan très satisfaisant aux directives que nous cherchions à lui donner.

Puis, à l'automne de 1944, survint une autre crise des consciences et des convictions. Dire qu'elle fut plus angoissante pour moi que la première ne serait pas l'exacte vérité car je n'ai jamais eu un moment d'hésitation quant à la ligne de conduite que le devoir m'imposait. Mais cette ligne de conduite m'était tracée par la connaissance de faits que je savais et que je ne pouvais pas communiquer à mes amis. Je me suis donc trouvé dans la pénible nécessité d'adopter une ligne de conduite que beaucoup d'entre vous, mes amis, considériez sincèrement et honnêtement devoir

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réprouver. C'était d'autant plus pénible que je connaissais votre bonne foi et que j'étais convaincu que si j'avais eu le droit de vous révéler les motifs qui me faisaient agir, vous les auriez unanimement approuvés, comme on l'a fait du reste à l'élection de juin 1945. A ce moment, les motifs de sécurité qui m'empêchaient de parler en novembre 1944 n'existaient plus et les faits qui s'étaient passés dans l'intervalle fournissaient la démonstration complète que nous avions eu raison.

C'est dur, tout de même, d'avoir à désappointer ses amis, d'être obligé de paraître, même momentanément, trahir leur confiance, accomplir ce qui leur semble être de mauvaises actions et se sentir obligé de garder le secret inviolable de faits qui, s'il était permis de les révéler, dissiperaient toutes ces apparences et feraient tout accepter.

C'était dur mais c'était inévitable et c'est un peu parce qu'il m'a fallu le faire que vous me fêtez ce soir. C'était dur mais c'était tout de même moins dur que ce qu'ont accepté des centaines de mille jeunes Canadiens qui se sont enrôlés sous les drapeaux, qui ont subi de longues périodes d'entraînement dans des conditions absolument différentes de celles de la vie normale des citoyens de notre pays, qui ont abdiqué presque complètement leur volonté individuelle pour accepter les commandements de leurs officiers supérieurs, qui ont accepté d'aller se battre, de recevoir des blessures, de perdre des membres, peut-être de mourir pour que nous vivions et pour que la nation canadienne continue de vivre.

Ce que nous avons fait, nous, en nous occupant d'oeuvres de guerre sur l'arrière-ligne, est peu de chose comparé à ce qu'ont eu à faire ceux qui sont allés au front, et ce banquet que vous m'offrez et dont je suis si fier, je l'ai accepté et

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je l'accepte comme hommage à tous ceux qui ont cherché à servir le pays pendant les années que nous venons de traverser. Vous me fêtez, mais vous fêtez aussi le Premier Ministre du Canada, dont toute la carrière avait été celle d'un homme de paix mais qui s'est révélé un Premier Ministre de guerre dont l'apport à tout ce qui a assuré la victoire finale des nations alliées, ne s'avérera inférieure à celle d'aucun autre de nos grands chefs lorsque le recul des années aura permis aux historiens d'en apprécier toute l'ampleur.

Vous fêtez également tous ses collègues, les Mackenzie, les Ralston, les Chubby Power, les Ilsley, les Howe, les Angus MacDonald, les McNaughton, les Gardiner, les MacKinnon, les Gibson, les Mitchell, les Fournier, les Bertrand, les LaFlèche, et tous les autres, pour ne nommer que quelques-uns de ceux qui vivent encore et dont les noms sont avec ceux des grands disparus, Lapointe, Rogers et Cardin, comme des en-têtes de chapitres différents dans l'histoire qui s'écrira de la mobilisation universelle de toutes les ressources humaines et matérielles que notre pays a contribuées à la défense de la civilisation chrétienne contre les forces du mal. Mais vous fêtez aussi et vous fêtez surtout tous les gars du 22ième, des Royal Rifles, du Régiment de la Chaudière, du Régiment de Maisonneuve, et de tous nos autres régiments, ceux de la marine canadienne, tous nos aviateurs, tous ceux qui sont allés porter notre participation sur les champs de bataille, sur les océans ou dans les airs, vous fêtez aussi et en même temps les millions de Canadiens et de Canadiennes qui, dans les forêts, sur les fermes, dans les mines, dans les chantiers et dans les usines, dans les maisons de banque et de finance, partout, se sont associés avec tant d'ardeur à l'effort national que cette crise mondiale nous a imposé.

Permettez-moi maintenant de vous rappeler quelques-unes des réalisations de paix auxquelles il m'a été donné de parti-

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ciper depuis que je suis à Ottawa. La première que je veux signaler, c'est la loi des allocations familiales. Je n'irai pas jusqu'à prétendre que cette loi est parfaite dans tous ses détails, mais c'est une bonne loi. C'est la meilleure loi sociale que le Parlement canadien ait jamais adoptée. Elle remédie, en une mesure importante, à l'anomalie qui faisait que 80% des enfants canadiens, 80% des citoyens canadiens de la prochaine génération, étaient à la charge de moins que 15% de la génération actuelle.

Et il n'y avait pas d'autre moyen de remédier d'une manière efficace à cette anomalie. On a beau parler de salaire familial, lorsqu'on habite un pays comme le nôtre, dont l'économie dépend en une si large mesure de son commerce international, de notre capacité de produire et de vendre en concurrence avec tous les autres pays, il faut admettre que les gages et les salaires doivent rester en fonction directe de la valeur économique des produits résultant du travail dont les gages et les salaires sont le prix. Les fixer pour tout le monde au niveau des besoins du père de famille ayant à sa charge le plus grand nombre d'enfants grèverait nos industries de fardeaux que la concurrence des autres ne leur permet pas de porter. D'autre part, tenter de proportionner les gages et les salaires aux charges de famille de ceux qui les reçoivent, empêcherait fatalement l'embauchage de ceux-là mêmes que le système serait destiné à favoriser.

L'égalité des gages et des salaires pour égalité de rendement est une conséquence inéluctable du système sous lequel nous vivons. Mais le système

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sous lequel nous vivons en est un dont tous nous profitons et il est juste de répartir sur l'ensemble de la communauté une partie de la charge qui portait trop lourdement sur les chefs des familles nombreuses.

La loi dont la mise en opération remonte au 1er juillet 1945 pourvoit à la distribution d'environ 250 millions de dollars par année à cette fin. Non seulement elle vient en aide aux chefs de familles riches surtout en futurs citoyens canadiens, mais elle place à leur disposition un pouvoir d'achat de 250 millions de dollars par année qui est utilisé couramment et qui crée un marché stable et constant pour un volume correspondant de denrées de consommation.

On a critiqué certains détails de cette loi. On a dit, par exemple, qu'on ne devrait commencer à verser les allocations qu'au troisième enfant. On oubliait de tenir compte du fait que ces allocations sont versées périodiquement pour tous les enfants ayant moins de seize ans au moment où elles sont versées et que la statistique démontre qu'au moment de chaque versement il y a près de la moitié des familles où il n'y a pas plus que deux enfants de cet âge. Pour celles qui commencent, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles ne deviendront pas plus nombreuses et pour celles dont les derniers ont déjà 14 ou 15 ans, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles n'ont pas été plus nombreuses. Mais cela veut dire que pour tous les ménages, jeunes comme moins jeunes, les allocations sont payées chaque mois suivant le nombre d'enfants dans la famille ayant l'âge voulu pour les recevoir au cours de ce mois.

On a critiqué aussi le fait que la loi comportait un taux décroissant lorsqu'il y avait lieu de

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verser des allocations pour plus que quatre enfants en même temps dans la même famille. Il est possible que l'expérience démontre que le taux de cette décroissance a été mal établi mais je ne crois pas qu'on puisse sérieusement prétendre qu'il est injuste de tenir un certain compte du fait que les dépenses mensuelles à la charge du père de 7 ou 8 enfants de moins de 16 ans ne sont pas exactement le double des mêmes dépenses à la charge de celui qui n'en a que 3 ou 4.

Et du reste, Messieurs, quelles sont les oeuvres humaines qui soient absolument parfaites lorsqu'elles sont d'abord ébauchées? Il est possible que celle-ci le soit, mais même si elle ne l'est pas, c'est une bonne loi, une très bonne loi et le parti auquel j'appartiens est fier de l'avoir inscrite dans nos statuts.

Une autre réforme dont notre parti est fier et à laquelle je suis fier d'avoir collaboré, c'est le rajustement de la représentation des populations des provinces dans notre parlement national. On a commencé en 1867 avec une représentation basée sur la population de chacune des provinces; on a attribué 65 députés à la province de Québec et on a fixé l'unité de représentation pour les autres provinces à 1/65 de la population de chez nous.

Il devait y avoir rajustement de la représentation après chaque recensement décennal mais il y avait une clause dans l'Acte constitutionnel comportant qu'on ne diminuerait la représentation d'une province que si la proportion de sa population comparée à celle de toute la nation avait diminué d'un vingtième depuis le dernier rajustement.

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Apparemment, les rédacteurs de cette clause consentaient à un certain écart du principe de la représentation proportionnelle mais entendaient qu'il fut corrigé de décade en décade ou au moins aussitôt qu'il aurait atteint l'importance d'un vingtième. Mais le Conseil Privé ayant eu à interpréter cette disposition en 1904, il en vint à la conclusion qu'il y avait rajustement de la représentation chaque fois que cette représentation était mise en regard du plus récent recensement avec la conséquence qu'ilfallait une diminution d'un vingtième entre deux recensements conséqutifs pour permettre une réduction.

Ceci rendait possibles des écarts de beaucoup plus qu'un vingtième entre la représentation de Québec et celle des autres provinces pourvu que la diminution dans la proportion de la population de celles-ci bien que progressive et cumulative, n'égalât pas un vingtième dans une seule décade. Déjà, après le recensement de 1941, la population d'Ontario avait huit députés de plus que sa représentation proportionnelle et cet écart aurait pu augmenter indéfiniment s'il avait suivi la même progression que pendant les trois dernières décades. Lorsque les compilations du recensement de 1941 furent publiées en 1943, il y aurait eu lieu de procéder à une redistribution. Il aurait fallu faire cette redistribution en tenant compte du jugement du Conseil Privé. Cette redistribution aurait fait perdre plusieurs députés aux citoyens de Manitoba et de Saskatchewan, mais Ontario aurait gardé ses huit députés de plus que sa représentation proportionnelle. Le Gouvernement en est venu à la conclusion qu'une telle redistribution

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n'eut pas été juste et il a fait adopter un amendement à la Constitution pour la remettre jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, car la tension des esprits pendant la guerre était telle qu'il n'aurait probablement pas été possible de faire accepter un amendement qui eut augmenté la proportion des gens de chez nous dans le parlement national. J'ai consenti dans le temps à assumer ma part de responsabilité pour cet ajournement de la redistribution et j'ai déclaré à la Chambre que je le faisais parce qu'une redistribution sous les conditions d'alors eut été injuste pour les populations du Manitoba et de Saskatchewan mais j'ajoutais qu'elle eut été injuste aussi pour la population de Québec et que j'avais confiance qu'une remise permettrait de faire accepter un système qui nous rendrait justice à tous.

On s'est bien moqué dans le temps de ma naiveté si confiante. On a même pensé, en certains milieux, qu'on pourrait faire croire au public qu'il y avait là une lâche concession de ma part pour faire l'affaire des autres aux dépens des gens de chez nous. S'exposer si naivement à la critique des adversaires est peut-être une des raisons pour l'opinion qu'on exprime si souvent à mon endroit: "St-Laurent? Il a pu être un assez bon avocat, mais il ne connait rien en politique." J'avoue ne rien connaitre à certaines façons de faire de la politique. Non seulement, je l'avoue mais je m'en glorifie. Le peu d'expérience que j'ai des hommes et de leurs façons de réagir, je l'ai acquise à plaider devant des juges dont je respectais l'intelligence et la bonne foi. En leur demandant de rendre

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des jugements, j'estimais qu'il fallait soumettre à leur appréciation tous les faits pertinents, mais rien autre chose que les faits pertinents; en d'autres termes, la vérité, toute la vérité, rien que la vérité.

C'estun système que m'a réussi pendant au-delà de 36 ans au Barreau et quand j'ai été obligé de changer de juge et de plaider mes causes devant le grand public, dont nous dépendons en politique, j'étais trop vieux pour changer de système. J'ai continué à respecter l'intelligence et la bonne foi de mes nouveaux juges et, franchement, j'ai l'impression que ce n'est pas un système qui leur déplait.

Mais revenons à la redistribution. La confiance que j'exprimais en 1943 ne paraît plus aussi naive. Vous savez qu'à la dernière session nous avons de nouveau fait amender la Constitution pour rétablir le principe de la représentation proportionnée à la population quant à toutes les provinces. Dorénavant, il ne faudra pas plus de gens de Québec pour avoir droit à un député aux Communes qu'il n'en faut dans aucune autre province.

Trois députés seulement se sont opposés ouvertement au rétablissement du principe si juste de la même unité de représentation pour tout le monde. Mais nos adversaires ont cherché à masquer leur opposition réelle avec l'argument que nous n'avions pas le droit d'y procéder sans obtenir auparavant le consentement des gouvernements provinciaux.

D'après eux, il aurait fallu demander la permission préalable au moins de certains gouvernments provinciaux notamment celui de monsieur Duplessis et

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celui de son ami, monsieur George Drew. Et parce que nous ne l'avons pas fait, ceux qui s'y connaissent si bien aux façons de faire de la politique que je connais si mal, pensent maintenant qu'ils peuvent convaincre la population du Québec que nous avons mis en péril l'usage de la langue française en notre pays.

Voici le rapport publié dans Le Devoir du 19 d'août, de ce que M. Duplessis a dit en une grande assemblée publique à Ste-Rose, le dimanche précédent:

"Depuis près de 80 ans que nous sommes dans la Confédération, jamais il n'y eut de tels fanatiques qu'en 1946, de fanatiques au point d'aller dire que la langue française n'a plus droit de cité dans la province de Québec. Et c'est un ministre libéral de langue française qui a dit cela."

A plusieurs reprises aussi, monsieur Ivan Sabourin, l'organisation dans notre province du parti progressiste-conservateur a dit à peu près la même chose. Cela a été préparé lors du débat aux Communes sur le projet d'amendement. Monsieur Arthur Smith, député progressiste-conservateur de Calgary Ouest, m'avait sommé de répondre comme Ministre de la Justice à l'objection suivante: Si le Parlement peut sans le consentement des gouvernements provinciaux faire modifier la Constitution pour changer la proportion de députés pour chaque province, n'aurait-il pas le même droit pour faire modifier l'article 133 quant à l'usage de la langue française?

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Un de ces grands connaisseurs en politique aurait pu éviter de répondre clairement à une telle question. Il aurait pu se contenter de dire qu'il s'agissait en l'espèce de réparer une injustice et que le droit de la réparer n'impliquait aucun droit d'en commettre d'autres. Mais nous discutions l'effet véritable de la Constitution au point de vue strictement légal et j'ai répondu qu'au point de vue strictement légal, les gouvernements provinciaux comme tels, n'avaient rien à faire quant au respect dû à la langue française dans le Parlement fédéral.

J'ai pu ajouter, en toute confiance, que pour les canadiens de ma race et de ma religion, il existe une garantie plus sûre que l'article 133 de la Constitution pour protéger nos droits essentiels: Ce n'est pas la façon d'agir de ceux qui ont été formés selon les principes traditionnels de la liberté et du fair play britannique de poser des actes que la conscience de l'humanité jugerait déshonorants.

Ce n'est pas moi qui ai rédigé la Constitution de 1867 et lorsque je l'interprète comme avocat il me faut l'interpréter telle qu'elle est et non pas telle qu'on pourrait souhaiter qu'elle fût. En fait tant que nous n'aurons pas adopté un système pour l'amender chez nous, elle s'amende par statuts adoptés au Parlement de Londres. Depuis le Statut de Westminster, le Parlement de Londres ne légifère pour nous que lorsque nous le demandons et de la façon que nous demandons et à la seule condition que la demande soit faite par ceux qui, en vertu de la Constitution, ont juridiction en la matière à laquelle l'amendement doit s'appliquer.

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Certaines matières sont sous la juridiction exclusive des législatures provinciales. Quant à celles-là, aucune demande d'amendement provenant du Parlement fédéral ne peut être acceuillie. Quant aux autres matières, ~~qui sont sous la juridiction du Parlement fédéral, et cela veut dire toutes~~ celles qui ne sont pas expressément attribuées aux législatures provinciales par les termes de la Constitution, les demandes d'amendement doivent venir du Parlement fédéral et c'est lui seul qui est responsable envers les citoyens canadiens de la teneur de ces demandes, car il ne faut pas l'oublier, le Parlement fédéral est notre parlement à nous, tout autant qu'il est le parlement des Canadiens des autres provinces. La juridiction qu'il exerce, c'est vous qui l'exercez en y envoyant vos représentants, et vos représentants ont la responsabilité d'y faire respecter vos droits dans le domaine fédéral tout comme vos représentants à la Législature ont la responsabilité de faire respecter ceux du domaine provincial. Nos droits à l'usage de la langue française dans le domaine fédéral, ne sont pas plus exposés par suite du fait que les législatures provinciales n'ont rien à y voir, que ne le sont vos comptes de banque, vos droits de voter aux élections fédérales, vos droits d'avoir la protection du code criminel contre les assassins et les voleurs.

Monsieur Duplessis était d'autant moins justifiable de faire à mon endroit une assertion comme celle que je vous ai citée tout à l'heure que je lui avais écrit, cinq ou six semaines auparavant, c'est-à-dire le 9 juillet, 1946, une lettre dont je vais me permettre de vous lire certains extraits:

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"Il me semble étrange, toutefois, que vous introduisiez dans le débat la question de l'usage de la langue française. Il est vrai que la question a été soulevée ici par un député conservateur de l'Ouest, mais on a considéré la menace voilée qu'elle comportait comme un épouvantail à corbeaux qui n'a effrayé personne. C'était trop apparemment une manoeuvre destinée à empêcher les députés de Québec d'insister pour qu'on attribue à notre population la représentation numérique au Parlement, à laquelle, vous admettrez avec moi, nous avons un droit incontestable d'après l'esprit de la loi de 1867 et même d'après ce que nous pensions en être le texte, avant l'interprétation donnée à ce texte par le jugement du Conseil Privé dans la cause de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard.

"L'article 133 de la Constitution a trait à l'usage des deux langues, - anglaise et française, - au Parlement fédéral et dans la Législature de Québec, ainsi que devant certains tribunaux.

"Il est évident que ce serait empiéter sur les droits de la Législature de Québec pour le Parlement fédéral de décider quoi que ce soit, quant à l'usage de ces langues dans les procédés des Chambres de la Législature de Québec ou des tribunaux de notre province. Quant à l'usage de ces langues dans le Parlement fédéral ou devant ces tribunaux fédéraux, cela intéresse la population canadienne représentée, d'après moi, autrement que par les députés élus à la Législature de Québec."

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"Lorsqu'un mandant a deux mandataires, à qui ses pouvoirs ont été délégués pour des fins spécifiquement déterminées quant à chacun, le fait que l'un d'eux faillit aux responsibilités de son mandat n'a pas pour effet de transférer ses pouvoirs à l'autre. En outre, en l'occurence, le mandataire fédéral de la population canadienne n'a pas failli aux.responsabilités de son mandat, ne manifeste aucune intention d'y faillir, et personnellement, je suis convaincu qu'il n'y faillira jamais."

J'aurais voulu parler des relations fédérales-provinciales mais j'ai été déjà trop long. Ce n'est pas vous du reste qu'il est nécessaire de mettre en garde contre le discours de monsieur Duplessis et de ceux qui avec lui, cherchent à créer l'impression que le gouvernement d'Ottawa veut empiéter sur l'autonomie des provinces. Le gouvernment d'Ottawa a fait aux provinces des propositions fiscales qui lui paraissaient de nature à faciliter l'accomplissement, tant par les gouvernements des provinces que par le gouvernement fédéral, des responsabilités respectives qui leur incombent en vertu de la Constitution et cela pour que la Constitution puisse être pleinement respectée.

Le gouvernment de Québec n'a pas voulu accepter ces propositions, mais malgré toutes les déclarations pompeuses de son chef actuel sur son désir de collaborer avec les autorités fédérales, il n'a jamais été possible d'avoir la moindre précision quant aux conditions qu'il aurait trouvées acceptables. Je ne mentionnerai qu'un seul item de ses objections comme exemple de sa façon de mener la controverse: Pour faire face aux dépenses énormes qu'il a fallu

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encourir comme conséquence de la guerre, le Parlement fédéral a dû décréter des augmentations importantes de l'impôt sur le revenu. Il a dû aussi exercer son droit indéniable de décréter des impôts sur les successions.

Or, l'administration des deux lois a révélé que la perception de l'impôt sur les successions permettrait de découvrir bien des évasions pratiquées à l'égard de l'impôt sur le revenu. L'examen du bilan d'une succession permet de contrôler quelle proportion des actifs qui la constituent provient de revenus gagnés antérieurement et permet souvent de percevoir l'impôt sur des revenus qui n'avaient pas été déclarés.

Or, Messieurs, lorsque le taux de l'impôt est élevé et que tous souhaitent comme nous le faisons dans le moment qu'il puisse être abaissé, une condition indispensable à la possibilité de l'abaisser, c'est le paiement par tous, sans aucune évasion, de ce qui ~~était~~ est dû au taux ~~d'auparavant~~ en vigueur. Lorsqu'un contribuable omet de payer la part qu'il doit supporter suivant le taux en vigueur, ce n'est pas le gouvernement qui en souffre mais ce sont les autres contribuables.

Le gouvernement réussira toujours à prélever la totalité des sommes dont il a besoin et s'il n'obtient pas de chaque contribuable la part que celui-ci doit fournir, il l'obtiendra quand même les sommes requises en augmentant le taux ou en maintenant à un niveau élevé le taux de la contribution des autres.

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Le gouvernement fédéral était donc d'avis que, pour l'heure, au moins, il était dans l'intérêt général de la masse des contribuables canadiens qu'il continuât à imposer des droits de succession. Il a même proposé que les provinces s'abstiennent temporairement d'en imposer contre certains versements qu'il ferait à chacune. Cela ne paraissait acceptable qu'à certaines provinces et comme le taux de l'impôt doit être le même partout et qu'il fallait dans les provinces qui acceptaient la proposition fédérale, fixer un taux assez élevé pour couvrir les deux taux -fédéral et provincial- auparavant en vigueur et ainsi être en état de leur faire les remboursements convenus, le gouvernement a dû recommander et le Parlement a adopté une loi établissant le même nouveau niveau pour toutes les provinces. Mais pour n'être pas injuste envers celles qui n'acceptaient pas la proposition fédérale, le Gouvernement a recommandé et le Parlement a décrété que le montant de l'impôt fédéral serait diminué pour chaque contribuable jusqu'à concurrence de ce qu'il aurait à payer comme impôt de succession au gouvernement de sa province.

Si l'impôt fédéral suivant le nouveau taux est de 100 et que le contribuable doit payer 50 au gouvernement de sa province, il ne paiera que 50 au fisc fédéral.

Or, vous constatez que le Premier ministre actuel de la province de Québec se plaint dans ses discours de l'attitude provocante du gouvernement fédéral: non seulement a-t-il refusé à la conférence de se retirer du domaine de l'impôt sur les successions, mais, par sa loi de la dernière session, il a doublé la cote de cet impôt!

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Messieurs, ce n'est pas ainsi que je conçois dire la vérité, toute la vérité et rien que la vérité. C'est peut-être fairepreuve de certaine habilité stratégique en politique, mais je persiste quand même à croire qu'il vaut encore mieux respecter l'intelligence et la bonne foi de ceux qui ont la responsabilité de porter des jugements sur la conduite des hommes politiques.

Nous sommes tous des citoyens d'un même pays, d'un pays jeune mais d'un pays dont les habitants sont déjà devenus une nation. Je participe dans le moment à une conférence de 54 nations et je puis vous donner l'assurance que le rang et le rôle de la nôtre ne sont pas parmi les moins importants.

C'est nous qui, sous l'oeil de la Providence et la poussée des événements qu'il est parfois difficile aux hommes de contrôler, sommes les seuls maîtres de nos destinées. La constitution sous laquelle nous vivons fait un partage judicieux des prérogatives et des responsabilités de la souveraineté entre le pouvoir central et les organismes provinciaux.

C'est un système qui n'est peut-être pas parfait mais je n'en connais aucun qui conviendrait mieux à la situation que les événements nous ont imposés. *Nous entendons qu'il soit maintenu.*

Notre Premier Ministre disait, dans un discours, en 1942: "Notre statut national n'est pas fondé sur la supériorité d'une seule race ou d'une seule langue. Le Canada a été fondé sur la confiance que les deux races les plus fières du monde pourraient en dépit de différence de langue et de croyances, travailler ensemble dans un esprit de tolérance et de respect mutuel au développement d'une nationalité commune.

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Dans cette association égale des Canadiens de langue anglaise etde langue française, nous avons admis des milliers qui sont issus d'autres races et qui parlent d'autres langues. Tous et chacun, ils ont cherché une patrie où la nationalité ne veut dire ni domination, ni esclavage mais égalité et liberté. Sans l'idéal de l'égalité entre eux de tous les hommes, sans cette vision d'humanité fraternelle, la nation canadienne n'aurait pu naître, sans eux, elle ne pourra vivre."

La nationalité canadienne est aussi basée sur le principe fondamental de la division des pouvoirs entre un Parlement où se traitent et se règlent les problèmes que tous les Canadiens ont en commun et des législatures, seules compétentes à traiter et à régler ceux qui les intéressent séparément et spécialement comme habitants d'une province.

Le parti auquel j'appartiens à toujours été et sera toujours le ferme défenseur de cette répartition si juste, si logique et si indispensable au sain développement de la nationalité canadienne. Je répète ici comme assertion de fait et comme promesse quelques lignes additionnelles de la lettre que j'écrivais à monsieur Duplessis le 9 juillet dernier où je me servais des termes mêmes d'un ordre en conseil qu'il avait fait adopter le 3 juillet et dont il m'avait adressé la copie:

"Le gouvernement du Canada a pris les mesures appropriées pour faire droit au "désir de la province de Québec que toutes les provinces, Québec en particulier, obtiennent, par des procédés conformes à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Constitution du Canada, une représentation fédérale juste et raisonnable.

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La province de Québec verra toujours respecté "son irrévocable désir de sauvegarder intégralement les prérogatives constitutionnelles qui lui appartiennent et de conserver intacts les droits intangibles et inaliénables de la langue française";

Le gouvernement de la province de Québec n'a à redouter aucun manquement au "respect intégral du pacte fédératif canadien".

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THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa Branch

December 13, 1946.

NOTICE OF MEETING

A meeting of the Ottawa Branch of the C.I.I.A. will be held on

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18 AT 8:30 p.m.

at the

RIDEAU CLUB

The speaker will be

THE RT. HON. LOUIS ST. LAURENT

whose subject will be

"THE UNITED NATIONS"

Mr. St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, has just returned from New York where he was leader of the Canadian Delegation to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The speaker has asked that this be a completely private and informal meeting of the Institute. Mr. St. Laurent will speak briefly and will then answer questions bearing on the general topic of the United Nations with special reference to recent events in New York.

There will be no dinner prior to the meeting.

Eric Hehner,
Secretary-Treasurer,
5-2678

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NOTE - NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 8.30 P.M., MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1947.

January 13, 1947.

TEXT OF ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED BY THE RT. HON. L.S. ST. LAURENT, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TORONTO, MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1947.

THE FOUNDATION OF CANADIAN POLICY IN WORLD AFFAIRS

I. INTRODUCTION

a) The Purposes of the Gray Foundation

No one can fail to be affected by the poignant circumstances in which this lectureship has been established nor by the symbolic significance of this occasion in the life of our country. I need hardly say how deeply moved I am at having been asked to inaugurate it and how great a responsibility I feel rests upon me to start on the right course a series which I am confident will be one of great moment in the academic calendar of this University.

I am sure that, as the occasion of the Gray lecture recurs, it will take on an ever increasing significance in the life of this institution. It will remind you, in the first place, of a great act of faith on the part of one of your members, John Gray. He was called upon to give his life in one of the darkest episodes in history. He so firmly believed in the future of mankind that he made provision for others to continue the life of scholarship which he had been called upon to surrender.

You will be reminded also of the faith which the Gray family has had in the future of this country. I should like to say in the very beginning to Mr. George Gray that the interest which his two sons, Duncan and John, showed in their fellow Canadians of French origin was entirely worthy of the commemoration he has given it. The actions of this family are symbolic of the determination of an ever increasing number of individual French and English speaking people in Canada to live together as one nation. John Gray in particular set himself the task of learning the language and the traditions of both cultural groups and he sought also to know the ways of his countrymen of French extraction where they live simply in their own homes.

I am glad that John Gray found his experience in living with a family in Quebec rewarding. I am glad also that when his father and his brother Duncan joined him there they too were received with hospitality and confidence. The family of Félix Premont with which they stayed was typical of the Quebec countryside. It was frugal and hospitable. Its traditions lay deep in the fields and forests of this country which its members had occupied for many generations. It reached out eagerly the hand of friendship and understanding to those who came from other parts of Canada to visit there

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and study the basis of its life. It is encouraging to learn that so much good has come from this meeting of two families. I am sure that it is as much upon the basis of many such encounters, entered into with confidence and developed with patience and imagination, as it is upon the actions of men in public life that the true foundations of national unity must lie.

I am told that in the comment which he frequently made on his experience in Quebec, John Gray expressed the wish that he might devote his life to bringing about a more united Canada. No young man could have set himself a higher or more noble objective than that. As events turned out, he gave his life for a different purpose. The safety of his country was threatened. At that moment, the freedom, without which the unity he cherished is meaningless, was in danger. It is for those of us who now enjoy the consequences of his sacrifice to achieve and maintain his ideal of a united Canada. He would gladly have made this the object of a richly promising life. We must not disappoint him.

b) <u>The War Record of the University</u>

You will be reminded also, when this lecture is given each year, of the enviable record of this University in the war. This is a record written in the heroic deeds and sacrifices of your staff and students who, in every corner of the world, engaged in the conflict. It is written also in the scientific and other research by which the University contributed to the common cause.

I do not think I should let this occasion pass without remarking on the way in which the Universities of Canada made their resources available to the nation during the war. The Universities were left themselves to decide the methods by which they would integrate their activities with those of the nation during the war. They took the initiative that was expected of them. They made their decisions with consistent wisdom. I think I may safely say that in almost every instance their judgment in these matters was confirmed by the national authorities to whom their plans were submitted. At the same time, they were able in a very high degree to sustain the intellectual life of the country through years when our major pre-occupations were in other and less constructive activities. The result has been that scholarship in Canada has suffered much less severely on account of the war than might otherwise have been the case. The Universities have been able also to undertake with conspicuous success the enormous burden of the post-war period. They have opened their doors to thousands of returning students eager for the intellectual opportunities which were denied them when they were on war service. I feel that the Gray lectureship symbolizes in a very cogent manner the combination of heroic service in the field of battle and continuing devotion to the inner values of scholarship. It is a combination of which the Universities may well be proud.

c) <u>The Need to Examine the Basis of Canadian External Policy</u>

From what we know of Duncan and John Gray it is clear that they had a high ideal for this country. So also did the

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thousands of young men from this and other Universities who turned aside from the peaceful and constructive pursuits which are the normal interests of our youth and went willingly to war. I think we must now inquire what it is in the life of this nation which they cherished so greatly and which we must protect and nourish in our policies. In particular, we must consider the role in world affairs which they would wish us to play. During the war in which they fought, there was won for this nation an enviable reputation as a military power. There now rests with us the opportunity to show the same degree of competence, the same readiness to accept responsibilities, the same sense of purpose in the conduct of our international affairs.

For this reason I propose to make this lecture an enquiry into the foundations of Canadian policy in world affairs. I think this is in keeping with the purposes of the Gray lectureship. We in Canada, of English and French origin, have embarked on the joint task of building a nation. One aspect of our common enterprise is our external relations. The subject is one of special interest to me because of my present responsibilities in the Government. The founder of this lectureship has said - "If we discover and dwell upon what binds us together, we shall accept our differences as the members of a true family accept their differences without losing sight for a moment of the things which hold them together in a vital unity". It is in keeping with this spirit that I propose to discuss the background of our external policy.

A policy of world affairs, to be truly effective, must have its foundations laid upon general principles which have been tested in the life of the nation and which have secured the broad support of large groups of the population. It is true that differences of opinion about foreign policy must continually be reviewed in discussion and debate inside and outside of Parliament. Such discussions, however, can result in constructive conclusions only if they take place against the background of a large measure of agreement on fundamentals.

It may be objected that we are not old enough as a nation to have worked out such agreed principles. But let us not forget that much which forms the basis of our agreement in that respect is the result of circumstances over which we have had little if any control. The century old struggles between France and England, their rivalry in the New World, the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies, the wave of more liberal thinking unleashed by the French Revolution, the geography, the climate, the kind of natural resources of our country all tended to create conditions for our ancestors and tend to create conditions for our own generation which lead to almost inevitable results. They have forced French-speaking and English-speaking men and women to live side by side as members of the same community. They have inspired them to work together to obtain an ever increasing measure of self-government; they have tempered the resistance of the metropolitan government to this healthy development; they have made natural and easy the creation of an economy productive of large surplusses of certain kinds of commodities

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and lacking in certain other kinds and thus dependent in an extraordinary degree upon exchange and trade to get some benefit out of the surplusses and to secure the commodities not available from our own production.

We are now within close range of two significant anniversaries in the life of this nation. It is almost exactly a century since the decision was taken that the affairs of this part of the world should be conducted upon the principles of responsible government. For a hundred years, therefore, French speaking and English speaking people living in the valley of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, together with their fellow countrymen elsewhere across this continent have been engaged upon the experiment of building, on their own responsibility and under their own direction, a modern nation. It is, as it had to be, a nation constructed on the foundation of two cultures and two languages. A century ago the Canadian people in winning responsible government staked their future on the political principles which had been defined in Lord Durham's famous report. They staked their future equally on a denial of Durham's assertion that the country could not survive with two cultures. They said that this could be a free country, notwithstanding that it had also to be a country with both English and French culture. For a hundred years now they have been shown to be right.

The second anniversary of which I would remind you is that of "Confederation" eighty years ago. It was then that the challenge was accepted to build into a single state the scattered communities which stretched across the northern half of this continent. We have therefore been working together on this task of nation building for some considerable time. It is not too soon to look back and determine what principles have had to be and have become generally acceptable throughout this country in the conduct of our relations abroad. When we have defined these principles, we may examine the manner in which we have habitually embodied them in our relations with other states where our associations are especially close. We may also consider them with respect to the international organizations of which we are or have been members.

II. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES

a) National Unity

The first general principle upon which I think we are agreed is that our external policies shall not destroy our unity. No policy can be regarded as wise which divides the people whose effort and resources must put it into effect. This consideration applies not only to the two main cultural groups in our country. It applies equally to sectionalism of any kind. We **dare** not fashion a policy which is based on the particular interests of any economic group, of any class or of any section in this country. We must be on guard especially against the claims of extravagant regionalism no matter where they have their origin. Our history has shown this to be a consideration in our external policy of which we, more even than others, must be perpetually conscious. The role of this country in world affairs will prosper only as we maintain this principle, for a disunited Canada will be a powerless one.

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b) Political Liberty

Second amongst the ideas which shape our external policy I will place the conception of political liberty. This is an inheritance from both our French and English background, and through these parent States it has come to us from the whole rich culture of western Europe. It is a patrimony which we ourselves have enlarged by working out on our own soil the transition from colony to free community. These are days in which the vocabulary of political thought has been so debased that there are many familiar coins that one hesitates to lay on the counter. I make no apology, however, for speaking to a Canadian audience of political liberty because I know that this phrase has content for us. I know, also, that we are all conscious of the danger to our own political institutions when freedom is attached in other parts of the world. In the complex series of events which twice in a generation has led us into war, we have been profoundly influenced in our decisions by the peril which threatened the democracies of western Europe. From our joint political inheritance, as well as from our common experience, we have come as a people to distrust and dislike governments which rule by force and which suppress free comment on their activities. We know that stability is lacking where consent is absent. We believe that the greatest safeguard against the aggressive policies of any government is the freely expressed judgment of its own people. This does not mean that we have ever sought to interfere in the affairs of others, or to meddle in situations which were obviously outside our interest or beyond our control. It does mean, however, that we have consistently sought and found our friends amongst those of like political traditions. It means equally that we have realized that a threat to the liberty of western Europe, where our political ideas were nurtured, was a threat to our own way of life. This realization has perhaps not been comprehended or expressed by every group and every individual in the country with as much clarity and coherance as, looking back on the events, we should like. I have no doubt, however, that for the young men of our Universities who fought in this war, it was a part of our national inheritance which they well understood.

c) The Rule of Law in National and International Affairs

In the third place respect for the rule of law has become an integral part of our external as of our domestic policy. The supremacy of law in our own political system is so familiar that we are in constant danger of taking it for granted. We know, however, that historically the development of this principle is a necessary antecedent to self-government. The first great victory on the road to freedom was the establishment in early modern times of the principle that both governments and peoples were subject to the impartial administration of the courts. Only then could the further step be taken by which **the** people gave their consent to the laws by which they were governed.

Within the past decade we have been reminded by the hideous example of the Fascist states of the evil which befalls a nation when the government sets itself above the law. Beneath the spurious efficiency of such a State, we have perceived the helpless plight of individuals who have been deprived of the primary right of an impartial administration of the law.

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We have seen also the chaos which is brought to world affairs when lawlessness is practised in the field of international relations. The development of an international code of law is still in its early stages. The past decade has done much to delay and distort this growth. I feel sure, however, that we in this country are agreed that the freedom of nations depends upon the rule of law amongst states. We have shown this concretely in our willingness to accept the decisions of international tribunals, courts of arbitration and other bodies of a judicial nature, in which we have participated. There can be no doubt that the Canadian people unanimously support this principle.

d) <u>The Values of a Christian Civilization</u>

No foreign policy is consistent nor coherent over a period of years unless it is based upon some conception of human values. I know that we live in an age when it is fashionable to speak in terms only of hard realism in the conduct of international affairs. I realize also that at best the practice of any policy is a poor approximation of ideals upon which it may be based. I am sure, however, that in our national life we are continually influenced by the conceptions of good and evil which emerged from Hebrew and Greek civilization and which have been transformed and transmitted through the Christian traditions of the Western World. These are values which lay emphasis on the importance of the individual, on the place of moral principles in the conduct of human relations, on standards of judgment which transcend mere material well-being. They have ever influenced our national life as we have built a modern state from East to West across this continent. I am equally convinced that on the basis of this common experience we shall discern the same values in world affairs, and that we shall seek to protect and nurture them.

e) <u>The acceptance of International Responsibility in Keeping with our Conception of our Role in World Affairs</u>

There is a fifth basic principle which I should like also to mention before considering the background of our relations with particular countries. That is willingness to accept international responsibilities. I know that there are many in this country who feel that in the past we have played too small a part in the development of international political organizations. The growth in this country of a sense of political responsibility on an international scale has perhaps been less rapid than some of us would like. It has nevertheless been a perceptible growth; and again and again on the major questions of participation in international organization, both in peace and war, we have taken our decision to be present. If there is one conclusion that our common experience has led us to accept, it is that security for this country lies in the development of a firm structure of international organization.

I have been speaking of certain general principles which I think underlie the conduct of our external policy. These are principles which have been defined and articulated in the practice of relations with other countries over many decades. In this application of our principles, too, we have reached certain general conclusions on which we are all agreed, and which serve as a guide to policy.

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III. THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION

a) The Commonwealth which we Ourselves have Fashioned for Achieving the ends we Desire in World Affairs

We have never attempted to define in precise terms our relations with the Commonwealth. They are nevertheless a basic consideration in the external policy of this country. In discussing them I will recall two aspects of this relationship concerning which I am sure there will be no disagreement. In the first place the Commonwealth is a form of political association which is unique. There has never been anything like it before in history. There is no parallel to it in the contemporary world. It is the only case on record of a Colonial Empire being transformed to an association of free nations by experiment, by compromise, by political evolution. I have no doubt that, whatever its future, it will be regarded by the historians of another age as one of the great constructive political achievements of our time. The other fact that I would call to your mind is that the Commonwealth is in a very real sense an achievement in which Canadians can take special pride. We Canadians, perhaps more than any other of its members, have contributed to its development. We have regarded it as an instrument which, in co-operation with like-minded people, we could use for our common purposes. It has, therefore, the vitality of a living, functioning organism which has been and which can continue to be used for good, according to the wisdom and foresight of our policies.

It is now only twenty years since the term "Commonwealth" came into popular use as a result of the Declaration which was adopted by the Conference of 1926. Even in that short period the meaning of the word has changed. There are already important differences between the Commonwealth of today and that described in Lord Balfour's famous statement. Even while this change was taking place however, there has been a further compelling demonstration of the fact that we are members in an association of free nations, capable of common action in an emergency, greater and more striking than that of any formal military or diplomatic alliance that the world has ever known.

Even though they are not precisely defined, the principles on which we act in regard to the Commonwealth may be clearly discerned. We seek to preserve it as an instrument through which we, with others who share our objectives, can co-operate for our common good in peace as in war. On the other hand, we should continue to resist, as in the past, efforts to reduce to formal terms or specific commitments this association which has demonstrated its vitality through the common understanding upon which it is based. We should likewise oppose developments in our Commonwealth relations which might be inconsistent with our desire to participate fully in the task of building an effective international organization on a wider scale.

Within the Commonwealth, our relations with the United Kingdom have, of course, a very special value and significance. We shall not forget in our history, the imaginative collaboration of British and Canadian leaders who, a century ago, laid the political foundations for the modern Commonwealth. Nor can we fail to be influenced by the

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fact that our political institutions are those of the British Isles, and that we now share with other parliamentary democracies the responsibility for preserving and developing this system. We shall not forget either the peril in which we shared, together with other Commonwealth countries, but especially with the United Kingdom during the dark days of 1940. This was an episode which threw in dramatic relief the measure to which we have common interests and the degree to which we are alike concerned in the establishment of a world order based on principles of freedom.

b) <u>The United States - the Settlement of International Affairs by Negotiation and Compromise</u>

It is not customary in this country for us to think in terms of having a policy in regard to the United States. Like farmers whose lands have a common concession line, we think of ourselves as settling, from day to day, questions that arise between us, without dignifying the process by the word "policy". We have travelled so much of the road together in close agreement that by comparison the occasions on which our paths may have diverged seems insignificant.

There has, however, been more to our relations with the United States than mere empirical neighbourliness. For the century during which we have been building this nation, we have kept company with an adjoining state vastly more powerful, more self-confident, more wealthy than we. It is a State with purposes and ambitions parallel to ours. One by one, the major areas of disagreement have been reduced. Our common border has long since been defined to our mutual satisfaction. The people of this country have taken a final decision to remain outside the United States. There is no longer any body of opinion in this country which looks towards annexation. The people of the United States on their part, have come to a parallel conclusion that they will not extend their boundaries beyond their present limits on this continent. On both sides the fact has been accepted that there shall be a free and independent federation in the northern part of this continent. None of this has been achieved, however, without reflection and forethought, nor will it be maintained without constant watchfulness. I do not say this because I think there is the slightest intention on either side to move away from the present happy state of our relations. I say it merely because even the simplest relationship between human beings requires the constructive action of both parties. The relationship between a great and powerful nation and its smaller neighbour, at best, is far from simple. It calls for constant and imaginative attention on both sides.

Defined more precisely, our policy in regard to the United States has come with the passage of years to have two main characteristics. On the one hand, we have sought by negotiation, by arbitration, by compromise, to settle upon the basis of mutual satisfaction the problems that have arisen between us. As I suggested a moment ago, this has been far more than the unimaginative clearing away of parochial questions. Is has succeeded precisely because it is based on the determination of both nations to conduct their affairs, as a matter of policy, on this basis. The other aspect of our relations with the United States which I shall emphasize is our readiness to accept our responsibility as a North American nation in enterprises which are for the welfare of this continent. In support of this assertion, there is a long and creditable record of joint activity. In making it, however, I must add that it has never been the opinion of any considerable number of people in Canada that this continent could live unto itself. We have seen our

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own interests in the wider context of the western world. We have realized also that regionalism of any kind would not provide the answer to problems of world security. But we know that peoples who live side by side on the same continent cannot disregard each other's interests, and we have always been willing to consider the possibility of common action for constructive ends.

c) France - a Tradition of Common Interests

With France also our relations rest upon principles that have emerged clearly from our history. We have never forgotten that France is one of the fountainheads of our cultural life. We realize that she forms an integral part of the framework of our international life. We have so much in common that, despite the differences between the French political system and our own, we cannot doubt for a moment that our objects in world affairs are similar. We in this country have always believed in the greatness of France, even at times when her future seemed most obscure. During the war, we were confident that France herself would play a major role in her own liberation. We gave our support to those leaders of the French people whom the French themselves were prepared to follow. We are aware of the heavy burden which invasion twice in a generation has laid upon France. We shall support her recovery not merely out of sympathy, but because we know that her integrity is a matter of great consequence to us.

d) The Support of Constructive International Organization

I shall not endeavour to discuss in detail the question of our relationship with other states. Rather, I shall turn now to our attitude towards international organizations. As I suggested when I was discussing the general principles which underlie our policy, we have been ready to take our part in constructive international action. We have, of course, been forced to keep in mind the limitations upon the influence of any secondary power. No society of nations can prosper if it does not have the support of those who hold the major share of the world's military and economic power. There is little point in a country of our stature recommending international action, if those who must carry the major burden of whatever action is taken are not in sympathy. We know, however, that the development of international organizations on a broad scale is of the very greatest importance to us, and we have been willing to play our role when it was apparent that significant and effective action was contemplated.

We have already given good evidence of this willingness by the record of our international activities since the war. We sent a strong delegation to the Conference at San Francisco, and I had every reason to be gratified with the delegations which accompanied me to the first part of the General Assembly in London and second part in New York. We were elected to membership on the Economic and Social Council, and have tried to show by the attention we have paid to that body the measure of importance we attached to its creation. We have taken part in the formation of the World Bank and Fund, of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, of the World Health Organization, of UNESCO, of the International Refugee Organization, of the Food and Agriculture Organization and of the projected International Trade Organization. We have continued to support the International

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Labour Organization, as we did before the war. We have played a prominent part in the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and of the Peace Conference in Paris. This list is not exhaustive, but it indicates the measure of our activity. We have not found it easy to provide delegates and advisers for all the conferences which the task of creating a new structure of world organizations has required. I think, however, that we may take pride in the work of our representatives, and that if you had observed them at any of these gatherings, you would have seen them doing competent energetic and constructive work. I think you would find, also, that they had regularly won the respect and confidence of their colleagues fromother countries.

In economic as well as political affairs we have put our shoulder to the wheel of post-war reconstruction. Our contribution to UNRRA was more than 150 million dollars, and Canadian food and equipment have been shipped into devastated areas all over the world. We supplied goods freely to our allies during the war under Mutual Aid Legislation, and we have since provided export credits on a vast scale to help in rebuilding the economic life of Europe and of China. We have done this as a matter of policy, because we believe that the economic reconstruction of the world must go hand in hand with the political reconstruction. We are aware, too, that economic revival is a matter of great importance to us. We are dependent on markets abroad for the large quantities of staple products we produce and cannot consume, and we are dependent on supplies from abroad of commodities which are essential to our well-being. It seems to me axiomatic, therefore, that we should give our support to every international organization which contributes to the economic and political stability of the world.

e) <u>The Development of an Effective Diplomatic Service</u>

Seen in the light of these historic developments, the recent expansion of the diplomatic service of this country is a natural development. We are preparing ourselves to fulfil the growing responsibilities in world affairs which we have accepted as a modern state. We wish the Commonwealth to be an effective instrument of co-operation, and we have, therefore, appointed High Commissioners in the capitals of every Commonwealth country. I am glad to say that within recent weeks this process has been completed with the appointment of a High Commissioner to India. I earnestly hope that through his mission there and through the High Commissioner for India in Canada, who will **soon** be appointed, we may experience the same informal and helpful co-operation which has been characteristic of our relations with the Commonwealth countries.

We have also multiplied rapidly our diplomatic representation in foreign countries. Before very long, we shall have provided ourselves with diplomatic representation in the capitals of every major country in the world. We have not taken this step merely through a desire to follow a conventional practice, or to advertise ourselves abroad. We have done so because our geography, our climate, our natural resources have so conditioned our economy that the continued prosperity and well-being of our own people can best be served by the prosperity and well-being of the whole world. We have thus a useful part to play in world affairs, useful to ourselves through being useful to others, and to play that part we must have our own spokesmen amongst our neighbours.

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It is not only in our foreign service that this expansion is taking place. We are trying also to construct a Department in Ottawa which will build upon the activities of our representatives abroad. Our own national interests compel us to take a creditable part in the international conference which are now determining the nature of the post-war world. We are, therefore, constructing a service which can provide strong and well informed advisers for the delegations which we must send to these gatherings. This is no easy task. It will, of course, make demands upon our financial resources. I am strengthened, however, in my determination to recommend the continuation of this policy because it is no transitory experiment. It is the natural result of a long historic process, and I feel that it will be supported by all sections of our people. And that is as it should be. Canadian policy in its external relations should not be allowed to become a matter of party political controversy at home. Of course the government in office must take full responsibility for each one of its actions as well as in Canada's external relations as in the conduct of purely domestic Canadian affairs. But in its external relations the Government in office should ever strive to speak and to act on behalf of the whole of Canada and in such manner as to have the support of all the Canadian peoples regardless of party affiliations at home.

IV. CONCLUSION

A few moments ago I said that we must play a role in world affairs in keeping with the ideals and sacrifices of the young men of this University, and of this country who went to war. However great or small that role may be, we must play it creditably. We must act with maturity and consistency, and with a sense of responsibility. For this reason I return in conclusion to the point at which I began. We must act as a united people. By that I mean a people who, through reflection and discussion, have arrived at a common understanding of our interests and our purposes. In this Lectureship you have at your disposal an instrument which can help us greatly to achieve this end. You may be confident that, as you plan the Gray lecture from year to year, you will be contributing to that mature conception of our national interest which is the characteristic of a united people.

A former High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, speaking to a Canadian audience before his departure, referred to Canada as "a unity, a harmony, a nation - a people with national sentiment pursuing national aims." He added these words; "there is a sanity, a wisdom, a true statesmanship about the Canadian outlook and policy in international affairs which is uncommon."

These are words of great praise. In repeating them to you may I add a comment about them which I have made previously: "May Canada never be less deserving of them than she has been during these few recent troubled years."

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NOTE - NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT 8 h.30 DU SOIR, LUNDI LE 13 JANVIER 1947.

TEXTE DU DISCOURS PRONONCE A TORONTO, LE LUNDI 13 JANVIER 1947, LE TRES HONORABLE L.S. ST-LAURENT, SECRETAIRE D'ETAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTERIEURES.

ETABLISSEMENT D'UNE POLITIQUE CANADIENNE DANS LES AFFAIRES INTERNATIONALES

I. INTRODUCTION

a) Objets de la Fondation Gray

Nul ne peut demeurer insensible aux circonstances pathétiques qui entourent l'institution de cette chaire et au sens symbolique qu'elle prend dans l'existence de notre pays. C'est avec une profonde émotion que j'inaugure cette chaire car je sais quelle grande responsabilité m'incombe de lancer sur la bonne voie une série de conférences qui, j'en suis sûr, marqueront une étape importante dans les annales de votre université.

Je suis convaincu que les prochaines conférences de la Fondation Gray auront une portée sans cesse croissante sur l'existence de votre institution. Permettez-moi d'abord de vous rappeler le grand acte de foi accompli par un de vos membres, John Gray. Il fit le sacrifice de sa vie au cours d'une des époques les plus sombres de l'histoire. Il croyait si fermement en l'avenir de l'humanité qu'il fit en sorte que d'autres pussent occuper la chaire universitaire qu'il avait dû abandonner.

Vous savez également combien la famille Gray avait foi en l'avenir de notre pays. Permettez-moi de dire tout d'abord à M. George Gray que l'intérêt porté par ses deux fils, Duncan et John, à leurs compatriotes de langue française est parfaitement digne du geste commémoratif qu'il a posé. Les actions de cette famille symbolisent la détermination d'un nombre toujours croissant de Canadiens, tant de langue anglaise que de langue française, de vivre en harmonie comme une seule et unique nation. John Gray en particulier résolut de bien connaître la langue et les traditions des deux grands groupes ethniques du pays et il chercha également à connaître la façon de vivre de ses concitoyens d'origine française en partageant l'intimité de leurs foyers.

Je suis heureux de savoir que John Gray avait trouvé fort profitable son séjour au sein d'une famille du Québec et que son père et son frère Duncan, quand ils étaient allés le rejoindre, avaient été accueillis avec la même hospitalité et la même confiance. La famille de M. Félix Prémont chez qui ils habitèrent est bien typique de la campagne québecoise. L'existence y est frugale et hospitalière. Ses traditions sont enracinées dans les champs et les forêts où les membres de cette famille ont vécu pendant plusieurs générations. Ils cherchent ardemment à accueillir amicalement et à bien comprendre ceux qui viennent des autres parties du Canada leur rendre visite et étudier leur genre de vie. Il est encourageant d'apprendre que la rencontre de ces deux familles a eu de si bons effets. Je suis convaincu que les véritables fondements de l'unité nationale doivent reposer tout autant sur le nombre de telles rencontres, faites sous le signe de la confiance et mises en valeur patiemment et habilement, que sur les actions des hommes publics.

On me dit qu'au cours des observations fréquentes qu'il a faites sur son séjour dans le Québec, John Gray a exprimé le désir

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de consacrer sa vie à consolider l'unité canadienne. Un jeune homme ne saurait se fixer un idéal plus noble ou plus élevé. En l'occurrence, il a donné sa vie pour une autre cause. La sécurité de son pays était menacée. A ce moment-là, la liberté, sans laquelle l'unite dont il rêvait n'a plus de sens, était en danger. A ceux d'entre nous qui jouissent aujourd'hui des fruits de son sacrifice, il appartient de réaliser et de maintenir son idéal: l'unité du Canada. Il aurait volontiers voué sa vie si riche de promesses à l'accomplissement d'un tel dessein. Ne trompons point son attente.

b) Etats de service de l'Université durant la guerre

A l'occasion de ces conférences annuelles, vous vous rappellerez aussi les enviables états de service de cette Université durant la guerre. Ces états de service, ce sont les exploits et les sacrifices héroiques de votre personnel enseignant et étudiant, qui, dans tous les coins du globe, a participé au conflit. Ce sont aussi les recherches scientifiques ou autres auxquelles l'Université s'est livrée en vue de la cause commune.

Je ne saurait laisser passer cette occasion sans dire de quelle manière les universités du Canada ont mis leurs ressources à la disposition du pays durant la guerre. On leur laissa le soin de décider des méthodes par lesquelles elles pouvaient intégrer leur activité dans celle de la nation au cours du conflit. Elles prirent l'initiative qu'on attendait d'elles. Leurs décisions furent toujours marquées au coin de la sagesse. Je crois pouvoir dire sans me tromper que dans presque tous les cas, leur jugement en la matière fut corroboré par les autorités nationales auxquelles leurs projets furent soumis. En même temps, elles trouvèrent moyen de soutenir très efficacement la vie intellectuelle du pays durant les années où nos préoccupations majeures portaient sur d'autres sphères d'activité moins positives. En conséquence, le domaine du savoir au Canada n'a pas été aussi gravement atteint qu'il aurait pu l'être par suite de la guerre. En outre, les universités ont entrepris avec un remarquable succès l'énorme tâche de la période d'après-guerre. Elles ont ouvert leurs portes à des milliers d'étudiants ex-combattants désireux de profiter des avantages intellectuels qui leur ont été refusés pendant la période de leur service militaire. A mon sens, la chaire de conférences Gray symbolise d'une façon saisissante l'alliance du service héroique sur le champ de bataille et du zèle soutenu pour les valeurs profondes du savoir. C'est une alliance dont les universités peuvent, à juste titre, être fières.

c) Nécessité d'examiner les fondements de la politique extérieure du Canada

Ce que nous savons de Duncan et John Gray nous permet d'affirmer qu'ils rêvaient, pour notre pays, d'un idéal élevé. On peut en dire autant des milliers d'étudiants de cette université et d'autres qui se sont détournés des tâches pacifiques et créatrices vers lesquelles l'intérêt de nos jeunes se porte normalement et n'ont pas hésité à prendre les armes. Il convient, me semble-t-il, que nous nous demandions aujourd'hui quel est l'élément de notre existence nationale qu'ils ont tant prisé et que nous devons sauvegarder et favoriser en nous traçant une ligne de conduite. Nous devons surtout envisager le rôle qu'ils voudraient nous voir jouer dans le domaine des affaires internationales. Pendant la guerre où ils ont combattu, notre nation s'est acquis une réputation enviable en tant que puissance militaire. L'occasion s'offre maintenant à nous de montrer autant de compétence, d'empressement à prendre nos responsabilités, et d'esprit de détermination dans la conduite de nos affaires internationales.

C'est pour ce motif que je me propose de traiter, au cours de

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cette causerie, des bases de la politique canadienne sur le plan des affaires mondiales. Cela me semble d'ailleurs conforme aux principes dont s'inspire la série des conférences Gray. Nous, citoyens du Canada, que notre ascendance soit anglaise ou française, avons entrepris la tâche commune d'édifier une nation. Les relations extérieures représentent un aspect de cette entreprise commune. Le sujet est pour moi d'une intérêt tout particulier, étant donné les fonctions que j'exerce aujourd'hui dans le gouvernment. Le fondateur de cette série de conférences a dit: "Si nous savons déterminer et discuter les liens qui nous unissent, nous concilierons nos divergences comme le font les membres d'une véritable famille, qui ne perdent jamais de vue les liens grâce auxquels ils forment une vivante entité". C'est en m'inspirant de ce principe que je veux discuter les éléments fondamentaux de notre politique extérieure.

Pour avoir tout le rayonnement voulu, une politique internationale doit se fonder sur des principes généraux qui ont subi l'épreuve du temps et on rallié l'appui général de groupes considérables de la population. Il est vrai que certaines divergences de vues en matière de politique extérieure doivent constamment faire le sujet de discussions tant au sein qu'en dehors du Parlement. Toutefois, ces discussions ne sauraient aboutir à des conclusions pratiques que si elles ont pour fondement une entente assez générale quant aux principes fondamentaux. On objectera peut-être que notre nation n'est pas encore assez mûre pour avoir pu réaliser l'accord sur de tels principes. N'oublions pas cependant qu'une bonne part de ce qui constitue un terrain d'entente à cet égard découle de circonstances qui n'ont que bien peu dépendu de notre volonté. Les conflits séculaires entre la France et l'Angleterre, la rivalité de ces deux puissances dans le Nouveau Monde, la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham, le traité de Paris de 1763, la révolte des Treize colonies, le mouvement d'idées libérales déclenché par la révolution française, la géographie, le climat, le genre de ressources naturelles de notre pays, tout cela a amené pour nos ancêtres et tend à créer pour notre propre génération des conditions entraînant des résultats presque inévitables. Ces facteurs ont obligé des gens tant de langue française que de langue anglaise à vivre côte à côte en tant que membres d'une même collectivité. Il les ont portés à travailler ensemble à l'obtention d'une autonomie de plus en plus grande; ils ont affaibli la résistance du gouvernement métropolitain à cette saine évolution; ils ont rendu naturelle et facile la création d'une économie où l'on obtient de vastes surplus de certaines denrées tout en manquand d'autres produits, d'une économie qui doit, par conséquent, compter, dans une mesure extraordinaire, sur l'échange et le commerce pour mettre à profit ces surplus et obtenir les denrées que nous ne produisons pas nous-mêmes.

Nous sommes à la veille de deux anniversaires importants dans la vie du pays. Il y aura bientôt un siècle que l'on prenait la décision de conduire les affaires de cette partie du monde en s'inspirant des principes du gouvernment responsable. Il y a donc cent ans que la population de langue française et de langue anglaise habitant la vallée du Saint-Laurent et des Grands Lacs s'emploie de concert avec celle du reste du pays, à une tâche dont elle a assumé la responsabilité et la direction: celle de faire du Canada une nation moderne. Il s'agit nécessairement d'une nation reposant sur deux cultures et deux langues. Il y a un siècle, le peuple canadien, en obtenant le gouvernement responsable, fondait son avenir sur les principes politiques définis dans le fameux rapport de lord Durham. Il le fondait également sur le démenti qu'il entendait donner à l'assertion de lord Durham voulant que le pays ne pût survivre avec deux cultures. Il prétendait que le Canada pouvait être un pays

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libre, même s'il lui fallait posséder deux cultures, la culture anglaise et la culture française. Il y a cent ans que les événements lui donnent raison.

Le second anniversaire que je tiens à vous rappeler est celui de la "Confédération", qui remonte à quatre-vingts ans. C'est à ce moment-là que fut relevé le défi de faire un seul Etat des collectivités dispersées à travers la moitié septentrionale de notre continent. Il y a donc déjà longtemps que nous travaillons de concert à édifier une nation. Il n'est pas trop tôt pour regarder en arrière et fixer les principes que nous avons dû adopter dans la conduite de nos relations extérieures et que l'on en est venu, dans l'ensemble, à reconnaître par tout le pays. Lorsque nous arons défini ces principes, nous pourrons examiner de quelle façon nous les avons habituellement appliqués dans nos relations avec d'autres Etats avec lesquels nous somme plus particulièrement liés. Nous pourrons également les examiner en fonction des orgnismes internationaux dont nous faisons ou avons fait partie.

II. LES PRINCIPES FONDAMENTAUX

a) L'unité nationale

Le premier principe général sur lequel nous sommes tous d'accord, je crois, c'est que notre politique extérieure ne doit pas détruire notre unité. On ne saurait considérer comme sage une politique qui divise la population dont les efforts et les ressources sont indispensables à son application. Cette remarque vaut non seulement pour les deux principaux groupes culturels de notre pays, mais pour le régionalisme sous toutes ses formes. Nous ne saurions fonder aucune politique sur les intérêts propres à un groupe économique particulier, à une classe ou à un secteur du pays. Nous devons être en garde en particulier contre les revendications d'un régionalisme outrancier. quelle que soit leur origine. L'histoire du Canada nous enseigne que c'est là un facteur dont nous devons, plus encore que d'autres, tenir constamment compte dans notre politique extérieure. Le rôle de notre pays dans les affaires du monde ne sera grand que dans la mesure où nous maintiendrons ce principe, car un Canada désuni sera un Canada impuissant.

b) La liberté politique

Je placerais en deuxieme lieu parmi les éléments constituants de notre politique extérieure l'idée que nous nous faisons de la liberté politique. Cette idée, nous la tenons de nos origines tant anglaises que françaises. Par la France et l'Angleterre, ces nations mères, elles nous sont venues de toute la riche culture de l'Europe occidentale. C'est un patrimoine que nous avons nous-même enrichi en réalisant sur notre propre sol le passage de l'état de colonie à celui de communauté libre. Le vocabulaire de la pensée politique est en ce moment si avili qu'on hésite à employer librement certaines de ses expressions les usuelles. Je n'ai pas à m'excuser toutefois de parler de liberté politique devant un auditoire canadien, car je sais que pour nous, cette expression garde tout son sens. Je sais aussi que nous sommes tous conscients du peril auxquelles sont exposées nos propres institutions politique lorsque la liberté est attaquée sur d'autres points du globe. Dans la suite complexe des événements qui nous ont menés à la guerre deux fois en une génération, nous avons été profondément influençés dans nos décisions par le danger qui menaçait les démocraties de l'Europe occidentale. Notre hé-

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ritage politique commun et notre commune expérience ont fait de nous un peuple méfiant et hostile à l'égard des gouvernements qui s'imposent par la force et qui interdisent toute opinion libre sur leur activité. Nous savons que le défaut de consentement engendre le défaut de stabilité. Nous croyons qu'il n'existe pas de garantie plus sûre contre la politique d'agression d'un Etat que le jugement librement exprimé de son propre peuple. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous ayons jamais cherché à nous ingérer dans les affaires des autres ou à intervenir dans des situations manifestement étrangères à nos intérêts ou échappant à nos moyens d'action. Cela veut dire cependant que nous n'avons jamais cessé de chercher, et de trouver, nos amis, parmis ceux qui partagent nos traditions politiques. Cela veut dire aussi que nous avons compris que tout ce qui menaçait la liberté de l'Europe occidentale, terre d'origine de nos idées politiques, menaçait en même temps notre propre mode d'existence. Il est vrai que ce principe n'a peut-être pas été compris et exprimé par chaque groupement et par chacun de nos concitoyens avec toute la lucidité et toute la cohérence que, instruits par les événements, nous arions aimées. Je ne doute pas, cependant que pour ceux de nos jeunes universitaires qui ont fait la guerre c'est là une partie de notre patrimoine national qu'ils ont fort bien compris.

c) Le règne du droit dans les affaires nationales et internationales.

En troisième lieu vient le respect du règne du droit, qui est devenu partie intégrante de notre politique extérieure comme de notre politique intérieure. La suprématie du droit dans notre propre système politique nous est devenue chose si familière que nous risquons toujours de la tenir pour admise. Nous savons cependant que du point de vue historique le perfectionnement de ce principe a précédé obligatoirement l'avènement de l'autonomie. La première grande victoire dans la conquête de la liberté a été, à l'aube des temps modernes, la reconnaissance du principe en vertu duquel il était reconnu que les gouvernements, comme les peuples, étaient assujettis aux jugements impartiaux des tribunaux. Ce n'est qu'à partir de ce moment-là qu'il a été possible d'en arriver à faire reconnaître l'autre principe, celui qui veut que les peuples donnent eux-même leur consentement aux lois qui les régissent.

Dans les dix années qui viennent de s'écouler nous avons pu nous rendre compte, par l'odieux exemple du Fascisme, du triste sort d'une nation où l'Etat se place lui-même au dessus du droit. Sous l'illusoire efficacité d'un pareil système nous avons pu percevoir quelle est la situation sans espoir d'individus privés du droit primordial de recourir à l'application impartiale des lois.

Nous avons aussi constaté quels désordres le mépris des lois, lorsqu'il s'exerce dans le domaine des relations internationales, apporte dans les affaires mondiales. La création d'un code de droit international est encore à son premier stade. Les dix dernière années ont notablement retardé et fait dévier son développement. Nous convenons toutefois au Canada que c'est du règne du droit sur les Etats que dépend la liberté des nations. Nous l'avons admis d'une façon concrète lorsque nous avons consenti à accepter les décisions des tribunaux internationaux, des cours d'arbitrage et des autres organismes d'ordre judiciaire dans lesquels nous avons joué un rôle. Nul doute que le peuple canadien est unanime à reconnaître ce principe.

d) Les valeurs d'une civilisation chrétienne

Nulle politique étrangère de longue échéance ne peut être logique ou cohérente si elle ne se fonde sur quelque conception

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des valeurs humaines. Je sais qu'il est de mode, à l'époque où nous vivons, de ne viser qu'à un réalisme intégral dans la conduite des affaires internationales. Je me rends compte aussi que toute politique, si parfaite qu'en soit l'application, ne se rapproche que faiblement de l'idéal dont elle s'inspire. Je suis certain toutefois que dans notre existence nationale nous subissons l'influence constante des concepts du bien et du mal qui ont leur origine dans les civilisations hébraïque et grecque et que les traditions chrétiennes du monde occidental ont transformées et transmises d'âge en âge. Ce sont des valeurs qui soulignent l'importance de la personne humaine, du rôle des principes d'ordre moral dans la conduite des relations humaines, des normes de jugement qui priment le simple bien-être matériel. Elles ont chaque fois influé sur notre existence nationale alors que nous édifiions, de l'est à l'ouest, un Etat moderne sur notre continent. Je suis également convaincu que c'est cette expérience commune qui nous permettra de discerner les mêmes valeurs dans les affaires mondiales et qui nous incitera à les protéger et à les maintenir.

e) <u>L'acceptation de la responsabilité internationale selon la conception que nous nous faisons de notre rôle dans les affaires mondiales</u>

Il est un cinquième principe fondamental dont je désire faire mention avant d'aborder la question de nos relations avec certains pays: la disposition à accepter les responsabilités internationales. Je sais que plusieurs de nos concitoyens ont déploré que jusqu'ici nous ayons joué un rôle trop secondaire dans l'évolution des organismes de politique internationale. Au Canada, le sens de la responsabilité politique sur le plan international ne s'est peut-être pas développé aussi rapidement que d'aucuns parmi nous l'auraient voulu. Il s'est néanmoins affirmé d'une façon perceptible, et très fréquemment, lorsqu'il s'est agi des grandes questions de participation à quelque organisation internationale, en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre, nous avons pris la décision d'être présents. S'il est une conclusion à laquelle nous conduit l'expérience commune acquise, c'est bien la suivante, que la sécurité de notre pays repose sur la création d'une organisation internationale fortement charpentée.

J'ai parlé de certains principes généraux dont devrait, me semble-t-il, s'inspirer notre politique extérieure. Ce sont des principes qui ont été définis et appliqués dans la pratique de nos relations depuis un grand nombre d'années avec les autres pays. Leur application nous a aussi permis de tirer certaines conclusions générales que nous admettons tous et qui servent à orienter notre politique etrangère.

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III L'APPLICATION PRATIQUE

a) Le commonwealth tel que nous l'avons façonné pour répondre à nos objectifs dans le domaine universel

Nous n'avons jamais tentés de définir nos relations avec le commonwealth en termes précis. Elles n'en sont pas moins à la base de notre politique extérieure. En les analysant, je rappellerai deux aspects de ces relations sur lesquelles nous nous entendons tous. Tout d'abord, le commonwealth est un genre unique d'association politique. L'histoire n'en a jamais présenté d'autre exemple. Le monde contemporain n'a rien de semblable. C'est le seul cas qu'on connaisse d'un empire colonial qui se soit transformé par l'expérimentation, le compromis et l'évolution politique, en une association de nations libres. Sans le moindre doute, quel que soit son sort définitif, les historiens de l'avenir le considéreront comme l'un des plus grands pas dans la voie du progrès politique de notre ère. Un autre point que je désire signaler à votre attention, c'est que le commonwealth est vraiment un monument dont les Canadiens ont des raisons spéciales de s'enorgueillir. Plus que tout autre membre du commonwealth, nous avons contribué à son progrès. Avec d'autres peuples de même mentalité, nous y avons vu moyen de réaliser nos ambitions communes. Il possède donc la vitalité d'un organisme vivant que la sagesse et la clairvoyance de notre politique a fait servir et peut faire servir encore à des fins utiles.

Ce n'est que depuis une vingtaine d'années que le terme "commonwealth" est devenu populaire à la suite de la déclaration adoptée par la conférence de 1926. Cependant, dans ce court laps de temps le sens s'en est déjà modifié. Le commonwealth d'aujourd'hui diffère sensiblement de celui que décrivait lord Balfour dans sa fameuse déclaration. Toutefois, même au cours de cette période d'évolution, on a assisté à une nouvelle démonstration éclatante du fait que nous sommes membres d'une association de nations libres, capables, au besoin, d'un effort commun plus important et plus remarquable que celui de toute autre alliance militaire ou diplomatique de l'histoire.

Bien qu'ils ne soient pas définis de façon précise, les principes qui animent les membres du commonwealth peuvent se discerner clairement. Nous nous efforçons de le maintenir comme un instrument qui nous permette, à nous et à ceux qui partagent nos idéaux, de collaborer au bien commun dans la paix comme dans la guerre. D'autre part, nous devons, comme par le passé, combattre toute tentative de lier, par des termes formels ou des engagements spécifiques, cette association qui a démontré sa vitalité par la commune compréhension sur laquelle elle se fonde. Nous devons également nous opposer à l'établissement, dans nos relations au sein du commonwealth, de situations qui pourraient nuire à notre désir de participer pleinement à l'établissement d'un organisme international plus vaste.

Au sein du commonwealth, bien entendu, nos relations avec le Royaume-Uni ont une valeur et une signification bien spéciales. Notre histoire nous rappellera toujours la collaboration clairvoyante des chefs britanniques et canadiens qui, il y a un siècle, ont jeté les bases politiques du commonwealth moderne.

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Un autre facteur qui ne peut manquer de nous influencer, c'est que nos institutions politiques sont les mêmes que celles des Iles Britanniques et que nous partageons avec les autres démocraties parlementaires la responsabilité de maintenir ce régime et de le mettre en valeur. Nous n'oublierons jamais non plus le péril que nous avons partagé avec les autres pays du Commonwealth, mais surtout avec le Royaume-Uni, aux jours sombres de 1940. Cette circonstance a donné un relief saisissant à notre communauté d'intérêts et à notre commun souci d'établir un ordre mondial fondé sur les principes de liberté.

b) Les Etats-Unis et le règlement des affaires internationales par voie de négociations et de compromis.

Nous n'avons pas l'habitude de penser, ici au Canada, que nous avons une politique précise à l'égard des Etats-Unis. Comme des cultivateurs dont les propriétés se touchent, nous préférons juger que nous réglons au jour le jour nos communs problèmes, sans songer à conférer à ce procédé le titre de "politique". Nous avons cheminé si longuement la main dans la main, les circonstances où nous avons peut-être suivi des voies divergentes semblent par comparaison de piètre importance.

Nos relations avec les Etats-Unis n'ont toutefois pas constitué qu'un simple et empirique bon voisinage. Au cours du siècle où nous avons édifié notre nation, nous avons vécu à côté d'un Etat beaucoup plus puissant, plus sûr de lui et plus riche que le nôtre. C'est un pays dont les aspirations et les rêves sont semblables aux nôtres. Nous avons restreint les unes après les autres les principales zones de mésentente qui pouvaient nous séparer. Nous avons depuis longtemps défini, à notre mutuelle satisfaction, une commune frontière. La population de notre pays a péremptoirement décidé de demeurer en dehors des Etats-Unis. Il ne se trouve plus chez nous d'opinions concertées en faveur de l'annexion. De son côté, le peuple américain, a décidé de ne pas étendre ses frontières au delà de leurs limites actuelles sur ce continent. Des deux côtés de la frontière, nous avons reconnu le principe qu'il y aura une fédération libre et indépendante dans las partie nord de ce continent. Rient de tout cela qui ne soit le fruit de la réflexion et de la prévoyance, ni qui ne puisse être maintenu qu'au prix d'une incessante vigilance. Non que je croie que les Etats-Unis ou nous-mêmes ayons la moindre intention de porter atteinte aux relations de cordialité qui existent présentement entre nous. Non, je dis cela uniquement parce que même les rapports les plus courants entre les hommes exigent l'actif concours des deux parties. Or les relations entre une grande et puissante nation et une nation voisine plus petite sont, dans leur meilleurs moment, loin d'être simples. Elles exigent de part et d'autre une attention éclairée et constante.

En termes plus explicites, notre politique à l'égard des Etats-Unis a revêtu au cours des ans deux caractéristiques principales. D'une part nous nous sommes efforcés, par voie de négociation, d'arbitrage et de compromis, à régler à notre satisfaction mutuelle les problèmes qui se sont élevés entre nous. Comme je le donnais à entendre tout à l'heure, il ne s'est pas agi simplement de dissiper, par manière d'acquit, de simples rivalités de clocher. Cette politique a réussi précisément parce qu'elle repose sur notre commune détermination de diriger nos affaires, sur le plan administratif, en fonction de ce principe. Un autre aspect sur lequel je voudrais insister, de nos relations avec les Etats-Unis, c'est que nous sommes toujours prêts à reconnaître nos responsabilités à titre de nation nord-américaine dans tout ce qui vise à assurer le bien-être de ce continent. Nous trouvons, à l'appui de cette affirmation, une longe et appréciable liste d'ini-

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tiatives communes. Je dois cependant ajouter qu'on n'a jamais beaucoup prétendu chez nous que ce continent pourrait se suffire. Nous avons saisi l'avantage de notre situation dans le cadre plus vaste du monde occidental. Nous avons constaté que l'esprit de clocher ne nous permet pas de résoudre les problèmes relatifs à la sécurité du monde. Nous savons pourtant que des voisins sur le même continent ne peuvent faire abstraction de leurs intérêts réciproques. Nous avons toujours consenti de bon gré à nous unir aux autres à des fins pratiques.

c) Communauté traditionnelle de nos intérêts avec la France

Nos relations avec la France découlent de principes qui se dégagent nettement de notre histoire. Nous n'avons jamais oublié que la France demeure une source de notre culture. Nous nous rendons compte qu'elle constitue un élément indispensable de notre vie internationale. Nous avons avec elle tant de choses en commun que malgré les différences de nos régimes politiques, nous sommes sûr de viser le même but qu'elle dans les affaires du monde. Le Canada a toujours cru à la grandeur de la France, même aux jours les plus sombres. Pendant la guerre, nous n'avons jamais douté que la France pût jouer un rôle important dans sa propre libération. Nous avons appuyé les chefs que le peuple français était prêt à suivre. Nous comprenons les lourdes difficultés que lui ont imposées deux invasions au cours d'une génération. Nous lui aiderons à se remettre sur peid non seulement par sympathie, mais parce que sa restauration nous est nécessaire.

d) Notre adhésion aux organismes d'utilité internationale

Je ne veux pas examiner dans le détail nos rapports avec les autres Etats. Je préfère définir notre attitude à l'égard des organismes internationaux. Comme je l'ai indiqué en exposant les grandes lignes de notre programme, nous avons constamment manifesté le désir de prendre part à toutes les initiatives utiles de portée internationale, tout en gardant à l'esprit, évidemment, les limites imposées à notre champ d'action par notre statut de puissance secondaire. Aucune société des nations ne peut prospérer sans l'appui des pays qui détiennent la plus grand part de la force économique et militaire. Il est inutile à un pays de la taille du nôtre de proposer un programme au monde s'il ne possède pas l'approbation de **ceux** à qui il appartiendra dans une large mesure de l'exécuter.

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Nous avons conscience, toutefois, de l'importance que revêt pour nous l'expansion des organismes internationaux. Nous avons accompli volontiers ce qu'on attendait de nous lorsqu'il s'est agi d'une action importante et efficace.

Depuis la guerre, notre rôle sur la scène internationale a fourni la preuve de notre bonne volonté. Nous avons envoyé à San Francisco une délégation imposante. Je suis enchanté des délégués qui m'ont accompagné à la première partie de l'Assemblée générale tenue à Londres et à la seconde partie tenue à New York. Nous avons été élus membres du Conseil économique et social. Nous nous sommes efforcés de montrer que nous attachions un grand prix à cet organisme par la part que nous avons prise à ses délibérations. Nous avons participé à la formation de la Banque internationale et du Fonds monétaire international, de l'Organisation provisoire de l'aviation civile internationale, de l'Organisation de la santé mondiale, de l'UNESCO, de l'Organisation internationale des réfugiés, de l'Organisation de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture et de l'Organisation internationale du commerce dont on est à jeter les bases. Nous avons continué d'appuyer, comme avant la guerre, l'Organisation internationale du Travail. Nous avons participé activement aux travaux de la Commission de l'énergie atomique, ainsi qu'à ceux de la Conférence de la paix, tenue à Paris. La liste, sans être complète, donne un assez bon aperçu de notre activité. Il n'a pas été facile d'envoyer des délégués et des conseillers à toutes les conférences qu'exigeait l'instauration d'un nouveau régime d'organismes internationaux. Mais nous avons raison, je crois, d'être fiers du travail accompli par nos représentants; si vous aviez pu les voir à l'oeuvre à l'une quelconque de ces réunions, vous auriez constaté qu'ils apportaient à l'exécution de travaux fort utiles, énormément d'énergie et une grande compétence. Vous constateriez également qu'ils n'ont cessé de mériter le respect et la confiance de leurs collègues des autres pays.

Nous avons collablor activement à la reconstruction de l'après-guerre, tant dans le domaine économique que dans le domaine politique. Notre contribution à l'UNRRA a dépassé la somme de 150 millions de dollars; des vivres et du matériel canadiens ont été expédiés aux régions dévastées du monde entier. Sous le régime de l'Aide mutuelle, nous avons approvisionné libéralement nos alliés durant la guerre et favorisé, depuis, la restauration économique de l'Europe et de la Chine, au moyen de vastes crédits d'exportation. Nous avons adopté cette ligne de conduite parce que, à notre avis, le relèvement économique du monde entier doit nécessairement accompagner sa restauration politique. Nous savons aussi combien le problème du relèvement économique est important pour le Canada. Nous dépendons des marchés étrangers pour l'écoulement de vastes quantités des principales denrées que nous produisons mais ne pouvons consommer, comme nous dépendons de l'étranger pour le ravitaillement de notre population en denrées essentielles à son bien-être. Il me semble donc évident que nous devons appuyer toute organisation internationale susceptible de contribuer à la stabilité économique et politique du monde entier.

e) <u>Vers un service diplomatique efficace</u>

Considérée à la lumière de ces événements historiques, la récente expansion de notre service diplomatique est tout à fait naturelle. Nous nous préparons à faire face aux responsabilités internationales toujours croissantes que nous avons assumées en tant qu'État moderne. Nous voulons que le Commonwealth constitue un instrument efficace de collaboration et c'est pourquoi nous avons nommé des hauts-commissaires dans les capitales de tous les pays du Commonwealth. Je suis heureux de pouvoir dire que nous avons complété, au cours des quelques dernières semaines, la série de ces nominations, en désignant un haut-commissaire du Canada dans l'Inde. J'espère sincèrement

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que grâce à sa mission là-bas et grâce aussi au haut-commissaire de l'Inde au Canada, qui sera bientôt désigné, nous connaîtrons cette collaboration précieuse et amicale qui a caractérisé nos rapports avec les autres pays du Commonwealth.

Nous avons aussi multiplié rapidement notre représentation diplomatique à l'étranger. Avant bien longtemps, nous aurons des représentants diplomatiques dans les capitales de tous les grands pays du monde. Si nous accroissons ainsi notre représentation, ce n'est pas simplement par souci des conventions ou de la réclame qu'on pourra nous faire à l'étranger, mais plutôt parce que notre situation géographique, notre climat at nos ressources naturelles ont conditionné notre économie au point que la prospérité et le bien-être de notre population dépendent dans une large mesure de la prospérité et du bien-être du monde entier. Nous sommes donc appelés à jouer, sur la scène internationale, un rôle qui nous sera d'autant plus utile à nous-mêmes qu'il le sera aux autres; or, nous ne pourrons nous en bien acquitter que si nous comptons, chez nos voisins, nos propres porte-paroles.

Cette expansion ne s'étend pas uniquement à notre service extérieur. Nous tentons également d'établir à Ottawa un ministère qui donnera une suite concrète à l'activité de nos représentants à l'étranger. Dans l'intérêt national, il nous faut prendre une part honorable aux conférences internationales qui façonnent actuellement le monde de l'après-guerre. En conséquence, nous établissons un service qui sera en mesure de fournir des conseillers fort compétents et bien renseignés aux délégations que nous devons envoyer à ces réunions. Ce n'est pas là toutefois une tâche facile. Il faudra, bien entendu, y affecter certaines sommes. Cependant, je suis d'autant plus résolu à recommander le maintien de cette ligne de conduite qu'il ne s'agit nullement d'une expérience transitoire. C'est le résultat naturel d'un long processus historique, et j'estime comme on est en droit de s'y attendre, que toutes les classes de notre population l'appuieront. La ligne de conduite du Canada dans ses relations avec l'étranger ne doit pas faire l'objet de controverses politiques au pays. Bien entendu, le Gouvernement au pouvoir doit assumer la pleine responsabilité de chacun de ses actes tant dans le domaine des relations extérieures que dans celui des affaires purement nationales. Toutefois en ce qui concerne ses relations extérieures, le gouvernement au pouvoir doit s'efforcer sans cesse de se faire l'interprète de tous les Canadiens et d'agir en leur nom, de façon à rallier l'appui de tous, à quelque parti politique qu'ils appartiennent.

IV. CONCLUSION

J'ai dit il y a quelques instants qu'ils nous faut jouer dans les affaires mondiales un rôle digne des idéaux des jeunes gens de cette université et de tout le pays qui ont pris les armes. Que ce rôle soit petit ou grand, il nous faut le jouer d'une façon qui nous honore. Il nous faut agir en nation adulte, avec logique et en gardans le sens des responsabilités. Pour cette raison, je reviens sur ce que je disais au début. Il nous faut agir comme un peuple uni. J'entends par là un peuple qui, grâce à la réflexion et à la discussion s'est fait une conception commune de ses intérêts et de ses objectifs. Ces conférences contituent un instrument qui pourrait nous être d'une grande utilité dans la réalisation de ce but. Vous pouvez avoir l'assurance qu'en organisant chaque année le programme de conférences Gray vous contribuerez à atteindre cette conception mûrie de nos intérêts nationaux, qui caractérise un peuple uni.

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M. Malcolm MacDonald, ci-devant haut-commissaire du Royaume-Uni au Canada, adressant la parole avant son départ, à un groupe de Canadiens, a décrit le Canada comme "une unité, une harmonie, une nation, un peuple pénétré d'un sentiment national, cherchant à atteindre des buts nationaux.". Il ajouta: "La ligne de conduite du Canada en matière d'affaires internationales et ses conceptions à cet égard attestent un bon sens, une sagacité et un véritable sens politique qu'on trouve rarement."

Voilà un grand éloge. En le repetant, puis-je y ajouter une observation que j'ai déjà formulée: "Puisse le Canada continuer às'en rendre digne comme il l'a fait au cours des années tourmentées que nous venons de traverser."

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Text of Address to be delivered by the Rt. Hon. L.S. St-Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Montreal Branch of the United Nations Society. Monday, February 24, 1947.

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1. It is a most encouraging and stimulating experience to be present to-night at this great meeting of the United Nations Society. The Charter of the United Nations begins with the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations". It says, "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined... to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security...have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

2. Those words express a profound truth. The creation of the United Nations was the result of the blood and sweat and tears shed by the peoples of the world during the past unholy thirty-three years of depression, frustration, injustice and war. The strength of the United Nations lies in the determination of the peoples of the world to unite their strength to keep the peace. If that determination falters the United Nations will decline in strength.

3. It is therefore essential that throughout the world the peoples should unite their efforts in societies such as this United Nations Society of Canada so that they may become well-informed about the United Nations and so that they may understand the problems which confront their governments in carrying out their obligations to the United Nations. The government of Canada, like the governments of the other Members of the U.N., undertook serious commitments when Canada joined the U.N. The ability of the government of any country to honour its international commitments depends on how well the people of that country understand the extent and nature of the commitments and how far they are willing to honour them.

4. The commitments of Canada to the U.N. include a commitment to use force to resist aggression, and a commitment not to use force to settle one's own private disputes with other nations. But it is not these commitments which I wish to draw to your attention to-night. I should like instead to draw to your attention, in the presence of the chairman of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, the commitment entered into by the government and people of Canada to promote and encourage "Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". We are pledged under the Charter "to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the "Organization for the achievement" of this purpose.

5. Speaking to-night in the largest French-speaking city outside of France, speaking as a representative of a country which long before the Charter of the U.N. was drawn up had rejected as a damnable heresy the doctrine that a nation must be based on only one culture and one language, and speaking in the presence of Mrs. Roosevelt who is herself so delightfully fluent in French, it would, I think, be appropriate if, in the remainder of my remarks, I were to speak in French.

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6. I would not be happy, Madame, and all the citizens of Montreal, whether English-or French-speaking, would hold it against me if I did not use French words in welcoming you among us. We know how easily and how charmingly you speak French, and we venture to believe that you make use of it with as much pleasure as ease.

7. But that is not the main reason why I should make use of it myself. We wish to speak to you to-night of human rights and fundamental liberties for all and there is no better proof of the respect of these rights and liberties under British institutions, than the fact that so many French Canadians have kept their language, their religion, their institutions and their laws since their country passed to the British Crown, a century and three-quarters ago.

8. The officers in command of the victorious troops did not hesitate for one moment at the time of the capitulation of Quebec, in 1759, and that of Montreal, in 1760, to guarantee to our ancestors the free practise of their religion and the peaceful enjoyment of their homes, personal properties, effects and privileges at a time when in England religious tolerance was not an accepted principle of the Constitution.

9. It is true that after the treaty of Paris, a Royal proclamation for the establishment of courts of justice tried to substitute English law for the rights and customs which our ancestors had known until then, but, as early as 1774, the Quebec Act [illegible], guaranteed to the new subjects of the King the free exercise of their religion, abolished for them the Test and re-established their laws and customs without which French Canadians would not have felt certain of the continued enjoyment of them.

10. And when, after the establishment of Parliamentary institutions under the Constitution of 1791, the Canadians of that period had to proclaim their own attachment to the rights of man and to fundamental liberties, they were not long in doing so in a striking way.

11. I shall quote only two examples: The Parliament of Lower Canada passed a law in 1831 to declare that, since doubts had arisen in this connection, it was convenient to record in an explicit text that His Majesty's subjects of Jewish faith and residing in our territory were to enjoy, and were to continue to enjoy, the same privileges and rights and equal eligibility to hold public office as the other inhabitants of the country. In 1839, the same Parliament passed another law to ensure the freedom of worship by enacting that any society of Christians, whatever its denomination, could acquire and possess, holding in trust, real estate serving as places of worship. Our historic traditions therefore prepared us to accept eagerly the declarations of the San Francisco Charter on the rights of man and fundamental liberties.

12. Certain circles may be inclined to consider these declarations as rather empty phrases or as assertions of good intentions but, even if they were merely assertions of good intentions, it would be just as well for the people of the United Nations to reaffirm solemnly their faith in the criterions of the true civilization that we had to defend against our enemies during the last war.

13. But the declarations on human rights contained in the Charter are not solely assertions of principles. Each nation associated with the United Nations, in signing the Charter which contains these declarations, has contracted by solemn treaty an obligation to develop

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and encourage respect for the rights of man and fundamental liberties for all, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion. Each national government, in the name of its people, has accepted this obligation knowing the difficulties which its full accomplishment might entail.

14. The members of the United Nations have pledged themselves to act both jointly and severally to overcome these difficulties. As a result the inaction of one member does not constitute an excuse for similar inaction on the part of another. Happily the achievement of the difficult task of realizing fully the treaty obligations with respect to human rights will be facilitated for the members of the United Nations by the help which they will receive from the International Organization presided over by Mrs. Roosevelt, the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

15. This Commission met for the first time in New York at the beginning of this month. It entrusted to its Chairman, Mrs. Roosevelt, together with the vice-president, Dr. Chiang of China, and its rapporteur, Dr. Malik of Lebanon, the task of preparing a tentative draft of an International bill of Human Rights with the assistance of the Secretariat of the United Nations.

16. This draft will be submitted as a resolution for approval by the General Assembly and it must be transmitted to the other members of the Commission by the 25th of June, 1947. Mrs. Roosevelt and her colleagues, therefore, have only four months to carry out the exceedingly difficult task of preparing a satisfactory draft for an international bill of Juman Rights. In your name, allow me to offer to them, as well as to Professor J.P. Humphrey, formerly of McGill University, and now Director of the Division of Human Rights at the Secretariat of the United Nations, who as such will be their principal advisor, all our good wishes for their success.

17. Mrs. Roosevelt and her colleagues will have at their disposal a number of draft declarations on human rights already prepared by distinguished sociologists and statesmen of several countries.

18. I shall refer only to two of them. One was prepared approximately three years ago by a committee of "The American Law Institute" on which sat Dr. P.E. Corbett, formerly of McGill, and Mr. C.W. Jenks, legal advisor of the International Labour Organization, now a Montrealer.

19. The other one appeared in the magazine "Free World" nearly two years ago. "Free World" patterned its draft on that of "The American Law Institute" and made certain additions. I mention these two drafts because they both assert in their preambles principles that are basic.

20. Here is how "Free World" expresses these principles. The first:

"The individual man, woman and child is the cornerstone of culture and civilization. He is the subject, the foundation, the end of the social order. Upon his dignity, his liberty, his inviolability depend the welfare of the people, the safety of the State and the peace of the world."

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21. The second one is expressed thus:

"In society complete freedom cannot be attained. An individual possesses many rights but he may not exercise any of them in a way which will destroy the rights of others. No right exists in isolation from the other rights. The liberties of one individual are limited by the liberties of others, and by the just requirements of the democratic state. The preservation of the freedom of the individual requires not only that his rights be respected, preserved and defended but also that he respect, preserve and defend the rights of others by fulfilling his duties as a member of society."

22. The third principle is expressed thus:

"The state exists to serve the individual. He does not exist to serve the state. The state exists to promote conditions under which he can be most free."

23. The two declarations then contain a long list of the specific rights which should be guaranteed to every single human being. These include personal rights, such as freedom of religion, speech, information and ownership, the right to be protected by the agencies of the state, right to work and to achieve a certain degree of economic, social and cultural well-being, political rights, citizenship and the right of the citizen to participate in the government of the state.

24. Mrs. Roosevelt can be assured of our deep interest in the activities of her Commission. In the speech from the Throne at the opening of the present parliamentary session, the Canadian government announced that it intends to propose the establishment of a special committee of both Houses to study the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms and report on the best way to ensure the complete fulfilment of the obligations contracted in this respect by all members of the United Nations.

25. And now, as I have already said, it gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Canadian Government and people, to welcome Mrs. Roosevelt.

The Prime Minister has asked me to express his regrets that he is unable to be here himself tonight and wishes me to convey to you a personal message of kindest regards.

26. Mrs. Roosevelt is highly qualified to speak on human rights. At the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946, both in London and New York, her speeches were among the most effective in bringing home to us the problems of the hundreds of thousands of refugees from the viewpoint of their essential rights as human beings. As the chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, her voice is today, in that respect, the voice of the conscience of the world.

That Mrs. Roosevelt was chosen unanimously to be chairman of this Committee was not the result of mere chance. Throughout her career she has been known and beloved for her constant devotion to the interests of ordinary people and especially those whose rights were threatened or abused. She has travelled across the United States and in many other lands and everywhere has talked with persons in every walk of life. Whenever she is not travelling herself, people travel to see her.

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She is sought after for her wisdom, her understanding and the compassion which fills her heart. That is why, whenever she speaks at the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, her voice carries double weight: she is listened to, both as a spokesman of her own Government and as a great citizen of the world.

27. I have the honour to introduce to you Mrs. Roosevelt.

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(NE PAS ETRE PUBLIE AVANT 9 HEURES DU SOIR,
LE LUNDI, 24 février 1947.)

Texte du discours prononcé par M. L.S. St-Laurent,
Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, devant
la Société des Nations Unies, division de Montréal,
le lundi, 24 février 1947.

1. C'est une expérience des plus encourageantes que d'être présent ce soir à cette grande réunion de la Société des Nations Unies. La Charte des Nations Unies débute avec ces mots: "Nous, peuples des Nations Unies, déterminés à pratiquer la tolérance et à vivre ensemble en bons voisins, en paix les uns avec les autres, et à unir nos forces pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, avons résolu de combiner nos efforts pour atteindre ce but".

2. Ces mots expriment une vérité profonde. La création des Nations Unies fut le résultat du sang, des sueurs et des larmes versés par les peuples du monde durant les trente-trois affreuses années de dépression, de frustration, d'injustice et de guerre qui viennent de s'écouler. La force des Nations Unies repose dans la détermination des peuples du monde d'unir leurs forces pour le maintien de la paix. Si cette détermination chancelle, la force des Nations Unies déclinera.

3. Il est donc essentiel que les peuples à travers le monde unissent leurs efforts dans des associations, comme la Société des Nations Unies du Canada, afin de pouvoir se renseigner sur les Nations Unies et comprendre les problèmes que doivent envisager leurs gouvernements en remplissant leurs obligations vis à vis des Nations Unies. Le gouvernement du Canada, comme ceux des autres membres de l'organisation, a pris des engagements financiers importants lorsque le Canada s'est joint aux Nations Unies. Le pouvoir du gouvernement de n'importe quel pays de remplir ses engagements internationaux dépend de la façon dont le peuple de ce pays comprend l'étendue et la nature de ces engagements et jusqu'à quel point il est prêt à y faire honneur.

4. Les engagements du Canada envers les Nations Unies comprennent celui de se servir de la force pour résister à l'agression et de ne pas y recourir pour régler ses propres disputes avec d'autres nations. Mais ce ne sont pas ces engagements-là que je veux porter à votre attention ce soir. J'aimerais, de préférence, attirer votre attention, en présence du président de la Commission des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies, sur l'engagement pris par le gouvernement et le peuple du Canada de promouvoir et d'encourager "le respect universel et l'observance des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous, sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion". Nous nous sommes engagés, d'après l'Organisation pour la réalisation de ce but."

5. Parlant ce soir dans la plus grande ville de langue française en dehors de la France, parlant comme représentant d'un pays qui, longtemps avant que la Charte des Nations Unies ait été rédigée, avait rejeté comme hérésie odieuse la doctrine voulant qu'une nation doive avoir pour base une seule culture et une seule langue, et m'exprimant aussi en présence de madame Roosevelt qui parle elle-même si délicieusement le français, il serait approprié, il me semble, de m'adresser en français pour le reste de mes réflexions.

6. Je m'en voudrais, en effet, Madame, et tous les citoyens de Montréal m'en voudraient, qu'ils soient de langue anglaise ou de langue française, si je ne me servais de vocables français pour vous souhaiter la bienvenue parmi nous. Nous savons avec quelle aisance et quelle élégance vous parlez vous-même le français, et nous osons croire que vous vous en servez avec autant de plaisir que d'aisance.

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7. Mais ce n'est pas là la principale raison pour que je le fasse moi-même maintenant. Nous voulons vous parler ce soir des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous et il n'y a pas de meilleur exemple du respect de ces droits et de ces libertés sous les institutions britanniques, que le fait que tant de descendants de Français en ce pays aient conservé leur langue, leur religion, leurs institutions et leurs lois depuis le siècle et trois-quarts que leur pays est passé sous la Couronne Britannique.

8. Les commandants des troupes victorieuses n'avaient pas hésité un instant dans les articles de capitulation de Québec en 1759, et de Montréal en 1760, à garantir à nos ancêtres le libre exercice de leur religion et la paisible jouissance de leurs maisons, biens, effets et privilèges et ce, malgré qu'en Angleterre même, à cette époque, l'intolérance religieuse conditionnait encore tous les organes de la Constitution.

9. Il est vrai qu'après le traité de Paris, une proclamation royale pour l'établissement de tribunaux avait tenté de substituer le droit anglais aux droits et coutumes que nos ancêtres avaient jusqu'alors connus, mais, dès 1774, l'Acte de Québec rétablit la situation, garantit aux nouveaux sujets du roi le libre exercice de leur religion, abolit pour eux le serment du test et rétablit les lois et coutumes sans lesquelles ils n'auraient pas senti que la jouissance de leurs maisons, leurs biens, leurs effets et leurs privilèges leur etait réellement continué.

10. Et lorsqu'après l'établissement d'institutions parlementaires sous la Constitution de 1791, les Canadiens d'alors eurent à proclamer eux-mêmes leur attachement aux droits de l'homme et aux libertés fondamentales, ils ne tardèrent pas à en donner des exemples éclatants.

11. Je n'en citerai que deux: Le parlement du Bas-Canada adopta une loi en 1831 pour déclarer que, vu qu'il s'était élevé des doutes à cet égard, il convenait de consigner dans un texte explicite que les sujets de Sa Majesté exerçant la religion judaique et habitant notre territoire, jouissaient, et continueraient de jouir, de tous les mêmes droits et de l'éligibilité à toutes les mêmes fonctions que les autres habitants du pays. En 1839, le même parlement adopta une autre loi pour assurer la liberté des cultes en décrétant que toute société de chrétiens, de quelque dénomination qu'elle fut, pouvait acquérir et détenir des immeubles par fiduciaires pour les fins de son culte. Nos traditions historiques nous préparaient donc à accepter avec empressement les déclarations de la charte de San Francisco sur les droits de l'homme et les libertés fondamentales.

12. On peut être porté, en certains milieux, à envisager ces déclarations comme des phrases plutôt vides ou des affirmations de bonnes intentions, mais, même si elles n'etaient que des affirmations de bonnes intentions, il y aurait déjà avantage à ce que les peuples des Nations-Unies réaffirment solennellement leur foi dans ces critères de la véritable civilisation que nous avons eus à défendre contre nos ennemis au cours de la dernière guerre.

13. Mais les déclarations sur les droits de l'homme dans la charte ne sont pas seulement des affirmations de principes. Chaque nation qui s'est associée aux Nations-Unies, en signant la charte qui comporte ces déclarations, a contracté par traité l'obligation solennelle de développer et d'encourager le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous, sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion. Chaque gouvernement national, au nom de son peuple, a accepté cette obligation sachant les difficultés que pouvait comporter son accomplissement intégral.

14. Les membres des Nations-Unies se sont engagés à agir conjointement pour surmonter ces difficultés et chacun s'est aussi engagé à y travailler séparément. Il en résulte que l'inaction d'un des membres ne constitue aucune excuse pour semblable inaction chez un autre. Heureusement que

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l'accomplissement de la tâche difficile de réaliser pleinement ces obligations de traité quant aux droits de l'homme et aux libertés fondamentales, sera facilité aux peuples et aux gouvernments des Nations-Unies par l'aide qu'ils recevront de l'organisme international présidé par Madame Roosevelt, la Commission des Droits de l'Homme établie par le Conseil Economique et Social des Nations-Unies.

15. Cette Commission s'est réunie pour la première fois à New York au début de ce mois. Elle a chargé sa présidente, Madame Roosevelt, avec le vice-président, le Dr. Chiang, de Chine, et son rapporteur le Dr. Malik, du Liban, de la tâche de préparer, avec le concours du Secrétariat des Nations-Unies, le projet préliminaire d'une déclaration internationale des droits de l'homme.

16. Ce projet doit être proposé sous forme de résolution pour l'approbation de l'Assemblée Générale. Ce projet doit être transmis aux autres membres de la Commission avant le 25 juin prochain. Madame Roosevelt et ses collègues n'ont donc que quatre mois à leur disposition pour réaliser cette tâche plutôt difficile d'élaborer un projet satisfaisant pour une déclaration internationale des droits de l'homme. Je me permets de leur offrir en votre nom, à eux, ainsi qu'au professeur J.P. Humphrey, autrefois de l'Université McGill, le directeur de la Division des Droits de l'Homme du Secrétariat des Nations-Unies qui sera à ce titre leur principal aviseur, tous nos voeux de succès.

17. Madame Roosevelt et ses collègues auront à leur disposition plusieurs projets de déclarations des droits de l'homme déjà préparés par des sociologues distingués et des hommes d'Etat de plusieurs pays.

18. Je vous en signalerai deux. L'un préparé, il y a environ trois ans, par un comité de "The American Law Institute", dont le Dr. P.E. Corbett, autrefois de McGill, et monsieur C.W. Jenks, l'aviseur légal de l'Organisation Internationale du Travail, maintenant un Montréalais, faisaient partie.

19. Un autre est celui recommandé par la revue "Free World", il y a une couple d'années. Le "Free World" s'est inspiré du projet de "The American Law Institute" et y a fait certaines additions. Je vous signale ces deux projets parce qu'ils ont le mérite de comporter, comme préambule, des affirmations de principes qui paraissent incontestables.

20. Voici la façon de les exprimer qu'on trouve dans le projet du "Free World". Le premier:

"L'individu, homme, femme, ou enfant, est la pierre fondamentale de toute culture et de toute civilisation. Il est le sujet, le fondement et le but de l'ordre social. C'est de sa dignité, de sa liberté, de son inviolabilité que dépendent le bien-être du peuple, la sécurité de l'Etat et la paix du monde."

21. Le second est exprimé comme suit:

"La liberté complète n'est pas compatible avec la vie sociale. L'individu possède un grand nombre de droits mais il ne peut en exercer aucun de façon à nuire aux droits des autres. Tout droit doit être envisagé à la lumière d'autres droits. Les libertés de chacun sont limités par les libertés des autres et par les justes exigences d'un état démocratique. Pour conserver à chacun sa liberté, il faut, non seulement que ses droits soient respectés, maintenus et protégés, mais il faut aussi qu'il respecte, maintienne et protège les droits des autres en remplissant les devoirs qui lui incombent comme membre de la société.

22. Le troisième principe est formulé comme suit: "C'est le service de l'individu qui est la raison d'être de l'Etat. Ce n'est pas le service

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de l'Etat qui est la raison d'être de l'individu. Le rôle de l'Etat est de procurer aux individus le milieu le plus propice à l'exercice de leurs libertés."

23. Les deux projets contiennent ensuite une longue liste de droits spécifiques qu'on devrait reconnaître à chaque être humain. Ce sont ses droits personnels, tels que liberté de culte, de parole, d'information et de propriété, ses droits d'être protégé par les organes de l'Etat, ses droits de travailler, d'avoir un certain degré de bien-être économique, social et culturel, ses droits politiques, la citoyenneté et, comme tel, une participation appropriée au gouvernement de l'Etat dont il est le citoyen.

24. Je puis assurer Madame Roosevelt de notre intérêt sympatique aux travaux de sa Commission. Dans le discours du Trône à l'ouverture de la présente session du Parlement, le gouvernement a donné avis de son intention de proposer la constitution d'un comité spécial des deux Chambres pour étudier cette question des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales et préparer un rapport sur la meilleure façon d'assurer l'accomplissement intégral des obligations contractées à cet égard par tous les membres des Nations-Unies.

25. Maintenant, je le répète, il me fait grand plaisir, au nom du gouvernement et du peuple canadien, de souhaiter la bienvenue à Madame Roosevelt.

Le Premier Ministre m'a chargé de vous exprimer, Madame, ses regrets de ne pouvoir être ici lui-même, ce soir, et de vous transmettre un message personnel de ses plus cordiales salutations.

26. Madame Roosevelt est hautement qualifiée pour nous parler des droits de l'homme. Aux séances de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations-Unies en 1946, à Londres et à New York, sa parole fut parmi les plus écoutées pour nous faire voir le problème des réfugiés sous l'angle des droits essentiels de centaines de mille hommes, femmes et enfants. Comme présidente de la Commission des droits de l'homme des Nations-Unies, sa voix est maintenant celle de la conscience du monde à cet égard.

Il n'y a rien de fortuit dans le choix unanime de Madame Roosevelt comme présidente de cette commission. Pendant toute sa vie, on l'a connue et on l'a aimée pour son dévouement constant aux intérêts des petites gens et surtout de ceux dont les droits étaient menacés ou compromis. Elle a parcouru les Etats-Unis et bien d'autres pays et, partout, elle a causé avec des personnes de toutes conditions. Et lorsqu'elle n'est pas elle-même en voyage, on voyage vers elle. On la recherche pour sa sagacité, sa compréhension, la compassion qui remplit son coeur. Voilà pourquoi, lorsqu'elle parle aux séances de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations-Unies, sa voix a double autorité: on l'écoute comme porte-parole de son propre gouvernement et on l'écoute comme grande citoyenne de l'univers.

27. J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter Madame Roosevelt.

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XA/FP

Dr. Gibson

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(NOT TO BE PUBLISHED BEFORE 1 P.M. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1947)

CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Text of address to be delivered by the Rt. Hon. L.S. St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Rotary Club, New York on Thursday, February 26, 1947.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak again in the City of New York, this time to an American audience on an occasion which happily is associated with my own country and with your interest in it. During the past six months I have spoken a number of times in New York, but always to that international community which has now made its headquarters here, and, therefore, to a cosmopolitan audience drawn from many nations. It is a particular pleasure to return now, not as a delegate to an international conference, but as a guest of the citizens of this great city.

Let me say at the beginning how much we in Canada welcome the opportunity to visit New York with increasing frequency, now that it has become the home of the United Nations. Through long habit we turn our steps readily in the direction of this City where we know a welcome will await us, whatever the occasion and whatever the circumstances. The choice of New York as headquarters is, moreover, one of great convenience to us, for this City is almost as accessible from Ottawa as it is from Washington. We shall be happy, therefore, to see the United Nations establishing its home in the heart of Manhattan.

It has always seemed to me that New York was already in some respects a world city as much as an American city. I sometimes like to think that here at the mouth of the Hudson River the whole world has established a beachhead within this country. I know that this is a somewhat fanciful idea and yet I think there is some justification for it in American history. Before the Revolution, in the Southern and Northern Colonies, settlement was relatively homogeneous. In the middle Colonies, however, I recall that the process of settlement was much more varied and it was here in the valley of the Hudson and in the hinterland of this Empire State that the truly cosmopolitan character of American civilization was laid. Whether or not this generalization about your history is correct, there is certainly now some justification for the claim that New York has become a world city. It is fitting, therefore, that in the very centre of this metropolis there should be constructed a new home for the nations, and that it should be designed in harmony with your striking skyline. There are those who regard the towers of this City as symbolic of man's hopes. Surely no work

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of construction ever signified so great a measure of human aspiration as the new towers that will shortly be built here. As all of us very well know, even if we are not engineers and architects, skyscrapers can be built only on foundations of the firmest rock. It is our profound hope and faith that the new world organization which is making its home here will be as solidly based as the towers of this City.

It is symbolic also that the choice of the Manhattan site was made at the conclusion of an encouraging and constructive session of the General Assembly. Those of us who attended the Second part of the General Assembly throughout its meetings in New York have good reason to know how gratifying it was that we were able to adjourn with a feeling of optimism. During the early days of the Conference there were times when it seemed to me that we were doing little more than provide a forum in which irreconcilable issues could be stated by men determined to accept no compromise. In the end, however, decisions were taken on subjects of great moment, such as disarmament and refugees, and there were useful debates on others, such as the use of the veto and the problems of international relief. We were thus able to conclude our deliberations in a spirit of sober and guarded confidence, and we shall return hopefully to continue the task.

I have another reason to be grateful for this opportunity to come to New York and speak to an American audience. I feel that at this moment there are many things about which we should talk to one another. There is in particular the measure of agreement which we have recently announced for co-operation in our defence policies. I hope that all of you will have found the occasion to read carefully the statement which was issued on February 12th by my Prime Minister in Ottawa and by your Secretary of State in Washington. This is a statement of great importance in the minds of the Canadian people. In it we have sought to indicate in the first place that each of us intends to continue as in the past to carry the main responsibility for the defence of his own country. We realize, of course, that in these days of mechanized and scientific warfare, no state, great or small, is entirely secure from attacks on its territory. Nor is it able to defend itself solely by its own resources if it is attacked. No single state has been able to defend itself unaided in the past fifty years. We have not forgotten the lesson of the war through which we have just passed. It taught us all that in time of peril to our way of life we must all stand together. It is this conviction which has led my country to place so great an emphasis upon the United Nations as an instrument for collective security and to look for the widest possible measure of co-operation amongst the nations in the preservation of peace.

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We are at the same time equally convinced that in the first instance the nation must be responsible to the measure of its capacity for its own security. We intend to accept this responsibility. We have tried to make it quite clear in the joint statement and in other similar documents that no one in the United States nor in any other country in this hemisphere need fear lest any of the precautions essential to the security of this hemisphere are being neglected in our country. We have shown ourselves on both the military and industrial fronts during the war to be capable of an efficient and powerful war effort. This should assure you of our capacity to maintain in peacetime the essentials of security.

If, on the one hand, the joint statement indicates that we in Canada and the United States of America intend to maintain our independence of action, it says equally that we are prepared to enter on the basis of honourable partnership into plans for security which must of necessity involve the action of more than one state. As I have already said, we realize that no nation can live unto itself. We realize that the destiny of our country is bound up closely with that of the United States. We are, therefore, fully prepared to consider with you on the basis of our joint responsibilities and our joint interests whatever combined action either one of us may think desirable. This does not commit either one of us to agree to all the plans which the other one may put forward. It does, however, establish the fact that we shall discuss the question of defence freely with one another, and that where joint action commends itself to both of us, we shall be prepared to take it.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I think I should remind you of the terms of the statement on the defence co-operation which was issued jointly in this country and in Canada on February 12th. It was stated that the collaboration would necessarily be limited and would be based on the following principles:-

(1). Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

(2) General co-operation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.

(3) Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.

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(4) Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide, with a minimum of formality, for the transit through its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.

(5) As an underlying principle all co-operative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

In issuing this statement the Prime Minister of Canada made certain explanatory remarks, and I should like to quote for you also one short paragraph from his speech:-

> "Canada's northern programme is thus primarily a civilian one to which contributions are made by the armed forces. This has been the pattern for many years. Thus the Army years ago installed and has continued to maintain communication systems in the Northwest territories. It is now responsible for administering the Alaska Highway, now known as the Northwest Highway System, extending from Dawson Creek to the Alaska boundary. The R.C.A.F. has been responsible for taking aerial photographs to be used in the production of maps and charts. It has also been given the responsibility of administering the airfields of the Northwest Staging Route from Edmonton north which are used for civil aviation. More recently, a small winter experimental establishment was set up at Churchill where various tests on clothing, equipment, transport, and so on, are being conducted which will be of general benefit to all who live in the North. Since the United States, as well as Canada, recognizes the need for greater familiarity with northern conditions, we have arranged for its government to participate in the work of this establishment. It may be that other tests and projects will require to be undertaken on a joint basis, in order to extend with a maximum of economy and effectiveness, our knowledge of the North. Through such extension we will acquire the basic data that are needed to make more accessible the economic resources of this region and which will be valuable for defence purposes as well.

I am glad that we have now been able to make these principles clear in a public document. This was necessary, I think, in the first place to put at rest the minds of any people who might think that some necessary action was being overlooked.

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It was equally necessary in order to discourage the speculations of those who thought that a great deal more was being done that was ever contemplated. It was never the intention of my country to place responsibility for the defence of any part of our territory in the hands of your military authorities. I am equally certain that no responsible person in this country had the least desire to assume such duties. In fact it is quite absurd to suggest, as some imaginative people have done, that your government was applying some sort of pressure in order to take over responsibilities in Canadian territory. Relations between Canada and the United States simply are not conducted on a basis of pressures or ultimata. They are conducted on a basis of completely frank discussion and respect for each other's individuality and special problems. There can be - for we have proved it in practice - genuine two-sided co-operation between countries even when one is large and powerful and the other of more modest proportions.

I think, however, that the maps of the Polar regions which have recently become so common have had a magical effect upon the imagination of many people. They cannot look at such maps without at once launching themselves upon great projects for the development of these areas. They are excited by the strategy of the northern regions, and in consequence activities which have been going on now for decades in the exploration and development of our country have suddenly taken on a significance of unprecedented proportions. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in their vessels and dogsleds, the exploration parties of the Department of Mines and Resources, the photographic surveyors of the Royal Canadian Air Force, the miners, trappers, missionaries, and traders, in their ordinary pursuits have been traversing the north country for years. I am sure that they will have been surprised to hear any rumours which may have reached them of abnormal or unfriendly activity in the quiet places where they live and work.

There is a story, Mr. Chairman, concerning some gold prospectors, of whom there are many in my country, who, through some miscalculation at the gates, found their way into heaven. As might have been expected they set to work at once, with understandable professional zeal, to dig up the golden streets. No intervention on the part of the local authorities could discourage them. Finally, it was recalled that an old Yukon miner had been admitted some time previously. In the grave crisis he was appealed to. He agreed to try his hand and he was seen speaking confidentially to the busy prospectors. Each miner, as he was spoken to, packed up his kit and departed hastily. It was subsequently found that the old timer had spread amongst them a rumour that a rich gold strike had been made in the nether regions. Then one day the old miner himself was seen to pack up his kit.

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When he was asked where he was going he said "Well, you know, there might be something in that rumour". I have a feeling that many of the speculations about the development of military installations in the North Country have arisen on an even less substantial basis than this one. I hope that some of the people who have been engaging in these speculations will become so enchanted by their own imaginings that they will go themselves to the Arctic to find out what is happening.

This, Mr. Chairman, brings me to a further point. There is no reason why they shouldn't go. Canada is a free country, and it is now over 150 years since the first white man made his way by canoe to the mouth of the Mackenzie River of the Arctic Ocean. I know that travel is still a little difficult, but the invention of the airplane now makes the journey to Aklavik somewhat easier than when Alexander Mackenzie first made it in year 1789. Those who have misgivings that undue military activity is taking place in the Canadian North country, or who think that the Canadian people are surrendering responsibility for the defence of their own territory, are free to go and look. If they cannot charter an airplane, they can buy a railroad ticket to Hudson Bay. When they reach Fort Churchill they will find a small military establishment with a scientific purpose, and they will find that there are less than a hundred American soldiers in that establishment. They will find also that this installation is completely within the control of the Canadian authorities, and that the presence of Americans is significant of nothing more than the joint interest which we have in the scientific information which is being gathered at that station.

I think it particularly unfortunate when false and misleading statements concerning our defence arrangements appear in the press of a country where freedom of movement of the kind I have mentioned is not permitted. I have recently had my attention called to one such statement. It was made in the controlled press of a European country where it is said to be quite impossible for foreigners to move freely or to make personal investigations. This paper refers to that part of the statement made by the Prime Minister of Canada in which Mr. King denied that the United States had requested the cession of military bases in the north of Canada. It then continues

> "In this connection he (Mr. King) prudently omitted to mention that the bases had long ago been ceded to the United States and in practice remained at their disposal in spite of the end of the war".

The article further characterizes the defence agreements as an attempt to transform Canada into an "American advanced northern base of imperialistic expansion". I should have thought, Mr. Chairman, that when a man of known integrity

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who is the head of a reputable government makes a categorical statement in public it might be assumed that he is truly representing the facts unless one has some evidence to the contrary. If, however, the author of this article does not choose to believe the Prime Minister of Canada he is at liberty to move about in Canada and to see for himself. He can check the statements which are made by my Government. It seems to me that charges of misrepresentation should not be made without evidence at any time, and since facilities for freedom of movement and freedom of investigation do not exist in the country where these particular charges appear, I think it especially ill-considered that this journalist should make them or that his editors publish them.

There is one more point I should like to make about our co-operation in the North. What these arrangements have done is to make provision for the kind of co-operation in matters of mutual concern which characterizes good relations between all neighbouring states with common problems. But there are more than two neighbours in the Arctic. The development of the Northern Polar regions is a matter of interest to more countries than the United States and Canada. I would be glad to see collaboration for mutual assistance in this development arranged amongst all the nations which have these interests. No one of us is so wise that he cannot benefit from the knowledge of another. I see no reason why, within the framework of the United Nations, there should not be created facilities for the development of knowledge about northern areas on the widest possible basis. I have no hesitation in saying that my country would be happy to co-operate in such an enterprise provided it were established upon a proper basis of reciprocity. We are already exchanging meteorological information on a reciprocal basis with our Russian neighbours. Why not extend the practice to other useful information?

In the meantime we have, of course, taken an important step forward in providing for co-operation in all these matters between the United States and Canada. This is as it should be and is only the consequence of a long process in which we have shared responsibility for the development of this continent. It is also I think the expression of our mutual concern about matters which are of other than mere material importance. I have already mentioned the fact that in your country and mine the principle is well established that human beings may move about freely and that all the activities of government are subject to the constant scrutiny of all our citizens. It is not merely by accident that this situation exists in our two countries. It arises from political and social principles which lie at the very foundations of our society. These principles, which are epitomized in the freedom of the individual we regard as inherent to the rule of law that governs the proper relations between the individual and the state. They are a common inheritance which we share from the great and fruitful civilization of western Europe. I sometimes think that we are more conscious of this inheritance in our country than you are in yours because Canada is a country with two cultures and with two languages. Simply because French and English cultural traditions co-exist in Canada we are constantly reminded of the essential unity which underlies the civilization of western Europe, and of the Western world.

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I have said that our way of life is an inheritance from Western Europe but it is also more than that. It is a patrimony which we ourselves have constantly enlarged and expanded. You on your side have given the world the first modern example of a great federal republic founded with the consent of its citizens and based upon the political equality of all its members. On our side, there has been in the growth of Canada's political institutions, one of the great constructive political achievements of modern history. I refer to the process, which was worked out in Canada by Canadian and British statesmen, through which a colonial empire has been transformed by experiment, by compromise and by political evolution into an association of free and equal nations, the modern British Commonwealth. Those are only two of the contributions which we have made to the political traditions of the Western world. There are many others. The point I wish to make is that we have a common interest that is far greater than the development and defence of any particular portion of the earth's surface. We are concerned above all in the preservation and growth of the way of life to which we are accustomed. There are many distinctions and differentiations between the customs and habits and even the standards of your country and of mine. Basically, however, the social, moral and political values which we cherish are products of the same background and continue to be similar. We have therefore good reason to take counsel for their preservation, and when we announce plans for co-operation in defence policies we are thinking not so much of the defence of the few geographical zones where we have our being and live out our lives, but of those wider values, which the Prime Minister of Canada, speaking in London, described in words which are, in fact, only another way of describing what one of your own great leaders called the four freedoms:

> "The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, and at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens, the right of old men and women to the tranquility of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship in our own way, the God in whom we believe".

(Sept. 4, 1941)

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FOR RELEASE: After 2.30 P.M.
Eastern Daylight Saving Time,
~~Wednesday~~, May 13, 1947.
Tuesday.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE L.S. ST-LAURENT AT DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY, HALIFAX, N.S. AT 3.30 P.M. MAY 13th. (2.30 Eastern Daylight Saving Time).

Mr. President, Your Excellency, My lords and Governors, Members of the Graduating Class, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should be wanting in grace, and, indeed, in discernment, if I were not deeply conscious of the honour that this institution does me in accepting me into the goodly fellowship of her alumni. The distinction is still so new that I have not as yet had time to adjust myself to it; and I know that you will not expect the lustre of it to shine through any utterances of mine here today. After all, it normally takes four years to develop that incandescent brilliance of thought and speech which Dalhousie - and the rest of us - so rightly expect of her sons; and while, in due course, I hope to catch the full spirit of this new baptism of learning, I must, for now, content myself with the simple words and plain ideas of the freshman to whom the light that shines within these walls has only just been made manifest. I can only tell you that I am grateful; and that I shall strive to become worthy of my new distinction.

It is an added privilege to find myself included in such illustrious company. And because those others you are honouring on this same occasion are, all of them, men of great gifts and renowned accomplishment, I shall feel that I have towards them, too, a real responsibility.

It is traditional that in this address I should congratulate you who are graduating today on the achievement of this milestone in life, and that I should also admonish you perhaps as to the road upon which you are now embarking and the nature of the world through which it leads.

I do congratulate you, with all my heart. Graduation at any time is a goal not to be won without a good deal of ambition, of effort, of strenuous and sometimes tedious toil. It does represent a point of progress from which life spreads out in broader channels and one moves from the world of books to the world of reality - however satisfactory or otherwise that may be. But in our generation, to be graduating from a place like this under these conditions becomes an exceptional privilege. When you ponder the intellectual starvation that has gone on, and still goes on, over large areas of civilization there must be a double satisfaction in your own advantages and in the successful use that you have made of them. Particularly for those veterans among you whose years at Dalhousie were hard-won amid the dust of battle, I know that these must have seemed Elysian fields.

But much more important than the peace and relative comfort that you have enjoyed here is the richness of your surroundings, the purity of the atmosphere, the depth of the spiritual soil in this seed-bed of Canadianism. The memories of Dalhousie are old memories, and its traditions ripe. As a member of the Canadian Bar I pride myself today on having become a graduate of the oldest law school in Canada. In the light of that happy union of Dalhousie with King's College in 1923, I trust that I may count myself also a foster-son of the oldest

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university in Canada, the most ancient British University outside the British Isles.

Of course, age is not the only thing one seeks to discern in one's Alma Mater. She must be venerable too, clear of purpose, bold and mature in spirit; and all these qualities Dalhousie has, in full measure.

I understand that her beginnings were not untroubled. They could hardly have been, when you consider the ferment of French and Loyalist and Scottish elements out of which this free institution emerged. If one contemplates the ingredients of that early Nova Scotian society, he recognizes there the beginnings of a culture that today is identified as Canadian, and could be described by no other term. Perhaps the hallmark then and now was honest views firmly held. If those views were sometimes widely and stubbornly different, the gradual blending of them has produced in our time a liberality of view that I like to think of, also, as distinctively Canadian. Dalhousie was free and public before Oxford and Cambridge. In a period of monopoly and privilege, she fostered equality and tolerance. Like her great prototype Edinburgh she has maintained an independence and integrity of thought which has left its wholesome mark on succeeding generations.

If all this intellectual virtue had been confined within the boundaries of Nova Scotia or the Maritime Provinces alone, it would be difficult to imagine what miracle of civilization such a high concentration of culture, intelligence, Scottish thrift and financial ability might have accomplished within this favoured region. But destiny has had it otherwise.

Just as, in ancient times, the tribesmen from beyond the Danube shifted westward in succeeding waves over a complacent and unsuspecting Europe, so have successive classes of Dalhousie graduates (and with perhaps not wholly dissimilar motives) moved westward across Canada, so that the benefit of Dalhousie's teaching has been a leaven to the whole of our national life; and wherever you go throughout the other provinces today you will find Dalhousie men directing their destinies and frequently in possession of most of their assets.

I salute that tradition of intelligent enterprise. I commend it to you who go forth from this university today. I am happy to feel that I myself have today become one of its heirs.

Now, as to the road you are to travel. It would be a pleasant thing for me if I could inform you that the weather is set fair, the highway clear and straight before you and the green light up. I am sorry you cannot be given any such report, and I know that you would not have the picture falsified. This is still a troubled world. But I would not have you view that fact with dismay. What your country, and your civilization look for in the graduates of 1947 are not despondent Hamlets bemoaning their responsibilities, but men and women prepared to think for themselves and for others, and to bear the consequences of their thinking.

Remember that within the span of your own experience you have seen the very fabric of our civilization rescued from hideous and desperate peril, (and it is to me an impressive circumstance that I should be speaking today in the presence of

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one who twice, in our darkest hours, was the rallying point of the slender forces that stood between us and ultimate defeat.) Let us not forget in the midst of our current anxiety that a great victory has been won by the brave deeds of our brothers; and the world is free to move forward, if it will, into a brighter era than it has ever known before. I for one, have faith that in these swiftly-changing times there will be courage and wisdom to guide us through the difficulties and dangers that still beset us.

What, precisely, are these difficulties and dangers? There is a school of thought which reasons that war is man's most ingrained social habit, that with the advent of the "A-Bomb" and other new weapons, this habit has suddenly become dangerous to the existence of the species; and that we must break that habit now or face the probable extinction of civilization if not the human race itself. It may well be so. I myself have sometimes felt that the trouble lay chiefly in the inability of the Atlantic Conference to present us with a fifth freedom - freedom from mutual suspicion and distrust.

The facts of the situation are fairly simple. We have split the atom; and those who are qualified to instruct us on the subject say that this will engender the most sweeping change that has occurred in man's environment since he first brought fire under his control in the caves of Eastern Asia and Western Europe some half a million years ago. They tell us that we stand on the threshold of a new epoch; and we are compelled to ask whether we are equipped to enter it.

The crux of that question seems to lie in the anomaly that, while science has progressed to the point of tapping the very elemental forces of nature, man's social conscience has only just advanced to the point where it is prepared to concede that the slaughter of one's own kind is not defensible, even when it is perpetrated on an international scale, and on ideological grounds.

I am not speaking of the right of national self-defense. That is another matter. But always in the past man has been prepared to accept war as a necessary and even logical extension of diplomacy in the settlement of international differences. As between nations, we have, through the years, built up quite a body of civil law, which has been more or less operative; we still lack an effective international criminal code. As between nations, we have not emerged from barbarism in the sense of trial by combat, and we still give tacit assent to the concept that Heaven and justice are on the side of the big battalions.

I said "as between nations". You and I would be shocked to hear of a bank robbery in which the police made no effort to hinder or apprehend the culprit. It does not seem that the world was so shocked over Japan's aggression against China or even Hitler's march into Austria. The public conscience does not react to the same degree on the subject of violence as between nations.

Here lies our danger. Not across the seas or even beyond our borders; but within the nature of man and of human society.

In the few swift centuries during which we have built this amazing structure of material civilization we have lagged in the supreme purpose of civilization: the substitution

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of reason for violence in every aspect of human relations. With all our noble traditions of democracy and freedom, the introduction of the rule of law as between nations is still in its experimental stages.

That work is going forward. In the United Nations we have the beginnings of a structure which may, in time, lead on to "the parliament of man, the Federation of the world". You are well aware that those beginnings have been fraught with difficulty; and at times I have felt that the discussions we engaged in chiefly reflected those very human weaknesses that I have just been discussing. But without any wishful thinking I can tell you that I left the Assembly at New York last winter in a spirit of sober confidence; and when the Assembly meets again I am sure it will be with a full expectation of further progress - sound and continued progress. That progress may be slow at times - slow to the point of exasperation. But so long as there is progress, let us not despair or give way to futile impatience.

The machinery of peace, however, is not, in itself, enough. I for one, believe that no law is enforceable, and that no measures can endure unless they have the backing of the public conscience. And our efforts toward a permanent peace and world stability need the support of an aroused and world-wide public conscience more than any other single thing.

If all this sounds a little sententious, let me remind you that the scientists themselves - the very scientists who were responsible for production of the atomic bomb - have seen as clearly as anyone else the need for spiritual defences against this awful weapon; the fact is that there seems to be no other ultimate defence. And I think that this is an appropriate place to stress the point that our problems are basically spiritual - the sort of place where that can be best understood.

Education, as Dalhousie has long insisted, is, in the last analysis, a civilizing process, a training of the intellect, an elevation of the spirit in that realm of ideals which distinguishes man from the brute: and because it is so, scholarship carries with it a responsibility far beyond the common claims of citizenship. You who graduate here today take with you academic attainments which you have won, it is true, by your own effort; but not without some labour and faith on the part of your professors, not without some assistance from society at large. Just as those attainments represent a permanent and unfailing asset for the rest of your lives, they represent also a permanent and inviolable pledge to society that you will play your part in the advancement of its cause.

This is the supreme task of our time - not merely the abolition of war but the substitution of reason and justice for violence at every level of human society. For peace that is not based on reason and justice is no peace and cannot long endure. You go out into a world that is committed to the high enterprise of raising human society above the level of brute conflict. With or without your consent you are to be part of the greatest political adventure of history. It may seem a dangerous adventure: it will certainly be a magnificent achievement to make it succeed.

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If the men and women of all the world's universities were fully seized of these facts and their own implied responsibility, there would be no doubt as to the future. We could look beyond our present perplexities to a new world, a new flowering of civilization rising out of the ashes of the past to redress the evils and tribulations through which mankind have struggled in recent years.

As for the men and women of Dalhousie, I feel no uncertainty. I know that you will rise to the occasion, each of you ready to assume his full share in this great undertaking, each helping to carry it forward, under God's providence, to a glorious conclusion.

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FOR RELEASE: IN MORNING PAPERS OF
WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1947.

ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE L.S. ST-LAURENT AT THE DALHOUSIE CONVOCATION DINNER, NOVA SCOTIAN HOTEL, HALIFAX ON THE EVENING OF TUESDAY, MAY 13th.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, My Lords and Governors, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When President Kerr advised me that I had been chosen to receive an honorary degree at your Convocation today - and that it would be in such distinguished company - I appreciated that a great honour was being conferred upon me. When Dr. Kerr further proposed that I should give the Convocation address this afternoon, I recognized that the honour was coupled with a rare privilege.

When a little later it was suggested that I should speak not once, but twice on this very happy occasion, I must confess that I felt somewhat overwhelmed. But I was reminded too of all that I have heard, from childhood, of the hardihood - the traditional tough fiber - of Nova Scotians. I recalled how well those qualities had been exemplified by my old friend and your Premier, Angus L. Macdonald during his arduous wartime tour of duty as Minister of the Navy, and also perhaps on some more recent occasions. And I concluded that here, in this willingness to listen to me twice, was further proof that Nova Scotians can take a lot.

At the same time I realized that, since the topic suggested for me was higher education, I in turn was expected to display either considerable boldness or a great deal of discretion. For education, as I need not remind you, is a matter which the British North America Act has reserved to the jurisdiction of the provinces; and any member of the Federal Cabinet who comes to a provincial capital to discuss a provincial topic in these days of somewhat unsettled Dominion-Provincial relations is obviously confronted with assorted opportunities of putting his foot in it.

I have, meanwhile however, been somewhat strengthened by this day's events.

If it be true, as I have always understood, that a Canadian to be properly equipped for life with his fellows, should (a) have been born in Nova Scotia, (b) have been brought up on a balanced diet of oatmeal porridge and the shorter catechism and (c) be a graduate of Dalhousie University, then my credentials when I arrived this morning were poor indeed. But in the course of the day, the last and greatest of these omissions has been repaired.

It may have taken me a long time to qualify; I have reached Dalhousie's fold as a belated and doubtful straggler, but today I was accepted into it; and I stand before you as the foster son of your great and ancient University. Without that I should not have had the courage to discuss education - higher or otherwise - before such a company as this.

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There are, however, certain things that can be said on the subject without fear of trespass or challenge, here or elsewhere, even by a Minister from Ottawa. And they can be said quite briefly.

One of them is that education means more to the world now than at any previous time in history.

Human society stands today on the threshold of what might well be described as geological changes in its environment. The scientists have no hesitation in warning us that unless we are prudent and careful those changes may be volcanic in their violence. We need, more than ever before, the guidance of humane, practical and cultivated minds throughout the political and social life of the world.

Canada, as an individual country, has more to seek from education today than ever before. The last three centuries have been a period of exploration and discovery - discovery of the immense resources and potentialities of this rich and lovely land, and, during recent years especially, the revelation to others as well as to ourselves of the magnificent qualities of heart and mind with which this land has endowed its children.

Now we are embarking on a new era which should witness the ~~martialing~~ marshalling, the development, the utilization of our resources on a scale that would not have been imagined a few years ago - an era which seems certain to bring Canada to a position of prominence, influence and responsibility among the nations far in advance of anything that past generations had ever anticipated.

The truth of this is widely recognized; but perhaps we ought to remind ourselves that there are conditions upon which the happy and successful development of our nation is still contingent. One of them, perhaps the most important, is the standard of intelligence among our own population. If we are to develop our material resources wisely and effectively we must continue to develop our young men and women to the full extent of their powers. A great nation is really great only in the quality of the men and women who compose it.

Now among human beings there is no single source of excellence. There are exceptions to every rule, and one must be happy to accept and admire merit wherever one finds it. But generally speaking it is to the school and the university that any progressive country chiefly looks for the wholesome development and advancement of its young people. Generally speaking, no country rises much above the level of its standards of education, nor, except in abnormal cases like that of Hitler's Germany, falls far below it. Would anyone question that there is a definite link between our own good record of well-being and progress in Canada and the good record of our educational institutions? I am sure, at least, that no one will question the relationship between the high standard of political and social life you have attained here in Nova Scotia, and the excellence of your schools.

Looking to the future, Dalhousie has just embarked upon a campaign to finance a post-war programme of development calculated to provide those requirements which may enable her to continue into the future that high role she has traditionally played in the life of her province and the life of the nation. The objective set may appear to be large; but

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it will not sound quite so large to Canadians today as it would have ten years ago. It is far from large as compared with the price we have paid in recent years for the preservation of those very things for which Dalhousie and our other universities stand.

I have no doubts as to the success of this campaign and it needs no endorsement from me, but I should like the privilege of being joined with those who are commending it as supremely worthy of support at this juncture in the progress of Nova Scotia and Canada.

There is no better provision we could make at this point for the future glory of our country than the enlargement of her educational resources. There could be no more worthy memorial to those who so lately were giving up their lives in defence of her integrity.

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The Prime Minister
file

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

C228940

No. 4

Text of the address made on October 7, 1947, at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, by the Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I wish, first of all, to assure you that I take great pleasure in being here this evening and of having the opportunity of greeting you both as a member of the Canadian Government and as an almost lifelong resident of the City of Quebec.

As a member of the Government I wish to assure you that we are deeply appreciative of the services being rendered to the economy of the Canadian Nation by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the four hundred and fifty, or more, Boards of Trade and Local Chambers of Commerce which bring together in one great body the men and women of Canada who are most active in her industrial, financial and commercial enterprises.

It would, of course, be almost an impertinence for anyone to express thanks to the others for what they are doing in that regard. We are all equally interested in the result and as far as each one is concerned, his own affairs are so intimately linked up with the affairs of the whole Canadian economy that it is only natural and proper he should be doing everything he can to maintain and stabilize the rythm of that economy.

And as a citizen of Quebec, it is a privilege to be here and to extend to each of you most cordial greetings and thus have some part in that process which is gradually bringing Canadians from one ocean to the other closer together and making them more conscious of the fact that they are all of one country and that each section has its part to play in the well being of the whole.

When I was first invited to attend this dinner I was not sure that it would be possible for me to do so; it seemed I might have to be away attending the General Assembly of the United Nations. I therefore suggested to your President that he should invite someone else to be the principal speaker. He complied with my suggestion and my Colleague, Mr. Martin, is the one who had to burn the midnight oil on the preparation of the speech for this evening.

On the other hand, Mr. Ilsley is doing my work for me down at Lake Success and here I am getting all the breaks. I will be able to learn in a few minutes from Mr. Martin quite a lot about one of the principal activities of my Department during the last months and to do it much more easily than if I had to dig it out of the files and documents myself. Instead of having to do a lot of similar work to get material together for a speech of my own, your President assured me that you would be quite satisfied with something like half a speech and even allow that half to be made up of things still quite fresh in my mind as a result of my recent attendance at the meeting of the United Nations at Flushing and Lake Success.

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It requires no extensive research to enable one to come to the conclusion that things are not going well with the United Nations. The attitude of our Russian friends, though perhaps not surprising, has certainly been disappointing, one might almost say exasperating.

I have said that it was not surprising because it has been from the very first stubbornly consistent. At the International Conferences, while the War was on, it appeared quite natural to Stalin that all the important decisions be made by himself, by Churchill and by Roosevelt. When Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt suggested a United Nations organization, Mr. Stalin agreed, but stipulated that the organization would have nothing to do with the peace terms to be imposed upon our former enemies and these terms would be determined by the foreign ministers of the big three, which might become the big four if France joined them. He also stipulated that the United Nations would only act through a Security Council and that no important decision in the Security Council could be made without the concurrence of his representatives i.e. that each of the big powers would have an absolute veto.

When the rest of us signed the United Nation Charter at San Francisco we had to accept these conditions and we did accept them after it had been stated by representatives of the big powers, in the presence of the Russian delegates, that no one of them would use his right of veto except in the interest of the United Nations as a whole. Since then, the Russian representatives have used it over twenty times and, as a consequence, they have made the Security Council practically unworkable as the main instrument of the United Nations to secure and maintain peace. That is apparently what they want and they are now waxing very indignant over what they call the efforts of the United States, the United Kingdom and the powers friendly to them to by pass the United Nations and get something accomplished in spite of their vetoes.

I say again that this is not surprising because we have long known that the attitude of the Russians is to insist that "no international question can be solved correctly and justly if an attempt is made to solve it without the Soviet Union, or against its interests". Now, it is perfectly clear that the Soviet Union wishes to see what it calls Capitalistic Regimes destroyed and Communistic Totalitarism established everywhere.

It is also obvious that the physical destruction brought about by the war in Europe will result in the total collapse of European economies if some further substantial assistance is not forthcoming from the new world. The Russians feel that this collapse would facilitate the extension of their communistic regimes and they are, therefore, doing everything in their power to prevent the new world from extending any further assistance to Europe. That is one explanation of the vitriolic demagogy uttered by Mr. Vichinsky at Flushing Meadows a few days ago and it is one of the reasons why the Commintern has again raised its head on the European scene. There are communists in practically every country of continental Europe and in order to help them in their struggle for power and domination, it is felt useful to give them public encouragement. That should increase their self confidence and also their confidence in the prospects of success.

The line taken by Mr. Vichinsky at this assembly and echoed by the satellite slavic powers is by no means new. For months past, a Government controlled Press and Radio in the Soviet Union have been hammering out the theme that the United States is preparing to attack U.S.S.R. This propaganda has been carried on in an area fenced by the most powerful censorship and the most rigorous control of opinion which the world has ever known. It has been designed to create the steriotype of a gigantic and powerful capitalistic country bent upon destroying governments set up by the working classes and piling up atomic bombs for eventual use against Soviet Union at the most propitious time. The

/reactions

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reactions aroused by Mr. Vichinsky's speech were at once relayed to Moscow and displayed in the Soviet Press. Is it not fair to assume that Mr. Vichinsky knowing that everything which can be regarded as news gets wide publicity in the papers of the North American continent, deliberately planned to thus secure some evidence for domestic consumption of the validity of the line which the Soviet Government has been pursuing for months past.

The second and perhaps even more important purpose of this campaign may very well have been to endeavour to frighten certain portions of public opinion on the North American continent about the possibility of United States intervention in Europe ultimately leading to war and thereby prevent acceptance by the public and by Congress of the Truman and Marshall plans for aid to Europe. Without such aid it is reasonable for Russians to expect that the regimes based upon private ownership and private enterprise will collapse and give way to regimentation by communistic bureaucrats and that Governments modeled on theirs will in fact be subserviant to Moscow's influence and only too willing to implement that higher loyalty which Moscow seems able to inspire in those it has trained in its communistic institutions.

Now, all this is not merely a matter of ideology; it has become a very concrete problem for each one of us. We, in Canada, have an economy based upon the principle of multilateral trade and multilateral currency conversion. We buy from the United States commodities to the value of hundreds of millions of dollars more than we sell in that market and unless we can use the surpluses from our sales to other countries to pay for our United States purchases, we will have to cease making these purchases. We are, therefore, vitally concerned in the prompt restoration of European economies and in the removal of those troublesome threats to peace and stability which block the path to such restoration, and it was not merely words I was speaking when I said to the General Assembly the other day on behalf of the Canadian Delegation:

"The fact remains, however, that these problems must be solved and that procedures and practices which obstruct such solutions must be changed. This can be done by the voluntary abandonment of these practices; by agreed conventions or understandings which will regulate them; or, if necessary, by amendments to the Charter. We must hope that no member of the Security Council will flout clearly expressed world opinion by obstinately preventing change and thus become responsible for prejudicing, and possibly destroying, the Organization which is now man's greatest hope for the future.

Nations, in their search for peace and cooperation will not and cannot accept indefinitely and unaltered a Council which was set up to ensure their security, and which, so many feel, has become frozen in futility, and divided by dissension. If forced, they may seek greater safety in an association of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for greater national security. Such associations, if consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter, can be formed within the United Nations. It is to be hoped that such a development will not be necessary. If it is unnecessary it will be undesirable. If, however, it is made necessary, it will take place. Let us not forget that the provisions of the Charter are a floor under, rather than a ceiling over, the responsibilities of member states. If some prefer to go even below that floor, others need not be prevented from moving upwards."

Since then, we have been elected to membership on the Security Council. Our conduct there will be along the lines of the above cited statement. We will go to the most extreme limits to make the United Nations work as a universal one world organization, and I still hope we

/can

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can do it. We are the majority in numbers, we possess the greatest production capacity, we possess the strongest armaments and we have on our side the freedoms that seem so indispensable to the true nature of God made men. We are willing to devote all that to the welfare and uplifting of all men. But if theory crazed totalitarism groups persist in their policies of frustration and futility we will not, for very much longer, allow them to prevent us from using our obvious advantages to improve the conditions of those who do wish to cooperate with us and thereby overcome the difficulties we ourselves are experiencing from the present disruption in the normal flow of trade and the normal exchanges of specialized services between nations and between their respective peoples.

To overcome those difficulties, Governments may have to resort to some measures of regimentation and direction of the economies of their peoples and if and when that is done the efficiency and real helpfulness of those measures will depend upon the manner in which they appeal to you and to the other informed members of our Canadian public.

You may be assured this whole problem is being given and will continue to be given the most careful consideration by the government and by those from whom it takes expert advice in that regard. We are not going to jump at hasty conclusions, but we are not going to stand idly by and allow situations to develop to the point where they would be apt to be irremediable.

We will count upon your whole hearted cooperation and I am sure that if our policies are wisely conceived and put forward in a truly constructive way, we will all be able to rise above considerations of ordinary partizan politics and push them forward with the same patriotic fervor and unselfish unanimity that characterized our national efforts during the strenuous days of the shooting war. Those days are over but we still have with us the profound dislocations which they brought about and those dislocations have got to be dealt with in the same unselfish spirit that gave us victory in the shooting war. It can be done. Let us, each one of us, make it our business individually and collectively, to see that it is done.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

FOR RELEASE AT 2 P.M. ON FEB. 27.

SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN APPEAL FOR CHILDREN, AT THE CHATEAU LAURIER, OTTAWA, ON FEBRUARY 27, 1948.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Joint Campaign Executive, ladies and gentlemen of the Canadian Councils for the United Nations Appeal for Children and for Reconstruction through UNESCO:

I am grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for your very amiable words of introduction, and in turn it is my pleasant duty on behalf of my colleagues in the Government, as well as personally, to welcome you here to Ottawa, and to express our good wishes for the success of your meetings. As may be observed from the radio, from the cancellation marks on our letters and from the editorial and news pages of the newspapers, your campaign is in full swing; and from all I can gather it is being conducted with energy and with ingenuity.

It is to me, ladies and gentlemen, one of the most reassuring aspects of our particular way of life that busy and able men and women are prepared to give so generously of their time and devotion to voluntary public service of this nature. I am prepared to believe, from reading the list of organizations represented at this meeting, that your opinions on all aspects of Canadian life may not be completely unanimous. One could perhaps go farther, and say that before us now are many good friends who are sharply in opposition to one another in many matters, even in politics, although here, of course, each is quite sure there can be only one really sound view. Now, in spite of these differences you are gathered here, united by one common and generous purpose - to direct what surely must be one of the greatest voluntary campaigns in our Canadian experience - a campaign to raise funds for the relief of children in other lands cruelly devastated by war. At the thought of the pitiful need of millions of the world's children, whatever differences we may have disappear; and in our common purpose we find complete harmony of view and entire co-operation in effort.

I have said that this common purpose which brings together citizens of varied beliefs and differing views and dissimilar convictions is, to me, a reassuring thing. And it is heartening to think that in at least twenty-five other lands men and women have formed organizations similar to yours, to do all that can be done to help the innocent victims of war. It is indeed not easy to recall a time when citizens of so many countries have been thus united for a great and generous and peaceful purpose. In a world that harbors so many bitter rivalries and menacing fears, here in this Appeal for Children is encouraging evidence that at least a large part of mankind can be moved to take common action for a simple and a good objective.

In this Canadian Appeal for Children we can observe in action on a national scale that co-operation of citizens which, it is our hope, may sometime mark all <u>international</u> activities. I do not suppose that this Campaign has been launched without discussion, or without a pooling of many different views by people of good-will, who for all their differences were prepared to temper their own views to secure that common objective, which all held to be worthwhile -- help and comfort for children.

/That....

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That is our great task to-day: to transfer to the international scene that readiness to compromise and to co-operate which springs from the conviction that the end in view is worthwhile, so completely worthwhile that nothing can stem our determination to achieve it. In this great Appeal which you have undertaken, you are engaged not only on the generous task of helping the helpless children of the world: you are also establishing a pattern for the community effort of the world's neighbours.

You are all painfully aware that we have still a long way to go before we realize in practice that sense of common objective which can give courage and hope and strength to our efforts as neighbours of one world. For a generation now there has been hate and fear and jealousy and suspicion, as never before in history; and we cannot expect that these evils can be stopped at once. But there is much to encourage us: the specialized agencies of the United Nations are making progress with world problems of food, of refugees, of international trade; and in many technical matters, such as aviation and shipping, a basis has been laid for fairly wide co-operation. The sessions of the World Health Organization have been remarkable for their noteworthy spirit of unanimity; and this world-wide Appeal of which you are the Canadian part suggests that, if indeed hunger and disease recognize no frontiers, kindliness and generosity are equally cosmopolitan.

So, Mr. Chairman, again I wish you and your Committees all success in the Canadian Appeal for Children: it is a fine cause which you have undertaken; and in working together as citizens of this land, you are showing how men and women may yet work together as good citizens of a world at peace.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

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Miss Moore told me this morning you had asked her to ascertain whether Mr. St. Laurent had been duly appointed as Acting Prime Minister. As Mr. Heeney is not in the office, I inquired from Mr. Hill, who tells me that the Order in Council appointing Mr. St.Laurent Acting Prime Minister is still in force.

J. W. P.

14th August, 1948.

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P.C.4080

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 10th September, 1948

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, advise that during the absence from Ottawa of the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, the Right Honourable Louis S. St.Laurent be authorized to act as Prime Minister and President of the King's Privy Council for Canada.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 10th September, 1948.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, advise that a Commission under the Great Seal of Canada do issue appointing the Right Honourable Louis Stephen St. Laurent, a member of the King's Privy Council for Canada, to be Minister of Justice.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA

130 Queen Street Ottawa

THE GOVERNMENT LEADER.

The story of the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, by Bruce Hutchison, published in the Saskatoon Star - Phoenix, January 31, 1949.

-For a prime minister, under our system, parliament is the acid test. A man may be wise in council, popular on the hustings and skilled in the management of party organization, but if he cannot control the delicate chemistry of parliament he must fail as prime minister.

The acid test of the Canadian parliament is about to be applied to Mr. St. Laurent. In it the man behind the reputation will soon emerge. And as long as he heads it, the politics of Canada will be largely the image of that man.

If the character of Mr. St.Laurent is largely obscured by the reputation it is mainly his own fault. A curious shyness, unknown in any of his recent predecessors, unconsciously distorts his portrait in the public mind. At first meeting with a stranger this shyness is maintained as a kind of protective armour, but not for long. Within five minutes it drops off suddenly to reveal the composite thing we call the Canadian, the authentic article by birth, instinct and environment.

Authentic because Mr. St. Laurent comes from the two great bloodstreams of the Canadian race, out of the oldest inhabited soil of our country, from ancestors who have known nothing but Canada for three hundred years, from the environment of poverty, danger and struggle in the Canadian wilderness which has made us what we are.

By accident only Mr. St. Laurent is Prime Minister, the most improbable accident in our political history and one of the most fortunate. By nature he remains the product of the village with a tenacious grip on the earth.

The fortunes of his trade as a lawyer and, briefly, as a politician have surrounded his life with abstract problems but its essential interest is in human beings, its only pleasure in small domestic things. He is first the family man, the father and grandfather, the head of the bustling house, and secondly the public figure.

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No one could be less aware of the harsh light which beats on public office. He is not aware of it enough. He takes you into his office as he might ask a neighbor into the house for a chat.

He seems to have plenty of time. He works on paper at an unparalleled speed for he has been long trained to paper work. With people his pace is leisurely. Instead of handing out opinions he is likely to cross-examine his interviewer. He gives the impression of a man who is learning all the time in a field which he did not enter until he was past middle-age.

For information about every section of the country, about all kinds of people and all the minutiae of a broad and lonely nation he is insatiable. With all his education, his experience in the law and his participation in great events, his process of education is still full under way. His colleagues and assistants say he learns fast. Their problem is to keep up with him.

In private life he reduces all the complexities of the budget, for instance, to the dimensions of a cracker-barrel argument in the village store. When he talks of social reforms they are no longer a bloodless calculation on a ledger, but the actual effect of our changing society of individual human beings.

How much taxes can the ordinary man afford to pay? How much state assistance does he need or want? What is happening to the ordinary family, to the husband, the wife and the child? Not to a vague process called the national economy - these are the things that Mr. St Laurent likes to talk about.

He does not talk about them in the formal language which he uses in Parliament and, too often, on the public platform, but in a brisk, earthy colloquialism The sentences are well formed but short. The accent shows no trace of French, but some faint trace of his mother's Irish brogue.

The gestures, the sweep of the hand, the hunch of the shoulders are French. The face is that of a man accustomed to the outdoors, usually colored by a walk in the wind from the Laurentians.

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The surroundings of ancient furniture, the oil portraits of the great, the pressure of business, the colleagues impatient to see him, the bustling secretaries, do not hurry his talk or divert it from small things, or rather from big things reduced to convenient compass.

hen such a man comes to power, unwillingly almost, unwittingly because he was obviously the right man, without serious competitor, his rise must be a symbol of some deep stirring in the stuff of Canada.

It is more as such a symbol than as a personal achievement that Mr St. Laurent's career is one of the most significant in our entire history.

It is significant because a man regarded as a French-Canadian has risen above all racial friction to become the leader of the nation. That happened once before in the very different personality of Laurier. The significance of Mr. St Laurent in the stream of our history goes much further, for he is the French Canadian out of isolationist Quebec who, along with the late Ernest Lapointe, has done so much to destroy isolationism as a theory and a fact.

His career, in that sense, is no accident, but the revelation of historic forces beyond his or any man's control. His achievement was not in creating these forces but in recognizing them suddenly, late in life, when most men's minds are closed, and in guiding them with a sure hand.

When Mr St. Laurent entered politics against his wishes he was at the time of life when a man is usually settled in his ways, resists change and longs for the better days of his youth. Mr. St. Laurent takes things cheerfully as they come with a boundless optimism. The prospect does not disturb him. He does not expect the world or Canadian society to be cast in any clear mould of the left or right. His search is always for the practical thing, as it turns up day by day. Labels do not interest him very much.

The highly practical, you might almost call it amateur, approach to public problems, was seen most clearly in his sponsorship of the trans-Atlantic defence system. It did not come to him as a theory or an inspiration. It appeared to him only as a practical alternative to the early hopes of the United Nations.

Having thought the thing through alone, and against strong opposition, he proposed Canada's adherence to the trans-Atlantic pact because it seemed likely to work and for the moment, there was nothing better in sight.

How comes it that the largest decision of modern Canadian life was precipitated by a new man untried in our politics where men of experience and training were afraid to face it.

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The answer is quite obvious, given the back-ground of the Prime Minister. Forced overnight to grapple with problems he had never understood and hardly considered during most of his life he did his own homework and came up with his own conclusions.

At the critical moment Canadian policy and Canadian history were made, not by a theorist in an ivory tower, not by a legal draughtsman, not by a politician counting votes, but by a small town boy of peasant stock who had always seen things clearly and seen them whole.

In the howling confusion of politics in Washington, London, Ottawa and Lake Success, he was never thrown off balance because he had been compelled all his life to make up his own mind.

Therein will be found the key to Mr. St. Laurent's character and to his work as prime minister. The key is his ability to sort out the essential from the trivial, to see great affairs in simple terms. His mind, so unlike Mr. King's, is rapid but never complicated.

Unlike Lord Bennett's it is uninterested in its public effect but solely in the problem before it. Unlike Mr. Meighen's (which it resembles in its speed and precision) it is instinctively aware of public opinion, the limitation of government power, the possible thing in practical politics. Unlike Laurier's it works, as it were, in prose and not in poetry.

All this makes for a stable and a happy man. Mr. St. Laurent is certainly the most stable and probably the happiest in Ottawa. This is evident in his unlined and ruddy face, his constant chuckle, his unhurried speech, his merciful ignorance of tension. He does the best he knows how, day by day, and goes to bed to sleep well.

If there is no complexity in this character there is precious little personal ambition either. In the frenzied grasping for power, which is the ordinary life of any political capital, he stands strangely apart.

Power came to him unsought and though he has learned how to use it, he does not particularly enjoy it. Certainly he is not impressed by it and it will never touch his inner life.

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S ch a man is now to undergo the test of parliament. But parliament itself will be tested in the process. We shall now see St. Laurent, the qualities of simplicity, frankness and homeliness, are the qualities which parliament wants in a national leader.

A ter several prime ministers who were total variations from our national character, sports out of our breed, we shall now see the trial of the most typical Canadian of his time.

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Remind Mr. King

C228954

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
130 Queen Street
OTTAWA

RT. HON. LOUIS ST. LAURENT

Leader of the Liberal Party

and Prime Minister of Canada

will broadcast to the nation

on

"Canada: An Adult Nation"

Thursday evening, Feb. 3 [1949]

C.B.C. TRANS-CANADA NETWORK

Eastern Network 7.45 P.M. Eastern Standard Time
8.45 P.M. Atlantic Standard Time

Western Network 10.00 P.M. Central Standard Time
9.00 P.M. Mountain Standard Time
8.00 P.M. Pacific Standard Time

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C228955

CANADA CLUB 1810

To :

All Members of The Canada Club

On January 6th the Honorary Secretary on behalf of the Committee and Members extended an Invitation to The Rt. Hon, Louis S. St. Laurent, M.P. Prime Minister of Canada, to become an Honorary Member of the Club.

On January 11th, Mr. St. Laurent replied stating that he was very pleased and honoured to accept the invitation and wishing all of us a Happy New Year.

On behalf of the Committee,
C. B. COWLEY,
Honorary Secretary

Gresham House,
Old Broad Street,
London, E.C.2.

February 9th, 1949.

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Mr King to see

C228956

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
130 Queen Street
OTTAWA

RT. HON. LOUIS ST. LAURENT

Leader of the Liberal Party

and Prime Minister of Canada

will broadcast to the nation

on

"The Liberal Party and Social Security"

Thursday evening, December 16 [1949]

C.B.C. TRANS-CANADA NETWORK

Eastern Network 7.45 P.M. Eastern Standard Time

8.45 P.M. Atlantic Standard Time

Western Network 10.00 P.M. Central Standard Time

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MD

P.C.3731 C228957 C.30 1946

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 4th September, 1946. D-12 1946 (44 Corp)

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, advise that a Commission under the Great Seal of Canada do issue appointing the Right Honourable Louis S. St.Laurent, a Member of the King's Privy Council for Canada, to be Secretary of State for External Affairs, vice the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, resigned.

The Committee, on the same recommendation further advise that upon the said the Right Honourable Louis S. St.Laurent having taken the prescribed oath or oaths he do assume the functions of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

A. D. P. Heeney

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister

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PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 30th day of October, 1947.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, advise that during the absence from Ottawa of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, be authorized to act as Prime Minister.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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file

C228959

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KING:

Mr. George Sakellaridis, of Athens, Greece, called at Laurier House today, and left the enclosed card. He has been in Ottawa for the past month, and was very sorry he had missed you. I explained that you would be out in the country for some time, and that I would send along his card to you with his good wishes. He came back to say he was staying at the Chateau Lafayette (a Greek hotel on York Street).

L.B.
June 28

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3. Salaries Act - C228960

file 7 Mo.

(a) The draft Bill to amend the Department of National Defence Act makes provision for the salaries of the new Defence Ministers, including that of the Minister of National Defence for Air. The only salary, therefore, for which provision requires to be made is that of the Minister of National War Services. A Bill to amend the Salaries Act, for this purpose, is attached.

P-652.2 1940

M-305-61 1940

(b) A copy of a draft Resolution to precede the introduction of the Bill, is attached.

Note - Mr. Power is of opinion that the Salaries Act might be subject to more general revision later in the Session.

A. D. P. H.

Read July

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C228961

122

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re AMENDMENT TO SALARIES ACT

Re Motor Car Allowance for Ministers of the Crown

Mr. Knowles raised the question at pages 4989-4990 of Hansard July 14th, as to whether the new Ministers would automatically receive a motor car allowance.

The motor car allowance is provided by statutory authority by virtue of Appropriation Act No. 5, Chap. 61 of the Statutes of 1931, Vote No. 352.

The relevant portion of the item reads as follows:

> 352 - To provide for payment annually from the Consolidated Fund of the sum of $2,000 to each Minister of the Crown charged with the administration of a department, the Solicitor General, and the Leader of the Opposition, and the sum of $1,000 each to the Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons, in lieu of their motor cars and their maintenance, including chauffeurs, the acceptance of such sums not to vacate their respective seats in Parliament; ...

In other words, each Minister of the Crown in charge of a department of government is by Statute entitled to a motor car allowance of $2,000.

J. W. P.

July 15, 1944.
JWP/LAB

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C228962

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: AMENDMENT TO SALARIES ACT

I am informed by the Law Clerk of the House of Commons that advantage was taken of this amendment to "tidy up" the Act by substitution of:

1. Minister of Transport for Minister of Railways and Canals

2. Minister of Mines and Resources for Minister of the Interior.

The Salaries Act was not amended when those Departments were created in 1936, because the Acts creating them provided for the substitution in all existing Statutes. The amendment is not legally necessary in the present Bill, but does bring its language up-to-date.

J. W. P.

July 15, 1944.
JWP/LAB

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C228963

160.

Fifth Session, Nineteenth Parliament, 8 George VI, 1944.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL 160.

An Act to amend the Salaries Act.

First reading, July 14, 1944.

THE PRIME MINISTER.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
10080 1944

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C228964

C228965

5th Session, 19th Parliament, 8 George VI, 1944.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL 160.

An Act to amend the Salaries Act.

R.S., c. 182; 1930, c. 40; 1931, c. 12; 1939 (2nd Sess.), c. 7; 1940, c. 40.

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

1. Section four of the *Salaries Act*, chapter one hundred and eighty-two of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, as amended by section one of chapter forty of the statutes of 1930, by section one of chapter seven of the statutes of 1939 (second session), and by section one of chapter forty of the statutes of 1940, is repealed and the following substituted therefor:—

Salaries of ministers.

"**4.** The salaries of the following ministers, members of the King's Privy Council for Canada, shall be as follows, that is to say:—

	Per Annum
The Member of the King's Privy Council holding the recognized position of First Minister	$15,000
The Minister of Justice and Attorney General	10,000
The Minister of National Defence	10,000
The Minister of National Revenue	10,000
The Minister of Finance	10,000
The Minister of Transport	10,000
The Minister of Public Works	10,000
The Minister of Mines and Resources	10,000
The President of the King's Privy Council for Canada	10,000
The Minister of Fisheries	10,000
The Postmaster General	10,000
The Minister of Agriculture	10,000
The Secretary of State of Canada	10,000
The Minister of Trade and Commerce	10,000
The Minister of Labour	10,000

Explanatory Note.

"The Minister of Transport" (underlined on the opposite page) is substituted for "The Minister of Railways and Canals". *See* section 3 of *The Department of Transport Act, 1936* (ch. 34).

"The Minister of Mines and Resources" is substituted for "The Minister of the Interior". *See* section 9 of *The Department of Mines and Resources Act.* (1936, c. 33).

"The Minister of National Health and Welfare", "The Minister of Veterans Affairs" and "The Minister of Reconstruction" are new.

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The Secretary of State for External Affairs	10,000
The Minister of National Health and Welfare	10,000
The Minister of Veterans Affairs	10,000
The Minister of Munitions and Supply	10,000
The Minister of National War Services	10,000
The Minister of Reconstruction	10,000"

Minister of Pensions and National Health.

2. Until such date as *The Department of National Health and Welfare Act* and *The Department of Veterans Affairs Act*, passed at the present session of Parliament, come into force by proclamation of the Governor in Council, the salary of the Minister of Pensions and National Health shall be ten thousand dollars per annum.

Re. Motor car allowance

C228967

Vol. LXXXI.—No. 57

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Friday, April 16, 1943

OTTAWA
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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

FRIDAY, April 16, 1943.

The house met at three o'clock.

FOURTH VICTORY LOAN

CALLABLE PROVISION IN RESPECT OF 3 PER CENT 1957 ISSUE

On the order for motions:

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, it has been brought to my attention that the statement which I made on April 5 announcing the terms of the fourth victory loan has been misinterpreted. At that time I stated that the long term bonds bearing interest at three per cent per annum will mature at par on May 1, 1957, but will be redeemable at the option of the government at par and accrued interest on or after May 1, 1954, at sixty days' notice. This redemption date is provided in the terms of the offering merely as a time after which the government has the option of redeeming or calling the bonds before maturity and paying the holders one hundred cents on each dollar they have invested. Similar callable provisions are to be found in practically all long term government bonds.

This has been misinterpreted to give prevalence to the story that the bonds of the fourth victory loan will not be marketable until after May 1, 1954, which is absolutely incorrect. The bonds of the fourth victory loan will be just as saleable as the bonds of earlier victory loans, which have had a ready market since their date of issue. Before every victory loan we are deluged with rumours all of which seem to attempt to impair the sale of bonds. The fourth victory loan is no exception. Such rumours are false, vicious and subversive. They could not be worse if they were enemy inspired, which they may be. I urge that Canadians everywhere do everything in their power to stamp out such rumours. I suggest that they inquire into the facts, before repeating stories which are designed to impair the effectiveness of national efforts, such as the fourth victory loan.

PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAYDON

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION—ADDRESS OF DOCTOR THOMSON ON THURSDAY, APRIL 15

On the orders of the day:

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege arising out of a report in the Ottawa *Citizen* of an address made yesterday by Doctor James S. Thomson, general manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to the Ottawa Canadian club. Among other things, the general manager is reported as having said:

> The other day in the course of parliamentary debate, the status of the Canadian broadcasting corporation was discussed and fortunately the Prime Minister and the leaders of two of the opposition parties all took part.
>
> From these answers it will be observed that there is agreement among all parties in the house that we are not a department of government.

On February 8, at pages 222 and 223 of *Hansard*, the status of the corporation was the subject of remarks by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King), the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar (Mr. Coldwell) and myself, and at page 223 of *Hansard* I said:

> Those of us who have made some study of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's structure realize that it is half and half, so to speak, partly a department of government and partly a public corporation. As I understand, it is in some respects like the Canadian National Railways while in other respects it is not. One of the recommendations of the radio broadcasting committee last year was that this anomalous position of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation should be clarified, and I hope the government will do something about it.

During the proceedings of the radio broadcasting committee last session, I had occasion to refer in effect to the status of the corporation as an emanation from the crown which has only half emanated. The report of that committee recognized certain anomalies in the status of the corporation and indicated that the corporation may be sued, but still

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may not be taxed, and unlike the Canadian National Railways, with which it is sometimes erroneously compared, it has never achieved the status where its employees have been granted the right to organize and collectively bargain.

We have read of the centaur of mythical days—half man and half horse—and until this corporation has its centauric legal status clarified, it is quite improper and incorrect for the general manager to say that "there is agreement among all parties in the house" that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is not a department of government, and I want to object to having my position so interpreted.

Hon. L. R. LaFLECHE (Minister of National War Services): Mr. Speaker, may I say a word in reply to the hon. gentleman? I have seen the article in question—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: The leader of the opposition referred to this matter on a question of privilege, and I think it might well now be dropped.

[*Later*]

On the orders of the day:

Hon. L. R. LaFLECHE (Minister of National War Services): Mr. Speaker, may I say that an article which purports to report a speech made yesterday by Doctor J. S. Thomson, the general manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, was brought to my attention very late this morning. I did not have time to speak to Reverend Doctor Thomson, but I have asked that he come over to discuss this matter with me along with some other questions. This matter was alluded to this afternoon by the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon). May I suggest that it is not well that a false impression be created in regard to the affairs of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Perhaps it is not known or realized or remembered that recently a very experienced gentleman in the labour field was appointed governor of the corporation. It is certainly not known to the leader of the opposition that I have written to Doctor Thomson about such matters or discussed them with him, but I have asked him to see the new governor about the staff. The corporation will have the benefit of the knowledge and long experience in the labour field of the gentleman who has recently been appointed governor.

I should also like to point out that it is difficult to get to the bottom of anything concerning radio until we reach the motion on the order paper for the appointment of a select committee on radio broadcasting. That motion has been standing on the order paper in my name for nearly two months now. I fully realize that that is not anyone's fault, but I am very anxious to get to it.

PRIVATE BILLS

CANADA NORTH-WEST LAND COMPANY LIMITED

On the order:

Bill No. 67 (letter U-2 of the senate), intituled: "an act respecting the Canada North-West Land Company Limited."—Mr. McIlraith.

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill is not strictly in order. The petition to the house was not presented within the first six weeks of the session, as required by standing order 92. The six weeks' period expired on March 10. The petition in question was presented on March 26. On March 29 the clerk of petitions reported to the house that the petition should not be received. On March 31 the petition was referred to the standing orders committee and is now before that committee and therefore cannot be dealt with to-day.

UKRAINIAN FRATERNAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

Mr. ANTHONY HLYNKA (Vegreville) moved the first reading of Bill No. 68, to incorporate the Ukrainian Fraternal Society of Canada.

He said: This bill is brought in for the purpose of incorporating a fraternal society which was first incorporated in 1925 by letters patent issued under the Companies Act. The Letters Patent Association has ceased to do business and therefore this society must now be brought under the Canadian and British Insurance Companies Act of 1932. This bill, when it was before the senate committee, was approved by Mr. Finlayson, superintendent of insurance.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

INQUIRY WITH RESPECT TO EASTER LEAVE

On the orders of the day:

Mr. D. G. ROSS (St. Paul's): I should like to direct a question to the ministers of national defence. It was announced over the radio that the members of the armed forces would not be granted leave for the Easter week-end because of transportation difficulties. I suggest that at this season of the year particularly, a great many men would like to be with their families. May I ask whether the announcement made over the radio is correct, and if so, whether something cannot be done about giving the men leave?

Hon. J. L. RALSTON (Minister of National Defence): Speaking for the army, the matter has not been brought to my attention, but I shall be glad to make inquiries.

Hon. C. G. POWER (Minister of National Defence for Air): So far as the air force is concerned, I have never heard of Easter leave. Is there any such thing?

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I heard it over the radio.

C228971

HYDE PARK AGREEMENT

REFERENCE TO NEWSPAPER REFORT OF ACCUMULATION OF UNITED STATES EXCHANGE

On the orders of the day:

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): I should like to direct a question to the Minister of Finance. A dispatch appearing in the *Globe and Mail* of to-day, with a Washington date-line of April 15, contains the following:

> Canada has been shipping so much war material to the United States and so severely curtailing her purchases of all but essential civilian products here that she will soon probably have to water down the Hyde Park agreement or take other means to prevent the accumulation of too much American exchange.

Is the minister in a position to enlighten the house and make some comment on this dispatch?

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): I am not in a position to make any comment with regard to that dispatch at the moment, but I may be able to do so later in the day.

[*Later*:]

Mr. G. T. FULFORD (Leeds): Mr. Speaker, if the dispatch from Washington to which the leader of the opposition has referred is correct, and there is a surplus of American exchange in Canada, will the Canadian foreign exchange control board consider relaxing somewhat the restrictions now in force which prevent Canadians from visiting the United States for anything but business reasons?

Mr. ILSLEY: As I intimated, I may be in a position to make a statement later to-day with regard to the Washington dispatch to which the hon. member referred. The other question had better wait until I make that statement.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

EASTER ADJOURNMENT

On the orders of the day:

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, I wonder if we might have a statement from the leader of the house as to the arrangements for the Easter recess and for the sittings of the house between now and the time we adjourn for the holiday. There seems to be some confusion regarding it.

Mr. CRERAR: Mr. Speaker, I have not yet picked up all the threads of my responsibility and perhaps my colleague the Minister of National Defence, who knows the arrangements, would make an announcement to the house.

Hon. J. L. RALSTON (Minister of National Defence): Mr. Speaker, the government has gone over the business to be dealt with before we adjourn for Easter. The budget resolutions, as hon. members know, contain quite a number of contentious features, and the income war tax bill is not yet ready. The provisions are complicated and somewhat long, and the government has abandoned any hope of being able to get through to-day. What the government proposes is that the house shall take recess on Wednesday for two weeks. I cannot make any promise in this respect, but it is hoped to adjourn for the Easter recess at six o'clock on Wednesday; it may be necessary to sit in the evening as well.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I ask a supplementary question? Even though the resolutions are passed readily and quickly this afternoon, do I understand that in any event the bill in connection with income war tax will not be ready for us to deal with?

Mr. ILSLEY: We shall try to get the bill ready for Monday. If it is not possible to do so, it may be practicable to have a bill covering part of the resolutions ready at that time, although I have not made inquiries whether that is possible. That is the best I can say about it. My officers and those of the Department of National Revenue are now in a state of what I would describe as fatigue, which impairs their ability to work as rapidly as usual. But we shall do the best we can to get a bill down here.

Mr. GRAYDON: It is an unfortunate position in which many hon. members find themselves. A number of them have made important commitments, particularly with respect to the victory loan.

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Mr. RALSTON: That includes some members of the government.

Mr. GRAYDON: No doubt, including members of the government. I fancy it applies to all hon. members. As I understand it, then, there is no possibility, in view of the fact that bills cannot be brought before the house until Monday of the house adjourning for the Easter recess this week?

Mr. RALSTON: I am sorry to say that there is not. We canvassed that situation very thoroughly.

Mr. GRAYDON: I am anxious about this, because it is important to hon. members. In the event of the resolutions being passed say this afternoon and the house having to wait for the bills to come through to be dealt with, what will be the order of business or what is the disposition of the government with respect to the further business of the house?

Mr. RALSTON: What we proposed was that we should like the house to be ready to take up anything that is on the order paper except, of course, the war appropriation and mutual aid bills. If by any chance the resolutions should pass this afternoon or this evening, the idea would be to take up the bill standing in the name of my colleague the Minister of Munitions and Supply.

Mr. GRAYDON: I must protest with respect to this proposal, and I think my hon. friend will recognize that my protest is on reasonable grounds. It is a serious thing to ask hon. members to deal on short notice with a bill of such importance. We did not have any notice yesterday that it would be proceeded with. I ask the government at least to take us into their confidence with respect to the business which they intend to take up on the ensuing day. This has not been done, and it leaves us in an unfortunate position.

Mr. RALSTON: The government has endeavoured to take the house fully into its confidence with regard to business to be done. The difficulty, of course, has been to estimate the amount of time which would be taken on these various measures. It was thought that probably we could go right through with resolutions, and it was expected that the resolutions would take all day, including the evening. My hon. friend's question is based on the hypothesis that all the resolutions go through. I can only say that there is plenty of business on the order paper. The bill I have mentioned is one which is not new to hon. members; it has already been under discussion for some time, and it seemed to us that it was a measure regarding which hon. members would not require very much notice in view of the fact that some consideration had already been had. I hope the house will not feel that the government is attempting in any way to hide from them the business which is to be taken up. My hon. friend's question was based on the hypothesis that there will be time for other business; I am indicating what that other business will be should that desirable situation arise.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Suppose the house should finish with the budget resolutions and the bill based thereon by next Tuesday afternoon, would the government propose to close the house on Tuesday afternoon or would it go on until Wednesday at six o'clock, dealing with any other measure that appears on the order paper?

Mr. RALSTON: The question of the hon. gentleman assumes that the budget resolutions go through, and it requires us to forecast our action some days ahead. Intimation will be given just as quickly as possible whether, if there is any chance to finish with the budget resolutions and the bill founded thereon, any other business will be taken up. I can say now to the house it is the government's view that the house should be ready to take up any matters on the order paper. Further announcement will be made as progress is made with the business of the house.

WAR REFUGEES

QUESTION AS TO CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT BERMUDA CONFERENCE

On the orders of the day:

Mr. JEAN-FRANÇOIS POULIOT (Témiscouata): I have a question to ask which, in the absence of the Prime Minister, I assume another minister will be able to answer. Referring to the European refugee conference which is starting in Bermuda on Tuesday next, my question is twofold: is Canada interested in the matter; and if so, who represents our country over there?

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Minister of Mines and Resources): The question of the hon. member for Témiscouata is peculiarly one which should be dealt with by the Prime Minister. It will be brought to his attention.

Mr. POULIOT: But the question of immigration interests my hon. friend, whom I am so glad to see back in the house; and if

C228973

he does not know, who knows? He is the minister in charge of immigrants, refugees and guests.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

GALLUP POLL

QUESTION AS TO ANNEXATION—CENSORSHIP

On the orders of the day:

Mr. JEAN-FRANÇOIS POULIOT (Témiscouata): I wish to address a question to the Minister of National War Services. Is it a fact that the directors of the Gallup poll had an inquiry about the sentiments of Canadians regarding annexation, and that in the province of Quebec the feeling was against annexation and in the other provinces the feeling was for it, and that orders were given to the censor not to publish the results?

Hon. L. R. LaFLECHE (Minister of National War Services): The Department of National War Services has nothing to do with the Gallup poll. The question, however, is, what if anything has censorship done about it. I must tell the hon. member for Témiscouata that I have no knowledge of the matter having been referred to censorship. I shall inquire, and if it is permissible and in the national interest, I will let him know immediately.

LABOUR CONDITIONS

REFERENCE TO STATEMENT AS TO TRANSFER OF WELDERS FROM WINNIPEG TO TORONTO

On the orders of the day:

Hon. HUMPHREY MITCHELL (Minister of Labour): On March 16, the hon. member for Yukon (Mr. Black) as reported in *Hansard*, page 1304, stated that a group of young men trained as welders in a Winnipeg trade school were sent by the selective service office at Winnipeg to Toronto, although they were needed at Transcona just outside of Winnipeg. I have had inquiries made both in Winnipeg and Toronto, and the information which comes from the responsible officials is that no such incident as that mentioned by the hon. member ever occurred.

REPLACEMENT OF CANADIANS EMPLOYED IN CANADA ON UNITED STATES PROJECTS

On the orders of the day:

Hon. HUMPHREY MITCHELL (Minister of Labour): In my absence from the house on April 8 a question was asked by the hon. member for Yale (Mr. Stirling) in the following words, as reported in *Hansard*, page 1989:

Is it true that 1,000 Canadians now employed by United States firms on northern war projects will gradually be replaced by United States citizens?

In reply I should like to say that no plans have as yet been made in the direction indicated by the question, nor are any such plans in contemplation.

On April 1, as recorded on page 1774 of *Hansard*, I made a statement to the house with respect to United States projects in western Canada.

DISPUTE AT THE MARCONI PLANT, MONTREAL

On the orders of the day:

Mr. GASPARD FAUTEUX (St. Mary): I should like to ask a question of the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell) on an urgent matter. I am informed that there are serious labour difficulties at the Marconi plant in Montreal. Has the minister been informed, and what steps have been taken to deal with the matter?

Hon. HUMPHREY MITCHELL (Minister of Labour): Mr. Speaker, this condition arises out of the question of a vote. The department has advised the management that if and when a vote is taken it should be under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labour, and that both organizations of employees should be on the ballot.

WAYS AND MEANS

The house in committee of ways and means, Mr. Bradette in the chair.

INCOME WAR TAX ACT

30. That any amount received by an officer or man of the merchant marine as bona fide war risk bonus in accordance with the usage of the merchant marine, and any value of board or lodging on shipboard received by such a person while performing services in respect of which war risk bonus is payable shall not be considered as income subject to tax under the Income War Tax Act.

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): Mr. Chairman, last night the leader of the opposition asked for certain information, and particularly as to whether the amount of war risk bonus was substantial. The war risk bonus received by merchant seamen amounts in the normal case of transoceanic service to $44.50 per month, or $45 per month, and this rate is based on the British rate, which is £10. In the case of masters and chief engineers, the rates are slightly higher—$62.50 for masters and $50 for chief engineers. In dangerous coastal waters—dangerous areas being defined in accordance with the Department of Transport definitions—the rates are $1 per day per man, or $25 per month.

Mr. GRAYDON: The minister speaks of $44.50 per month as a war risk bonus. What relationship does that bear to the entire pay received?

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Mr. ILSLEY: Ordinarily the total wages of an ordinary seaman amount to $104.62, of which war risk bonus is $44.50. In the case of the able seaman the total is $119.12, of which war risk bonus is $44.50. In the case of chief officers it will be noted that the total is $212.92, of which war risk bonus is $44.50. I am taking a representative case, and I think that is fairly representative of the rates generally paid.

The war risk bonus paid by Canadian employers is subject to the control of the national war labour board, who must approve the rates paid and any changes in them. The rates I have quoted have been approved by the board. It is proposed in the law to restrict the rates of war risk bonus for which exemption will be given to those approved by the national war labour board, in the case of men employed on Canadian ships subject to the jurisdiction of that board. It may be necessary to make an exception in the case of senior officers, who are not subject to the jurisdiction of the national war labour board, as they are considered above the rank of foreman or comparable ranks.

Mr. STIRLING: Is it supported by a regulation of the board, or by an order in council? What is the force which induces the employer to pay the bonus? It must apply to all employers, surely.

Mr. ILSLEY: They pay it. I do not know just why they pay it, but I presume it is done to get the men. In respect of Canadian employers it is approved by the national war labour board, which body has power to give such approval.

Resolution agreed to.

29. That the information return required to be filed by employers showing the amount of salaries or other remuneration paid to persons in their employ in the preceding calendar year and the amount of tax deducted at the source under the provisions of the act from the salary or wages of such employees shall in respect of the 1942 taxation period be filed on or before the 31st day of May, 1943, and in respect of all taxation periods subsequent to 1942 shall be filed on or before the last day of February in each year.

Mr. ILSLEY: I was unable to make an explanation last night; I shall do so now. Under this resolution employers are required to file an information return on May 31 of this year showing the remuneration paid to persons in their employ in 1942 and also the amount of tax deducted at the source from salary or wages. Prior to the change-over to the pay-as-you-earn basis these returns were not due until October 15, 1943, a date which came after the last deductions in respect of the 1942 tax had been made. Under our present system the last deductions in respect of the 1942 tax will have been made in December, 1942. Accordingly, the date of the filing of the return can be advanced and will be received prior to the date on which individuals are required to file their definitive returns for 1942 which, as the house knows, is June 30.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): I understand the employer must also give the employee a statement of deductions, is that correct?

Hon. C. W. G. GIBSON (Minister of National Revenue): That is correct.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): If the employee has left a certain plant, will the employer send a statement to him?

Mr. GIBSON: No; the employer would not know where to find the employee. The employee when he leaves employment should apply to his employer to secure at that time a statement of the amounts deducted.

Mr. MacNICOL: Why could it not be mailed to his home?

Mr. GIBSON: He may be working in any place in the country. It would be unwise to take that chance, because the employee might never get the statement. When he leaves employment he can demand that a statement be given to him.

Mr. COLDWELL: I believe I understood the minister to say that some form of certificate would be issued with respect to the savings part of deductions. Has that been attended to, and if so when may the employees expect to receive some of these certificates? I have inquiries regarding this from employees who are anxious to have something to show for deductions made.

Mr. GIBSON: I have answered that question once or twice before. The employee will have a receipt. When his income tax return has been filed and the amount of the tax determined it is then possible to ascertain what the refundable portion is, and when he receives his tax receipt it will show the amount standing to his credit. There is a question whether we should go any further and give some form of certificate showing him each year what is standing to his credit. That is under consideration. But I would point out that that cannot be issued until the tax return has been filed and assessed. It may readily be seen that since there are about two million taxpayers it will take some time to assess the returns, and there will be some delay before the final stage is reached.

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Mr. COLDWELL: In addition to the receipt, a certificate of some kind might be given to the employee, something like a bond or savings certificate. This is a point that interests the working people who have approached me about it.

Mr. GIBSON: There is no definite decision as to what form that should take other than the receipt for his income tax.

Mr. GRAYDON: This may be an elementary and simple question, but there is much confusion in view of the change in the dates for filing income tax returns. Even among those who ought to know, with the many changes that have come in the last two or three years it has become not so simple for the average person to understand whether he is to file in April, June or September. Could the minister give us very simply the dates this year, for example, indicating the periods within which different classes of personal income tax payers must file their returns?

Mr. GIBSON: Those filing returns for last year will file by June 30. Those paying by instalments this year pay their instalments every three months beginning with March 30. Persons whose income consists of not more than seventy-five per cent earned income pay quarterly, starting March 30. But the individual return for last year is to be filed by June 30.

Mr. MacNICOL: When will the forms be ready?

Mr. GIBSON: When we get these amendments through.

Mr. JACKMAN: What steps has the minister taken to notify employers of only one employee that they will be under obligation to make a return under the provisions of this section? Is there any penalty if one is not made and no bad faith is intended?

May I suggest to the minister regarding these certificates for compulsory saving that while there is perhaps good reason for their not being issued until the returns for last year are finalized, nevertheless if the department would consider putting out some form of notice, distributing it with perhaps a facsimile certificate, to indicate to the people that they are going to get something, it would be helpful. Many employees feel even yet that the likelihood of realizing anything from these withheld savings is very dubious, despite the numerous statements by both ministers. If they could see it visually it would help industry considerably and make the workers realize that more of their wages are really theirs than appears to be the case at the end of the week when they get their pay envelope.

Mr. GIBSON: I think that is a good suggestion. Several suggestions have been made, and they are being given consideration, with regard to having some form of notice which can be given to the employee in his pay envelope so that he will have some assurance that part of the sums that are being deducted is to be returned, and some information given as to the form in which it will come back.

With regard to the changed date of filing returns, the return itself has printed on it the date when it is to be filed. I do not think there is any doubt that those concerned will know the date the return is due.

Mr. MacNICOL: Suppose a dozen home owners on a street employ a man to cut grass and look after the garden, and in the winter fire the boiler, what procedure have those home owners to follow? Are they obliged to make a deduction from what they pay the janitor and remit it to the government, or does the janitor himself have to put in a return indicating what he receives from each?

Mr. GIBSON: It depends first on the man's rate of pay. If he is being paid at a taxable rate, that is, $660 for a single man or $1,200 if married, whoever is paying him is supposed to deduct the money at the source and make the return to the government.

Mr. MacNICOL: How would the home owner know that? The man may be looking after the homes of ten different owners one month and only four or five another month.

Mr. GIBSON: The home owner is not inquiring how much the janitor is making. All he needs to determine is how much he is paying him. If he is paying the janitor a sum that is not taxable then the home owner does not deduct, although the janitor might be going to several homes and collecting similar amounts from different employers.

Mr. MacNICOL: Supposing he looks after ten homes and receives from each $5 a month, or $50 from the ten; the home owner would not bother?

Mr. GIBSON: That does not follow, because the janitor might be employed only two hours a day. He might therefore be paid at a rate which if continued throughout the year would make him taxable. It depends on the man's rate of pay whether the deduction must be made.

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Mr. MacNICOL: Suppose I pay a janitor $10 a month for looking after my home and garden. That would be only $120 a year. That rate would not be taxable. On the other hand he might be working for half a dozen others; I do not know that.

Mr. GIBSON: It depends what your arrangement is with him. If he comes to you only two hours a day that might make him taxable.

Mr. BOUCHER: In order to make it clear for those who hire part-time employees, do I understand that one must decide according to the rate he pays whether the employee would be taxable if employed full time at that rate?

Mr. GIBSON: That is right.

Mr. BOUCHER: And if the employer is paying at a rate which would make the man taxable if employed full time, he must make a deduction and return?

Mr. GIBSON: That is right.

Mr. BOUCHER: Even though the employer knows that the man is not employed full time?

Mr. GIBSON: Yes, that is correct.

Mr. BOUCHER: It puts a responsibility upon a home owner that is confusing both to him and to the employee. A home owner may employ a man one day a week at $6 a day. A single man employed the year round at $6 a day would be taxable. But the home owner, knowing that the man is doing this work only one day a week, in deducting the tax and making a return to the government causes much confusion over a very small matter.

Mr. GIBSON: Well, that is what the act says—that if a man is paid at a rate which would make a taxable amount, the home owner must deduct. While he may assume the man is not working some place else, other people might be wrong in their assumption, and the man might be getting an income from various sources which would require him to pay income tax. That is why the provision is in the act.

Mr. MacNICOL: Next week I will be letting a number of contracts for papering, painting and carpentering. In each case I get a tender from a painter or paperhanger or carpenter. When the work is finished the bill is presented and I write out a cheque. Do I have to deduct anything from those cheques?

Mr. GIBSON: No. In those cases the contractor is not an employee; he is a contractor.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think the point raised a few moments ago by the leader of the opposition has considerable merit; that is, in regard to the instalments and the dates when they must be paid by taxpayers all across the country. I wonder if hon. members who are present to-day could take a pencil and put down the dates on which payments should be made for 1942 and 1943 and the instalments payable on those dates. It seems to me that right across the country there must be a great deal of confusion in regard to these matters. Would it not be worth while for the department to issue a concise statement in the form of an advertisement setting out clearly the situation with respect to dates and amounts and all other desirable information pertaining to the two years 1942 and 1943? It is true that people may get this information when they get the forms, but in the meantime they are in doubt. It would be exceedingly helpful to the people, and perhaps would aid the victory loan campaign if a definite statement were made by way of advertisement.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): The wartime prices and trade board issues little bulletins which go to every house in the country. If the department would place an advertisement in those bulletins it would help a great deal.

Mr. NOSEWORTHY: I have received inquiries on two or three occasions with regard to the status of Canadians employed in the construction of airfields in Newfoundland. I understand that for a time deductions were made from their pay in respect of Canadian income tax, and these deductions were later discontinued. Some of these men tell me that they do not know whether they are going to have to pay income tax on all their earnings. Has the minister any information on that point?

Mr. ILSLEY: Withholdings were stopped, but the question of taxability is under consideration. It is a very difficult matter for various reasons, and what arrangement will be made in view of all the circumstances has not been finally decided.

Mr. NOSEWORTHY: It would be quite a hardship on some of these men if at some later time they had to go back and catch up on all these deductions.

Mr. ILSLEY: I realize that.

Mr. JACKMAN: I asked the minister a question, but I think both he and I lost sight of it. I asked whether or not steps are being taken to acquaint employers of one employee with the necessity of making deductions and

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filing returns, and whether any penalty is attached if they did not file a return and still there was no bad faith shown.

Mr. GIBSON: The income tax department gives publicity to all the changes made in the act, and of course there is a penalty for failure to file a return.

Mr. JACKMAN: What is the penalty?

Mr. ILSLEY: It will be provided in the bill. The penalties are pretty light at the present time, but this is such an important matter that we propose to increase the penalties, and I think provision will be made for some power of remission by the minister. However, that will be dealt with in the bill.

Mr. JACKMAN: I believe there are still many employers of one person who are not aware that a deduction should be made from the wages of that person. The department has not done as thorough a job in this connection as it might have done, in view of the bona fide ignorance that exists.

Mr. SENN: I should like to emphasize what the hon. gentleman has just said, particularly in respect to farmers. I doubt very much whether a great many farmers who employ part-time labour, as farmers do in the summer months for haying and harvesting, know that they should make a deduction and file a return with the government. It seems to me something should be done to acquaint farmers with this provision; otherwise I believe they will be liable to a fine or penalty of some sort. I bring this to the attention of the minister because I think it is important.

Resolution agreed to.

27. That section 32A of the said act be amended to prevent reduction or avoidance of liability to tax.

Mr. ILSLEY: This is a very contentious matter that was raised last night and I respectfully submit to the committee that this resolution should be passed. It does not commit the committee to the section I read last night; this is a matter to be dealt with on the bill. All this resolution says is that section 32A of the act should be amended to prevent the reduction or avoidance of liability to tax. Resolutions may be pretty general; in fact in years gone by they were very much more general in their terms than they are to-day. If the committee is in favour of the principle of making the provisions of the law stronger for the purpose of preventing the reduction or avoidance of liability to tax; if it is in favour of the principle of doing that by an amendment to section 32A, that is all the committee will be committing itself to by passing this resolution, and then the debate can take place on the section. I read the section last night for the purpose of telling the committee what my intentions were in regard to the amendment of that section. I invited the comments of the committee and I invite them now. If members have any other views as to how we should do this, I should be glad to have them now. They will all be taken into consideration in drafting the section which I shall put before the house.

Mr. GRAYDON: As I understand it, the actual wording of the resolution was as given a few moments ago by the minister.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. GRAYDON: Section 32A (1) which appears on page 2259 of *Hansard* is evidently the section at present in the act, and the following phraseology is that which is to be added as a means of strengthening the provisions.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is not quite correct. What appears in the middle of the second column of page 2259 of *Hansard* is the section which I proposed last night as being the appropriate section to put in the act. Section 32A (1) is different from the present 32A (1).

Mr. GRAYDON: This is not 32A (1) of the act?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is correct. Further consideration will be given to the wording of these provisions in the light of the observations of the committee. What finally is brought before the house can be debated then. I think we should be safe enough in passing the general resolution if the committee is in favour of the principle of amending 32A in some way to prevent the reduction or avoidance of liability to taxation.

Mr. GRAHAM: I take it that we are discussing 32A (1) now?

Mr. ILSLEY: We are discussing resolution 27, which provides that section 32A of the act be amended to prevent the reduction or avoidance of liability to tax.

Mr. GRAHAM: Since last evening we have had an opportunity of studying the proposed amendment. There would appear to be a typographical error in section 32A (1) as it appears on page 2259 of *Hansard*. I take it that the word "as" in line four should be "has."

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

Mr. GRAHAM: I propose to confine my remarks principally to the first subsection. This subsection gives to the treasury board the task of determining the extent to which taxation

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under the act has been or, but for the application of this section, would be avoided, reduced or prejudiced thereby and in accordance with such determination there shall be assessed and levied upon such taxpayer such tax as the treasury board may direct and such tax shall be payable by him as in this act provided. It seems to me that that is a very considerable power to give to the treasury board.

Mr. MacNICOL: Too much.

Mr. GRAHAM: I have not changed my opinion that this will not offend the great charters of mankind, but we must realize that income tax has been extended considerably, not only as regards the amount of the tax imposed but as to the numbers of individuals to which it applies. This tax now takes in a much greater number of the citizens of substance and it goes down into the fairly low income brackets. I think this committee and the minister should be extremely careful in enacting any amendment that would permit any injustice or inequity in the application of this particular act.

Just for a moment I should like to refer to the act itself and recall to the committee the general provision having to do with appeals by the taxpayer. At the present time if a taxpayer is dissatisfied with his assessment he may appeal to the minister. As defined in the act that would be the Minister of National Revenue. Under the act the minister is charged with the duty of reviewing the assessment and he must then notify the taxpayer whether he sustains the judgment of the commissioner of income tax or whether he amends it. If the taxpayer is still dissatisfied, he has the right of appeal to the exchequer court.

In theory that would appear to be a fairly safe and fair provision for the taxpayer, but I submit that in the light of my own experience, and I am sure in the light of the experience of many lawyers who have had occasion to represent clients who have taken advantage of this provision, the minister has not discharged and cannot in the very nature of the circumstances discharge this duty himself. The minister cannot possibly take the time and trouble to review the application of the taxpayer, he must delegate that task to some departmental officer.

The trouble with this type of tribunal is that there is a partnership in interest between the commissioner of income tax, whose duty it is to give a decision on the assessment and the amount of taxation payable thereon, and the person to whom the appeal is made. The minister could discharge this task I presume with a large degree of fairness, but because of the similarity of interests, because of this partnership of employment as it were, the result of the usual procedure is likely to be to make the taxpayer feel that he has not been fairly dealt with. My own experience has been that only on a very few occasions has a minister ever attempted to change a decision of the commissioner of income tax. The commissioner is a very able man familiar with the provisions and the decisions of the courts thereon, and the minister would be loath to take upon himself the duty of changing a decision of this responsible officer of the crown.

As I have pointed out, there is now the right of appeal from the minister to the court, but under this section 32A it will be noted that there is no appeal to the minister; the appeal is direct to the exchequer court. Here of course you will get an independence of judgment by the tribunal charged with trying the case, as it were. It may be suggested that that should satisfy all the requirements, but I would call the attention of the minister to the fact that very few citizens, apart from the wealthy corporations or the wealthy individuals who employ lawyers as a matter of course and who enter upon litigation with a certain degree of familiarity, will be inclined to take advantage of the right of appeal granted under this particular section. The vast majority of taxpayers will hesitate before appealing a decision of an officer of the government to the exchequer court.

Mr. MacNICOL: He would not be able to finance an appeal.

Mr. GRAHAM: The cost is great and the trouble is considerable. As a matter of fact, he just will not do it. The average sensible lawyer now does not try to persuade his client to enter upon this course. If we are to delegate to some agency of government the power to administer acts of this house, then the tribunal or body which passes judgment upon the fairness or unfairness of decisions of an officer of the crown should be independent. Incidentally this is an example of the necessity of always keeping in mind the need to keep our judiciary separate and apart and independent of all conflicting interests and controversies. The judiciary are subject to income tax, and being human they form opinions and prejudices about the fairness or unfairness of the income tax act. In the interests, not of the judges, but of the people of this country whom the judiciary serve, we should be wise to keep in mind the British principle which puts the judiciary in a position of complete independence of interest in all matters that agitate the minds of the citizens whose cases they

have to try. I realize that this is a difficult problem to solve but I am thoroughly in agreement with the minister that we must find some remedy for the evil of companies and perhaps individuals seeking to evade the tax laws of this country.

Mr. MARTIN: It is not evasion but avoidance.

Mr. GRAHAM: It is really a method of evasion. Taking advantage of all the loopholes that appear in the act, corporations and individuals, serving their own interests, will resort to all sorts of subterfuges to escape the impositions of the act. However, in setting up a remedy this house does not want to alienate the sympathy which we should invite from the taxpayers for the act itself.

I would make two suggestions. I appreciate that one of them may not be workable. One suggestion would be that if the treasury board is to assume this duty, some person with long judicial or legal experience who is peculiarly well fitted to deal with taxation matters be invited to sit in with the treasury board, and, unless he approves the decision reached, let the matter be referred to, let us say, the exchequer court. I think we must try to avoid litigation on the part of the taxpayer. I do not think we shall find a solution that will satisfy the taxpayer if we provide only a path that leads to costly legal disputes. An appeal to the exchequer court should be considered only as a last resort for those who feel strongly about the decision reached. I should like to see some independent body, free from interest either as a taxing authority or as an interested taxpayer, empowered to consider all the facts and reach a decision which both the government and the taxpayer could feel was an equitable and fair decision.

My other suggestion is one that I submit for consideration with a little more confidence. It might be wise to take this duty away from the treasury board altogether and to free the minister of the duty of reviewing the taxpayer's complaint. Let that matter be given to a body of three persons, independent of government and independent, so far as that is possible, of the taxpayer. Perhaps that body should have upon it a chartered accountant, because in many ways chartered accountants are more capable—

Mr. GRAYDON: That would be another board.

Mr. GRAHAM: I know it, and it might mean added expense. I do not like that, but we have a difficult task here, and to accomplish our purpose we must see that it is done in a way that will intelligently invite the support of the taxpayer.

Mr. MARTIN: How can you succeed unless you are prepared to acknowledge that the body to deal with it is the exchequer court?

Mr. GRAHAM: I was going to suggest this, and it is only a suggestion because I have not had time to think it through. I suggest that the treasury board discharge that first duty because they have officers who are in possession of all the facts and are able to form a shrewd practical judgment on taxing matters. It is only natural that they become a little cynical of mankind and suspect, a little more than the judiciary would, the taxpayer who is seeking to get redress or relief from taxation. It is only natural that these officers of the crown should become hardened in their attitude towards complaints that are not well justified. Let the treasury board discharge this first duty, but before their decision becomes operative, let it be reviewed by a body of three, including a judge, a chartered accountant and an ordinary business man—representing the citizen's point of view.

Such a board would give the taxpayer a sense of his case having been reviewed independently and without bias. If after the decision of that body had been given the taxpayer still feels a sense of wrong, let him have the right of appeal to the exchequer court. As it now stands, too much power and too much responsibility is given to the treasury board, and it will make them a very unpopular body in this country.

Turning to the phraseology of the first section I notice it provides that the treasury board shall not only assess but levy upon a taxpayer such tax as the board may direct. There is nothing there imposing a limit on the tax which the board may impose. The wording is:

There shall be assessed and levied upon any taxpayer such tax as the treasury board may direct.

That applies not only to the assessment but to the levying of the tax. That is unlimited power to give to any body.

Mr. ILSLEY: I am inclined to agree.

Mr. GRAHAM: Some phraseology should be introduced to alter that. The amount of income having been determined, it should be subject to the rates of taxation prescribed by the act.

These are only suggestions. I am fully in favour of finding some remedy for this evil, and it is only a matter of giving it proper consideration and working out the most sensible and practical method.

Mr. GRAYDON: This problem must have been the subject of legislation in Great Britain. Has the minister given any consideration to

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their legislation covering this point? Many of these cases are paralleled by similar cases in other countries. In view of the situation which developed in the debate yesterday and again to-day I think most members have the fear that the principle involved is a bad one. I realize that those who listen to a debate such as this may think that small things are being magnified.

The difficulty as I see it—I do not speak as an expert on this kind of legislation, but simply from the common sense point of view—is that legislation such as this might form a dangerous and perilous precedent in the future. That was pretty well covered in the debate yesterday, and I have no desire to reiterate the arguments made then, except to say that this legislation would provide an opportunity for the thin end of the wedge to be worked in so far as taxation is concerned. This parliament of 245 men and women gathered from all over Canada have one weapon by which the rights of the citizens can be safeguarded, and that is the granting of supply and the raising of taxation. It seems to me that if this principle is endorsed by parliament there is a real danger of its being the first block or cornerstone in the building up of something that we in Canada do not want to see built. That is putting is very simply; I am not attempting to argue from the point of view of legal definitions or from any especially complicated constitutional point of view, even were I capable of doing it. When you place the matter of levying taxation in the hands of some body other than parliament, you adopt a principle which may quite properly be regarded in a democracy as a retrograde constitutional step.

I do not want to be put in the light of raising an unnecessary difficulty for the minister. I know what his desire is; I think I know the objective to which he is moving. But in attempting to gain it we had better stop, look and listen. This parliament should be sure that in moving toward one objective we are not abandoning some safeguard which means far more to parliament than any amount of taxation that might be collected.

I believe the minister will recognize, from what was said yesterday and what may yet be said, the dangers which lurk in a course which does not appear to have full constitutional and legal justification.

I would like some information from the minister as to how the United Kingdom handles matters of this kind. British experience would provide, I should suppose, precedents which would be useful to us in this house. Before this is incorporated in the bill or before the bill is passed, I suggest that he carefully canvass and skilfully explore such avenues as are open to us in the example and experience of other parts of the world, so that, before we launch on what may be a dangerous course, we shall draw upon the wisdom and the parallel experience of others.

Mr. ILSLEY: In Great Britain the problem is not nearly so acute, for this reason: properly speaking, there is no corporation income tax in the United Kingdom. The corporation income is taxed in the hands of the corporation but is credited to the individual shareholder. If the income upon receipt by the corporation is taxed at 50 per cent, then, when it goes out to the shareholder, he may find that his tax on it is already fully paid.

Mr. JACKMAN: Or more.

Mr. ILSLEY: Or more than paid, or perhaps only slightly less than paid. Therefore the incentive is very much less than it is in this country.

Mr. JACKMAN: It is a fairer system.

Mr. ILSLEY: With regard to the British statutes, several of the phrases which are used in these amendments, such as "artificially reduced", "artificially reduce", and "main purpose", are taken from those statutes. With regard to the procedure and the tribunals I am unable to give my hon. friend any definite information. I am under the impression that they have commissioners, functioning somewhat in the nature of tax courts, who pass on these matters.

Mr. JACKMAN: Do they have laymen as members of these committees?

Mr. ILSLEY: I cannot give the committee any definite information.

Mr. JACKMAN: I think they do.

Mr. ILSLEY: In the United States, of course, they have the same system of taxation as we have. That is, they have the corporation tax, and then upon distribution of the profits of the corporation to the shareholders, the shareholders are themselves taxed. I assume it was because of this problem that a few years ago they placed a tax upon undistributed surplus, which caused a tremendous storm in the United States and was, I think, finally repealed, because it had detrimental effects which were considered sufficient to outweigh the beneficial effects. What they do at the present time I do not know.

I am inclined to agree that the provision in the act of 1940, which we carried into this act, but which we did not originate in this act, about taxation being imposed in such sum as the treasury board may direct, is objectionable. The new subsections do not contain

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that—that is, subsection 2 and subsection 3—and I certainly will give serious consideration to changing that provision of subsection 1. When the hon. gentleman speaks about the dangers of creating a precedent which may be used to oppress the individual, there is something to be said for that.

Mr. GRAYDON: We have to be jealous of those rights.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes; there is something to be said for that. But there is another danger which concerns me very much. I think that the present economic system, all things considered, is a better one than some others which have been suggested.

Mr. GRAYDON: The minister would not have any in mind, I suppose?

Mr. ILSLEY: Well, I do not want to get into a controversy here. But, whatever jealousy parliament may have of the rights of the individual, parliament has to make sure that this economic system functions cleanly and justly and fairly, to the extent of its ability. I have perhaps given an impression that the practices I mentioned last night are widespread. I do not think they are. But a few instances, known by a few individuals and passed from mouth to mouth, of skilful and wealthy individuals who legally are able to escape the clear spirit and intent of taxation legislation, will do more to discredit the system we live under and more to discredit the parliament that did not have the foresight to prevent these things, than almost anything you can think of; and I have come to the conclusion that we ought to strain a point here. We are at war. It may be that this would not be as necessary in time of peace. But it would worry me a great deal if I heard of an instance here and an instance there of persons withdrawing large sums, and the sums we are thinking of here are large sums, running sometimes into the hundreds of thousands or possibly millions of dollars, and being able to get this money without payment of tax, contrary to the true spirit and intent of the act. I ask the hon. gentleman, who comes in contact with people who have experience in these things and who are in the business world, to inquire of them what they think can be done under the present act, and if they have ever heard of any cases of its being done. I think he will be surprised. The commissioner of income tax, of course, watches these surpluses; and if he sees them coming down he knows something is going on. Some times the business purpose is in evidence. It is a legitimate business purpose, and should not be interfered with. Sometimes there is no legitimate business purpose, and it is purely a scheme to avoid taxation, under circumstances where there is no real, moral justification for the avoidance of the tax.

In the Victorian period the avoidance of taxation was a polite, gentlemanly game. Taxation was low, and if a taxpayer could find a hole in the law and crawl through it, everyone laughed about it and tried to block up the hole. But it did not make very much difference.

Mr. GRAYDON: Or tried to get through the hole.

Mr. ILSLEY: If the crown could prevent his finding a hole, they would not get away with it. There was no moral interest involved. But when taxation becomes as heavy as it is to-day, when to a very great extent the people of this country are working for the state—and properly working for the state—then it is not an amusing matter, and is beyond the realm of a game. It becomes something—well, perhaps not exactly treason, but something considered most unpatriotic and unsocial.

Last night the hon. member asked why it should not be made a crime. I said I did not think a section could be drafted so as to accomplish anything. For instance if under this section we were to make evasion a crime, every hon. member in the committee would say that the mere effort of trying to do that is a crime. The definition would be so loose that we should be bound to sweep in some transactions which are perfectly legitimate, and the result would be that we should not get convictions. The crown would have to prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt. The position taken last night was: Do not make them pay, but make them suffer. This is to make them pay that which it is their intention to avoid paying. That is what I am trying to do in the present instance. I am trying to plug up loopholes for evasion, and I am doing it in the only way I know how to do it.

As I have said, if we make it as definite as we ought to make it for the guidance of a court we will be so definite that other ways will be found to get around it. Therefore it must be pretty wide, and there must be some discretionary powers in the tribunal making the decision. We have vested discretionary powers in a committee of a committee of parliament. That is really what the treasury board is. It is in fact a committee of the cabinet which, in turn, is a committee of parliament. It seems to me that that would be the appropriate tribunal.

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If we were to take the suggestion of the hon. member for Swift Current and set up a board, such board would be a court. The court would have power to a very large extent to make its own law and create its own jurisdiction.

Mr. MARTIN: All courts have that power; initial law-making goes on every day.

Mr. ILSLEY: But within a much narrower limit than would be the case here.

Mr. COLDWELL: I see what the minister is trying to do. There seem to be two things involved in this amendment. The first is an attempt to prevent—and I will use the word—evasion of taxation imposed by parliament. That is something we are all interested in seeing done. We want to prevent anything approaching an evasion of legitimate obligations under the law. The difficulty then appears to be that certain powers have to be given to some body to make some decision, and that those powers have to be blanket powers. When I heard this read last night—and like many other hon. members I was not familiar with it before last night; I do not know just how it got on the statute book, because I had not looked it up—I was surprised at the implications involved. But there are so many bills passing through parliament that we simply cannot keep informed with respect to all of them. I confess that I cannot, because I have not sufficient staff to do it. To my mind the objectionable words were "levied upon any taxpayer such tax as the treasury board may direct." That is the objectionable phraseology.

The intention may be entirely different from the meaning conveyed by those words, but it leaves the possibility of a wide interpretation which, as I said last night, in my opinion is contrary to the fundamental basis of our parliamentary government, that the representatives of the people in parliament assembled shall have the sole right to levy taxes. That is the age-old struggle parliament had with the crown, and we may actually find ourselves in a position of parliament struggling with a government. I am not referring to this government, but use the term in the broad sense. We may find parliament struggling with a government to retain control in parliament, when a government attempts to usurp that power.

While I should be the last one in the house to endeavour to prevent the imposition of taxation on corporations, and particularly corporations which are trying to evade their just dues to the people of Canada, nevertheless I feel that even where a corporation is involved one would be less than fair if he did not see what I believe to be the implications behind this phraseology.

I like the suggestion of the hon. member for Swift Current, that some commission be set up. The minister suggested that he believed a commission having certain powers has been established in Great Britain. I have a hazy idea that that is so, and that there is some commission to which they may appeal in Great Britain. But I like the suggestion of the hon. member for Swift Current that there be established a body with judicial powers to which appeal might be made both by the government or its officials, and by the person or the corporation.

What I dislike about the proposed legislation is that one of the litigants, if I may use the term, is also the judge. It seems to me that that is a bad principle in law, apart altogether from the other side of the matter which I have emphasized in my earlier remarks. In my view the body making the decision with respect to taxation ought to be independent, and ought not to be interested in the results of any appeal.

The wording of this amendment is so wide that it actually gives a committee not directly responsible to the house, but directly responsible to another committee which is responsible to the house—the cabinet—powers, in the phraseology of the amendment, to levy "upon any taxpayer such tax as the treasury board may direct, and such tax shall be payable by him as in this act provided." That is what I regard as objectionable. I should like to see some method of getting around it.

Mr. HAZEN: There are two sections to be considered here, I think, sections 32A and 32A(1). As the hon. member Mr. Coldwell has said, this is a very objectionable way of raising a tax. I suggest that the wording of both these sections be reconsidered. I have not attempted to redraft them, but it seems to me that if we were to provide something to this effect, that where a person transfers property for the purpose of reducing or avoiding taxation he shall be liable to be taxed on such property in an amount equal to the amount of the tax that he attempted to evade, then the responsibility is not on the treasury board; it is on the minister, and he can impose the tax on the person or company which is endeavouring to avoid it. If the company or person thinks an injustice is being done he has the right to appeal to the exchequer court as the act provides. I suggest that something of this kind be considered.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes—thank you.

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Mr. JACKMAN: This is peculiarly a point for those in the legal profession, but from the point of view of one engaged in business may I try to indicate how it strikes me. First I was interested in what the minister said in regard to the economic system under which we operate; it must undoubtedly be kept clean and wholesome and the spirit of competition must be allowed play. Certainly no greater resentment can be felt than by those who are heavy taxpayers against those who leave Canada for the purpose of decreasing the amount of tax they have to pay, because it means that those of us who choose to stay in Canada—and most of us fortunately do—have a greater amount to pay. So that there can be no sympathy with the class who are seeking to evade taxes.

On the other hand if the minister wishes to keep this system of ours wholesome, I hope the government will do its part also. If it would allow the salaries of some of the government officials to be published, such as those in the Bank of Canada and the Canadian National Railways which were refused in the committee the other day, I think it would be a salutary step. The salaries of corporation officials as a group are published under our company law, and in the United States individually. There is no reason for keeping these matters from the public whose money they receive. The Canadian National Railways intimate that they do not wish to publish the salaries because of competition; in the case of the Bank of Canada there is no such reason.

Mr. COLDWELL: Would the hon. member go all the way and have the salaries of all the officials of corporations published?

Mr. JACKMAN: Yes, I think any corporation should publish the salaries of its officials. In that regard I may not find complete agreement on the part of some officials; nevertheless the money belongs to the shareholders and I see no reason why the salaries of officers of public companies should not be published.

I believe hon. members felt last night when original section 32A was read that this was an invasion of the rights of the citizen as against the crown, and many hon. members, I think, were surprised that that section did exist. Now the minister wishes greatly to enlarge the force and scope of the section so that there shall be no loophole. I do not think so much objection would be taken if the minister would bring down legislation to stop up a particular loophole or set of loopholes. But no; this draft amendment is asking not only to block loopholes of which he may know, but to go into other cases which may come up in the future.

The minister has said that taxation has taken on qutie a different aspect, partly because of the present crucial emergency, and partly because of the high rates of taxation that go with it. It is no longer a game where a good solicitor can drive a coach and four through any act of parliament. Nevertheless, as he inferentially pointed out, the situation in this country is conducive to lawyers using legal methods to assist clients in evading taxation, and while I do not wish to open up the whole field of corporation taxes, the minister himself has said that the need for such prying legislation as he is asking for, remedial legislation, does not exist in Great Britain because they do not have these corporation taxes. I do not wish to say they are iniquitous but they seem unfair inasmuch as corporations can neither eat nor drink nor otherwise use the income but are merely trustees for the people who put in their capital and thus create jobs for the people. There is no reason why the same money should be taxed twice and in some cases three times.

Perhaps another reason why the minister finds the difficulty more acute at the present time than under ordinary circumstances is that a surplus might have been accumulated for legitimate needs, but the company may have changed its type of business or may now find itself pretty much a holding company with a large earned surplus. When that surplus was accumulated perhaps ten or twenty years ago the rate of tax on the individuals who really owned it might have been five or ten or fifteen per cent, but now the incidence of tax on the people who own the company and who would receive the money is perhaps sixty or seventy or eighty per cent. So that the minister must realize that while to some extent there is a moral issue at stake, the crown itself has brought about a set of conditions which lead to getting around the tax if it can be done legally. A business man must know where he stands. I am sure the minister will recall the old legal maxim that it is better that the law should be certain than that it should be just. You cannot go on doing business unless you know where you stand. While a set of rules may be exercised fairly and judicially by one administration, there may be at some time a subsequent administration operating those rules in such a way that it will be absolutely impossible for business to carry on. This brings me back to the fact that if the minister would suggest legislation for

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particular cases I think the committee would receive it much more favourably than to ask for such blanket powers as he is seeking under this section.

I might refer briefly to the position of the subject as against the crown. People perhaps get the impression that this is all one-sided, that there are iniquitous people lying awake nights trying with the help of able counsel to do the crown out of some of its just dues. But I tell the minister that the crown is just as unfair and iniquitous and sets a worse example than individuals.

Mr. RALSTON: "The king can do no wrong".

Mr. JACKMAN: That is a legal theory.

Mr. GRAYDON: Some of his advisers can.

Mr. JACKMAN: Unfortunately there are too many "kings" in this country. That brings me to the point of succession duties. Just let me tell the committee, and perhaps particularly my hon. friends of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, that if a person in either the great province of Quebec or the great province of Ontario dies while holding as an asset a share in a company whose head office is in the other province, then his estate must pay a full tax on that share in Ontario, a full tax in Quebec and a full tax to the dominion. There is no equity as between the crown and the individual in many cases, and in view of the high taxes that exist at the present time the crown is getting many windfalls from income which was earned in previous years when the rates of taxation were only a fraction of what they are to-day, but which income is only now being paid out. For instance, I will mention executors' fees. An executor may work on an estate for five or ten years and receive little or nothing until a final settlement is made. If he asks for that settlement to-day, or if by reason of his death the settlement is made to-day, the crown applies the tax on the money which he made back in 1935, or prior to that time, but at the rates of taxation which are applicable to-day.

I just want to point out to the minister that the matter is not entirely one-sided, that no law can be made to operate with exact fairness under all circumstances; and while we must do all we can to prevent evasions of taxation, nevertheless the crown does make up on some items what it loses on others. The essential point, is, I believe, that if you cannot draft specific legislation to prevent evasions, then if the liberty of the individual is to be jeopardized by a blanket amendment such as is proposed, the crown must forfeit its right. Otherwise it means that the state is put ahead of the individual, which is in essence the whole theory of totalitarianism.

As I have mentioned, however, the whole question is one for corporation and constitutional lawyers who must look after the rights of the individual, and who have knowledge of the principles which apply. I am sorry the Minister of Justice is not in his seat at the moment, because I should like to ask an opinion from him as to whether or not he thinks the rights of the citizens of this great country are protected under the suggested amendment; for, after all, he is to a large extent the protector and custodian of the rights of the Canadian people.

Mr. POTTIER: I have not the income tax act before me, but I seem to remember a provision somewhere in it that if a person does not keep books, for example, the minister may assess the amount of income tax payable. In that case is there any appeal by the person who is assessed from the decision of the minister to a tribunal?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes; there is, I feel certain, an appeal provided to the exchequer court. The usual procedure is an assessment by the commissioner and then an appeal to the minister, which almost invariably results in confirmation of the commissioner's assessment; then there is the appeal to the exchequer court. Is there something in regard to this about which I do not know? Is that the hon. gentleman's question?

Mr. POTTIER: I was going to follow that up by asking why the minister would not be in the same position with regard to this matter as he would be with regard to the person who does not keep books. Therefore why not leave the minister the discretion he has in the other case and permit the same procedure that now exsists under the income tax act with regard to appeal? That more or less follows what the hon. member for St. John-Albert said, and I am tempted to support his remarks.

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not see any section which provides that the minister has any extraordinary power by virtue of the fact that the taxpayer does not keep books. There is a provision that if a taxpayer fails or refuses to keep adequate books or accounts for income tax purposes, the minister may require the taxpayer to keep such records or accounts as he may prescribe.

Mr. POTTIER: What happens if he does not?

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Mr. ILSLEY: Well, I do not know; I suppose he would be subject to a penalty. The fact is that assessments are made fairly arbitrarily at times, because the department simply cannot get any information and they have the power to make assessments. They have to be arbitrary; otherwise they cannot get anywhere; there is just nothing to be done. They have to do the best they can; and, as the hon. gentleman says, that is not very much different from the power of treasury board here. We did not think, perhaps, that these powers should be vested in the minister, because they are extraordinary powers, and it was some protection to say that they should be exercised by the treasury board, which is a committee composed of six ministers.

Though I am in a hurry I think I will place on record some excerpts from articles appearing on the subject of tax avoidance in war time which appeared in the English tax magazine *Taxation*. I wish these might be read outside this house as well as inside.

Mr. GRAYDON: Does the minister think there are more offenders outside than in?

Mr. ILSLEY: The excerpts are as follows:

Methods of escape from taxation have exercised the wits of man since the raising of revenue for the public welfare was first put into operation and have taken many forms, from the smuggling of excisable goods to the execution of annuity deeds in favour of children. . . .

Lord Blackburn, in Coltness Iron Foundry v. Black, said, "No tax can be imposed on the subject without words in an act of parliament clearly showing an intention of laying a burden on him. But when that intention is sufficiently shown, it is, I think, vain to speculate on what would be the fairest and most equitable mode of levying that tax." . . .

In war time few things can be viewed in the same light as in peace time, and the question of legal avoidance of taxation obligations is, in our opinion, one of the foremost of these things. . . .

When, at last, this nightmare of war has passed, we may revert to our former opinion as to the rights of the taxpayer, but so long as our country is fighting for its very existence, we hold the view that the moral liability of the citizen comes before all else. . . .

Time and again, before the commencement of hostilities, eminent judges were at pains to make it crystal clear that it was open to all taxpayers so to arrange their affairs that the amount of tax which might be extracted from them by the revenue authorities was as small as possible. . . .

To-day, when the country is in the throes of the greatest war in its history, we believe that it is the duty of every citizen to pay the full measure of all taxation according to the circumstances in which it finds him when it is imposed. . . .

The legal liability of the taxpayer has given place to the moral liability; a moral liability which is without parallel in the history of taxation. . . .

. . . in this, the greatest test our country has been called upon to face, the old dicta of learned judges, to the effect that a man is entitled to arrange his affairs to avoid taxation, could not apply. We felt, and we still feel, that the taxpayer's undertakings should bear the burdens imposed by the legislature as those burdens find them. . . .

I place that on record merely because it is of interest, and in order to provoke thought in the minds of citizens generally. I must say I do not see very much in those excerpts with which to disagree.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): In line 8, subsection 2 of section 32A it states:

. . . any person subsequent to the year 1939 as a result of such transaction or transactions has been received directly or indirectly from a company having undistributed income on hand. . . .

That goes back four years; but if this is placed upon the statute books to-day, perhaps four or five years from now the income tax division will come along and will then be able to go back eight years. In that way they might be able to take money from a person who had spent what he had received in this way. I think the date is wrong; it should go back not more than four years. Four years should be the limit.

Mr. ILSLEY: We went back to the beginning of the war.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): That is all right; but if this is on the statute books for another four years, it will mean it will go back eight years and that is rather far-reaching. Supposing the minister received from a company some income which he thought was a legitimate dividend and the commissioner of income tax said it was not, that he was taxable—

Mr. ILSLEY: It would be taxable if it were dividends.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): Supposing it were something that the minister thought was legitimate. I think a clause should be inserted limiting it to four years.

Mr. ILSLEY: I will give the matter consideration.

Mr. GRAYDON: One question by the hon. member for Rosedale which the minister did not answer was in connection with the draftsmanship of this particular section. Was the Minister of Justice or the Department of Justice consulted? It seems to me that if there

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ever were a need for reference to the Department of Justice, this is it. I do not know how busy that department is, but I do not think it is too busy to give some consideration to a constitutional matter as important as this one.

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not think the Department of Justice has been consulted, but the bill has not yet been prepared.

Mr. GRAYDON: I wish to make our position clear with respect to the whole matter. We have a resolution in the form of a notice.

Mr. ILSLEY: It has been passed by council. I have the authority of the government to propose this.

Mr. GRAYDON: I have never had the honour and privilege of being present at council, but I imagine that while the word of the minister may not be taken as absolutely final it has an influential effect upon the decision reached. Perhaps, if I may pay a compliment to the minister, I think his word would carry very considerable weight. This is one instance in which the Minister of Justice and the Department of Justice should have been consulted. This is a constitutional matter and they should have been consulted. I may be entirely wrong in my premise; but I contend that the Minister of Justice should have been asked to give an opinion on the constitutional and legal aspect, entirely apart from the problem of taxation or the avoidance of taxation. Now that the Minister of National Defence is looking my way, may I say that it would not have hurt matters if he had been consulted. Sitting together on the front benches opposite are two men who have the reputation of being highly skilled in legal matters. I think this is one instance where the committee, in attempting to find a solution for this problem in collaboration with the minister, should have had the benefit of the expert advice of the Minister of Justice and his department.

Resolution agreed to.

24. That members of the Canadian naval, military and air forces in the Canadian active service forces and in receipt of service pay and allowances in excess of $1,600 shall be allowed a credit from the tax otherwise payable equal to the tax payable on $1,600 (increased by dependents' allowances in the case of married persons but not including any allowance for more than six children) provided that on incomes over $1,600 (or appropriately increased by dependents' allowances) the tax credit shall be reduced in the same proportion that such income exceeds $1,600 (or appropriately increased by dependents' allowances); provided that in the case of female members of the said forces the figure of $1,600 shall be replaced by such appropriate lesser amount as may be determined by the governor in council.

[Mr. Graydon.]

Mr. ILSLEY: There is an amendment to this resolution. It will not change the principle, but it is intended to clarify the intention. The amendment is:

That resolution 24 be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

"That members of the Canadian naval, military and air forces in the Canadian active service forces and in receipt of service pay and allowances (exclusive of subsistence allowances up to $1.70 per day and marriage and dependents allowances) at a rate of $1,600 or more per annum shall be allowed a credit against the tax otherwise payable equal to the tax payable on $1,600 (or such amount appropriately increased by marriage and dependents allowances but not including any allowance for more than six children);

Provided that if such service pay and allowances is in excess of $1,600 per annum (or such amount appropriately increased by marriage and dependents allowances) the tax credit shall be reduced by the proportion which such excess bears to $1,600 (or such amount appropriately increased by marriage and dependents allowances);

Provided further that the service pay and allowances of members of the said forces shall not be taxable income if such members are in receipt of pay and allowances (excluding subsistence allowances up to $1.70 per day and marriage and dependents allowances) at a rate of less than $1,600 per annum;

Provided further that in the case of members of the women's royal Canadian naval service, Canadian women's army corps and Royal Canadian Air Force women's division the figure of $1,600 shall be replaced by the figure of $1,200."

That is a complicated arrangement.

Mr. GIBSON: I so move.

Mr. GRAYDON: Are nurses on active service not included?

Mr. ILSLEY: They would be included in members of the Canadian naval, military and air forces. I understand that their pay is commensurate with that received by the men. Let me explain the scheme. Before we introduced the changes last year it was found that a number of ranks in the armed forces, particularly warrant officers, were receiving a net income after taxation greater than that received by the lower commissioned officers.

Mr. JACKMAN: Up to the rank of major.

Mr. ILSLEY: That was detrimental to the military organization, because in some instances promotions which should have been made were resisted. The persons did not want to accept the promotions. In order to overcome this problem last year, we said that the tax shall not reduce the net income of any officer below $1,600. That amount was as near as we could come to the pay of a warrant officer. Some warrant officers get a little more than that without trades pay, particularly in the navy, but in the army and air force they get less than $1,600. The provision that the tax should not reduce the net income below $1,600 did away with the anomaly that existed at the time, that the commissioned officer had less money in his pocket after paying the tax than the non-commissioned officer without trades pay.

The trouble with what we did last year was that it left some commissioned officers in the lower ranks receiving the same as the high non-commissioned officers without trades pay. That was undesirable because it left a flat level there. While it did not take money out of the person's pocket to be promoted, it did not give him any more money. It was not a proper gradation of pay. This is designed to remove that anomaly, and so far as we can make a fair provision this is a completely fair provision. Instead of drawing the line between taxable and non-taxable members of the forces, between commissioned and non-commissioned officers, we draw it at $1,600. This means that certain warrant officers, those getting trades pay, who have not heretofore been taxable, will hereafter be taxable to some extent. But it substitutes a rational and logical line or division for a very illogical one. It draws the line on the basis of pay instead of on the basis of rank.

It does another thing. It provides that, whether he be commissioned or non-commissioned, a single member of the forces who has no dependents and is receiving $1,600 gets a credit of the tax on $1,600 against his tax, which means that he pays nothing. As his pay rises there is a proportionate reduction in that tax credit. If his pay rises to $1,700 there is a one-sixteenth reduction of his tax credit; at $1,800 there is a reduction of two-sixteenths of the tax credit; at $1,900 there is a reduction of three-sixteenths, and so on until at $3,200 there is a sixteen-sixteenth reduction of the tax credit, or, in other words, no tax credit at all.

The application of the formula will mean that a person in receipt of army pay higher than that of another member of the forces will always have more left to him after paying his tax. There would be an even gradation of his net income between $1,600 and $3,200. At $3,200 the tax credit disappears altogether. Commissioned officers resident in Canada are fully taxable on their pay if it is in excess of $3,200 and if they are single.

These figures of $1,600 and $3,200 become altered very greatly in the case of those having wives and children. The figure for a married person without children is $2,100, instead of $1,600; for a married person with one child it is $2,255, and for a married person with two children, $2,400. That alters the scale of tax credits.

This increase in exemptions, so to speak, of the married person, of the married person with one child, of the married person with two children or more, involves as its necessary corollary a tax on dependents' allowance. The dependents' allowance has been regarded since the beginning of the war as taxable as against the member of the forces, and we intend to continue it as taxable, and in fact to confirm what we have been doing. It would completely upset our whole system if there were any question about that fact. Accordingly that will be done in another resolution. He gets this concession, this higher floor, this allowance of his tax by reason of having a wife, and a further allowance by reason of having one child, two children, and so on. It follows, we think, that on that scheme of things the dependents' allowance should be taxable. They always have been taxable. The Department of Justice gave an opinion at the beginning of the war that they were taxable.

Mr. GRAYDON: The question was referred to the justice department?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes, at the outset of the war. Of course, it is income; by virtue of the man's employment with the crown the allowance goes to his wife and to his children. What I am pointing out is that the taxing of the dependents' allowance is necessarily involved in this plan of rising floors, and on that account the allowance is taxable.

Mr. SENN: This does not apply to members of the forces whose duties are performed outside Canada, afloat or in aircraft, as in resolution 22.

Mr. ILSLEY: No; that is not changed. There is no extension there, and no extension to those serving overseas.

Mr. GRAYDON: No tax?

Mr. ILSLEY: No tax.

Mr. GRAYDON: Resolution 24 was brought down with the other budget resolutions on March 2. Can the minister explain why the original resolutions did not contain these amendments? From what the minister has said, these resolutions must have been the subject of a great deal of consideration by the government from time to time, for they are designed to meet problems that arose with which last year's provisions did not deal adequately. I am not complaining particularly, but with all the time there has

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been to consider the budget resolutions, it is odd that we should have the amendments brought down only at the last moment.

Mr. ILSLEY: This resolution which I am substituting for the resolution on the order paper carries out the exact intention of the resolution that was put on the order paper. It is merely drafted in a better form and more accurately. It does add a provision about the members of the women's services, and for the purposes of definiteness the figure of $1,200 is put in there. In the original resolution that was left to the governor in council. Now it is proposed that they be taxed by parliament and that $1,200 is the proper figure. Apart from that, and apart from making it clear that there is an exemption of the pay of persons receiving up to $1,600, which was implied or, we thought, implied in the original resolution, there was no reason for changing its terms. This is accurate and correct. The hon. gentleman asks why we did not draft it properly to begin with.

Mr. GRAYDON: I hardly made it as blunt as that.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is what it comes to.

Mr. GRAYDON: That is what I meant, of course.

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not blame the hon. member for asking the question. There was a lot to do. You cannot get your drafting done with strict accuracy in a hurry, and when you have to rise in the house and defend it line by line and word by word you read it fairly carefully. It was obvious upon consideration that the other resolution was not accurate, and this one is.

Mr. MacNICOL: Can the situation arise where a member of the forces drawing $1,600 a year would find, after he paid his tax, that he would have a net amount left which was less than what a member of the forces drawing $1,550 received?

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. ADAMSON: Just a matter of explanation of this dependents' allowance business. It has been, as the minister knows, a great bone of contention to the armed services. I will point out one case in which, it may seem, I am interested. No member of the armed forces who is also a member of the house draws dependents' allowance; you cannot draw allowances from two sources at the same time. I wish to make that clear. As I understand it, at the present time an unmarried officer is given tax exemption up to $1,600 of his army pay. Am I correct in that?

Mr. ILSLEY: Under this proposal?

Mr. ADAMSON: Under this proposal, yes.

Mr. ILSLEY: If he gets under $1,600 he is exempted on the entire amount; if he gets over $1,600 he is taxable and gets a tax credit of the tax on $1,600.

Mr. ADAMSON: That is what I said.

Mr. ILSLEY: Subject to a slight reduction the higher he goes.

Mr. ADAMSON: If he gets $1,700 his reduction is fifteen-sixteenths, and on $1,800 it is fourteen-sixteenths?

Mr. ILSLEY: Two-sixteenths.

Mr. ADAMSON: Two-sixteenths, yes. His exemption is reduced one-sixteenth for every $100 over $1,600?

Mr. ILSLEY: Right.

Mr. ADAMSON: For your married officer the exemption starts at $2,250, or $2,150?

Mr. ILSLEY: A married person without children, at $2,100.

Mr. ADAMSON: That is tantamount to allowing the married officer a further exemption of $500.

Mr. ILSLEY: No. What happens there is that the married officer runs from $2,100 to $4,200.

Mr. ADAMSON: Yes, but he does not begin to pay taxes until his army pay and dependents' allowances come to $2,100?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

Mr. ADAMSON: Therefore it comes to almost the same thing as allowing that officer $500 exemption on his dependents' allowance, because the unmarried officer gets no dependents' allowance.

Mr. ILSLEY: Well, yes, I think that is substantially correct. These words are tricky. It may not be exactly the same. That is the principle of it, and I think that is right.

Mr. ADAMSON: I think that is a good principle. I commend the minister for it, because the married officer has definitely suffered a hardship in being taxed on his dependents' allowance. Many cases have been made in support of the contention that the taxation on dependents' allowance is an unsound premise. I know the government have always taxed the dependents' allowance. I think it is unsound. Of course, an officer serving overseas is not taxed on his pay or on his dependents' allowance. When both husband and wife are living in Canada, both have the same expenses. I think it can be shown and reasonably argued that the dependent living in Canada, whether or not the

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member of the armed forces is serving overseas or in this country, still has to live and has to provide for the same amount of expenses irrespective of where her next of kin is serving.

Mr. ILSLEY: The discrimination there arises from our discrimination in favour of officers overseas.

Mr. ADAMSON: Yes, to a certain extent it does. But if the dependents' allowance were tax-free, that discrimination against the dependent would not occur.

Mr. ILSLEY: It would not be as great; that is all.

Mr. ADAMSON: This, I think, is a step in the right direction. I should like to see it carried further, but it certainly will help in the case I have mentioned.

Mr. ILSLEY: I should point out that if the dependents' allowance were not regarded as income of the officer, it probably would be regarded as income of the wife. In the case of the wife who is getting over $660 a year—$60 a month, for example—she might find herself taxable, which would be a very undesirable result.

Mr. ADAMSON: I understand that, under the act as it is, the dependents' allowance, irrespective of what income the wife may have, is not considered as extra allowance?

Mr. ILSLEY: I am sorry I did not hear the hon. member.

Mr. ADAMSON: I understand that the dependents' allowance received by the wife is a tax-free allowance. I mean, the taxes on that are paid by the member of the armed forces.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. ADAMSON: And, irrespective of what other income this woman may have, that dependents' allowance is tax-free?

Mr. ILSLEY: Oh, yes.

Mr. ADAMSON: There is no double taxation?

Mr. ILSLEY: She is not taxable on it.

Mr. ADAMSON: One thing more. The living allowance of $1.70 is tax-free?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is correct.

Mr. ADAMSON: That also is so concerning officers who may hold staff appointments, whose allowances are tax-free?

Mr. ILSLEY: Up to $1.70 a day.

Mr. STIRLING: Supposing the service man has income from other sources, raising it considerably above $1,600, for instance, does that provision still apply to his service pay?

Mr. ILSLEY: It applies to his service pay, yes.

Mr. FERRON: Will the minister tell us if in the United States army the dependents' allowance or its equivalent is taxable?

Mr. ILSLEY: I understand it is not.

Mr. FERRON: And in the imperial army, is it?

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not know. I have heard that some allowances are taxable and some are not, but I do not know.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution as amended agreed to.

22. That the service pay and allowances of the Canadian naval, military and air forces while in the Canadian active service forces in the western hemisphere other than in Canada shall be subject to income tax at one-half the effective rate applicable to each individual taxpayer, such rate to be determined by calculating the total tax on each taxpayer's total income, determining the effective rate which the tax bears to such total income and allowing a credit against the tax payable of one-half of the effective rate on such service pay and allowances; provided, however, that no tax shall be payable in respect of the service pay and allowances of any such member of the Canadian naval, military and air forces whose total service pay does not exceed the sum of $1,600 (or in the case of female members of the said services such lower appropriate amount as shall be determined by the governor in council) and provided further that no tax shall be payable on service pay and allowances by members of the said forces whose duties are of such a character as are required normally to be performed afloat or in aircraft.

Mr. ILSLEY: I move the following amendment:

That the resolution be amended by substituting therefor the following:

"22. That the service pay and allowances of the Canadian naval, military and air forces while in the Canadian active service forces in the western hemisphere other than in Canada shall be subject to income tax at one-half the effective rate applicable to each individual taxpayer, such rate to be determined by calculating the total tax on each taxpayer's total income, determining the effective rate which the tax bears to such total income and allowing a credit against the tax payable of one-half of the effective rate on such service pay and allowances; provided, however, that the exemptions and tax credits for members of the armed forces as provided for in resolution 24 hereof shall apply pro tanto to members of the forces affected by this resolution; provided further that no tax shall be payable on service pay and allowances by members of the said forces whose duties are of such a character as are required normally to be performed afloat or in aircraft."

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This is simply a matter of rewording, and correcting certain inaccuracies. The effect of the resolution, however, is exactly the same. It is to make those on this hemisphere outside Canada taxable at half the effective rate applicable to those within Canada, and to do away with certain marked instances of discrimination now existing. This does not apply to those who are afloat; I am speaking about the ones who do not get that class of exemption. For instance, an army officer at Sydney is taxed at the full Canadian rate, and he is not taxable at all at St. John's, Newfoundland. They are not taxable at all overseas. We thought it would be much fairer to make this gradation. There are reasons why it is less desirable perhaps to be outside Canada, on this continent, than in Canada. We thought this was the best procedure to take.

Mr. GRAYDON: An amendment to resolution 24 has just been passed. Most hon. members would have liked to see it before it was finally passed. We now have another amendment, namely, to resolution 22, which I see for the first time.

If the minister has an amendment to resolution 23, I suggest that he bring it in now so that hon. members may have an opportunity of looking at it. Perhaps we could return to this one later on. I make the suggestion for the convenience of the committee. Leaders of groups are perhaps in a preferred position, but after all this is still a committee of the whole house, and I must say I do not know how members can intelligently consider the amendments when they do not have an opportunity to see them. If the minister were to have the amendments typed so that copies could be distributed, it would be helpful.

Mr. MacNICOL: There should be a copy for every member of the committee.

Mr. GRAYDON: It is most difficult in respect of these complicated amendments to note the implications as they are presented to us. Hon. members may have greater ability than I have in that regard, but I must confess that I have difficulty at times, and I feel sure they have the same difficulty in knowing what is going on in the committee. I am not criticizing the minister unduly, but this is one of the procedures which must be checked.

Resolution stands.

23. That the service pay and allowances of any member of the Canadian naval, military and air forces who is in the Canadian active service forces and who has been overseas on the strength of an overseas unit outside of the western hemisphere and whose service pay is in excess of $1,600 shall be exempt from taxation on the first six months' service pay and allowances received by him after his return to Canada; provided, however, that the period of such exemption shall not exceed the length of the period which has been served on the strength of an overseas unit outside of the western hemisphere; provided that in the case of female members of the said forces the figure of $1,600 shall be replaced by such appropriate lesser amount as may be determined by the governor in council.

Mr. ILSLEY: I move the following amendment:

That the resolution be amended by substituting therefor the following:

"23. That the service pay and allowances of any member of the Canadian naval, military and air forces who is in the Canadian active service forces and who has been overseas on the strength of an overseas unit outside of the western hemisphere shall be exempt from taxation on the first six months' service pay and allowances received by him after his return to Canada; provided, however, that the period of such exemption shall not exceed the length of the period which has been served on the strength of an overseas unit outside of the western hemisphere."

Mr. MacNICOL: Would it be possible during the dinner recess to have at least 245 copies mimeographed, so that each member would have a copy? I do not see how we can discuss the amendments intelligently until we have a look at them.

Mr. ILSLEY: I shall see if that can be done. There is no change in effect in this resolution; it is just a change in wording.

Mr. MacNICOL: It seems to be a most unbusinesslike procedure.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: There is only a deletion of some unnecessary words.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes, and some changes in the wording.

Mr. HAZEN: The amendment makes no reference to female members of the forces.

Mr. ILSLEY: No; that reference is not necessary, because they will be included. The whole tax is off for six months after they return from overseas.

Mr. GRAYDON: I think the suggestion that hon. members have copies is a most reasonable one. If hon. members have not copies of the amendments, they must find themselves in an embarrassing position. If the minister wishes to proceed with either resolution 22 or resolution 23, I would have no objection to a general statement with respect to them. But I must protest against their being passed without our having the necessary notice. We are taking one step after another in matters of this kind and, although I do not wish to be unduly critical, I suggest that

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we must proceed in an orderly fashion. I should like to facilitate the government in this. I am sure the government will realize that that is my desire. On the other hand, some things are fundamental. Members of the committee have the right to know on what basis the resolution stands. They cannot give intelligent consideration to amendments that the minister just reads hastily, as he does. As the hon. member for Davenport says, these resolutions are drafted entirely anew. It may be the minister can and does assure us that there is no substantial change, but that is not sufficient to warrant a body of representatives in committee of the whole in allowing a resolution to go simply on the say-so of the minister. I am sure the government and the minister will agree that as members of the committee we are entitled to know on what basis this discussion is to take place. I believe these resolutions, particularly resolutions 22 and 23, are perhaps affecting more people and are of more concern to people generally in Canada than almost any other two resolutions we have had before the committee so far. I plead with and implore the minister to see that before we commence a detailed discussion of these resolutions we have before us mimeographed copies of them.

Mr. ILSLEY: I will try to see to it that that is done. Resolution 22 already stands. We can let resolution 23 stand.

Mr. GRAYDON: When may we expect the mimeographed copies?

Mr. ILSLEY: I will try to get them by eight o'clock.

Mr. GRAYDON: If we could have them by eight o'clock we could perhaps proceed with them at once.

Resolution stands.

26. That any payment to or for any person in connection with any duty, whether as per diem allowance, living allowance or expenses, marriage or dependent's allowance (other than supplementary grants paid by the dependents' board of trustees) or otherwise, if ascertained and capable of computation (except statutory travelling expenses and travelling expenses paid to members of the armed forces in Canada) shall be regarded as salary of such person for tax purposes, provided, however, that living allowance paid to an employee of the dominion government or a member of the armed forces of Canada who is serving outside Canada in the western hemisphere but maintaining a self-contained domestic establishment in Canada shall be deemed to be taxable income of such person only to the extent that it exceeds such an amount as may be determined by the minister in his discretion.

That this resolution shall be applicable to the income of the years 1940 and subsequent years, but shall not affect any assessments, appeals from which have been lodged prior to April 16, 1943.

Mr. MacNICOL: Where do we find this?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yesterday's *Hansard*, page 2251.

Mr. ADAMSON: "Travelling expenses paid to members of the armed forces in Canada." Certain members of the armed forces in Canada have to travel on duty. Am I correct in assuming that the amount granted for that travelling on duty is still exempt, or does this alter it?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is still exempt. The reason why it is mentioned is that it is a per diem travelling allowance, which is a living allowance while travelling. It does not include fare. That living allowance for travelling, which is called a travelling allowance, would be caught by the first part of the resolution if it were not specially exempted, because it is a per diem allowance.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: I understood the minister to say yesterday in effect that this legalizes what has been done for years past.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is correct; generally speaking, that is the effect of the resolution, so far as living allowances, marriage and dependent allowances are concerned. Has the hon. gentleman any exception in mind?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: I think that covers it. I also understood the minister to say yesterday that there has been a court decision which laid down a certain rule in connection with what are known as our dollar a year man's allowance. I also understood him to say yesterday that certain appeals have been made by a certain dollar a year man.

Mr. ILSLEY: I know of only that one, the Samson one.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: That is what I am leading up to. I also understood the minister to say that discretion will be left with someone, I do not know whether officials or the treasury board, if there are any more. I wish to make my point clear; I have no objection to the minister's department or anyone else taxing dollar a year men. If they taxed it all back, it would be simply perfect. People may get the idea that some members of parliament are getting something. I have not the slightest fear in my riding. I understand the whole idea is that they want to tax the dollar a year men, and in order to tax them there must be special legislation or else this exemption applies to members or anyone. I am speaking only of what is said in the corridors, or the cafeteria or anywhere; I do not mind saying it here. But I cannot see why there should be any special exemption. I do not want anybody taxed unfairly. I see in to-day's Ottawa *Citizen*, "travel expenses paid

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cabinet men totalled $25,825". I want it clear in my mind and I am sure the public wish to know that there will be no unfair taxation as income of those expenses. I have not a legal mind; I do not know whether that $25,825 is to be taxed as these dollar a year men are. That would be unfair, just as it would be unfair to have a $2,000 motor car allowance if the motor car were tied up for the year.

It seems to me unfair that this should be done. I am sure the public, particularly the farmer who is getting no subsidy on his milk, would not like it, and I should be glad to have the assurance of the minister that this will not happen. We were told yesterday, as I understood it, that the treasury board would have the authority to say that any of these dollar a year men may come in under this provision. The records show that only one man has applied for this privilege, but can the minister give us any assurance that no one else will do so? Whether or not it is correct, the assumption is widely held that some of these dollar a year men get a living allowance of $50 a day.

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: That is the assumption, and I am glad to know it is not correct. Certainly many of them get $20 or $25 a day. One has appealed. Will any of the others be allowed to appeal now, or will only that one get this exemption? I think we should have a definite assurance on that point before any such provision is allowed to pass.

Mr. ILSLEY: The exemption covers only those who appealed up to April 16, 1943.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: All right; then were any other appeals entered except the one?

Mr. ILSLEY: I have not heard of any.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: If the minister and his officials do not know, certainly no member of this house knows, and we should be informed whether or not any other appeals were entered before that date. We should be told whether we are to make it legal for these men to continue to receive the salaries they were paid before they came here and an extra $20 a day living allowance, at the expense of the man in the factory getting 27, 35 or 40 cents an hour, or of the farmer, who must pay taxes in order to keep these men here. I want an assurance on that point from the minister.

Mr. ILSLEY: That comes under the Department of National Revenue, and the minister thinks he can find out before eight o'clock whether there have been any other appeals. I think the commissioner would have known about it if there had been. Personally I do not see what difference it makes. The principle of the legislation is this, that you should not affect pending legislation. That may be a good or a bad principle, but it is one that we have fairly generally followed. You should not legislate a man out of court or out of the fruits of a judgment that he has obtained in court. That is the principle of this exemption; that is the only reason why it is put in. Supposing there should turn out to be some other appeals; I would still think this exemption ought to be included. I do not know of any others, and the commissioner did not know of any when I asked him last night, except the one that went to judgment.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: Then I can take it that so far as the ministers and their officials know, there is only the one?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the resolution carry?

Mr. NEILL: No, Mr. Chairman. Did the minister not say that he would give us that information at eight o'clock?

Mr. GIBSON: Yes; I shall be able to get that information by eight o'clock.

Mr. NEILL: What is the use in passing the resolution without the information?

Mr. GIBSON: So far as the commissioner of income tax could tell me yesterday, he had no knowledge of any other appeal.

Mr. GILLIS: I am interested in this now. According to the decision handed down by Mr. Justice Thorson I take it that all taxes collected from the dollar a year men up to the passing of this resolution were collected illegally. Will each and every man who has been taxed on that living allowance since 1940 have his taxes refunded to him?

Mr. ILSLEY: Not if this passes.

Mr. GILLIS: This is only effective and operative, as I understand it, from the 16th of this month.

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. GILLIS: You are making it retroactive.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. GILLIS: That is fine. Then the hon. member for Fraser Valley raised the question of the automobile allowances of the ministers from year to year. Is that $2,000 taxable also?

Mr. ILSLEY: No; it is not.

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Mr. GILLIS: This does not make it taxable?

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. GILLIS: You should draw another line there.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: I should like to know whether we shall have any record of the cases that may be dealt with in the discretion of the minister in this connection.

Mr. ILSLEY: Oh, they will be dealt with by orders in council; that is all. Ordinarily they would not be made public; they would be remissions of taxation, which ordinarily we do not make public. I know a great many hon. members will flare up right there and say that the government is going to exercise all kinds of favouritism, and so on; but whatever they say, it is not so.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Have you any idea how many persons will be affected?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes; I think quite a number will be affected. For instance, I think a number of employees of the comptroller of the treasury and probably the auditor general, and employees of that class, particularly in the years 1940 and 1941, were getting per diem living allowances while away from their headquarters. Those allowances were small, $4 or $5 a day or something like that, and it was considered economy to pay them on that basis instead of having them put in expense accounts. This in terms would catch them; this in terms would make them taxable on those allowances. We have no intention at all of collecting from those men, because it was their clear understanding at the time that those allowances were not to be taxable; they were never regarded as taxable at all, and we would pass an order in council letting them out. They are not the class that we mean here at all. If the hon. gentleman will read the statement I made last night, he will see the principle on which we are proceeding here, and I do not know of any other way in which to do it. I considered very carefully trying to draft a section in another way, empowering the government to tax those people instead of having all these remissions. Hon. members will realize, from the arguments of last night and this afternoon, what I would run into if I did that. It would be argued that it was unconstitutional, that it was arbitrary, that it was the executive, and all that sort of thing. The other alternative is to tell the committee we are going to take off some taxes. Then hon. members will say, "Tell us what taxes you take off," and I do not know that we ought to do that. The principle always has been that the private affairs of the taxpayer, in reference to taxation, are not to be made public, and we have always adhered to that. That involves a considerable trust in the executive, I realize, but it has always had to be done.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Under section 81 of the Income War Tax Act.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes. The situation has always been that remissions of taxation have gone through from time to time, and nobody knows—that is, the public does not know—whether those remissions are right or wrong. The succeeding administration would know, or something like that; but, as a matter of fact, I can assure hon. members there is a very high standard of integrity and propriety in making remissions. It is not the desire to forgo money, and I can assure everyone there is no favouritism whatsoever.

Mr. WRIGHT: Would it not be much more satisfactory to give these men increases in salary rather than a rebate of their taxes? Would you not accomplish the same thing in that way and be able to do it openly without fear of criticism?

Mr. ILSLEY: We could not do that for the previous years; we could not do that for 1940, 1941 and 1942. The comptroller of the treasury has put most of his men on actual expenses, and that is a policy we have been trying to lay down, either pay a man a salary and tax him on his salary, or put him on expenses if he wants to go on expenses. Arrangements of all kinds have been made, and we are now taxing these per diem allowances. I am warning the committee that there will have to be a lot of remissions in the cases I have mentioned.

At six o'clock the committee took recess.

After Recess

The committee resumed at eight o'clock.

HYDE PARK AGREEMENT—REFERENCE TO NEWSPAPER REPORT OF ACCUMULATION OF UNITED STATES EXCHANGE—STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

Mr. ILSLEY: With the unanimous consent of the committee I should like to make a brief statement. I have been asked to comment on the news dispatch from Washington that Canada may have to take steps to prevent the accumulation of too much United States exchange. It will be recalled that in my budget speech on March 2, I referred to the improvement in our exchange position and stated that shortage of United States

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dollars had ceased to be a major problem. This improvement was the subject of discussion with the United States treasury shortly after the beginning of the year and again more recently, and an agreement has been reached on the policy to be followed.

It is the case that Canada is in balance with the United States on civilian or non-war account. In other words, our ordinary exports and other current receipts of United States dollars are sufficient to cover our non-war requirements. This is the position which Canada has been struggling to reach ever since the start of the war, by economizing in non-essential expenditures of United States dollars. At the moment there is a surplus on non-war account, but the amount involved is extremely small, and I am not in a position to predict whether there will continue to be a surplus throughout the year.

United States dollars required to pay for continuing heavy purchases of war materials and supplies have to be obtained in large measure through sales of other war goods to the United States—the arrangement which was embodied in the Hyde Park agreement. It was not the intention that this arrangement should provide Canada with an amount of United States dollars in excess of our requirements, and I anticipate no technical difficulty in carrying out the principles of the Hyde Park agreement in such a way that, apart from temporary fluctuations, we may avoid building up a large surplus or running into a deficit again.

Mr. COLDWELL: Would the minister at some time or another tell us why it is not possible to bring the Canadian dollar to some parity level with the United States dollar?

Mr. ILSLEY: I presume that question will be asked—

Mr. COLDWELL: I was not necessarily expecting an answer to-night.

Mr. ILSLEY: As a matter of fact the hon. member for New Westminster asked me to make a statement on that in the budget debate, but I forgot about it.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: In view of the statement that the minister has just made, can he not give us some assurance that the government will discontinue the War Exchange Conservation Act? The need for United States dollars was given as one of the main reasons for that act.

Mr. ILSLEY: I am not prepared at the moment to make any statement on the continuance or discontinuance of the import restrictions or on the relaxation of the pleasure travel regulations.

INCOME WAR TAX ACT

The CHAIRMAN: We are on resolution 26.

Mr. MacNICOL: We were to receive typewritten copies of the amendment. It should not take over half an hour to have them made.

The CHAIRMAN: That does not apply to resolution 26, which was before us this afternoon.

Mr. MacNICOL: Perhaps the minister will indicate what the changes mentioned at page 2251 of *Hansard* are. They may not be of any consequence.

Mr. ILSLEY: There are no changes in the resolution before us.

Mr. MacNICOL: The changes referred at page 2251 of *Hansard*.

Mr. ILSLEY: There is no change in that. That is the one I gave notice of last night.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): Take the case of a man who is not receiving any salary or fixed allowance but who puts in an expense account covering his expenses while living at a hotel here in Ottawa, say, and never sees any of that money. It is paid by one of the departments, we will suppose.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is not taxable.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: It seems to me that this type of complication is a result of appointments by order in council. As it now stands it leaves it to the minister's discretion to decide what amount shall be taxable income. Mistakes have been made in the past. Can we have any assurance that appointments of that kind will not be made in the future without a definite understanding between employer and employee so that they will know just where they stand?

Mr. ILSLEY: Any such arrangements will have to be made in the light of this legislation if it passes.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: The second paragraph says that this resolution shall be applicable to income of 1940 and subsequent years. Some have paid their income tax for 1940. What will be done about them? Will you go back and reconsider their returns and determine what they shall be taxed?

Mr. ILSLEY: If they have paid their tax there is nothing to reconsider. I do not know what situation the hon. gentleman has in mind.

Mr. COLDWELL: He is asking if it is retroactive.

Mr. ILSLEY: A lot of them have paid, and we do not want to have to make refunds.

Mr. COLDWELL: You are collecting from those who did not make payments and legalizing what has been done?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. COLDWELL: And are applying this to the others who did not pay?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes, except in the cases where it was their clear understanding that they were not taxable.

Mr. GIBSON: The leader of the opposition asked me before the dinner recess if there had been any other appeals and I told him I would let him know. No other appeals have been entered.

Mr. O'NEILL: What would be the position of civil servants who, in addition to their salary, have a house allowance of $30, $35 or $40 a month? Once in a while there appear civil service advertisements of positions carrying a salary of $2,400 approximately and a house allowance of $30 or $35 a month. I understand that in the past that house allowance has not been subject to income tax. Will it be subject to taxation under this new provision?

Mr. ILSLEY: It always has been, I think.

Mr. O'NEILL: It always has been?

Mr. ILSLEY: I think so. I would be surprised if it had not. I did not know there were such arrangements as that.

Mr. O'NEILL: Oh, yes, there are civil servants who have a house allowance, and it was my understanding that it was not taxed. I was wondering how such an allowance would be affected by this provision.

Mr. ILSLEY: My understanding is, and I would be surprised if I am wrong, that if a civil servant is paid $2,400 a year and given a house to live in, he is charged a fair rental for that house as part of his income. We do that with other people, and I think we would do it with civil servants. It would follow, if he got a house allowance, as well as his salary of $2,400, that the house allowance would be part of his income. It is clearly part of his income.

Mr. MacNICOL: Is it any more part of his income than the allowance of $2,000 a year to a minister of the crown for a motorcar? That $2,000 allowed to the ministers is not taxed, is it? They certainly do not use it for motorcars to a great extent.

Mr. COLDWELL: Wherein lies the difference between the motorcar allowance for the ministers and the house allowance for the civil servants?

Mr. ILSLEY: A house allowance is clearly part of the normal living expenses of the individual. The motorcar allowance for the minister is a method of providing him with a travelling allowance, a way of supplying him with a means of transportation. He is paid a flat amount instead of submitting his vouchers. I think the real distinction is that in the case of the minister it is connected with the performance of his duties, and in the case of the civil servant it is connected with his living.

Mr. COLDWELL: Let me, then, put this to the minister. The officials of the department, and probably properly, have never allowed members of parliament to charge up the expenses of any automobile travelling in their own constituencies.

Mr. MacNICOL: And they use their cars.

Mr. COLDWELL: Some hon. members have constituencies which are one hundred and twenty miles in one direction by sixty or seventy miles in the other.

Mr. STIRLING: A good deal more than that.

Mr. COLDWELL: Some, more than that. The member uses an automobile to do work in his constituency and visit his constituents. I know that the first year I was a member of parliament I thought it was a legitimate charge, and I put my expenses, of which I kept track, on my income tax return, but I was told that this was not allowable. Since then, of course, I have never charged them. But I took it at that time, in 1936, that I was entitled to do so. What I would ask the minister is, if a minister in the discharge of his duty is entitled to the lump sum of $2,000 in order that he may do his work, why is it that a member of parliament or an official of the government who has to travel is not allowed to charge up against his income tax return his automobile expenses for the work he is doing? I am not objecting to paying the income tax.

Mr. ILSLEY: It may very well be that a member of parliament ought to have a travelling allowance of that kind—which would be a different matter entirely—and if

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he got it he would, I assume, not be taxed on it. But a minister does not deduct anything from his minister's salary and his sessional indemnity; he pays on that full amount; and then the government provides this method for him to run around and attend to his duties; instead of putting in his bills he is given a flat allowance to cover it. It was done as a matter of economy. It was stated at the time, by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, that it was not to be subject to income taxation. Although that statement does not have any constitutional effect, the allowance was not and is not taxed. But it is in a different position from deductions. The hon. gentleman is seeking to carry the analogy to deductions.

Mr. COLDWELL: I can see the distinction.

Mr. KNOWLES: It was stated that where vouchers are put in for actual expenses, the amount received for the vouchers is not to be taxed, but that where a flat allowance is made, it is to be taxed. Is that not the case?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes, except statutory allowances. There are a number of statutory allowances; for example, what members of parliament get per diem on their way to the house and going home, which is $15 per diem if they live more than four hundred miles away. That is not to be taxed, because parliament itself has said, not in its capacity of employer but in its capacity of parliament, that that is the value it puts on hon. members' expenses. Therefore all that class of statutory expenses is not to be subject to this taxing provision. The same is to be true of judges. Judges get either $6 or $10 a day when they are away from home; parliament has said that that is travelling expenses, so that class of cases is excepted from this legislation.

Mr. KNOWLES: Was that excepted by some other provision, or is it excepted because of the parenthesis which appears in this resolution?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is excepted in the parenthesis.

Mr. KNOWLES: Is that consistent with the general principle laid down by the minister?

Mr. ILSLEY: Well, we did not think we could go into statutory expenses there. These have never been taxed at all. You could not put them on an actual basis.

Mr. KNOWLES: But you could tax them in the same way as you propose to tax the per diem allowance which is made to the dollar a year man.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes; you could tax them. But the idea of taxing is in the interests of fairness. The $20 or $25 a day has been ruled taxable and has been taxed and regarded as salary for the last two or three years. That is not true of either the ministers' motor car allowance, or the judges' travelling expenses, or the members' $15 a day coming to Ottawa and going home from Ottawa, or any of the other things which are found in the statutes. They would have a proper case for remission under the undertaking I gave if they were caught by the resolution.

Mr. MacNICOL: But the $15 allowance to members of parliament is not at all in the same category as the $2,000 motor car allowance to ministers. A few days ago a return was brought down which indicated that some of the ministers had very heavy travelling expenses last year, besides receiving the $2,000 for their motor cars. I have been long of the opinion that the $2,000 allowance for ministers' motor cars is nothing more than an increase of $2,000 in their salaries—to which I have no objection whatever, but I still think it ought to be taxed.

Mr. ILSLEY: With regard to that $2,000, there are some ministers, certainly, and have been many, the upkeep of whose motor car and driver costs more than $2,000. There are ministers who simply have to have a motor car. It would be bad economy for them not to.

Mr. MacNICOL: That is why the allowance was made in the first place.

Mr. ILSLEY: There are other ministers who, of course, do not spend anything like the $2,000; and I am very well acquainted with one of them.

Mr. MacNICOL: I remember well the reason why the allowance was made in the first place. The provision for $2,000 for ministers' motor cars was made by the Bennett government, and it was done because one minister in a previous administration had more expense in driving his car than had crowned heads in Europe in driving their cars.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): An hon. member mentioned a few minutes ago the matter of the allowance for homes of civil servants being taxed. On page 18 of the estimates there is an allowance of $3,000 to the Speaker of the senate in lieu of residence. Is that $3,000 taxed, or is it not?

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not know.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): If it is not taxed, why is the house allowance for civil servants taxed?

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Mr. ST. LAURENT: It is taxed, in fact.

Mr. ILSLEY: I am informed it is taxed.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): But you are not sure of it.

Mr. KNOWLES: Toward the end of this long paragraph I find these words:

. . . shall be deemed to be taxable income of such person only to the extent that it exceeds such an amount as may be determined by the minister in his discretion.

Is that not an admission that in these allowances there is a portion which may be justifiably claimed for expenses, but that there is a surplus which should be taxed?

Mr. ILSLEY: No; that is a special arrangement made with respect to civil servants abroad. It is different from the arrangement proposed for civil servants in Canada. It is regarded as income, and they are allowed to deduct up to a certain amount for actual expenses.

Mr. KNOWLES: If a dollar a year man is receiving $20 a day expenses, would it not be possible under this provision for the minister in his discretion to specify that $15 of that should be taxable, but that the remainder should be free of taxation?

Mr. ILSLEY: It does not apply in Canada. What the hon. member is reading does not apply in Canada at all.

Resolution agreed to.

On resolution 22.

The CHAIRMAN: An amendment to this resolution was moved before six o'clock.

Mr. MARTIN: Is there not a limitation here which was not intended? It goes on to say:

That the service pay and allowances of the Canadian naval, military and air forces while in the Canadian active service forces—

And these are the words to which I call the attention of the committee:

—in the western hemisphere other than in Canada.

Why refer to the western hemisphere? Members in the Canadian naval, military and air forces presumably are serving elsewhere than in the western hemisphere.

Mr. ILSLEY: They are serving either in the western hemisphere or overseas. This divides them into three taxable classes. In Canada they receive certain tax treatment, which is the least favourable. Then, if they are in this hemisphere, but outside Canada, they are taxed at half rates. If they are overseas, they are not taxed at all.

Mr. GRAHAM: What about Alaska?

Mr. ILSLEY: Half rates.

Mr. STIRLING: In which hemisphere is Iceland?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is treated as western hemisphere.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: I understand the merchant marine are taxed on income, even though they perform dangerous duties when crossing the Atlantic.

Mr. ILSLEY: Well, a few will be. The exemptions are very heavy, as a result of these resolutions.

Mr. GRAYDON: This establishes another extension of a principle affecting our armed forces. I am wondering if in this instance we are adopting a proper procedure with respect to taxation. While I realize fully the difficulties with which the minister is faced, it must be remembered that we have active service forces at points as far removed as Iceland which, as the minister has said, for these purposes is treated as a part of the western hemisphere. It does seem to me that in fitting in this group between the active service forces overseas, who are exempt from income tax, and those on active service in Canada, the minister may not be adopting a principle of taxation which, from a reasonable point of view, can be sustained. Because troops are in Iceland, half-way across the Atlantic, or at other points in the western hemisphere, they have to pay half the tax. From the point of view of administration the principle may be justifiable, but I say that as a committee we should give consideration to the question of whether we should extend further the principle of asking a man to fight and, at the same time, to pay. Perhaps the minister will disagree with what I am saying, and he may allege that he is not doing what I suggest he is doing. I understand that there could be many abuses of a principle such as I would suggest, but it does seem to me that when we send a man on active service outside the territorial boundaries of Canada we are going a long way when, as a parliament, we ask him to pay, as well as to fight.

I recognize at once the arguments which may be adduced, but I urge that the government is taking an arbitrary stand in connection with this phase of taxation. Perhaps the minister has considered this matter more fully than some hon. members in the committee; but I draw his attention to the fact that for the first time, if I may say so, we are extending this principle of taxation to men outside the territorial boundaries of our country, and I would ask the minister to consider carefully the distance we have gone in that direction. We should realize that we must exercise more care on this point than on most points which will develop from the

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discussion of budget resolutions in committee. I should like to have some answer from the minister as to the underlying motive that prompted him and the government to arrive at the arbitrary figure of fifty per cent in connection with this taxation. Has he given full consideration to putting these men in the same position with respect to taxation as those who are on overseas service? Because it is very difficult in some instances to make a distinction with respect to overseas service. I raise that question only to make sure that we are not adopting a principle which is wrong so far as our men in the armed forces are concerned. If there is a reasonable doubt in the minds of this committee, or in the minds of the minister or the government, then it seems to me we are in duty bound to see that that doubt goes to the benefit of the men who are fighting for us.

Mr. MacNICOL: I had a letter a few days ago from a young man serving in our Pacific naval forces. He was up on the west coast of Alaska apparently where his ship was patrolling. I cannot see any difference between that and serving on a naval ship in the Atlantic as being active.

Mr. ILSLEY: They are both exempt.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): He does not pay any tax.

Mr. MacNICOL: Then I do not understand the amendment.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): Read the end of resolution 22.

Mr. MacNICOL: That answers my question. I was thinking of the boys sailing or flying out of Halifax. They, too, would be exempt?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

Mr. JACKMAN: Approximately how many men and officers would there be from the various services serving in the United States, either headquarters duty at Washington, or training duty elsewhere? I presume under this resolution they are subject to only one-half income tax. Would the number be substantial, and has any consideration been given to them?

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not know the number.

Mr. RALSTON: It might be a thousand. It is officers and warrant officers.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): Following what the leader of the opposition said, for a man in the services whose income amounted to, say $3,000, the approximate tax would be about $1,064, or roughly thirty-four per cent. He is allowed to split that thirty-four per cent in half; that would be seventeen per cent. That seventeen per cent applies on his pay and allowances. Am I right?

Mr. ILSLEY: If I followed the hon. gentleman correctly, that is right.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): It works down to seventeen per cent on his pay and allowances?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West): But on the other part he would have to pay the full amount? Between $3,000 and $4,000 he pays the full amount?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

Mr. GILLIS: The remarks I have to make in connection with this clause would, I think, have to do with the Minister of National Defence for Naval Affairs. I should like his comments on this anyway. The minister's answer to the hon. member for Davenport was to the effect that men on a naval craft patrolling along our own coasts are entitled to exemption for income tax purposes. That is as it should be. I am going to raise that question of the merchant marine. If there is any section of the services that is getting a raw deal in the income tax, it is the men of the merchant navy, one of the most important services.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is not true now.

Mr. GILLIS: Yes, now. They are exempted now for the war risk bonus and for any living allowance while on shore—

Mr. ILSLEY: Not while ashore; while at sea.

Mr. GILLIS: That is worse. It is the general opinion that they are highly paid. That is not so. The A.B. on any of these ships gets a wage of about $106 a month. The total income they receive by way of wages while performing their duties is taxable.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): No, not all taxable.

Mr. GILLIS: With the exception of the war risk bonus. That is not wages. I say the total wage they receive is taxable.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): Is my hon. friend counting the war risk bonus in the $106?

Mr. GILLIS: No; I say the total wage is about $106 plus about $25 I think, war risk bonus. The latter is exempt. The point is

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this: The man in the merchant marine to-day cannot be classified as just an ordinary sailor, simply because he works under a minister of shipping. They have certain definite rules and regulations which they must follow; they report to the manning pools and are to some extent under miiltary discipline as applied to the navy. Furthermore, most of these boats are just as heavily armed as a corvette. These men handle a gun and are taking the greatest risks of any section of our services. If I were asked to name the service I would not want to go into in this war, it would be the merchant marine.

Mr. GRAYDON: They are the worst target of any.

Mr. GILLIS: Absolutely, and in the conditions they work under they have not much chance. There certainly is no glory attached to their service. While they are performing this service, their families are not receiving any allowances except what the men may assign out of their pay. The government were sufficiently fair in recognizing that the hazard is just as great as in the armed forces by putting them under the pension regulations. If they become a war casualty, they, or their dependents have the right to come under pensions and national health for pension. In my opinion they are performing one of the greatest services connected with this war, and their wages should not be taxed. Half the time they are on rafts. I have gone across this country with some of them who were being shipped from New York to Halifax or Montreal, and the manning pools, and the way in which they travel is an indication of the life they are obliged to lead. They are not dressed; they are not half fed. We should pay more attention to this service. Where would our forces overseas be but for the fact that these boys take the risks they do in getting war supplies over there? They have been taking materials of war to Russia, running that long coast and going through everything. While the minister has made a gesture in exempting the war risk bonus and living allowance, I think these men should be getting total exemption for income tax purposes on any money they earn while actually on the water performing their very necessary service.

Mr. ILSLEY: I realize that the merchant seamen are doing wonderful work, and that was why we tried to make substantial concessions here. But it must be understood that the moment we cross into the civilian field from the armed services, it becomes almost impossible to know where to stop.

Mr. GRAYDON: I am sorry to interrupt the minister; but according to the hon. member for Cape Breton South, who is very close to the scene of operations, many of these men are actually on armed ships. If that is so, that should operate to take them fairly well out of the realm of civilians, and it would give me courage to support a move of this kind. These men are actually on armed ships and, as the hon. member has said, are manning the guns and so on, so that they would be in a different category from that of the ordinary civilian. They are right in the fight in a big way in the battle of the Atlantic.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): I think I should say to my hon. friends the leader of the opposition and the hon. member for Cape Breton South that, so far as I know, no members of the merchant marine are manning guns. I speak subject to possible correction in regard to the odd case, but the general rule is that the guns of merchant ships are manned by members of the Royal Canadian Naval Service.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: It is the same ship, is it not? They are firing the guns on the ships on which these civilians are working, are they not?

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): Canadian naval ratings man and operate the guns.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: Then what is the difference?

Mr. GRAYDON: Why make a distinction?

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): There is no distinction between a naval rating serving on a merchant ship and a rating serving on any other kind of ship; they are both afloat. My hon. friend endeavoured to make the point that in effect these ships were ships of war, but I do not think they are. They are not armed for offensive action, as warships are. Their armament is not equal to that of a corvette and is purely for defensive purposes. Such manning of guns as there is on those ships is not carried on by the merchant seamen but by ratings of the Royal Canadian Navy.

Mr. GILLIS: I do not wish to try to correct the minister, but in many instances the guns are manned by the men of the merchant marine.

Mr. HOWE: No.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): Can the hon. member mention a specific case?

Mr. GILLIS: Yes; I have talked with some of them. They are given a special course, and I think they get twenty-five or thirty cents a day extra for manning these guns while on the trip. The minister is right, however, in the great majority of the cases; sometimes

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soldiers or naval ratings man the guns, but in many instances the men of the merchant marine man the guns after taking special instruction.

Mr. O'NEILL: It seems to me that we are arguing here a little at cross purposes. If I understand this resolution correctly, we are allowing these men a deduction at half rate on account of the hazardous service they are performing in the interest of the empire. I submit that if a man is working on an armed ship, it does not matter whether that ship is armed for offence or for defence; the work is just as dangerous, and the danger is just as great to a deck-hand on that ship as it is to the man handling the gun. I cannot see that there is a particle of difference.

Mr. ILSLEY: I should like to raise a point of order. The resolution dealing with merchant seamen was passed early this afternoon, and we are now on another, entirely new section. I would suggest that we discuss the resolution now before the committee, instead of the resolution concerning merchant seamen.

Mr. GILLIS: You still have things floating in this resolution.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes; I know, but there was another resolution under which this matter was properly discussable, and it was discussed to some extent. Of course, once we leave the principle of taxing all the residents of this country in accordance with their income, whether they are in or out of the service, we are in terrible trouble. We are submitted to pressure after pressure from border-line cases. I could tell the committee, only I hesitate to make the statement, what will be the next class to come after us, after the merchant seamen and the ferry command; a class who are performing services almost interchangeable with those of the merchant seamen, along the coasts, and who see merchant seamen now with a big concession in their pay, and who will be requesting or demanding the same concession. If it is extended to them, we move into the harbours, then to shore, and then it becomes a question of assessing the risk in industry. If it is a risky industry, an income tax concession will be demanded. I do not want to get on the run completely; I do not want to be chased from position to position.

Mr. GRAYDON: You are quite a long way from that.

Mr. ILSLEY: I have taken the position that the civilian population of this country is subject to taxation. Having said that, I agree that we have made a recognition of the tremendous services being rendered to this country by the merchant marine, and the sympathy we have for them has caused us to make these concessions, at least one of which is not made on any basis of principle at all. I refer to the exemption of the meals. I shall simply have to take the position that we are making the merchant seamen a special case among our civilian population. This will let most of them out of taxation; as a matter of fact the overwhelming majority of them will be exempt. I do not wish to go any further than that, because it is just one class after another when we move into the civilian population of the country, and we cannot assess our income tax in proportion to the risk. There are all sorts of discriminations and anomalies now.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: A politician would not pay anything if assessed on the basis of risk.

Mr. ILSLEY: There are all sorts of anomalies now. Hon. members need not bring forward cases, asking, is it fair for this man to pay tax and that man not to pay tax? I could give them a hundred or a thousand instances of unfairness under our present system. I could take the case of certain men in the army in Ottawa, who are doing and intend to do and are understood to be doing jobs which are not combatant at all, who will be here more or less permanently, but who are getting heavy income tax concessions under this very budget, while civil servants are being fully taxed. I could point out cases of men who are in the navy, ashore, who are being taxed, and of men who are in the navy, at sea, who are not being taxed although there is very little difference in their work. There are all sorts of gradations of risk, and so on; but lines have to be drawn, and I do not wish further to exempt altogether any civilian class of the population here in Canada from payment of income tax. We are recognizing the merchant seamen here and, as I say, we are giving consideration to the request of the ferry command, because those classes are rendering marvellous service to this country and to this empire. They are running enormous risks and they appeal to our sympathy, but this is as far as I wish to go when we get into this field.

Mr. COLDWELL: There is one thing that might be involved in the administration of this matter. Someone asked the minister if Iceland was in the western hemisphere and he said it was. I slipped out and looked up one or two authorities—

Mr. MacNICOL: I said it was in Europe.

Mr. COLDWELL: The definition of the western hemisphere that I have is that it

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covers 20 degrees west of Greenwich to 160 degrees east. If that is so, then just the southeast tip of Iceland would be in the western hemisphere. The larger part, in fact almost the whole island, would be in the eastern hemisphere according to this authority. If the minister wishes to make it plain that it either includes or excludes Iceland, I think it should be stated.

Mr. ILSLEY: I think so myself. I was informed of that at the time and perhaps I answered too hastily.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I do not see how we shall ever be able to impose our income tax equitably unless there is some principle upon which we can act. What principle does the government follow in levying an income tax on these various outfits? We have been criticized for holding things up, and the British House of Commons has been held up to us as an example, reference being made to the speed with which they pass their budget. The fact is that they have not the intricacies that we have. One request is made to exempt somebody and another request to exempt somebody else. As I pointed out last night, you can have one man living in Canada and right across the road another man living in Alaska, and two different income taxes apply.

What is the principle involved in connection with the exemption from income tax? I do not understand it. As far as I am concerned our merchant seamen ought to be excluded. They should be in just the same position as the men in the navy or the men in the ferry command. We know what the casualties are. Is the incidence of casualties the criterion of exemption from income tax? What is the principle involved?

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution as amended agreed to.

On resolution 23.

The CHAIRMAN: An amendment to this resolution was moved before six o'clock.

Mr. GRAYDON: This is the resolution which exempts those who come back from overseas for the first six months. The exemption is only for the first six months.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I have had cases drawn to my attention of men who come back with a leg off or other serious injury, and I should like to know if any provision is made for them.

Mr. ILSLEY: His pay would be exempt for six months after he returns from overseas.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): Is there a tax on his pension?

Mr. ILSLEY: No; there is no tax on his pension.

Mr. GRAYDON: Previously, when a man came back from overseas, did he have to pay income tax immediately upon his return to Canada and then continue under the previous arrangement?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution as amended agreed to.

25. That any enactments founded on

(a) Resolutions 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18, 22, 23 and 24 shall be applicable to the income of the 1943 taxation period and fiscal periods ending therein and all subsequent periods;

(b) Resolution 12 shall be applicable in respect of any sale made after March 2, 1943;

(c) Resolutions 13, 15 and 20 shall be applicable to the income of the 1942 taxation period and fiscal periods ending therein and all subsequent periods;

(d) Resolution 21 shall be brought into force on proclamation by the governor in council and be applicable to the fiscal period therein designated and to all subsequent periods.

Mr. ILSLEY: There is an amendment to this resolution necessitated by the addition of other resolutions. It is:

That resolution 25 of the resolutions to amend the Income War Tax Act be amended by adding thereto the following paragraphs:

"(e) That resolution 28 shall be applicable to the income of the 1942 taxation period and fiscal periods ending therein and all subsequent periods.

(f) That resolution 30 shall be applicable to the income of 1943 and subsequent years."

Mr. GIBSON: I so move.

Mr. GRAYDON: That is just to regularize things?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is stating the periods in which they will be applicable.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): Resolution 25 deals with resolution 15 which states that principal payments on mortgage may be offset against the refundable portion of the income tax.

Mr. ILSLEY: Mr. Chairman, surely this is not in order. There is no returning to all the resolutions.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): My question will take only a minute.

Mr. ILSLEY: I must raise a point of order there, Mr. Chairman.

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Mr. CHAIRMAN: On the point of order, the committee has given a great deal of time to deliberating all the resolutions that were before it. But I understood the hon. gentleman simply wanted to ask a brief question.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I did not happen to be in the chamber when the pertinent resolution was passed. Houses are very difficult to rent to-day and many young couples are buying a house. Would the principal payments they make on a house now be allowed as contributory savings in computing their income tax?

Mr. ILSLEY: The question is not in order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: The question is out of order. We have passed the resolution pertaining to that matter. We must keep within the rules.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I bow to your ruling, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NEILL: This particular resolution deals with resolutions that have not been passed. In resolution 25 we are saying that resolutions 29 and 30 shall take effect at a certain time. It is usual to put such a clause at the end. I think the resolutions should be renumbered.

Mr. ILSLEY: Of course it would be much better to have it at the end, but actually we have passed all of them up to resolution 30. They are numbered in such a way that some of them do follow resolution 25 but I do not think it makes any difference.

Mr. NEILL: Will the people who read and interpret this law in the years to come know that we passed resolution 29 before resolution 25?

Mr. ILSLEY: The only instrument that has any effect is the act. The resolutions have no legeal effect whatever. It is merely the constitutional procedure that we follow in passing these resolutions. Once the act is passed it is the law.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution as amended agreed to.

Resolutions reported, read the second time and concurred in.

Mr. ILSLEY: I suppose we can give first reading to the bill now, although it is not printed.

Mr. GRAYDON: Mr. Speaker, I was going to raise this question before. I think we have strained our position as an official opposition just as far as we should be asked to do. I think I have always taken a reasonable stand in facilitating the business of the house, but here we have almost an overhaul of the budget resolutions. I would have objected before, had it not been that we feel under an obligation to give the government every possible help in getting its war measures through. But now that the resolutions have been passed, I wish to make this observation. We have been placed in a most unusual position as members of the official opposition in attempting to deal with these amended resolutions as they came up, and I do not feel at the moment that we should go any farther in consenting to what is very close to irregularities. Here we are asked to give first reading to a bill which has not yet been printed and is not yet before the house.

Mr. RALSTON: It is done all the time.

Mr. ILSLEY: It is done all the time, and it is for the convenience of members of the house. It is done so that the bill can be put on the table for second reading. If we do not have first reading to-night, we cannot have it until Monday afternoon, and then and only then can the bill be circulated.

Mr. GRAYDON: I am not raising this objection for any other reason than the one I stated. The government must recognize that we have been asked yesterday and to-day to deal with resolutions that are almost an entirely new budget in many respects. That is a very difficult position in wihch to place the opposition. I think the government will recognize that readily. I do not wish to hold up the first reading of the bill and I will not do so, but I feel that I should protest against the procedure that we are now being asked to follow. When the first reading has been given the bill will not be before the members in any event, and from what the minister says may not be before us until Monday. So far as I can see, there is nothing to be gained by giving the bill its first reading now, and there is a great deal to be lost by asking parliament to pass what is just a blank piece of paper. But if it will be helpful to the war effort, we are prepared to go a long way. I leave it to the government's sense of responsibility whether we should be asked to follow this sort of procedure.

Mr. NEILL: On the point of order, Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that the minister is following the usual custom. It is done all the time. While I am on my feet might I ask the minister this question: Was he not going to give us a statement with respect to the ferry command employees on the resolutions, or was that to be on the bill?

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Mr. ILSLEY: On the bill. That is what I intended.

With regard to what the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon) has said, it may be that the bill will not be available until Monday afternoon, and it may be that we would be just as far ahead if we gave the bill its first reading on Monday. But there is nothing unusual in this. What I was suggesting is done all the time.

Mr. STIRLING: I cannot agree with the two ministers who say that this is done all the time. It is done when the bill is in print, and then the minister has it in his hand and passes it to Mr. Speaker, who holds it in his hand when he puts the motion for first reading. But this bill has not even been written yet, much less printed.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is correct.

Mr. MacINNIS: I was not aware that the leader of the opposition had raised a point of order. I do not think he has done so. He was merely making a protest against what he considered to be irregular procedure. I can see no harm in the bill being introduced to-night, because it will be merely introduced and given a first reading. We never have a bill before us when it is given first reading.

Mr. GRAYDON: But it is before the house.

Mr. MacINNIS: The Speaker has the bill or what we assume is the bill, but so far as we know it might be something else.

With regard to the procedure this afternoon and the difficulties we have been confronted with, I think that in view of the enormous amount of work involved in preparing the income tax resolutions and schedules we should make, as we have done, certain allowances for the Minister of Finance. I realize, and have realized all through this discussion, that there was a tremendous amount of work to be done and great changes to be made. But we are engaged in a war, and the people we are dealing with on the outside, many of whom are risking and may give their lives in the war, are not receiving so much consideration as we here are asking for ourselves. The only consideration in our minds should be that in the ultimate result nothing irregular or out of order is done.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question having been raised, I am afraid the Chair has been placed in this position, that the bill not being before the house, leave cannot be granted for its introduction unless there is unanimous consent of the house. If the leader of the opposition maintains his position, I shall have to say that there is no bill before the house and leave to introduce it cannot be given.

Mr. GRAYDON: Well, Mr. Speaker, I suppose that, having been placed in this position in connection with it, there is very little I can do in connection with the giving of consent. But I must repeat, while consenting to the introduction of this bill, the protest I have made. If I thought that this method would be followed on future occasions, I should be justified, even under the stress of the present situation, in refusing unanimous consent. I am not raising this question for the sake of a legal argument or parliamentary debate. I am very serious when I say that I think this is straining parliamentary procedure to a dangerous point. How a bill can be introduced when there is no bill is something I do not understand, something which in the limited time I have spent in this house I have never seen before, though I bow to the experience of other hon. members who take the contrary view. I am not, however, going to hold up the proceedings by refusing unanimous consent, if it is a matter of passing a war measure.

Mr. JACKMAN: Last summer we had what was in large measure a duplication of the same incident. The resolutions were scarcely before us when we had to act on them. In many instances there was no opportunity to go over the resolutions.

We sympathize with the Minister of Finance. He appears to hon. members and to the public to be extremely hard-working. But I think some explanation is owed to the members of this house as to why, on repeated occasions—this, to my own knowledge, being the second one—material we should have before us is not available. The budget this year was by no means the task it was last year. It was true that it has been brought down much earlier than the one last year, which came in June or July, but it does seem strange to those of us who are on the outside and have little knowledge of what is going on behind the portals of the Minister of Finance's office, that we should be continually held up in the matter of getting information and having the specific resolutions placed before us so that we can give adequate consideration to them, and also why they are not ready so that those, among the public and the taxpayers of this country who are interested in these resolutions, may have some advance notice. I find myself in a position where it is impossible to have sufficient background of these various questions. For instance, section 32A, which we dealt with to-day—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I do not wish to interrupt the hon. member, but what he is now saying might well be said on the second

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reading of the bill. He is dealing with something which is not before the house. The question before the house is whether this bill shall be introduced now.

Mr. JACKMAN: I do not know what privileges I have, inasmuch as unanimous consent is required. I have no desire to withhold consent; but if I have the privilege, under that right, I ask the Minister of Finance for an answer. Do I have the privilege?

Mr. SPEAKER: I gather that the hon. member wants some information from the Minister of Finance with regard to the provisions of bills which may be introduced into the house. That is a matter which should be discussed on second reading, not at this stage, because at the moment there is nothing before the house. The resolutions have been reported and concurred in, and the question now is as to the introduction of a bill which has not yet been moved.

Mr. ILSLEY: I think the best course to take is to go into committee on the Excess Profits Tax Act, which is now before the house, and ask that the house give consent on Monday to give the bill first reading and proceed immediately with the second reading. I think it would be better not to press to-night the matter of the first reading.

Mr. GRAYDON: We shall not lose time by taking that course, and we shall have regularized the procedure.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, by unanimous consent.

Mr. ABBOTT: It would save time to-night.

Mr. GRAYDON: I have just heard the interruption of the undersecretary of the finance department—

Mr. MacNICOL: No, no; no undersecretaries.

Mr. GRAYDON: —or at least, shall I say, the designated undersecretary of the finance department, who was kind enough to suggest across the floor of the house that this was in some way delaying the passing of this measure. I protest against that suggestion. Actually this is not delaying the measure; it is regularizing the procedure, as I am glad to see that his senior, the minister, at once recognized, and he has now agreed to carry on the proceedings as we suggested. There cannot be any delay with respect to that. The first reading can be given on Monday; the bill will be there—at least I hope it will—and when the bill is there and the first reading is given, we can proceed at once to the second reading. Then we shall not have created in this chamber a precedent which I think would be highly undesirable.

[Mr. Speaker.]

Mr. STIRLING: We cannot see the bill if it is not printed.

Mr. ABBOTT: If by any chance it was printed on Monday morning, it could be distirbuted on Monday morning, and the members could read it before the afternoon. That is why I said I thought some time might be saved if it got first reading to-night.

Mr. GRAYDON: If the Minister of Finance will undertake that the bill will be printed and will be ready for distribution some time on Monday morning, we are prepared still to give unanimous consent to the first reading. But this is an entirely new proposal so far as we are concerned.

Mr. O'NEILL: It does seem to me that during the last couple of days we have been swallowing a flock of camels, and to-night we are choking on an act.

WAYS AND MEANS

The house in committee of ways and means, Mr. Bradette in the chair.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX ACT, 1940

1. That the definition of "standard profits" be amended to provide that the "standard profits" of wholly-owned subsidiary companies incorporated in 1942 or thereafter shall not in the aggregate exceed $5,000 when the sum of the capital employed by the parent and such subsidiary companies taken together is not substantially greater than the capital employed by the parent company prior to the incorporation of such wholly-owned subsidiary companies.

Mr. GIBSON: I move, for the Minister of Finance, the following amendment:

That resolution No. 1 of the budget resolutions to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act be amended by striking out such resolution and substituting the following therefor:

"1. That the definition of 'standard profits' be amended to provide that the 'standard profits' of controlled subsidiary companies incorporated in the years 1940, 1941 or 1942, or thereafter shall not in the aggregate exceed $5,000 when the sum of the capital employed by the parent having the controlling interest and such subsidiary companies taken together is not substantially greater than the capital employed by such parent company prior to the incorporation of such subsidiary companies:

Provided that this provision shall not apply in the case of subsidiary companies incorporated to carry out a contract negotiated by the Minister of Munitions and Supply and if such subsidiaries are in receipt of management fees or other similar compensation from the Department of Munitions and Supply."

Mr. ILSLEY: The situation is apparently this, that if a company is heavily subjected to excess profits tax, it may be profitable for the company to incorporate a controlled or wholly owned subsidiary or subsidiaries. That

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does not effect any reduction in the capital of the parent company, and therefore it does not have any effect on its standard profits. But it gives the subsidiary a standard profit, even though no more capital is employed by the parent and subsidiary than was employed by the parent company alone. The result is that the company can economize, if that is the word, on excess profits tax, and to a very considerable degree. This is designed to prevent such procedure.

Mr. GRAYDON: The minister does not like that kind of economy.

Mr. ILSLEY: No; I am not in favour of that type of economy. The proviso is added because there are companies which undertake work at the instance of the Minister of Munitions and Supply, and such work on some occasions can be done properly only through subsidiary companies. Very often they use capital supplied by the government, or undertake work for a management fee. In that case it is not desirable that the provision should apply.

Mr. JACKMAN: Do I understand the resolution correctly when I say that one subsidiary will be allowed to earn $5,000, and have that as a standard profits base of the parent company, or is it just the parent company that has the $5,000 base?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is the subsidiary. If a parent company causes the incorporation of one subsidiary company, that subsidiary company can get the benefit of the $5,000 base. But if it incorporates more than one, the total of all of them cannot be more than $5,000. But that is not the problem, really. That is not what is going on, or can go on. The companies doing this would not be interested in $5,000.

Mr. JACKMAN: What is the evil aimed at?

Mr. ILSLEY: The evil aimed at is that it might be $500,000 that a parent company would take. That might be improbable, but let us say $50,000 or $100,000. It would take that sum out of its own resources and cause the incorporation of a subsidiary company, and take stock. There has been no increase in capital whatsoever, and there is no reduction in the capital of the parent company. If there were, it would lower the standard of the parent company, and it would suffer. But it does not suffer at all. On the contrary it gets the benefit of the base of $50,000 or $100,000. They can go to the board of referees, as a new company, and get as standard profits the normal rate of return, which perhaps might be that of the parent company; and then just pay on any excess earned over and above that amount. And the fact is that they have saved a lot of money. If they had not split their business, and had kept on as a parent company, all the money they earned would be subject to 100 per cent excess profits tax. By the incorporation of the new company, only the part that is over the new base is subject to the excess profits tax, and it is a profitable thing to do. It is the desire to provide here that if they do not employ any more capital, they shall not get any new standard profits, except the $5,000.

Mr. JACKMAN: The minister creates an exception for the companies which have contracts negotiated by the Minister of Munitions and Supply?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. JACKMAN: Why is that necessary?

Mr. ILSLEY: There is no tax evasion there. If the Minister of Munitions and Supply desires that a company undertake new business; if it is for the purpose of getting production for the crown and at the instance of the Minister of Munitions and Supply, and if the company will do it on these terms—perhaps undertaking it for a management fee, or something of the kind—there is no avoidance of taxation. Perhaps that is the only term on which they will undertake to work.

Mr. HAZEN: I have not a copy of the Excess Profits Tax Act before me, and therefore I have not the definition of the term "standard profits". As a consequence, what I am about to say may not be quite correct. However, it seems to me that the words "substantially greater" in the amendment are indefinite. Is the decision as to what is substantially greater to be left to the minister? Is he to be the sole judge? Is it to be a purely arbitrary decision on his part? If not, what principles are to guide him when he makes the decision as to whether or not it is substantially greater? Would it not be better if the expression "substantially greater" were defined or if, instead of using those words, we were to use an expression indicating that the capital employed is not greater by a certain percentage than the capital employed in the parent company? It seems to me there should be some standard set out in the bill to guide the minister and prevent injustice and make certain that all companies are treated alike. I should also like to ask the minister why this amendment is introduced now? It has been changed from the original amendment and apparently made retroactive.

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Mr. ILSLEY: It covers the period during which the Excess Profits Tax Act has been in operation. It is clearly contrary to the spirit of the act to set up these companies; it is an obvious method of tax avoidance.

With regard to the point about "substantially," I do not see offhand why a percentage could not be selected and used instead. I think the word "substantially" occurs in the Excess Profits Tax Act, and I think some discretion is allowed the minister to say when there is a substantial increase or decrease. But I will take into consideration the suggestion of the hon. member when the bill is being drafted.

Mr. JACKMAN: Under that definition would "capital" include borrowed capital as well as proprietorship capital?

I point out also that it is the intention under this resolution to go back to the years 1940, 1941 and 1942. Once again that which may have been legal at the time will become illegal, which I think we must admit is, generally speaking, a bad principle. If there is substantial tax evasion, perhaps consideration should be given, but as a general principle I think we should protest against it.

Mr. ILSLEY: The only thing that really concerns me is whether there might not be bona fide reasons apart from tax avoidance for setting up a subsidiary in those years. I will look into that and see whether there should be any exception.

My attention has been called to the fact that the tax is not affected for the years 1940 and 1941; it is incorporation in those years to which reference is made. When we come to the enactment section, this amendment will apply to the profits of the year 1942 and fiscal years ending therein and all subsequent periods. We are not going back of fiscal periods ending in 1942. There is a certain element of retroactivity, but I think that is when the activity takes place. I think it is an abuse that it is quite all right to correct.

As to borrowed capital, "capital employed" is defined in the Excess Profits Tax Act and does not include borrowed money. The term is used in the first schedule, and the method by which it is computed is set out in detail in that schedule. It "shall be subject to the following deductions", and among these is the deduction of any borrowed money.

Mr. COLDWELL: I did not know this was coming up to-night. I have been following the reports of corporations and companies published from time to time in the *Financial Post*. I have had someone taking the companies I have discussed in former years and comparing the profits reported with the profits made in former years. It strikes me that while individuals are to a large extent having their incomes reduced, the corporations in this country are able to maintain a fairly good level of profits even under our Excess Profits Tax Act. Up to last week for example, taking all the companies reporting in the *Financial Post* together, the profits are ·3 per cent higher than for last year. I have not the detailed figures with me to-night, but I know that is the position. If individuals throughout the country paying income tax have their standards reduced, we should expect the excess profits tax would to some extent reduce the net profits of the corporations. It seems to me to emphasize the point that somehow, no matter how you tax organizations of this kind, they are able to pass that tax on to the consumer, who in this period is very largely the government.

Having said that, I wish to bring something entirely different to the attention of the minister. I received in this morning's mail a letter from a little company in Saskatchewan. The president of the company is an old-timer in the province. It is a little cooperative company of people who work in the store. I am going to read the letter, because it strikes me that while one criticizes the excess profits tax as not being severe enough, there are occasions when perhaps it works an injustice on some persons, particularly those in a small way. The writer of this letter says:

> Excess profit is supposed to be any amount now earned that exceeds the average profit for the years 1936 to 1939 inclusive. If no profit was earned in those years, the taxpayer is supposed to be allowed $5,000 as a standard profit and he has only to pay a straight income tax on any figure above the $5,000. I say that is the supposition, because in actual practice, under certain circumstances, the taxpayer is mulcted for an excess profit tax even if he only makes $1,000, or say one per cent on his investment, and here is how it is done.
>
> If the actual profits of a joint stock company do not exceed $5,000 they add on the salaries of all shareholders that are working for the company, which of course boosts the total above the $5,000 mark, and so makes the company liable to pay excess profit tax.
>
> Of course these wages and salaries are legitimate expenses and by no stretch of the imagination could they be called profit, and there is neither rhyme nor reason in treating them as such. But that is one of the provisions of the act, which means that no matter how small our real profit may be we will always be mulcted for excess profit tax as four of our shareholders are working for the firm.
>
> We would be pleased if you could take this matter up with those who are responsible with a view to having this obvious injustice removed.

I pass the letter over to the minister in order that he may see what there is in this complaint. If the complaint is a legitimate

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one, it seems that something should be done to remedy it, when three of four or five people are working together under the circumstances outlined in this letter. I pass it over to the minister because probably it is a matter of regulations.

Mr. GIBSON: Where a company is controlled by the employees and it is open to them to pay themselves such salaries as they wish, naturally the profits of that company may be only $2,000 or $1,000 a year. I had a case before me the other day in which a man told me his profits were $2,000, but the profits of the business before paying salaries were nearly $60,000, and two men had taken about $27,000 or $28,000 each in salary, so that there was not much profit left to the business.

Mr. COLDWELL: I happen to know the head of this little firm, which is in a small town in Saskatchewan. I am perfectly sure the profits there would not permit of the payment of salaries which would be considered more than just an ordinary living. I think this is a matter the minister should look into. I quite agree that in cases such as the minister has mentioned, persons should not be allowed to pay themselves exorbitant salaries.

Mr. GIBSON: No; we do not let them do so.

Mr. COLDWELL: I quite agree, but I think this is a case which might be looked into.

Mr. ILSLEY: I asked the hon. gentleman a question about the first matter he mentioned. The companies that have profits after taxation ·3 per cent in excess of those of the previous year are the companies whose years end when?

Mr. COLDWELL: At the end of December. Some of the companies have not reported yet, but we have been following them in the *Financial Post*.

Mr. ILSLEY: The hon. gentleman will remember that the increased excess profits tax rates came into effect in July, 1942, so that those companies, if they were calendar year companies, were subject to the higher rates only for part of the year whose operations are shown. I do not know what will be the showing of the companies when their full year's operations are under the 100 per cent amendment to the Excess Profits Tax Act. The 100 per cent amendment is not the most onerous feature of that act. The most onerous feature is the provision or combination of provisions which cuts their profits after taxation down to seventy per cent of their pre-war profits, and I shall be surprised if they show any such good record as that during the full year. There was great resiliency in business, of course, in Canada in the last two or three years; the companies made a tremendous showing even after taxation, and of course the taxation was enormous. Yesterday the hon. member for Témiscouata rose to make a point about Imperial Oil, and undoubtedly the hon. gentleman heard the figures he mentioned, $18,000,000 tax and $14,000,000 profit. That is the record of some of these companies. I do not know whether those figures are correct, but that is my recollection of what the hon. member for Témiscouata said. Then, of course, the dividends are taxed over again when they go to the individuals. I think the taxation on companies plus individuals is heavy enough.

Mr. KNOWLES: Coming back to the second matter mentioned by the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar, just before I left Winnipeg in January a very similar case was brought to my attention by a small printing firm in Winnipeg, a limited company of which practically all, if not all the shareholders, are working in the establishment and drawing wages. These employees expressed the view which has been stated already, that they understood the reasons for these provisions, which were stated by the minister a moment ago, namely, to make sure that such firms could not pay large salaries and avoid taxation. The case of this printing company, however, was parallel to that of the store in Saskatchewan. Some members of the staff had shares, and some did not. The wages of those who had shares were computed toward the $5,000 figure. Their actual profits were very low and their wages are at trade union rates, so that they felt that this provision, the purpose of which was very commendable, was working a hardship on them. The cases are almost identical, and I wish the minister would look into this one also.

Mr. GIBSON: I find that the letter which the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar sent over to me was sent to me previously, and that case is being looked into.

Mr. KNOWLES: That case or the whole principle?

Mr. NICHOLSON: Some time ago I received through the mail from the House of Seagram a parcel in which I found a very beautiful volume entitled "Canada," by Stephen Leacock.

Mr. MARTIN: Is that all they sent you?

Mr. NICHOLSON: That is all. The hon. member for Rosedale asks if I still have the book. I have kept it until I had an opportunity to produce it in the house, but I propose to return it to-morrow.

Mr. RALSTON: Have you read it?

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Mr. NICHOLSON: No; I have not read it. A card was enclosed, saying, "Please accept with our compliments this copy—"

The CHAIRMAN: I doubt very much if this is in order. I have been extremely lenient, as I am sure the committee will appreciate, but we must discuss the specific item or we shall never get anywhere. I have been asked from several sections of the house to keep discussion to the resolution before the committee. I cannot see that what is being said by the hon. member has anything to do with the resolution before the committee at the present time.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I submit that the case I am discussing is an illustration of how companies are able to print publications of this kind instead of paying the money into the treasury of Canada, and apparently we have not the machinery to check up on the expenditures of these companies, so that publications of this kind can be put out and paid for by the taxpayers. I submit that my remarks are in order in protesting against an expenditure of this sort by the House of Seagram or any other company, using Canadian materials and spending their money in this way.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe I should read again standing order 58, paragraph 2:

Speeches in committee of the whole house must be strictly relevant to the item or clause under consideration.

Mr. COLDWELL: On the point of order, I take it that we are discussing excess profits tax and also matters relating to standard excess profits. The hon. member for Mackenzie is trying to show that the excess profits which we ought to collect are reduced as a result of the publication of books of this description which are distributed by the thousand across Canada.

Mr. ILSLEY: I support your ruling, Mr. Chairman. I would say we are not discussing standard profits generally, or methods of evasion generally of standard profits. We are discussing a specific matter, which is the incorporation of subsidiary companies. That does not justify a discussion of the methods of evasion generally.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution as amended agreed to.

2. That where an upward adjustment of the standard profits has been made by the minister because of an increase in capital employed during the "standard period" then an adjustment downward shall be made for subsequent decreases in capital employed which have not been accompanied by an equivalent reduction in capital stock, but not to an extent greater than the said upward adjustment.

[Mr. Ralston.]

Mr. STIRLING: What is the effect of this resolution?

Mr. GIBSON: Once standard profits have been set and an allowance has been made on the setting of standard profits for capital employed, there can be no further adjustment, either upward or downward, of the standard profits, without increase or decrease in spare capital. If the standard profits have been increased owing to increased capital employed during the standard period, it is considered that if any portion of such increased capital is later withdrawn, even though there should be no reduction in share capital, we should correspondingly reduce the standard profits by the proper amount.

Resolution agreed to.

3. That any amendment founded on the foregoing resolutions shall be deemed to have come into force at the commencement of the said act.

Mr. ILSLEY: It will be necessary to amend this resolution. The amendment reads:

That resolution No. 3 of the budget resolutions to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act be struck out and the following substituted therefor:

"(3) That any amendment founded on resolution No. 1 shall apply to the profits of the year 1942 and all fiscal periods ending therein and of all subsequent periods, and that any amendment founded on resolution No. 2 shall be deemed to have come into force at the commencement of the said act."

Mr. GIBSON: I so move.

Mr. GRAYDON: What does the minister mean by "the commencement of the said act"? Does that mean from royal assent?

Mr. ILSLEY: From the beginning of the Excess Profits Tax Act, 1940.

Mr. GRAYDON: Resolution 1 is retroactive to 1942 and this resolution goes back to 1940?

Mr. ILSLEY: That is right.

Mr. JACKMAN: This retroactive legislation is a bad thing. Surely the minister could use some foresight in drafting his resolution so that business men will not have to be going back all the time and opening closed books where there has been no deception, when what they did was legal at the time. It seems that in order to aid his collection department the minister changes any section of any act he desires, and as a result the business man does not know just where he stands.

Mr. POTTIER: He planned to avoid it.

Mr. JACKMAN: I take extreme exception to what the hon. member has just said. I should like to point out to him how grossly he is in error. The business man acted according to the law at the time. Now the administration finds that there were some loopholes in

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it and they are going to change the act in order to make that which was legal before, illegal. If the hon. member has a different opinion, I should like to hear it.

Mr. GIBSON: This is done to confirm a procedure that we have been carrying out. There was some question as to whether we should have been doing so. This is to confirm our authority to continue what we have been doing.

Mr. MacNICOL: You were doing it without authority?

Mr. GIBSON: Yes.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution as amended agreed to.

Mr. ILSLEY: I should like to move to add another resolution. This will be the same section as that which was designed to prevent evasions under the income tax act. The amendment reads:

That the following resolution be added to the resolutions to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act:

"4. That section 15 of the said act be amended to prevent reduction or avoidance of liability to tax."

The sections in the income tax act and in the Excess Profits Tax Act are the same, and if we have this addition in the one we should have it in the other.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I ask the minister again if it should not have been possible to have let us see these amendments before they were finally moved. I do not wish to exaggerate the position, but I tried to emphasize it before. It is most difficult to attempt to deal with a brand new set of resolutions such as we have had here. I take it that in this particular case there is nothing serious involved, but perhaps the minister will explain just what are the underlying reasons for the new resolutions.

Mr. ILSLEY: I have a lot of sympathy with the hon. member's position.

Mr. MARTIN: Many of us have been here for three days and we have not seen them at all.

Mr. ILSLEY: There is no doubt that a number of amendments have been run in at the last, but that was not done in order to keep them dark. As amendments were agreed upon, I have tried to give notice of them from time to time. The hon. member for Rosedale says that some explanation is due of the course that has been adopted this year. It is hard to give any other explanation than that people have had too much to do. Considerable work had to be put on this budget before it was brought down and since it has been brought down, and considerable time has been spent in reading letters, listening to representations and receiving delegations. At the same time other business had to be attended to, and it was impossible to get everything in perfect shape at an early stage. Apart from one or two which were brought before the house last night and which necessitated an enormous amount of work in their preparation, these resolutions have not been very serious. Most of the changes have been changes in wording and correction of errors which were brought to the attention of the government. The normal course after a budget is brought down is to put the resolutions. Then representations are made by various classes of people and individuals who are interested in them. Then it is discovered that some amendment has to be made. That was the case this year. I suppose we would have reached this a little earlier if the budget debate had ended earlier. We would have reached this stage of tremendous concentration, asking people to work late hours and so forth, the discovery and remedying of defects in the resolutions earlier had the budget debate ended sooner. But it was impossible to do so.

With regard to the bill, the preparation of a bill is more or less difficult. What took place last year was not desirable. The bill went through in a great rush at the end, without very much examination by the house. The finishing touches were put on the bill only the night before or two nights before it went through the house. Some of these sessions are nearly all-night sessions preparing these measures, and, as I say, my officials and those of the national revenue department are in a state of extreme fatigue. They can do just so much.

That is about the only explanation I can give of the fact that there have been numerous amendments. Everyone is oppressed by a sense of his responsibility to place on the statute books legislation that will not effect injustices. In fact, one of the reasons why our Income War Tax Act is so complicated is that we have taken so much pains to try to iron out anomalies and prevent injustices from arising. If we were rougher and took less note of inequities, we would have a much simpler statute and much simpler schedules, but so much pain is taken to try to avoid these things that we have a complicated tax structure and a complicated act and a very difficult one to amend.

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Mr. GRAYDON: I shall be very brief in view of what the minister has said. First of all, I think it was the Prime Minister who made the statement that there had been a good deal of time consumed in the budget debate. But what position would the government have been in, had that debate wound up earlier? The situation that we have had to face to-day would then have had to be faced perhaps a couple of weeks ago, and the difficulties, from the point of view of the minister, would have been just that much greater. When the minister speaks about amendments to the resolutions being brought into the house, as a matter of fact most of them or at least a number of them were brought in prior to the time when the resolutions were discussed. That indicates that the resolutions had to be changed after having received further consideration by the department and the minister. I checked up on the time consumed in the budget debate, and I find that thirty-two government speakers, nineteen opposition, nine Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, ten Social Credit and six others took part in it. Perhaps there is no reason for either the minister or myself becoming greatly exercised over the matter; but since there has been some discussion as to holding up the budget resolutions from being considered in committee, I think it is just as well that we have had this clarification of the situation that really existed in the preparation of the resolutions.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I should like to make a few observations apropos of the speech that has just been made by the Minister of Finance. He has mentioned the complicated tax structure and the amount of work that these measures impose upon the officials. I have suggested on various occasions, and I do so again to-night, that a great many of these difficulties could be ironed out if they were discussed by the banking and commerce committee. They would not need to be discussed by that committee just before the budget comes down, but I think the people of this country should have an opportunity of making their representations and airing their grievances, not before the experts of the government, but before the banking and commerce committee, where witnesses could be called and all these matters, the principles of the Income War Tax Act, the Excess Profits Tax Act and all that sort of thing, thoroughly discussed. The banking and commerce committee consists of men who were selected by the people of Canada and who are responsible to the people of Canada. Whether they are experts or not, I think that committee might very well be used to discuss principles of taxation and the taxation laws as we have them now. Then, when the next year comes round with a new budget, we would have something to go on, and the members would have some reasonable knowledge of the whole business.

Mr. JACKMAN: I should like to endorse what the hon. member for St. Paul's has just said. After what the Minister of Finance has just said about the intricacies and the difficulties of framing a budget and the practice of last-minute considerations and reconsiderations, surely the people of Canada will get some idea of the difficulties which an opposition that is sent here for a purpose must undergo. It is utterly impossible for any member of this house, particularly a private member, to do justice to the financial considerations which are brought down by the minister, unless a committee system of some sort is adopted. It is true that a committee system may result or appear to result in a certain delay, but we have seen what happens when the minister relies upon his professional advisers to draft certain sections. The public hears that certain taxation laws are to be changed and delegations come to Ottawa, as the minister has said, and endeavour to get the taxation arranged so that it will be practicable and fair to the people of this country. It is a travesty upon parliament that the opposition and private members of this house should be asked to pass upon the legislation which the minister brings before the house. Every self-respecting member of this house must protest against being made a rubber-stamp in connection with the budget. The only possible solution is to have a committee, and that committee must also have its own independent professional advisers who will be able to give it advice from time to time, rather than have the committee rely exclusively upon advice from the government side.

Let me mention a specific case, because we are under section 15, which corresponds to section 32A. The hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar mentioned the case of a small corporation out in western Canada which had three or four principal proprietors, all of whom worked in the store, and who had a standard profits base of $5,000. If, in order to get what I think the hon. member who raised the question would consider a square deal, enough for those men to live on, they dissolved their corporation and formed a partnership, or if one of the members bought out the others and then hired them at reasonable salaries according to what the business would stand, that might be considered under section 32A as I read it, an evasion, or a transaction or series of transactions to reduce artificially

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the amount of tax. Under the resolution which we passed a little while ago and that which we are about to pass now, the treasury board could decide how much tax was being avoided; under the terms of the section they could assess and levy upon the taxpayer such tax as the treasury board might decide, and such tax shall be payable by him as in this act provided. It seems that the section which we are now considering has very far-reaching effects, and only in the hands of the department which will treat it with the utmost fairness can it be considered reasonable legislation. But we have seen in some of the provinces that the administrators do not always remain sane and sound, so that legislation should not be passed which depends upon the character of those who are to operate it.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I have just one more observation to make in this connection. The effect of this resolution, as of the one which we passed a little while ago, seems to be this: We pass a law, and then we pass another law to give power to the treasury board to say that something which has been done legally is illegal. I am not a lawyer, but that is the way in which it appeals to me, and I think it is ridiculous.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions reported, read the second time and concurred in.

MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY ACT

AMENDMENTS TO BRING ACT OF 1939 INTO CONFORMITY WITH PRESENT PRACTICES

The house resumed, from Friday, April 9, consideration of the motion of Mr. Howe for the second reading of Bill No. 7, to amend the Department of Munitions and Supply Act.

Mr. JEAN-FRANÇOIS POULIOT (Témiscouata): Mr. Speaker, I will not speak at great length about this bill, but it is fitting for hon. members at times to express the opinions of their electors instead of being silent, especially when a member has proved already once or twice in his political career that he can rise to heights of eloquence and defend his own folk. Of course that is a matter of opinion, and since opinions are free, I will proceed in all freedom to say what I have to say about this measure.

The other day the debate ended abruptly, and I am delighted that it is resumed again. When it was adjourned I was talking of the actions of the present Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) when he was Minister of Finance, and even before that, and I said nothing offensive on that subject. The last words that were said by the member for Témiscouata at the time of the abrupt adjournment were that Colonel Magee was a good Canadian. But there was a state paper which was signed by the three defence ministers to the effect that there would be no patronage in the defence departments, and since the Minister of National Defence was not here the other day I must summarize in a few words the first observations I made on that dark night.

The joint declarations made by the defence ministers were to the effect that there would be no patronage in their departments, but they did not go so far as to say that there would be no patronage exercised by them in other departments. On that fateful day of February 21, 1941, I mentioned that Colonel Magee, president of Barclay's Bank, a former co-director of the Minister of National Defence, and also Mr. Henry Borden, a nephew of Sir Robert Borden, the former chief of the Conservative party, had been fairly well looked after. I said nothing offensive against them; they must be very good men to have such important key positions. But what I do not understand—I may be very dull—is that, since the Department of National Defence is no more a finance department; since it was decided in the time of Mr. Dunning that the Minister of National Defence would have nothing to do with finance, would not even have the right to approve the payment of a Sam Browne, or a cap, or even a button, there has been a great transformation in that field. All financial powers were taken away from the then Minister of National Defence, who is now Minister of Pensions and National Health (Mr. Mackenzie). But now, sir, it is an altogether different matter. The Minister of National Defence is also a financial wizard, and he is the perpetual acting minister of finance. Why, I do not know, because he has not the right to approve the payment of anything. But he has a financial adviser who is no less a man than the president of Barclay's Bank, his former co-director. All that is linked together, but it is a very long story, and I shall try to make it short.

What goes far beyond my understanding is that Mr. Henry Borden, the noted nephew and publisher of the memoirs of the former Tory leader, a very distinguished old gentleman who is now dead, has been promoted by leaps and bounds to the high position of what has been well described as lord high executioner, the character Koko in the Mikado. Now he is chief of all priorities—a big man; and he comes from Barclay's Bank, a fine institution of which the Minister of National Defence

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was at the time a director. He was a good chum. And, mind you, I say nothing offensive about Mr. Borden or Mr. Magee; I am rather praising them highly. But I do not know that there has not been a little patronage, and I am wondering whether it is not because the Minister of National Defence has known those gentlemen so well, and has learned to appreciate them so much. It may be that when he was sitting with them on the board of Barclay's Bank that he thought fit to recommend them in a special manner to his colleague the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe), and tell him that he could not find in the whole country such a good and able man as Mr. Borden to be chief of priorities. It shows that there is no patronage, but it is the same thing that is done in the civil service commission. It is the merit system, which has been the guiding star of the Minister of Munitions and Supply in his choice of Mr. Henry Borden as head of the priorities branch.

And, besides that, the Department of Munitions and Supply can develop indefinitely, because it is the department of the magic carpet. It has been described in a committee of the house—but I will not insist upon that. It would be a good thing to have a comprehensive view of the coordination in that department. There are, of course, many coordinators. Do they, or do they not, coordinate? That is a very important point. And many hon. members are under the impression that the coordination is infinitesimal. Of course there are controllers, and I know they control a lot. They are jealous of each other. The trouble with those controllers is that they try to control each other, and naturally that leads to a certain degree of disorder, which is deplorable in such an institution. There are controllers, coordinators and what else?

We had supplied to us at the request of the former leader of the opposition a very interesting chart of the Department of Munitions and Supply. It was printed in large type so that hon. members should not ruin their eyesight in looking at it. But I know that Mr. Sheilds, the deputy minister, was very proud of his chart. He had founded one of the marvels of the world, and he was exhibiting the chart to everybody. I had occasion in the house to tell the minister what I thought of the organization of his department, and I shall not repeat it. This was said a year or two ago, and I am sure it is as fresh in his mind as it is in the minds of hon. members.

Now I would have to take each name, in turn, and check it. This reminds me of children's play, and the cross-word puzzles worked by older persons. That is the best way to describe the chart of the department.

And, mark you, sir, I admire the spirit and the activity of the Minister of Munitions and Supply. I am sure if he were never interfered with by the Minister of National Defence, in connection with financial matters in his department, and in fact its whole organization, the department would run much more smoothly. But the Minister of National Defence, who is also hard-working, and who finds that being the head of a department is not enough, may like to put his nose into the business of his distinguished colleague the Minister of Munitions and Supply, and give him some advice—which must always be doubtful, if not always wrong. I would ask the Minister of Munitions and Supply to be very careful about the advice given to him by the Minister of National Defence, for the very reason that that hon. gentleman has not enough time, while supervising the numerous branches of his department, to look deeply into the features of legislation and the administration of the Department of Munitions and Supply.

If the minister of that department would be good enough to give us a general idea of its organization, I would ask him kindly to tell us what is the main job done by each group of men in the little square in the big frame on that chart. He need not tell us with respect to each individual, because that would take too long. But if there is an hon. member who has that chart before him at the moment, he will understand very well what I want to know.

We find long sentences in this bill. Apparently it is drafted according to present standards of legislation. As we know, legislation has either risen or fallen to such a degree that it is very hard for a layman to understand it. As I did not practise law for some years, I am among the group who do not understand much of the phraseology in legislation. This would be a fine occasion to poke a little fun at my humble self, and to say that I do not know what I am speaking about. But I do not pretend to have a profound mind, or to be endowed with the knowledge of those far-seeing statesmen who are now preparing for the post-war period.

We are in war-time, and we have to do our best to help the departments as much as can be done. Hon. members may think this little, very mild criticism is uncalled for, but yesterday afternoon I was not in the house. I went to visit an ordnance depot somewhere in Canada—I will not say any more than that. I saw many things, an enormous number of boxes and cases, but it was in the most indescribable disorder. It may be because I am a layman, "the man on the street", that I could not realize how

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everything was in order. But I saw amazing things. I saw, for instance, guns that are not supposed to be moved after they are installed, but each one had four tires and four exchange tires also, and piles of tires. What surprised me also was that four-fifths of that reserve was for other countries and only one-fifth for this country. I tell the house what I have seen. I was very well received; I express my appreciation of the officers there, but I was amazed at the way in which things were piled up. I shall surely say more about that privately to the minister. It was my duty to go there and inform myself. There is a great deal of good there, but there are other things that cannot be so easily approved.

I praise the minister for resuming the debate. He does it well. But with regard to his department I will ask him to take hon. members into his confidence. I will ask him to inform the members. For a time he published extensive reports of the purchases of his department, but there was one element that was lacking all the time—the element of quantum. He was informing us that the purchases of the department have been so much food from the packers, so much this, so much that, in money, but not in quantity, I insist on order. The war is no excuse for disorder. We need order in this country now if we are to have it after the war.

In the department there are many officials, very nice people. I am not complaining about them, but it takes a long time to find them and after they are found it takes a long time to get an answer.

Another thing I regret in the department is the standardization of certain precepts that should be a little more elastic. Just to-day I received a letter from one of the officials concerning the price of hair-cuts in the country. He would not change for the last two years because it was decided at the beginning. I wonder whether the Department of Munitions and Supply uses hair-cuts. I do not know.

There is another thing I should like to bring to the attention of the minister, namely, the number of middlemen with whom any one has to deal to sell, for instance, some lumber to the department. There are some exotic people who come from nowhere, who are here getting well on the fat of the land; they are neither English, Irish, Scotch, French nor Ukrainian. The name of one was Seidel; that is not English—Canada Southwood Limited. There is another who is neither British nor French Canadian, Mr. Lustwig. There is also the International Lumber Corporation of America, which is composed of two gentlemen who come from a European country. It reminds me of a joke a friend of mind told me. He was once at Atlantic City, and he saw a store with the name "Cohen and Gentleman". He saw two men standing by and he asked one, "Are you Mr. Cohen?" He said, "No; I am Gentleman." So my friend said to the other, "You must be Mr. Cohen." "No; I am Gentleman." Both were gentlemen, although the name was "Cohen and Gentleman". Mr. Kohen, not spelled with a "C" but with a "K", is one of the middlemen through whom the lumber producers have to deal to sell their lumber to the department. There is another, he is not British or French, Mr. Hass. Those who want to sell lumber to the department have to pass through those gates.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have to inform the hon. member that his time has expired.

Motion (Mr. Howe) agreed to, bill read the second time and the house went into committee thereon, Mr. McCann in the chair.

Section 1 agreed to.

On section 2—ministerial powers.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I think we might read these sections.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Section agreed to.

Section 3 agreed to.

On section 4—persons authorized to sign requisitions.

Mr. STIRLING: Will the minister give a little further explanation of this? It involves considerable sums of money.

Mr. HOWE: The original act provided that requisitions involving expenditure not exceeding $5,000 shall be signed by the minister or the deputy minister or an acting deputy minister of the department concerned, or by such other officer or officers of the department as the minister of the department may authorize. Signing officers are required for requisitions; but my hon. friend, having been a member of government, will understand that these requisitions are required to carry out a total expenditure authorized by order in council, and it is found in actual practice that the buying is broken down into so many branches that it is not practical to have a single signing officer for all expenditures over $5,000. This simply allows the minister or deputy minister to deputize others to sign

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requisitons up to $50,000. The minister himself must sign those for more than $50,000, as in the original act.

Mr. STIRLING: It is a very large jump, to ten times what it was before; that was why I asked.

Mr. HOWE: In practice there are a tremendous number below $50,000, and not many over that amount. This brings the act into conformity with actual practice.

Mr. POULIOT: The other day I was asked by a reporter to give an interview about different matters, and I said that I did not attach much importance to the long-distance telephone bills of the department.

Mr. HOWE: On a point of order, Mr. Chairman, this section has to do with signing authorities, and I do not think it has anything to do with expenditures.

Mr. POULIOT: My point has to do with the signing of requisitions. I know very well that in this section there is no mention of telephone bills, but it gives authority to the minister and certain officials to approve accounts, so that what I have to say is strictly in relation to that. The suggestion I am going to offer is intended to save the minister trouble. I think I am perfectly in order in discussing telephone bills under this section, for the reason that no telephone bill may be paid by the Department of Finance until it is certified as correct by the minister or one of the officials of the department. My suggestion is that there is nothing easier than to check long-distance telephone calls. Supposing an official in Ottawa calls his home, whether it is in Vancouver or Halifax. The telephone company has the name of the official here and the exchange number of the telephone at his home. I am not complaining about long-distance calls on official business. If a member of parliament is away from Ottawa and has to deal with a branch of the department, it is only natural for him to call the minister or one of his executives and explain his trouble. That is perfectly legitimate, and no one can complain about it, not even the leader of the opposition. If a member calls the minister or one of his executives by long-distance, in order to obtain an answer in an urgent case concerning priority, or in connection with some accident, that is perfectly legitimate; it is to save time. Therefore I suggest to the minister that he give definite instructions to the personnel of his department never to charge long-distance calls which are not made on public business, but at the same time he should give them a certain latitude in regard to real business calls. The best check is to use the co-relation that exists between the name of the caller and the exchange number of his home.

Mr. GRAYDON: I presume that the requisitions mentioned in the various clauses of this section have to do with all matter of supplies, office furniture, office equipment and so on?

Mr. HOWE: No, no.

Mr. GRAYDON: Nothing like that at all?

Mr. HOWE: No.

Mr. GRAYDON: It does not cover anything like that at all?

Mr. HOWE: No.

Mr. POULIOT: Would the minister be kind enough to tell the committee whether he has already given orders with regard to long-distance calls, or if he is willing to do so?

Mr. HOWE: Well, Mr. Chairman, I am quite willing to discuss any matter coming under this section, which deals with signing authorities in the department. This is not a signing authority for telephone calls; it is a signing authority for requisitions, and I think we might very well discuss matters relating to that.

Mr. GRAYDON: I just asked my question because I thought perhaps the purchases of equipment being made by the department would come in here, since they would be made under a requisition.

Mr. HOWE: I think that would be going pretty far afield, but still it might cover some item, though it would be very small.

Mr. GRAYDON: Did the economy controller have any jurisdiction in the Department of Munitions and Supply?

Mr. HOWE: Certainly; the same jurisdiction he had in any government department.

Mr. GRAYDON: Under the order in council?

Mr. HOWE: Yes.

Mr. POULIOT: He has resigned.

Section agreed to.

On section 5—Minister may authorize other person to carry on where failure.

Mr. STIRLING: Before this section gave the minister such power, did he have to take action of this description, and, if so, did he do so by order in council?

Mr. HOWE: Yes.

Mr. STIRLING: On many occasions?

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Mr. HOWE: Ten or twelve, or perhaps twenty.

Mr. NICHOLSON: What sort of appeal is there in case of any dispute in connection with one of these cases?

Mr. HOWE: There is no appeal. Ordinarily it is a case where the contractor bogs down and requires financial assistance, which the department is not prepared to give him under his management. If the contractor can carry out his contract and finance himself; if there is no undue or inflated cost, ordinarily the situation does not arise. Where, for some reason or another, the contractor is not able to carry out his contract in an efficient manner, and an advance is needed, we usually put in a controller, so that we can be sure there will be good management to work out the advance required.

Mr. GRAYDON: Is there any general overall policy adopted by the Department of Munitions and Supply as far as the character of these contracts is concerned? That is, is it done by tender in most cases, or is it on a cost-plus basis, or what is the general policy of the department with respect to ordinary contracts?

Mr. HOWE: Tenders are called wherever they can be called with any expectation of getting a proper price. If it is an article with which Canadian contractors are not familiar, it is not likely that we shall get a close price by tender. In that case various procedures are adopted for placing a contract. Sometimes there is a trial run and the cost fixed. In other cases it may be a cost plus a unit profit. It is almost never a cost plus a percentage. Our contracts are always arranged so that nothing can be gained by a contractor not using the highest efficiency and every endeavour to get production. If there is no fixed price, there is usually some incentive to the contractor to reduce costs and speed up his production.

Mr. GRAYDON: There are many stories, and I assume the minister must have heard some of them, about cost-plus contracts. It is thought that there is sometimes a disposition to increase certain costs in order to increase the contractor's percentage. What are the restrictions and limitations placed by the department upon such contracts so that this situation may not arise?

Mr. HOWE: I just stated that we never issue contracts on a cost plus a percentage. Many contracts are issued on a cost plus a fixed amount. For instance, in the case of rifles or anything of that sort, it is always a profit of so much per unit, so many dollars per unit. The more guns that are turned out and the lower cost there is, the more profit the contractor makes; the fewer guns and the higher the cost, the smaller the profit. All of our contracts have an incentive clause of that kind, so that it works against the contractor if he does not use the highest degree of efficiency.

Mr. GRAYDON: Have there never been cost plus percentage contracts?

Mr. HOWE: I know of none.

Mr. GILLIS: Does that apply also to shipbuilding contracts?

Mr. HOWE: Yes.

Mr. GILLIS: And airport construction?

Mr. HOWE: Yes.

Mr. STIRLING: How about these camps which have been erected around the country?

Mr. HOWE: The work is done on a fixed-fee basis. We estimate the cost of the job and arrange with the contractor so that he will get so many dollars for doing it. If during the contract the job doubles in size, a new amount is worked out. We never have a contract where it is so much plus a percentage. Perhaps I should not say "never," because we have 6,000 contracts, but I am sure the number would be infinitesimal.

Section agreed to.

On section 6—Power to require storage.

Mr. STIRLING: This is a curious section. Are there many occasions when it is necessary for the minister to use this power.

Mr. HOWE: It has been used a great deal. This provision was in the original act, and it is in the British act. We requisition storage quite often where a building is available, and we make an agrement that the owner will protect the property unless that provision is specifically excluded from the agreement. If we pay a fee for the use of the property, he is required to protect the property housed in the building. The original act contained a section covering storage. Subsection 2 reads:

Any persons storing munitions of war or supplies under subsection one of this section shall be liable for loss thereof or damage thereto as if he had agreed to store them for reward.

Mr. STIRLING: That is not a change; it is in the present act.

Mr. HOWE: Yes.

Mr. STIRLING: What is the implication of the words, "as if he had agreed to store them for reward"? Presumably he gets some recompense for storing them?

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Mr. HOWE: This is simply to permit the minister to use space that is available. When we need the space and a building is available, we requisition it for storage. If the price cannot be agreed upon, it is determined by the exchequer court.

Mr. POULIOT: I agree with the principle contained in the first subsection because it is carrying out the decentralization which I have always advocated. I do not take any responsibility for drafting this subsection. The dumping of large quantities of war materials in one point constitutes a danger to the community. There is greater risk than when the material is stored in different places. The wording of subsection 2 should be more generous to the person storing the munitions of war or supplies. There should be a different liability in the case of munitions of war, especially explosives. If, after inspection, the department is satisfied that a certain building is suitable, and if it agrees to certain compensation as rental of that building, how can the department come afterward and complain because damage has been done to the goods? It is only fair that the individual or the company owning a building should receive compensation for the space rented. We cannot ask an individual or a company to take charge of certain war materials and supplies unless there is a particular emergency. The effect of this subsection is that if nothing is charged, the owner of the building will not be held responsible for any damage done, but if a charge is made, he will be held responsible.

A distinction should be made between war munitions and ordinary supplies. Explosives, for instance, are war munitions, and a man runs a great risk in renting his building for that purpose. I am not sure that insurance companies will insure such a building. Therefore the owner needs compensation in respect of insurance on his building.

Section stands.

Progress reported.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RALSTON moved the adjournment of the house.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I inquire from the Prime Minister, who has just come in, what the business will be for Monday and whether he is in a position to give us some idea of what we may expect in the future?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am going to leave it to my colleague the Minister of National Defence who has been discussing with other members of the government the remaining business. Perhaps he would make an announcement and I might add a word if necessary.

Mr. RALSTON: What I am giving to the house is something fairly comprehensive. I wish to say first that we plan for Monday any business which is on the order paper and, to use the words of the British North America Act, without in any way limiting the generality of the foregoing we shall probably take up the bill respecting the Department of Munitions and Supply, the city of Ottawa resolution, the federal district commission resolution, the excess profits tax bill, which I understand will certainly be ready, and I expect also the income tax bill. We may call some departments in supply. I mention Trade and Commerce, Public Works, and possibly Legislation, although not necessarily in that order.

Mr. GRAYDON: If I may say so, there is no scarcity of work ahead. May I ask the acting leader if it is the intention of the government to proceed first with the excess profits tax bill and the income tax bill—if that is the order of procedure?

Mr. RALSTON: My hon. friend mentioned first the income tax bill and the excess profits tax bill. The excess profits tax bill will certainly be ready. I am not sure about the income tax bill, but I rather expect it will be ready. The best I can say to my hon. friend is that I will call his desire to the attention of the Minister of Finance and endeavour to see if that can be arranged.

Mr. GRAYDON: I am not particular myself, but I understood that the government regarded those two as urgent bills.

Mr. RALSTON: That is right. It is simply a question whether they will be ready and whether my colleague will be ready to go on. He is anxious to proceed on Monday, because he will have to be away for a while at least on Tuesday.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Perhaps I might add a word as to the three days of the coming week so that hon. members will have the programme before them. My hon. friend will recall that at the beginning of the session the government was asked to proceed with estimates as rapidly as possible so as not to leave the estimates to be taken up at the very end of the session. I just wish to point out that the estimates were tabled immediately after the address in reply to the speech from the throne was completed. We have tried repeatedly to get different departments into supply and to call various items, but on

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different occasions have been met with some amendment on going into supply which has made it impossible to get under way with the estimates. We have now reached the Easter recess and not a single item in supply has been discussed thus far. That has not been because the government has not had its estimates prepared or because it has not sought the opportunity to have the item discussed. I just wish to make it clear at this stage that if it should be that supply is left until pretty well on toward the end of the session, it is not because the government has not made every effort to proceed with supply as rapidly as possible.

I indicated that this year, for the purpose of making haste and expediting the business of the house, we would experiment with having some of the estimates referred to special committees. But there has not been a chance thus far even to refer any estimates to the committees. That is one reason why we have felt that we should not adjourn for Easter before getting a little further along with some of these preliminaries, at any rate those about which many hon. members have spoken to a considerable extent.

Another matter which was stressed at the beginning of the session was that the government should appoint the committees at an early stage. Our attention was drawn to the fact that in other years some of the committees did not meet until well on in the session. We took great pains this year to have the personnel of the committees in readiness and sought every opportunity to have them appointed at an early date. But there is still on the order paper, as hon. members are aware, notices for two committees, one with respect to war expenditures and the other with respect to radio broadcasting. Thus far we have not been able to get these committees appointed.

I think I did mention at an earlier stage of the session that we took about a week in appointing the committee on social security and the committee on reconstruction and rehabilitation. Those committees might have been appointed in five or ten minutes and we could have had the discussion at a later stage. The main purpose is to get the committees appointed. If it is at all possible I should like to get the committee with respect to broadcasting and the committee on war expenditures appointed before we adjourn for Easter. I do not know whether we can do so, but I hope we might be able to. There will be plenty of opportunities throughout the session to discuss matters with respect to them when the committees bring in their reports. But that rests entirely with the house. I am pointing this out now in order that hon. members may see just why it may be that in some of the business we shall be later in meeting their wishes than might otherwise be the case.

We have had repeatedly inquiries from different parts of the house as to when the government was going to bring down its war measures, and we have been asked for a secret session to discuss matters pertaining to the defence of Canada, the St. Lawrence and elsewhere. If hon. members will look at the order paper and at *Hansard*, they will see that on March 3 the Minister of Finance had discussed his resolution with respect to war expenditures, for sums not exceeding $3,890,000,000. That was a month and a half ago, and although at the time the resolution was explained at some length by the minister, we have not been able to discuss it further in any particular up to the present.

I direct attention to another war measure, which is the bill for a billion dollars to establish the Canadian War Supplies Allocation Board, the Mutual Aid bill. That is a bill which the house will wish to discuss very carefully. The resolution for that bill was set down for discussion in committee of the whole on February 12, and this is the 16th of April. I point this out because I doubt if the house realizes how much the government has been handicapped in proceeding with government measures, not through any fault of its own, not because its legislation has not been prepared, but because it has not had an opportunity, owing to the amount of discussion there has been up to the present time on other matters, much smaller matters, some of them trivial.

As hon. members know, I have been most anxious to appoint assistants to the ministers. Every member of the government, particularly members of the war committee, has been severely overtaxed. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) has had a load the like of which no minister in this parliament has ever had to carry, but he has not been able to arrange to have an assistant to be with him and help to discuss these measures, simply because, having an agreement that we would proceed in a certain way that was expeditious, I have not been able up to the present to get the house to consider the item which should be passed before any appointment is made. I should like some day next week, possibly Tuesday or Wednesday if the house can see its way to let me do so, to call the item with respect to the appointments of ministers' assistants, so that

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during the Easter recess these appointments may be made and the ministers have that extra help which is very greatly required.

I mention these matters at the moment because there are some who are not in the chamber just now but who will wish, I think, to know exactly what we intend to do in the course of the next few days as far as we are able to do it. I hope also they will take note of how much time has gone by this session before we have been able to touch any of the large war measures. Of course we have been successful to the degree that I hope by the Easter recess we shall have completed the debate on the budget, and the bills founded on the budget resolutions passed, at least by this house. That with the debate on the address previously concluded, clears up a good part of the business of the session.

But what the government would like to do in order to meet the wishes of hon. members, as well as do what is most in the public interest, is, immediately after the recess, to get on with the war measures. What we trust and hope we can do is to get sufficiently advanced with these other measures to be able to have the way clear for war measures, in particular, immediately after.

Mr. GRAYDON: I would say just a word subsequent to the Prime Minister's remarks. I agree with him that we ought to get on with our war measures as soon as can conveniently be done. I think he will be in agreement with me when I say that during this session, following the government's own plan, a rather unusual procedure was adopted. Immediately after the address had been voted the budget was brought on, for reasons which are well known and with which I find no fault. But when the Prime Minister speaks about the debate taking a considerable length of time in connection with a social security committee and reconstruction, I hope he is not directing his entire remarks against those on this side of the house—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Oh, no.

Mr. GRAYDON: —because I think the whole house must bear its responsibility in that connection, and I do not exclude the government, because it will be well remembered that the major emphasis in the speech from the throne was laid upon social security and the committee which was to be brought into being.

In connection with any delays which have occurred in the work of the house, I suppose that under a democratic system such occasions are more or less inevitable, and I know the Prime Minister would not want to criticize those things too much. I put on record this evening a list of the speakers who had taken part in the budget debate, and it shows that a rather considerable majority were supporters of the government. I am not raising any question about that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Was it a percentage?

Mr. GRAYDON: No; I did not get into percentages; I just kept to straight numbers. If the Prime Minister wishes to figure that out I have no objection; he has the week-end in which to do it. But on the address, for instance, there were forty-two government speakers and twenty-one opposition speakers.

Mr. RALSTON: That is 50 per cent for the opposition.

Mr. GRAYDON: That is true. But if it is a question of quality the opposition has very much the advantage.

There have been very good reasons why the situation has arisen which the Prime Minister has described. But personally I am anxious to have the war appropriation bill brought on as quickly as possible. Having in mind, however, the fact, with reference to the radio committee which will have to be set up, that concurrence in its report was not moved last year, there may reasonably be an hour or so occupied in debate on that matter. But we are prepared to facilitate progress as much as is humanly possible. There are limitations when legislation is being dealt with, and we have a certain duty to perform. But there has been no attempt designedly to do any more than legitimately criticize the measures before us according to the best light we have.

Mr. NICHOLSON: This evening the Minister of National Defence stated that there would be a two weeks' recess. Does that mean that we shall meet again on the Thursday?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We shall adjourn on Wednesday of next week for a fortnight, and resume on the Thursday.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie King the house adjourned at 11.20 p.m.

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ROYALTY

H. M. Queen Alexandra

H. M. King George the Fifth (6 Portraits)
H. M. Queen Mary (3 Portraits)

H. M. King George the Sixth (3 Portraits) Salon
H. M. Queen Elizabeth (3 Portraits) Gold Medal.
H. R. H. Princess Elizabeth
H. R. H. Princess Margaret Rose

H. R. H. The Prince of Wales (3 Portraits)
H. R. H. Prince Henry
H. R. H. Prince George
H. R. H. Princess Mary

H. R. H. The Duke of York
H. R. H. The Duke of Gloucester
H. R. H. The Duke of Kent
H. R. H. The Duchess of Kent
H. R. H. Princess Royal

H. M. Queen Maud of Norway
H. R. H. Princess Marie Louise
H. R. H. Princess Beatrice
H. R. H. Princess Helena Victoria
H. R. H. Princess Alice (3 Portraits)
H. R. H. Princess Maud

H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught (2 Portraits)
Earl of Athlone
Lord Lascelles
Lady Mary Cambridge
Lady Rachel Cavendish
Lady Mary Thynne

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BRITISH Prime Ministers.

The Right Hon. Lord Asquith
The Right Hon Earl Lloyd George
The Right Hon Neville Chamberlain
The Right Hon Lord Baldwin
The Right Hon Sir Ramsey MacDonald
The Right Hon Winston.S.Churchill
The Right Hon C.R.Attlee

(6 Portraits)
1. Devonshire Club.
2. The family.
3. Mr Duncan Sandys
4. Churchill Club
5. Harrow School
6. Darlington Town Hall

DOMINION Prime Ministers.

The Right Hon W.MacKenzie King	Hall of Fame, Parliament, Ottowa.
General Smuts	St Andrew's University.
General Higgins	Southern Rhodesia.
The Right Hon S.C.Savage	Australia
General Hertzog	South Africa

Archbishops

His Grace Archbishop Davidson
His Grace Archbishop Lang
His Grace Archbishop Temple
His Grace Archbishop Fisher

Allenby Field Marshal Lord	
Alexander Canon	
Atkin Lord	
Anglesey, Lord	
Argentine Ambassador	
Ancaster, Lord	
Airlie, Lady	
Anderson Sir John	Chancellor of the Exchequer
Anderson, Lieutenant	
Asquith, Lord.	Prime Minister
Allom Sir Charles	
Allom Lady	

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Adams, Dr Douglas.	
Attlee Clement R.	Prime Minister
Bentinck, Lady Margaret C.	
Bradbury, Lord.	Bank of England
Blanesburgh, Lord	
Baldwin, Stanley	Prime Minister
Baldwin Mrs S.	
Belgian Ambassador.	Baron de Carter
Broadbridge, Lord.	Lord Mayor of London
Bath and Wells, Bishop of.	
Blackburn, Bishop of	
Birdwood, Lord	Field Marshal
Bruce. Hon I.M.	High Commissioner of Australia
Beaufort, Duke of	
Berry, Dr Sydney	
Buckman, Dr Frank	
Blackham, General	
Booth, General Evangiline	
Boyle, Wing Commander	
Badcock, Lieutenant	
Buxton, Mrs	
Bowater, Sir Frank	Lord Mayor
Burgin, Rt. Hon. Leslie	
Braithwaite, Dr	
Braithwaite, Miss Amy	
Bailey, Henry I.	
Buckland Miss	
Benison Miss Winifred	
Benison George L.	
Brownlow Rt. Hon Earl	
Brownlow, Countess Adelaide	
Brownlow, Lord	
Brownlow, Lady Maud	
Bethell, Lord	
Bethell, Lady	
Bethell, Hon Dorothy	
Bethell, Hon Grace	
Bethell, Hon Phyllis	
Bethell, Liet. the Hon Frank	
Birkin Philip	
Birkin, Miss Margot	
Burton, Joseph	
Baxendale Rv George	
Brindle, Bishop	
Barnard, Lord	
Bing, General Lord	
Bowlby, General Sir Anthony	
Barter, Dr W.A.	
Beatty, Lord	
Boyne, Viscountess	
Birkenhead, Lord.	Secretary of State for India.
Buxton, Frank	
Brown, Miss Betty	

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Collins-Wells, Colonel - V C	
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Cavan, Lord	
Carnegie, Canon W. H.	
Chamberlain, Neville.	Prime Minister
Craigaven, Lord.	Viceroy for Northern Ireland
Cromer, Lord	Lord Chamberlain
Congleton, Lady	
Congleton, Lord	
Cox, Harold	
Carisbrooke, Lord	
Carisbrooke, Lady	
Crompton, Mrs John	
Churchill, Winston, S.	Prime Minister
Churchill, Mrs Winston	
Cadogan, Sir Alexander	
Clarendon, Lord	Lord Chamberlain
Coome, Mrs H.Hogan	
Croft, Lieutenant	
Clay, Charles R.	
Clifford, E.	
Clifford, Herbert	
Clifford, Mrs	
Crompton, Miss Dorothy	
Cockshott, Miss Hilda	
Claypon, Mrs Lane	
Cox, Mrs Harold	
Curtis, C.B.	
Curtis, Mrs	
Curtis, Miss Louise	
Curtis, Peter	
Curtis, Gerald	
Cox, Mrs Norah	
Clayton, Joseph	
Clayton, Mrs	
Clayton, Miss Josephine	
Currie, General C.W.	
Curzon, Lord	Secretary of State
Canterbury, Archbishops -	Three ~~in one~~ portraits
Cobbett, W.W.	
Cobbett, Mrs	
Cobham, Sir Alan	
Cooper A.C.	

Dobson, Mrs Brook	
Duff, Dr Archibald	
Dovedale, W F.S.	
Deighton, William	
Dunham, Ezra	
Darnton, Lieut Rupert	
Dawbarn, Miss Enid	

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Durham, Bishop of

Elliott, Mrs Frank
Each, Vincent
Each, Mrs
Ely, Sir Frederick
Ebisham, Lord
Eden, Anthony
Elliott, Mrs Casselton
Elliston, G.N.
Essendon, Lord
Evan,s L .M

Fausett, Sir Bryan Godfrey
Fielding, General
Fisher, Sir Knapp
Fitzroy Captain Speaker of House of Commons
Flint, Sergeant, V.C.
Flux, Lieutenant
Fox, Lieut S.
Free, George, R.
Fisher - Archbishop of Canterbury
Frank, Sir Pearson
Flersheim, Mrs
Flersheim, Miss Monica
Fancourt, Miss Verana
Forman, Miss Dora
Fouldes, Margaret
Fouldes, Katherine
Faulkner, Arthur
Fletcher, Sir Banister
French, Lord
Fouldes, John

Gandar-dower, Mrs
Gandar-dowerCCaptain
Gandar-dower Ronald
Gandar-dower Lieut L.F.
Greenwood, C.C.
Greenwood, F.C.
Gough, Frank

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Gilbey, Sir Walter	
Gower, Lady Leveson	
Gibson, Arthur C.	
Gibson, Mrs	
Gotto, Frank	
Greenhill, Miss Vera	
Gough, General Sir Hubert	
Gatlip, General	
Garnett, Mrs William	
Gore, Sir Ormsby	
George, Earl Lloyd	Prime Minister
Gordon, W.I.	
Gibb, Robertson	
Garwell, Lieut A.	
Greenaway, Sir Percy	Lord Mayor
Green, Mrs Owen	
Gabler, Mrs	
Gauvain, Sir Henry	
Grant, Admiral	
Grant, Mrs	

Husted, Louise Anne	
Husted, Anne	
Husted, John	
Hankey, Lord	Secretary of State
Hamilton, Sir Ian	General
Halifax, Lord	Ambassador to U.S.A.
Hertzog, General	Prime Minister
Huggin, Martin	
Hailsham, Lady	
Hughes, Dr Maldyn	
Hailsham, Lord	Lord Chancellor
Harewood, Lord	
Haldin, Sir Philip	
Harris, Leonard.C.	
Hill, P.Morris	
Hannah, Sergeant. V.C.	
Haldane, Mrs Anne	
Hyde, William	
Harrison, Beatrice	
Hammick, John	
Heaton, Sir Frederick	
Henson, Leslie	Actor
Harrison, Horace	
Harrison, Mrs Ruby	
Harvey, Margot	

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Harvey, Phyllis
Harvey, Rita
Henshaw, I
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Hopkins, Mrs
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Hartley, Sir William
Hartley, Lady
Hammond, Mrs
Hammond, Miss Daphne
Homberger, Otto
Homberger, Mrs
Holloway, Sir Henry
Holloway, Lady
Holloway, Miss Phyllis
Haite, George C.
Harvey, Gerald
Hughes, Major Creswell
Hughes Mrs Creswell
Haig, Lord — Field Marshal
Horne, General Lord
Holloway, Miss Daisy
Henderson, Lady
Holmes, Archdeacon
Hopson, Montague
Hamblin, Sir Herbert
Harewood, Countess
Holiday, Henry Mrs
Harvey, Sir John Martin — Actor
Holden, Dr Stuart

Inverforth, Lord (3) — The Hill, Hampstead.
Glasgow Art Gallery.
The Baltic.

Iliffe, Lord
Iliffe, Lady
Iliffe, Hon Mrs
Inge, Dean

Jellicoe, Lord
Jackson, Admiral
Joseph, Sir Samuel — Lord Mayor
Joseph, Lady
Jackson, Miss Gwendoline
Jackson, Admiral

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Judkins, Miss Margaret
Jaques, Major
Jones, William
Jowett, Dr

Kearne, Samuel R	
Kearne, Mrs	
Knowles, R.M.	
Kipple, General L.E.	
Kaye, Fred	
Kaye, Mrs	
Kilgour, Dr	
Knapp-Fisher, Sir Edward	
Kinnaird, Lady	
Killick, Sir Stephen	Lord Mayor
Keogh, Sir Alfred	
Keppel, Sir Colin	
King-Mackenzie W.L. Rt.Hon.	Canadian Prime Minister.
Kerke, Lieut T.S.	
Keens, Sir Thomas	
Kerman, Mrs Isidore	

Lang	Archbishop of Canterbury
Langlands, Mrs	
Lye, Walter	
Lye, Mrs Walter	
Lawrence, Dean Walter	
Liddell, Oswald	
Leckie, Alderman Sir Joseph	
London, Bishop of	
Lowther, James W.	Speaker
Lea, John. Alderman	Walker Art Gallery
Londonderry, Lord	
Lewisham, Lord	
Lister, Sir O.Cunliffe	
Lowson Alderman Dennis	
Lowson, Mrs	
Lofthouse, Dr.	Cambridge
Legh, Hon. Pieu	
Learoyd, R.B. V.C.	
Lee, Percy W.	

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Mclean, Sir Alan	
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Mackenzie, Sir Muir	
Maxwell, Sir Grenfel	
Murray, Sir John H	
Madden, Sir Charles	
Matthew, Dean	
Macdonald, Sir Ramsay	Prime Minister
Mackle, Mrs	
Maisky, Monsieur	
Mussoline, Benito	Painted in Rome for Government Palace.
Mee, Arthur	Author
McRea, Sir Charles	
Morrison, Herbert	
Miller, Mrs Williams	
Marchant, Sir Edward le	
Morton, Pleasance	
Morgan, Dr Campbell	
McCarthy, Miss	Chief Matron. 1914 War.
Marchant, Lady le	
McCrum, Miss Florence	
Morton, Miss Beasant	
Marshall, Lord	
McClure, Sir John	
McClure, Lady	
Metheun Filed Marshal Lord	
Meux, Admiral Sir Headworth	
Madden, Admiral	
Milford-Haven, Admiral Lord	
Mountbatten, Lord Louis	
McKenzie, Sir Victor	
Martindale, Percy	
McAllister, Mrs	
Monteseori, Madame	
Nott, Graham	
Nott, Mrs E	
Newhouse, Mrs	
Nelson, Miss Ruth	
Morris, Dr Foxley	Dean of Westminster
Norfolk, Duke of	The Lord Great Chamberlain
Nelson, Lady	
Norris, Richard S.	
Norrie, General Sir Willoughby	Governer of Western Australia
Newton, Sir Louis	Lord Mayor

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O'Neill,Lieut A.G.
Owen, Sir James
Owen, Lady
Oliviera, de, Mr

Pearce, Frank
Parnell, Arthur.H.
Parnell, Mary
Parnell, Sheila
Parnell, Jean
Parnell, Ann
Parnell, Heather
Parnell, Christopher
Player, Michael
Paget, Lady Elizabeth
Portland, Duke of
Petty, Lieut
Palmour, Charles
Post Mrs
Price, Sir Henry
Price, Lady
Pugh, Vernon
Pugh, Mrs
Pugh, Hugh
Pugh, Dick
Pugh, Geoffrey
Pugh, Michael
Pugh, Anthony
Pugh, Sylvia
Pugh, Joyce
Perry, Mrs Sarah R.
Player, W.G. Mrs
Player, W.G.
Player, Catherine
Player, Edith Violet
Player Vera
Player, John
Player, Lieut I.D.
Player, William
Pearson, H
Phillips, Hon Colwyn
Prittie Col. H.
Prittie Mrs H.
Price, Lieut. G.
Plumer, Lord
Posnett, Rev. Charles
Partridge, Frank

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Ridgeway, Sir W.	
Reading, Lord	
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Royden, Lord	
Rotherwick, Lord	
Runciman, Lord	
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Roberts, Mrs	
Rignold, Jennifer	
Ricks, Claude	
Ryder, Samual	
Ryder, Marjorie,	
Ryder, Joan	
Ryder, Kathleen	
Rutherford, J	
Rowntree, Rev. Clifford	
Richmond, Edgar	
Raban, Harold	
Raban, Mrs	
Richmond, John	
Richmond, Sir William B.	Painting Professor Royal Academy
Regensburg Mrs	
Roberts, Henry M.	
Rawlinson, General Lord	
Robertson, General Sir William	
Randell Lord - Archbishop (2)	Royal Exchange. Canterbury.
Ryle, Dean of Westminster	
Scott, Horatio W.	
Scott, Sir Samual	
Scott, Sir James W.	
Scott, Lady	
Sibley, Charles F.	
Sibley, Sylvia	
Stafford, E.	Mayor of Brighton
Stafford, Mrs	
Stafford, Capt. E.D.	
Stafford, Mrs E.D.	
Stafford, Lieut Ewart	
Saltmarsh, Sir George	
Saltmarsh, Lady	
Salisbury, I.Eustace	
Salisbury, I.W.	

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Stanmore, Lord	
Shannon, Eileen	
Southampton, Bishop of	
Saunders, Phyllis	
Sloggett, General Sir Arthur	
Shaftesbury, Rt. Hon. Lord	
Siddeley, Lord	
Siddeley, Lady	
Sen Sisters	Salon Silver Medal.
Stockton, Sir Harry	
Stamfordham, Lord	Private Secretary to the King.
Simon, Viscount	Lord Chancellor
Sharp, Canon	
Schuster, Sir Claude	
Sankey, Lord	Lord Chancellor
Swift, Hilda	
Savage, S.S.	Prime Minister, S.A.
St Albans, Bishop of	
Strathmore & Kingholm, Earl of	
Strathmore, Countess	
Souteer, W.A.	
Sutherland, Sir Arthur	
Shepherd, Sir Sydney	
Sinclair, Sir Archibald	
Smuts, Field Marshal	
Sobolev, Monsieur	
Sandys, Mrs Duncan	
Sandys, Julian	
Spicer, Ernest.E.	
Southborough, Lord	
Stevens, Mrs Ernest	
Smith, Sir Llewyllen	
Smith, Frank	
Smith, Sir Dunlop	
Smith, Clarence	
Smith, Mrs Clarence	
Smith Lancelot	

Temple,	Archbishop of Canterbury
Thomas, J.H.	
Thomas, Sir Vernon	
Treloar, Mrs Florence	
Todd, Ann	
Treu, Ethel.M.	Head Mistress, Queenwood.
Thomson, Peggy	
Thomas, Douglas	
Treasure, Lieut. William	
Treasure, Dorothy	
Treasure, Winnis	
Thomson, R.Gilmour	

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Tattersall, J.B.
Taylor, Miss
Trewman, H.I.
Trewman Mrs H.I.
Trewman, Gladys
Trewman, Reginald
Trewman, John
Trewman Pat
Treloar, Sir William — Lord Mayor
Tweedy, Sir John
Tuck, Desmond
Tilley, A.

Ullswater, Lord
Uvedale, Lord

White, Florence
White, Mrs
Woolston, Sir Gerald — Garter King at Arms
Wakefield, Lord — Lord Mayor
Woods, Mrs R.S.
Wood, Sir Henry
Watson, Victor H.
Wilshaw, Sir Edward
Wilshaw, Lady
Woolton, Lord — Minister of Food
Whittaker, C.W.
Weinberg, Mrs I.
Whittock, Mrs
Woodall, Dr James
Wilmot, I.Eardley
Waddingham, Anne
Waddingham, John
Waddingham, Richard
Wingfield, Mrs
Wilson, Miss
Wesley, John (3) — City Road.
Ambassador of God. Central Hall.
Eclesiastical Statesman.America.

Wilson, T.
Witterwronge, Sir Charles Lawes. Bart.
Wilson, Mrs
Wadsworth, Mrs
Wadsworth, Miss Constance
Winder, Col. R.
Woods, Mrs Henry
Wilkinson, Arthur S.
Wilson, Lady Sarah
Wilson, Frank.C. — Lord Mayor of Liverpool

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C229033

Wilson, Mrs
Watson, Mrs
Watson, Miss Joan
Watson,Paul.D.
Watson, I.D.
Warwick, Thomas

Yeadon, Lieut. Brian
Yorke, David

Zetland, Earl of

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C229021

List of distinguished AMERICANS

painted by

FRANK. O. SALISBURY.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C229035

PRESIDENTS OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mr Calvin Coolidge
Mr Herbert Hoover
Mr Franklin D.Roosevelt (6)
Mr Harry Truman

(6) The White House, Washington.
Government House,Australia
Genealogical Society, New York
The Delano Roosevelt Home,
New York.
Hyde Park
English Speaking Union, London

OTHER DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS

Allen, Mrs

Allen Miss Mary

Allen, Miss Lcy

Anderson Bishop — Chicago

Anderson Mrs Carol

Auchincloss, Miss

Arents Mr George

Arents Mrs George

Baker George F.
One for Dartmouth University
" " Mutual Life
" " U.S.Steel Corporation
" " Harvard University
" " Chamber of Commerce
" " Yale University
" " New York Club

Baker George F.junior.

Baker Stephen — President of Manhattan Bank

Baker Mrs Stephen

Baum Dr

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Bancroft Mrs

Barclay Mrs

Block Mrs

Bruce James

Bloomingdale Mrs

Boross, Miss Alys.

Bruce Catell

Bowen Clarence W.

Bowen Mrs Clarence W.

Burrows Mrs

Bingham Senator Hiram

Bingham Mrs

Burden Shirley

Bullock Chandler

Butler Dr Nicholas Murray. Columbia University.

Bullock Mrs Chandler

Bullock Hugh

Carnegie Andrew President U.S.Steel Corporation

Carnegie Mrs Andrew

Cole, Miss Jean

Cadman, Dr Parkes (2)

Cunningham, E.

Cadman Mrs Parkes

Cadman Leslie

Cadman Mrs Leslie

Clark Gaylord Lee

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CANADA

Carr, Mrs Louise

Carr, Miss Margaret

Coolidge, President Calvin (2) One for Worcester Museum
" " his own home.

Coolidge Mrs

Coffin Howard
Coffin Mrs Howard.

Colgate, S.M.

Cotton Joseph

Cotton Mrs Joseph

Coe W.R.

Coe, Mrs W.R.

Cunningham Mrs E.

Cummings Mrs

Crawford John

Crawford Mrs John

Duvee, Mrs Ben

Denison Hugh

Denison Mrs High

Douglas James H.

Dewart William — Proprietor of "The Sun" New York.

Dewart Mrs William

Duncan A.E.

Davis John B. — Ambassador to Great Britain

Davies Joseph E. 3 — Ambassador to Moscow

Davies Mrs Joseph E.

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CANADA

C229033

Emmanuel, Mrs

Elbert, Robert

Elbert Mrs Robert

Elbert Miss Patricia

Earle, Ralph

Hardman Charles

Edmonds Mrs

Ecstein Louis

Fawcett Miss Lucille

Fawcett Miss Elizabeth

Fulton John K.

Fordham Herbert

Fry, Miss

Folgar H.C. — Founder of Shakespeare Library Washington.

Folgar Mrs H.C.

Frank Marjorie

Frey, Mrs

Fairman Fred

Fairman Mrs

Fleming Mrs.

Gardener Miss Ruth

Gardener Miss Josephine

Gardener Miss Nancy

Gary Judge Elbert H. — President of U.S. Steel Corporation.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Gillett Miss Dale

Gillett Miss Maud

Gifford Walter — President U.S. Telegraph Company.

Gale Miss Lucille

Grass E.C.

Greene Ernest

Greens Mrs

Grace Eugin. (4) — President of Bethlehem Steel.

Hoguet Mrs

Hopkins Mrs Dunlop

Hull, Morton

Head Walter

Hughes Captain

Hutton Mrs

Hutton Mrs Marjory

Hutton Nadenia

Harkness Edward S. — Yale, Harvard & St Andrews.

Ingen Van

Jackson Mrs

Jones Thomas

Jones Mrs Quentin

Jelkie Mrs John

Jelkie John

Johnson Bardett

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Johnson Caleb	
Jobnson William	
Johnston Edward	
Livingston Goodhue	Architect
Loomis Edward E.	President of LeHigh Railroad.
Loree L.F.	President of Hudson Railroad.
McLaughlin Mr R.S.	President of Motors.
McLaughlin Mrs	
McLaughlin Miss Hilds	
McLure Dr James.	
McCormack Cyrus	
McClurg Mrs	
Melon Andrew	Secretary of the Treasury
Morgan J.Pierpont.(2)	One for Morgan Library " " U.S. Bank.
McDowell Charles	
McDowell Mrs Charles	
Mason Max Dr.	President Chicago University
Metcalfe Mrs	
McLean William	
Morgan Paul	
Morgan Mrs	
McClurg Ogden.	
Noble Robert	
Noble Mrs Robert	

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Owen Mr	
Owen Mrs	
Phillips Mrs	
Pratt Herbert	
Pratt Mrs Herbert	
Rockefeller John D. (4)	
Rockefeller Mrs John D.	
Ryerson Edward L.	
Reynolds Arthur	President First National Bank Chicago.
Satterlee Herbert	
Seabury Charles E.	Chicago.
Sloane Albert P.	President General Motors.
Sloane Mrs Albert P.	
Schwab Charles	Bethlehem Steel.
Stotesbury	Philadelphia
Stires Bishop	Bishop. Long Island.
Mrs Stires.	
Taylor Myron	U.S. Steel Corporation.
Taylor Mrs Myron	
Wentworth Mrs Moses J.	
White Edson.	President of Armour Company.

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Wing Daniel	President of First National Bank. Boston.
Wing Mrs Daniel	
Willard Dr Daniel	President of Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.
Willmer Dr W.H.	The Willmer Institute
Williams W.Henry	President. Chamber of Commerce.

Portraits of eminent men hung in the following Universities in the United States.

Yale.

Harvard.

Cornell.

Chicago.

Lafayette.

Dartmouth.

Miami.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C229043

WORKS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

painted by

FRANK.O.SALISBURY.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C229044

WORKS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

painted by

FRANK. O. SALISBURY.

1910	House of Lords Panel Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon before the Consistory Court. Presented by Lord Stanmore.
The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1912	Royal Exchange Panel Alfred the Great rebuilding the walls of the City of London. Presented by Lord Wakefield(Lord Mayor)
The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1917	The Boy Cornwall V.C. in The Battle of Jutland Painted for the Admiralty. Unveiled by the First Lord of The Admiralty, Lord Carson. Reproduced for the benefit of Cornwall Fund.
The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1918	A Panel to commemorate The King and Queen's visit to the Battle districts of France. (Royal Exchange) Presented by the Lord Mayor, Sir William Dunn. Unveiled by H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught.
1918	Her Majesty the Queen's letter to the Army, Navy and Air Force at the End of The Great War. Border design reproduced for benefit of Red Cross.
The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1920	National Thanksgiving Service on the Steps of St Paul's. (Royal Exchange) Presented by the Lord Mayor, Lord Marshal. Unveiled by H. R. H. The Duke of York.
Royal Academy	Edward 1 and Queen Eleanor. Edward 1 The Last Crusader. Memorial Commemorating the Deliverance of Jerusalem. St Alban's Abbey. Presented by the Mayor, Alderman Faulkner.
The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1921	"The Burial of the Unknown Warrior" (In the Houses of Parliament) Painted by Royal Command, and Presented by Sir Robert Bird.

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C229045

Royal Academy 1921 — The Nation's Homage.
(Buckingham Palace)
The unveiling of the Cenotaph, the Burial of the Unknown Warrior.
Painted by Royal Command.

1922 — Queen Victoria All Indian Memorial - Calcutta.
Twelve large panels of Great Historial Events in Her Majesty's Life.
Painted with the King's Co-operation.
Unveiled by the Prince of Wales.

1922 — Royal Command Picture of H. R. H. Princess Mary's Wedding in Westminster Abbey.
(Buckingham Palace)

1922 — "The Signing of the Register"
Painted for H. R. H. Princess Mary and Lord Lascelles.

1923 — "The King's Offering"
(Buckingham Palace)

Order of the Bath Ceremony.
Presented by The Order to the King to commemorate His Majesty's restoration to health.

1924 — India's Homage to the Fallen, Westminster Abbey
(India Office)
Unveiled by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead.

The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1935 — National Jubilee Service at St Paul's King George V and Queen Mary.
"The Heart of the Empire"
(Buckingham Palace)
Published for the benefit of King George's Jubilee Fund, by "The Times".

1935 — Portrait of His Majesty King George V Commemorating Britain Fighting Side by Side with America in The Great War.
(National Gallery, Washington)
Presented to President Roosevelt by Lord Halifax, Ambassador, on behalf of The Artist.

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1936	National Jubilee Service at St Paul's The Royal Procession entering the Cathedral. "O enter then His Gates with praise" (The Guildhall) Painted for the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London. Ditto - For India. H.H. Maharjah Paliala.
1936	Design for:- Her Majesty, Queen Mary's Letter to The Nation on The Death of The King.
1937	Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth's Coronation State Visit to the City of London. (The Guildhall) Presented by Lord Wakefield to the Lord Mayor and Corporation.
1937	Coronation Procession Presented to Lord Louis Mountbatten, by Members of the Royal Family.
The Place of Honour Royal Academy 1938	Picture of the Coronation of Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Westminster Abbey. (Buckingham Palace) Presented by the Four Dominions, Canade, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, as a token of loyalty and affection.
1939	Their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Commemorative Picture of the State Visit to Canada. Houses of Parliament, Hall of Memory, Ottawa. Presented by the Prime Minister, Mr Mackenzie King.
1940	His Majesty, King George VI's Official Visit to the Chamber of Shipping. Presented by Sir Philip Haldin, President.
1941	The Briefing - Commemorating the Royal Air Force. Presented to the Air Ministry. Reproduced for the benefit of the R.A.F. Benevolent Fund.

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1943 Painted for H.M.Government.
Large Picture Commemorating the Signing of The Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance, 1942.
Presented to Russia.
Now Hangs in The Kremlin, Moscow.

1944 The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill.
Prime Minister.
Receiving the Freedom of the City of London.
Presented by the Lord Mayor.
(The Guildhall)

1945 The Battle of London. Commemorative picture
Painted for the Ministry of Works.
Reproduced for the men of the
Coast Gun Defences.

1946 The Battle of Britain. Commemorating
The Few to Whom the Many Owe So Much.
Exhibited in London and on the Continent.

1947 The Canterbury Royal Thanksgiving Service.
(Canterbury Cathedral)
Presented by Viscount Bennett.

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CANADA

C229048

NATIONAL WAR MEMORIALS

1915 Cardiff Art Gallery.
The Quest of St George.

1918 Walsall Town Hall.
Two large Panels. The S. Staffordshires on the Somme, crossing the St Quentin Canal 1918.
Unveiled by General Lord Rawlinson.

1918 Newport (Mon) Town Hall.
Panel entitled "God and St George"

1919 Felsted School.
"St George, Sir Galahad and King Arthur"

1919 Wesley Chapel, City Road, London.
Freemasons Memorial - Unveiled by Lord Mayor. Presented by Freemasons throughout the Empire.

1919 Glazier's Company, London.
Roll of Honour.
Unveiled by Lord Mayor.

1923 Liverpool Town Hall
The Hall of Memory.
Twelve Panels. Ideals of National Service.
Unveiled by H. R. H. The Duke of York.

1945 "God and St George"
1. The Royal Society of St George.
1946 2. The Boy Scouts' Head Quarters.

London Museum
Panel "The Passing of War"
Presented for the Red Cross.

Palmers Green
"Sacrifice" , Sculpture group.
Unveiled by General Sir Hubert Gough.

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C229049

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR COUNCIL: February 13th, 1942.

SUBJECT: Auxiliary Services campaign.

REMARKS: Communications from Sir Edward Beatty and Mr. Howard Ferguson, attached.

CONSIDERED BY COUNCIL: February 13th, 1942.

ACTION TAKEN: Referred to the Ministers of National War Service and Finance.

DISPOSED OF: Copies of letters referred to Ministers.

(A.D.P.M.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C229050 N-305-30
1942
(Confl)

1942 FEB 11 PM 2 21

WNA77 41 DH PASS

VICTORIA 11

RT HON W L MACKENZIE KING
PRIME MINISTER OTTAWA

I AM ADVISED THAT THE PROPOSED REVERSAL OF GOVERNMENT POLICY IMPOSES IMPOSSIBLE TASK AND IMPERILS SALVATION ARMY OPERATIONS IN CANADA WE SUGGEST GOVERNMENT FINANCE SERVICES OR SANCTION UNITED CAMPAIGN AS PROMISED BY MINISTER IN HOUSE I HOPE YOU WILL RECONSIDER PROPOSALS

E W BEATTY

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C229051

1942 Feb. 12 PM 4 19

RB39 136 NL=OM Toronto Ont. 12

RT Hon W.L. Mackenzie King

Ottawa Ont.

Strong opinion prevails that government should finance all auxiliary war services or sanction a united campaign along lines indicated by the Minister in the house press reports indicate proposals for government financing only part of auxiliary war services am sure you are aware of the most important and satisfactory service carried on by the salvation army not only at home but abroad and am confident government would not desire restrict their activity proposed plan will greatly restrict if not wholly suppress salvation army effort unless they are allowed to carry on a national campaign to raise money from my contracts with the armys widespread services both in Great Britain and at home I strongly urge that the present proposals be reconsidered doubtless in the days ahead we will need all auxiliary help it is possible to secure.

Howard Ferguson.

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CANADA

C229052

R-257
Jan 1941

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR COUNCIL: March 20, 1942.

SUBJECT: Permission to Salvation Army Band to play on Parliament Hill, Monday, April 6th.

REMARKS: Memorandum from Acting Deputy Minister of Public Works and letter from Salvation Army attached.

CONSIDERED BY COUNCIL: March 20, 1942.

ACTION TAKEN: Approved by Council
WLMK
20-3-42

DISPOSED OF: Acting D/M P.W. informed March 20 - 42.

(ab/ N.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

C229053

folder
21-35-1
1944
R-100-0"
1944
R-75-7
1944

Ottawa, February 17th, 1944.

Salvation Army ✓
WW II - Reconstruction ✓
WW II - Offers of Services ✓
U.N.R.R.A. ✓

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Commissioner Benjamin Orames of the Salvation Army arrived in Canada in 1939 and has not had the opportunity of meeting you. He wishes to make available through you the services of the Salvation Army for United Nations relief, thus duplicating a similar offer made for war service at the outbreak of war.

The Relief Administration seeks to encourage assistance by voluntary agencies. The Agreement gives the Administration control over these and the Administration will encourage the utmost voluntary assistance, subject to its control.

The Salvation Army representatives recognize how busy you are and say the interview would not take more than two or three minutes. They say it would be of the greatest possible assistance to them in securing the support of their own workers. It would also be a recognition of their very substantial contribution to the war effort.

Brooke Claxton

BROOKE CLAXTON

Brooke Claxton

Previously arranged
19-2-44

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C229054

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Claxton.

You were going to make some arrangement for Commissioner Benjamin Orames of the Salvation Army to meet the Prime Minister.

Am I to understand that he is in Ottawa or just how do we bring this about? The Prime Minister himself is prepared to co-operate.

W.J.T.

17th March, 1944.

WJT/JMC

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C229054

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Claxton.

You were going to make some arrangement for Commissioner Benjamin Orames of the Salvation Army to meet the Prime Minister.

Am I to understand that he is in Ottawa or just how do we bring this about? The Prime Minister himself is prepared to co-operate.

W.J.T.

17th March, 1944.

WJT/JMC

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C229055

U-351
1944

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

Salvation Army ✓
WWII - Reconstruction ✓
WWII - Office of Services ✓
U.N.R.R.A. ✓

Ottawa, March 2nd, 1944.

Memorandum for Walter Turnbull, Esq.,

Lt.-Colonel Dray and Colonel Peacock of the Salvation Army called on me today to leave a letter for the Prime Minister with a memorandum attached. In this they refer to their offer of service at the outbreak of war and now offer assistance to UNRRA and further assistance in connection with returning troops, assistance to wives and children of service personnel coming to Canada, dealing with problem cases, etc. Commissioner Orames would have called in person to deliver this to the Prime Minister but for the fact that he appreciates the pressure under which he is working. They did say that the Commissioner would like very much sometime to have the honour of shaking hands with the Prime Minister, if possible on his next visit to Ottawa. I will call you about this.

In addition to making a reply expressing appreciation and so on, would it not be advisable to refer the suggestion with regard to UNRRA directly to Governor Lehman? Also should there not be set up some committee to coordinate the work of receiving the wives and children of Canadian soldiers? The Departments of Immigration, Pensions and National Health, Defence and War Services are all interested. Voluntary agencies like the Salvation Army, Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, etc., and local organizations can be organized to do a really decent job, also WIB and the C.B.C. might do something to prepare the people of Canada to receive the 18,000 wives and 6,000 children and to make sure that everything possible is done to make their adjustment to their new environment as easy as possible. What is needed is not so much brass bands at every station as an attitude on the part of Canadians which will be the best foundation for good lives.

Brooke Claxton

B.C.

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C229056

NAR/SR
19.6.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Sir Arthur Salter, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of War Transport (formerly Shipping), will be in Ottawa on Monday and Tuesday. He has been in Washington for some weeks as the representative of the United Kingdom on all shipping questions, and is coming here, primarily, to meet the Ministers and officials concerned with questions of shipping policy. I understand that he would like to see you while he is here.

You probably know Sir Arthur Salter from the years when he was the Director of the Economic Section of the League of Nations. Before that he had made a first class reputation as the Director of the Ministry of Shipping during the last war. He is now an independent Member of Parliament for Oxford University, and a member of the United Kingdom Government.

N.A. ROBERTSON

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

122

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

Re: Sansom Report

C229057

In view of the persistent misrepresentations of his own report by General Sansom during the campaign as exemplified in the attached clipping, would it not be well to have the report tabled at the beginning of the new session?

July 6, 1945

J. W. P.

Certainly
please write memo
matter when
session
Leave Prefab.
Also write re Speech
re address
my part
7-7-45

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Daily Gleaner(Fredericton,N.B.)

Date June 9/45

Subject

C229058

PROG. CON. MEETING HERE LAST NIGHT

Attacks Levelled Against King Government and C. C. F. by Four Speakers.

Vigorous attacks were levelled against both the Mackenzie King Government and the C. C. F. by a quartette of speakers as the York-Sunbury Progressive Conservatives climaxed a six weeks election campaign with a largely attended public rally at the Capitol Theatre here last night. Besides Gen. E. W. Sansom, who was introduced by the chairman, W. J. Quinn, the speakers were F. C. Squires, M. P. P., Woodstock, C. Hedley Forbes and W. J. West, K. C.

Leading off for the quartette, Gen. Sansom claimed it was unfair to ask the men who had fought overseas to volunteer for the war against Japs. John Bracken, he said, has promised that the men who have fought in Italy and eastern Europe will not be sent to the Pacific first.

He reminded his audience that he had been chosen to investigate the re-inforcement shortage by the Mackenzie King cabinet, and charged that on arriving overseas had found that Canadian infantry units had been forced to wait until men wounded in one battle had been discharged from the hospital before the unit had sufficient men to go into the next battle. He had also found, he added, that men trained for the artillery, tank corps, and the other services due to lack of replacements had to be sent into the lines with the infantry units. It was unfair, he said, as these men were not trained to defend themselves as infantry. The General also claimed that despite the fact he had handed his report on the re-inforcement situation to Mackenzie King and the War Committee of the cabinet on his return from overseas in April the Prime Minister had up to the present failed to make public its contents.

In closing, Gen. Sansom, re-iterated that he stood for an all-round increase in both the Family Allowances and Old Age and Blind pensions. He charged that the Family Allowances put into force by the King Government did not go far enough and represented a death-bed repentance of Mackenzie King.

W. J. West, K. C., scored what he termed a Liberal whispering campaign that the rehabilitation benefits and veterans' pensions would be taken away from them if the Progressive Conservatives were elected to power on Monday next. He charged that both Premier McNair and Mackenzie King ware masters at subterfuge and urged his audience to help "get rid of King" on Monday. McNair's turn, he added, will come later.

The inability and inefficiency of King and other leaders before the war had been largely responsible for the outbreak of the conflict and claimed that the York-Sunbury candidate, Gen. Sansom, was listed by a prominent Canadian periodical as "cabinet timber" if Bracken was elected to power at Ottawa.

C. Hedley Forbes claimed that the King Government had made no attempt to re-habilitate or provide jobs for the fighting men returning from overseas. He also cited one instance of a Fredericton boy who had been sent back into the lines after being wounded twice in previous engagements. On his last trip in, Mr. Forbes said, he had lost his right arm below the elbow and left leg below the knee.

He challenged Mackenzie King to do away with the Union Jack as Canada's flag and urged those present to "vote for Sansom and a square deal for the returned men."

The final speaker, F. C. Squires, M. P. P., labelled Premier McNair the political grandson of Mackenzie King. He charged that big business and the international trusts had beaten the Bennett government and that Mackenzie King was not the poor man's friend at that time. In a brief reference to the C. C. F., he said, that Mr. Coldwell had been against Canada's entering the war until Russia came in and then was for an all out effort.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Daily Gleaner (Fredericton, N.B.)

Date June 9/45

C229058

Subject

PROG. CON. MEETING HERE LAST NIGHT

Attacks Levelled Against King Government and C. C. F. by Four Speakers.

Vigorous attacks were levelled against both the Mackenzie King Government and the C. C. F. by a quartette of speakers as the York-Sunbury Progressive Conservatives climaxed a six weeks election campaign with a largely attended public rally at the Capitol Theatre here last night. Besides Gen. E. W. Sansom, who was introduced by the chairman, W. J. Quinn, the speakers were F. C. Squires, M. P. P., Woodstock, C. Hedley Forbes and W. J. West, K. C.

Leading off for the quartette, Gen. Sansom claimed it was unfair to ask the men who had fought overseas to volunteer for the war against Japs. John Bracken, he said, has promised that the men who have fought in Italy and eastern Europe will not be sent to the Pacific first.

He reminded his audience that, he had been chosen to investigate the re-inforcement shortage by the Mackenzie King cabinet, and charged that on arriving overseas had found that Canadian infantry units had been forced to wait until men wounded in one battle had been discharged from the hospital before the unit had sufficient men to go into the next battle. He had also found, he added, that men trained for the artillery, tank corps, and the other services due to lack of replacements had to be sent into the lines with the infantry units. It was unfair, he said, as these men were not trained to defend themselves as infantry. The General also claimed that despite the fact he had handed his report on the re-inforcement situation to Mackenzie King and the War Committee of the cabinet on his return from overseas in April the Prime Minister had up to the present failed to make public its contents.

In closing, Gen. Sansom, re-iterated that he stood for an all-round increase in both the Family Allowances and Old Age and Blind pensions. He charged that the Family Allowances put into force by the King Government did not go far enough and represented a death-bed repentance of Mackenzie King.

W. J. West, K. C., scored what he termed a Liberal whispering campaign that the rehabilitation benefits and veterans' pensions would be taken away from them if the Progressive Conservatives were elected to power on Monday next. He charged that both Premier McNair and Mackenzie King ware masters at subterfuge and urged his audience to help "get rid of King" on Monday. McNair's turn, he added, will come later.

The inability and inefficiency of King and other leaders before the war had been largely responsible for the outbreak of the conflict and claimed that the York-Sunbury candidate, Gen. Sansom, was listed by a prominent Canadian periodical as "cabinet timber" if Bracken was elected to power at Ottawa.

C. Hedley Forbes claimed that the King Government had made no attempt to re-habilitate or provide jobs for the fighting men returning from overseas. He also cited one instance of a Fredericton boy who had been sent back into the lines after being wounded twice in previous engagements. On his last trip in, Mr. Forbes said, he had lost his right arm below the elbow and left leg below the knee.

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The final speaker. F. C. Squires, M. P. P., labelled Premier McNair the political grandson of Mackenzie King. He charged that big business and the international trusts had beaten the Bennett government and that Mackenzie King was not the poor man's friend at that time. In a brief reference to the C. C. F., he said, that Mr. Coldwell had been against Canada's entering the war until Russia came in and then was for an all out effort.

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Notary - Interviews
Sigmund Samuel

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

C229059 R-10-é
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Mr. Sigmund Samuel telephoned this morning from Toronto to say that he had been forced to change his plans and would not be coming to Ottawa this week as he had originally intended. I believe he mentioned something about such a visit to you on the telephone yesterday.

In explaining this, Mr. Samuel also asked me to say that, if at any time you wanted to have a few words with him, he would be glad to arrange to come here at a moment's notice.

R.G.R.

January 7, 1947.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER 1944

MEMORANDUM Mr Taylor

~~FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:~~ Telegram if called now

Attached is draft of telegram to MR. F. G. Sanderson (member for Perth) and Mrs. Sanderson congratulating them on their fiftieth wedding anniversary which occurs tomorrow, Tuesday, June 27th. (Information came from Mr. Flaherty, Canadian Press).

Mr. Taylor, the Whip, informs me that Mr. Sanderson had an engagement in Toronto today and was not expected back in Ottawa until Thursday. So presumably he will be at his home at St. Mary's tomorrow. (When in Ottawa, Mr. Sanderson lives at the Chateau).

Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Sanderson, already at Laurier House, would reach them if signed and sent special delivery this evening. Telegram, if necessary, could be modified to go Tuesday morning.

P.A.

P.A.

June 26, 1944.

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DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

RESIGNATION OF MR. J. W. SANDERSON

C229061

CRITICISM:

In connection with the manufacture of aeroplanes I should like to have from the minister some explanation as to why Mr. Sanderson of Fleet Aircraft Limited was brought into this work, and then a few months afterwards his services were dispensed with. Some explanation is due beyond the terms of the platitudes contained in the minister's letter to Mr. Sanderson at the time of his retirement. Is it possible that his position as head of aircraft production in Canada was inconsistent with his position as head of Fleet Aircraft Limited? The Minister should tell us the naked truth about this.
(Hon. R. B. Hanson, in House of Commons, Nov. 12, 1940 - Unrevised Hansard p. 28)

No reply made by Mr. Howe but see attached statement by Minister of National War Services.
(Montreal Star, Nov.25/40)

Ottawa, Nov. 25—Hon. James G. Gardiner, Minister of National War Services, to-day named the Fleet Aircraft Corporation of Fort Erie, which is now engaged on war contracts, as the company which he had in mind when he told the House of Commons last week that one factory in particular had refused to send any men to the military training camps.

The Minister stated that the president and general manager of this company, W. J. Sanderson, had taken the attitude that none of his skilled workmen should be taken. His company had applied for exemptions and postponements for 49 men from the first two camps and the military review boards had granted postponements in 42 cases. The other seven were required to report for training.

Mr. Gardiner stated that Mr. Sanderson had been the only industrialist in Canada engaged on war contracts who took the attitude that he should not be required to release any of his men for military training. The Fort Erie company is now employing 1,000 men, and Mr. Gardiner understands that the number will be increased to 4,000. This company is engaged in manufacturing aircraft for the joint air training plan.

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File re Gilbert

C229062

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KING:

Mr. McGregor telephoned to say he had seen Senator Stevenson, who thought the proposed letter to Mr. Sanderson was splendid. He wouldn't change a line of it. Senator Stevenson said it would please Mr. Sanderson very much. What about the date of the letter?

L.B.
April 27

Mark it
27-4-50

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Mr. Heeney
from

C229063

Sent at 6.15 o'clock p.m.
22nd March
L. B.

FOR ~~MR.~~ BEAUDRY

The Prime Minister wishes to have the attached message sent by a telegram this evening to the Canadian High Commissioner in New Zealand to be conveyed to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Will you be good enough to have this office informed when the message has gone?

for A. D. P. H.

March 22, 1940.

PMO informed
Mr 22

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C229064

Please convey to Prime Minister my very kind greetings and remembrances together with the expression of my deepest sympathy in his present illness; also my sincerest of wishes for speedy and complete recovery.

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The Prime Minister, this afternoon, issued the following statement to the Press:

News of the death of the Right Honourable Michael J. Savage will be received with deep regret by all who had followed his career as Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Mr. Savage had had an active and prominent part in the political affairs of his country for many years, and had been leader of the Labour Party since 1933. The advances in legislation, particularly in matters of social welfare, made during his period of office, attracted wide-spread attention throughout the world. For this reason also, the participation of the New Zealand government in the work of the International Labour Organization at Geneva took on a special importance. Mr. Savage and his colleagues gave much care and thought to the place of New Zealand in world affairs while seeking constantly to develop and strengthen the avenues of co-operation among all the British Dominions. The personal efforts of the Prime Minister in this direction will be long remembered.

I had many opportunities for personal acquaintance with Mr. Savage at the time of the Coronation in 1937 and the Imperial Conference which followed it. I have since retained the most pleasant recollections of our association together in those memorable events.

I should like to join in the many expressions of sympathy being extended to the Government and people of New Zealand on the loss which our sister Dominion has sustained.

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C229066

Luncheon by the Rt.Hon. J.L. Ilsley, P.C., M.P., Minister of Finance, in honour of M. Robert Schuman, Minister of Finance of France. Tudor Room, Chateau Laurier, Monday, October 7th.

Mr. Gilles Sicotte,
Department of External Affairs

Mr. Christian Cardin, Chairman, French Supply Mission	Mr. Bernard Lechartier, Commercial Counsellor and Financial Attache, French Embassy
Mr. Graham Towers, Governor, The Bank of Canada	Mr. L.P. St.Amour, The Bank of Canada
Mr. L.B. Pearson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs	Mr. Guillaume Guindey, Department of Finance of France
Count Bernard de Menthon, Counsellor, French Embassy	Hon. Thibaudeau Rinfret, Chief Justice of Canada
Rt.Hon. J.L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance	H.E. Count Jean de Hauteclocque, Ambassador of France
M. Robert Schuman, Minister of Finance of France	Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce
The Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada	Mr. Bloch-Laine', Department of Finance of France
	Hon. Joseph Jean, Solicitor General of Canada
Dr. R.P. Trotot, Paris University, Pasteur Institute	Mr. Hume Wrong, Canadian Ambassador-Designate to the United States
Dr. Clifford Clark, Deputy Minister of Finance	Mr. Arnold Heeney, Clerk of the Privy Council

Mr. W.H. Measures,
Department of External Affairs

ENTRANCE

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With the compliments

of

Flight Lieutenant Paul E. Morin

~~Vice Consul of Canada~~

C229061

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C229068

PROGRAMME OF THE VISIT TO CANADA OF
HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT SCHUMAN
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE

October 1, 1949.
(Daylight Saving Time)

AM -	8.00	Departure from La Guardia Airport, New York in Canadian Government aircraft.

O T T A W A

	9.45	Arrival at Rockcliffe Airport, Ottawa, Mr. Schuman proceeds to the French Embassy.
	10.50	Lay wreath at National War Monument.
	11.00	Call on the Rt. Hon. Thibaudeau Rinfret, Deputy Governor General at the Supreme Court Building.
	11.30	Call on the Rt. Hon. Louis S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, at the East Block.
PM -	1.15	Luncheon by the Prime Minister at the Country Club.
	2.30	Departure from Country Club with the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King.
	3.00	Call at Laurier House on the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King.
	4.00	Call on the Rt. Hon. C.D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, at Room 264, No. 1 Temporary Building.
	5.00	Call on Monseigneur Vachon, Archbishop of Ottawa, at the Archbishop's Palace.
	5.30	Conferring of Honorary Degree on Mr. Schuman by the University of Ottawa.
	6.30	Press Conference at the French Embassy, 42 Sussex Street.
	8.00	Dinner by the French Ambassador at the Embassy.
	10.00	Reception at the Embassy.

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October 2, 1949.
(Daylight Saving Time)

AM - 8.00 Departure from Rockcliffe Airport, Ottawa, for Quebec.

Q U E B E C

9.45 Arrival at Quebec Airport.
10.45 High Mass at the Cathedral.
11.45 French Colony of Quebec meets Mr. Schuman at the Cathedral.

12.00 Cards are left on the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec and on the Premier of the Province of Quebec.

PM - 12.30 Call on His Excellency the Governor General of Canada at the Quebec Citadel.
1.00 Luncheon at Laval University.
2.30 Call on Monseigneur Roy, Archbishop of Quebec.
3.30 Departure from Quebec Airport for Montreal.

M O N T R E A L

4.30 Arrival at Dorval Airport, Montreal.
5.15 Call on Monseigneur Charbonneau, Archbishop of Montreal.
5.45 Call on Vice-Rector of the University of Montreal.
6.15 Visits to Collège Stanislas and to Collège Marie de France.
7.00 Buffet dinner at McGill University (Principal, Dr. F. Cyril James).
Later A short talk will be given at the Windsor Hotel on the 'Foreign Policy of France' under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations Association and the Comité France-Amérique. (The talk will last approximately 30 minutes, followed by Questions). This talk will be broadcast.

Mr. Schuman will spend the night at the Windsor Hotel, Montreal.

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C229070

October 3, 1949.
(Daylight Saving Time)

AM - 8.00 Departure from Dorval Airport, Montreal.

T O R O N T O

10.15 Arrival at Malton Airport, Toronto.
11.00 Call on the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario.
11.30 Call on Cardinal McGuigan.

PM - 12.15 Reception by Mr. Sydney Smith, President of the University of Toronto.
1.00 Visit the Institute of Medieval Studies.
Luncheon at St. Michael's College.
2.45 Call on the Prime Minister of Ontario.
3.15 Call on Bishop A.R. Beverly.
4.30 Departure from Malton Airport, Toronto, for New York.
7.15 Arrival at La Guardia Airport, New York.

(During Mr. Schuman's stay in Canada, he will be accompanied by:
His Excellency Hubert Guérin, French Ambassador to Canada.
Mr. Bernard Clappier, Chef de Cabinet.
Mrs. Clappier.
Mr. André Rabache, Director of the New York Office of Agence-France Presse.
Mr. Pierre Crenesse, French Radio Broadcasting.
Mr. Jean Basdevant, Counsellor at the French, Embassy, Ottawa.
Col. Gilbert Andrier, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, French Embassy, Ottawa.
Mr. Jean B.M. Langlois, Protocol Officer, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa).

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