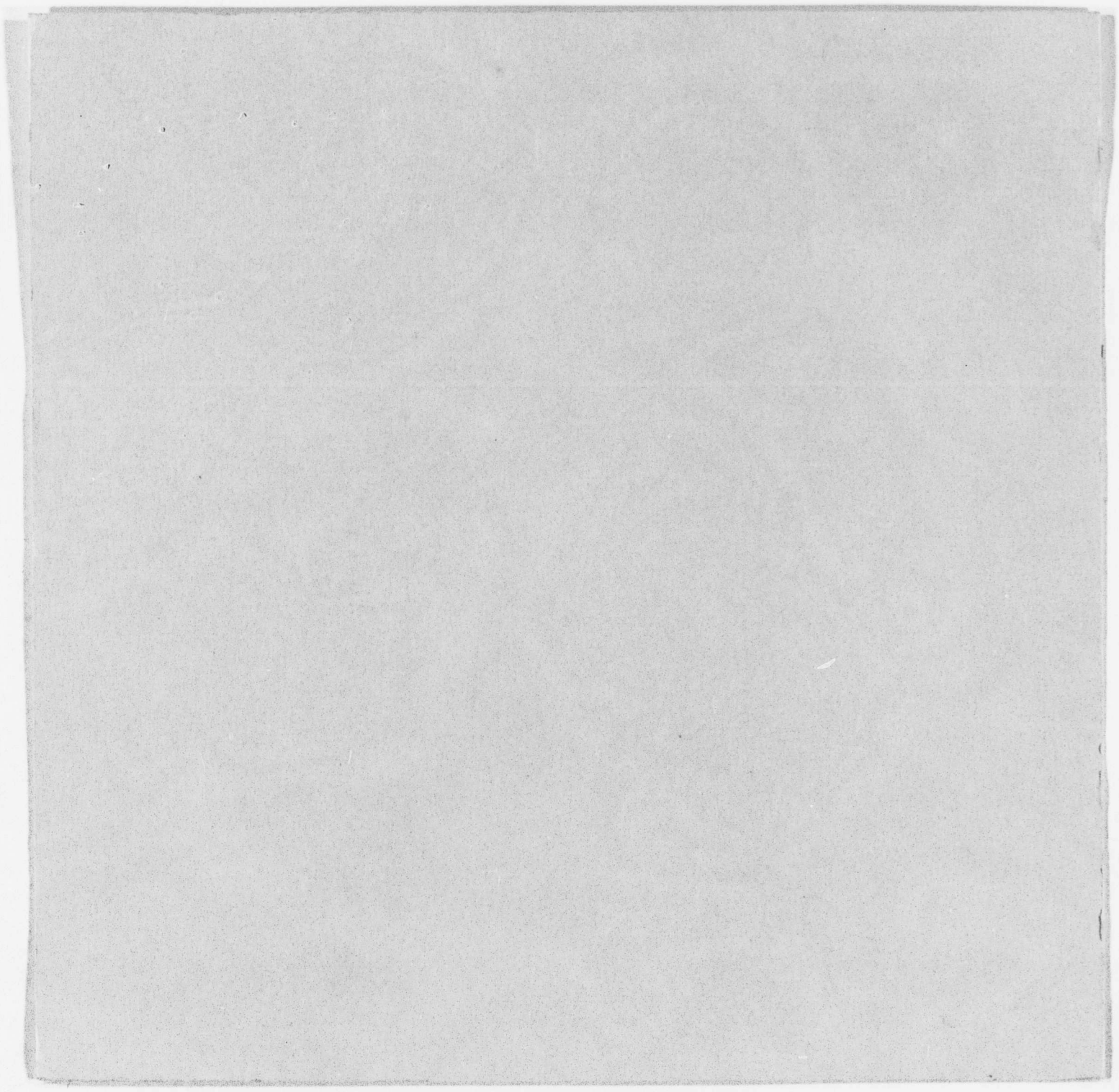
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asst to Asst Sec'y for Policy Ex Affs. Prime Minister

C 44891

III. Arbitration Treaty with United States

Previous Agreements

There were in force until recently two agreements for conciliation and arbitration between His Majesty and the United States.

(1) Bryan Conciliation Treaty of 1914: Still in force; identical treaties concluded with Great Britain, France, Italy, etc; provides for setting up a Permanent International Commission as a conciliation body, to investigate and report on any dispute the settlement of which is provided for and in fact achieved by other means; neither party to declare was before report submitted; Commission to consist of 5 members, one "chosen from each country by the Government thereof", one chosen by each Government from some third country, and the fifth by agreement; "His Majesty's Government" to be free to substitute a Dominion member if the interests affected are mainly of Dominion concern: the Treaty is further not to affect in any way the provisions of the Treaty of 1909 relating to questions arising between the United States and Canada (Boundary Waters Treaty, setting up International Joint Commission).

The Commission has never been established.

(2) Root-Bryce Arbitration Treaty of 1908, (5 year term, renewed 1913, 1918, 1923, lapsed in 1928). Similar treaties made with France, Italy, etc; provides for arbitration of legal questions and questions of interpretation of treaties by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague;-

except

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except questions affecting vital interests, independence or honour; a special agreement to be made in each case defining the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators and procedure, - this agreement being subject on the part of the United States to the approval of the Senate, and His Majesty's Government reserving the right in any matter affecting the interests of a self governing Dominion to obtain the concurrence of its Government.

United States Proposal for Revision.

The United States last year submitted a draft treaty as a substitute for the expiring Root-Bryce Arbitration Treaty. First, the draft is linked up with the Bryan Conciliation Treaty by a clause providing for sending to the Permanent International Commission therein prescribed any disputes not settled by diplomacy or submitted to arbitration. Second, instead of the reservation of questions affecting "vital interests, independence or honour," reservations are proposed of domestic questions, questions involving the interests of third parties, and questions involving the Monroe doctrine. Third, the special agreement in each case, which is still required, is to be made on the part of the United States by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and "on the part of the British Empire in accordance with the constitutional laws of the British Empire", His Majesty's Government reserving the right before concluding an agreement affecting the interests of a

Dominion

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Dominion to obtain the concurrence of its Government.

British Criticisms of Draft

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs criticises some looseness of drafting (e.g. the United States reservations seemingly apply to conciliation as well as to arbitration, definitions of justiciable questions redundant), insists on including a reservation of British belligerent rights at sea, debates whether it would be expedient to require a definition of the Monroe doctrine, and suggests that the special agreement should be made "on the part of His Majesty's dominions (not "Dominions") by His Majesty the King in accordance with constitutional practice.

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Canadian Viewpoint.

The initial question from the Canadian standpoint is whether we should adhere to the Arbitration Treaty, or stick to what Sir Wilfrid Laurier once termed "our own Hague Tribunal," the International Joint Commission, or combine both methods.

The following procedure might be considered:

1. Retain and develop the International Joint Commission for distinctly Canadian questions.

Articles 9 and 10 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 provide for the reference of any question whatever between Canada and the United States to the International Joint Commission, for investigation and report if one party so desires, and for binding decision if the two parties so agree. This agreement, taken in conjunction with the Kellogg-Briand pact undertaking to find a pacific settlement for all disputes, covers everything (and more) that the Bryan Conciliation Treaty and the proposed new Arbitration Treaty together cover. The International Joint Commission exists, and there is no necessity of finding new organs to duplicate its work. Further, it is better adapted to the work, under our circumstances, than the new bodies would be. Not to utilize it to the full would seriously injure its prestige and usefulness.

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2. <u>Adhere to the general Arbitration Treaty for questions which concern Canada in common with other parts of the British Commonwealth</u>.

For such purposes the general procedure could be utilized. It would be necessary to change the phraseology of the new Treaty (and possibly of the Bryan Conciliation Treaty) to conform to current views of equality between His Majesty's several governments; this would not be difficult. It would be more difficult to adapt the machinery of a Permanent International Commission with <u>one</u> member from His Majesty's domains, to meet this same condition: this might be effected (1) by having this representative appointed jointly by all His Majesty's Governments, with freedom to substitute another member if a special interest only was concerned, e.g., Great Britain or Australia only; or (2) by having the representative appointed in the first instance by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, with freedom to substitute later - perhaps more convenient but less logical.

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As to the substance of the Arbitration Treaty, it would seem (1) doubtful whether it is well to question or define or demand a definition of the Monroe doctrine; (2) very doubtful whether ti would be well to make a reservation of British belligerent rights at sea; it might be suggested that danger would be removed if agreement between Great Britain and the United States on sea law could be effected simultaneously, but probably this suggestion is premature.

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C 44897

Section X (File 1)

MISSION TO ENGLAND
RE JAPANESE
IMMIGRATION 1908

BREBNER, J.B. - "NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE"

Ch. XIV - A Triangle Takes Form (1880-1917)

P. 265

"While Canada and Great Britain were achieving a kind of equilibrium of forces . . . something quite similar was developing in Canadian relations with the United States. The efforts of Root and Bryce from 1906 onward, with the cordial cooperation of Roosevelt, were beginning to bear fruit, although Laurier was capable of being rather conspicuously diffident. Early in 1908, however, he sent Mr. Mackenzie King down to Washington for an informal exchange of views with the President, Root, and Bryce before going on to London as the bearer of confidential messages, concerning Japanese immigration, from Roosevelt as well as from the Canadian Prime Minister, to Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary. This direct Canadian representation at Washington was an interesting portent of the future."

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C44898

Ottawa, May 19, 1916.

Sir,-

I duly received your letter of the 29th April, transmitting copy of a secret despatch from the British Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General, dated 25th April, 1916, asking on behalf of the Secretary of State of the United States, whether there would be any objection to the employment on the Great Lakes of two ships of 2,200 tons with eight 4-inch guns, to be used for training naval reserves of Illinois and Minnesota.

My Minister has carefully examined this question and the correspondence which has previously been exchanged in connection with the enforcement of the Rush-Bagot Convention. My Minister is of the opinion that the employment of these two additional ships would be a clear breach of this Convention, that such action would be objectionable and that Canada should register a protest against the employment of these vessels.

My Minister is also of the opinion that the terms of the Rush-Bagot Convention, signed in 1817, can hardly be applied to modern vessels and modern armament and that it might possibly be of advantage to reach an interpretation of this Convention which would better meet the requirements of these days.

The United States Government has, at the present time, ten armed vessels on the Great Lakes, so that they are very far from keeping to the exact terms of the Convention. On the other hand, Canada has not one single armed vessel on the Great Lakes, and, to avoid even a semblance of an infringement of the Convention, the fisheries protection vessel VIGILANT was disarmed a few years ago and the two small guns which she carried have been stored ashore.

If at any time Canada wished to engage in the training of naval volunteers on the Great Lakes, it might be necessary to employ armed vessels for this purpose. An interpretation of the Convention which would allow of such steps being taken and which might regularise the action already taken by the United States and define limits to their activities in this direction would, in his opinion, be an advantage.

My Minister is of the opinion that the Rush-Bagot Convention is a very wise one and should be kept alive; that it is an advantage to both Canada ans the United States to have an agreement by which there is a limit placed to the employment of armed vessels on the Great Lakes and that it would be better to reach a definite understanding as to the number of vessels to be allowed and the armament to be employed. Such a course would be preferable to allowing a continuance of the present infringement of the Convention by the United States and would allow of a satisfactory settle-

.....

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,

Ottawa.

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ment of a very delicate situation.

I am enclosing a statement giving a list of the armed vessels of the United States at present in commission on the Great Lakes, and I would draw the attention of the Prime Minister to Orders in Council of the 17th November, 1909, 13th April, 1910, and 12th April, 1912, which show the manner in which the correspondence on this subject has been handled in the past.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

/s/ G J Desbarats,

Deputy Minister of the Naval Service.

enc.....(1)

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C 44900

8

List of the United States Gunboats, Training Ships, Etc., on the Great Lakes

May 1916.

		Armament.	
Lake Erie.....	HAWK (yacht,375 tons)....	Unarmed.....	Ohio militia.
"	DOROTHEA (yacht,594 tons)	4-6 prs. 4 m....	"
"	ESSEX (wood,1375 tons)...	6-4-in,4-6 prs..	"
Lake Superior.....	GOPHER (late FERN,wood 840).....	Unarmed.....	Minnesota "
Lake Michigan.....	DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA (gunboat,1,150 tons).....	6-3-in., 4-6 pdrs. 4 m.....	Michigan "
Lake Ontario.....	SANDOVAL (gunboat,100 tons).....	2 3-prs., 2 m...	New York "
Lake Michigan.....	NASHVILLE (gunboat, 1,371 tons).	8-4 in., 4-6 prs. 4 m.....	Michigan "
Great Lakes.....	WOLVERINE (late MICHIGAN,685 tons).	6-6-prs., 4 m....	Recruiting service.
Lake Michigan.....	YANTIC (wood,900 tons...	Unarmed.....	Michigan "

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C 44901

8

List of United States Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes,

April, 1922.

Name.	Displacement.	Speed.	Armament.	Station.	Remarks.
COMMODORE	-	-	-	Chicago	Wooden Depot ship, Commandant 9th Naval District.
ESSEX#	1375	10½	?8- 3-pdr.	Duluth	Old Gunboat.
GOPHER	840	9	3- 3-pdr. 4- 1-pdr.	Toledo	"
HAWK	375	14½	1- 3-pdr. 2- 1-pdr.	Milwaukee	Yacht.
YANTIC[X]	900	8¼	4- 3-pdr.	Detroit	Old Gunboat.
WILMETTE	2600	16½	4- 4-in. 2- 3-in. 2- 1-pdr.	Chicago	Converted S.S. purchased 1918.
WOLVERINE	685	10½	-	Erie	Old Gunboat.
Submarine Chasers.					
63, 64, 330	77	18	1- 3-pdr. 1- machine gun.	9th Naval District.	-
412, 432	77	18	-	-	Said to be unarmed.
419	77	18	-	-	"
Tugs.					
53, 54, 55	215	10	Nil	-	

- Proposed to be replaced by the S.S. PADUCAH (1085 tons, 12 knots, not armed) as a floating barracks for Naval Reservists. PADUCAH was built in 1905, and is rated as unserviceable for war purposes.

X - Proposed to be replaced by the U.S.S. DUBUQUE (1085 tons, 12 knots), the YANTIC to be retained as a floating armoury for Naval Reservists. The DUBUQUE originally carried an armament of two- 4-in., four- 6-pdr., and two - 1-pdr. guns.

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Vessels in the Revenue Service.

Name	Displacement.	Speed.	Armament.	Station.	Remarks.
Revenue Cutters.					
MORRILL	420	13	2- 6-pdr.	Detroit	Cruising.
TUSCARORA	739	14	2- 6-pdr.	Milwaukee	"
CHILLICOTHE#	215	10	Nil	Ogdensburg	Harbour.
CHIPPEWA#	215	10	Nil	Sault Ste Marie.	"
Patrol Cutters.					
(ex-Sub. Chasers)					
BOYCE (ex-S.C. 437)	77	18	1- 3-in. 2- machine guns.	Chicago	
COOK (ex-S.C. 438)				Duluth or Sault Ste Marie.	
KLINGELHOFFER (ex-S.C. 433)				Chicago	
KNUDSON (ex-S.C. 431)				Chicago.	
Harbour Launches.					
ADVANCE, JAVELIN, SEARCH, SENTINEL, VIGILANT, VOYAGER	Gasoline Boats about 50 ft. long.		Nil	Sault Ste. Marie.	

- Formerly U.S. Naval Tugs Nos. 60 and 85, respectively.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 44903 E-9007

Complete set of Confidential Prints

on the subject of

Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes.

1892-1922.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Canada.
Secret.

DOWNING STREET, 26 February, 1892.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship a copy of a cutting from the New York 'Times' of the 8th October last, which was communicated to me by the High Commissioner for Canada relating to steps contemplated in the United States for the Naval Defence of the lakes.

New York Times, 8 Oct., 1891.

On this subject I would refer you to the arrangement made between the governments of Great Britain and the United States in April, 1817 relative to the Naval Force to be maintained by the two powers upon the American lakes.

Arrangement of 1817.

For convenience of reference I inclose a copy of that arrangement, and I also inclose an extract from a letter to this Department from Major Clarke, R.E., Secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee, inclosing extracts from report of the United States Board on Fortifications approved 3rd March, 1885, and I should be obliged if your Government would furnish me confidentially with any observations which they may have to offer upon these papers.

Major Clarke to C. O., 12 Jan., '92. Extract.
Ext. of Report of U.S. Bd. of Fortification, 1885.

It seems to Her Majesty's Government undesirable to attach too great importance to this matter, especially as it appears that British vessels of war could on an emergency be sent to the lakes, and to take any step now which might indicate that attention has been drawn to the subject might only tend to further the measures on the part of the United States Government.

I should be glad, however, to have authentic information as to what armed vessels on either side (Canadian and United States) are at present maintained on the lakes.

I have, &c.,
KNUTSFORD.

Governor General,
&c., &c.

ENCLOSURE No. 1 IN No. 1.

The New York 'Times,'
October 8, 1891.

Naval Defence of the Lakes—Congress will be Asked to Build Two Revenue Cutters.

In view of the increasing importance, as pointed out in the 'Times' Washington despatch of yesterday, of providing at an early date for a naval defence of the commerce and seaports on the great lakes, Congress will be asked this winter to authorize, in addition to some general plan to be proposed by the Secretary of the Navy, the building of two modern type revenue cutters for those waters. The revenue cutter force on the lakes consists of four vessels, thus distributed: One vessel to Lakes Michigan and Superior, one to Lake Huron, one to Lake Erie, and one to Lake Ontario. The two new vessels needed are to replace the *Bibb* and *Johnson*, which are at present stationed on Lakes Ontario and Michigan. Both the *Bibb* and *Johnson* are in an unserviceable condition. The former has been off duty all summer. This has been

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owing to her unseaworthiness. The *Johnson* is an old side wheeler built as far back as 1865. The *Bibb* was built in 1864. The *Johnson* is still in service, but lacks speed, sea qualities, and all the essentials of an efficient vessel. Within recent years it has been a hard effort keeping her in fit condition for work.

In calling for two new vessels the Treasury Department, it is expected, will have in mind the building of a type serviceable for active and efficient operations in the event of any future contingency. It needs but the liberal support of Congress to provide for at least two efficient gunboats for the lakes under the name of revenue cutters, and in time further to replace the remaining three cutters by more modern type craft. An appropriation was asked of the last Congress by the Treasury Department to build a new vessel to replace the *Johnson*. It was opposed by Senator Edmunds on the ground that the sum asked was too small, and that it could not provide a vessel to be relied upon for efficient service in the event of trouble with Great Britain. The appropriation failed to pass.

The Treasury Department has now in mind a type of vessels to take the *Johnson's* place which will measure 500 tons in displacement and have a length of 196 feet, a beam of from 23 to 24 feet, and a draught of 10 feet. The type vessel is to be provided with two sets of triple expansion engines, have a steaming radius of 3,000 miles at 10 knots per hour and a guaranteed maximum speed of 16 knots. Quarters are to provide accommodation for seven officers in the ward-room and fifty men forward. The vessel is to be flush deck fore and aft, with nothing on the spar deck except the pilot house and an overhead bridge. The battery will be Hotchkiss rapid fire guns.

In order to provide for two such vessels it is recognized that Congress will have to make a more liberal appropriation for the construction work of the revenue marine than has been its custom in the past. Under existing treaty regulations with Great Britain the United States is permitted to maintain on the lakes, in addition to one war ship, four revenue cutters. There is no stipulation in the treaty about the type of revenue cutter to be employed, and it was with this knowledge that Senator Edmunds opposed any appropriation for a lake cutter that did not carry with it a sufficient amount to insure the building of a desirable vessel. In the opinion of Senator Edmunds it is an uneconomic measure to build any vessel for revenue cutter duty of a type not available for service in time of war.

As the drawing up of the designs for the new vessels will be in the hands of a regular officer, the appropriation committee will have an opportunity to receive expert assurance of the desirability of the type asked.

In addition to doing efficient revenue cutter duty in time of peace the new vessels can readily be detailed to assist in imparting practical instruction to lake naval reserve organizations.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 1.

Proclamation of the President of the United States publishing the arrangement concluded with Great Britain, in April, 1817, relative to the naval force to be maintained by the two powers upon the American lakes, Washington, 26th April, 1818.

By the President of the United States of America.

A Proclamation.

Whereas an arrangement was entered into at the city of Washington, in the month of April, in the year of our Lord, 1817, between Richard Rush, Esq., at that time acting as Secretary for the Department of State of the United States, for and in behalf of the Government of the United States, and the Right Hon. Charles Bagot, His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, for and in behalf of His Britannic Majesty, which arrangement is in the words following, to wit:—

'The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes, by His Majesty and the Government of the United States, shall henceforth be confined

to the following vessels on each side; that is—on Lake Ontario, to 1 vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with 1 eighteen pound cannon.

On the Upper Lakes, to 2 vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force.

On the waters of Lake Champlain, to 1 vessel not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.

All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed.

If either party should hereafter be desirous of annulling this stipulation and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of 6 months from the date of such notice.

The naval force so to be limited shall be restricted to such services as will, in no respect, interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party.'

And whereas the Senate of the United States have approved of the arrangement and recommended that it should be carried into effect the same also having received the sanction of H.R.H. the Prince Regent acting in the name and on the behalf of His Britannic Majesty:

Now therefore, I James Monroe, President of the United States, do, by this my Proclamation, make known and declare that the arrangement aforesaid, and every stipulation thereof, has been duly entered into, concluded and confirmed, and is of full force and effect.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, this 28th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1818, and of the Independence of the United States, the 42nd. By the President.

JAMES MONROE,
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Secretary of State.

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 1.

Extract from a letter from Major Clarke to Colonial Office, dated 12 January, 1892:—

On the United States side, the idea seems to place efficient modern gunboats on the lakes. I have copied out an extract from the Board on Fortifications' Report of 1885. This seems to give the clue to the action of the United States. The policy advocated by this Board was practically accepted and steps appear to be gradually taken to carry it out. Nothing has as yet been done as to the fortifications on the St. Lawrence, because the coast defences of the E. and W. sea-boards are being first taken in hand. To mount any guns on the St. Lawrence would be distinctly an unfriendly act from which the United States might at present shrink.

ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 1

Extracts from Report of United States Board on Fortifications. Approved 3rd March, 1885:—

The Lake Ports.—The Treaty of 1817, between the United States and England, limited each party to an insignificant naval force on the lakes. At that time the country on both sides was undeveloped; with the exception of Detroit there was nothing perhaps deserving the name of town on the Upper Lakes. Everything has changed, large cities as centres of commerce now dot the coasts of the lake, and the wealth and property liable to capture and destruction are enormous in amount. In the meanwhile our neighbours over the line have surmounted the rapids of the St. Lawrence and the Falls of Niagara by canals which, in their present condition, permit the passage of boats of 9 feet draught, and when the improvements shall have been finished will have a depth of 14 feet. The present draught of water will admit many gunboats now in the possession of Great Britain, and when the depth of water is increased, armoured vessels from the other side of the Atlantic may float in the waters of Lake Erie. A state of war, therefore, with that power, would at this time,

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unless something be done to avert the consequences, expose the lake cities to frightful losses or even to destruction.

With these alarmist views before them the Board recommended a total expenditure of $4,136,800 (including $1,080,000 for torpedo boats) to be expended for the protection of the lakes.

The measures advocated were generally:

1. Fort Wagner, on the Detroit River, to be heavily armed, and provided with submarine mines to forbid a passage into Lake Huron.
2. A fort to protect 'the canal at the Sault Ste. Marie' from destruction.
3. Vessels on the lakes to be prepared to receive armaments so that 'there should be no unnecessary delay in preparing them for service.'
4. Vessels to be kept in 'one of the interior lakes of New York,' ready to be sent when needed 'by canal into Lake Ontario.'
5. A port of refuge to be fortified at the lower end of Lake Ontario.
6. Re-armament of the fort at Rousse's Point.
7. 'One or more fortifications on the St. Lawrence River' to 'protect our frontier and command the water approaches to the lakes.'

The above programme has of course never been carried out, but it still stands as a policy practically accepted, and of late slight indications of a movement in this direction have been apparent.—G. F. C.

10, 1, 92.

No. 2.

From His Majesty's Minister at Washington to the Governor General.

BRITISH LEGATION,
WASHINGTON, May 3, 1892.

No. 26.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to inclose herewith for Your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to the Marquis of Salisbury, reporting a proposal made by Mr. Blaine, in relation to the arrangement of 1817, between Great Britain and the United States, limiting the naval force to be maintained by the two powers on the North American lakes.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

His Excellency
The Lord Stanley of Preston, G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 2.

From His Majesty's Minister at Washington to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

No. 117.

BRITISH LEGATION,
WASHINGTON, May 3, 1892.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Your Lordship's despatch No. 45 (A) of February 27 last, and to my despatch No. 68, of the 14th ultimo, in relation to the movement in this country for the abrogation of the arrangement made between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States in 1817, relative to the naval force to be maintained by the two powers on the American lakes, I have the honour to lay before Your Lordship, at the request of Mr. Blaine, the following proposal, which he made to me yesterday in the course of conversation on various questions affecting Canada.

Mr. Blaine observed that a misapprehension appeared to exist as to the object and effect of the arrangement. Its object was to prevent vessels of war

being stationed on the lakes, in excess of the number stipulated, but it was not intended to restrain the shipbuilding industry. But some apprehension appeared to be aroused as soon as a vessel was laid on the stocks, which was capable of being transformed into an armed cruiser. Moreover, uncertainty prevailed among the public as to whether the arrangement is still in force, and in some quarters as to the expediency of its continuance.

In these circumstances, Mr. Blaine suggests that it would be desirable to add an explanatory article to the notes exchanged between Sir Charles Bagot and Mr. Rush in 1817, which should provide in substance that nothing in that arrangement should be deemed to restrict ship building on the lakes, except that any vessel built for the purpose of being used as a revenue cruiser or vessel of war may be constructed so far only as regards the hull, masts and spars, etc., but shall not be plated, armed, equipped or rendered available as an armed vessel on the lakes, and, moreover, that she shall be compelled to quit the lakes within a specified time after the completion of her hull, etc., as before mentioned, with a view to her being transformed into an armed vessel at a port of her nationality on the sea-board.

Mr. Blaine has requested me to endeavour to obtain Your Lordship's views on the above proposal, as early as possible, as he may be leaving Washington shortly. In order, therefore to save time, I have sent a copy of this despatch to the Governor General of Canada.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

No. 3.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Confidential.

OTTAWA, 7th July, 1892.

MY LORD,—

In reply to Your Lordship's secret despatch of the 26th February last, in which you requested to be furnished with the observations of this Government regarding steps contemplated by the United States Government for the naval defence of the Great Lakes, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council embodying a report upon the matter by the Minister of Marine.

Copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Washington inclosing copy of a note from Mr. Blaine, in which he suggests the modification of the arrangement of 1817, is attached to the Minute of Council.

Your Lordship will observe that Ministers are not favourable to any relaxation of the restrictions as to armed vessels imposed by the arrangement of 1817.

I have, etc.,
STANLEY OF PRESTON.

The Right Honourable
LORD KNUTSFORD,
etc., etc.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 3.

Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 28th June, 1892.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, hereto attached, dated 3rd May, 1892, from Sir Julian Pauncefote respecting a proposal made by Mr. Blaine, in relation to the arrangement of 1817, between Great Britain and the United States, limiting the naval force to be maintained by the two powers on the North American Lakes, and also a despatch dated 26th February, 1892, from Lord Knutsford on the same subject.

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The Minister of Marine and Fisheries to whom the matter was referred, observes that Lord Knutsford requests that the Canadian Governmment should furnish him, confidentially, with any observations which they may have to offer upon the papers referred to in his letter, viz.:—a cutting from the New York 'Times,' of the 8th October last, an extract from a letter to the Colonial Office from Major Clarke, Secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee, inclosing extracts from the Report of the United States Board on Fortifications, approved on the 3rd of March, 1885, and His Lordship also requests authentic information as to what armed vessels, on either side, are at present maintained on the lakes.

The Minister submits that the substance of the remarks of the New York 'Times' article, and of the report of the United States Board on Fortifications, is to the effect that, additional vessels should be placed on the lakes, nominally as revenue cruisers, but really as armed vessels, which would be efficient in case of war. It is also proposed by Mr. Blaine, in a letter dated the 3rd of May last, a copy of which was transmitted to Your Excellency by Sir Julian Pauncefote on the same day, that the arrangement existing between the United States and England should be so modified as to admit of vessels being built on the lakes which might be used as revenue cruisers or vessels of war, to the extent of the hulls, masts and spars, leaving the plating, arming and equipment of them, as war vessels on the lakes, until they should be needed.

These suggestions all tend towards maintaining on the Upper Lakes a fleet of armed vessels in excess of those permitted by the Treaty of Washington.

The Minister observes that the armed vessels which the United States now have upon the lakes are as follows:—

The *Fessenden*, of 330 tons, carrying two 3-inch breech-loading rifled guns (one 30 pr. howitzer and two 24 pr. howitzers), and 7 officers and 31 men.

The *Perry*, 281 tons, carrying two 3-inch breech-loading rifled guns, 7 officers and 31 men.

The *Johnson*, 499 tons, carrying one 30 pr. rifled howitzer, two 24 pr. howitzers, 7 officers and 30 men.

The *Bibb*, 214 tons, armament not given, 6 officers and 25 men, was on the same station in 1891, but it is understood that she has since been sold.

By the Treaty of 1817, it was agreed 'that the naval force to be maintained upon the American Lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States, shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is:—

'On Lake Ontario, to one vessel not exceeding '100 tons burden, and armed with one eighteen pound cannon.'

'On the Upper Lakes to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force.'

'On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.'

'And it is further agreed that any other armed vessels on those lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessel of war, shall be there either built or armed.'

The Minister desires to call attention to the fact that, while this year there are apparently, only three vessels on the lakes, exclusive of Lake Champlain, those vessels have more than triple the armament, and more than triple the tonnage of the vessels which are permitted by the Treaty of Washington to remain on those lakes.

Canada has no vessel, at present on those lakes, but has one in course of construction, namely the *Curlew*, the registered tonnage of which is 107·34 tons.

The proposal of Mr. Blaine that the arrangement should be modified, so as to permit of the building of vessels of war on the lakes, would seem to bring up the consideration whether or no, the British Government is disposed to enter into competition with the United States for naval supremacy on the lakes. The object of the treaty of 1817 doubtless was to relieve both countries

from the burden of supporting a strong naval force, which otherwise one of the parties might practically compel the other to do, however unwilling.

The Minister doubts the propriety of relaxing the conditions that have been agreed upon in this respect, and that have remained so long in force. It is true that the United States have violated those conditions by placing on the lakes vessels of a larger tonnage, and more powerful armament than the Treaty warrants, but the discrepancy does not seem to be so great as to give reasonable cause at present for anxiety on that score. And the Minister ventures to suggest that it might not be judicious to open a controversy on this subject while several others of a sufficiently inconvenient character are already under discussion.

The Minister observes that the permission to build vessels on the lakes, retaining them in an incomplete state, would really involve all the inconvenience of a large naval force, as such vessels could be carried on to a state so nearly approaching completion as to render their being made fit for service a matter of a few weeks. If it be alleged as a reason for encouraging the building of ships of war on the lakes that the industry of shipbuilding would thereby be encouraged, and that the ships built would not be used on the lakes, but conveyed to sea for employment there, it must be remembered that the depth of the St. Lawrence Canals, at present is only 9 feet, and that, when completed, it will only reach 14 feet; and that those depths of water would not be sufficient to enable any ships of war of any size to pass through those canals to the seaboard.

The practical result of any such relaxation would probably be, that a number of war vessels, completed except as to their sails, armament and equipment, would be constructed and retained in convenient ports along the Great Lakes, by means of which, in a few weeks, the lakes could be covered with a fleet of armed vessels that would hold supremacy there and place several of the principal towns of Canada and the entire water front on the lakes, entirely at their mercy, besides enabling the United States to place an army at any point, or points, on the shores of the lakes as they might think proper.

The Minister states that it has been suggested by the General Commanding the Canadian Militia that it would be for the advantage of Canada, in respect of its capabilities of defence against hostile operations by the United States, that the restriction created by the Treaty of 1817, in respect of armed vessels on the lakes, should be entirely abrogated, and it is probable that such a measure would be, in many respects, preferable to the proposal of Mr. Blaine. But in the unsettled conditions of trade relations with the United States, the Minister would deprecate any step in that direction as leading to controversies and difficulties between the two countries that would of necessity be injurious to Canada under present circumstances.

The Committee advise that Your Excellency be moved to forward a copy of this Minute, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

All of which is respectfully submitted for your Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 4.

Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Aberdeen.

Canada.
Secret.

DOWNING STREET, 17th December, 1896.

MY LORD,—

W.O. 18, Nov., 1896.

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to transmit to you for the information of your Ministers a copy of a letter from the War Office inclosing a Minute by the Secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee

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respecting an Act passed by the Senate of the United States providing for the construction of two steam revenue cutters of the first class for service on the Great Lakes.

I have, &c.,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Governor General,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 4.

War Office to Colonial Office.

WAR OFFICE, LONDON, S.W., 18th November, 1896.

058
1941.

SIR,—

I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 5814-96, dated 27th March, 1896, transmitting a copy of a letter dated 16th March, 1896, from the Foreign Office, forwarding a copy of a despatch with its inclosures from H. M. Ambassador at Washington respecting a proposed canal from the great lakes to Hudson river, and an Act providing for the construction of two steam revenue cutters of the first class for service on the Great Lakes.

The type of vessel to which these two cutters apparently belong seemed to Lord Lansdowne to exceed in dimensions that which the agreement of 1817 between Great Britain and the United States of America allowed for service on the Great Lakes; but, although this departure from the terms of the Agreement would, of itself, appear to justify a protest being addressed to the Government of the United States, it was within His Lordship's knowledge that the Government of Canada had also overstepped the limit laid down in the Agreement as to tonnage.

In order to assist him in reaching a definite conclusion as to the facts of the case, Lord Lansdowne referred the matter to the Colonial Defence Committee for consideration and report, and the result of their deliberations is embodied in the attached copy of the Secretary's Minute to the War Office.

It will be seen from this that the Committee recommend that no protest should be addressed to the Government of the United States at the present time, but that the Canadian Government should be advised not to exceed in tonnage the cutters now being built for the United States, in any vessel they may lay down for service on the lakes.

With these recommendations, Lord Lansdowne agrees, and he would suggest, if Mr. Secretary Chamberlain concurs, that a copy of this correspondence should be furnished to the Governor General of Canada for the information of the Dominion Government.

The inclosures to the Foreign Office letter are returned as requested in your letter under reply.

I have, &c.,

ARTHUR HALIBURTON.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 4.

Minute of Secretary of Colonial Defence Committee.

P. U. S.

These papers were considered by the Colonial Defence Committee at their meeting of October 29.

From the Report of the Committee on Commerce accompanying the Act passed by the U. S. Senate on February 24 last providing for the construction of two steam revenue cutters of the first class for service on the Great Lakes, and from the expenditure provided for in the Act ($200,000) it would appear that these so-called revenue cutters are to be steamships of 700 or 800

tons. One such vessel is already building at Cleveland, and when those provided for by the Act are constructed the United States will have three vessels of considerable power on the lakes.

The Canadian Government have recently (1892) built two vessels of 126 tons register for revenue service on the lakes.

The Treaty of 1817 limits the force to be maintained by Canada and by the States to 3 vessels not exceeding 100 tons burden.

From the information before the Committee they saw no reason to consider that there was an intention on the part of the United States Government to indirectly acquire an increase of their naval force on the lakes, but only to build cruisers for revenue purposes which should be suitable to the service now required of them, which involves the constant supervision over long distances, of a very large and increasing commerce.

The Committee do not therefore recommend that any representation should at the present time be made to the United States Government on the subject of their departure from the strict terms of the 1817 Agreement. They consider, however, that should the revenue service of Canada require the construction of new vessels the only restriction which it would be necessary to put on their size is that they should not exceed the tonnage of the American vessels used for the corresponding purpose.

M. NATHAN,
Secretary, Colonial Defence Committee.

30 October, 1896.

No. 5.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

Copy.
No. 49.

WASHINGTON, 12th April, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Your Excellency's telegram of the 6th instant granting permission for four United States revenue cutters to pass through the canals under the control of the Dominion Government on their passage through the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Coast, I have the honour, by request of the United States Secretary of State to convey to Your Excellency the cordial thanks of the United States Government for the prompt, friendly and courteous action taken by the Dominion Government in regard to the matter.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

His Excellency
The Earl of ABERDEEN, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 6.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General of Canada.

Canada.
Secret and Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, 13th April, 1898.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to you, for confidential communication to your ministers, copy of a memorandum which has been prepared by the Colonial Defence Committee for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government concerning the action which has been taken of late by the United States in the matter of placing armed vessels on the Great Lakes of North America.

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Her Majesty's Government concur in the terms of this memorandum, and the Marquess of Salisbury has accordingly, in a despatch of which a copy is inclosed, instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to address a representation to the United States Government in the sense indicated therein, when a favourable opportunity occurs.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Governor General
The Right Honourable
The Earl of ABERDEEN, P.C., G.C.M.G.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 6.

Secret.
No. 127 M.

CANADA.

AMERICAN WARSHIPS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

Memorandum by the Colonial Defence Committee (for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government).

Various papers have lately been sent by the War Office and Colonial Office to the Colonial Defence Committee, concerning action that has been taken by the United States to place armed vessels on the Great Lakes of North America. It will be convenient to explain briefly the present state of the case with regard to this matter.

2. In 1817 an arrangement concluded between Great Britain and the United States relative to the naval force to be maintained by the two powers upon the American lakes embodied the following resolutions:—

> The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is—
>
> On Lake Ontario, to one vessel, not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-pound cannon.
>
> On the Upper Lakes, to two vessels, not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.
>
> On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel, not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.
>
> All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessel of war shall be there built or armed.
>
> If either party should hereafter be desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice.

This arrangement has never been terminated. A suggestion made in 1864 that this should be done was opposed by Lord Lyons, on the grounds that the arrangement had proved of the utmost practical value in obviating causes of conflict and irritation.

At the commencement of 1892 the suggestion was again put forward in the United States, apparently at the instance of the shipbuilders of the lake cities, Chicago, Cleveland, Erie, Buffalo, Milwaukee, &c., who looked upon it as a hardship that they were precluded by the treaty from having, as well as the shipbuilders on the ocean coasts, the advantage of executing naval contracts. It was pointed out in the press that whereas the arrangement of 1817 had come to be no restriction on England, which by reason of the canals could put a large fleet of small warships on the lakes at a few days' notice, it worked prejudicially to the United States, which could not do this, and could not, as in the days of wooden vessels and smooth-bore guns, turn out a lake fleet within a short time of the declaration of war. Mr. McMillan formally proposed to Congress the termination of the treaty, and though this proposal was not accepted, the Government of the United States suggested to Great Britain that an explanatory article should be added to it, which should provide in substance that

nothing in the arrangement should restrict the building of war vessels on the lakes, provided that they were not there plated, armed, equipped, or rendered available as vessels of war. The discussion of the subject was, however, abruptly terminated by the United States.

At that time the Canadian Government had two screw-steamers of 126 tons register, the *Constance* and *Curlew*, building for revenue service on the lakes, while the United States had four vessels, all old ones, of which the *Andrew Johnson*, of 499 tons, the *Commodore Perry*, of 330 tons, and the *William P. Fessenden*, of 330 tons, were employed in the revenue cutter service; and the *Michigan*, of 685 tons, at Erie, belonged to the United States Navy. These vessels carried from two to four guns each.

In October, 1893, the United States passed an Act authorizing the construction of a vessel to replace the *Andrew Johnson* at a cost not exceeding $175,000; and in February, 1896, a further Act authorized the construction and equipment of two steam revenue cutters of the first class for service on the Great Lakes, the cost of each vessel not to exceed the sum of $200,000. By this time the *Perry* had been transferred to the Pacific for service in the Behring Sea; but it was obvious that when the sanctioned vessels were completed, and the United States had three armed modern steel vessels of 700 or 800 tons on the lakes, there would be a very serious infringement of the 1817 Treaty. The first of these vessels, the *Walter C. Gresham*, was launched at Cleveland on the 12th September, 1896.

The matter was referred to the Colonial Defenec Committee, who reported on the 29th September, 1896, as follows:—

> The committee do not recommend that any representations should at the present time be made to the United States on the subject of their departure from the strict terms of the 1817 agreement. They consider, however, that should the revenue service of Canada require the construction of new vessels, the only restriction which it would be necessary to put upon their size is that they should not exceed the tonnage of the American vessels used for the corresponding purpose.

Since the date of this report the Colonial Defence Committee have been informed that the United States vessel *Yantic* of 900 tons, has been sent through the canals to the Upper Lakes as a training-ship for the Michigan Naval Militia, which has been recently organized, and numbers about 220 men. The *Yantic* is an old wooden vessel, of little military value, and was sent through the canals unarmed, though it is understood that some modern guns were to be put on her when she reached the lakes.

At the commencement of the present year it was reported that a committee of the Senate recommended, through Senator McMillan (who in 1892 proposed to Congress the termination of the 1817 Treaty), the passage of a Bill for the construction on the Great Lakes of a gunboat, at a cost not exceeding $260,000, exclusive of armament, the vessel to take the place of the steamship *Michigan*. This recommendation was made 'with the distinct understanding that the substitution of the new vessel for the *Michigan* raises no new question of international bearing.'

3. From the foregoing it appears to the Colonial Defence Committee that, though the United States Government are not at present proposing the termination of the arrangement of 1817, they are prepared to go beyond its provisions as far as they can without raising a protest from Her Majesty's Government. The committee consider that it is of great importance in the interests of peace and in the military interests of Canaad in the event of war, that the original conditions of the arrangement should be adhered to as closely as possible.

The committee therefore now recommend that when a favourable opportunity offers, an amicable representation should be made to the United States Government as to their apparent departure from the spirit of a treaty which has worked beneficently for a period of eighty years. This would at least define the responsibility for the new movement which Canada, to her cost, as well as England, will be compelled to follow.

N. NATHAN, *Secretary*,
Colonial Defence Committee.

March 8, 1898.

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ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 6.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

No. 64.
Confidential.

FOREIGN OFFICE, April 5th, 1898.

SIR,—

With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 61 of the 2nd of March, 1897, and to previous correspondence respecting war vessels on the Great Lakes, I transmit to you a copy of a letter from the Colonial Office inclosing a memorandum by the Colonial Defence Committee in regard to the action recently taken by the United States Government which the committee consider to be incompatible with the spirit of the arrangement of 1817.

Your Excellency is authorized to make a representation to the United States Government with a view to the maintenance of the original conditions of the arrangement, but it is left to your discretion to decide when it may seem best to address a communication to them on the subject.

I am, &c.,

SALISBURY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 7.

Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Aberdeen.

(Paraphrase of cypher telegram.)

LONDON, 25 April, 1898.

United States vessels on Great Lakes. My previous telegrams. Has information promised in your telegrams of 24th April been obtained.

At present the law officers of the Crown are of opinion that permission for passage of the revenue cutters should not be given. This, however, is not final, as the case is being reconsidered. As soon as received I shall telegraph result.

They require further information respecting the ownership of the other two vessels and the circumstances in which they were built. If on the British side of Lake Ontario the law officers think you could prevent them from entering the canals, but it is doubtful whether you could order them to go out at one end rather than at the other if they are in the canals. Law officers assume that the vessels are in American waters in Lake Ontario. The governing principle is that it is allowing the passage of belligerent forces over neutral territory.

Result of your further inquiries is awaited.

CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 8.

Secret.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

WASHINGTON, 26th April, 1898.

I learn from the British Consul at Chicago that United States revenue cutter *Calumet* has been placed in commission and has left for Atlantic Coast.

Consul also reports that the *Algonquin* and *Gresham* are proceeding by same route.

No. 9.

Secret.

Sir Julian Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

WASHINGTON, 27th April, 1898.

With reference to your telegram of 26th April. Conditions imposed are accepted by United States and the Commanders of the vessels will be instructed accordingly.

Copies of correspondence follow by mail.

PAUNCEFOTE.

No. 10.

Sir Julian Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

No. 56.

WASHINGTON, 28th April, 1898.

To Dept. State, 27th April, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Your Excellency's telegram of the 26th instant respecting the passage of four United States vessels from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic coast, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a Pro Memoria which I delivered yesterday at the Department of State, stating the conditions on which the permission granted before the outbreak of war would still be extended to those vessels, and asking for an assurance that those conditions would be observed.

Mr. Adee, 27th April, 1898.

I yesterday received a reply from the Acting Secretary of State, copy of which I likewise inclose, expressing the acceptance by the United States Government of the conditions imposed.

I brought the above information to the knowledge of Your Excellency and of the Marquis of Salisbury by telegraph yesterday.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE,

His Excellency
The Earl of ABERDEEN, G.C.M.G.,

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 10.

WASHINGTON, 27th April, 1898.

Pro Memoria:

In a note dated the 5th instant, the United States Government requested the undersigned to obtain permission by telegraph from the Canadian Government for four vessels to proceed from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic coast through the canals that are under the control of the Dominion of Canada.

That permission was immediately granted, and the vessels, two of which are amed as revenue cutters, are now in Lake Ontario, awaiting the opening of navigation.

Since then war has been declared between the United States and Spain, and the usual Proclamation of Neutrality has been issued by the Queen.

After careful consideration Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that permission given before the outbreak of war for the four United States vessels to pass through the canals should not now be withdrawn, provided that the United States Government are willing to give an assurance that the vessels in question will proceed straight to a United States port without engaging in any hostile operation.

Her Majesty's Government are further of opinion that the vessels should not be furnished with more coal and stores than are necessary to take them to New York or some other United States port within easy reach.

In communicating the above to the United States Government the undersigned has the honour to express the hope that the assurance desired by Her

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Majesty's Government will at once be given in order that the facilities granted before the outbreak of war in respect of the four vessels above mentioned may still be extended without any breach of neutrality.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 10.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 27th April, 1898.

No. 991.

EXCELLENCY,—

Referring to your Vro Memoria of to-day, with reference to the passage of four revenue cutters, two of which are armed, from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic coast, through the canals that are under the control of the Dominion of Canada, I have the honour to inform you that instructions will be sent to the commander of the vessels in question to proceed directly to a United States port without engaging in any hostile operation, and without taking more coal and stores than are necessary to enable them to make New York or some other United States port within easy reach. It is, of course, understood that the prohibition of engaging in any hostile operation would not preclude resistance to a hostile attack.

I have, &c.,

ALVEY A. ADEE.

No. 11.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

No. 59.

WASHINGTON, 6th May, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch No. 56, of the 28th ultimo respecting the passage of four United States revenue cutters from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note which I have received from the Acting Secretary of State informing me that orders have been issued to the Commanding Officers of the revenue cutters *Gresham* and *Calumet* to carry out the conditions laid down by Her Majesty's Government, and that similar instructions will be issued to the Commanding Officers of the other two vessels when they receive orders to proceed to the Atlantic Coast.

Mr. Moore.
No. 999.
May, 4, '98.

I have forwarded a copy of Mr. Moore's note to the Marquis of Salisbury.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

The Earl of Aberdeen, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 11.

United States Acting Secretary of State to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

Copy of No. 999.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 4th May, 1898.

EXCELLENCY,—

Referring to your Pro Memoria of April 27 last, stating that the permission previously obtained for the passage of four revenue cutters through Canadian canals would not be withdrawn provided this Government shall instruct the vessels to proceed direct to a United States port without engaging in any hostile operations and shall take only such coal and stores as

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will enable them to reach such port, I have the honour to inform you that the Department has received a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury stating that orders have been issued to the Commanding Officers of the revenue cutters *Gresham* and *Calumet*, which vessels are en route to the Atlantic Coast, to carry out your requirements.

The Secretary of the Treasury adds that when the other two vessels shall receive orders to proceed to the Atlantic Coast like instructions will be issued to their Commanding Officers.

I have, &c.,

J. B. MOORE,
Acting Secretary.

Sir J. PAUNCEFOTE,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 12.

Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Aberdeen.

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, 29th June, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch of the 13th April, marked Secret and Confidential, I have the honour to transmit to you for confidential communication to your Ministers, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Marquis of Salisbury on the subject of war vessels on the Great Lakes of North America.

Sir J. Pauncefote
F. O 11 June,
1908.

I have, &c.,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Governor General,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 12.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

No. 203.

WASHINGTON, 11th June, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Your Lordship's despatch No. 64, confidential, of April 5 last and to previous correspondence on the subject of War Vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to report that I have lately taken several opportunities of mentioning the matter to the Secretary of State.

I am assured of the desire on the part of the United States Government to maintain the spirit of the arrangement of 1817, but with such modifications as may appear to be to the advantage of both countries, and to be called for by the altered conditions of the present time.

With this object, it is suggested that the question should form one of the subjects referred for discussion to the proposed Joint Commission on Canadian Affairs.

As an instance of the good will shown by the United States in maintaining the arrangement of 1817, as well as of the detriment which it causes the United States shipbuilding industry, I may point to a decision given by President Cleveland in November, 1895, on an appeal of the Detroit (Michigan) Shipbuilding Company, against a decision of the Hon. Mr. Herbert, then Secretary of the Navy, declining to receive their bid for the construction of a war vessel on Lake Michigan as being an infringement of the arrangement. Mr. Cleveland confirmed the decision of the Secretary of the Navy.

If the question should be brought before the Joint Commission, it will probably be contended that vessels of a different character and armament should be provided for the maintenance of order on the lakes, and that freedom should

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be given to the United States shipbuilding industry on the lakes, under conditions which should prevent the arming or equipping of vessels until after they shall have reached a United States ocean port, thus maintaining the real spirit and object of the arrangement of 1817.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

The Marquis of SALISBURY, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 13.

Mr. Chamberlain to the Earl of Aberdeen.

Telegram.

LONDON, 25th July, 1898.

Your telegram 29th April; did you obtain undertaking referred to in my telegram 25th April? Have *Gresham* and other revenue cutters left British waters?

CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 14.

Sir Julian Pauncefote to Earl of Aberdeen.

Confidential.
No. 110.

NEW LONDON, CONN., October 13, 1898.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit herewith for Your Excellency's information an extract from the Chicago 'Chronicle' of the 10th inst., forwarded to me by Her Majesty's Consul at Chicago, reporting the proposed despatch of the United States auxiliary cruiser *Wasp* from the Atlantic seaboard to Lake Michigan for use as a training ship at Chicago. In the absence of confirmation of that report, I am not disposed to attach any credence to it.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

His Excellency
The Earl of ABERDEEN,
&c., &c., &c

ENCLOSURE IN No. 14.

(Chicago 'Chronicle,' Sunday, October 10, 1898.)

TO BRING THE 'WASP' HERE.

Detail of Men is Ordered for the Long Sea and River Trip.

Captain Shaffner of the naval reserves, is said to be planning for great doings when the tars' new acquisition, the *Wasp*, comes into port. It is expected that he will join her as she leaves St. Lawrence, and that the entry into Chicago harbour will be made with a vast deal of gold lace showing on the quarter deck.

The captain yesterday gave orders that twenty men be picked from the first and second battalions to bring the *Wasp* around through the St. Lawrence. They are to start from Chicago Wednesday and at Norfolk navy yard will take possession of the swift cruiser. It is expected that Lieutenant Commander Allen and Lieutenant C. Benjamin Shaffner will command the expedition. The ship will stop at New York, Boston and Halifax for coal and at the Lachine lock she will have to be lightened by the removal of all cargo. If the federal authorities turn her over entirely to the state militia it will be necessary under the United States navigation laws to engage a captain, two mates and an engineer and two assistants, with certificates from the Government inspectors.

The naval reserve hope, however, that the *Wasp* will continue a government vessel, as, in that event, her coming might cause a break in the old treaty with England, that now hinders lake shipbuilders from competing for government contracts for warship construction.

The *Wasp*, which was formerly the yacht *Columbia*, made a splendid record in the Cuban blockade and in two fights, and only two weeks ago she weathered a hurricane that sunk three vessels that were in her company. Her description follows:—

Length, 180 feet; beam, 23 feet; draught, 12 feet; tonnage, 630; single screw, horse power, 1,800; speed, 18 knots; rig, one signal mast.

Armament.—Four 6-pounder rapid fire rifles, two 6-millimeter Colts' rapid fire rifles.

The *Wasp* was formerly schooner-rigged, but she was altered to the form shown in the illustration. She carries eight officers and thirty-two men.

No. 15.

From Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General.

No. 112.

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT, October 19, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch, No. 110, Confidential, of the 13th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note from the United States Secretary of State respecting the passage of the United States ship *Wasp* to the lakes.

I should be obliged to Your Excellency if you would inform me what reply should, in the view of your Ministers, be returned to this application.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

The Earl of ABERDEEN, G.C.M.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 15.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 17th October, 1898.

No. 1234.

EXCELLENCY,—

At the instance of the Secretary of the Navy, I have the honour to inform you that it is his wish to lend the United States steamship *Wasp* (a converted yacht) to the State of Illinois, for the purpose of the drill and instruction of the naval militia of that State.

I therefore beg you to do me the favour to call the matter to the attention of the Canadian Government, in order that the passage of the *Wasp* to the lakes may be appropriately facilitated by such action as may be deemed necessary.

I have, &c.,

JOHN HAY.

His Excellency
Sir JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 16.

Sir Julian Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

Telegram.

22nd October, 1898.

Referring to my despatch No. 110 I am informed by telegraph by United States Secretary of State (who presses for early reply) that it is desired to substitue *Frolic* for *Wasp*, *Wasp* being too large for going through canals.

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No. 17.

Sir Julian Pauncefote to Lord Aberdeen.

No. 116.

WASHINGTON, 5th November, 1898.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch No. 112 of the 19th and to my telegram of the 22nd ultimo respecting the passage of a United States vessel of war to the lakes, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I addressed an unofficial communication to the United States Secretary of State on the 24th ultimo, urging the expediency of suspending action on the subject during the negotiations of the Joint High Commission. I have now been informed by Colonel Hay, that at his instance the Secretary of the Navy has agreed that the request for the passage of the *Frolic* shall be suspended pending the result of the Commission on the general question.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

His Excellency
The Earl of ABERDEEN,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 18.

Lord Pauncefote to Lord Minto.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, 12th January, 1900.

No. 6.

MY LORD,—

10th Jan., 1900. Mr. Hay,

I have the honuor to submit for Your Excellency's consideration a copy of a note I have received from the Secretary of State requesting me to obtain from your Government permission for the passage through the St. Lawrence river and the Welland canal of the converted yacht *Frolic* which the United States Navy Department has lent to the State of Ohio for the Naval Brigade of the Ohio National Guard stationed at Cleveland.

I have transmitted a copy of Mr. Hay's note to the Marquis of Salisbury as it involves important considerations connected with the arrangement of 28th April, 1817, in relation to the Naval Forces to be maintained on the Great Lakes.

I have, &c.,

PAUNCEFOTE.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 18.

United States Secretary of State to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 10th January, 1900.

EXCELLENCY,—

I have the honour to solicit your good offices to obtain from the Government of Canada permission for the passage through the St. Lawrence River and the Welland Canal of the converted yacht *Frolic*, which it is the purpose of the United States Navy Department to lend to the State of Ohio for drill use by the Second Battalion Naval Brigade, Ohio National Guard, stationed at Cleveland.

The *Frolic* is described as 165 feet long, 25 feet beam, draft 10 feet 3 inches; displacement 607 tons; built of steel in 1892 in Cleveland, Ohio, by the Globe Iron Works; single screw, vertical, inverted, triple expansion engine.

The vessel is to be turned over at Norfolk, Virginia, by the Navy Department to the State of Ohio by which it will be brought to Cleveland without armament.

I have, &c.,

JOHN HAY.

No. 19.

Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Minto.

Paraphrase of Cypher Cable.

LONDON, 26th January, 1900.

When may I expect to receive observations of your Government respecting request of United States Government for permission for *Frolic* to pass through canals.

CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 20.

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

No. 20.

OTTAWA, 22nd February, 1900.

MY LORD,—

20th. Feb. 21, L.

I communicated to my Ministers for consideration the contents of Your Excellency's despatch No. 6 of the 12th ultimo, conveying the request of the United States Government for permission for the passage through the St. Lawrence river and the Welland canal of the converted yacht *Frolic*, which the United States Navy Department has lent to the State of Ohio to be used for purposes of drill; and I have now the honour to inclose herewith a copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada, containing the observations of Ministers upon this request.

Your Excellency will observe that as there does not appear to be any intention of using the vessel in contravention of the Convention of 1818 with regard to the maintenance of a naval force on the Great Lakes, this Government would be willing to grant the permission asked, on the distinct understanding, that the use of the vessel on the Great Lakes would be confined to purposes of drill.

I have informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the conclusion reached by my Ministers.

I have, etc.,

MINTO.

His Excellency,
Lord Pauncefote,
, etc., etc., etc.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 20.

CERTIFIED *copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 20th February, 1900.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, hereto annexed, dated 12th January, 1900, from Her Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, covering copy of a communication addressed to him on the 10th January, 1900, by the Secretary of State of the United States soliciting permission from the Government of Canada for the passage through the St. Lawrence river and the Welland canal of the converted yacht *Frolic*, which vessel, it is stated, the United States Navy Department propose to lend to the State of Ohio for drill use by a battalion of the Naval Brigade of the Ohio National Guard stationed at Cleveland; the said vessel being described as a screw steamer built of steel in Cleveland in 1892; its dimensions being, length 165 feet, beam 25 feet, draught 10 feet 3 inches, displacement 607 tons. It is stated that the vessel will be brought to Cleveland without armament.

The committee have also had under consideration a despatch, hereto attached, dated 26th January, 1900, from the Right Honourable Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom a copy of the said communication appears to have been forwarded from Washington, in which he intimates his desire to receive the observations of the Dominion Government upon the request for the passage of this vessel.

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The Minister of Railways and Canals, to whom the matter in question was referred, observes that he would deprecate any attempt on the part of the United States of America or of Canada to violate either the letter or the spirit of the Convention of 1818 prohibiting the maintenance of any naval force on the Great Lakes beyond the force specifically and definitely defined in that Convention.

The Minister states that the yacht *Frolic* is a small screw steamer which the United States Navy Department have loaned to the State of Ohio for drill use of the Naval Brigade of the Ohio National Guard. Permission is asked for her to go through the canals of Canada without any armament, and he, the Minister, does not gather from the application that there is any intention of using the yacht in contravention of the Convention referred to.

The Minister, under these circumstances, recommends that the requested permission should be granted to the yacht *Frolic* to pass through the canals of Canada without armament, it being definitely understood that her use on the Great Lakes will be confined to the purposes of drill, as stated by the Honourable the Secretary of State of the United States in his despatch.

The Committee advise that Your Excellency be moved to transmit a certified copy of this Minute to Her Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, and to the Right Honourable Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies in reply to his despatch of the 26th January, 1900.

All which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

JOHN J. McGEE,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 21.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Confidential.

OTTAWA, 22nd February, 1900.

SIR,—

In reply to your telegraphic message of the 26th ultimo, asking for the observations of Ministers upon the request of the United States Government for permission for the *Frolic* to pass through the St. Lawrence river and the Welland canal, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council* containing the expression of the views of the Government upon this subject.

20th Feb. 21 L.

You will observe that Ministers are willing to grant the permission asked for upon a definite understanding that the vessel will be used only for purposes of drill.

I have communicated the views of the Government to Her Majesty's Ambassador to the United States.

I have, &c.,
MINTO.

The Right Honourable
JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

* See enclosure in No. 20.

No. 22.

Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Minto.

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, March 23, 1900.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential despatch of the 22nd ultimo transmitting copy of an approved Minute of the Dominion Privy Council from which it appears that your Ministers are willing to grant to the United States Government permission to pass the converted yacht *Frolic* through Canadian inland waters to the Great Lakes on the understanding that the vessel will be used only for purposes of drill.

2. Her Majesty's Government concur in the advisability of this course, and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been accordingly instructed by telegram to inform the United States Government that Her Majesty's Government consent to the passage of the vessel on the conditions mentioned.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Governor General,
The Right Honourable,
The Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 23.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, 16th May, 1900.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to you for the information of your Ministers, with reference to my confidential despatch of the 23rd March, a copy of the despatch noted below respecting the passage of the United States ship *Frolic* through the river St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals to the Great Lakes.

I have, &c.,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Officer Administering
The Government of Canada.

Date.	Description of Document..
2nd April.	Lord Pauncefote to the Marquis of Salisbury, with inclosure.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 23.

Lord Pauncefote to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(Received April 12.)

(No. 107).

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1900.

MY LORD,—

With reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 54, Confidential, of the 20th March, inclosing correspondence respecting the passage of the United States ship *Frolic* through the river St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals to the Great Lakes, I have the honour to inclose a copy of the note which I addressed to the Secretary of State on receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 19, of the 20th March, informing me that the required permission had been granted, together with a copy of Mr. Hay's reply.

I have, etc.,
PAUNCEFOTE.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No 23.

Lord Pauncefote to Mr. Hay.

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1900.

SIR,—

With reference to the note of the 10th January, which you did me the honour to address to me, requesting permission for the passage through the St. Lawrence river and the Welland canal of the converted yacht *Frolic*, which

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it is the purpose of the United States Navy Department to lend to the State of Ohio for drill use by the 2nd Battalion, Naval Brigade, Ohio National Guard, I have the honour to state that there being no intention of using the vessel in contravention of the Agreement of 1818 with regard to the maintenance of a naval force on the Great Lakes. Her Majesty's Government have much pleasure in granting the request of your Government, it being definitely understood that the *Frolic* will pass through the canals of Canada without armament, and that her use on the Great Lakes will be confined to purposes of drill as stated in your note under reply.

I have, &c.,

PAUNCEFOTE.

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 23.

Mr. Hay to Lord Pauncefote.

WASHINGTON, March 28, 1900.

EXCELLENCY,—

I have the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your note of the 22nd instant, advising me that Her Majesty's Government have granted permission for the passage through the Canadian canals of the converted yacht *Frolic*, which it is the purpose of the United States Navy Department to lend to the State of Ohio for drill use by the 2nd Battalion, Naval Brigade, Ohio National Guard, on the definite understanding that the vessel will pass through the canals without armament; that her use on the Great Lakes will be confined to purposes of drill and that she will not be used in contravention of the Agreement of 1818 with the United States with regard to the maintenance of a naval force on the Great Lakes.

Mr. Hay No. 1874. Aug. 3, 1900.

I have communicated this information to the Secretary of the Navy and the Commanding Officer of the 2nd Battalion Naval Brigade, Ohio National Guard.

I have, &c.,

JOHN HAY.

No. 24.

Lord Pauncefote to Deputy Governor General.

No. 99.

NEWPORT, August 6, 1900.

SIR,—

With reference to my despatch to the Governor General, No. 6 of January 12, requesting permission, on behalf of the United States Government, for the passage through the St. Lawrence river and the Welland canal of the converted yacht *Frolic*, and to His Excellency's reply, No. 20 of February 22, acceding to that request under certain conditions, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a further note from the United States Government, stating that it has been found necessary to employ the converted yacht *Hawk* for the manœuvres of the Naval Brigade of the Ohio National Guard instead of the *Frolic*, and asking that the permission granted by the Canadian Government for the passage of the latter vessel through the canals may be transferred to the *Hawk*.

I should be obliged if you would be good enough to inform me what answer you would wish me to return to the request of the United States Government.

I have, &c.,

PAUNCEFOTE.

The Honourable H. E. TASCHEREAU,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 24.

From United States Secretary of State to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 3, 1900.

EXCELLENCY,—

Referring to this Department's Note No. 1058 of January 10 last, and to yours in reply, No. 79 of March 22, 1900, I have the honour to advise you that I am informed by the Secretary of the Navy that the exigencies of the service have rendered it impracticable to lend the converted yacht *Frolic* to the Ohio Naval Militia and that the converted yacht *Hawk* has been substituted in her place.

The *Hawk* is of the same class as the *Frolic* but is of smaller dimensions, and the vessel will be ready to leave the Norfolk Navy Yard about August 18.

It is desired that the permission which the Canadian Government kindly granted for the passage of the *Frolic* through the Canadian canals be transferred to the *Hawk*.

I beg that you will do me the favour to obtain the favourable action of the Canadian Government on this subject in time for the *Hawk* to arrive in the Canadian canals the latter part of the present month.

I have, &c.,

JOHN HAY.

His Excellency
Lord PAUNCEFOTE, G.C.B.

No. 25.

Lord Pauncefote to Deputy Governor General.

Telegram.

NEWPORT, 17th August, 1900.

My despatch ninety-nine August 6th substitution of *Hawk* for *Frolic* I should be glad to receive reply by telegraph.

PAUNCEFOTE.

No. 26.

The Deputy of the Governor General to Lord Pauncefote.

Telegram.

OTTAWA, August 18, 1900.

Referring to your despatch No. 99 and your telegram of the 17th August, my Ministers agree to substitution of *Hawk* for *Frolic;* conditions laid down in Governor's despatch of 22nd February to apply equally to *Hawk;* on this understanding permission granted to pass through canals.

H. E. TASCHEREAU.

No. 27.

Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Canada.
Confidential.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Officer Administering the Government of Canada and has the honour to transmit to him for the information of his Ministers with reference to Mr. Chamberlain's confidential despatch of the 16th of May the papers described in the subjoined schedule

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respecting the passage of the United States Government vessel *Hawk* through the Canadian canals and the River St. Lawrence.

DOWNING STREET,
31st August, 1900.

Date.	*Description of Document.*
1900.	
8th August.	Foreign Office to Colonial Office, with enclosure. (Copy.)
22nd August.	Foreign Office to Colonial Office. (Copy.)

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 27.

Foreign Office to Colonial Office.

Immediate and confidential.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 8th August, 1900.

SIR,—

With reference to the letter from this office of May 7 last inclosing copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington recording the arrangement sanctioned for the passage of the United States Government vessel *Frolic* through the Canadian canals, I am directed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to transmit to you to be laid before Mr. Secretary Chamberlain, copy of a telegram from Lord Pauncefote stating that the United States Government wish to substitute the vessel *Hawk* for the *Frolic*. This request His Excellency has communicated to the Dominion Government.

Lord Salisbury has caused copies of this telegram to be sent to the War Office and the Admiralty with an inquiry as to their concurrence in the proposed substitution.

I have, &c.,

T. H. SANDERSON.

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 27.

From Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Paraphrase of
Cypher Telegram.

Received F. O. 6.30 p.m.

7th August, 1900.

No. 46.

Referring to my despatch No. 107, I am instructed by United States Government to substitute for the *Frolic* the *Hawk*, a vessel of the same class inactive, of smaller dimensions. I have informed the Canadian Government of this request.

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 27.

Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

FOREIGN OFFICE, August 22, 1900.

SIR,—

With reference to the letter from this office of the 8th instant, I am directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to state for the information of Mr. Secretary Chamberlain that the Admiralty and the War Office have expressed their concurrence in the proposed substitution of the United States Government vessel *Hawk* for the *Frolic*, whose passage through the Canadian canals and the River St. Lawrence to Cleveland, Ohio, had previously been sanctioned.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has accordingly been instructed to acquaint the United States Government that Her Majesty's Government have no objection to the proposal.

I am, &c.,

F. H. VILLIERS.

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

No. 28.

From Lord Pauncefote to Lord Minto.

No. 10.

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1901.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship herewith copy of a note which I have received from the United States Government requesting the permission of the Canadian Govrnment for the passage of the United States ship *Dorothea* through the Canadian canals, on the same conditions as in the case of the United States ship *Hawk*, permission for the passage of which was granted in Mr. Taschereau's telegram of August 8 last.

I have the honour to request that Your Excellency will inform me what answer I should return to the application.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, &c., &c.,

PAUNCEFOTE.

The Right Honourable
The Earl of MINTO, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 28.

United States Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 29th January, 1901.

No. 2061.

EXCELLENCY,—

I am informed by the Secretary of the Navy that his department has, upon the application of the Governor of Illinois, consented to loan to that State for the use of its Naval Militia, the United States ship *Dorothea*, now in the Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

I have the honour, therefore, to seek the good offices of Your Excellency to obtain permission of the Canadian Government for the passage of the vessel through the Canadian canals on the same conditions as in the case of the United States ship *Hawk*, loaned to the Ohio Naval Brigade at Cleveland, viz., that the vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament and that her use on Lake Michigan shall be confined to purposes of drill.

The *Dorothea* is a converted steel yacht 182 feet 4 inches long, 23 feet 4¾ inches beam, mean draft 11 feet 5½ inches, displacement 594 tons.

I have, etc.,

JOHN HAY.

His Excellency
The Rt. Hon. Lord Pauncefote, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

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No. 29.

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

No. 31.

OTTAWA, 13th March, 1901.

MY LORD,—

In reply to Your Excellency's despatch No. 10 of the 30th January last, conveying the request of the United States Government for permission for the passage of the United States ship *Dorothea* through the Canadian canals on her way to Lake Michigan upon the same conditions as in the case of the United States ship *Hawk*, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada consenting to the passage of this vessel upon the conditions referred to.

12 March.
575 L.

I have, etc.,

MINTO.

The Right Honourable
Lord Pauncefote.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 29.

Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 12th March, 1901.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a copy of a communication, dated 30th January, 1901, hereto attached, from the British Ambassador at Washington, conveying a request from the United States Government for permission for the passage through the River St. Lawrence and the Welland canals of their vessel the *Dorothea*, which has been loaned to the state of Illinois for the use of its naval militia.

The Minister of Railways and Canals to whom the matter was referred, observes that, the conditions of passage are to be the same as those in the case of the United States ship *Hawk*, namely, that the vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament, and that her use shall be confined to purposes of drill, and he the Minister accordingly sees no objection to the passage of the vessel in question on the understanding mentioned.

The Committee advise that Your Excellency be moved to forward a certified copy of this Minute, to His Majesty's Ambassador, at Washington, for the information of the United States Government.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 30.

From Lord Pauncefote to Lord Minto.

No. 52.

WASHINGTON, March 24, 1901.

MY LORD,—

On the receipt of Your Excellency's Despatch No. 31 of the 13th instant, I communicated to the Secretary of State a Copy of the approved Minute of the Privy Council of Canada which you were good enough to send to me, consenting to the passage of the United States steamer *Dorothea* through the Canadian canals on her way to Lake Michigan, for the use of the Naval Militia of the State of Illinois, upon the conditions that the vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament and that her use on Lake Michigan shall be confined to purposes of drill.

I have now received a note from Mr. Hay expressing the thanks of his Government for this permission.

I have, &c.,

PAUNCEFOTE.

His Excellency
The Earl of MINTO, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 31.

From His Majesty's Chargé d'Affairs at Washington to the Governor General.

No. 99.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, November 21, 1903.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency herewith copy of a House Document containing a letter from the Secretary of the Navy transmitting to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, with a favourable recommendation, the report of the Board appointed to select a site for a Naval Training Station on the Great Lakes.*

I have forwarded a copy of this document to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.,

ARTHUR S. RAIKES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
The Earl of MINTO, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c

* See Departmental file.

No. 32.

Sir Mortimer Durand to Lord Minto.

Paraphrase of cypher telegram.

WASHINGTON, 28th April, 1904.

United States Government request that permission may be granted for United States ship *Essex* to pass through St. Lawrence river, Lachine and Welland canals in order that she may be used for drill and instruction by the Ohio Naval Militia. The *Essex* would be lent to the State of Ohio for a short period, but would remain in possession of the United States Government. Description of vessel as follows:—Bark rig, mean draught 14 feet 3 inches, length 185 feet, breadth 35 feet, horse-power 800, displacement 1,375 tons. I should be glad to receive reply by telegram if permission is granted.

DURAND.

No. 33.

Sir Mortimer Durand to Lord Minto.

Paraphrase of cypher telegram.

WASHINGTON, 28th April, 1904.

United States ship *Essex*. Referring to my telegram of to-day's date. It is explained to me that reason for asking for reply by telegram is that opportunity will be over for this year unless permission is given at an early date.

DURAND.

No. 34.

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

No. 37.
Secret.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 4th May, 1904.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's telegram of the 28th ultimo, asking for permission for the United States ship *Essex* to pass through the St. Lawrence river, Lachine and Welland canals, I have the honour to inclose

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2 May.

herewith a copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada according the desired permission, the sense of which I have already communicated to Your Excellency by telegraph.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

MINTO.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 34.

Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 2nd May, 1904.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a telegram, dated 28th April, 1904, marked Secret, from His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, stating the United States Government request that permission may be granted for the passage of the United States ship *Essex* through the St. Lawrence river, the Lachine and Welland canals, in order that she may be used for drill and instruction by the Ohio Naval Militia. The *Essex* to be lent to the State of Ohio for a short period, but to remain in possession of the United States Government. Description of vessel as follows:—

Bark rig, mean draught, 14 feet 3 inches; breadth, 35 feet, horse power, 800; displacement, 1,375 tons.

The Minister of Railways and Canals, to whom the matter was referred, recommends that the desired permission be granted, and in making this recommendation assumes that the Government of the United States in sending this vessel to the lakes, do not contemplate any departure from the Treaty conditions respecting the maintenance of armed vessels on these waters.

The Committee advise that the Governor General be moved to transmit a copy of this Minute to His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, and that in the meantime the substance of this decision be communicated by telegraph to the Ambassador, as requested.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 35.

From Sir H. M. Durand to Lord Minto.

No. 51.

British Embassy,
Washington, 5th May, 1904.

My Lord,—

With reference to Mr. Raikes' despatch No. 99, of November 21 last year, I have now the honour to transmit herewith copy of the Naval Appropriation Act, passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, dated April 27, and would call Your Excellency's attention to page 16, where provision is made for the purchase and establishment of a Naval training station on the Great Lakes, the site to be selected by a board appointed by the President, in whose hands the approval of their report will rest.

I have, etc.,

H. M. DURAND.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 35.

(Public No. 181.)

An Act making appropriations for the Naval Service for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and five, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the following sums be, and they

Public Works under Bureau of Navigation.

are hereby appropriated to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the naval service of the Government for the year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and five, and for other purposes:—

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Naval Training Station, Great Lakes: The purchase of land and the establishment of a naval training station on the Great Lakes, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The President is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint a board consisting of not less than three members, none of whom shall be a resident of any State bordering on the Great Lakes, whose duty it shall be to select the most available site for such naval training station on the Great Lakes, and having selected such site, to ascertain and report its probable cost and the probable expenditure which will be necessary for improving the same, including lake shore protection and construction of necessary harbour facilities; and to make a detailed report of their findings and proceedings to the President who, upon approval of such report, shall authorize the purchase of such site and the establishment of such naval training station. And to defray the expenses of said board, the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be immediately available, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

No. 36.

From Sir H. M. Durand to Lord Minto.

No. 52.

British Embassy,
Washington, 5th May, 1904.

My Lord,—

With reference to Your Excellency's telegram of May 1, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a communication which I have received from the State Department thanking me for the permission granted by the Canadian Government for the United States steamship *Essex* to pass through the St. Lawrence river and the Lachine and Welland canals to the Great Lakes.

Your Excellency will observe that it is stated that the United States Government do not contemplate departing in any way from existing treaty stipulations as to the maintenance of armed vessels in these waters.

I have, &c.,

H. M. DURAND.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 36.

Personal.

Department of State,
Washington, 4th May, 1904.

Dear Mr. Ambassador,—I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, for your good offices in the matter, the receipt of your personal note of the 2nd instant, advising me of the action of the Canadian Government in granting the necessary permission for the United States steamship *Essex* to pass through the St. Lawrence river and the Lachine and Welland canals, in order to enable her to be used by the naval militia of Ohio for the purpose of drill and instruction. Lord Minto is correct in his assumption that, in sending the *Essex* to the Great Lakes, the Government of the United States does not contemplate departing in any way from existing treaty stipulations as to the maintenance of armed vessels in those waters.

I have, &c.,

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS.

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No. 37.

From Sir Mortimer Durand to Lord Minto.

No. 66.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, June 7, 1904.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch No. 51 of May 5, I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency herewith a cutting from the 'Washington Post' of to-day respecting the appointment by the President of the United States of a board to select the most suitable site for a naval training station on the Great Lakes.

I have, etc.,
H. M. DURAND.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 37.

Extract from the 'Washington Post' of 7th June, 1904.

Lake Training Station—Board Appointed by President to Make an Investigation.

The President has appointed Capt. William H. Reeder, of the Navy; William M. Bradley, of Portland, Me., and Henry M. Waite, of Lexington, Ky., a grandson of the late Chief Justice Waite of the Supreme Court, a board to select the most available site for a naval training station on the Great Lakes.

A naval board, headed by Rear Admiral Taylor, had recommended that the school be located at Lake Bluff, on Lake Michigan, not far from Chicago, but as many people were dissatisfied with this site, Congress authorized the President to appoint a board composed of one naval officer and two civilians to determine the matter. The civilian members of the board were required to be residents of States not interested in the controversy.

No. 38.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General.

No. 69.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, June 23, 1905.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency herewith copy of a note which I have received from the United States Secretary of State requesting, on behalf of the Governor of Minnesota that permission may be granted for the transfer through the Great Lakes to Duluth of the United States ship *Fern*, which has been assigned as a training ship to the Naval Militia of the State of Minnesota.

I have the honour to request that Your Excellency will be so good as to inform me what reply the Dominion Government would wish me to return to Mr. Hay's communication.

I have, etc.,
HUGH O'BEIRNE,
For Sir H. M. DURAND.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 38.

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

No. 226.

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1905.

EXCELLENCY,—

I have the honour to advise you of the receipt of a letter, dated the 19th instant, from the Governor of Minnesota stating that as the

United States ship *Fern* has been assigned as a training ship to the Naval Militia of his State, he would respectfully request that permission be granted to the Commander of the Naval Militia, Guy A. Eaton, to transfer the vessel through the lakes to its station at Duluth, Minnesota.

Requesting that you will kindly bring the matter to the attention of the proper Canadian officials with a view to the action usual in such cases.

I have, &c.,
JOHN HAY.

No. 39.

From His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States to the Governor General.

No. 71.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, 29th June, 1905.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch No. 69 of the 23rd instant relative to the transfer of the United States ship *Fern* through the Great Lakes to Duluth, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have to-day received a note from the State Department containing the description of the Fern which was inadvertently omitted from their former note, and is as follows:—

United States ship *Fern*—Two masted, schooner rigged; length, 160 feet; breadth, 28 feet; mean draft, 11 feet 9½ inches; displacement, 840 tons; indicated horse-power, 300.

I have, &c.,
HUGH O'BEIRNE,
Secretary, H. M. Embassy,
(For Sir H. M. Durand.)

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
The Earl GREY, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 40.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, 7th July, 1905.

Referring to your despatch No. 69, 23rd June. Dominion Government consent to request of United States Government for transfer through the Great Lakes to Duluth of United States ship *Fern*..

GREY.

No. 41.

CERTIFIED *Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 11th July, 1905.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a communication, dated 23rd June, 1905, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, requesting on behalf of the Governor of Minnesota that permission may be granted for the transfer through the Great Lakes to Duluth of the United States ship *Fern*, which has been assigned as a training ship to the Naval Militia of the State of Minnesota.

The Minister of Railways and Canals, to whom the matter was referred, recommends that the permission so asked for be granted, and that the said training ship be allowed to pass through such of the Dominion canals as may

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be necessary to enable her to reach her destination at Duluth, on the same conditions as those governing in the similar cases of the United States vessels the *Hawk* and the *Dorothea*, namely, that the said vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament, and that her use will be confined to purposes of training.

The Committee advise that His Excellency be moved to inform His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, in the sense of this Minute.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 42.

From Rt. Hon. Jas. Bryce to Lord Grey.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, 7th June, 1907.

No. 46.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of a note which I have received from the State Department, in which permission is asked for the United States ship *San Juan de Austria* to be passed through the Canadian canals for the use of the naval reserve of the State of Michigan.

Mr. Bacon. No. 71. June 3, 1907.

I have the honour to inquire what view the Dominion Government are disposed to take of this matter, and I have forwarded a copy of Mr. Bacon's note to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

His Excellency
The Earl Grey, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 42.

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

No. 71.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 3, 1907.

EXCELLENCY,—

The Governor of the State of Michigan has applied to the Navy Department for the loan of the United States ship *San Juan de Austria*, for the use of the Naval Reserve of Michigan. Before acting in the matter the Secretary of the Navy requests me to bring it to your notice and to ask if you will be so good as to refer it, should you perceive no objection to such a course, to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, with a view to obtain their permission for the passage of the vessel through the Canadian canals. The Secretary of the Navy adds, all of the ship's guns and ammunition would be removed prior to her departure from the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where she is now stationed.

The description of the vessel is as follows:—

Two-masted schooner; 1,130 tons displacement, length over all, 210 feet 6 inches; breadth on water line, 32 feet; mean draft, 12 feet 6 inches; speed, about ten knots, indicated horse power, 941; launched in 1887.

I have, etc.,

ROBERT BACON,
Acting Secretary.

H. E. The Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE,

No. 43.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, 27th June, 1907.

Referring to your despatch, No. 46, 7th June, permission granted to ship *San Juan de Austria* to pass through Canadian canals.

GREY.

No. 44.

From H. M. Chargé d'Affaires, Washington, to Lord Grey.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
INTERVALE, July 1, 1907.

MY LORD,—

On the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of the 27th ultimo, I immediately informed the Acting Secretary of State that permission had been granted by the Dominion Government for the United States ship *San Juan de Austria* to pass through certain Canadian canals.

In accordance with Mr. Adee's request, I have now the honour to express to Your Excellency the thanks which the Department of State desire to convey to the Dominion authorities for their gratifying and courteous compliance with the wish of the American Navy Department and with that of the Governor of the State of Michigan.

I have, etc.,

ESME HOWARD.

No. 45.

From the Deputy of the Governor General to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

No. 63.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 2nd July, 1907.

SIR,—

With reference to my telegram of the 27th ultimo conveying permission for the passage of the United States vessel *San Juan de Austria* through the Canadian canals on her way to Michigan, I have the honour to inclose copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada, upon which that telegram was based.

28th June.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

C. FITZPATRICK,
Deputy of the Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 45.

CERTIFIED *copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 28th June, 1907.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated 7th June, 1907, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington inclosing a communication from the State Department in which permission is asked for the United States ship *San Juan de Austria* to be passed through the Canadian canals for the use of the Naval Reserve of the State of Michigan.

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The Secretary of State to whom the said despatch was referred observes that it appears from the letter of the United States Secretary of State that all the ship's guns and ammunition would be removed prior to her departure from the navy yard at Portsmouth and he therefore recommends that the permission asked for be granted.

The Committee advise that His Excellency be moved to forward a copy hereof to His Majesty's Minister at Washington.

All which is respectfully submitted for His Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 46.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

No. 262.

DOWNING STREET, 12th July, 1907.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to you for the consideration of your Ministers the papers noted in the subjoined schedule, on the subject of the request of the United States Government for permission for the *San Juan de Austria* to pass through the Canadian canals for the use of the naval reserve of the State of Michigan.

I have, &c.,
ELGIN.

The Officer Administering
The Government of Canada.

Date.	From.	To.	Subject.
1907. 5th July.	Foreign Office (and enclosures).		

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 46.

Foreign Office to Colonial Office.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th July, 1907.

SIR,—

With reference to a letter from this Department of the 25th March, 1904, relative to the permission granted on that occasion to the United States ship *Essex* to pass through the St. Lawrence river and the Canadian canals on her way to the Great Lakes from the Atlantic ocean, I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to transmit herewith copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington relative to the request of the United States Government that a similar permission be granted to the United States ship *San Juan de Austria*.

It will be observed that in the case of the *Essex* permission was granted on the assumption that the United States Government did not contemplate departing in any way from the existing treaty stipulation relative to the maintenance of warships on the Great Lakes.

It is presumed, therefore, that the Canadian Government would in the present instance wish a similar condition to be made.

I am, &c.,
W. LANGLEY.

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 46.

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

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, June 7, 1907.

SIR,—

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of a note which I have received from the Department of State asking permission that the United States ship *San Juan de Austria* may be passed through the Canadian canals for the use of the Naval reserve of the State of Michigan. I have forwarded a copy of Mr. Bacon's note to the Governor General of Canada and have asked to be informed of the views of his Government on the subject.

I have, etc.,
JAMES BRYCE.

The Right Honourable
Sir EDWARD GREY, Bart.,
etc., etc., etc.

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 46.

From United States Acting Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 3, 1907.

EXCELLENCY,—

The Governor of State of Michigan has applied to the Navy Department for the loan of the United States ship *San Juan de Austria* for the use of the Naval reserve of Michigan. Before acting in the matter, the Secretary of the Navy requests me to bring it to your notice and to ask if you will be so good as to refer it, should you perceive no objection to such a course, to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, with a view to obtain their permission for the passage of the vessel through the Canadian canals. The Secretary of the Navy adds that all of the ship's guns and ammunition would be removed prior to the departure from the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where she is now stationed.

The description of the vessel is as follows:—

Two-masted schooner, 1,130 tons displacement; length over all, 210 feet 6 inches; breadth on water line, 32 feet; mean draft, 12 feet 6 inches; speed, about 10 knots, indicated horse power, 941; launched in 1887.

I have, etc.,
ROBERT BACON,
Acting Secretary.

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable,
JAMES BRYCE, O.M.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

No. 47.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Deputy Governor General.

No. 69.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
INTERVALE, N.H., July 22, 1907.

SIR,—

I have the honour to submit herewith for the consideration of the Dominion Government copy of a note and inclosures received from the United States Government applying for permission for the United States ship

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Sandoval to pass through Canadian waters on her passage to Lake Ontario. The *Sandoval* is to serve for purposes of instruction of the Naval Militia of New York and carries a secondary battery of two guns. The United States Government asks for as early an answer as may be conveniently possible.

I would add for the information of the interested authorities that the *Sandoval* is entered in the active list as a gunboat of 106 tons displacement, 110 feet length, 15 feet 6 inches beam and 6 feet 4 inches maximum draft. She is presumably intended to replace the *Fern,* which was passed through the canals for the same purpose in 1905.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 47.

From United States Acting Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 19, 1907.

EXCELLENCY,—

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a letter from the Governor of New York asking that permission be obtained from the Government of Canada for the passage through Canadian waters of the United States ship *Sandoval.* The vessel in question has been lent to the State of New York for militia purposes and is now at the Navy Yard, New York, and ready to proceed to Lake Ontario.

As it is impossible to transfer her otherwise than through Canadian waters, I should be gratified if you would, in the absence of any objection to such a course, submit this request to the Dominion Government with a view to obtaining the desired permission.

The Navy Department, to which Governor Hughes' request was referred, states that it would be glad to have the necessary permission obtained, and I may add that it would receive with added appreciation as early an answer as it may be possible for the competent authorities to make.

I have, etc.,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary.

Enclosure from
Governor of New York, July 6, 1907,
with enclosure.

His Excellency
The Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE, O.M.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 47.

Governor of State of New York to United States Secretary of State.

HEADQUARTERS, STATE OF NEW YORK,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
ALBANY, July 8, 1907.

The Honourable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

SIR,—

The United States Navy Department having loaned to the State of New York the United States ship *Sandoval,* a gunboat of one hundred tons displacement and carrying a secondary battery of two guns, for the use and instruction of the 2nd Separate Division, Naval Militia of the State, stationed at Rochester, with a boathouse at Charlotte on Lake Ontario; it will be necessary in transferring the vessel from New York harbour to Lake Ontario, to

pass through Canadian waters, its dimensions preventing its passage through the Erie canal, I have the honour, therefore, to request that permission to take the vessel through the waters of Canada may be obtained from the Government of the Dominion.

I would invite attention to inclosed copy of a communication from the Commanding Officer of the Naval Militia, setting forth the proposed route to Lake Ontario.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES E. HUGHES,
Governor, State of New York.

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 47.

Captain J. W. Miller to the Adjutant General of the State of New York.

HEADQUARTERS, NAVAL MILITIA, N.Y.,
U.S. S. 'Newark,' Foot 60th Street,
NORTH RIVER, NEW YORK, July 3, 1907.

The Adjutant General,
General Headquarters,
Albany, N.Y.

SIR,—

Referring to your communication of the 20th instant, I have to request that the United States ship *Sandoval,* now at the Navy Yard, New York, be sent from there to Charlotte, Lake Ontario, via the St. Lawrence river, it being impracticable to transfer her, on account of length and draft, through the Erie Canal or other waterways.

The cruise via the St. Lawrence river will be taken through Long Island Sound, thence through Nantucket Sound, and along the Coast of the Eastern States, stopping at certain points of the United States for coaling and revictualling, thence across the Bay of Fundy, through Canadian waters and Cape Sable to Halifax, through the Straits of Canso and Cumberland, thence up the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence river to Montreal, where the vessel will pass through the Soulanges canal and Lake St. Francis, the course will again be through the St. Lawrence river and the Cornwall, Farrens, Morrisburg and Galop canals on her way to Ogdensburg. After which she will probably take the American Channel via Alexandria Bay through Lake Ontario to Charlotte Harbour, the future home station of the *Sandoval.*

The vessel will probably have to stop at various ports in Canadian waters, and she is likely to be in these waters until she reached her destination.

The *Sandoval* is about ready to leave here, and I respectfully request that action through the State Department at Washington be taken so as to enable the steamer to take the route described at the earliest possible moment.

Respectfully,

J. W. MILLER, *Capt., N.M., N.Y.*

No. 48.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, 1st August, 1907.

Referring to your despatch No. 69, 22nd July. United States ship *Sandoval* permission granted under (same) conditions as those governing similar case of United States vessels *Hawk* and *Dorothea* namely, that vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament and that her use will be confined to purpose of training.

GREY.

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No. 49.

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

No. 74.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, August 1, 1907.

SIR,—

With reference to your despatch No. 69, of the 22nd ultimo, applying for permission for the United States ship *Sandoval* to pass through Canadian waters on her passage to Lake Ontario, and to my telegram of the 1st instant, granting the desired permission, I have the honour to forward herewith copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council of Canada, upon which my telegram was based.

1st August.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

C. FITZPATRICK,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 49.

CERTIFIED *Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 1st August, 1907.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch dated 22nd July, 1907, from His Majesty's Ambassador, Washington, requesting on behalf of the Government of the United States that permission may be granted for the transfer through Canadian waters and canals up to Lake Ontario of the gunboat *Sandoval*, a vessel 110 feet length, 15 feet 6 inches beam, 6 feet four inches minimum draft with a displacement of 106 tons, and carrying a secondary battery of 2 guns, the vessel being intended for the use of the Naval Militia of the State of New York, and to be stationed at Charlotte, in the vicinity of Rochester, New York.

The Secretary of State to whom the said despatch was referred, recommends that the permission so asked for be granted, and that the training ship *Sandoval* be allowed to pass through such of the Canadian waters and canals as may be necessary to enable her to reach her destination at Charlotte. The permission so to be granted will be on the same conditions as those governing the similar case of the United States vessels *Hawk* and *Dorothea*, i.e., that the said vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament, and that her use will be confined to purposes of training.

The Committee concurring in the foregoing recommendations advise that a copy of this minute be forwarded to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

All which is respectfullly submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 50.

From Right Hon. Jas. Bryce to Lord Grey.

No. 16.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, January 31, 1908.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to submit to the Dominion Government the request of the United States Government that permission be given to the United

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States ship *Nashville* to pass through the Canadian canals. The *Nashville* which has been lent to the State of Illinois for the use of its naval reserve, is a vessel of 1,371 tons displacement with a length of 233 feet 8 inches over all a breadth on water line of 28 feet and a mean draft of 11 feet.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

No. 51.

From Lord Elgin to Lord Grey.

Paraphrase of Cypher.

LONDON, February 5, 1908.

Request communicated to you by His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington last December for permission for the United States ship *Nashville* to pass through Canadian canals. The United States Government are anxious for a decision. Whole question of armed vessels on Great Lakes has been referred by His Majesty's Government to Imperial Defence Committee and His Majesty's Government will further consult your Government. Pending results of discussion, do your Ministers, in case of the *Nashville*, see any objection to permission being granted?

ELGIN.

No. 52.

CERTIFIED *Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 15th February, 1908.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch dated 31st January, 1908, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington requesting on behalf of the Government of the United States that permission may be granted to the United States ship *Nashville* to pass through the Canadian canals, and a cable despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in connection with the above request setting forth that 'the whole question of armed vessels on the Great Lakes has been referred by His Majesty's Government to Imperial Defence Committee, and His Majesty's Government will further consult your Government, but pending results of discussion, 'do your Ministers, in case of the *Nashville*, see any objection to permission being granted?'

The Secretary of State, to whom the above despatches were referred, reports that the *Nashville*, which is being lent to the State of Illinois for the use of its Naval Reserve, is a vessel of 1,371 tons displacement, with a length of 233 feet 8 inches over all, a breadth on water line of 28 feet and a mean draft of 11 feet.

The Minister recommends that, under the circumstances the permission so asked for be granted, and that the *Nashville* be allowed to pass through such of the Canadian waters and canals as may be necessary to enable her to reach her destination; the permission so to be granted to be on the same conditions as those governing the similar cases of the United States vessels *Hawk*, *Dorothea* and *Sandoval*; that the said vessel shall pass through Canadian waters without armament, and that her use will be confined to purposes of training.

The Committee advise that His Excellency be moved to forward a copy of this Minute to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies and also to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

All which is respectfully submitted for His Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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No. 53.

From the Governor General to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, Washington.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 19th February, 1908.

No. 23.

SIR,—

In reply to the Ambassador's despatch, No. 16, of the 31st ultimo, asking on behalf of the United States Government that permission might be given for the United States ship *Nashville* to pass through Canadian canals, I have the honour to forward copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,* authorizing the passage of the vessel referred to on the understanding that she passes through Canadian waters without armament and that her use will be confined to purposes of training.

15th Feb. 192.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,

GREY.

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires,
Washington, D.C.

*See No. 52.

No. 54.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 19th February, 1908.

No. 74.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my telegram of the 15th instant regarding the passage of the United States vessel *Nashville* through Canadian canals, I have the honour to inclose copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council,* granting permission for the passage of the vessel on the understanding that she pass through Canadian waters without armament and that her use will be confined to the purposes of training.

15 Feb.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

GREY.

The Right Honourable
The Earl of ELGIN, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

*See No. 52.

No. 55.

From Mr. Bryce to Lord Grey.

No. 77.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, 8th May, 1908.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency herewith copy of a letter, which has been addressed to the Secretary of Stat by the Navy Department, and which he has forwarded to me.

It is therein requested that the permission granted to the United States training ship *Sandoval* to pass through Canadian waters (see your telegram of August 1 last) may be considered a 'continuing permission,' with reference to using the Welland canal.

In my reply to the State Department, I have stated that I understand that the 'continuing permission' is asked for the *Sandoval* only.

I should be grateful if Your Excellency would inform me with the least possible delay what reply I should make to the United States Government, as the training season will commence shortly and they are therefore anxious to learn the decision of the Dominion Government in the matter at an early date.

I have, etc.,
JAMES BRYCE.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 55.

United States Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, 2nd April, 1908.

SIR,—

Referring to your letter of August 3, 1907, quoting the following telegram, dated August 1, 1907, from the British Ambassador:—

'Dominion Government grants permission to the United States ship *Sandoval* under similar conditions as in cases of *Hawk* and *Dorothea*, namely, the passage of Canadian waters, be effected without armament and use of vessel be solely as training ship.'

The State of New York has naval militia organizations established at both Charlotte Harbour, on Lake Ontario, and Buffalo on Lake Erie, and the Department is desirous of employing the United States ship *Sandoval* for training purposes at one place or the other as the organization can spare time for drill.

The Department requests to be informed if the permission to pass through Canadian waters, granted in the above quoted telegram, may be considered a continuing permission, with reference to using the Welland canal.

Very respectfully,

TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY,
Acting Secretary.

The Honourable
The Secretary of State.

No. 56.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Canada.

Private and personal.

DOWNING STREET, 27th May, 1908.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 74 of the 19th February, and previous correspondence, I have the honour to request you to inform your Ministers that the Committee of Imperial Defence have had under consideration the question of war vessels on the Great Lakes.

2. The Committee are inclined to think that no diplomatic action can at present be usefully taken in the matter, and that it should be left to your Ministers to decide in each case whether or not to grant permission, and if it be granted on what conditions, for the increase of the American flotilla on the lakes, which now of course considerably exceeds that contemplated in the Agreement of 1817.

3. But His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn the views of your Government on this question and to know whether they desire that any representations should be made to the United States Government. It is undoubtedly the case that the increasing frequency of United States requests for permission to disregard the Convention of 1817, tends to complicate the situation; but on the other hand that Government has the power to terminate the treaty on six months' notice and on this account it seems possible that your Government may not think it desirable that any steps should be taken at present.

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4. This question may perhaps be conveniently considered by your Government in connection with the application of the United States Government, which has been referred to them by His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington for the grant of a continuing permission to the *Sandoval* to pass through the Canadian Waterways, a grant which seems to the Defence Committee to be subject to no great objection in itself, but which has to be considered in relation to the question as a whole.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

CREWE.

Governor General,
His Excellency
The Right Honourable
EARL GREY, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 57.

CERTIFIED *Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 27th May, 1908.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated 8th May, 1908, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, transmitting copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State by the Naval Department of the United States, in which it is requested that the permission granted to the United States training ship *Sandoval* to pass through Canadian waters may be considered a 'continuing permission,' with reference to using the Welland canal.

The Minister of Railways and Canals, to whom the despatch was referred, is of opinion that no general freedom of passage for these vessels through any Canadian canal should be authorized, but that, in each case, the question of passage should be submitted to the Governor General in Council for consideration.

The Committee concurring in the opinion of the Minister of Railways and Canals, recommend that in answering the despatch of the 8th May, that Mr. Bryce be requested to confidentially call the attention of the Secretary of State to the number of naval vessels that have received permission to pass through Canadian waters and canals to the Upper Lakes since the year 1900: the *Hawk,* 18th August, 1900; the *Dorothea*, having a tonnage of 594 tons on 13th March, 1901; the *Essex,* 1375 tons, on the 4th May, 1904; the *Fern,* July, 1905; the *San Juan,* 1130 tons, on 6th June, 1907, and the *Sandoval,* 106 tons, on 19th August, 1907, the number and tonnage being largely in excess of the Agreement made in the year 1817, and which was approved by the Senate of the United States.

Under that Agreement the limit was one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-lb. cannon on Lake Ontario, and on the Upper Lakes, two vessels not exceeding a like burden each and armed with like force.

If the *Sandoval* was free to pass and repass at all times through the Welland canal without previous announcement, it would certainly invite comments in the press and draw attention to the number of armed vessels on the lakes, in violation of the terms of the Treaty. It is desirable to avoid any such probability. For these reasons the Secretary of State should be informed that when it is proposed to move the *Sandoval* from one lake to the other, a formal request should be made and the public would be then advised through the press whether leave had been given.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 58.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 30th May, 1908.

No. 67.

SIR,—

In reply to Your Excellency's despatch, No. 77, of the 8th instant, communicating the request of the United States Government that the permission granted to the United States training ship *Sandoval* to pass through Canadian waters might be considered a 'continuing permission' with reference to using the Welland canal, I have the honour to inclose copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,* setting forth the reasons for which my responsible advisers consider it preferable that no general freedom of passage for such vessels should be granted, but that the question of passage should receive special consideration in each case.

Your Excellency will observe therefore, that when it is proposed to move the *Sandoval* from one lake to another, it is desired that a formal request for permission should be made.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

GREY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
etc., etc.

*See No. 57.

No. 59.

No. 103.

From Mr. Bryce to Lord Grey.

WASHINGTON, 4th June, 1908.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 67, of the 30th ultimo. Pursuant to the wish expressed by Your Excellency's Government, I saw the Secretary of State to-day and conveyed to him the views expressed in your despatch and the Minute which was inclosed therein. Mr. Root did not deny that the requests for the passage of these vessels had been becoming rather frequent; and he appeared to me to understand and appreciate the reasons which had moved your Government.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

No. 60.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Secret.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 18th June, 1908.

MY LORD,—With reference to Your Lordship's despatch of the 27th ultimo, marked 'Private and Confidential,' inquiring as to the wishes of my responsible advisers as regards the making of representations to the United States Government respecting the frequency of requests for permission to disregard the provisions of the convention of 1817, relative to war vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to state that my Prime Minister is of opinion that such representations at the present moment would not have any beneficial or practical result, and that the only thing to do is to limit as far as possible

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the number of vessels introduced on the Lakes by carefully scanning all applications.

In the case of the *Sandoval*, my responsible advisers have declined, and I believe very properly, to grant the 'continuing permission' asked for by the United States Government.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

GREY.

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Crewe, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

No. 61.

From Mr. Howard to Lord Grey.

Confidential.

No. 119.

British Embassy,
Manchester-by-the-Sea, July 29, 1908.

My Lord,—

I have the honour to inform you that the Acting Secretary of State informed me a short time ago in conversation that, in view of the feeling existing in Canada as expressed in the Minute of your Privy Council, copy of which was forwarded in your despatch No. 67, of May 30, to Mr. Bryce, the sense of which was communicated confidentially to Mr. Root, the State Department had from that time on refused to send in to this Embassy, further applications from any of the States for the establishment of new militia training ships on the Great Lakes. Mr. Bacon said that several such applications had been made, and that the authorities of the States making them appeared much put out by the action of the State Department. He added that it seemed a pity that applications for these vessels which could hardly be considered as vessels of war under the Treaty of 1817, should be refused wholesale, but he quite understood that the feeling in Canada being what it was on the subject, it was advisable not to increase their number. In this last point of view I entirely agreed with Mr. Bacon, especially as Sir Wilfrid Laurier had reiterated to me, while I was in Ottawa in June, the opinions set forth in the Privy Council Minute above referred to.

I have, etc.,

ESME HOWARD.

No. 62.

From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Administrator.

No. 44.

British Embassy,
Washington, April 3, 1909.

Sir,—

With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 23, of February 19, 1908, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a communication which has been received from the State Department with regard to the passage of the United States ship *Nashville* through the Canadian canals to the Great Lakes.

Your Excellency will observe that the United States Government desire the consent of the Dominion Government to the instalment of the full armament on the *Nashville* after arrival at Chicago.

C 44953

I should be grateful if Your Excellency would give this request prompt consideration, as it is desired to turn the *Nashville* over to the Illinois authorities on the 30th instant.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

(for the Ambassador),
A. MITCHELL INNES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, K.C.M.G.,
etc., etc., etc.
The Administrator.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 62.

United States Acting Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

Department of State,
Washington, April 1, 1909.

My Dear Mr. Ambassador,—

On December the 7th, 1907, in a personal communication, Mr. Bacon, at the instance of the Secretary of the Navy, sought your good offices with a view to obtaining from the Dominion authorities permission for the passage of the United States ship *Nashville* through the Canadian canals, in order that she might be used on the Great Lakes for training purposes by the Illinois Naval Militia.

In an official Note numbered 46, and dated February 22, 1908, your Embassy was so good as to inform the Department that the Dominion Government consented to the passage of the *Nashville* through the canals on the understanding that the vessel should pass through Canadian waters unarmed and that her use should be confined to training purposes.

I am now in receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy in which he states that it was originally intended that the *Nashville* should be placed in the hands of the Illinois Militia for the purpose of training with her full armament on board, and that the armament was inadvertently omitted in giving the description of the vessel. As this fact was not explicitly stated to you and was not embraced in the consent given to the vessel's passage into the Great Lakes, the Secretary of the Navy brings the matter to my attention with a request that such further consent of the Dominion Government as may be appropriate be asked for so that that vessel's armament may be installed after her arrival at Chicago.

The *Nashville* is to be substituted for the *Dorothea*, which has been in use by the Illinois Militia for some time past, and is now to be taken out of the Great Lakes for service elsewhere. The characteristics of the two vessels including their batteries, are stated by the Secretary of the Navy to be as follows:—

	Nashville.	*Dorothea.*
Displacement	1,371 tons.	594 tons.
Length	233 ft. 8 in.	182 ft. 4 in.
Beam	38 ft. 1½ in.	23 ft. 5 in.
Mean draft	11 ft.	11 ft. 5 in.
Speed	16.30 knots.	15 knots.
Bunker capacity	363 tons.	78 tons.
Propulsion	Twin screw.	Single screw.
Rig	2 masted schooner.	Schooner.
4-guns	Eight.	
6 pounder guns	Four.	Four.
1 pounder gun	Two.	Two.
Colt automatic guns	Two.	Two.

May I ask you to bring the matter to the attention of the Canadian Government to the end that that Government may, if it sees no objection, grant the enlarged permission now sought by the Navy Department.

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Inasmuch as it is desired to turn the *Nashville* over to the Illinois authorities at the Navy Yard, Boston, Massachusetts, on the 30th of the present month, prompt consideration of the request by the Dominion Government will be appreciated.

I am, my dear Mr. Bryce,
Sincerely yours,

HUNTINGTON WILSON.

No. 63.

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

No. 46.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 7, 1909.

Mr. Wilson. April, 6th.

MY LORD,—With reference to my telegram, No. 35, of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a personal letter which I have received from the Department of State requesting me to inform Your Excellency that it is no longer desired to send the *Nashville* into the Great Lakes.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

(for the Ambassador)
A. MITCHELL INNES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
The Earl Grey, G.C.M.G.,
etc., etc., etc.
The Governor General.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 63.

United States Acting Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

10193-5.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 6, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR,—Referring to my personal letter to you of the 1st instant, concerning the United States ship *Nashville*, I have the honour to inform you that the Department is now advised by the Acting Secretary of the Navy that it is no longer desired to send the *Nashville* into the Great Lakes. Consequently I should be pleased if you would convey this information to the Canadian Government and cancel any action you may have taken on my request of April 1.

I am, my dear Mr. Bryce,
Yours sincerely,

HUNTINGTON WILSON.

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, O.M.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

No. 64.

From the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to the Governor General's Secretary.

No. H. Q. C. 624.

DEPARTMENT OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE,
OTTAWA, April 13th, 1909.

SIR,—In compliance with your telephone message of this day, I have the honour to inclose, herewith, a list of United States vessels on the Great Lakes.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

EUGENE FISET,
Colonel.
Deputy Minister.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 64.

Intelligence Branch. '4.'

TABLE 'A.'

List of United States Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes.

Name and date of launch.	Type and material.	Displacement.	Speed per hour.	Armament.	Complement	Station.
		Tons.	Knots			
*"Don Juan de Austria". 1887.	Steel, 2 mast schooner. 1 funnel. 1 screw.	1130	14	6 4 in. R.F. 4 6 pr. R.F. 4 30 in. A.	148	Michigan Naval Militia at Detroit, Mich.
"Sandoval".	Schooner, 1 screw. Steel.	106	19	2 3-pr. R.F. 2 Colts R.F.	23	New York Naval Militia at Rochester, NY.
"Wolverine" 1884. Formerly "Michigan".	Schooner, paddle, wheel, iron.	685	10½	6 6-pr. R.F. 2 1-pr. R.F. 1 ·30 in. gatling. 1 ·30 in. Colt RF		Special service Great Lakes.
"Essex". 1876.	Wood. Bark.	1375	10	6 4 in. R.F. 4 6-pr. R.F. 2 1-pr. R.F. 2 Colts R.F.		Ohio Naval Militia at Sandusky, O.
"Hawk". 1891.	Steel, converted yacht. 1 mast, 1 screw.	375	14	Removed.		Ohio Naval Militia at Cleveland, O.
"Dorothea". 1897.	Steel convertedyacht Schooner, 1 screw.	594	15	4 6-pr. R.F. 2 1-pr. R.F. 2 Colts R.F.		Illinois Naval Militia at Chicago, Ill.
†"Fern" (Gopher). 1871.	Wood schooner. Steamer.	840	9	Removed.		Minnesota Naval Militia at Duluth, Minn.
‡"Yantic". 1864.	Wood, bark, steamer.	900	8·30	Removed.	250	Michigan Naval Militia at Hancock, Mich.

*Gunboat captured from Spain. Placed on Lake duty 1907.

†Classed as "Wooden Steam Vessel, unfit for service". (Was out of Commission at Navey Yard, Norfolk, Va., for some time).

‡In same class as above. Was replaced at Detroit by the "Don Juan de Austria," 1907.

A. CLYDE CALDWELL,
Major, etc.

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No. 65.

From the Governor General of Canada to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

No. 35.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 16th April, 1909.

SIR,—

I inclose a copy of a letter I have received from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with reference to a report in the 'Detroit Free Press,' that ten war vessels are about to take part in some demonstration at Toledo.

My impression is, from certain private letters received by Sir John Hanbury Williams, from Colonel James, that this newspaper reference is an exaggeration. Sir Wilfrid is also aware of this, but he thinks that it is desirable you should make a protest.

The statement made by Mr. Root when he addressed the Canadian Club at Ottawa, was so satisfactory on this point, that it would be a thousand pities if we were to drift, by want of vigilance, from the old arrangement, the existence of which is so beneficial to both countries, and which in addition provides so much needed an example to the old world.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
GREY.

His Excellency
The British Ambassador,
Washington, D.C.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 65.

First Minister to the Governor General.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE,
April 6, 1909.

MY DEAR LORD GREY,—

I inclose an extract from an American newspaper, 'Detroit Free Press,' to which I suggest that the attention of Mr. Bryce be immediately called.

The presence on the lakes of ten vessels is a direct violation of the Convention of 1818, and it occurs to me that this is a case where Mr. Bryce ought to put forward a strong protest.

Yours, etc.,
WILFRID LAURIER.

P.S.—I inclose an extract from the Convention.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 65.

'DETROIT FREE PRESS,'
FEBRUARY 17th, 1909.

'The joint manœuvres of the United States Army Department of the Great Lakes, and the Great Lakes Navy, will be held here (Toledo, Ohio) the week of July 5. Five thousand soldiers and ten war vessels guarding the lakes will assemble in Bayview Park and the Maumee Bay.

For that week the headquarters of General Grant will be removed from Chicago to Toledo. The troops will begin to arrive July 2.'

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 65.

(Extract from the Convention of 1818.)

'On Lake Ontario, to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-pound cannon.

'On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.

'On the Upper Lakes, to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force.

'All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessel of war shall be there built or armed.'

C 44957

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

From Mr. Bryce to Lord Grey.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 29th, 1909.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note which I have received from the Department of State requesting that permission be obtained for the armament of the U.S.S. *Nashville* being placed on board her at Chicago.

A copy of this communication has been sent to His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.,
JAMES BRYCE.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 1.

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 16th, 1909.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR,

Referring to my personal letter to you of the 6th instant, asking you to be good enough to cancel any action you might have taken towards procuring permission from the Canadian Government for the armament of the U.S.S. *Nashville* to be placed on board the vessel at Chicago, I beg to say that in a letter dated the 12th instant, the Secretary of the Navy states that it has now been found practicable to turn the vessel over to the Illinois naval militia as originally intended, and renews his request concerning the installation of the armament.

I therefore venture again to solicit your good offices to the end that this renewed request may be communicated to the Dominion Government and its permission obtained for the armament to be placed on board the *Nashville* at Chicago.

Regretting the trouble to which you have been put through this change of plan and thanking you for the exercise of your good offices in the matter.

I am, &c.,
HUNTINGTON WILSON.

H. E. The Rt. Hon.
JAMES BRYCE.

Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes—No. 1.

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CANADA

No. 2.

CERTIFIED *copy of a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Administrator the 6th July, 1909.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated 29th April, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, transmitting copy of a note received from the Department of State, requesting that permission be obtained from the Canadian Government for the armament of the U.S.S. *Nashville* at Chicago.

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries, to whom the despatch was referred, observes that the arrangement made in 1817 between Great Britain and the United States stipulates that the Naval force to be maintained upon the Great Lakes shall be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is:—

"On Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burthen and armed with one eighteen pound cannon.

"On the Upper Lakes to two vessels not exceeding like burthen each armed with like force."

The Minister further observes that he is of opinion that it would be more satisfactory if the terms of the arrangement were strictly adhered to, and, in these circumstances, he feels himself unable to recommend the granting of the permission sought by the United States Government in respect of the ship *Nashville*.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to cause His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to be informed in the sense of this Minute.

All of which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 3.

From Mr. Bryce to the Administrator of the Government of Canada.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
NORTH EAST HARBOUR, ME.,
July 2, 1909.

SIR,

With reference to my despatch No. 58, of April 29th last, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter which I have received from the Assistant Secretary of State requesting that the arrangements for the substitution of the U.S.S. *Nashville* for the *Dorothea* on the Great Lakes may be so far modified that the *Dorothea* may be assigned to the Naval Militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*. It is added that the *Hawk* will be removed from the Lakes, should His Majesty's Government so desire it.

Mr. H. Wilson
June 29, 1909.

I should be obliged if you would inform me in due course what reply should be returned to the request of the Navy Department.

A copy of Mr. Huntington Wilson's letter is being sent to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BRYCE.

The Rt. Honourable
Sir CHARLES FITZPATRICK, K.C.M.G., &c., &c., &c.,
Administrator of Canada.

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 3.

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 29, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR,

Referring to my personal note of April 1 last, in further relation to the desire of the Secretary of the Navy to obtain permission from the Dominion authorities for the passage of the U.S.S. *Nashville* through the Canadian canals, in order that she might be used on the Great Lakes for training purposes by the Illinois naval militia, I beg now to advise you of the receipt of a further communication on the subject from the Navy Department.

Under date of the 23rd instant, the Acting Secretary of the Navy refers to his Department's letter of March 24th last, the substance of which was communicated in my personal note above mentioned, and invites attention to the following statement in that letter.

"The *Nashville* is to be substituted for the *Dorothea*, which latter named vessel has been in use by the Illinois Militia for some time past but is now to be taken out of the Great Lakes for service elsewhere."

The Navy Department now requests that its letter of March 24 last, may be so far modified that the *Dorothea* may be assigned to the Naval Militia of Ohio at Cleveland, in place of the converted yatch *Hawk*, now being used by the Militia. It is added that the *Hawk* will be removed from the Lakes, should the British Government so desire.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will be so good as to bring this request to the attention of the Dominion Government.

I am, &c.,

HUNTINGTON WILSON.

H.E. The Rt. Hon.
JAMES BRYCE, O.M.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

No. 4.

From the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government-in-Council.

The undersigned, to whom was referred a despatch No. 86, dated the 2nd instant, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to Your Excellency, transmitting copy of a further letter which he has received from the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States containing a modification of the previous request respecting the disposition of armed vessels belonging to the United States on the Great Lakes, has the honour to report that he is unable to advise any departure from the decision embodied in the Minute of the Council which was approved by Your Excellency on the 6th instant, and he recommends that Mr. Bryce be informed accordingly.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

WILFRID LAURIER,
Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, 15th July, 1909.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

No. 5.

P.C. 390 N.

CERTIFIED *Copy of the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Administrator on the 17th July, 1909.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated 2nd July, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington transmitting copy of a further letter which he has received from the Assistant Secretary of the United States containing a modification of the previous request respecting the disposition of armed vessels belonging to the United States on the Great Lakes.

The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the Secretary of State for External Affairs, reports that he is unable to advise any departure from the decision embodied in the approved Minute of Council of the 6th July, 1909.

The Committee concurring advise, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that Your Excellency may be pleased to inform His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington of the sense hereof, accordingly.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 92.

From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government of Canada.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
NORTH EAST HARBOUR, ME.,
July 16th, 1909.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 88 of the 10th instant in which you transmit copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada stating that the Dominion Government do not feel able to grant the permission sought by the United States Government in respect of the ship *Nashville*.

Before transmitting this reply to the United States Government it seems necessary that I should recall your attention to the correspondence which has passed regarding this matter. All of it is in possession of your Government and I need not begin here earlier than with my despatch to you on April 29 inclosing a note from the Secretary of State requesting permission for the armament of the *Nashville* to be placed on board her at Chicago. Of what passed subsequently to this date I have no official knowledge but gather from notices in the press that when the *Nashville* reached Montreal on May 25th last, the authorities at the Lachine Canal refused to permit her to pass until the United States Consul General at Montreal had communicated with your Government at Ottawa. I do not know how far this statement is consistent with the facts; but I may observe that as the United States Government, having received no reply to their request forwarded in my despatch of April 29, asking that the *Nashville* might be permitted to pass through with a view to receiving her armament at Chicago and having received permission for her to pass through, (although no doubt unarmed while in Canadian waters) may have, now after the time that has passed, taken what has in the meantime happened as a tacit acquiescence to their request as a whole, it becomes difficult now, to refuse permission for the *Nashville* to be armed (that having been the expressed object of the United States Government) without giving some explanation to the latter of the reason for the decision arrived at so long after the passage of the vessel.

I would further call your attention to my despatch No. 86, of the 2nd instant, in which I had the honour to transmit to you copy of a letter from the State Department requesting that the arrangements for the substitution of the *Nashville* for the *Dorothea* on the Great Lakes might be so far modified that the *Dorothea* might be assigned to the Naval Militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*. It was added that the *Hawk* would be removed from the Lakes should His Majesty's Government desire it.

In communicating with the United States Government upon the subject of vessels on the Great Lakes it would seem proper that I should also reply to what they have said regarding the *Hawk*. and I assume your Government would wish me to do so.

For these reasons, it seems to be better that I should await a further statement of the views of your Government in the matter before conveying to the United States Government the substance of your despatch No. 88, and I am therefore, in order to save time, replying at once to your despatch No. 88 which has reached me to-day.

I have, &c.,
JAMES BRYCE.

The Honourable
Sir CHARLES FITZPATRICK, K.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

From the Administrator to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

CANADA,

OTTAWA, July 22, 1909.

No. 89.

17 July, 1909.
192 E.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 86, bearing date 2nd July, 1909, covering copy of a letter received from the Assistant Secretary of State requesting that the arrangements for the substitution of the United States ship *Nashville* for the *Dorothea* on the Great Lakes, may be so far modified that the *Dorothea* may be assigned to the Naval Militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*, I have the honour to transmit for Your Excellency's information copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,* stating that my responsible advisers are unable to advise any departure from the decision embodied in the approved Minute of the Privy Council of the 6th July, 1909, sent to Your Excellency in my despatch No. 88 of the 10th instant.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
C. FITZPATRICK,
Administrator.

The Rt. Hon.
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

*Printed as No. 5 of Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes, No. 1.

No. 2.

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

OTTAWA, July 22, 1909.

SIR,—I am desired by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs to transmit, herewith, to be laid before the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries, copy of a despatch,* dated 16th of July, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Administrator, on the subject of the recent application by the United States Government for the passage of the United States ship *Nashville* through the Canadian canals, and the placing of the armament on board this vessel at Chicago.

What Sir Wilfrid Laurier wishes particularly to know is by whom was authority given to the *Nashville* to pass the canals and the nature of the correspondence which passed between the United States Consul General at Montreal and your department on the subject.

You will observe that Mr. Bryce says that the Consul General communicated with the Government of Canada and also that this correspondence resulted in permission being given for the vessel to pass through.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JOSEPH POPE,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

*See Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes, No. 2.

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No. 3.

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

OTTAWA, July 22, 1909.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, transmitting copy of a despatch, dated 16th July, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Administrator, on the subject of the recent application by the United States Government for the passage of the United States ship *Nashville* through the Canadian canals, and the placing of the armament on board this vessel at Chicago.

I beg to inform you, in reply, that I have not yet had an opportunity of submitting the despatch to the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

With regard to your inquiry as to the correspondence which passed between the United States Consul General at Montreal and this Department on the subject of the passage of this vessel through the Canadian canals, I beg to say that so far as our records show there has been no such correspondence, nor have I any knowledge of such permission having been sought of or given by this Department.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Under-Secretary of State
For External Affairs,
Ottawa, Ont.

No. 4.

From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals.

OTTAWA, July 24, 1909.

Nos. 1 and 2.

SIR,—I am desired by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs to inclose to you two copies of Confidential Prints entitled 'Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes,' and to invite your attention particularly to the despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, dated 16th July, 1909, in which Mr. Bryce says that when the United States S. *Nashville* reached Montreal on the 25th May last, the authorities of the Lachine canal refused to permit her to pass until the United States Consul General at Montreal communicated with the Canadian Government.

Inasmuch as it appears from the press that this vessel has gone through the canals, Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be glad to know whether Mr. Bryce has been correctly informed in this matter and whether you know anything of any correspondence had with the United States Consul General at Montreal on the subject.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH POPE,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals,
Ottawa.

C 44964

No. 5.

From the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, ONT., Monday, July 26, 1909.

Confidential.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 24th instant, inclosing copies of two confidential prints entitled 'Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes.'

With regard to the despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, dated the 16th July, 1909, in which Mr. Bryce says:

> 'that when the United States ship *Nashville* reached Montreal on May
> '25 last, the authorities at the Lachine Canal refused to permit her
> 'to pass until the United States Consul General at Montreal has com-
> 'municated with the Canadian Government.'

I have caused diligent inquiry to be made from the Superintendent of the Lachine canal and am informed that no objection whatever was made on behalf of the Lachine canal employees, to the passing of this steamship. Authority was granted by an order in council in the year 1908 for the passage of this steamship through the Canadian canal. She did not, however, make use of that authority during the year 1908.

I can learn of no application or complaint having been made by the United States Consul General, either to the office at Montreal or to my office here in Ottawa.

Yours faithfully,

M. J. BUTLER.

No. 6.

From the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs to His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

No. 92.

The undersigned, to whom was referred a despatch, dated 16th July, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government in regard to the United States ship *Nashville,* has the honour to report that diligent inquiry fails to disclose any refusal on the part of the Canadian authorities to pass this vessel through the canals in the early part of this year. The Superintendent of the Lachine canal states that no objection was made on behalf of the Lachine canal authorities in this regard nor does it appear that the United States Consul General in Montreal made any representations or held any communications with the Dominion Government or any department thereof, in respect of this vessel.

The undersigned takes occasion to observe that there is apparently some misconception in regard to this question. The facts as they appear to the undersigned, are that on the 31st January, 1908, the Ambassador addressed a despatch to your Excellency conveying the request of the United States Government that permission be given to the United States ship *Nashville* to pass through the Canadian canals. This permission (with the qualifications that the vessel should pass through Canadian waters unarmed and that her use should be confined to training purposes) was granted by a Minute of the Privy Council, approved by your Excellency on the 15th February, 1908.

On the 29th April, 1909, the Ambassador transmitted a further request from the United States government to the effect that permission be granted for the armament of the United States ship *Nashville* being placed on board her at Chicago.

This request, which was distinct from the previous application to pass through the canals, was in the view of your Excellency's minister's not one which should be complied with, and the Ambassador was so informed by Minute of Council, dated 6th July, 1909.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Mr. Bryce, in his despatch of the 10th July, 1909, seems to be under the impression that the request of the United States Government forwarded in his despatch of the 29th April last, included an application for permission to the *Nashville* to pass through the canals, whereas it had reference altogether to the arming of the vessel at Chicago. The former request made in January, 1908, had already been granted. It does not appear that the *Nashville* made any use of the permission accorded to her to pass through the canals during the year 1908, but in May, 1909, she went through, as the undersigned has observed, without let or hindrance.

With reference to the question of the installation of armament on board the *Nashville* at Chicago, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has already recommended that this request be not entertained, and the undersigned, having regard to the fact that there are at the present moment at least eight war vessels belonging to the United States on the Great Lakes (whereas the agreement stipulates that the number shall not exceed three) cannot see his way to recommend any modification of this advice.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WILFRID LAURIER,
Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, 28th July, 1909.

No. 7.

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

OTTAWA, 28th July, 1909.

SIR,—Referring to your letter of the 20th instant transmitting copy of a despatch, dated the 16th instant, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Administrator on the subject of recent application by the United States Government for the placing of the armament on the United States ship *Nashville* at Chicago; I beg to state that I have submitted the papers to the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who desires me to inform you that he sees no reason for recommending any departure from the decision arrived at by Council in regard to this application. Mr. Lemieux is of opinion that in view of all the circumstances it would be better to adhere to the terms of the Bagot-Rush arrangement of 1817.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

No. 8.

P. C. 408.

CERTIFIED Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 29th July, 1909.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated 16th July, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington in regard to the United States ship *Nashville*.

The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom the said despatch was referred, reports that diligent inquiry fails to disclose any refusal on the part of the Canadian authorities to pass this vessel through the canals in the early part of this year. The Superintendent of the Lachine canal states that no objection was made on behalf of the Lachine canal authorities in this regard. Nor does it appear that the United States Consul General in Montreal made any representations or held any communication with the Dominion Government or any department thereof, in respect of this vessel.

The Minister observes that there is apparently some misconception in regard to this question. The facts, as they appear to him, are that on the 31st January, 1908, the Ambassador addressed a despatch to Your Excellency conveying the request of the United States Government that permission be given to the United States ship *Nashville* to pass through the Canadian canals. This permission (with the qualifications that the vessel should pass through Canadian waters unarmed, and that her use should be confined to training purposes) was granted by a Minute of Council, approved on the 15th February, 1908.

On the 29th April, 1909, the Ambassador transmitted a further request from the United States Government to the effect that permission be granted for the armament of the United States ship *Nashville* being placed on board her at Chicago.

This request which was distinct from the previous application to pass through the canals, was in the view of Your Excellency's ministers not one which should be complied with, and the Ambassador was so informed by Minute of Council, dated 6th July, 1909.

Mr. Bryce, in his despatch of the 16th July, 1909, semes to be under the impression that the request of the United States government forwarded in his despatch of the 29th April, 1909, included an application for permission to the *Nashville* to pass through the canals, whereas it had reference altogether to the arming of the vessel at Chicago. The former request, made in January, 1908, had already been granted. It does not appear that the *Nashville* made any use of the permission accorded her to pass through the canals during the year 1908, but in May, 1909, she went through, as the Minister has observed, without let or hindrance.

With referenec to the question of the installation of armament on board the *Nashville* at Chicago, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has already recommended that this request be not entertained, and the Minister having regard to the fact that there are at the present moment at least eight war vessels belonging to the United States on the Great Lakes (whereas the agreement stipulates that the number shall not exceed three) cannot see his way to recommend any modification of this advice.

The Committee, concurring in the foregoing, advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to transmit a copy of this Minute, if approved, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 9.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA, July 30, 1909.

No. 95.

29 July, 1909.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 92, dated 16th July, 1909, regarding the permission sought by the United States government in respect of the ship *Nashville*. I have the honour to inclose for Your Excellency's information, copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada, stating that my responsible advisers, having regard to the fact that there are at the present moment at least eight war vessels belonging to the United States on the Great Lakes, instead of three, as provided by agreement, cannot see their way to recommend any modification of the decision embodied in the approved Minute of the Privy Council which accompanied my despatch No. 89 of the 22nd July.

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CANADA

Your Excellency will observe that no protest was made when the *Nashville* passed through the canals this year.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

C. FITZPATRICK,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
James Bryce, P.C., &c., &c., &c.

No. 10.

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

British Embassy, Northeast Harbour, Maine, August 6, 1909.

No. 98.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 95, of the 30th ultimo stating the decision of the Dominion government to refuse the request of the United States government for the United States ship *Nashville* to be permitted to receive her armament at Chicago. This decision shall be conveyed to the United States government.

As was stated in my despatch No. 92 of July 16, I should have wished to be able in communicating to the United States government the refusal of your government to grant the permission desired, to state the reasons of the delay which has elapsed since the United States government made their request in April last, for I cannot but apprehend (as was stated in that despatch) that the United States government may have assumed that the omission to refuse their request, the *Nashville* having been in the meantime permitted to pass through the canals into the Great Lakes, amounted to a tacit consent to the request made by them that she should be permitted to receive her armament there, and that they may have acted upon that assumption. If you will refer to my despatch you will observe that it stated the United States application to be one 'requesting permission for the armament of the *Nashville* to be placed on board her at Chicago.' The apprehension I then stated has unfortunately been confirmed, for I am informed by His Majesty's Consul General at Chicago that the *Nashville* has been actually armed, and I gather from the press that she received her armament early in June. Apparently she is now being used for training purposes. I do not know whether under these circumstances it is desired that I should do more than simply convey the decision of your government to that of the United States.

I would further observe that although the Minute of the Privy Council of July 17, which you have transmitted to me does not in terms refer to the request made by the United States government, in their letter sent to you in my despatch No. 86, of July 2, that the *Dorothea* may be assigned to the Naval Militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*, nor to the offer of the United States government to withdraw the *Hawk*, from the Great Lakes if so desired by the Dominion government, I understand it to be the wish of your government that it should be intimated to the United States government that this request also should be refused and that no reference should be made to the suggestion regarding the removal of the *Hawk*.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

His Excellency
The Rt. Honourable
Charles Fitzpatrick, K.C.M.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

No. 11.

(Detroit *Free Press*, 9, 8, '09.)

Naval Militia of Four States to take Part in Manoeuvres.

Four divisions of the first battalion of Michigan's naval brigade will take part in the annual maœuvres about South Manitou Island on board the cruiser *Don Juan de Austria*. With all the accoutrements, ammunition and armament necessary for a ten days' cruise, the vessel slipped away from the Michigan Central dock shortly after 8 o'clock last night and started on her trip up the lakes.

The *Don Juan de Austria* is accompanied by the *Dorothea*, manned by that part of Ohio's naval brigade stationed in Cleveland. The *Dorothea* arrived here yesterday and lay at anchor in the river, receiving much admiring attention from the crowds on pleasure boats and along the docks.

At Thunder Bay the *Don Juan de Austria*, and *Dorothea* will join the *Hawk*, another Ohio vessel, manned by Toledo mariners, the *Yantic*, with the *Hancock* and upper Michigan naval men, the *Gopher* of Duluth, and the *Nashville* of Chicago. From Thunder Bay the ships of war will proceed in squadron formation to South Manitou Island, around which two days will be spent in ship, gun and signal practice and squadron manœuvres.

The fleet will then celebrate, the vessels taking practice cruises about the lakes. The *Don Juan de Austria* is slated to return to Detroit August 18.

No. 12.

From Lord Crewe to Lord Grey.

Telegram.

London, 18th August, 1909.

I understand that you have informed His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington that permission for installation of armament of *Nashville* has been refused by the Government of Canada. In view of consideration advanced in Bryce's despatch to you 92, 16th July, and of the fact that she has already been armed it appears to me difficult now to do anything but acquiesce. (To protest might raise the general question of the agreement which I imagine your Ministers still think undesirable.) I hope that in the circumstances of the case they may be able to reconsider the matter.

CREWE.

No. 13.

From the Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the First Minister.

Ottawa, August 21, 1909.

Dear Sir Wilfrid,—I am inclosing copy of a telegram* from Lord Crewe to Lord Grey, on the subject of the armament of the United States ship *Nashville*.

I am also inclosing the printed corespondenec relating to this case and copy of despatch No. 98,† from the Rt. Hon. Mr. Bryce to His Excellency the Administrator, which completes the correspondence.

Despatch No. 98, has not yet been dealt with, but a memorandum was submitted to the Acting Minister on August 14th, copy of which I inclose.

The government's position all along has been that it would not grant permission to the *Nashville* to take her armament on the Great Lakes. In view of

* See No. 12.
† See No. 10.

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Lord Crewe's telegram, the government may wish to modify its latest instructions on this subject and I am transferring the papers for your consideration.

Yours faithfully,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Acting Deputy Minister.

Rt. Hon. Sir WILFRID LAURIER,
Prime Minister,
Arthabaskaville, P.Q.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 13.

Memo. to the Acting Minister.

With reference to copy despatch No. 98, from the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, to His Excellency the Administrator, dated August 6, 1909, on the subject of the United States steamer *Nashville* and referred to the Honourable the Minister of Marine and Fisheries on August 12.

This despatch relates to the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow the United States steamer *Nashville* to carry certain armaments on the Great Lakes.

On July 29, 1908, Mr. Howard, of the British Embassy, wrote to His Excellency the Governor General, stating that several applications had been made by several states to the Federal government for the establishing of new training ships on the Great Lakes. Mr. Bacon stated to Mr. Howard that the State Department had refused these applications without submitting them to the Canadian government, as it was quite understood that owing to the feeling in Canada, it was not advisable to increase their number. Mr. Howard further stated that in this last point of view he entirely agreed with Mr. Bacon, in view of the opinions which Sir Wilfrid Laurier had expressed to him in June of the same year.

In view of this statement it seems evident that the United States authorities were well aware that Canada objected to the establishment of any more training ships on the Great Lakes and that Canada's position in this matter had been quite clearly stated.

On April 29, 1909, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Bryce sent a despatch transmitting a note from the Department of State requesting that permission be obtained for the armament of the United States steamer *Nashville* at Chicago. The Canadian government feeling that their position on this matter had been well defined, presumed that nothing would be done contrary to that opinion until a formal reversal of opinion had been expressed.

It was deemed advisable to consider the matter very carefully before sending an answer, so as to ascertain if it would be advisable to grant the request of the United States government.

After all the facts of the case had been reviewed and carefully considered, it was decided that it would not be advisable to change the already expressed opinion of the Canadian government and a report to Council was adopted on July 17, 1909, confirming this view.

While the delay in this case may seem long, it was occasioned by the desire of the Canadian government to grant the request of the American government if possible. The review of the various phases of the case and discussion of the matter caused this delay.

I recommend that Mr. Bryce be so informed.

G. J. DESBARATS.

OTTAWA, August 14, 1909.

No. 14.

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

OTTAWA, August 24, 1909.

SIR,—With reference to copy despatch No. 98, from the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, to His Excellency the Administrator, dated 6th August, 1909, relative to the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow the United States ship *Nashville* to carry certain armament on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to inform you that on the 29th July, 1908, Mr. Howard, of the British Embassy, wrote to His Excellency the Governor General, stating that several applications had been made by several States to the Federal Government for the establishment of new militia training ships on the Great Lakes. Mr. Bacon stated to Mr. Howard that the State Department had refused these applications without submitting them to the Canadian government, as it was quite understood that, owing to the feeling in Canada, it was not advisable to increase their number. Mr. Howard further stated that in this last point of opinion he entirely agreed with Mr. Bacon, in view of the opinions which Sir Wilfrid Laurier had expressed to him in June of the same year.

In view of this statement, it seems evident that the United States authorities were well aware that Canada objected to the establishment of any more training ships on the Great Lakes, and that Canada's position in this matter had been quite clearly stated.

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It was deemed advisable to consider the matter very carefully before sending an answer, so as to ascertain if it would be advisable to grant the request of the United States government.

After all the facts of the case had been reviewed and carefully considered, it was decided that it would not be advisable to change the already expressed opinion of the Canadian government, and a report to Council was adopted, on July 17, 1909, confirming this view.

While the delay in this case may seem long, it was occasioned by the desire of the Canadian government to grant the request of the American government, if possible. The review of the various phases of the case, and discussion of the matter, caused this delay, and I should be much obliged by your taking such action as is necessary to so inform His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

No. 15.

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

OTTAWA, 25th August, 1909.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, No. 10689, dealing with a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador to the Governor General, dated the 6th August, 1909, regarding the refusal of the Canadian government to grant permission for the placing of armament on the United States vessel *Nashville* at Chicago.

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C. 44971

Might I draw attention to the fact that one point raised in the Ambassador's despatch is not touched on in your letter, namely, the question of Canada's willingness to have the *Hawk* substituted for the *Dorothea,* as the vessel which the United States Government offers to withdraw from the Great Lakes to compensate for the addition of the *Nashville,* and to have the *Dorothea* assigned to the Naval Militia of Ohio.

The proposal of the United States Government to withdraw the *Hawk* in place of the *Dorothea,* as had been suggested earlier, was submitted to the Canadian government in the Ambassador's despatch of the 2nd July, 1909; and it is to be observed that the Minute of Council of the 17th July, which purports to deal with this despatch, merely reaffirms the decision of the Minute of Council of the 2nd July, which refused permission for the placing of the armament on the *Nashville.* Consequently there has been no definite reply whether or not Canada is willing to have the *Hawk* withdrawn from the Great Lakes instead of the *Dorothea.*

Unless it is considered that the United States' offer was conditional upon the granting of permission to arm the *Nashville* and that in the circumstances of the case it is preferable to ignore it, it seems difficult to see what reason exists for declining it and I should be glad if you would enable me to inform the Secretary of State for External Affairs whether the view of your department is that the proposal should be either ignored or rejected.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

W. H. WALKER,
Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

No. 16.

From Lord Crewe to the Governor General.

Telegram.

LONDON, 2nd September, 1909.

Matter most urgent referring to my telegram 18th August *Nashville;* would be glad of reply as soon as possible.

CREWE.

No. 17.

From the Acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, September 8, 1909.

SIR,—At your verbal request, I have the honour to supply you with a list of the United States gun-boats, training ships, &c., which according to the latest intelligence received in this department, are now plying on the Great Lakes.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

E. F. JARVIS,
Acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

C. 44972

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 17.

List of the United States gun-boats, training ships, &c., now plying on the Great Lakes.

Great Lakes	*Wolverine* late *Michigan*, 685 tons	6 4 prs, 4 m*	Recruiting service.
Lake Superior	*Gopher* late *Fern*, wood, 840 tons	Unarmed.	Minnesota Militia.
Lake Erie	*Essex*, wood. 1,375 tons	6 4-in. 4 6 prs. 4 m.	Ohio Militia.
	Hawk, yacht, 375 tons	Unarmed.	Ohio Militia.
	Dorothea, yacht, 594 tons	4 6 prs. 4 m.	Ohio Militia.
Lake Ontario	*Sandoval*, gunboat, 100 tons	2 3 prs. 2 m.	New York Militia.
Lake Michigan	*Don Juan de Austria* gunboat, 1,150 tons.	6 3-in. 4 6 prs. 4 m.	Michigan Militia.
	Yantic, wood, 900 tons	Unarmed.	Michigan Militia.
	Nashville, gunboat, 1,371 tons	8 4-in. 4 6 prs. 4 m.	

*NOTE.—m signifies machine guns.

No. 18.

From the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

OTTAWA, September 9, 1909.

SIR,—I am desired by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs to inclose to you, for an expression of the views of the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries thereon, copy of a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 2nd instant,* pressing for an answer to his telegram of the 18th (16th) August in the matter of the United States ship *Nashville.* Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be glad to be furnished with an early reply as the matter is somewhat urgent.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH POPE,
Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

* See No. 16.

No. 19.

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

OTTAWA, 9th September, 1909.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of to-day's date with reference to a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the 18th ultimo in the matter of the United States ship *Nashville,* I have the honour to state that the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries is unable to see his way clear to recommending a reconsideration of the decision already arrived at in regard to that matter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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No. 20.

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

OTTAWA, 9th September, 1909.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, asking for an expression of the department's views in regard to the proposal made by the United States Government to assign the *Dorothea* to the Naval Militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*, as well as to their offer to withdraw the latter vessel from the Great Lakes if so desired by the Dominion Government.

The matter has been submitted to the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries for consideration, and he desires me to say that as the number of United States Militia training ships on the Great Lakes is already in excess of the provisions of the Rush-Bagot arrangement, he is unable to recommend any action being taken by the Dominion government which would have the appearance of acquiescing in the present state of affairs. Compliance with the proposal in question would be tantamount to an approval of the naval force now being maintained in the Great Lakes.

The Acting Minister thinks it desirable to guard against any such assumption, especially as the transfer of the *Dorothea* and the withdrawal of the *Hawk* is by way of off-setting the addition of the *Nashville* to the Naval Force in those waters.

The proposed action, if approved of, might have far-reaching results.

While it may not be possible under the circumstances which have developed since the application for the passage of the *Nashville* through Canadian waters was originally made, to take any effective measures to revert to the conditions which formerly prevailed, Mr. Lemieux is of opinion that if it is not deemed advisable to dissent from the proposed arrangements it would be far better to allow the United States government to assume that the refusal by the Dominion Government to acquiesce in the placing of the armament on board the *Nashville* at Chicago removes the necessity of any decision being reached in regard to the other proposal.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Acting Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

No. 21.

From the Secretary of State for External Affairs to His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL—

The undersigned, to whom was referred telegraphic despatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Your Excellency, dated respectively 16th August and 2nd September, suggesting reconsideration of the decision arrived at in the matter of the armament of the United States ship *Nashville*, has the honour to represent that the arrangement of 1817, commonly known as the Rush-Bagot agreement, provides that the naval force of Great Britain and the United States respectively, on Lake Ontario shall not exceed one vessel of not more than one hundred tons burthen and armed with one 18-pound cannon, and on the Upper Lakes, two vessels of like burthen and similarly armed. The undersigned is informed that there are at the present moment no less than eight war vessels of the United States on the Great Lakes, not including the *Nashville*. Of these five are armed and three unarmed. Putting aside for the moment the question whether the unarmed vessels should properly be considered as forming part of a naval force, the fact remains that there are five, and including the *Nashville*, six armed vessels of the United States on the Great Lakes, whereas the Rush-Bagot arrangement above quoted, limits the number to three.

The fact that the *Nashville* has already taken on her armament without waiting for permission, is not in the opinion of the undersigned, a sufficient reason for the Canadian government to sanction a further departure from the international arrangement in force for nearly a century. Your Excellency's advisers are willing to allow the matter to rest where it is, but they regret that, for the reasons indicated, they cannot see their way to vary the decision already arrived at, and approved by Your Excellency in Minutes of Council of the 6th and 17th July last.

The undersigned recommends that the Secretary of State for the Colonies be informed by telegraph in this sense.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHAS. MURPHY,
Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, September 9, 1909.

No. 22.

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Deputy Governor General on the 15th September, 1909.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a report, dated 9th September, 1909, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom was referred telegraphic despatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated respectively 16th August and 2nd September, 1909, suggesting reconsideration of the decision arrived at in the matter of the armament of the United States ship *Nashville*.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs represents that the arrangement of 1817, commonly known as the Rush-Bagot agreement, provides that the naval force of Great Britain and the United States respectively, on Lake Ontario shall not exceed one vessel of not more than one hundred tons burthen and armed with one 18-pound cannon, and on the Upper Lakes, two vessels of like burthen and similarly armed.

The Minister further represents that he is informed that there are at the present moment no less than eight war vessels of the United States on the Great Lakes, not including the *Nashville*. Of these, five are armed and three unarmed. Putting aside for the moment the question whether the unarmed vessels should properly be considered as forming part of a naval force, the fact remains that there are five, and including the *Nashville*, six armed vessels of the United States on the Great Lakes, whereas the Rush-Bagot arrangement above quoted limits the number to three. The fact that the *Nashville* has already taken on her armament without waiting for permission, is not, in the opinion of the Minister, a sufficient reason for the Canadian government to sanction a further departure from the international arrangement in force for nearly a century.

The Committee of the Privy Council, concurring in the views of the Secretary of State for External Affars, submit that they are willing to allow the matter to rest where it is, but they regret that, for the reasons indicated, they cannot see their way to vary the decision already arrived at and approved by Your Excellency in Minutes of Council of the 6th and 17th July, 1909.

The Committee advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to inform the Right Honourable the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, by telegraph, in the sense of this Minute.

All of which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Telegram.

OTTAWA, 20th September, 1909.

Referring to your telegrams of the 18th August* and 2nd September† regarding *Nashville,* Privy Council for Canada has been informed that there are at present 8 American war ships on the Great Lakes not to include the *Nashville,* 5 fully armed and equipped, 3 unarmed, whereas provisions of Rush-Bagot Treaty limit the total number to 3. The Privy Council for Canada is willing to allow the matter to remain where it is, but regrets cannot vary decision in approved Minutes of Privy Council, 6th July and 17th July not to grant permission.

Armament of *Nashville* without permission of Canadian authorities does not justify further departure from the provisions of Rush-Bagot Treaty. Despatch follows by mail.

GREY.

*See No. 12, Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes, No. 3.
†See No. 16, Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes, No. 3.

No. 2.

From the Deputy Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Confidential.

OTTAWA, 27th September, 1909.

MY LORD,—

With reference to your Lordship's telegrams of the 18th of August and the 2nd of September, and to my telegram of the 20th September, regarding the case of the United States ship *Nashville,* I have the honour to forward herewith copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,* on which my telegram was based.

15 Sept., 1909.
192 E.

Your Lordship will observe that my responsible advisers do not consider that the fact that the *Nashville* was armed, without waiting for the permission of the Canadian Government is a sufficient reason to justify any further departure from the terms of the Rush-Bagot Treaty, which have already been greatly exceeded.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

C. FITZPATRICK,
Deputy Governor General.

The Right Honourable
The EARL OF CREWE, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

*See No. 22, Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes, No. 3.

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No. 3.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, 4th November, 1909.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Sir C. Fitzpatrick's confidential despatch of the 27th September and previous correspondence respecting the number and armaments of the United States warships on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to request Your Excellency to inform your Ministers confidentially that in view of the terms of the Minute of the Canadian Privy Council of the 15th of September, His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed that there is no need to make any further communication to the United States Government regarding the *Nashville*, as it is understood that your Ministers, while not prepared formally to sanction the armament of that vessel, are willing to allow the matter to drop.

With regard to the general question, Mr. Bryce has proposed that he should discuss the matter unofficially with the United States Government and this course has been approved by His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.,

CREWE.

The Right Honourable
The EARL GREY, G.C.M.G.,

No. 4.

CERTIFIED *Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 17th November, 1909.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a Report, dated 13th November, 1909, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom was referred a despatch, dated the 6th August, 1909, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, relative to the armament of the United States ship *Nashville* and the disposition of certain other war vessels on the Great Lakes—representing that the fact of the *Nashville* having taken her armament without waiting for permission, does not in the Minister's judgment, constitute a sufficient reason for the Canadian Government to sanction a further departure from the international arrangement known as the Rush-Bagot agreement, which has been in force for nearly a century. Nor is he able to concur in the view that the delay which took place in replying to the request of the United States Government warranted that Government in assuming the grant of the permission applied for.

The Minister moreover points out that this delay, due in part to the demands of an exacting Parliamentary Session upon the time of Your Excellency's Ministers, and also to a desire on their part to reconcile their inclination to meet the views of a friendly Government with the maintenance of their policy not to sanction the establishment of any more United States' training ships on the Great Lakes, was not so excessive as at first sight might appear.

The Minister observes that the request of the United States Government reached Your Excellency on the 4th May. The Ambassador, in his despatch of the 6th of August, states that the *Nashville* received her armament 'early in June'—an interval of about a month. There is nothing in Mr. Huntington Wilson's letter of the 16th April, nor in the movements of the *Nashville* in taking advantage of a previous permission, to indicate urgency. The Minister cannot refrain from expressing his opinion that a reminder or renewal of their

request, on the part of the United States authorities, would have been a more satisfactory mode of ascertaining the views of the Canadian Government upon their application, than the course followed.

Your Excellency's advisers are willing to allow the matter of the *Nashville's* armament to rest where it is, and they do not desire that His Majesty's Ambassador should do more in the present instance than convey the decision of the Canadian Government to that of the United States, but they cannot be expected formally to lend their sanction to a proceeding at variance with their well understood policy.

With regard to the proposal of the United States Government to assign the *Dorothea* to the Naval Militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*, coupled with the offer to withdraw the latter from the Great Lakes, should the Dominion Government so desire, it may be well briefly to invite Your Excellency's attention to the present position of affairs. With that object in view, the Minister appends a memorandum showing the number, character and disposition of the United States war vessels now on the Great Lakes, in respect of which vessels he desires to offer the following observations:—

1. The *Hawk*.—This vessel was substituted on the 18th August, 1900, for the converted yacht *Frolic* which, on the 20th February, 1900, was authorized to pass through the Canadian canals.

In recommending the grant of this permission, the Minister of Railways and Canals of that day took occasion to say that 'he would deprecate any attempt on the part of the United States or Canada to violate either the letter or the spirit of the agreement of 1817 prohibiting the maintenance of any naval force on the Great Lakes beyond that specifically and definitely defined in that agreement,' and the authority was granted on the express understanding that the *Frolic* should pass through the Canadian canals, without armament, and that her use should be confined to purposes of drill. These conditions were made applicable to the *Hawk*.

2. On the 12th March, 1901, the *Dorothea* was authorized to pass through the canals on the same terms as the *Hawk*, namely without armament and that her use should be confined to purposes of drill. This vessel is now armed.

3. On the 2nd May, 1904, permission was granted to the *Essex* to pass through the St. Lawrence River, the Lachine and Welland Canals 'in order that she may be used for drill and instruction by the Ohio Naval Militia.' The Minute of Council assumes 'that the Government of the United States in sending this vessel to the lakes do not contemplate any departure from the treaty conditions respecting the maintenance of armed vessels on these waters.' This vessel is now armed.

4. On the 11th July, 1905, the *Fern* (whose name was subsequently changed to the *Gopher*) was permitted to pass on the same conditions as those governing the foregoing cases.

5. On the 28th June, 1907, the *Don Juan de Austria* was accorded a similar permission; the Government being influenced by the assurance of the United States Secretary of State that 'all the ship's guns and ammunition would be removed prior to her departure from the navy yard at Portsmouth.' This vessel is now armed.

6. On the 1st August, 1907, permission was granted to the gunboat *Sandoval* intended for the use of the Naval Militia of the State of New York, to pass the canals on the same conditions as those governing the cases of the *Hawk* and *Dorothea*. This vessel is now armed.

7. And on the 15th February, 1908, a similar permission on the same terms was accorded to the *Nashville*.

8. It does not appear that any permission was granted by the Canadian Government in respect of the *Wolverine*, formerly the *Michigan*. The Minister understands that, unlike the other vessels on the lakes, she did not pass the canals, but the material out of which she is constructed was transported from

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Pittsburg to Lake Erie overland in the year 1844. The *Wolverine* differs also from the other vessels in that, whereas the *Hawk, Dorothea, Essex, Gopher, Don Juan de Austria, Sandoval* and *Nashville* are all training ships, the *Wolverine* is not a training ship, she is a vessel of the United States Navy, and is employed in the recruiting service.

9. From the fact that in the month of October, 1897, the *Yantic* collided with the Canadian Government steamer *La Canadienne* in the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Montreal, the Minister infers that she must have passed through the canals at that time, but he is unable to ascertain that she ever received permission to do so from the Canadian Government.

Here then is a total of nine vessels of war belonging to the United States upon the Great Lakes, with an aggregate tonnage of 7,390 tons, and a combined armament consisting of 22 six pounders, 2 three pounders, 6 three inch guns, 14 four inch guns, and 22 machine guns of various kinds. According to the Rush-Bagot agrement the United States Naval Force is limited on Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden and armed with one 18 pound cannon, and on the Upper Lakes to two vessels not exceeding 100 tons burden each, and armed with one 18 pound cannon.

As a matter of fact the United States have to-day on Lake Ontario one gunboat the *Sandoval* of 100 tons, with 2 three pounders and two machine guns, and on the Upper Lakes, 8 vessels, totalling 7,290 tons (more than 36 times the prescribed tonnage) and armed with 62 guns (31 times the allowed strength).

It is worthy of note that with the exception of the *Wolverine,* all the United States war vessels now on the Great Lakes have been sent there within the past ten years. Under date the 16th April, 1898, the United States Secretary of War reported to the Secretary of State that:—

> 'The only United States vessel at present in commission on the Great Lakes is the U.S.S. *Michigan* (now the *Wolverine*) a vessel built in 1844, and now of an antique asd obsolete type.'

The year in which that statement was penned saw the meeting of the International Joint High Commision at Quebec and Washington in the course of which Senator Fairbanks assured the British Commissioners:—

> 'That the United States Commissioners considered that it would be advantageous that reciprocal rights should now be established on a peace footing, and that no armed vessels should be maintained by either Government on the lakes, except perhaps one or two vessels to be used for drilling the Militia on either side.'

Similar assurances have been given from time to time by the United States Government.

Thus writing on the 4th May, 1904, Mr. Loomis says:—

> 'Lord Minto is correct in his assumption that in sending the *Essex* to the Great Lakes the Government of the United States does not contemplate departing in any way from existing treaty stipulations as to the maintenance of armed vessels in those waters.'

Your Excellency's advisers find some difficulty in reconciling these explicit declarations with the applications made to them from time to time by the United States authorities for permission to augment in various ways their naval strength on the Great Lakes. The inconsistency involved is so apparent that it is admitted by the very Government making these requests. In a Minute of the Privy Council, dated 27th May, 1908, declining to accede to the request that the permission granted to the *Sandoval* to pass through Canadian waters might be considered a 'continuing permission' as regards the Welland Canal, Your Excellency's Ministers drew attention to the fact that the number and tonnage of the United States vessels on the Great Lakes was largely in excess of the agreement of 1817. His Majesty's Ambassador reported that when conveying this decision to the United States Government 'Mr. Root did not deny

that the requests for the passage of these vessels had been becoming rather frequent, and he appeared to me to understand and appreciate the reasons which had moved your Government.'

The original assignment of the *Dorothea* to the use of the Naval Militia of a particular State was not a material factor with the Canadian Government in permitting her passage through the canals, and the Minister does not see in the Rush-Bagot agreement any ground upon which Canada could question the mere transfer of that ship (already in the lakes by her permission) from the Illinois to the Ohio Militia, as no change in the strength of the United States naval force, either in the Upper Lakes or on Lake Ontario, would be involved in such transfer.

It is otherwise with her substitution for the *Hawk*. When permission was sought for the armament of the *Nashville,* it was represented by the United States Naval Department that she was to take the place of the *Dorothea* which latter, in the words of Mr. Huntington Wilson's letter, was 'to be taken out of the Great Lakes for service elsewhere.'

Without waiting for a reply to their application, the United States Government proceeded to arm the *Nashville* and to announce a modification of the arrangement upon which their request in her regard was based, by assigning the *Dorothea* to the naval militia of Ohio in place of the *Hawk*—that is to say, the *Dorothea* would not be removed from the lakes, but both she and the *Nashville,* which was originally destined to replace her, would remain there. The significance of this change can be appreciated by a reference to the appended table which discloses that whereas the *Nashville* is a gunboat of 1,371 tons, armed with 16 guns, and the *Dorothea* a yacht of 594 tons armed with 8 guns, the *Hawk* is an unarmed yacht of 375 tons.

In the light of these figures Your Excellency's Ministers may be pardoned for failing to attach much importance to the proposed offer to remove the last named vessel from the lakes, or for declining to take any action which might be construed as assenting to the substitution of the *Dorothea* for the *Hawk,* a proceeding which they cannot view with unconcern.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to bring the above facts to the attention of His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, and of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

F. K. BENNETTS,
Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council.

LIST OF THE UNITED STATES GUNBOATS, TRAINING SHIPS, &c., NOW PLYING ON THE GREAT LAKES.

—	—	Armament.	—
Lake Erie	*Hawk* (yacht, 375 tons)	Unarmed	Ohio Militia.
Lake Erie	*Dorothea* (yacht, 594 tons)	4—6 prs. 4—m	Ohio Militia.
Lake Erie	*Essex* (wood, 1,375 tons)	6—4 in 4—6 prs. 4—m	Ohio Militia.
Lake Superior	*Gopher* (late *Fern*, wood, 840 tons)	Unarmed	Minnesota Militia.
Lake Michigan	*Don Juan de Austria* (gunboat, 1,150 tons)	6—3 in 4—6 prs. 4—m	Michigan Militia.
Lake Ontario	*Sandoval* (gunboat, 100 tons)	2—3 prs. 2—m	New York Militia.
Lake Michigan	*Nashville* (gunboat, 1,371 tons)	8—4 in 4—6 prs. 4—m	Michigan Militia.
Great Lakes	*Wolverine* (late *Michigan*, 685 tons)	6—6 prs. 4—m	Recruiting Service.
Lake Michigan	*Yantic* (wood, 900 tons)	Unarmed	Michigan Militia.

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No. 5.

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

Extract.
Confidential.
No. 126.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, November 17, 1909.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a confidential despatch which I have addressed to His Majesty's Government, reporting a conversation with the President of the United States upon the subject of war vessels upon the Great Lakes * * * * * * *

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
The EARL GREY, G.C.M.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
The Governor General.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 5.

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

Confidential.
No. 244.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, November 17, 1909.

SIR,—

In my despatch No. 208 of September the 6th I summarized a conversation with Sir Wilfrid Laurier regarding the presence of vessels of war belonging to the United States upon the Great Lakes in excess of the number prescribed by the so-called Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817. The matter had even then excited some public discussion in Canada, and has since then become the subject of frequent newspaper articles and in the last few days of questions in the Dominion Parliament.

President Taft, having just returned to Washington from his long tour in the West and South, I took the first opportunity of seeing him and conveying to him the views of the Dominion Government mentioned in the despatch above referred to, which are, as I understand, those of His Majesty's Government also.

The President said that he perfectly understood the attitude of the Dominion Government and appreciated their wish that nothing should happen which could create any sentiment of disquiet or suspicion in the minds of any section of the people in Canada. He valued the arrangement of 1817 and heartily desired to see it maintained, recognizing the enormous benefit to both countries of the sense of perfect peace and tranquility which the absence of any naval forces helped to create.

As I had suggested that in future it would be better that no requests should come from the United States Government asking for the presence of armed vessels beyond those permitted by the Agreement of 1817, he promised to speak to the Secretary of the Navy upon the subject. This was said confidentially and naturally could not be mentioned publicly as any formal communication would come through the Secretary of State.

I may add that I had already spoken to the Secretary of State in the same sense as above indicated, explaining to him that although the Dominion Government had not expressly refused and were not now formally refusing

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the request made some time ago for permission to arm the *Nashville*, they considered that that vessel ought not to have been armed without their express authorization, and that they altogether deprecated requests the granting of which would raise the number of armed vessels above the limit of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. Mr. Knox assented to the view that it was desirable to adhere to that agreement and appeared to feel the reasonableness of the Canadian view.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

No. 6.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Canada.
Confidential.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 23rd November, 1909.

17 November, 1909.
192 E.

MY LORD,—

With reference to Your Lordship's Confidential Despatch, dated the 4th of November, 1909, relating to the question of United States war vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit, for Your Lordship's information, copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council* for Canada, stating the views of my responsible advisers on this question.

Your Lordship will observe that while my responsible advisers are willing to allow the matter of the *Nashville's* armament to remain where it is, they find themselves unable to lend their sanction formally to proceedings contrary to the terms of the Rush-Bagot Treaty, and totally at variance with their clearly avowed policy.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

GREY.

The Right Honourable
The EARL OF CREWE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

*See No. 4.

No. 7.

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

Canada.
No. 125.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 23rd November, 1909.

17 November, 1909.
192 E.

SIR,—

With reference to Your Excellency's Despatch No. 96, dated the 6th August, 1909, regarding the armament of the United States ship *Nashville* and the presence and disposition of certain other war vessels on the Great Lakes, contrary to the terms of the Rush-Bagot Treaty, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for Your Excellency's information, copies of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,* stating the views of my responsible advisers on this question.

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Your Excellency will observe that my responsible advisers are willing to allow the matter of the *Nashville's* armament to remain where it is, but cannot formally lend their sanction to a proceeding at variance with the policy they have clearly announced before.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

GREY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

*See No. 4.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET,
JANUARY 6, 1910.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's confidential despatch of the 23rd November forwarding a minute of the Privy Council of Canada in which your Ministers' views are stated with regard to the question of United States war vessels on the Great Lakes.

I trust that I am correct in understanding the Privy Council Minute to mean that the Dominion Government do not desire any formal answer to be returned to thte United States Government on the questions of the substitution of the *Dorothea* for the *Hawk* and the removal of the last named vessel from the lakes, any more than on the question of the *Nashville*, but that the matter should be allowed to drop.

I do not gather from your despatch whether the minute has been communicated to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, but no doubt your ministers will furnish Mr. Bryce with a copy if they have not already done so.

I learn from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that President Taft, in the course of a conversation with Mr. Bryce, said that he perfectly understood the attitude of the Dominion Government and appreciated their wish that nothing should happen which could create any sentiment of disquiet or suspicion in the minds of any section of the people in Canada. He added that he valued the arrangement of 1817 and heartily desired to see it maintained as he recognized the enormous benefit to both countries of the sense of perfect peace and tranquility which the absence of any naval forces helped to create.

In reply to a suggestion by Mr. Bryce that in future it would be better that no requests should come from the United States Government asking for the presence of armed vessels beyond those permitted by the agreement of 1817, the President promised to speak to the Secretary of the Navy upon the subject. This, however, was said confidentially and could not of course be mentioned publicly as any formal communication would come through the ordinary official channels.

I am informed that Mr. Bryce has already spoken to the Secretary of State in a similar sense, explaining that although the Dominion Government had not expressly refused and were not now formally refusing the request for permission to arm the *Nashville* they considered that the vessel ought not to have been armed without their express authorization and that they altogether deprecated requests, the granting of which would entail raising the number of armed vessels above the limit of the Rush-Bagot agreement. Mr. Knox assented to the view that it was desirable to adhere to that agreement and appeared to feel the reasonableness of the Canadian position.

I have, &c.,

CREWE.

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No. 2.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Confidential.

22nd January, 1910.

My Lord,—

With reference to Your Lordship's confidential despatch of the 6th January, 1910, regarding the question of United States war vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to inform you that copies of the minute of council which was enclosed in my confidential despatch to you of the 23rd November, 1909, were sent to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington on the 25th November.

I have, &c.,

GREY.

The Earl of Crewe.

No. 3.

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

Confidential.

Washington, March 5, 1910.

My Lord,—

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith extracts from the official record of a debate which yesterday took place in the House of Representatives reviving the question of the construction of warships on the Great Lakes. I also annex copy of a despatch which I addressed to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs some months ago on the general question of the Rush-Bagot agreement; the enclosures to this despatch are already in your possession having been addressed to Your Lordship unofficially under date.

It will be observed that by the terms of the first resolution which appears in the report of the debate in Congress the Secretary of the Navy is requested to report, if not incompatible with the public interest, as to the practical possibilities and past history of naval construction on the Great Lakes. The fourth clause in the resolution would seem to be superseded or at least to be covered by the second resolution; which as amended, requests the President, subject to a similar condition as to the public interest, to report what has been done to remove obstacles to such construction, words which obviously refer to the Rush-Bagot agreement.

It would therefore seem that the pressure on the part of lake shipyards for permission to compete in naval construction is likely to be resumed. This pressure as pointed out in the memorandum annexed to my unofficial letter of December 16th had gone far in the past towards inducing the United States Government to move for such a revision of the agreement as would accord to them such a right; failing which they have since adopted a policy of putting forward an interpretation of the agreement which would hold it to have been intended to restrict the building of war-vessels only so far as they were intended to be maintained on the lakes in that character. (See Mr. Hay's answer to a resolution of Congress referred to in the memorandum and also Mr. Root's letter of May 3rd, 1906, quoted in the memorandum, pages 14 and 15). This interpretation may appear to us to be a forced one and we may protest against it, but as the United States might reply to a protest by denouncing the Rush-Bagot agreement itself, that course would avail little. It might accordingly be better that building for use elsewhere should be expressly permitted and restrictively regulated by a revised agreement. Otherwise the dangers anticipated in my above-mentioned communication would arise.

A further factor has since then been introduced into this aspect of the matter by the successful competition of American shipyards for the building of two ironclads for the Argentine Government. It is true that vessels of that great

size could not pass through the canals, but the opening up of the prospect of supplying war vessels to foreign powers may stimulate the ambition of the owners of lake shipyards to push the industry generally, and owing to the proximity of supplies of iron and coal small war vessels can probably be more cheaply constructed on the Great Lakes than on the Atlantic seaboard; and the undertaking on the former of foreign as well as American naval contracts would be an additional disadvantage.

At present nothing stands in the way of construction but the anxiety of the President to do nothing which may tend to disturb friendly relations or further weaken the agreement. Both he and the Secretary of State have, as reported in my despatch of November 17th, 1909, expressed themselves to me as fully sensible of the great value of the agreement to both countries. But this wish to maintain it may at any time, in such a country as this, yield to such political pressure as the passing of these resolutions of the House would indicate as likely to be applied. It is well therefore to be prepared for contingencies; so I have thought it right to report this matter to you at the earliest possible moment.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BRYCE.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 3.

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

No. 269.

Washington, December 17, 1909.

Sir,—

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a semi-official letter which I have addressed to the Governor General of Canada in regard to the general question of the restriction of armaments in the Great Lakes and the revision of the agreement of 1817, a subject on which he had expressed a wish to receive some observations from me.

This letter and the memorandum by Mr. Young enclosed therein state the reasons which have led me to believe that it deserves to be considered by His Majesty's Government and by the Government of the Dominion whether an effort should not be made to conclude a formal treaty on the subject. The provisions of any such treaty would lie within the scope of the agreement on the subject reached by the Joint High Commission in 1899, when the Imperial interests concerned were fully considered.

From private conversations with Sir Wilfrid Laurier I have learnt how strongly he feels the seriousness of the question, but as he and his colleagues may not be prepared to take any action upon it, it has seemed better to let the subject come before the Governor General in an unofficial way, not requiring any reply from the Dominion Government, nor any admission by them if they are questioned in Parliament that it is now under their consideration.

Although it is possible that the United States Government, may, if the question of the treaty comes up, ask to have more vessels authorized than the present arrangement permits, I do not personally think that that possibility is a sufficient reason against sounding them with a view to the conclusion of a new treaty. Inasmuch as the present arrangement is terminable by six months' notice, the matter is in a state of unstable equilibrium, which might well become awkward were there to be any tension between the two countries or were a less friendly administration in power in the United States.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BRYCE.

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ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 3.

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

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, December 16, 1909.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR GENERAL,—

Conformably to your request, I send you some remarks that occur to me in regard to the present situation of the arrangement restricting naval armaments on the Great Lakes, and I enclose a memorandum prepared by Mr. Young at my request upon the subject.

It is to be observed that this is now the only one of these questions pending at the beginning of the present century between Canada and the United States and then submitted without final result to the Joint High Commission of 1899 which has not been settled or in a fair way of settlement. This fact is not sufficiently explained either by any relative unimportance of the question or by its inherent difficulty. On the contrary it is a question of vital interest, not only in an especial manner for Canada, but also for the Empire in general; and although no final settlement was arrived at upon the basis of the generally concurrent views of the High Commission this seems so far as can be judged from the records to have been due to objections taken on the side of Canada, which arose from circumstances and conditions for the most part fortuitously connected with the main issue.

There are grounds for thinking that the time has now arrived when it deserves to be considered whether an effort should be made to place this whole matter upon a more assured basis. Although the request recently made by the United States Government for permission to increase the number of their armed vessels on the lakes have been made without any *arrière pensée* of an improper kind, still such increases as have been permitted have led to some unfavourable comments in Canada and they have awakened some disquiet there. The United States Government have through the lips both of the President and of the Secretary of State expressed to me the high sense thy entertain of the value of an arrangement which for so many years secured peace and confidence, and I believe they are unwilling to do anything that would disturb that confidence. Nevertheless they may again be subject to pressure by the State authorities, possibly also from their own naval advisers, who desire to promote recruiting for the navy in the regions adjoining the Great Lakes; and there may not be always an administration so pacific as that of Mr. Taft nor a President so personally friendly to the country in which he has been wont to spend his summers. It may also be thought that the approaching centenary of the beginning of an unbroken peace between the United States and the British Empire furnishes a fitting occasion for the conclusion of a permanent treaty securing the absence of navies on the Great Lakes.

I cannot, of course, be sure that if the matter were raised, the United States Government might not desire the terms of the existing arrangement to be altered, for I have had no indication of their views on that point.

Should it be the opinion of your Government that the United States Government should be sounded as to the conclusion of any such treaty, and should His Majesty's Government at home also conceive that it is undesirable that a matter of such vital importance to both countries should remain much longer in a state too delicate for the public discussions which are arising from time to time, the present time, when the sky between the two countries is free from clouds and a President animated by friendly sentiments holds office, would seem to be a favourable moment.

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

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ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 3.

ARMAMENTS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

The wars which finally lead to a division of the North American continent between the Empire of Great Britain and the Republic of the United States were to a large extent prosecuted upon the natural water frontier of the Great Lakes. These great sheets of water, which were in these days suitable for naval operations on the largest scale then known and even now are capable of accommodating armaments of all but the first ratings, penetrating as they do on either side to the commercial centres of manufacture and material of the leading communities of the world, are strategically of the most vital importance to these communities. Therefore it was natural that when the relations between these two countries had been mutually recognized as having reached a stable equilibrium, one of the first compacts come to between them should concern the neutralisation of these waters. This compact known as the Rush-Bagot Agreement, owing to its informal character was from its inception regarded as an international instrument, scarcely adequate as the embodiment of a pact of such significance. It will moreover be shown that the course of events during the ninety-two years of its existence has still further derogated from any dignity it may have possessed and that frequent deviations from the letter of its provisions have reduced it to little more than a joint expression of policy.

The reasons for the comparatively informal shape which the agreement took had nothing to do with the acceptability to both parties of the main principle contained, the potential importance of which may probably not have been fully recognized at the time. This principle is described in the original American proposal thus:

> It is evident, if each party augments its force there, with a view to obtain the ascendency over the other, that vast expense will be incurred, and the danger of collision augmented in like degree. The President is sincerely desirous to prevent an evil which it is presumed is equally to be deprecated by both governments. He, therefore, authorizes you to propose to the British Government such an arrangement respecting the naval forces to be kept on the lakes by both Governments as will demonstrate their pacific policy and secure their peace. He is willing to confine it, on each side, to a certain moderate number of armed vessels, and the smaller the number the more agreeable to him; or to abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for revenue.—*Mr. Monroe to Mr. Adams, 16th November, 1815.*

It was at first received with hesitation by us because:

> 'As the hands of both parties would, by such an engagement, be tied until war should have commenced, the Americans by their proximity would be able to prepare armaments for attacks much sooner than those of the British could be prepared for defence.'—*Mr. Adams to Mr. Monroe, 8 February, 1816.*

It was renewed by the United States in a note of which the following extract is far-sighted:

> 'The increase of naval armaments on one side upon the lakes during peace, will necessitate the like increase on the other, and besides causing an aggravation of useless expense to both parties, must operate as a continual stimulus of suspicion and of ill-will upon the inhabitants and local authorities of the borders against those of their neighbours. The moral and political tendency of such a system must be to war and not to peace.'

It was then accepted and an agreement was embodied in an exchange of notes dated April 28-29, 1817, between Mr. Bagot, His Majesty's Minister in Washington, and Mr. Rush, then Secretary of State. (v. annex A). *

By this agreement the naval force to be 'maintained' by each Government on the Great Lakes was limited, on Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden and armed with one 18 pound cannon; on the upper lakes to two vessels not exceeding the same burden and armament; and on Lake Champlain to one vessel of no greater size and armament. All other armed vessels on the lakes were to be forthwith dismantled, and 'no other vessels of war' were to be 'there built or armed.' This stipulation was to remain in effect till

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*Not printed, for agreement see enclosure 2 in No. 1, Naval Vessels on Great Lakes, No. 4.

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six months after either party should have given notice to the other of a desire to terminate it.

As to the question raised subsequently whether the Presidential powers with which this agreement was concluded were sufficient and satisfactory. Mr. Foster, legal adviser to the Department of State writes as follows, in 1892: --

'It was not until nearly a year later that any uncertainty appears to have arisen as to the character of the arrangement, suggesting that it might in fact so far partake of the nature of a foreign treaty as to call for the advice and consent of the Senate. Out of abundant caution, in view of his constitutional relations to the Senate in regard to matters of foreign intercourse, President Monroe communicated to that body on April 6, 1818, the correspondence exchanged on the subject of the naval armaments on the lakes:

To the Senate of the United States:

An arrangement having been made and concluded between this Government and that of Great Britain with respect to the naval armament of the two Governments, respectively, on the lakes, I lay before the Senate a copy of the correspondence upon that subject, including the stipulations mutually agreed upon by the two parties. I submit it to the consideration of the Senate whether this is such an arrangement as the Executive is competent to enter into by the powers vested in it by the constitution or is such a one as requires the advice and consent of the Senate, and in the latter case, for their advice and consent, should it be approved.

JAMES MONROE.

House Document 471, 56th Congress, 1st Session, page 14.

The Senate in response passed a resolution of approval, under date of 13 April, 1818, and the agreement was thereafter proclaimed by the President under date of 28 April, 1818, having gone into effect a year previously. There seems to have been no exchange of ratifications; the proclamation was not formally communicated to His Majesty's Government though it appears, as the only published record of the agreement, in our State papers, (Vol. V., page 1200). On the American side it did not appear in an official publication until forty years later (Statutes, Vol. 11, page 766).

Mr. Foster, a high American authority, describes it as follows:

'It seems evident, therefore, that at no time during the negotiations, or at its completion, did the arrangement in question take the shape of a formal international treaty. As between the United States and Great Britain it never passed beyond the stage of an agreement by exchange of notes, to which each party proceeded to give effect in the manner permitted or prescribed in its own domestic sphere of action. The procedure of the Senate in advising and consenting to it, and of the President in proclaiming it, was wholly municipal. No exchange of ratifications took place. The agreement became effective by means of executive orders on each side, from the date of the original exchange of notes.'—*H.R. Document, No. 471, page 16.*

Effect was immediately given to the agreement and naval forces on both sides practically disappeared. Even the agreement itself was lost sight of and it would seem that in 1840 General Brady, in command on the frontier, had no knowledge of it. It was in fact the individual policies of the contracting parties rather than any pressure from the contract that kept the lakes neutral.

The first shock to this state of affairs and the first strain on the agreement came with the frontier filibustering against Canada in 1838. Of so little importance was the agreement then considered internationally that the Canadian authorities took such steps as they thought necessary, in commissioning armed vessels without any notification or reference to the United States. Later, in reply to representations by the latter referring to the agreement assurances were given by us that these measures were in self-defence only and would be discontinued as soon as the causes of danger no longer existed. In 1839 the British Minister had been informed that 'the causes assigned in his note no longer existing the President expected that the British armament on the lakes would be placed on the footing prescribed by the convention'; and in 1840 failing a satisfactory reply, Congress passed resolutions of enquiry and voted appropriations for an increase of armament on the lakes. In 1841 the representations of the United States were renewed, in a less assured key, with a request for explicit assurances 'that these vessels if unhappily it shall be found necessary

to use them at all will be confined to the sole and precise purpose of guarding Her Majesty's provinces against hostile attacks.' These assurances were given and the correspondence ceased. An armament was, however, maintained by us for some time after, in excess considerably of that allowed under the Agreement and the consequent agitation in Congress was not inconsiderable. One result of it was the Fortifications Act of 9 September, 1841, with an amendment providing for the construction on the lakes of armed steamers. This was subsequently modified so as to safeguard 'existing stipulations' with Her Majesty's Government. It was under this Act and without much concern for the provisions of such 'stipulations' that the Navy Department in 1844 constructed and commissioned the *Michigan* of 498 tons with two 8 in. and four smaller guns. This vessel was for many years a source of correspondence and is still afloat, a historic relic—as the *Wolverine.*

The attention called to the agreement at this time which caused it to be recognized for the first time probably as an international instrument of value, also exposed the impossibility of strictly observing its provisions, when such observance having been called for by us, the first suggestion for revision was accordingly made by the United States Government from which there follows an extract:

'It is worthy of remark that at the date of the agreement between the two Governments steamers were in use to a very limited extent as passenger vessels, and perhaps not at all as ships of war. The restriction as to tonnage would probably not have been adopted if their use had been anticipated. No effective steamer for any purpose, it is believed, would be built of a tonnage of 100 tons.

'I would respectfully suggest that this consideration would justify a revision of the agreement on the subject, and also that if it is considered that the British vessels are not inconsistent with the agreement by reason of the armament being limited to one gun each, the armament of the steamer *Michigan* can be readily reduced to that number.'—*Mr. Mason to Mr. Calhoun, 4 Sept., 1844.*

Nothing was done, however, and the agreement remained honoured in the breach for twenty years until the Civil War again called it in question.

Alarm this time, on the part of the United States in regard to threatened incursions of Confederate bands from Canada led to a Joint Resolution for termination of the agreement passing Congress 13 June, 1864, of which the preamble recites the reasons for this action as follows:

'The treaty of eighteen hundred and seventeen, as to the naval force upon the lakes, was designed as a temporary arrangement only, and, although equal and just at the time it was made, has become greatly unequal through the construction of (by) Great Britain of sundry ship canals; and whereas the vast interests of commerce upon the Northwestern Lakes, and the security of cities and towns situated on their American borders, manifestly require the establishment of one or more navy yards wherein ships may be fitted and prepared for naval warfare; and whereas the United States Government, unlike that of Great Britain, is destitute of ship canals for the transmission of gunboats from the Atlantic Ocean to the Western Lakes, etc.'

In reply to representations deprecating this action the Secretary of State disavowed any intention to terminate the agreement. Circumstances were probably too strong for him, however, and a few months later he notified Her Majesty's Government of an increase of armament as a temporary precaution. A month later, other considerations having complicated the issue, notice was given to Her Majesty's Government that the agreement should terminate. In his despatch to the Minister in London the Secretary of State refers to the agreement as 'informal.' This decision was formally confirmed by a Joint Resolution of Congress dated February 4, 1865; but the circumstances having changed and the period of notification being yet unexpired the United States Government informed Her Majesty's Government that they were willing that the agreement should remain 'practically' in force. In reply to an inquiry of Her Majesty's Government this was explained by the United States Government, after the period had elapsed, as being 'intended as a withdrawal of the previous notice.' In regard to the situation thereby created Mr. Foster wrote in 1892 as follows:

'As between the two countries the arrangement is, therefore, to be regarded as still in existence, and only terminable in good faith by six months' notice of abrogation on either side.

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'As a question of domestic administration and powers, the action of the Secretary of State in giving notice of termination without previous authority of Congress, and in withdrawing such notice without legislation to that end and after the notice had been confirmed by legislation, opens the door to nice argument in theory touching the constitutional aspects of the transactions, but, as a matter of practical effect, such consideration may now be deemed more interesting than material.'

During the succeeding quarter century the agreement seems again to have dropped out of notice, but the question of its invalidation was to be subsequently revived, and that of its infraction was to undergo during this period new developments of considerable importance.

When the agreement again came into question towards the end of the century its conditions had not been improved. Infractions of its terms in regard to naval vessels proper though still continuing to a less extent after 1865 are of less importance than the irregularities now first acquiring importance, in regard to Government vessels for revenue and other purposes. The distinction between naval and other Government vessels was not contemplated in the original negotiation. In the original proposal of the United States it was provided that:—

'The naval force thus retained by each party on the lakes shall be restricted in its duty to the protection of its revenue laws, the transportation of troops and goods, and to such other services as will in no respect interfere with the armed vessels of the other party.'—*Mr. Monroe to Mr. Bagot, 2 August, 1816.*

Other contemporaneous correspondence shows that the three naval vessels were allowed for revenue purposes and their distribution through the three lakes also suggests this intention.

This question as to the use of revenue vessels, occurs first in the course of correspondence in 1857 as to the undue tonnage and armament of the *Michigan*. It was then established that in addition to the *Michigan* the United States had for some years maintained two revenue cutters and was then building others under a special appropriation. In July, 1858, Her Majesty's Minister asked for explanations in the following terms:—

'It is reported there that the Federal Government have placed on the lakes six new armed cutters, and it is apprehended that should such be the case this measure may not square with the mutual obligations of the two countries contained in the Treaty of 1817.'

But the matter does not seem to have been pressed further, and the distinction between naval and revenue vessels was first formulated in 1865, in reply to representations by us in regard to the constructions of vessels in excess of the number allowed. These Mr. Seward explained were intended exclusively for revenue purposes and the explanation was apparently accepted. To quote Mr. Foster again:—

'Now and for some twenty-six years, the Government of the United States has drawn a sharp distinction between its naval force and revenue service on the lakes, and this contention has passed without controversion by Great Britain since it was announced by Mr. Seward in November, 1865.'

This revenue service then as now comprised four gunboats on the United States side—and two or three apparently on the Canadian side mostly modern vessels constituting almost an armament in the military conditions prevailing in the Lakes. But public attention not having been called to them, their existence has never so far caused public controversy though it is, if strictly regarded, an infraction of the agreement and affords an easy expedient for its evasion (v. list annexed B).

Another cause for infraction was due to the growth of the United States Navy and the difficulty of supplying it with native seamen. This led to the establishment of a scheme for drawing seamen from the populous shores of the Lakes by training volunteers in State Naval Militias. The success of this scheme was considerable and the five Lake States have now enrolled some 1500 men. For the training of these men armed vessels were required and provided. It was not, however, provision for either the recruiting of the Navy or for the Revenue Service that chiefly caused the United States Government to take up the question of revision.

It was the political pressure brought by lake shipyards for a share in contracts for navy cruisers that forced a consideration of the question in 1892. That year was a somewhat critical one in relations between the United States and Canada. A sharp controversy over customs bonding privileges and canal tolls was proceeding and the causes above indicated led to the Rush-Bagot Agreement being also called in question. Senator Macmillan himself a lake shipbuilders, secured passage of a resolution in the Senate in the following terms:—

'RESOLVED, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate whether the agreement entered into between the United States and Great Britain in the year eighteen hundred and seventeen, covering the question of the naval force to be maintained by the two Governments on the Great Lakes of the United States, is now held to be in force by the Department of State, and what, if any, action has been taken by our Government to revive or put in force the terms of said agreement; and if so, under what authority or action on the part of our Government such agreement has been held to be in force since the giving of the required formal notice by the President to Great Britain in December, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, of a desire on the part of the United States to annul said agreement at the expiration of six months from the date of said formal notice, and the ratification of said notice by the Act of Congress of February ninth, eighteen hundred and sixty-five.'

Sir J. Pauncefote, No. 98, 14 April.

His Majesty's Representative deprecated anything derogatory to so useful an instrument and received assurances from the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine; but shortly after the latter submitted a proposal for a revision and renewal of the agreement. His views were thus reported*:—"A misapprehension appeared "to exist as to the object and effect of the agreement. Its effect was to prevent "vessels of war being stationed on the Lakes in excess of the number stipulated "but it was not intended to restrain the shipbuilding industry. But appre- "hension appeared to be aroused as soon as a vessel was laid on the stocks "capable of being transformed into an armed cruiser. Moreover, uncertainty "prevailed among the public as to whether the arrangements are still in force, "and in some quarters as to the expediency of its continuance." He therefore suggested the addition of an explanatory article "which should provide in "substance that nothing in that arrangement should be deemed to restrict ship- "building on the lakes except that any vessel built for the purpose of being "used as a revenue cruiser or vessel of war may be constructed so far only as "regards the hull, masts and spars, but shall not be plated, armed or equipped, "or rendered available as an armed vessel on the lakes, and moreover that she "shall be compelled to quit the lakes within a specified time after completion "as above to be transformed into an armed vessel.....on the "seaboard." This proposal became complicated with the course of the other controversies and was dropped by the Harrison Administration, then in their last year. But the question was violently resuscitated some months later by the report prepared by Mr. Foster, in response to the Senate's Resolution. This report, which was immediately published, was calculated to aggravate the acrimonious atmosphere then prevailing. Nothing was said in it of the abortive attempt at revision above described and the public situation at that time appears in the following extracts:—

Senate Ex., Doc. No. 9, 52nd Congress, 2nd Sess.

'The circumstances and form of the original arrangement entered into in April, 1817, show that it did not in terms purport to be more than a record of an understanding mutually reached by the two Governments for the reciprocal regulation of a matter within the administrative competence of each. Its interpretation since that time by temporarily increasing the force on either side when demanded by the exigencies of national self-defence, by tacitly withdrawing the necessary revenue force from the purview of its stipulations, and by resorting (as in the case of the *Michigan*) to the use of vessels of heavier tonnage and greater armament than the arrangement allows, all show an elasticity of observance which it is only compatible with the conviction, on both sides, that the whole subject was within administrative control, and that it sufficed to observe the spirit of the arrangement by mutually abstaining from the creation of a martial force on the lakes in menace to the reciprocal obligations of good neighbourhood.

'It seems desirable now, in view of the long lapse of time and the vast changes wrought in these and other no less important regards, that the arrangement now grown obsolete in practice and surviving in the letter only as a declared guaranty of inter-

* See enclosure in No. 2, Naval Vessels on Great Lakes No. 4.

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national peace, should be modified to fit the new order of things, and with such adaptation to the exigencies of the future as prudence may forecast.'

The new administration were more careful in avoiding open infractions. Thus further attempts by Senators Macmillan and Dickinson to obtain a cruiser contract for Messrs. Wheeler & Co. of West Bay, Michigan, and for the Detroit Dry Dock Co., were resisted successfully. But in 1898 exigencies of the war with Spain caused a serious precedent for the permission of construction. Permission was asked and obtained for the passage to the seaboard of two of the revenue cutters—the *Gresham* and *Calumet,* and for two other gunboats, the *Algonquin* and *Onondaga,* then completing construction on the lakes.

Public attention having thus been called to the situation, informal representations were made by us in regard to it and were met by a reply to the effect that the United States were anxious to maintain the spirit of the Agreement, but with such modifications as might be advantageous to both parties, and advisable in view of changed conditions. The question thereby and thereupon became one of those suitable for reference to the Joint High Commission, the constitution of which had been for some time contemplated and was effected by agreement of 30th May, 1898.

Conf'l Print Part 1, p. 47.

The official attitude of the United States Government at the opening of the Commission is found in the memorandum then put in which reproduces their views as above stated. The official attitude of Canada was not altogether unfavourable to revision in principle with the reserve that "any modifications of the restrictions in regard to armament on the lakes ought to be very carefully guarded, and in fact, that no reason at this time seems to exist for any deviation from the severity of these restrictions." The view taken by His Majesty's Government was based on a careful consideration of the whole question by statesmen and experts. The conclusion come to was that abrogation must be avoided and the principle of the severest possible restrictions of vessels maintained; if necessary, at the cost of concessions in relaxation of the total prohibition of construction, and in regard to authorization of training vessels.

Minutes of P.C., 4 July, 1898.
Conf'l Print, Part 1, p. 37.

In the ensuing discussions efforts were made by our Commissioners to keep the number, tonnage and armament of authorized vessels as low as possible. A draft proposal was finally made which seems to have secured substantial acceptance on both sides, but the Commission broke up without reaching any result. This draft was subsequently reproduced with some slight modification as Article VIII. of a General Treaty in which it was sought to embody the results of the Commission's labours and was as follows:—

'The High Contracting Parties engaged to annul their agreement of 1817 in respect to the maintenance of a naval force and the construction of armed vessels on the Great Lakes; and in lieu of such Agreement substitute the following:—

Neither Government shall hereafter maintain upon the Great Lakes any naval armament or vessels of war, except as follows:—

Either Government may hereafter maintain upon the said Lakes not more than two vessels of a maximum displacement of 1,000 tons each, with not more than two guns of a calibre not exceeding 4 inches, and six guns of minor calibres each; such vessels to be used only for the purpose of naval instruction and training.

Each Government may maintain not more than six revenue cutters of a maximum displacement of 900 tons each armed with not exceeding one 6-pr. rapid fire gun each.

Each Government may make use of the industrial establishments on the shores of the said lakes for building the above-mentioned vessels and also for the construction of naval vessels for use upon the high seas; but such naval vessels shall not be armed or rendered available for war on said lakes. Not more than one of the last named vessels shall be completed to the point where it may be armed or rendered available for war at the same time; it shall be delivered at the Atlantic sea-board at as early a date as practicable after it has been prepared to receive its guns, and for that purpose shall have passage through all intermediate waterways.'

But this draft treaty was not approved and with it fell the revised agreement. It would seem that Canada had consented somewhat unwillingly to the construction clause and was at that time still somewhat dubious as to the principle of revision which His Majesty's Government had now recognized as advisable.

The reasons influencing His Majesty's Government in this attitude had been stated by Lord Herschel in the following words:—

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'Down to the present time, owing it may be presumed, to the influence of the eastern shipbuilders, the Government have been able to maintain this position of refusing contracts to Lake shipbuilders. It was pointed out by Major Barter in 1892 that the growth of political innfluence in the west would in all probability render it impossible for the United States permanently to do so.

If such was the state of things in 1892 the difficulty of adhering to the Arrangement on the part of the United States is certainly greater to-day than it was then. The influence of the west has not been diminishing and with the considerable increase in shipbuilding which is certain to result from the events of the recent war, the clamour of the lake shipbuilders for the abrogation of the arrangement of 1817 by giving the six months' notice for its termination will, I believe, prove irresistible unless the arrangement can be modified as to meet, to some extent, the complaints of the Lake Shipbuilders.'

This opinion was so far justified that in 1900 these shipbuilders obtained from Congress a resolution calling for an enquiry into the Agreement of which the preamble runs:—

"Whereas the Secretary of the Navy has decided that contractors owning or managing shipyards on the Great Lakes are not eligible to bid for the constructionof war vessels because of the existence of an agreement," etc.

In response to this resolution Mr. Hay, then Secretary of State, published a message, of which the following extract is important:—

'The instructions given to the American members of this joint high commission on the subject referred to in the resolution of the House of Representatives as representing the views of the Government of the United States, were that it was desirable to secure a declaration or recognition that it was not contrary to the true spirit and intent of the arrangement of 1817 to build vessels of war upon the Great Lakes or its ports provided they were not to be used or maintained upon these lakes. It was held that the evident meaning of the arrangement especially when read in the light of the correspondence leading up to it, was that only such armed vessels as described should thenceforth be maintained in those waters. In 1817 the Great Lakes were independent inland waters. Lake Ontario was shut up by the rapids of the St. Lawrence and by Niagara Falls; the lakes above Lake Erie were shut in by the rapids of the St. Clair river, and Lake Superior in turn was separated by the Rapids of Sault Ste. Marie. There was therefore no navigable connection between them and the ocean. Under such circumstances to build and arm vessels on the lakes meant "to maintain" them there and to use them for no other purpose than as part of the permanent armament. The language of the Treaty therefore, was not improper at the time to convey the idea intended.

Moreover, at the time of making the arrangement the region of the Great Lakes was in a large measure an uninhabited wilderness. To-day the lakes are highways for an enormous traffic, and their ports are great centres of manufacture and industry and can afford to the United States facilities not dreamed of in 1817. They have, among other things, peculiar advantages for the construction of certain classes of war vessels and their facilities in this respect are capable of large extension and of a development which in the future may be of inestimable value to the United States.'

It will be observed that the United States Government have now changed their policy and instead of pressing for permission of construction and authorization of training vessls by means of revision, they pursue these objects by interpretation of the spirit of the Agreement. Moreover, they give public expression to their opinion that the true intention of the agreement permits them this license. This position was again taken up in 1906 by Mr. Root when he reviewed the questions still outstanding, which it was then proposed to take up again. He then proposed revision in the following terms:—

Naval authorities have pointed out that since the Agreement the construction of the Canadian system of canals has made it possible for Great Britain to send armed vessels of considerable size from the seacoast to the Lakes within a few days, so that in case of hostilities Canada could presently have an armament on the lakes, while under this Agreement the United States would have none. We are not willing, however, to speculate upon such a contingency, or to treat it as sufficiently within the range of possibility to justify the termination of this Agreement, under which the people on both sides of the lakes have lived for nearly ninety years in peace and security. We feel that the mere suggestion of occasion for armament against possible attack which would be drawn from a termination of the Agreement would be unfounded in fact and injurious in its effect upon the mutual confidence and good-will of the two peoples who have been so long accustomed to live together with no more thought of hostilities than if they were citizens of the same country.

There is, however, a strong pressure on the part of many ship-building establishments upon the shores of the lakes to be permitted to compete for the construction

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of the smaller war vessels intended by our Government for use on the ocean. This, of course, would have been impossible at the time the Agreement was made, and was not then contemplated, and the agreement was not intended to deal with any such transaction. In my own view, the construction upon the Lakes of vessels for use elsewhere would not now be a violation of the spirit of the Agreement or of its terms justly construed. I hope that the Government of Great Britain will be of the opinion that the proposed building of vessels for use elsewhere would not in any way injuriously affect her interests; and, if so, I should be glad to have you agree upon a stipulation assenting to this construction of the Agreement, with such safeguards against an abuse of the right as may seem reasonable.

Canada was, however, still averse to any action, and the matter again dropped. No further move for revision has since been made by the United States. A recent conversation between Mr. Bryce and President Taft indicates that this administration fully recognize the great value of the principle of restriction.*

A minor point requiring special notice had been raised this time in the course of the consideration, as to whether the United States Government were justified in assuming that Lake shipyards were entitled to pass vessels constructed in the Lakes through the Canadian Canals. The point turned on the wording of Article XXVI. of the Treaty of Washington of 1871, and after exhaustive examination of the antecedents of the article it was decided that though it was not "technically impossible" for the Dominion Government to refuse their passage to do so would put His Majesty's Government in a "disingenuous light." It would seem, however, the right of navigation reciprocally granted by Article I. of the Boundary Waters Treaty will prevent further question of such right of passage as soon as this Treaty is ratified.

Conf'l Print, 1906. Part 1, p. 91.

It does not seem as though the United States Government have of late been pressed to put in force their point of view as to the possibility of construction without infraction of the agreement. It may be assumed that had such pressure been exercised some such construction would have been authorized. It is possible that the immense development in late years of the lake freighting has kept shipyards busy; and, in any case, the American navy has developed lately on lines upon which most of the contracts going are for a class of vessels which could not be got through the canals. Passage in sections seems still rather a project than a practical possibility. There may also be a political reason for this matter being left dormant which is that the United States Government thought best first to secure their requirements as to training vessels.

The national navy interests involved in the training of seamen on the lakes have increased in importance with the growth of the demand for seamen and the awakening of a naval spirit in the lake States. This also was anticipated by Lord Herschel, who wrote in 1898:—

> I feel satisfied that if the Agreement of 1817 is abrogated, and no other substituted, the result will be that the Americans will keep on the lakes as training ships four vessels very likely of larger dimensions and of heavier armament than those proposed. This conclusion is based upon the following considerations: the jealousy of the individual states is such that each will exert great pressure to have a training ship for its exclusive use. And inasmuch as it will probably not be practicable to give what they would regard as their legitimate share of the shipbuilding trade to the Lake ship-builders I think this would afford an additional motive for complying with the wishes of the States. Any one who has not lived for some time in this country can, I think, scarcely realize the force of pressure which local interest brings to bear upon the Executive, and how apt they are to yield to such pressure or how very difficult it is for them to resist it.

The Commission was still sitting when the first application was made for the passage of a training ship *The Wasp*, and was finally postponed as inopportune. Since then applications have been made at regular intervals and agreed to under certain conditions and with a growing sense of disquiet on the part of Canada.

Had the Agreement been revised as agreed on in 1898 the United States would have been unable to have more than two training vessels on the Lakes. The annexed list (D) shows that the United States Government have now on the lakes the four armed training vessels required by each State, besides those

*See enclosure in No. 5, Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes No. 5.

unarmed vessels, one armed vessel they have offered to withdraw and the old *Wolverine*, and further, it may be expected that State emulation will not rest satisfied until each of the four militias is furnished with a vessel at least as modern as the *Nashville*.

Further applications may therefore be expected and with each passage the Canadian public will become more uneasy and the impression that the unrevised agreement is an inadequate protection will become more general. What the result of this may be in combination with the naval ambitions of Canada is not hard to foresee. The flotilla of United States training vessels now annually parades the lakes for summer manœuvres when the lake watering places are crowded and the moral effect of this on the Canadian public which feels that it has no sufficient security against an indefinite increase of the strength of such flotilla may well be the creation of a demand that a similar training flotilla be established for the Canadian navy.

In 1907, speaking before the Colonial Conference, Mr. Brodeur said:—

Published Minutes of Proceedings, p. 140.

> We have on the Great Lakes (large seas properly speaking) American States bordering those great lakes, and they are having navies of their own now. I think that three States bordering on the three great lakes, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois are spending not less than $15,000,000 themselves for keeping up a navy on these lakes, and are drilling their men on the shores of the lakes. Besides they have some ships which are not armed, because it would be against the conclusions of the treaty—but built in order to be prepared in case of emergency. As far as Canada is concerned one of the first duties we shall have to look after is our protection in connection with the Great Lakes. I may say that the wars we have had since 1763, since Canada has become part of the British Empire, came from the United States. We had an invasion in 1775, we had an invasion in 1812, and we had the Fenian Raids in the Sixties. All those invasions came from the United States. So, we have to look specially to protect ourselves in that direction, and I may say we have been doing it as far as the Great Lakes are concerned, not to a very large extent it is true, but to the extent of spending a sum of money which is quite important for a country of the size of ours.
>
> Now, with regard to our Naval Militia, which comes under my Department, we have been, as I said, spending some money for the Fisheries Protection Service, and carrying out in that way not only some local self defence but also Imperial obligations and I am sure we have been very glad to do it, and are glad to continue to do it. We established a couple of years ago a cruiser for Canada which is manned entirely by Canadian seamen. Those men are now drilling every day.

Should a few shipyards on the United States side be given contracts for such gunboats as they have constructed in the past (v. list C annexed), and should Ontario shipyards which also have constructed such boats, (e.g. the *Vigilant*) claim a share in the naval appropriation for constructions with St. Lawrence and seacoast shipyards, both as a matter of equity and as a measure of defence, political pressure may be brought both at Ottawa and Washington by the public press and these private interests, and a competitive construction in the lakes may become a *fait accompli* before it is realised. Whether the craft constructed be called training vessels and revenue cruisers will not matter much, for by then the policy of neutralization of the lakes will be giving way to a more dangerous sentiment, and the Rush-Bagot Agreement, which so many vessels have been driven through without affecting its inherent vitality, will be so much waste paper.

Of the many questions of first importance pending between Canada and the United States at the beginning of the century this of the effective neutralization of the Lakes, which seemed to offer the least difficulty is the only one now not in a fair way of settlement. Yet it is the one which of all is the most important in respect of the future. The difficulties or dangers in the other matters would not have increased with time, and some, such as those concerning fisheries, might have solved themselves in the end by the natural decay of the bone of contention. But this question of neutralization of the lakes is one which must become more acute annually as the lakes become more and more valuable highways to two commercial communities and more and more vulnerable frontiers between two naval powers.

A formal treaty capable of securing both countries indefinitely against a departure from their traditional policy in the lakes under pressure from public

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feeling or private interest could now be concluded on the lines of the draft of 1898 with some modifications such as allowing four training ships instead of two. But a new phase in the question has already been entered by the United States and seems likely shortly to be entered by Canada and the further both countries proceed in it the greater will be the difficulty of a settlement and the danger of the situation.

The recent debate in the Canadian House of Commons raised by Mr. Foster puts the question before the public. Mr. Foster on that occasion defined his attitude as follows:—

H. of C. Debates, Vol. xliii, 1 Dec, 1909, pp. 832-3.

I do not say that it may be found practicable that modifications should take place on both sides as regards the keeping of armaments on the Great Lakes but any armament maintained there should be in accord with the treaty arrangements and not in violation of the terms of the Treaty now existing. It may be that there is some argument for reasonable modification but I do hope that has between the United States and ourselves, on these line waters, consisting of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, it may never become necessary for the two countries to spend large amounts in vying with each other in the building of warships.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his reply defined the position of the Ministry as follows:—

The observations of my honourable friend would have been more apposite if, when calling the attention of the country to a condition of things which must cause anxiety to everybody and certainly to the Government, he had been able to suggest a remedy.....My honourable friend will realize the condition of things is one in which we ought to be very careful as to what we do and what we say; and I do not think that perhaps he has served as good a purpose as no doubt he had in his mind in bringing this matter to the attention of the country as he has done.

It is obviously undesirable that a matter of such vital importance to both countries should remain much longer in a state which is so delicate as to be unsuitable for public discussion and it may be inferred from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's remarks that the Dominion Government would now not be averse to a consideration of the propriety of strengthening the present agreement or by putting it into the shape of a formal treaty.

GEORGE YOUNG,

Secretary in charge of Commercial Affairs.

British Embassy,
Washington,
December 17, 1909.

ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 3.

ANNEX B.

VESSELS of United States Revenue Service Stationed in Great Lakes.

—	Guns.	Tons.	Built.	Where built.	Station.
MORRILL—Steamer (propeller).....	1	397	1889	Wilmington, Del....	Detroit, Mich.
TUSCARORA—Steamer (propeller)..	1	670	1902	Richmond, Va.. ..	Milwaukee, Wis.
MACKINAC—Steamer (propeller)...	0	220	1903	Baltimore, Md.....	Sault St. Marie, Mich.
PATROL—Steamer (propeller).....	0	0	1899	Jersey City, N.J....	Chicago, Ill.

NOTE.—The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1909, just published, asks for an appropriation for additional modern revenue vessel on Lake Michigan.

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ENCLOSURE 5 IN No. 3.

ANNEX C.

VESSELS of United States Revenue Service Constructed in Great Lakes.

—	Guns.	Tons.	Built.	Where built.	Station.
PERRY—Steamer (propeller).....	3	451	1884	Buffalo, N.Y.....	Port Townsend, Wash.
CALUMET—Steamer (propeller)....	0	169	1894	Buffalo, N.Y.	New York, N.Y.
GRESHAM—Steamer (propeller)...	4	936	1897	Cleveland, O.....	Boston, Mass.
ALGONQUIN—Steamer (propeller).	5	936	1898	Cleveland, O.....	San Juan, P.R.
ONONDAGA—Steamer (propeller)..	4	936	1898	Cleveland, O.....	Philadelphia, Pa.

ENCLOSURE 6 IN No. 3.

ANNEX D.

VESSELS of United States Navy Stationed in Lakes.

Lake.	—	Armament.	—
Lake Erie.....	*HAWK*—Yacht, 375 tons.....	Unarmed...	Ohio Militia.
Lake Erie.....	*DOROTHEA*—Yacht, 594 tons.....	4-6 prs. 4-m.	" "
Lake Erie.....	*ESSEX*—Wood, 1,375 tons.....	6-4 in. 4-6 prs. 4-m.	" "
Lake Superior.....	*GOPHER*, late *FERN*—Wood, 840 tons.	Unarmed...	Minnesota Militia.
Lake Michigan.....	*DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA*—Gunboat, 1,150 tons.	6-3 in. 4-6 prs. 4-m.	Michigan Militia.
Lake Ontario.....	*SANDOVAL*—Gunboat, 100 tons.....	2-3 prs. 2-m.	New York Militia.
Lake Michigan.....	*NASHVILLE*—Gunboat, 1,371 tons....	8-4 in. 4-6 prs. 4-m.	Michigan Militia.
Great Lakes	*WOLVERINE* late *MICHIGAN*—685 tons.	6-6 prs. 4-m.	Recruiting Service.
Lake Michigan.....	*YANTIC*—Wood, 900 tons.....	Unarmed...	Michigan Militia.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

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

No. 60.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1910.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my despatch No. 38, of the 5th instant, in regard to resolutions passed by the House of Representatives on the question of the construction of war vessels in the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of a communication* by the Secretary of the Navy to Congress in reply to that resolution.

This communication deals with the practical possibilities of construction of small war-vessels on the Lakes. It will be observed that the Secretary considers that the construction of small war-vessels for use in the United States Navy after passage through the canals, is at present, practically and economically possible; as is also with some additional preparation the construction of large war-vessels for use on the Great Lakes. Construction of large war-vessels for use on the seaboard after passage of the canals in sections he seems to consider to be not economically practical.

In connection with the question of the passage of the canals, I would point out that after completion of the Erie Canal now in rapid course of construction the United States will be able to pass gunboats through from the Lakes to the Sea of greater length, identic beam and not much less draught than could now traverse the Canadian canals.

It is also not improbable that the information hereby published in regard to tenders by Lake firms for naval contracts will provide material for Congressional pressure on the Administration either to revise the Rush-Bagot Agreement or to read into it a right to construct at will.

I have, etc.,
JAMES BRYCE.

*Not printed; see Departmental file.

No. 2.

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

No. 61.

Confidential.

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1910.

MY LORD,—

Referring to my despatch of March 23, on the subject of war vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to inform you that two days ago I took an opportunity of mentioning to the President of the United States the request addressed to him by the House of Representatives for an expression of his opinion on the subject of the building of such vessels in the shipyards there to be sent down thence to the sea. He said that he had not yet made any reply to the request of the House, which might seem not to have been yet brought to his notice; and in reply to my request for an expression of his own views, he observed that he was inclined to deprecate any deviation from the provisions of the Rush-Bagot agreement which had been so eminently beneficial to both countries. He quite realized that, however entirely friendly and pacific were

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the sentiments of both nations, it was undesirable that there should exist any uneasiness in the public mind as to the possibility of placing naval forces on the Great Lakes.

I may add that I had very recently a short conversation with Mr. Root upon the same subject. He spoke in a similar sense and appeared to hope that any agitation by the firms desiring to build warships in the shipbuilding yards on the Lakes might be held in check.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

No. 3.

P.C. 650.

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 13th April, 1910.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 5th April, 1910, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, stating that he has had under consideration a despatch, dated 23rd March, 1910, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, calling attention to a communication sent to Congress by the Secretary of the Navy in response to a resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the question of the construction of war vessels on the Great Lakes.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs observes that in that communication it was intimated that the construction of small war vessels for use in the United States navy generally, and, on certain conditions, the construction of large war vessels for use on the Great Lakes, was practically and economically possible, and Mr. Bryce expresses the opinion that it is "not improbable that the information hereby published in regard to tenders by lake "firms for naval construction will provide material for Congressional pressure "on the Administration either to revise the Rush-Bagot agreement or to read "into it the right to construct at will."

The Minister states that Your Excellency's Advisers believe it their duty in these circumstances to record their emphatic dissent from any interpretation of the Rush-Bagot agreement which could be considered to recognize such a right. The language of that agreement seems to them absolutely plain and unequivocal. The agreement, after limiting the naval forces of the two Powers to be maintained on the Lakes to three vessels on each side, goes on to provide that "all other armed vessels on these Lakes shall be dismantled, *and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed;*"

That in face of these unambiguous words Your Excellency's Advisers are at a loss to conceive what principle of interpretation would justify a construction of the agreement which could be held to authorize the building of war vessels at will;

That, inconsistent as such a construction is with the terms of the agreement, Your Excellency's Advisers believe it to be equally opposed to its spirit and object. That object as originally proposed by the United States Government was to "demonstrate" the "pacific policy" of the two Governments, and "secure their peace," and it will hardly be contended that such an object will be furthered or the interests of good neighbourhood between the two countries promoted when the way is laid open by the giving of liberty for unrestricted building of war vessels for the very mischief which the agreement was designed to prevent, the provocation namely of those mutual feelings of suspicion and ill-will certain to arise from a rivalry in naval armaments, a result requiring as strongly to be guarded against to-day as when the agreement was first entered into;

That Your Excellency's Advisers are aware that it has been argued that in the altered conditions of the present, due to the construction of canals between the lakes, the building of war vessels which are to be removed from the lakes, cannot be considered as falling within the prohibition of the agreement; but they find themselves totally unable to accept such a view. The pur-

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pose of the prohibition was to prevent, or at least to reduce to a minimum, the possibility of offensive naval operations on the lakes; and the building of war vessels on these lakes, involving of necessity the possibility of their being offensively employed, is obviously quite inconsistent with such a purpose; while that inconsistency is not removed by the mere fact that it is now possible to remove vessels built in the Great Lakes to the Sea;

That Your Excellency's Advisers, therefore, deem it well to make a strong protest against the interpretation referred to, and they recommend that Your Excellency may be pleased to convey this expression of their views to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, for communication, should it be deemed advisable, to the United States Government.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

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

Canada.

Confidential.

No. 47.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 19 April, 1910.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's Despatch No. 50, dated the 23rd March*, transmitting copy of a communication sent to Congress by the Secretary of the Navy in response to a resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the question of the construction of war vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to forward, herewith, for transmission to the United States Government, should Your Excellency deem such action advisable, copy of an approved Minute of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada.

13 April, 1910.

Your Excellency, in your despatch, expresses the opinion that it is "not improbable that the information hereby published in regard to tenders by lake firms for naval construction will provide material for Congressional pressure on the Administration either to revise the Rush-Bagot Treaty or to read into it the right to construct at will." My responsible advisers desire to record their emphatic dissent from, and to protest most strongly against any interpretation of the Rush-Bagot Treaty which could be considered as recognizing the right of either of the parties to the Treaty to construct war vessels on the Great Lakes. The Agreement, after limiting the Naval forces of the two Powers on the Lakes to three vessels on each side provides that "all other armed vessels on these lakes shall be dismantled and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed."

In face of these unambiguous words my responsible advisers considers any interpretation which could be held to authorize the building of war vessels at will to be equally opposed to the spirit and object of the agreement.

While they are aware that it has been argued that, in the altered conditions of the present time, due to the construction of canals between the Lakes, the building of war vessels which are to be removed from the Lakes cannot be considered as falling within the prohibition of the Agreement, they find themselves quite unable to accept such a view. The object of the prohibition was to prevent, the possibility of offensve naval operations on the Lakes, and to "demonstrate" the "pacific policy" of the two Governments. The construction of war vessels on the Lakes, even though vessels built on the Great Lakes can be removed to the Sea, is in their opinion quite inconsistent with such a policy.

I have, etc.,

GREY.

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
etc., etc., etc.

*See No. 1. Print No. 7.

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No. 2.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Canada.

Confidential.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 28 April, 1910.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit, herewith, for Your Lordship's information, copy of a Confidential Despatch, which I addressed to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, covering copy of an approved Minute of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, expressing the opinion of my responsible advisers on certain points suggested by Mr. Bryce in the matter of the Rush-Bagot Treaty.

I have also the honour to enclose a copy of Mr. Bryce's Despatch No. 50, dated the 23rd March, 1910,* in answer to which my Despatch referred to above was written.

I have, etc.,

GREY.

The Right Honourable
The EARL OF CREWE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

*See No. 1, Print No. 7.

No. 3.

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

No. 72.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, May 3, 1910.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 47, of the 19th of April, transmitting a Minute of the Privy Council commenting on information contained in my despatch No. 50 of the 23rd of March in regard to the question of naval armaments in the Great Lakes and the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

I note that the Dominion Government record their emphatic dissent from and protest strongly against any interpretation of the Agreement in question which would permit of the construction of war vessels in the Great Lakes; and that the Minute aforesaid may be transmitted by me to the United States Government should such action be deemed advisable by me. Upon due consideration it appears to me that the matter has not so come within the range of practical questions as to make it desirable that the Minute should be now transmitted, and there is indeed reason to think that at the present moment more harm than good would be done by any action which would give prominence to the subject here. The United States Government have not addressed me upon it. It is in no sense a pending one officially between us and them. Little interest has so far been shown in the press regarding it. In this country every communication addressed to the Government is liable to reach the public through the newspaper men, and a formal protest might tend to rouse that active press discussion of the subject which has hitherto been almost wholly absent,and probably to stimulate the shipbuilding firms and other persons who may fancy they have an interest in the abrogation of the Agreement.

As was observed in my despatch No. 50 of the 23rd of March, a protest on our part might at any moment be met by a denunciation by the United Statets Government of the Agreement itself; and that this contingency is one to be borne in mind as not wholly impossible appears from a passage in the enclosed communication* from the Secretaryy of the Navy in reply to the second resolution of Congress referred to in my above mentioned despatch. An opinion of the Navy Department of the 28th of February, 1906, is there

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quoted, that "it would seem to be in the best interests of the United States if this Agreement could be terminated at once."

This recommendation has not been followed, but should Congress be led by the clamour of selfish interests to take up the matter, an agitation to act upon it might be expected.

Fortunately, the present Administration, like the past, shows no disposition to disturb the present pacific situation, which has been so eminently beneficial to both countries. The President has expressed to me (as reported in my Despatch No. 51 Confidential of March the 25th last) his strong wish to avoid any action which could arouse any public uneasiness regarding the position in the Great Lakes. The tenor of his own language and conduct shows that he does not desire to raise any questions that can be allowed to sleep, and there is, therefore, good reason to hope that nothing will be done in the near future which will make it necessary for the Protest to be delivered, though I shall hold it in reserve in case of need, fully realizing its weight and importance and the gravity of the issue with which it deals.

I need not say that this Embassy will continue to watch the subject with close attention and will inform Your Excellency of any developments that may arise in connection with it.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRYCE.

*H. of R., Doc't No. 863, 61st Congress, 2nd Session; not printed.

No. 4.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

DOWNING STREET, 19th May, 1910.

MY DEAR GREY,—

Referring to your private letter of the 24th of February as to the question of naval armaments on the Great Lakes, I have received from Edward Grey the two enclosed papers, one a Secret memorandum from the Director of Military Operations to the Foreign Office, the other a letter from the Admiralty to the same Office.

I gather that your Ministers do not wish to move in the matter, but to leave the onus of proposing any change in the existing arrangement to the Government of the United States. That being so, I do not write an official despatch because I want to avoid the appearance of giving any lead to your advisers, but at the same time I do not feel justified in entirely withholding the views of our naval and military experts, and I would suggest that you should show these papers confidentially to the Ministers who are specially interested.

Yours faithfully,

CREWE.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 4.

Director of Military Operations to Foreign Office (Received March 3rd).

Secret.

The Director of Military Operations presents his compliments to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, in reply to his letter of the 21st February, begs to offer the following remarks:—

The construction of the Georgian Bay Canal would certainly modify the situation in regard to the Great Lakes in favour of Canada, inasmuch as it would confer upon the Dominion the advantage of being able to pass ships of large draught through Canadian territory into Lake Huron, an advantage which would not be shared in the case of American territory by the United States.

Too much importance, however, cannot be attached to this advantage from a military point of view, since it would not alter the existing situation in regard to the other four lakes. Lake Superior is only accessible from Lake Huron by two canals which run for a mile and a-half upon either side on the

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narrow rapids at Sault Ste. Marie; Lake Michigan is wholly within American territory; Lake Erie can only be entered from Lake Huron by the St. Clair River Canal, an American waterway; whilst Lake Ontario is below Niagara.

The Director of Military Operations has already pointed out in his former communications the serious consequences which might ensue from a loss of command of Lake Ontario, but owing to the greater distance of Lake Huron from Montreal and Ottawa, it does not seem possible that equally important results could be achieved by a hostile force which had secured control of the waters of the latter lake. A successful landing in Georgian Bay would compromise, no doubt, the safety of any Canadian force operating in the direction of Niagara or Detroit, and might lead to the loss of Toronto, but might not involve the far-reaching consequences which are to be anticipated from a loss of command of Lake Ontario.

War Office,
March 2nd, 1910.

ENCLOSURE 2 in No. 4.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.

Confidential.

M. 2132.

(10815)

ADMIRALTY, 29th March, 1910.

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 21st ultimo No. 5264, '10, relative to the restriction of armaments on the Great Lakes of America, I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will inform the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the construction of a Canadian deep water canal to the Great Lakes may, in their opinion, modify to an important extent the position of Canada as regards the Rush-Bagot Treaty.

In the event of a war between Great Britain and the United States of America, the Canal would afford a ready means of passing large cruisers into the Upper Lakes by a route considerably removed from the American frontier and would enable this country to obtain command of those waters.

On the other hand, the cutting of the Canal may affect Canada adversely. The United States realising the position in which they would be placed if at war with Great Britain might build on the Great Lakes a more powerful class of vessel than could be passed through by this country.

Canada in that case would probably be compelled to enter into a ruinous competition with the United States in shipbuilding on the lakes.

In this connection I am to observe that under present conditions seagoing vessels of about 255 feet length, 42 feet beam and 14 feet draft can enter the Lakes by way of the St. Lawrence and its canals where the depth is 14 feet.

The Welland Canal between Lakes Ontario and Erie has 14 feet.

A channel of 20 feet is maintained between Lakes Erie and Huron throughout Detroit River, St. Clair Lake and River.

It will thus be seen that the limit of draught of vessels entering by the proposed new canal to Georgian Bay would be 14 feet for those proceeding to Lake Ontario, 20 feet to Lake Erie.

I am, etc.,

C. I. THOMAS

The Under Secretary of State,
Foreign Office.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES. 105

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 5.

EXTRACT FROM INTELLIGENCE DIARY FOR JULY, 1911.

WARSHIPS ON GREAT LAKES.

An order issued to-day by the Navy Department placing the gunboat *Wolverine* out of commission at Erie, Pa., preparatory to turning her over to the Naval Militia at that place, is of deep international significance. It removed from the Great Lakes the last regularly commissioned United States warship and leaves the "Inland Seas" without an American naval vessel for the first time since the Bagot agreement, limiting the naval armament on the lakes, was adopted early in the last century. The *Wolverine*, which was formerly the old iron gunboat *Michigan*, has patrolled the lakes for more than twenty-five years.
(Boston Transcript, 7-6-11.)

No. 6.

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

No. 41.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 1, 1912.

SIR,—

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note received from the Acting Secretary of State, informing me that the Secretary of the Navy proposes to issue at an early date an advertisement inviting proposals for constructing, by contract, the river gunboat authorized by the Naval Appropriation Act of March 4th, 1911, and that he is desirous that in the interests of the Government, as well as that of the shipbuilding industry generally, shipbuilders of the Great Lakes may be admitted to the competition.

It will be seen that the vessel will not be launched at the place where she is to be constructed, and I have further learnt from an enquiry made by the Naval Attaché to this Embassy that she is destined for service in China, and will be transported in sections across the continent to the Pacific Coast and thus will not pass through the Great Lakes.

I have informed the Acting Secretary of State in reply to his note that I am transmitting copies of it to Your Royal Highness and to the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BRYCE.

His Royal Highness
The DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.,
The Governor General.

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 6.

From U. S. Secretary of State to H. M. Ambassador at Washington.

No. 1466.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 27, 1912.

EXCELLENCY,—

I have the honour to advise you that the Secretary of the Navy proposes to issue at an early date an advertisement inviting proposals for constructing, by contract, the river gunboat authorized by the Naval Appropriation Act of March 4, 1911, and is desirous that, in the interests of the Government, as well as that of the shipbuilding industries generally, shipbuilders of the Great Lakes may be admitted to the competition.

The proposed gunboat will be of about 190 tons displacement, 160 feet length, 24 feet 6 inches beam, and 2 feet 5 inches draft. The vessel's armament will consist of two six-pounders, six .30 calibre machine guns, and two 3-inch field guns. The specifications will require that she can, when finished, be taken apart so that she may, as intended, be shipped to a foreign port and there put together again. She will not be launched where built and her armament will not be placed aboard until she reaches her destination abroad and is reassembled.

The Navy Department does not consider that the building of this vessel on the Great Lakes in the manner indicated would violate the agreement of 1817 between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the number of vessels to be maintained or built there, and this Department concurs in this view.

It seems appropriate, however, that before proposals of the construction are advertised for, you should be advised of the intention of the Navy Department and the conditions under which it is proposed that the vessel shall be constructed in order that your Government may not misunderstand the purpose of this Government. This Government will be glad to supply you with any further information or assurance in regard to this matter, if any are desired; and inasmuch as the Navy Department desires to advertise for bids for the construction of the proposed vessel at an early date, it would be much appreciated if you would bring the subject to the attention of your Government as soon as possible, in order that we may have the benefit of any suggestions which you find it appropriate to make.

I have, &c.,

HUNTINGTON WILSON,
Acting Secretary of State.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable JAMES BRYCE, O.M.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

No. 7.

From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the First Minister.

(Transmitted through the Governor General.)

Paraphrase of cypher telegram.

8th April, 1912.

Your private letter. Great Lakes. I have persuaded Navy Department not to include shipbuilding firms on lakes in advertisement for tenders for gunboat.

BRYCE.

C 45007

No. 8.

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

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Paraphrase of cypher telegram.

WASHINGTON, April 11th, 1912.

Private. Great Lakes. My telegram of April 8th, Prime Minister. I wrote Prime Minister confirming telegram, but hear he is away from Canada. It seems desirable to clinch informal understanding by private letter to Secretary of Navy expressing appreciation of Canadian Government of his readiness to meet our views. Might I ask Your Royal Highness to be kind enough to put me in a position to express this view.

BRYCE.

No. 9.

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Royal Highness the Governor General on the 12th April, 1912.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 6th April, 1912, from the Honourable George E. Foster, the Acting Prime Minister, stating that he had under consideration a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, transmitting copy of a note received from the Acting Secretary of State.

The Minister observes that from the communication of the Acting Secretary of State, dated 27th March, 1912, it appears that the Secretary of the Navy of the United States proposes to issue at an early date an advertisement inviting proposals for constructing by contract the river gunboat authorized by the Naval Appropriation Act of March 4th, 1911, and is desirous that shipbuilders on the Great Lakes may be admitted to the competition.

That the dimensions and armament of the proposed gunboat are set forth in the note of the Secretary of State, which also contains the intimation that the vessel will not be launched where built, but is intended to be shipped to a foreign port in parts, and that her armament will not be placed on board until she reaches her destination abroad and is reassembled.

That the Government of the United States does not consider that the building of this vessel upon the Great Lakes in the manner indicated would violate the agreement of 1817 between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the number of vessels to be maintained or built thereon;

That Your Royal Highness' advisers are unable to concur in this conclusion. The Rush-Bagot agreement is unequivocal in its terms inasmuch as it provides that "The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes, by His Majesty and the Government of the United States, shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side; that is, on Lake Ontario, to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-pound cannon.

"On the Upper Lakes, to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force.

"On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel, not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.

"All other armed vessels on those lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall then be built or armed."

They beg to call Your Royal Highness' attention to the Order in Council of the 13th April, 1910, in which the subject is very fully dealt with.

The Minister further observes that in the present instance the United States Government proposes to construct a gunboat which will not be launched on the lake but which will be transmitted in sections across the continent to the Pacific Coast. While it is true that the objections to this proposal may not be so serious as those embodied in the Order in Council of the 13th April, 1910, nevertheless they gravely apprehend that such a proposal may tend to

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facilitate and encourage future disregard of the plain terms of the treaty and may be cited as a precedent for the construction of naval vessels which will be launched upon the lakes.

The Committee, therefore, advise that Your Royal Highness may be pleased to request His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to make representations by way of protest against the construction of naval vessels upon the Great Lakes under any conditions to the Government of the United States, accordingly.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 10.

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

Canada.

No. 33.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 13th April, 1912.

SIR,—

With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 41, of the 1st April, transmitting a copy of a note from the Acting Secretary of State on the subject of the war vessels on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of an approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada setting forth the views of my responsible advisers.

12th April.

I have, &c.,

ARTHUR.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
&c., &c.

No. 11.

From the Acting First Minister to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

Confidential.

OTTAWA, April 17, 1912.

Dear Mr. BRYCE,—

In the absence of Honourable Mr. Borden, your letter of April 7th has been sent to me.

I am very glad to learn that the Secretary of the Navy has decided to waive the inclusion of lake builders in the call for tenders for construction of the proposed gunboat. This will for the time being prevent the raising of the old issue in an acute form, and I hope may be taken as an indication that our friends propose to maintain henceforth the spirit of the agreement.

Thank you very much for your good offices in this respect.

Yours, &c.,

GEORGE E. FOSTER.

The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D.,
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

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No. 12.

From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service.

OTTAWA, 17th April, 1912.

Dear Mr. DESBARATS,—

Have you any later list of United States vessels stationed on the Great Lakes than that appended to Mr. George Young's memorandum on the subject, which is printed in my Confidential Print, Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes, No. 6, page 15?

If you have any information of a later date than it, would you kindly let me have it for the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH POPE.

G. J. DESBARATS, Esq.,
Deputy Minister of the Naval Service,
Ottawa.

No. 13.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, 18th April, 1912.

Dear Sir JOSEPH POPE,—

In reply to your letter of 17th instant, I send, herewith, a list of United States war vessels stationed on the Great Lakes.

It is compiled from the latest information in this department and you will notice that the details differ considerably from the list in Confidential Print, No. 6, page 15.

Yours sincerely,

G. J. DESBARATS.

Sir JOSEPH POPE, K.C.M.G.,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 13.

LIST OF UNITED STATES WAR VESSELS STATIONED ON GREAT LAKES.

Ship.	Displacement.	Speed.	Armament.	Station.
	tons.	knots.		
Don Juan de Austria	1130	12	6-3" Q.F., 4-6 pdr., Q.F., 4 Machine Guns.	Detroit.
Dubuque	1085	13	6-4" B.L., 4-6 pdr., Q.F., 4 Machine Guns.	Lake Michigan.
Essex	1375	10	2-6 pdr., Q.F., 2 Machine Guns	Toledo.
Wolverine	685	10	6-6 pdr., Q.F., 4 Machine Guns	Erie.
Gopher	1871	9	1-6 pdr., Q.F., 4 Machine Guns	Duluth.
Dorothea	594	15	2-3 pdr., Q.F., 4 Machine Guns	Cleveland.
Hawk	375	14½		Buffalo.
Yantic	900	8	2-6 pdr., Q.F., 2-3 pdr., Q.F., 2 Machine Guns.	Hancock.
Sandoval	100	19	4-4 pdr., Q.F., 8-3 pdr., Q.F., 2 Machine Guns.	Rochester.
Wasp	630	16½	2-3 pdr., Q.F., 4 Machine Guns	New York State.

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ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 13.

LIST OF UNITED STATES REVENUE VESSELS ON GREAT LAKES.

Ship.	Displacement.	Speed.	Number of Guns.	Station.
	tons.			
Mackinac	220			Sault Ste. Marie.
Morill	397		1	Detroit.
Patrol	12			Chicago.
Tascarora	670		1	Milwaukee.

C 45011

No. 14.

From His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington to the Governor General.
No. 59.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 30, 1912.

SIR,—

The question of building a gunboat in the yards of the Great Lakes, having been terminated in the manner which has already been privately reported to Your Royal Highness' Government, it seemed proper to make some reply to the note of the State Department which raised the subject, and to record, without opening the door to controversy, the fears expressed in the Minute of the Privy Council for Canada.

I have therefore addressed the enclosed semi-official note to Mr. Huntington Wilson.

I have, &c.,
A. MITCHELL INNES.

His Royal Highness
The DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.,
The Governor General.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 14.

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

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 27, 1912.

Dear Mr. WILSON,—

I duly forwarded to the Canadian Government your official note of the 27th of March in which you informed me of the intention of the United States Government to invite tenders for the construction of a gunboat for foreign service, the builders on the Great Lakes being admitted to the competition.

In their reply the Canadian Government, though made aware that it was not intended to launch the boat on the lakes, expressed grave apprehension lest any departure from the terms or the spirit of the Rush-Bagot agreement might tend to weaken the force of that instrument, the value of which in eliminating any suspicions of the two governments and thus cementing their friendship has been frequently alluded to by responsible statesmen on both sides, and by none more earnestly than by the President himself.

In the meantime, however, having been informally apprised of the sentiments of the Canadian Government I took an opportunity of mentioning them privately to the Secretary of the Navy, who was so good as to say that, in view of the expression of their opinion, he would abandon the intention of inviting tenders from the shipbuilders on the Great Lakes.

I have told Mr. Meyer how highly I appreciate his courteous goodwill in this matter, and believing that you will agree with me that there is no occasion for any formal or official discussion of the bearing on such a case as this of of the Rush-Bagot agreement now that the idea which gave rise to your letter has been dropped, I venture to think it has become unnecessary to send an official reply to it and trust that the Secretary of State will agree to this view. I desire, however, to bring thus unofficially to your notice the views of the Canadian Government and the courteous action of the Secretary of the Navy which is appreciated by them as by myself.

I am, &c.,
(For the Ambassador),
A. MITCHELL INNES.

The Honourable HUNTINGTON WILSON,
Acting Secretary of State, &c., &c.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

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

No. 35.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, March 4, 1911.

MY LORD,—

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note received from the United States Government requesting permission for the U.S.S. *Nashville* to pass through the Canadian canals on the way down from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic—and for the U.S.S. *Dubuque*, to pass up through the canals to take the place of the *Nashville* as training ship for the naval reserve of the State of Illinois.

It will be observed from the information supplied by the United States Government and supplemented by the Naval Attaché to this Embassy that the *Dubuque* is inferior in tonnage, speed and armament to the *Nashville*.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BRYCE.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 1.

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

No. 1094.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 1, 1911.

EXCELLENCY,—

I have the honour to inform you of the receipt of a letter of the 25th ultimo from the Secretary of State of the Navy advising this Department of the intention of the Navy Department to withdraw the U.S.S. *Nashville* from the Great Lakes and to substitute for that vessel the U. S.S. *Dubuque* as a training ship for the Naval Reserve of the State of Illinois. The Secretary of the Navy therefore requests that permission be obtained, if necessary, from the British and Canadian authorities for the *Dubuque* to proceed through the Canadian canals to Lake Michigan, and for the *Nashville* to proceed from the Great Lakes through the Canadian canals to the Atlantic.

The dimensions of the *Dubuque* are: length, 200 feet; beam, 35 feet; draft, about 12 feet; and displacement, 1,085 tons.

The dimensions of the *Nashville* are: length, 234 feet; beam, 38 feet; draft, about 11 feet; and displacement, 1,371 tons.

As it is desired that the *Dubuque* should make the proposed trip to Chicago in April next, and since certain preparations must be made for the trip, early action on this request is urged by the Secretary of the Navy.

I shall be glad if you will kindly lay this request before the appropriate authorities of your Government.

I have, &c.,

P. C. KNOX.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable JAMES BRYCE, *O.M.*,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

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'NASHVILLE' AND 'DUBUQUE.'

Ship.	Speed.	Built.	Armament.
Nashville	16·3	1895	8 4-inch., 4 6-prs., 4 machine.
Dubuque	12·8	1904	6 4-inch., 4 6-prs., 4 machine.

C. F. G. SOWERBY.

No. 2.

Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 31st March, 1911.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 23rd March, 1911, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom was referred a despatch, dated 4th March, 1911, from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, transmitting copy of a note from the United States Secretary of State, requesting permission, on behalf of the United States Government, for the U. S. S. *Nashville* to pass through the Canadian canals on the way from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic, and for the U. S. S. *Dubuque* to pass up the Canadian canals to take the place of the *Nashville* as training ship for the Naval Reserve of the State of Illinois.

The Minister observes that Mr. Bryce draws attention to the circumstances that the *Dubuque* is inferior in tonnage, speed, and armament to the *Nashville*, the relative figures being:—

Ship.	Length.	Displacement.	Speed.	Built.	Armament.
Nashville	234 ft.	1,371 tons.	16·3	1895	8 4-in., 4 6-prs., 4 machine.
Dubuque	200 ft.	1,085 tons.	12·8	1904	6 4-in., 4 6-prs., 4 machine.

The Minister, seeing no objection to this proposed transfer, recommends that the necessary permission in that behalf be granted, on the understanding that the *Dubuque* is to be substituted for the *Nashville* and that both vessels pass through the canals without armament.

The Committee, concurring, advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to forward a copy hereof to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 3.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, 1st April, 1911.

Your despatch of 4th March, No. 35, Canadian Government agree provided that both vessels pass through canals without armament. Despatch follows.

GREY.

No. 4.

From the Governor General to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington. 103

Canada.
No. 33.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 5th April, 1911.

SIR,—

31st March, 1911.

With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 35 of the 4th March on the subject of the substitution by the United States Government of the U. S. S. *Dubuque* for the U. S. S. *Nashville*, I have the honour to transmit, herewith, for transmission to the United States Government, copies of an approved Minute of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada setting forth the views of my responsible advisers.

I have, &c.,

GREY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
JAMES BRYCE, P.C.,
&c., &c., &c.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES, Vol. II.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1.

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

No. 173.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 29, 1918.

MY LORD DUKE,—April 28 being the one hundredth anniversary of the proclamation by President Monroe bringing into force the Rush-Bagot agreement with regard to armed vessels on the Great Lakes, the success of this system of disarmament formed the subject of mention in the House of Representatives on April 27.

I enclose herewith, in case it should be of interest to Your Excellency, [1]copies of two speeches delivered in the House of Representatives on this occasion.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
COLVILLE BARCLAY.

His Excellency
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.
Governor General of Canada.

[1] For enclosure see Congressional Record, April 27, pages 6176 and 6193.

No. 2.

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

No. 80.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, May 22, 1919.

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copy of a note from the State Department respecting the proposed visit this summer of the schoolship *Newport* on a cruise up the St. Lawrence river.

I should be grateful if Your Excellency would be so good as to inform me whether the Canadian Government have any objection to the cruise of this vessel.

I am forwarding a copy of the State Department's note to the Foreign Office for their information.

I have, etc.,
COLVILLE BARCLAY.

His Excellency
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.
Governor General of Canada.

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 2.

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 21, 1919.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the New York State Nautical School desires to send the schoolship *Newport*, this summer, on a cruise up the St. Lawrence river, through the St. Lawrence canals, the canal connecting the St. Lawrence with Lake Ontario, and through the Welland canal into Lake Erie; that the Board of Governors of the school requests information as to whether the British or Canadian authorities would offer any objection to the passage of this vessel by the route indicated.

The New York State Nautical School is under the supervision of the State of New York, and is conducted for the purpose of educating American young men as officers in the merchant marine. The schoolship *Newport* is loaned to the school by the United States Navy Department, is 168 feet long, of 1,010 tons displacement, and is armed, for the purpose of drilling the cadets, with two 3-inch and one 4-inch rifles.

As it is necessary in the near future to make preparations for this cruise, I shall be grateful if you will take the appropriate steps looking to a compliance with this request.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of my high consideration.

For the Acting Secretary of State,

ALVEY A. ADEE.

Mr. COLVILLE BARCLAY, Minister Plenipotentiary,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Great Britain.

No. 3.

P.C. 1195.

CERTIFIED COPY of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 11th June, 1919.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 6th June, 1919, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitting that he has had under consideration a despatch from His Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington, dated the 22nd May, 1919,[1] transmitting copy of a note from the State Department enquiring whether the Canadian Government have any objection to the visit this summer of the schoolship *Newport* on a cruise up the St. Lawrence river. The schoolship *Newport* is lent to the New York National State Nautical School by the United States Government, is 168 feet long, of 1,010 tons displacement, and is armed, for the purpose of drilling the cadets, with two 3-inch and one 4-inch rifles.

The Minister, with the concurrence of the Ministers of Marine, Railways and Canals, and Militia and Defence, recommends that His Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* be informed that there is no objection on the part of the Canadian Government to this cruise, nor to the passing of the *Newport* through the St. Lawrence and Welland canals, provided, however, that it is not proposed to retain this ship on the Great Lakes, but that she is to return to the Atlantic coast before the close of navigation.

The Committee advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to inform His Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington in the sense of this Minute, accordingly.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

[1] No. 2.

C 45017

No. 4.

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

No. 57.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, June 12, 1919.

SIR,—With reference to Mr. Barclay's despatch of the 22nd May[1] transmitting a copy of a note from the State Department enquiring whether the Canadian Government have any objection to the visit this summer of the schoolship *Newport* on a cruise up the St. Lawrence river, I have the honour to inform you that there is no objection on the part of my Government to this cruise, nor to the passing of the *Newport* through the St. Lawrence and Welland canals, provided that it is not proposed to retain this ship on the Great Lakes, but that she is to return to the Atlantic coast before the close of navigation.

I have, etc.,

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

[1] No. 2.

No. 5.

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

No. 61.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, June 14, 1919.

SIR,—With reference to Mr. Barclay's despatch No. 80 of the 22nd May[1] and to my despatch No. 57 of the 12th instant[2] regarding the visit to the Great Lakes of the United States schoolship *Newport*, my Government will be glad to be informed when this vessel is due (her cruise being over) to descend the St. Lawrence.

I have, etc.,

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

[1] No. 2.
[2] No. 4.

No. 6.

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

No. 134. BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, July 3, 1919.

MY LORD DUKE,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 61 of the 14th June,[1] I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copy of a note from the State Department stating that the New York State Nautical School inform them that the ss. *Newport* will descend the St. Lawrence after her cruise in Canadian waters about the middle of September.

I have, etc.,

His Excellency R. C. LINDSAY.
The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.
Governor General of Canada.

[1] No. 5.

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 6.

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 1, 1919.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your note of June 18, 1919, in which you very kindly advise me that you have received a communication from the Duke of Devonshire, stating that there is no objection on the part of his Government to the proposed cruise of the ss. *Newport* in Canadian waters, provided that it is not intended to retain the ship on the Great Lakes, but that she is to return to the Atlantic coast before the close of navigation.

With reference to your suggestion that the Canadian Government would be glad to be informed when this vessel is due to descend the St. Lawrence at the end of her cruise, I have the honour to advise you that the New York State Nautical School informs me that the ship will descend the St. Lawrence about the middle of September.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

For the Acting Secretary of State:

ALVEY A. ADEE.

The Honourable R. C. LINDSAY,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
of Great Britain.

No. 7.

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

No. 105.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, September 18, 1919.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that it has been reported to my Government that United States Eagle boats numbers 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36 recently passed through the Lachine canal from the Great Lakes. These boats all carried the following armament:—

Two 4-inch,
Two Lewis machine guns,
One 3-inch anti-aircraft.

So far as can be ascertained, no permission from the Canadian Government for the presence of these armed boats on the Great Lakes was obtained by the United States Government. It is not intended to enter any protest at the present time against this contravention of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, but my Government consider that you should be informed thereof for purposes of record in the Embassy.

I have, etc.,

L. H. DAVIES,
Deputy Governor General.

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

No. 8.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, October 20, 1919.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward herewith a list of United States naval vessels which it is believed now exist on the Great Lakes.

The following vessels formerly on the lakes have recently been stricken from the list of the United States navy:—

Don Juan de Austria	*Isla de Luzon*
Essex	*Sandoval*
Gopher	*Yantic*
Hawk	

Dorothea has passed out of the lakes and is now stationed on the Atlantic coast.

It will be noticed that these ships have been replaced by the *Wilmette*, nine submarine chasers and one Eagle boat.

I have, etc.,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Deputy Minister.

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 8.

LIST OF UNITED STATES VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

20TH OCTOBER, 1919.

Name.	Displacement.	Length.	Breadth.	Draught.	Armament.	Speed.	Station.
	Tons					Knots.	
Commodore.....		(A wooden ship. No further information).					Chicago.
Wilmette.....	1,961 Gross	265′	38¼′	.....	4-13 pdr. 4-3 pdr.	22	.....
Submarine chasers, 411, 412, 419, 420, 431, 433, 437, 439.	65	110	15½	5½	1-3" 1-Y 2-Machine	16	.....
Eagle Boat No. 7..	500	200¾	26½	7½	2-4" 1-3" A.A. 1-Y Gun 2-Machine	18	.....

No. 9.

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

No. 294.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, November 14, 1919.

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's despatch No. 105 of September 18[1] respecting the passage through the Lachine canal of 18 Eagle boats without due regard to the stipulations of the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

The Counsellor of the Embassy mentioned this matter verbally to the Assistant Secretary of State. He made it clear that no protest was being made

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but he called attention to the high value of the agreement, advocated a strict adherence to its terms and strongly deprecated any even trifling disregard of its terms which might tend to impair its force.

I have now received a note from the Secretary of State of which I have the honour to enclose a copy herewith. Your Excellency will observe that after explaining the circumstances of the case under discussion, leave is requested for the passage to the Atlantic coast of the eight Eagle boats now under construction. On this point I should be glad to receive the decision of the Canadian Government.

I have, etc.,
(For H.M. Ambassador)
R. C. LINDSAY.

His Excellency
The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.
Governor General of Canada.

[1] No. 7.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 9.

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

Department of State,
Washington, November 13, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Ambassador,—Referring to Mr. Lindsay's call at the department on October 20, I beg to advise you of the receipt of a letter of October 28, 1919, from the Secretary of the Navy, relative to the passage of twelve Eagle boats, armed, into the Great Lakes.

It appears therefrom that the detachment referred to is a part of the total force of sixty Eagle boats which are being completed and sent out through the Great Lakes from Detroit, Michigan. These boats were contracted for during the period that this Government was associated with Great Britain in the active prosecution of hostilities against the Central European powers, and a number of such Eagle boats, armed, passed through the lakes for the Atlantic seaboard before the signing of the armistice.

The Secretary of the Navy adds that the delivery of the remaining boats has taken place at various dates throughout the present calendar year, and that at present there are eight such boats remaining to be delivered. There is no intention, it is stated, of leaving any of these boats in the waters of the Great Lakes, and they will be transferred to the Atlantic seaboard as rapidly as they are completed.

I beg to inquire whether any objection will be interposed to sending out the remaining eight boats when they are completed.

I am, dear Lord Grey,
Very sincerely yours,
ROBERT LANSING.

His Excellency the Right Honourable
The Viscount Grey of Falloden,
Appointed Ambassador of Great Britain on Special Mission.

C 45021

No. 10.

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

Telegram.

Ottawa, December 1, 1919.

75A.

Referring to your despatch November 14, No. 294,[1] my ministers represent that in view of note of Secretary of State there is no objection on part of Canadian Government to passage of eight Eagle boats through Great Lakes and St. Lawrence canals to Atlantic coast. Canadian Government request that they may be notified of approximate dates in which boats will pass through canals.

DEVONSHIRE.

[1] No. 9.

No. 11.

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

No. 329.

British Embassy,
Washington, December 19, 1919.

My Lord Duke,—With reference to Your Excellency's telegram No. 75A of the 1st instant,[1] I have the honour to transmit herewith, copy of a note from the Department of State inquiring whether the Canadian Government will allow the eight Eagle boats now at Quebec, and the naval tug *Kalmia*, to remain there during the winter season with the understanding that they will proceed to the Atlantic coast as early as possible after the opening of navigation.

I have, etc.,
(For H.M. Ambassador)
R. C. LINDSAY.

His Excellency
The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 10.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 11.

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

Department of State,
Washington, December 16, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Ambassador,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your informal note No. 855 of December 2, 1919, relative to the passage through the Great Lakes of eight Eagle boats, armed. You state that you are informed that there is no objection on the part of the Canadian Government to the passage of the eight Eagle boats in question through the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence canals to the Atlantic coast. You add that the Government of Canada desires to be notified of the approximate dates on which the boats will pass through the canals.

In reply you are informed that it appears that the eight boats in question are now at Quebec, together with the naval tug *Kalmia*, and that it is not considered safe for them to proceed until the opening of navigation in the

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spring of 1920. Under the circumstances, this Government desires to obtain permission to allow these eight Eagle boats and the tug *Kalmia* to remain at Quebec during the winter season, with the understanding that they will proceed to the Atlantic coast as early as possible after the opening of navigation. The boats in question are known as Eagles 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 56, and 58. The tug *Kalmia*, which is accompanying these boats, is unarmed.

In this connection, it may be stated that these vessels have no function to perform in the Great Lakes, and are vessels which were constructed at Detroit with the intention of being transferred to the Atlantic seaboard as soon as they were completed. The vessels were actually in transit when the winter season closed in, and their progress was interrupted.

I am, my dear Lord Grey,

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

His Excellency the Right Honourable
The Viscount Grey of Fallodon,
Appointed Ambassador of Great Britain,
on Special Mission.

No. 12.

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

No. 136. Government House,
Ottawa, December 30, 1919.

My Lord,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 329 of the 19th December,[1] transmitting an inquiry on the part of the Department of State as to whether the Canadian Government would allow the eight Eagle boats now at Quebec, and the naval tug *Kalmia* to remain at Quebec during the winter season, I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government accede to this request of the Government of the United States and will allow the above-mentioned boats to remain at the port of Quebec during the winter season.

I have, etc.,

DEVONSHIRE.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
The Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G., P.C.

[1] No. 11.

No. 13.

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

No. 15. British Embassy,
Washington, January 15, 1920.

My Lord Duke,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 136 of the 30th ultimo,[1] I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copy of a note from the State Department expressing the thanks of the United States Government to the Canadian Government for their courtesy in permitting the eight Eagle boats and the tug *Kalmia* to remain at the port of Quebec during the winter season.

I have, etc.,

R. C. LINDSAY.

His Excellency
The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor General of Canada.

[1] No. 12.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 13.

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

Department of State,
Washington, January 14, 1920.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. 18 of January 7, 1920, announcing that the Canadian Government has acceded to the request of the Government of the United States to allow the sojourn at the port of Quebec during the winter season of eight Eagle boats and the tug *Kalmia*.

In reply I have the honour to say that this information has been communicated to the Secretary of the Navy in connection with the previous correspondence.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will be so good as to convey to the Canadian authorities an expression of this Government's thanks for their courtesy in the matter.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

For the Secretary of State:

ALVEY A. ADEE.

The Honourable Ronald C. Lindsay,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
of Great Britain.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 14.

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

Canada.
No. 91.

OTTAWA, September 14, 1920.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward, herewith, for transmission to the United States Government, a copy of the Report and Finding of the Court in the case of the stranding of the American coastguard light cruiser *Tuscarora*.

I have, etc.,

L. H. DAVIES,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 14

RE STRANDING AMERICAN COASTGUARD LIGHT CRUISER
TUSCARORA

In the matter of an investigation held at Quebec, September 7, 1920, before Captain L. A. Demers, F.R.A.S., Dominion Wreck Commissioner, assisted by Captain Charles Lapierre and Captain J. Couette, acting as Nautical Assessors, into the causes which led to the stranding of the American coastguard light cruiser *Tuscarora*, on White Island reef, river St. Lawrence, on August 31, 1920, whilst having in tow two tugs.

REPORT

By the evidence adduced and statements made by Captain Eugene Blake, jr., it shows that up to the time the ship came abeam of White Island lightship, at about 1 or 1½ miles, the piloting and navigation were carefully executed.

The objection made by the captain to the pilot's suggestion to anchor was, theoretically, correct, as anchoring off Isle aux Basques when a gale is blowing from the N.NE., at a velocity, it is said, of 40 miles, with accompanying sea, did not appear as very safe, especially to a stranger, after having glanced at the chart and seeing how exposed that anchoring ground would have been. As the pilot did not insist upon it, but accepted the captain's suggestion to try and proceed on, hence the objection of the captain cannot be held against him.

That there was sufficient power to stem the tide is proved by the fact that the *Tuscarora* reached White island, though slowly, stemming a tide which is said to have been runing at 6½ miles an hour; but which the court really believes was less rapid, as the easterly winds had been blowing for a lengthy period, over a day's duration, which must necessarily have diminished the usual running of the ebb.

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When navigation lights were all visible,—the navigating officer having retired some three-quarters of an hour before the grounding,—the captain, on the assurance of the pilot that everything was all right, withdrew and left the bridge in charge of a Warrant Officer, the gunner, Ole Olsen.

It does appear to the court that, using Captain Blake's words, there was relaxation somewhere, that such condition was created through the absence of an officer versed in navigational and seamanship methods; bearings were not taken and position plotted frequently as had been done prior to reaching White Island lightship.

The court was not at all impressed with the ability of Gunner Ole Olsen as a navigator. He had taken the wheel and said he was paying attention to the steering.

The *Tuscarora* was being propelled at full speed by telegraph; but at reduced speed as per verbal orders, which was at 115 revolutions, whereas her full speed demands 135 to 140 revolutions. Of this the pilot was unaware.

It does seem to the court that, facing a strong ebb tide, being spring tides, whilst towing two tugs, though those tugs were under steam, and helped the towing, that it behove the master to advise the pilot of the fact that more pressure and more revolutions could be obtained if necessary. However, as the vessel with her tow was making 2½ knots over the ground, and had steerage way, it is not considered to have led directly to the grounding.

The method, rules and discipline in vogue in the American vessels of war are not known to the court; but it is positive on one point, that the bridge should not be left in sole charge of the pilot.

Captain Blake, jr., perfectly understood the pilot's role as adviser. Such being accepted there must be someone near by to advise, or confer with.

PILOT

The evidence of Pilot Ernest Pouliot with respect to the suggestion of anchoring the ship and tow in order to await the flood tide, to which Captain Blake, jr., disagreed momentarily, will not be further discussed.

Pouliot's actions up to the time of shaping a course for Cape Salmon were satisfactory; but when he shaped a course, bringing Cape Dogs on his starboard bow before he had reached such position north of White island, he forgot to take into consideration the southward trend of the tide, which was throwing his vessel and tow broadside, to the southward. The fact that he had on several occasions altered the course to the northward by five degrees at a time should have awakened him to the condition existing, hence the court is of opinion that he did not make sufficient allowance for the effect and trend of the ebb tide.

The plea that the ship had not sufficient power or speed to contend against the ebb tide is waived aside by the fact that, on calculation it is shown the *Tuscarora* was making 2½ knots over the ground.

If Pouliot was in doubt as to the power, or lack of power of the *Tuscarora* he had ample time to suggest anchoring. A safe anchorage could have been easily made to the south of White island where calm and shoal waters existed, and Brandy Pot light fully visible.

The point raised with respect to a suggestion made at Father Point to take a pilot or pilots for the tow, but which was not understood by Captain Blake, jr., is not taken in consideration, as the grounding occurred with the towing ship. The subsequent damage to one of the tugs occurred whilst the three vessels were then under the sole control of the commander of the *Tuscarora*, and whilst trying to float her.

Another point which was brought to light is the fact that every light was visible, clearly so, whilst Pilot Pouliot in his report stated that the weather was hazy.

C 45026

Reports should be in accordance with bare and actual facts, therefore the court looks with askance and suspicion on any attempt at exaggeration.

In view of the foregoing the court renders the following finding:—

FINDING

The court having carefully weighed the evidence adduced, and for the reasons given in the report, FINDS that the pilot, Ernest Pouliot, erred in judgment in not making sufficient allowances for the strong ebb tide which he was encountering, by not steering a more northerly course till well clear of White island.

Being a young man the court is of opinion that a suspension of his license would, at this stage, be detrimental to the service, and, therefore, in lieu of this the court orders him to pay the costs of this investigation, amounting to one hundred and fifty dollars, which sum shall be forwarded to the Chief Accountant of the Marine Department, Ottawa, on or before the first of October, 1920.

The court is not conversant with the methods of discipline followed in the United States navy; but is nevertheless of opinion that the authorities will agree that the bridge should not have been left solely in charge of a Warrant Officer,—"the gunner,"—who was unacquainted with navigational problems, especially in strange pilotage waters, and who, prior to and at the time of grounding, was steering.

Having no jurisdiction in this matter the court submits the above comment and criticism for the information of the United States Government.

Read in open court at Ottawa this 10th day of September, 1920.

L. A. DEMERS,
Dominion Wreck Commissioner.

Concurred in by Chas. Lapierre, J. Couette, Assessors.

No. 15.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

Canada.
No. 583.

OTTAWA, September 15, 1920.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward, herewith, for transmission to the Board of Trade, a copy of the Report and Finding of the Court[1] in the case of the stranding of the American coastguard light cruiser *Tuscarora*.

I have, etc.,

L. H. DAVIES,
Deputy Governor General.

The Right Honourable
The VISCOUNT MILNER, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[1] No. 14.

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C 45027

No. 16.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

OTTAWA, September 20, 1920.

SIR,—I beg to revert to my letter 1032-6-1 of 10th September, 1919,[1] referring to the presence of armed United States vessels on the Great Lakes.

2. In this connection I have the honour to inform you that the armed United States vessel *Tuscarora* passed through the St. Lawrence canals en route to the Great Lakes on the 15th instant. This vessel is of 739 tons displacement and is armed with two 6-pdr. guns.

3. So far as the department is aware, no permission from the Canadian Government for this vessel to be on the Great Lakes has been granted to the United States Government and her presence there is therefore a breach of the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

I have, etc.,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Deputy Minister.

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

[1] Substance embodied in No. 7.

No. 17.

From the Army and Navy Veterans, Kingston, to the Secretary of State of Canada (Transferred to the Department of External Affairs)

KINGSTON UNIT, ARMY AND NAVY VETERANS IN CANADA
(Incorporated by Act of Dominion Parliament)
VETERANS' BLOCK, 205 PRINCESS STREET,
KINGSTON, ONTARIO, CANADA,
September 22, 1920.

Hon. A. L. SIFTON,
Secretary of State,
Ottawa.

DEAR SIR,—At the meeting of this association last Monday evening, attention was called to a fact reported in the newspapers that the United States Government has stationed a gun-boat, the *Chillicothe,* fully armed, at Ogdensburg, New York, and in the St. Lawrence river, for the ostensible purpose of assisting to prevent rum-running into the States from Canada.

This we understand to be in direct contravention of the treaty between United States and Great Britain, which expressly forbids armed vessels of either nation in the waters of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, with the sole exception of such armed vessel or vessels as may be required for protection of the fisheries.

On at least two recent occasions the United States Government protested the passage of an armed vessel of Canada through the St. Lawrence river. In one case where the vessel was desired for exhibition at Toronto, it was demanded that the vessel should unship her guns and send them by rail through Canada.

The case seems to be one that calls for a vigorous protest, and I was directed by the meeting to call the attention of our Government to the matter.

Respectfully,

EDWIN TAPPAN ADNEY,
Recording Secretary.

C 45028

No. 18.

From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Prime Minister
RE NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES

For some time past the United States Government have, in effect, been taking the ground that the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1818[1] (copy herewith), if not exactly obsolete, is out of date, and requires to be read in the light of modern conditions. They have given expression to this view by sending armed vessels, from time to time, in and out of the Great Lakes, without regard to the stipulations of the agreement. For example, about the 10th September, 1919, eighteen Eagle boats (armed) passed down the lakes and through the Lachine canal, without permission having been obtained or sought from the Canadian Government at the time. In notifying the department of this occurrence, the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service intimated that it was not intended that we should enter any protest on the occasion, but that he forwarded the information for purposes of record only. A few days ago I received another letter from him, with reference to the United States vessel *Tuscarora,* which passed, armed, through the St. Lawrence canals *en route* to the Great Lakes on the 15th instant, no permission having been sought. (The letter from the Recording Secretary of the Army and Navy Veterans in Canada, at Kingston, calling attention to the fact that the United States Government has stationed a gunboat, the *Chillicothe,* fully armed, at Ogdensburg, New York, in the St. Lawrence river, which Mr. Meighen sent to me to-day, does not appear to contravene any provisions of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, which covers only lake Ontario, the Upper Lakes and lake Champlain, without mention of the St. Lawrence river.)

On the 13th April, 1910, the Canadian Government passed a Minute of the Privy Council[2] (copy attached), expressing their "emphatic dissent" from such lax interpretation of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, though on the 19th May, 1916, a despatch from the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service[3] (copy attached) rather intimates that the Government might be prepared at that date to consider some modification of the whole agreement, adding that "such a course would be preferable to allowing a continuance of the present infringement of the convention by the United States, and would allow of a satisfactory settlement of a very delicate question."

No further correspondence on the *general* question has since taken place. The United States Government continue occasionally to send their armed vessels into the Great Lakes without asking our permission. I venture to think the time has arrived when the question should be considered by the Canadian Government, as otherwise, if we allow these breaches of the Rush-Bagot Agreement periodically to take place without notice, the United States Government may argue in future that by our inaction we have acquiesced in their view that the agreement should no longer be construed literally.

In considering this question, an important factor to be kept in mind is that the agreement is terminable on six months' notice by either party thereto.

While we may not be able to hold the United States to the letter of the old agreement, it would, I think, be desirable that there should be a clear understanding as to the nature and extent of the modifications to which we are prepared to agree.

J. POPE.

Ottawa, 25th September, 1920.

[1] Enclosure 2 in No. 1, Print No. 4, Vol. I.
[2] No. 3, Print No. 7, Vol. I.
[3] No. 24, Print No. 12, Vol. I.

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No. 19.

From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Army and Navy Veterans, Kingston

OTTAWA, September 25, 1920.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant,[1] addressed to the Right Honourable A. L. Sifton, Secretary of State, representing that the United States Government has stationed a gunboat, the *Chillicothe*, fully armed, at Ogdensburg, New York, in the St. Lawrence river, ostensibly for the purpose of assisting to prevent rum running into the United States from Canada.

This subject will be brought to the attention of the Government at an early day.

I have, etc.,

JOSEPH POPE,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

E. T. ADNEY, Esquire,
The Recording Secretary,
Army and Navy Veterans in Canada,
205 Princess Street, Kingston, Ontario.

[1] No. 17.

No. 20.

From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals

OTTAWA, September 28, 1920.

DEAR MAJOR BELL,—I have been given to understand that the armed United States vessel *Tuscarora* passed through the St. Lawrence canals *en route* to the Great Lakes on the 15th instant. So far as I am aware, no permission from the Canadian Government was asked for by, or granted to, the United States Government to pass this vessel through. Her presence on lake Ontario is therefore a breach of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. What I should like to know is how this vessel got through the canals without authority or warrant in that behalf. Do the canal officials allow men-of-war of foreign nationality to pass through, even, as in the present instance, when it involves a violation of the agreement in force between Great Britain and the United States? I merely ask for information, in order to know by what rule the canal officials are guided on such occasions, and I do not wish to be understood as suggesting any interference with the practice in vogue, whatever it may be.

Yours very truly,

JOSEPH POPE.

Major GRAHAM BELL, C.M.G.,
The Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals,
Ottawa.

No. 21.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

OTTAWA, September 29, 1920.

DEAR SIR JOSEPH,—With reference to our conversation regarding the Rush-Bagot Convention, I find that on May 19, 1916,[1] I wrote to you suggesting that it would be of advantage to have the agreement modified so as to bring the description of the vessels to be employed on the Great Lakes in accordance with modern practice in the way of ships and armament, and also to have the convention harmonize with the present action of the United States in placing small armed vessels on the Great Lakes. This would give Canada the opportunity of also utilizing small vessels of this description if necessary and would avoid causes for friction owing to technical infringement of the convention by the United States.

I do not know if the terms of this letter were communicated to the Ambassador at Washington.

I find on looking over my personal file of the printed papers "Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes" that I have not got paper No. 12 and I should be glad if you could send a copy to complete my file.

Yours truly,

G. J. DESBARATS.

Sir JOSEPH POPE,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 24, Print No. 12, Vol. I.

No. 22.

From the Deputy-Minister of the Naval Service to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

OTTAWA, October 20, 1920

SIR,—With reference to a report which appeared in the Montreal *Daily Star* on 22nd September last to the effect that a protest had been sent to the State Department by the Kingston Branch of the Army and Navy Veterans against the presence of the United States armed cruiser *Chillicothe* in the St. Lawrence river, I beg to request that I may be informed if this protest was received in your department and if so, upon what grounds the Army and Navy Veterans based their objections.

I am, etc.,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Deputy Minister.

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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No. 23.

From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service

OTTAWA, October 22, 1920.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 20th instant,[1] I beg to say that in September last a protest was sent to the Secretary of State of Canada by the Kingston Branch of the Army and Navy Veterans against the presence of the United States armed cruiser *Chillicothe* in the St. Lawrence river. Upon Mr. Sifton's transferring this letter to me, I simply acknowledged it, and stated that it would be brought to the attention of the Government. I enclose copy of this protest, together with my reply.[2] In the course of a memorandum[3] which I then addressed to the Prime Minister on the whole question of naval vessels on the Great Lakes, I took occasion to point out to Mr. Meighen that the Kingston people were on the wrong scent, as the Rush-Bagot Agreement contained no reference to the St. Lawrence river. The Premier replied to my memorandum to the effect that he wished the subject held over until after the Presidential election, when I propose again to bring it before him. I purposely avoided saying anything to the Kingston Veterans about the non-applicability of their protest, as I did not think it wise at that time to get into any discussion with them.

Sept. 22, Sept. 25, 1920.

While on the subject, I may say that I took occasion to enquire of the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals how it came that these armed vessels of the United States from time to time pass through our canals, seemingly without any questions being asked. He replied to me to the effect that he is not aware of any regulations respecting the passage of foreign armed vessels through our canals, and that in the ordinary course of events, if the captain made application for the passage of his ship, the same would be granted as in the case of any other vessel. Does not this strike you as a somewhat loose system in the case of vessels of war?

I have, etc.,

JOSEPH POPE,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

G. J. DESBARATS, Esquire, C.M.G., C.E.,
The Deputy Minister of the Naval Service,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 22.
[2] Nos. 17 and 19.
[3] No. 18.

No. 24.

P.C. 274

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 16th February, 1921.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a report, dated the 22nd December, 1920, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, recommending, with the concurrence of the Minister of Railways and Canals and the Minister of the Naval Service, that no armed vessels or unarmed vessels of war be permitted to pass through canals in Canadian territory except by the authorization of the Minister of the Naval

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Service, and further that in the case of foreign vessels, such authorization should not be granted except at the request of the foreign Government concerned.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation, and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

No. 25.

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

Canada.
No. 38.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, February 22, 1921.

16th February. P.C. 274.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of an Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada[1] recommending that no armed vessels or unarmed vessels of war be permitted to pass through canals in Canadian territory except by the authorization of the Minister of the Naval Service, and further that, in the case of foreign vessels, such authorization should not be granted except at the request of the foreign Government concerned.

I have, etc.,

DEVONSHIRE.

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

[1] No. 24.

No. 26.

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

Canada.
No. 43.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, February 23, 1921.

SIR,—With reference to my despatch No. 38 of the 22nd instant,[1] transmitting copies of an Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada relative to the passage of vessels of war, whether armed or unarmed, through Canadian canals, my Government suggest that it would be well if, in communicating this information to the United States Government, it were intimated that the Canadian Government would be glad to receive as much notice as possible of the desire of United States vessels of war to pass through the canals, in order to obviate delays.

I have, etc.,

DEVONSHIRE.

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

[1] No. 25.

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No. 27.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

Canada.
No. 117.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, February 23, 1921.

16th February. P.C. 274.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of an Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada[1] recommending that no armed vessels or unarmed vessels of war be permitted to pass through canals in Canadian territory, except by the authorization of the Minister of the Naval Service, and further, that in the case of foreign vessels, such authorization should not be granted except at the request of the foreign Government concerned.

I have, etc.,
DEVONSHIRE.

The Right Honourable
WINSTON L. S. CHURCHILL, P.C.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[1] No. 24.

No. 28.

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

No. 148.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, May 10, 1921.

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule, and to enquire what answer should be returned to this communication.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
R. L. CRAIGIE.

His Excellency
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor-General of Canada.

Name and Date	Subject
Department of State, despatch of April 28, 1921.	United States' submarine in the waters of the Great Lakes to be present at 1921 International Convention of the Loyal Order of Moose.

C 45034

ENCLOSURE IN No. 28

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 28, 1921.

EXCELLENCY,—The Secretary of the Navy informs me, under date of April 20, 1921, that it is proposed, if there be no objection on the part of the British and Canadian Governments, to send a submarine into the waters of the Great Lakes to be present at the 1921 International Convention of the Loyal Order of Moose.

The submarine will, it appears, enter the lakes for exhibition purposes only, will not be provided with war heads for her torpedoes, and will leave the waters of the Great Lakes after making the exhibition cruise. The convention in question is to be held at Toledo, Ohio, during the period from June 27 to July 2, next.

The Secretary of the Navy is anxious to learn at the earliest practicable date the attitude of the British and Canadian Governments in the matter, and I shall be grateful, therefore, if you will kindly inform me as soon as possible whether there is any objection to the proposed visit of the submarine.

Accept, etc.,
CHARLES E. HUGHES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

No. 29.

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

Telegram.

WASHINGTON, May 19, 1921.

18. My despatch 10th May 148,[1] Government of United States would be grateful for early reply to their enquiry whether there is any objection to proposed visit of American submarine to Great Lakes.

GEDDES.

[1] No. 28.

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No. 30.

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

No. 164.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, May 24, 1921.

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

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
R. L. CRAIGIE.

His Excellency
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor-General of Canada.

Name and Date	Subject
British Embassy, May 23, 1921..	Strength of the United States Naval flotilla on the Great Lakes.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 30

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

No. 511.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., May 23, 1921.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 446 of the 5th ultimo (A 2029/1871/45), in which your Lordship refers to certain reports that United States naval forces on the Great Lakes are now in excess of those permitted to be maintained under the treaties in force between the United States and Great Britain.

When General Bethell's report, which was enclosed in your despatch, was first brought to my notice last December, I caused enquiries to be made in regard to the strength of the United States naval flotilla on the Great Lakes, and I was furnished in due course with a memorandum prepared by the director of the Naval Service of Canada, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose herewith. After discussing the matter with Captain Blake, then Naval Attaché, I came to the conclusion that our information about the situation as a whole was incomplete and that before I raised the matter in a despatch to Your Lordship I should study the situation especially with regard to public sentiment in Canada and in the lake-wise States. Captain Blake assured me that the United States ships now on the Great Lakes were for the most part obsolete and possessed little naval value.

I have now probed the sentiment existing in the lake-wise States and find that among the Naval Reservists and Sea Scouts who are extremely keen on their naval training, there is a great deal of soreness about the limitation of their facilities for ship-board experience and that they are pressing the Department of the Navy to let them have more and more efficient boats to train in. So far as I can discover there is at present no strong popular feeling in Canada on the subject.

C 45036

I have discussed the matter with Captain Bailey, who succeeded Captain Blake as Naval Attaché, and I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship herewith a copy of a memorandum which he has prepared showing the present position in so far as we can define it from the particulars available to this Embassy. Before a decision is taken to make representations to the United States Government, it seems desirable to bear in mind the two following considerations:—

(1) As pointed out in the last paragraph of Captain Bailey's memorandum, the restrictions as to displacement and armament contained in the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 are not applicable to modern requirements and would, for this reason, be somewhat difficult to comply with. If therefore representations are made, we may be met with a suggestion that the agreement should be revised so as to bring it into accord with modern conditions. I am unaware how far His Majesty's Government and the Canadian Government would welcome a revision of the Convention.

(2) From the enclosure contained in your despatch No. 485 of April 12 (A 1871/1871/45), it would appear that in the years 1908-1909 the Canadian Government decided not to press home the objection which they had originally made to the arming and maintenance on lake Michigan at Chicago of the training ship *Nashville*. In commenting on this matter, His Majesty's Ambassador, in his annual report for 1909, made the following observations:

> "Both the desire of the lake States to train their naval militia and the wish of the lake shipbuilders to compete with those on the Atlantic coast in the construction of war vessels give reason to apprehend that the question may be raised again; and that there may be requests on the part of the United States either for our acquiescence in a new interpretation of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, or for its supersession by another which could be represented as more conformable to present conditions. The attention of the Dominion Government was therefore called, unofficially, to these risks, in order that demands of the nature indicated should not find them unprepared, in a letter to the Governor General of the 16th of December, 1909."

To sum up I would observe that there can be little doubt that the American Government are infringing the Rush-Bagot Agreement in respect of (*a*) the number of ships, (*b*) the tonnage, and (*c*) the armament, and that we are therefore entitled, if we so desire, to ask that they should conform strictly to the terms of the Convention. At the same time it would appear that in the year 1909 the Canadian Government were not disposed to insist on the removal from the Great Lakes of the training ship *Nashville*, and, furthermore, that any demand on our part that the American Government should adhere strictly to the terms of the agreement may lead to a counter-proposal on the part of the American Government in favour of its revision. In these circumstances I should be glad to be informed whether His Majesty's Government and the Canadian Government desire me to make representations on this subject to the Secretary of State. My personal view is that representations should be made and the situation faced at a carefully selected moment.

I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada.

I have, etc.,
A. C. GEDDES.

The EARL CURZON OF KEDDLESTON, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

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ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 30

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVAL SERVICE, CANADA

Refer to No. 1005-2-3.
Confidential.

OTTAWA, February 24, 1921.

From the Director of the Naval Service of Canada, Ottawa, Canada
To the Naval Attaché, British Embassy, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

With reference to your memorandum of 24th December last, I regret that no answer has yet been returned to it, owing to its having been inadvertently mislaid.

2. I attach for your information a memorandum regarding United States vessels on the Great Lakes, which was prepared from information in the department on 1st October last. It embodies the latest details available.

WALTER HOSE, Captain, R.C.N.,
Director of the Naval Service.

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 30

LIST OF UNITED STATES WAR VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES, SEPTEMBER 1, 1920

Name	Displacement Tons	Speed Knots	Armament
Commodore	A wooden depot ship—No further information.		
**Essex*	1,375	10½	2-6 pdr. 2-Machine.
**Gopher*	840	9	1-6 pdr. 2-3 pdr. 2-Machine.
**Hawk*	375	14½	—
Wilmette	1,961	22	4-13 pdr. 4-3 pdr.
Wolverine	685	10½	6-6 pdr. 4-Machine.
**Yantic*	900	8½	2-6 pdr. 2-3 pdr. 2-Machine.

(Authority D.N.I., Washington, December 29, 1919.)
Sub-Chaser 320.
Sub-Chaser 412.
Sub-Chaser 419.
†Sub-Chaser 432.
(Authority Navy Directory, page 136, September 1, 1920.)
(†Authority Navy Directory, page 254, September 1, 1920.)

*These ships were ordered struck off the Register by U.S. Naval General Order No. 495 of August 7, 1919. Their names still, however, appear on the Official Navy Directory as stationed on the Great Lakes.

These ships have all been many years on the lakes, and cannot be considered seriously as fighting ships.

Wilmette is a merchant vessel which was purchased, armed and converted to warlike purposes during the war. No communication regarding her has been made by the United States Government.

The submarine chasers were built on the Great Lakes during the war. On the 29th December, 1919, the United States Navy Department stated that all sub-chasers on the Great Lakes except Nos. 419 and 432 were partially dismantled and were for sale. Nevertheless four sub-chasers are still officially stated to be on the Great Lakes.

The department has no recent information as to how many ships are actually in commission or the present state of their armaments. There is reason to believe, however, that all ships are out of commission, except perhaps two submarine chasers, owing to the great shortage of personnel.

Note.—It is important to observe that there are different armed United States forces on the Great Lakes, e.g., Navy, Naval Reserves, Revenue. It is possible thus to create considerable confusion as to the real numbers of armed vessels on the lakes. If an enquiry is addressed to the United States Navy Department on the matter, it is likely that in their reply no reference will be made to naval reserve or revenue vessels and so on.

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LIST OF UNITED STATES ARMED REVENUE CUTTERS ON THE GREAT LAKES—SEPTEMBER 30, 1920

Name	Displacement Tons	Armament
Merritt	420	2-6 pdr.
Owl	950	2-14 pdr. 2-Machine.
Pigeon	950	2-14 pdr. A.A. 2-Machine.
Tadousac	....	—
**Tuscarora*	739	2-6 pdr.

(Authority—Press Report, October 16, 1919.)
*Official.

The above is the latest information on the subject available but cannot be entirely guaranteed.

ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 30

From Naval Attaché

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., May 10, 1921.

The details of the United States Navy vessels stationed on the Great Lakes, reported by Ottawa on the 24th February, have been confirmed by the Navy Department, with the exception that the *Essex, Wolverine* and three sub-chasers are stated to have no armament. According to the United States Navy Directory of January 1, 1921, no officers are borne in any of the vessels mentioned and, with the exception of the sub-chasers, they are shown as being appropriated for duties in connection with the Reserves.

2. It is not clear, therefore, that any of these vessels are being employed as patrol craft, and probably the majority are merely drill ships for the Naval Reserves.

3. The *Wilmette* alone mounts guns of heavier calibre than 18-pounder, and is the only one which can be considered as of any military value, but in all cases more than the one gun stipulated is borne. The fact that the armament has been removed from some of the vessels, or that they may be temporarily paid off, does not alter the case, since the guns and crews probably could be replaced at short notice, if required.

4. As, however, the Rush-Bagot Agreement restricts the number of vessels on the Great Lakes to four, and their tonnage and armament to 100 tons and one 18-pounder gun, it appears that is treated as a dead letter by the United States Government, since, not only do all vessels quoted exceed 100 tons displacement, but it is reported also by Ottawa that, in addition, five armed revenue cutters of over 100 tons are maintained on the Great Lakes.

5. Beyond those stated in Ottawa's report no details are known of the armed revenue cutters maintained on the Great Lakes by the Treasury Department, but, excluding them, there is a clear case for objection to the long-existing technical infringement of the agreement.

6. The restrictions as to displacement and armament agreed to in 1817, being based on sailing vessels, are not applicable to modern requirements, and accordingly are difficult to comply with. At the present time, Canada maintains no naval force on the Great Lakes; if, however, there is any possibility of her requiring to do so in the future, it is considered that steps should be taken to obtain a revision of the agreement. A clear definition is required as to the duties and status of vessels, as regards being in full commission, in reserve, paid off, armament surrendered, etc.

S. R. BAILEY, Captain, R.N.,
Naval Attaché.

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No. 31.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, May 27, 1921.

32A. Your despatch May 19, No. 148,[1] Canadian Government have no objection to presence of United States submarine in waters of Great Lakes on occasion of 1921 International Convention of Loyal Order of Moose, to be held at Toledo, Ohio, during the period from June 27 to July 2 next. It is noted that submarine will enter lakes for exhibition purposes only, will not be provided with war heads for her torpedoes, and will leave the waters of Great Lakes after making exhibition cruise.

DEVONSHIRE.

[1] No. 28.

No. 32.

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

Canada.
No. 86.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, June 6, 1921.

SIR,—With further reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 148 of the 10th May[1] regarding the proposed visit of an American submarine to the Great Lakes, it is presumed that the armament will be removed from the submarine before passing through Canadian canals.

My Government will be glad if Your Excellency can ascertain the name or number of the submarine which the United States Government intends to send, in order that proper authorization may be prepared for her passage through the canals.

I have, etc.,

DEVONSHIRE.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir C. AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 28.

C 45040

No. 33.

P.C. 1959

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 11th June, 1921.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 8th June, 1921, from the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom was referred a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General, dated 10th May, 1921, forwarding a request from the United States Government for permission to send a submarine into the waters of the Great Lakes to be present at the 1921 International Convention of the Loyal Order of the Moose, to be held at Toledo from the 27th June to the 2nd July, 1921.

The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the concurrence of the Ministers of the Naval Service and Marine, recommends that this permission be granted, it being understood that the submarine in question will enter the lakes for exhibition purposes only, will not be provided with war heads for her torpedoes and will leave the waters of the Great Lakes after making the exhibition cruise.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation and submit the same for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 23.

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

Secret.
Telegram.

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1916.

I am asked by Counsel of State Department if there would be any objection to the employment of two ships of 2,200 tons, with eight 4-inch guns, on lakes (*Topeka* and another) to be used for training naval reserves of Illinois and Minnesota. I said I thought there would be objection, but would inform you.

Sent to Ottawa, Foreign Office informed.

SPRING RICE.

No. 24.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, May 19, 1916.

SIR,—I duly received your letter of the 29th April, transmitting copy of a secret despatch from the British Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General, dated 25th April, 1916,[1] asking on behalf of the Secretary of State of the United States, whether there would be any objection to the employment on the Great Lakes of two ships of 2,200 tons with eight 4-inch guns, to be used for training naval reserves of Illinois and Minnesota.

My minister has carefully examined this question and the correspondence which has previously been exchanged in connection with the enforcement of the Rush-Bagot Convention. My minister is of the opinion that the employment of these two additional ships would be a clear breach of this Convention, that such action would be objectionable and that Canada should register a protest against the employment of these vessels.

My minister is also of the opinion that the terms of the Rush-Bagot Convention, signed in 1817, can hardly be applied to modern vessels and modern armament and that it might possibly be of advantage to reach an interpretation of this Convention which would better meet the requirements of these days.

The United States Government has, at the present time, ten armed vessels on the Great Lakes, so that they are very far from keeping to the exact terms of the Convention. On the other hand, Canada has not one single armed vessel on the Great lakes, and, to avoid even a semblance of an infringement of the Convention, the fisheries protection vessel *Vigilant* was disarmed a few years ago and the two small guns which she carried have been stored ashore.

If at any time Canada wished to engage in the training of naval volunteers on the Great Lakes, it might be necessary to employ armed vessels for this purpose. An interpretation of the Convention which would allow of such steps being taken and which might regularize the action already taken by the United States and define limits to their activities in this direction would, in his opinion, be an advantage.

My mnister is of the opinion that the Rush-Bagot Convention is a very wise one and should be kept alive; that it is an advantage to both Canada and the United States to have an agreement by which there is a limit placed to the

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C 45042

employment of armed vessels on the Great Lakes and that it would be better to reach a definite understanding as to the number of vessels to be allowed and the armament to be employed. Such a course would be preferable to allowing a continuance of the present infringement of the Convention by the United States and would allow of a satisfactory settlement of a very delicate situation.

I am enclosing a statement giving a list of the armed vessels of the United States at present in commission on the Great Lakes, and I would draw the attention of the Prime Minister to Orders in Council of the 17th November, 1909, 13th April, 1910, and 12th April, 1912, which show the manner in which the correspondence on this subject has been handled in the past.

I have, etc.,

G. J. DESBARATS.

The Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 23.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 24.

LIST OF THE UNITED STATES GUNBOATS, TRAINING SHIPS, ETC., NOW PLYING ON THE GREAT LAKES.

		Armament.	
Lake Erie	Hawk (yacht. 375 tons)	Unarmed.....	Ohio militia.
"	Dorothea (yacht, 594 tons)	4-6-prs., 4 m.....	"
"	Essex (wood, 1,375 tons)	6-4-in , 4-6-prs.....	"
Lake Superior ..	Gopher (late Fern, wood, 840 tons).	Unarmed	Minnesota militia.
Lake Michigan .	Don Juan de Austria (gunboat, 1,150 tons)	6-3-in., 4-6-prs., 4 m...	Michigan militia.
Lake Ontario...	Sandoval (gunboat, 100 tons)	2 3-prs., 2 m.....	New York militia.
Lake Michigan .	Nashville (gunboat, 1,371 tons)	8-4-in., 4 6-prs., 4 m...	Michigan militia.
Great Lakes....	Wolverine (late Michigan, 685 tons).....	6-6-prs., 4 m....	Recruiting servlce.
Lake Michigan .	Tantic (wood, 900 tons).....	Unarmed.....	Michigan militia.

No. 25.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, May 29, 1916.

With reference to your cipher telegram 26th April,[1] naval vessels on Great Lakes, before considering the question Prime Minister is anxious to know whether the employment of the two ships specified is to be temporary or permanent?

ARTHUR.

[1] No. 23.

No. 26.

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

No. 146.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1916.

SIR,—With reference to Your Royal Highness' telegram of yesterday's date,[1] I have the honour to inform you that I conveyed to the Department of State a few weeks ago my private opinion that the moment was not opportune for the employment of two armed ships on the Great Lakes even for training purposes.

C 45043

I have not received any formal application from the United States Government since and, subject to Your Royal Highness' concurrence, I do not propose to raise the question again unless I am approached afresh.

I have, etc.,

CECIL SPRING RICE.

Field Marshal,
His Royal Highness
The DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G., etc.

[1] No. 25.

No. 27.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Secret.

Telegram.

OTTAWA, June 1, 1916.

Application made by United States Government for employment of two ships of twenty-two hundred tons, with eight 4-inch guns, on Great Lakes for training naval reserves. There are already nine United States vessels on lakes, seven of which are armed. Their combined tonnage is seven thousand four hundred, with armament of forty-four guns, including fourteen 4-inch guns, besides twenty-two machine guns. My advisers are not disposed to consent, but before final decision they would be glad to have views of His Majesty's Government.

ARTHUR.

No. 28.

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

Secret.

Telegram.

OTTAWA, June 1, 1916.

Your despatch 26th April[1] as to ships on Great Lakes, does tonnage and armament mentioned refer to combined tonnage and armament of two ships or to each ship.

ARTHUR.

[1] No. 23.

No. 29.

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

Secret.

Telegram.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1916.

With reference to your telegram June 1,[1] the matter now appears to have dropped. See my despatch No. 146.[2]

SPRING RICE.

[1] No. 28.
[2] No. 26.

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No. 30.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General.

Secret.
Telegram.

LONDON, June 16, 1916.

With reference to your telegram 2nd June,[1] new demand of United States Government is not regarded by His Majesty's Government as constituting any military menace to Canada nor as increasing appreciably strategic disadvantage of Dominion owing to her adherence to spirit of Rush-Bagot agreement, but they recognize that cumulative effect of American demands must be expected to influence Canadian public opinion in the contrary sense. If your Government object to consent being given to United States proposals, His Majesty's Government are quite willing to instruct His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to oppose request, but of course refusal may lead to denunciation of Rush-Bagot Convention by the United States Government and no doubt your Government will consider how far maintenance of Convention would be preferable to absence of all restrictions of armaments in Great Lakes. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would be glad to learn precise terms and scope of reply that your Government propose to give.

BONAR LAW.

[1] No. 27.

No. 31.

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

WASHINGTON, August 4, 1916.

Coast guard cutter *Merrill*, 145 feet 3 inches long, has been ordered by Treasury Department to proceed to Alexandria Bay to patrol the Regatta to be held August 15 to 17. She is now at Detroit and will have to pass into Lake Ontario through Welland Canal. United States Government hope that Canadian Government will see that no obstacle is placed in her way. Her armament consists of two 6-pounder Hotchkiss guns.

SPRING RICE.

No. 32.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA, August 8, 1916.

SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th August, enclosing copy of a despatch dated 4th August, 1916,[1] from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General, with reference to the coast guard cutter *Merrill*.

There would be no objection on the part of this Department to this vessel being allowed to proceed through the Welland Canal with her armament. Such action is, however, in opposition to the generally declared policy with regard to the Rush-Bagot Convention. The cutter *Merrill* would seem to be on the lake in contravention of the terms of this Convention and the question of allowing her to pass through the Welland Canal with her armament would be one of policy which would be discussed by Council. My minister would be glad, therefore, if you would cause this question to be referred to Council.

I have, etc.,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Deputy Minister.

The Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 31.

No. 33.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, August 14, 1916.

Your telegram 4th instant,[1] my advisers do not object to United States coast guard cutter *Merrill* passing into Lake Ontario through Welland Canal for the purpose mentioned. They understand that the vessel will remain only temporarily since her presence in Great Lakes would be in contravention of terms of Rush-Bagot agreement.

ARTHUR.

[1] No. 31.

No. 34.

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

Telegram.

WASHINGTON, August 16, 1916.

I made verbal communication to-day in sense of your telegram 14th August[1] about *Merrill*.

SPRING RICE.

[1] No. 33.

No. 35.

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Royal Highness the Governor General on the 19th August, 1916.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 14th August, 1916, from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom was referred a telegraphic message from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, dated the 4th August, 1916, conveying a request from the United States Government that the United States coast guard cutter *Merrill* might be allowed to pass into Lake Ontario through the Welland Canal with her armament on her way from Detroit to Alexandria Bay, where she is to patrol a Regatta to be held from the 15th to the 17th of August.

The minister states that the Minister of the Naval Service considers that there would be no objection to the passage of this vessel from the naval point of view.

The minister, while recognizing the fact that the presence of the vessel on the Great Lakes would seem to be in contravention of the terms of the Rush-Bagot agreement, considers that there would be no objection to granting the desired permission on the understanding that the vessel will remain only temporarily and for the purpose mentioned.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that Your Royal Highness may be pleased to inform Sir Cecil Spring Rice by telegraph in the above sense.

All of which is respectfully submitted for approval.

F. K. BENNETTS,
Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council.

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No. 36.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, August 19, 1916.

Referring to your cipher telegram August 4th,[1] *Merrill,* permission granted.

ARTHUR.

[1] No. 31.

No. 37.

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

Canada.
No. 187.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, August 29, 1916.

August 19.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit, herewith, for Your Excellency's information and for purposes of record, copies of the approved minute of the Privy Council for Canada[1] upon which my telegram was based.

I have, etc.,
ARTHUR.

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable
Sir CECIL SPRING RICE, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

[1] No. 35.

No. 38.

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

Secret.

Telegram.

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1917.

I am informed by United States Government that in view of small size of United States ships *Isla de Luzon* and *Gopher,* now loaned to Naval Militia at Chicago and Duluth respectively, they propose to lend to Duluth United States ship *Topeka* now under repair. The *Topeka* is over 2,000 tons and will probably carry eight 4-inch guns, four 3-pounder and 4 1-pounder. Also a vessel is to be purchased for Chicago.

Despatch follows.
Repeated to Foreign Office.

SPRING RICE.

No. 39.

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

Secret.

Telegram.

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1917.

With reference to my telegram January 30[1] (No. 230 to Foreign Office), I think I could obtain from United States Government withdrawal of proposal as to lakes. The President had no knowledge of it and I am assured by State Department that it was sent in error. Origin appears to be political pressure

on the Secretary of the Navy, but he can hardly put his name to practical abrogation of arrangement of 1817 as he is a pacifist by profession. I propose to say nothing further about the matter for the present in view of current events.

Repeated to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

SPRING RICE.

[1] No. 38.

No. 40.

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

Secret.
Telegram.

WASHINGTON, February 3, 1917.

With reference to my telegram to the Foreign Office, No. 260 of February 1,[1] State Department inform me that the proposal may be considered withdrawn for the time.

Addressed to Ottawa and repeated to Foreign Office.

SPRING RICE.

[1] No. 39.

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 34.

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

No. 194.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, June 23, 1921.

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

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor General of Canada.

Name and date	Subject
Department of State, Washington, June 22, 1921.	Information about submarine N-3 sent to Toledo on the occasion of the International Convention of the Loyal Order of Moose.

Reference—Canada despatch No. 86 of June 6, 1921.[1]

[1] No. 32.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 34

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 22, 1921.

EXCELLENCY,—Referring to your note No. 454 of June 9, 1921, in which, on behalf of the Canadian Government, information is sought as to the submarine sent to Toledo on the occasion of the International Convention of the Loyal Order of Moose, I have now the honour to inform you that under date of June 20 the Secretary of the Navy states that the United States submarine N-3 has already left for Toledo and that she arrived at Montreal on the 17th instant. Her itinerary calls for arrival at Port Dalhousie at the north end of the Welland Canal on June 21. Thence she is to sail for Pelee Island on the 23rd instant with a view to arriving in Toledo on June 26, 1921. She will return over the same general route, following the conclusion of the Convention on July 2, 1921. Orders were given the N-3 before her departure from New London to land the warheads of all her torpedoes. The vessel is otherwise unarmed, except for the customary provision of small arms, which are not included in the terms of the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

Accept, etc.,
CHARLES E. HUGHES.

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No. 35.

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

No. 101.

OTTAWA, July 6, 1921.

SIR,—With reference to Mr. Lindsay's despatch No. 294 of the 14th November, 1919,[1] enclosing a note from the United States Secretary of State in which mention was made of sixty Eagle boats having been contracted for at Detroit during the war, I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will ascertain whether any such agreement between Great Britain and the United States for the construction of these boats, or of any other war vessels on the Great Lakes, was entered into or is in existence.

I have, etc.,

JOHN IDINGTON,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR C. AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 9.

No. 36.

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

No. 104.

OTTAWA, July 11, 1921.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that, on the 1st July, the following United States unarmed naval tugs applied for passage through the Welland Canal, northbound:—

J. L. McKie
Carl A. Lohr
Major L. E. Moreton
Captain C. Condon
Lieut.-Colonel H. C. Schumm
Major A. G. Jenkins
W. E. Pence
Colonel R. C. Gilbert

By the terms of the Minute of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 16th of February last,[1] limiting the passage of vessels of war through the Canadian canals, it is necessary that application for passage of foreign war vessels should be made by the Government concerned. No application has been received in the Naval Service Department from the United States Government in this case. In order to prevent delay to these vessels, however, the Minister authorized their passage.

I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will draw the attention of the United States Government to this omission.

I have, etc.,

JOHN IDINGTON,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR C. AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 24.

C 45050

No. 37.

From the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

OTTAWA, July 12, 1921.

SIR,—I have the honour to refer to your communication of 31st May last, regarding the United States naval flotilla on the Great Lakes.

It is observed that the Ambassador remarks that, so far as he can discover, there is at present no strong popular feeling in Canada regarding the presence of United States armed vessels on the lakes. Whilst that may be technically correct, it would be due to the fact that the only province bordering on the lakes is Ontario. In this province more interest is taken in the question than elsewhere in Canada, and it is considered that too much reliance should not be placed on the present placid appearance of public opinion.

With regard to the question of making representations to the United States regarding the present strength of the naval force on the lakes, the main objections to doing so are:—

1. The probable result would be a cry by the United States for the revision of, or abolition of, the Agreement. The effect of either of these courses would certainly be an increase of the United States force beyond what they have hitherto attained.

2. The ultimate effect would be for pressure to be exercised by Canadian cities on the lakes for the maintenance of Canadian cruisers in those waters.

3. The probable development which would take place in the capacity of the United States lake shipbuilding firms for the building of war ships.

In the memorandum submitted by the Naval Attaché, which was attached to your communication, he remarks that the restrictions as to displacement and armament are not applicable to modern requirements. On the contrary, it is considered that these restrictions are perfectly compatible with modern conditions, provided that there is a willing spirit to adhere to the Agreement.

Circumstances have arisen during the last quarter of a century which have required, in the opinion of the United States, the maintenance of a certain naval force on the lakes. These circumstances may be temporary and may, therefore, disappear. At the present time this force is weaker than it was before the war and appears to be in a more moribund condition. There has indeed been an increase in the coast guard force, but little or no attention has hitherto been paid these vessels and it appears to have been assumed that they are not covered by the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

The opinion is therefore expressed that the time is not opportune for re-opening the question, but that the situation should be allowed to remain in statu quo, the Canadian Government always having in reserve the power to make representations to the United States if any serious infraction of the Agreement appears to be contemplated, provided Canada on her part maintains the Agreement.

I have, etc.,

G. J. DESBARATS,
Deputy Minister.

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C 45051

No. 38.

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

No. 107.

OTTAWA, July 18, 1921.

SIR,—With reference to my despatch No. 104 of the 11th instant,[1] regarding the passage of United States vessels through the Canadian canals, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that, on the 14th July, United States naval tugs Nos. 53, 54 and 55, en route from Chicago to New York, applied for permission to pass through the Welland Canal. In order to prevent delay, passage of these vessels was authorized, although no request for such passage had been received from the United States Government.

I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will draw the attention of the United States Government to the omission to make formal request for the passage of these vessels.

I have, etc.,

JOHN IDINGTON,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR C. AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 36.

No. 39.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General

Canada.
No. 381.

DOWNING STREET, July 19, 1921.

MY LORD DUKE,—With reference to the despatch No. 511 of the 23rd May[1] from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of United States Naval Forces in the Great Lakes (of which a copy has been forwarded to Your Excellency direct), I have the honour to request you to inform your Ministers that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty state they are interested in this question and would be glad to learn the views of your Government in due course.

I have, etc.,

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Governor General
His Excellency
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] Enclosure 1 in No. 30.

C 45052

No. 40.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

No. 478.

OTTAWA, August 9, 1921.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 381 of the 19th July,[1] asking for an expression of the views of the Canadian Government on the subject of United States Naval Forces in the Great Lakes, as dealt with in the despatch of the 23rd May from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,[2] I have the honour to transmit, herewith, a copy of a letter[3] from the Department of the Naval Service containing an expression of the views of that Department on the subject.

12th July.

I have, etc.,

L. H. DAVIES,
Administrator.

The Right Honourable
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, P.C.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[1] No. 39.
[2] Enclosure 1 in No. 30.
[3] No. 37.

No. 41.

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

No. 248.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, August 17, 1921.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
MAURICE PETERSON.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

Name and date	Subject
Department of State, Washington, August 16, 1921.	Unarmed tugs passing through the Welland Canal.

Reference—Ottawa despatch No. 107 of July 18, 1921.[1]

[1] No. 38.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 41

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 16, 1921.

EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. 583 of August 1, 1921, stating that certain additional unarmed naval tugs applied for passage through the Welland Canal in contravention of the

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Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,[1] which was brought to the attention of this Government in Your Excellency's note No. 171 of February 28, 1921.

I have referred the matter to the appropriate authorities of this Government, and I shall promptly inform Your Excellency of the result of the steps I am taking to prevent further incidents of this kind.

Accept, etc.,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Geddes, K.C.B.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

[1] No. 24.

No. 42.

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

No. 263.

British Embassy,
Washington, August 30, 1921.

Your Excellency,—I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)

M. PETERSON.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

Subject	Name and date
Unarmed vessels passing through the Welland Canal.	Department of State, Washington, August 29, 1921.

Reference—Washington despatch No. 248 of August 17, 1921.[1]

[1] No. 41.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 42

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

Department of State,
Washington, August 29, 1921.

Excellency,—Adverting to your notes Numbers 567 and 583, dated respectively July 22, 1921, and August 1, 1921, relative to the passage of certain unarmed United States army vessels through the Welland Canal in contravention of the terms of the Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada, approved by the Governor General on February 16, 1921,[1] I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that instructions have been given to all persons concerned that no armed or unarmed vessels belonging to the United States army and navy are to attempt to pass through any canals in Canadian territory until permission has been obtained, as outlined in Your Excellency's previous note No. 171, dated February 28, 1921.

The Department of the Government to which the aforesaid vessels belong expresses its regret and asks that you be assured that this violation of Canadian regulations was unintentional and due to the fact that information had not, at that time, reached the aforesaid department.

Accept, etc.,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable Sir Auckland C. Geddes, K.C.B.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

[1] No. 24.

No. 43.

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

No. 293.

British Embassy,
Washington, D.C., October 17, 1921.

My Lord,—With reference to your predecessor's despatch No. 101 of July 6[1] respecting a contract supposed to have been made at Detroit during the war for sixty Eagle boats, I have the honour to inform you that I have now received a reply from the Foreign Office to my enquiries on this matter. It appears that the Admiralty can find no trace of any such agreement between Great Britain and the United States, and the Lords Commissioners are of opinion that it is improbable that after the United States entered the war there would have been any question of a formal agreement for this purpose.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)

H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The Lord Byng of Vimy, G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

[1] No. 35.

No. 44.

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

No. 295.

British Embassy,
Washington, D.C., October 18, 1921.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note dated October 17 addressed to me by the Secretary of State regarding the proposed visit of the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* to the Great Lakes for use by the Naval Militia of the State of New York as a floating armoury and training ship.

In view of Mr. Hughes' request to be informed at the earliest possible date whether the Canadian Government desire to raise any objection to the visit of this vessel, I should be grateful if Your Excellency would inform me by telegraph whether Your Excellency's Government desire to raise any such objection.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)

H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The Lord Byng of Vimy, G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 44

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 17, 1921.

EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that it is proposed to send the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* into the waters of the Great Lakes for use by the Naval Militia of the State of New York as a floating armoury and training ship.

The U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* is a wooden steam freight vessel of merchant type, 2,383 gross tons, 1,655 net tons, length 250 feet, beam 43½ feet, depth 22½ feet, and carries no armament. On her passage she will be manned by a United States naval crew, and it is desired to place her in service at Buffalo, New York, and vicinity.

It may be necessary to tow the *Sturgeon Bay* to her destination, in which case a United States naval vessel will be employed. The towing vessel, however, will return to the Atlantic coast as soon as practicable after delivering the *Sturgeon Bay*.

However, before taking action in the premises, this Government desires to ascertain whether or not there is any objection thereto on the part of the British or Canadian Governments.

I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will inform me in this regard at your earliest convenience, as the interested authorities of this Government desire to despatch the *Sturgeon Bay* in time to make the passage through the St. Lawrence and the Canals before the close of navigation.

Accept, etc.,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

No. 45.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General

Canada.

No. 572.

DOWNING STREET, October 19, 1921.

To. H.M. Amb. Washington. 28th Sept.

MY LORD,—With reference to Sir L. H. Davies' despatch No. 478 of the 9th August,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency for the information of your Ministers a copy of a despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington on the subject of United States Naval Forces on the Great Lakes.

I have, etc.,

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Governor General
His Excellency
General
The Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 40.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 45

From the Foreign Office to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1, September 28, 1921.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 511 of the 23rd May last[1] regarding the question of the maintenance of United States naval forces on the Great Lakes in excess of those permitted to be maintained under the Treaties in force between the United States and Great Britain, I transmit to you herewith copy of a despatch[2] from the Canadian Government communicated to this department by the Colonial Office, in which the views of the Canadian Department of Naval Service on this matter are set forth.

2. I have to inform you that I concur in the view expressed by the Canadian Government on this question, with which the Admiralty have also expressed their agreement.

I am, etc.,

H. J. SEYMOUR.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR AUCKLAND C. GEDDES, K.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] Enclosure 1 in No. 30.
[2] No. 40.

No. 46.

P.C. 4087

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 2nd November, 1921.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 27th October, 1921, from the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, to whom was referred a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, dated the 18th October, 1921,[1] transmitting copy of a note from the Secretary of State of the United States, requesting to be informed whether the Canadian Government entertain any objection to the proposed visit of the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* to the Great Lakes for use by the Naval Militia of the State of New York as a floating armoury and training ship.

The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the concurrence of the Ministers of the Naval Service and Militia and Defence, submits that at the present time the number of armed ships allowed on the Great Lakes by the Rush-Bagot Agreement is already exceeded by the United States Government. In view, however, of the fact that the Secretary of State states that the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* is to be used as a floating armoury and training ship, and carries no armament, the Minister assumes that no infraction of the Agreement is intended, and therefore recommends that the desired permission should be accorded. It is, however, assumed that the ship will remain unarmed after her arrival on the lakes.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to forward a copy of this Minute, if approved, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, for the information of the United States Government.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

[1] No. 44.

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No. 47.

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

Telegram.
No. 76A.

OTTAWA, November 5, 1921.

Your despatch October 18, No. 295,[1] U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay,* following is substance of Minute of Council approved November 2[2]: At the present time number of armed ships allowed on Great Lakes by Rush-Bagot Agreement is already exceeded by United States Government. In view, however, of fact that Secretary of State states that U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* is to be used as floating armoury and training ship, and carries no armament, my Ministers assume that no infraction of Agreement is intended, and therefore recommend that desired permission should be accorded. It is however assumed that ship will remain unarmed after her arrival on lakes. Despatch follows by mail.

BYNG.

[1] No. 44.
[2] No. 46.

No. 48.

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

No. 153.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, November 9, 1921.

SIR,—With reference to my telegram of the 5th November[1] on the subject of the proposed visit of the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* to the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of an Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada,[2] upon which that telegram was based.

2nd November.
P. C. 4087.

I have, etc.,

BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 47.
[2] No. 46

No. 49.

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

No. 336.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., December 9, 1921.

MY LORD,—With reference to Your Excellency's telegram No. 76A of November 6[1] respecting the number of training ships allowed on the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note which I have received from the Department of State dated December 5.

Your Excellency will observe that the United States Government desire to replace the U.S.S. *Essex* by the U.S.S. *Paducah* and I should be grateful if you would be good enough to inform me whether there is any objection to the entrance of the *Paducah* into the Great Lakes as a training ship.

I have, etc.,

A. C. GEDDES.

His Excellency
The LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Ottawa, Canada.

[1] No. 47.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 49

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, December 5, 1921.

EXCELLENCY,—I am informed by the Secretary of the Navy that it is proposed, if there is no objection on the part of the British and Canadian Governments, to replace the U.S.S. *Essex,* now in the waters of the Great Lakes, by the U.S.S. *Paducah.*

The *Essex* is to be dismantled, rendered unavailable for war purposes, and converted into a floating barracks for naval reservists.

I shall, therefore, be grateful if you will inform me whether there is any objection to the entrance of the *Paducah* into the Great Lakes as a training ship for the United States Naval Reserve.

Accept, etc.,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

No. 50.

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

No. 1.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, January 16, 1922.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 336 of the 9th ultimo[1] enquiring whether there would be objection to replacing the United States ship *Essex* by the United States ship *Paducah* to serve as a training ship on the Great Lakes for the United States Naval Reserve, I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government has no objection to the *Essex* being replaced by the *Paducah,* provided neither of the ships is armed.

I have, etc.,

BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
SIR C. AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 49.

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C 45059

file

Return to an Address of the House of Commons, for copy of all letters, telegrams and other documents relative to the Petition of the Eastern LaHave Transportation Company, Limited, and others, to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and of all communications and replies from the United States Government relative to the said Petition and to the facts disclosed therein.

Ottawa, 3rd May, 1922.

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C 45060

Ottawa, 24th April 1922.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 19th instant notifying the despatch of five printed copies of the Petition in the case of the Schooner CON REIN which have been duly received.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.) W.H.Walker.

Assistant Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

L.A.Lovett, Esquire K.C.,
c/o Messrs. McInnes, Jenks, Lovett and Macdonald,
Barristers,
35 Bedford Row,
Halifax,
Nova Scotia.

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[redacted]

C 45061

MACINNES, JENKS & LOVETT & Macdonald,

BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS,

35 Bedford Row,

HALIFAX, N.S.

19th April 1922.

Re Schooner "Con Rein"

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 12th and note that you have not received the five printed copies of the Petition which were referred to in my letter to the Secretary of State, dated March 29th 1922.

I am forwarding today five printed copies by mail and would be obliged if you would acknowledge receipt of same when they come to hand.

In the meantime I am taking the matter up with the Post Office Department in an endeavour to discover why the copies I sent you before did not reach their destination.

Yours truly,

(SGD.) L.A.LOVETT

Per N.

Assistant Under-Secretary of State

For External Affairs,

Ottawa, Canada.

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C 45062

CANADA.

Government House,
OTTAWA
13th April 1922.

No. 53.

Sir,

13th April

I have the honour to transmit, herewith, a copy of a letter from the Department of the Secretary of State for External Affairs covering a copy of a petition presented to the Prime Minister by the East LaHave Transportation Company, Limited, A.Pickard and Company (owners respectively of the hull and cargo of the Schooner "Con Rein" of the Port of LaHave, Nova Scotia), George H. Corkum and others, the Captain and members of the crew of the said Schooner, setting forth particulars of losses sustained by them owing to a collision which took place between the Schooner and the Submarine K-4 of the United States Navy on the evening of the 29th August, 1921, near Block Island, State of Rhode Island, as a result of which the Schooner with her cargo was sunk and the personal effects of the Captain and members of the crew were also lost. Schedules "F" to "M" attached to the petition give particulars of the claims put forward by the petitioners and I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will bring the matter to the attention of the Government of the United States to the end that suitable redress may be afforded the petitioners for the losses which they have incurred.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir Auckland Geddes, K.C.B.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient,
humble servant,
(Sd.) BYNG OF VIMY.

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C 45063

Ottawa, 13th April 1922.

Dear Mr.Duff,

I am sorry I was not in yesterday when you called, but I am laid up with a very bad cold.

A petition from the owners of the schooner CON REIN for damages sustained by them in the sinking of the vessel by the submarine K 4 United States Navy on the 29th August, 1921, was received by the Prime Minister, and has been duly forwarded to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington with a request that the claim may be brought to the attention of the United States authorities, and suitable redress obtained. This has only just been done, so of course nothing yet has been heard from Washington in the matter. I will keep you advised of any information which may reach me on the subject.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.) Joseph Pope.

William Duff, Esquire, M.P.,
House of Commons,
O t t a w a.

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C 45063

Ottawa, 13th April 1922.

Dear Mr.Duff,

I am sorry I was not in yesterday when you called, but I am laid up with a very bad cold.

A petition from the owners of the schooner CON REIN for damages sustained by them in the sinking of the vessel by the submarine K 4 United States Navy on the 29th August,1921, was received by the Prime Minister, and has been duly forwarded to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington with a request that the claim may be brought to the attention of the United States authorities, and suitable redress obtained. This has only just been done, so of course nothing yet has been heard from Washington in the matter. I will keep you advised of any information which may reach me on the subject.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.) Joseph Pope.

William Duff, Esquire, M.P.,
House of Commons,
O t t a w a.

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C 45064

Ottawa, 13th April 1922.

Dear Mr.Macdonald,

I have received your letter of the 11th instant, regarding the case of the schooner CON REIN. A petition from the owners of the schooner and of the cargo and from the Captain and crew was received by the Prime Minister, and has been duly communicated to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington with the request that the claim may be brought to the attention of the United States authorities and suitable redress obtained. This has only been done, so of course nothing yet has been heard from Washington in the matter.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.) Joseph Pope.

E.M.Macdonald, Esquire, M.P.,
The House of Commons,
O t t a w a.

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C 45065

Ottawa, 13th April 1922.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a petition presented to the Prime Minister by the East LaHave Transportation Company, Limited, A.Pickard and Company, (owners respectively of the hull and cargo of the schooner Con Rein of the Port of LaHave, Nova Scotia), George H.Corkum and others, the Captain and members of the crew of the said Schooner, setting forth particulars of losses sustained by them owing to a collision which took place between the Schooner and the Submarine K-4 of the United States Navy on the evening of the 29th August 1921, near Block Island, State of Rhode Island, as a result of which the Schooner with her cargo was sunk, and the personal effects of the Captain and members of the crew were also lost; Schedules "F" to "M" attached to the petition give particulars of the claims put forward by the petitioners.

It will be observed that the Opinion of the Board of Investigation, convened by the United States Naval Authorities to enquire into the circumstances, which is to be found in Schedule "E" attached to the petition at page 34, fixed responsibility for the collision on the Commanding Officer of the Submarine and that it is alleged by the petitioners that they are unable, owing to the provisions of the laws of the United States of America, to institute any action at law against the Government of the United States of America or against any of the Departments thereof for the recovery of their losses.

I am

The Governor General's Secretary,

O t t a w a.

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I am to request that His Excellency may be humbly moved to forward the enclosed copy of the petition to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, asking that the claim of the petitioners may be brought to the attention of the United States authorities to the end that suitable redress may be afforded them for the losses which they have incurred.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) W.H.Walker.

Assistant Under-Secretary of State

for External Affairs.

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C 45067

Copy

Ottawa, 12th April, 1922.

Dear Mr. Duff,

I have just received from the Prime Minister's Office a letter from Mr. Lovett covering the original petition to the Prime Minister in the case of the Schooner CON REIN . I am acknowledging this to Mr. Lovett and informing him that steps will be taken to bring the matter to the attention of the United States authorities, with the object of obtaining suitable redress.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) W. H. Walker

William Duff, Esq., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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C 45068

Ottawa, 12th April, 1922.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, enclosing a petition of the East LaHave Transportation Company, Limited, A. Pickard and Company, George H. Corkum, and others, praying that steps might be taken to obtain compensation for losses sustained by them owing to the collision of the Submarine K-4 of the United States Navy and the Schooner CON REIN of LaHave, Nova Scotia, and to inform you that the matter will be brought to the attention of the UnitedStates authorities with the object of obtaining suitable redress.

I might say that the five printed copies of the petition, to which you refer, were not received with your letter.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) W. H. Walker

Assistant Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs.

L. A. Lovett, Esq., K.C.,
c/o Messrs. McInnes, Jenks, Lovett and Macdonald,
Barristers,
35 Bedford Row,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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C 45069

HOUSE OF COMMONS

CANADA.

Ottawa, April 12, 1922.

Sir Joseph Pope,

Under-Secretary of External Affairs,

Ottawa.

Dear Sir,

I was in to see you this morning regarding petition of the East LaHave Transportation Co., Ltd., et al against the United States Government for damages sustained by them in the sinking of the schooner "CON REIN" by the submarine K 4 of the United States Navy, nine miles east of Block Island, in the State of Rhode Island, at 11 p.m. on the 29th of August, 1921. I would appreciate it very much if you would at the earliest possible moment get in communication with the United States authorities and endeavour to arrange a settlement. I would be very glad if I can tender any assistance to your Department in having this matter settled. With my knowledge of shipping it is quite possible I may be able to advise you and I would be very glad indeed if you would communicate with me at any time.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) William Duff

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C 45070

HOUSE OF COMMONS

CANADA

Ottawa, Ont., April 11, 1922.

Sir Joseph Pope,

Under-Secretary External Affairs,

Ottawa, Canada.

Re Schooner "COLREIN"

Dear Sir Joseph,

I am advised some parties in Nova Scotia are interested in a petition submitted to your Department on behalf of the owners of the above named Schooner for transmission to the Washington authorities, and I would be obliged if you would advise me of the position of matters, and further if the petition has been forwarded to Washington, and if so, has any advices been received in regard to it.

Yours faithfully,

E. Macdonald

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McInnes, Jenks, Lovett & Macdonald. C 45071

Barristers, Solicitors, etc.

Halifax, N.S.

29th March, 1922.

Dear Sir:-

I am acting for the owners of the hull and cargo of the three-masted Schooner "Con Rein" of the Port of LaHave, Nova Scotia, as well as for the Captain and members of the crew of said Schooner in connection with a collision which occured between said Schooner and the Submarine K-4 of the United States Navy on the evening of August 29th, 1921, about nine miles east north east of the South East End Lighthouse, Block Island, State of Rhode Island, U.S.A. As a result of the collision which took place, the Schooner was sunk together with her cargo, and the personal effects of the Captain and members of the crew were also lost.

Accompanying this letter is an original Petition and five printed copies thereof, and on behalf of my clients I beg leave to request you as Secretary of State for Canada to cause the Petition to be presented to the proper authorities of the American Government at Washington for their consideration, accompanied by such representations from yourself as Secretary of State as the nature of the case in your Judgment warrants.

I will be glad to forward to you, if so requested, additional copies of the Petition,

I would appreciate an acknowledgment of receipt

Honourable William Lyon McKenzie King.

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of this letter and accompanying documents and would also very greatly appreciate as prompt action in the presentation of the Petition as your convenience will permit.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) L.A. Lovett.

Honourable William Lyon McKenzie King,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa,
Canada.

Enclosures.

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C 45073

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

WITH

HON. CHAS. E. HUGHES, SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

At
The State Department, July 12, 1922, 12 o'clock noon.

PRESENT: Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister;

Hon. George P. Graham,
Minister of National Defence;

also, Mr. Henry Getty Chilton,
Charge d'Affaires, British Embassy, Washington.

THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS WERE DISCUSSED:

By the Canadian Ministers -

1. Disarmament on the Great Lakes.

2. Fisheries Treaty negotiated in 1919 by Sir Douglas Hazen and Mr. Secretary Redfield.

3. Lake of the Woods and Rainy River Treaty respecting control of the boundary waters of the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River.

4. Taxation on incomes derived from the United States by Canadian citizens.

5. Claim of the "Con Rein".

By Mr. Secretary Hughes -

6. Correspondence concerning the export of pulpwood.

7. Proposed treaty respecting the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Waterway.

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C 45074

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES. JULY 12, 1922.

1. Disarmament on the Great Lakes.

Mr. King and Mr. Graham represented to Mr. Hughes that the purpose of their visit to Washington was to bring to Mr. Hughes attention the extent to which the terms of the Rush-Bagot Agreement have been disregarded as respects the arming of vessels upon the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, and to suggest that in view of the recent Washington Conference on Disarmament, the present seemed an opportune moment in which to give expression, in the form of a treaty between Canada and the United States, to the principles underlying the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

It was pointed out that at the present time several vessels carrying armament were being used on the Great Lakes as training ships for State Naval Militias; that within the present year the Canadian Government had received requests for permission to pass through the Canadian canals to the Upper Lakes, not less than three ships which it was understood would subsequently be used for training purposes. Such vessels passed through the Canadian canals unarmed but there was reason to believe that it was the intention to place armament on them later.

Off and on, over a period of a number of years, other United States naval vessels had become stationed on the Great Lakes with the result that there was now a fleet for naval training purposes of ten or twelve vessels, all of which were greater in tonnage than the displacement provided for in the Rush-Bagot Agreement, and most of which carry armament considerably in excess of anything contemplated by the Agreement. In addition there were in the Revenue service of the United States Government on the Great Lakes, according to the information of the Canadian Government, revenue cutters, patrol boats, submarine chasers, to a considerable number, of a displacement larger than that contemplated by the Rush-Bagot Agreement, and some of them carrying armament also in excess of that contemplated by the Agreement.

It was pointed out that taken altogether these several vessels constituted an armed naval equipment upon the Great Lakes never contemplated under the Agreement, and unfortunately unknown, for the most part, by the greater body of the citizens of either country.

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1. Disarmament on the Great Lakes (continued).

2.

It was apparent that if the practice which had grown was permitted to continue it would in a very short time give rise to considerable discussion and might assume proportions which would make the problem of complete disarmament on the Great Lakes increasingly difficult to deal with. Moreover, if the State Naval Militias were to be permitted the use of armament on their training vessels, the Canadian Government was certain to be faced in course of time with a like demand for Provincial Naval Militias, and this would lead almost inevitably to a degree of competitive arming which would defeat the whole purpose and significance of the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

It was pointed out that during the period of the War, some of the shipbuilding companies on the Great Lakes having had to do with the construction or partial construction of vessels to be used for war purposes, had naturally increased the desire of these companies to enter permanently upon the construction of war vessels; that if this construction were permitted to be carried on beyond certain carefully agreed limits, it would mean that action of the kind would arouse suspicion or occasion fears and distrust on the part of neighbouring Provinces which would also defeat the spirit and purpose of the Rush-Bagot Agreement.

The Canadian Ministers made it quite clear that they did not conceive there was the slightest unfriendly intent in any development that had thus far taken place; indeed, they were wholly confident that it was altogether without the slightest desire on the part of any of the parties concerned to violate what was fundamental in the principles underlying the Rush-Bagot Agreement. They recognized that with the increase of trade and commerce between the countries, with the necessity for a more rigid enforcement of revenue regulations and especially in the attempts to avoid the liquor laws of the respective countries, there might be needed for it a kind of protection more formidable than that which had been thought necessary in 1817, and that they were of opinion that the whole matter was one that could easily be regulated between the Governments of the two countries on lines to be agreed upon in a formal treaty.

The Canadian Ministers further emphasized the significance not only to Canada and the United States but to Europe and Asia, of the unfortified international frontier stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean across the American continent. They believed

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that the maintenance of this expression of international goodwill would mean to both countries through the years to come, not only a vast saving of useless expenditure on the part of their Governments and the preservation of the existing friendly and neighbourly relations between their peoples, but xx an object lesson in the nature of a contribution to world civilization.

The Washington Disarmament Conference having made the impression upon the world it had, its identification with the leadership of Mr. Secretary Hughes and the many mentions made of the Rush-Bagot Agreement throughout the Conference, seemed to render the present moment particularly appropriate for a treaty which would at once meet existing needs and demands, remove the possibility of future friction and perpetuate the principles underlying international amity and goodwill which both countries were anxious to maintain.

Mr. Secretary Hughes expressed himself as most sympathetic to the proposal. He did not hesitate to say that it appealed strongly to him. He expressed complete surprise at the representations of the Canadian Ministers concerning the extent to which armament had already taken place upon the Great Lakes; he had had no previous knowledge of it nor did he believe his Department had. He asked as to the centres at which the naval training took place and also for particulars with respect to the vessels in the customs and revenue and naval militia services. He suggested that the Canadian Ministers forward to him a draft of what they would propose in the way of a treaty and intimated that he thought there would be little difficulty in an agreement being reached.

It was pointed out by the Canadian Ministers that they did not desire to embarrass the United States naval authorities in the matter of their recruiting or training, nor the United States shipbuilding companies in the construction of vessels; that regulations could be so drafted as to permit virtually everything essential in naval training,beyond gunnery practice upon the Great Lakes,and the building of ships. In connection with the building of ships, their construction to a point at which an assurance with respect to armament requirements, had to be given consideration. It was quite possible that Canadian shipbuilding firms would themselves wish to have rights and privileges of the kind; it was therefore all important that there should be a mutual understanding and agreement with respect to how far it would be wise to permit

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that the maintenance of this expression of international goodwill would mean to both countries through the years to come, not only a vast saving of useless expenditure on the part of their Governments and the preservation of the existing friendly and neighbourly relations between their peoples, but xx an object lesson in the nature of a contribution to world civilization.

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1. Disarmament on the Great Lakes.(continued)

construction to proceed.

The Canadian Ministers promised to forward Mr. Secretary Hughes the information requested and the proposed treaty draft.

The interview on this subject included a word as to would should be said to the Press. Mr. Secretary Hughes suggested that it would be as well to say nothing about the existing armament on the Lakes, or the shipbuilding or like considerations involved, but to stress rather the point that the whole matter was one which grew naturally out of the Disarmament Conference, and to lay emphasis on the fact that the purpose was that of perpetuating the principles underlying the Rush-Bagot Agreement and the intentions of those who had been responsible for it.

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MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922.

2. The Fisheries Treaty.

Mention was made at the interview of the Fisheries Treaty negotiated in 1919 by Sir Douglas Hazen and Mr. Secretary Redfield, and which has been approved by the Canadian Parliament but thus far has not received the approval of the Senate of the United States.

It is intended, amongst other things, to provide for the conservation of the salmon on the Fraser River through the prohibition of destructive devices employed by persons living in the territories adjoining the Fraser River.

Mr. Secretary Hughes was quite familiar with the whole matter and appeared to have been anticipating some reference to it. He said the Treaty had been before the Senate but that the opposition of the Senator from the State of Washington had been such as to make its passage through the Senate practically impossible. He said he could offer no hope of the Treaty being passed at the present time; we would be able to see for ourselves the difficulties of proceeding with legislation at this season of the year and with conditions what they were in the Senate at present. The rules governing debate were anything but strict in the Senate, and it was possible for one or two State senators to enlist a sufficient number of their friends in opposition to a measure to so obstruct proceedings as to make impossible any progress in an important measure at a time like the present.

What Mr. Hughes deplored most was that he could get no satisfactory explanation as to just what it was to which the State of Washington people objected. He had sought to bring about an understanding by a conference held at Vancouver in the early part of the year between the authorities of the State of Washington and the authorities representing the Canadian interests, but this had been unsuccessful.

Mr. Hughes was ready to negotiate at once with respect to the need for regulations governing the catching of fish beyond the three-mile limit. This he had already suggested to the Government of Canada but was met with the reply that it was the Canadian Government's wish to dispose of the other matter first. Being asked if the two matters could not be taken up together, Mr. Hughes replied that he doubted if any headway could be made by such an attempt.

Mr. Graham mentioned that a Committee of the House of Commons was going to the West this Summer to continue an investigation

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2. The Fisheries Treaty. (Continued)

2.

being made into this question, and stated that possibly they might be able to ascertain more definitely the root of the trouble. Mr. Hughes expressed himself as ready to receive any information they might give. He did not express either approval or disapproval of the suggestion that the Fall elections might have a bearing on the opposition from the State of Washington at the present time. He dwelt rather upon the vigour with which special interests in the different States contended for what they desired.

Mr. Hughes' attention was drawn to the changes made since the War in the regulations on the Atlantic Coast whereby under the War Measures Acts of the two countries the fisheries of each were given reciprocal rights in the matter of clearing at the ports of either countries, purchasing bait, seines, equipment, etc. It was pointed out that while Canadian fishermen were now being denied these rights, Canada was permitting United States fishermen a continuation of them upon payment of a nominal fee of one dollar. Under the arrangement as now existing, American fishermen were enjoying advantages being denied to Canadian fishermen sailing to American harbours.

Mr. Hughes stated that this was a matter which could be taken up in any further discussion of the Fisheries matter; it was new to him, but was one he would be glad to look into.

The proposal made by the Canadian Ministers was that whatever rights or privileges were granted to the fishermen of one country, should be made reciprocal as regards the fishermen of another.

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MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922.

3. Lake of the Woods & Rainy River Treaty.

The third subject discussed was the proposed international treaty based upon the findings of the International Waterways Commission respecting the control of the waters of the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River.

On being asked whether the United States was prepared to proceed with the treaty, Mr. Hughes remarked that he thought the next move should come from Canada, whereupon it was intimated to Mr. Hughes that this further step on Canada's part would probably have already been taken had the Canadian Government not been more-or-less reliably informed that Governor Preus of Minnesota would probably occasion opposition to the treaty, were it presented to the Senate as at present contemplated; that he was desirous of having settled at the same time matters pertaining to Rainy River.

Secretary Hughes then mentioned that this was correct and that no doubt Governor Preus would be able to gain support for his view and attitude from the Senators of Minnesota. Here again the United States Government was faced with State opposition which would make very difficult the final settlement of any treaty at present.

Mr. Hughes stated that Governor Preus had spoken to him and had said he would like to go to Canada and take up the matter himself with the Canadian authorities; ~~but~~ he (Mr. Hughes) had quite approved of this course. Mr. Hughes was told by the Prime Minister that Governor Preus had telegraphed him asking for an interview at Washington, that the Prime Minister had sent a non-committal reply but would arrange to see Governor Preus in Washington if Mr. Hughes saw no objection. He intimated further that Mr. Backus and the Premier of Ontario might also to be present, and that he had taken the ground that he would be agreeable to hearing any parties who wish to make representations. Mr. Hughes thought that this was the ~~si~~ proper attitude.

Evidently Mr. Hughes had also anticipated the bringing up of this question as he had the papers relating to it on his desk. It was understood that the matter would be gone on with after the conferences referred to.

(Governor Preus called on the Prime Minister at the

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3. Lake of the Woods & Rainy River Treaty. (Continued)

2.

Shoreham Hotel on the day following, and explained that his interest in the matter arose through a desire to have settled matters of litigation between the State and parties holding land on the irrigated areas; that he thought the opposition of the Canadian engineers, Mr. Challies and Mr. Stewart, was responsible for the unwillingness of the Canadian Government to include the Rainy River question as well as the Lake of the Woods question in the one treaty. He said he would like to come to Ottawa, preferably in early September, to discuss the question. The Prime Minister told him he would endeavour to meet his convenience in this particular, and would rely upon his informing Mr. Backus that it was to suit his wishes that the interview had been deferred until September.)

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C 45082

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922.

4. Taxation on incomes of Canadian citizens.

Mr. Secretary Hughes' attention was drawn to the amendment to the United States Revenue Act of last year whereby the incomes of "aliens" derived from the United States had become subject to an eight per cent. tax when such incomes are over $1,000, whereas in the case of the American citizen, incomes similarly derived are exempt, where there are dependents, to an amount of $2,500 and are taxable at the rate of only 4% up to $8,000 on incomes above $2,500. This had resulted in double taxation for a number of Canadians who lived in Canadian border towns but whose work was carried on in the United States.

The sacrifice and annoyance it entailed were proving prejudicial to the feeling of goodwill which it was desirable to encourage at all points along the Boundary.

The matter had been brought up in the Canadian Parliament at the last Session and a resolution adopted by the House to the effect that like imposition should be placed on American citizens residing in the border towns of the United States and carrying on their work in Canada. The Canadian Revenue Act was amended in accordance with the terms of this resolution with the proviso that effect should not be given to the amendments in these particulars except by Order of His Excellency in Council. Thus far the Governor-in-Council had refrained from ordering the new taxes to go into effect, the purpose being to permit opportunity of conference with a view to seeing if the American provision as far as it affected the incomes of Canadian citizens residing in the Border towns, might not be amended in a manner which would render unnecessary imposing any tax on the incomes of American citizens in like residence.

Mr. Hughes received the representations sympathetically. The amendments referred to had not been brought to his attention. He was of opinion that the amount of revenue derived therefrom was likely to be very small and that the matter was one which it should be possible satisfactorily to adjust. He suggested that the Ministers send him a statement of what in their opinion would satisfactorily remedy the difficulty. He was promised that on return, the Minister of Finance would be asked to forward a suggestion in this connection.

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MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922.

5. Claim of the "Con Rein".

The "Con Rein" was a Nova Scotia schooner which was rammed and sunk in a fog by a United States submarine.

The question of liability had been passed upon by the United States Naval Board, which held that the submarine was liable for the loss of the "Con Rein".

The Acting Secretary of the Navy had taken the position that the Government could not be held liable for the loss,,and had refused to permit payment of damages.

These circumstances being explained to Mr. Secretary Hughes, he remarked that this was doubtless on the ground, similar to the rule respecting the non-liability of the Crown in British cases, that the Government could not be held liable for the action of its agent. He was asked if he thought the matter was one which might apparently be referred to the courts of the United States and whether the United States Government would be willing to accept he decision of their own Courts in the matter were the Canadian Government equally agreeable to so doing.

Mr. Hughes thereupon cited the case in which judgment had recently been given. He thought it took from the Courts authority in these matters; he would, however, be pleased to have the matter looked into, and made a note accordingly. It was understood that this matter also should be taken up further by correspondence.

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MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922.

6. Correspondence concerning the export of pulpwood.

Mr. Hughes said there were two matters of which he would like to speak. The first was the nature of the replies whichhad been sent by the Canadian Government to the Government of the United States in reponse to a communication asking that permission should be given a Commission from the United States to visit Canada to take up matters pertaining to the export of pulpwood. Mr. Hughes intimated that the reply had occasioned some displeasure. He was immediately informed by the Prime Minister that having seen the correspondence he was not surprised that Mr. Hughes had felt indignant. The Prime Minister said he wished to disassociate his Government from any attitude or feeling expressed in the letters referred to. He would undertake to say that should the matter come up again the present Government would be very willing to see that the opportunity requested was afforded.

Mr. Hughes expressed himself as very much pleased at this reply. He said that the whole subject had occasioned some feeling in influential circles and had been regarded as unfortunate.

Mr. Secretary Hughes next spoke of the proposed treaty respecting the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Waterways.

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MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922.

7. Proposed treaty respecting the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Waterway.

Mr. Hughes mentioned that the President was much interested in the project; that he was aware of the reply which had been sent by the Canadian Government; that he was bringing up the subject only that the Canadian Government might know that it was one to which importance was attached by the United States.

The attitude presented by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons was repeated to Mr. Hughes, namely that the Canadian Government's position was one neither of acceptance nor rejection of the proposal made by the Government of the United States; that the time was not opportune in urging a definite decision.

Mr. Hughes' attention was drawn to the circumstances that during the War, Canada's ~~its~~ public debt had been increased by two billions of dollars and that ~~any~~ project which threatened to involve the Government in large guarantees or expenditures could not possible meet with a good reception by the people of Canada at the present time. The present administration had been in power only a short time and had not had opportunity to study the project with care nor to gauge accurately public opinion concerning it.

Mr. Hughes mentioned that public opinion in the United States was divided as between the East and West on the project and it was understood that there was somewhat the same division of opinion in Canada. The Prime Minister said that this was correct.

Mr. Hughes was careful to repeat that he was not urging the matter but felt it was opportune to bring up the subject.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

(Washington, D.C.
July 13, 1922.9.40pm)

TAKE UP IN NEW YORK
Saturday, July 15,1922

1. See American Express Company, 61 Broadway, New York, re charges of $83.77 to be paid before shipping sculpture to Ottawa.

2. Appointment Saturday morning with Mr. Gray ? (See Mr.Heydt's wire)

3. Appointment for Mr. H. V. Cann. (?) (See Mr.Cann's wire)

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00

A G E N D A

NEW YORK
Tuesday, July 11th, 1922

Mr. Rockefeller. Speak to Mr. R. re railway matters.

Gray
Union Pacific

See Mr. Ivy Lee. ✓

See Dr. Charles A. Eaton.

Call at office of Mr. S. Edgar Briggs, Revell Company. ✓

Mr. Edward R. Hewitt. (Phone Gramercy 4312)

Mrs. Richards.

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8

A G E N D A

WASHINGTON.

Naval Vessels on Great Lakes.

Protection of salmon fisheries.

Claim, "Con Rein".

International Boundary Waters.
Request of Governor J.A.O.Preus of Minnesota, for interview.

~~See Senator Gerry.~~
Income tax.

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C 45089

Washington, July 12, 1922.

1. Rush-Bagot Agreement.

Accumulation of Armaments on the Great Lakes.

2. Treaty respecting Conservation of Salmon Fisheries. on Fraser River and beyond the three-mile limit. Also Atlantic Fisheries.

3. Imposition of taxes on income of Canadians resident in the United States, or Canadians earning incomes in the United States.

Retaliatory legislation on the part of Canada. Order-in-Council suspending.

4. Lake of the Woods Treaty.

Regulating flow in accordance with recommendation of International Joint Commission.

5. Claim of "Con Rein."

6. Establishing High Commissioner at Washington.

7. St. Lawrence Deep Waterways Canal.

8. Tariff.

Liquor transportation through Alaska

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C 45089

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NORTH AMERICA. [July 25.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[A 4749/4317/45] No. 1.

Mr. Chilton to the Earl of Balfour.—(*Received July* 25.)

(No. 850.)

My Lord, *Washington, July* 14, 1922.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 284 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that the Prime Minister of Canada and the Canadian Minister of National Defence arrived in Washington on the morning of the 12th instant.

I accompanied them to call upon the Secretary of State at noon on that day by appointment. Mr. Mackenzie King opened the conversation by suggesting that the moment had arrived to consider the question of revising the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, which provided for the maintenance on the Great Lakes of four armed vessels by the United States and a like number by Canada, not exceeding 100 tons displacement and armed with 18-pr. guns. The Prime Minister pointed out to Mr. Hughes that the United States had been of late gradually exceeding their complement, and that a question had recently been asked in the Canadian House of Commons as to the reason for this increase. He thought that in view of the recent conference in Washington on the question of disarmament the moment was opportune for considering the idea of disarmament on the Great Lakes so that it could in truth be said that there was no armament whatsoever on either side of the 3,000-mile frontier. Mr. King pointed out that, whereas the United States even armed their revenue cutters, the Canadian revenue cutters carried no armaments at all.

Mr. Hughes replied that, although he was not competent to argue the matter at present, he felt that the reason for maintaining so many armed vessels on the Great Lakes was, to a certain extent, a sentimental one. Each State bordering on the lakes wished to have a vessel or two for the purpose of training the State militia. Mr. Mackenzie King replied that he quite understood this, but was it necessary to carry out firing practice on the lakes? Could this not be done in the open sea? The Canadians viewed with dissatisfaction the growth of American armaments on their borders, and were beginning to ask why Canadians should not be trained in the same way. Thus, if care were not taken, a competition in armies would ensue.

Mr. Hughes, who listened in the most friendly manner to the Prime Minister's remarks, said he quite saw these points, and, if Mr. Mackenzie King would let him have a memorandum embodying the Canadian Government's point of view, he would be very glad to go carefully into the matter. A certain amount of opposition might be expected to the removal of ships from the lakes from the various bodies of State militia and from Senators, but he did not think this opposition would be insurmountable.

Various other questions at issue between the United States and Canada were touched upon, such as the question of fishing outside the three-mile limit and the Sockeye Salmon Convention which had not yet been ratified by the Senate. This was due, Mr. Hughes said, to the stout opposition put up by the State of Washington, who were very strongly opposed to it. He did not think the moment was opportune to bring up the question in the Senate, as that body was so busy with more important matters that they would probably do nothing more than listen to the objections of the Senators from Washington.

The question of the levelling of the Lake of the Woods was also mentioned, and I understand that Mr. Mackenzie King has had an interview with the Governor of the State of Minnesota on the subject, though I have not yet heard the upshot of the interview.

The Prime Minister also asked the Secretary of State whether it would not be possible to come to some mutual agreement with regard to the new United States income tax imposed upon persons living in Canada but working across the boundary and earning 1,000 dollars a year in the United States. Mr. Hughes again expressed his willingness to see what could be done.

The Secretary of State then asked the Canadian Prime Minister whether the Canadian Government would not be willing to co-operate in the project for deepening the St. Lawrence waterway, a question of considerable importance to the United States of America, who were anxious to see the interior of their country opened up to trans-

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oceanic traffic. Mr. Mackenzie King replied that the Canadian national debt was at present over two billion dollars, and that until some of that had been paid off he feared that there was little likelihood of Parliament agreeing to the vote of any sum, and that the expenditure of a large sum of money on this project would be viewed with displeasure and distrust by the country.

The Secretary of State expressed to the Prime Minister and to Mr. Graham, the Minister of National Defence, his great appreciation of their visit. So much more, he said, could be done by talking matters out face to face than by exchange of notes.

Although nothing was actually accomplished on the spot, I feel that the interview was most beneficial to the various issues at stake between the two countries, and that the conversation between these statesmen will have formed the basis of agreements on the several matters under discussion between them.

Subsequent to the interview the Secretary of State invited the two Canadian Ministers and myself to a lunch at the Metropolitan Club to meet those members of the Cabinet who are now in Washington. There were present the Secretaries of the Treasury, Agriculture, War, Commerce, Senator Lodge, Representative Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives, Mr. Phillips, Under-Secretary of State, and Mr. Bliss, Third Assistant Secretary of State.

At 2·30 I conducted the two Ministers to the White House and presented them to the President, who engaged them in conversation for over half an hour on matters of general interest, none of the questions which had been discussed in the morning with the Secretary of State being touched upon.

In the evening I gave a dinner for Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. Graham, to which I invited, among others, the Secretary of State, the Under-Secretary of State, General Pershing, Mr. Castle, Head of the Division of the State Department which deals with affairs of the British Empire, the correspondents of the "Times" and "Morning Post" and the members of the staff of the Embassy. The Secretary of War and the Acting Secretary of the Navy were unable to accept my invitation.

During their stay here the two Ministers have met various Senators of both political parties. They leave to-night on their return to Canada.

I have, &c.
H. G. CHILTON.

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C 45092

MEMORANDUM ON THE CLAIM OF THE "CON HEIN".

From the Prime Minister:

To the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Attached hereto is a memorandum of the Prime Minister's interview with Mr. Secretary Hughes. Mr. King would be pleased to have the matter followed up by correspondence with Mr. Hughes, referring to the interview as a basis, and renewing the suggestion contained in Mr. Macdonald's telegram.

Would Sir Joseph also kindly send a communication to Mr. Macdonald saying Mr. King took up the matter and letting him know how it stands.

August 3, 1922 D.M.

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POOR
COPY

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH HON. SECRETARY HUGHES, JULY 12, 1922

5. Claim of the "Con Rein".

The "Con Rein" was a Nova Scotia schooner which was rammed and sunk in a fog by a United States submarine.

The question of liability had been passed upon by the United States Naval Board, which held that the submarine was liable for the loss of the "Con Rein".

The Acting Secretary of the Navy had taken the position that the Government could not be held liable for the loss, and had refused to permit payment of damages.

These circumstances being explained to Mr. Secretary Hughes, he remarked that this was doubtless on the ground similar to the rule respecting the non-liability of the Crown in British cases, that the Government could not be held liable for the action of its agent. He was asked if he thought the matter was one which might apparently be referred to the courts of the United States and whether the United States Government would be willing to accept he decision of their own Courts in the matter were the Canadian Government equally agreeable to so doing.

Mr. Hughes thereupon cited the case in which judgment had recently been given. He thought it took from the Courts authority in these matters; he would, however, be pleased to have the matter looked into, and made a note accordingly. It was understood that this matter also should be taken up further by correspondence.

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C 45094 E-9007

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 51.

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

No. 98.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, April 24, 1922.

MY LORD,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch, No. 1, of the 16th of January,[1] regarding the replacement of United States ships in the waters of the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note which I have received on the subject from the Department of State. Your Excellency will observe that the United States Government desire to replace the U.S.S. *Yantic* by the U.S.S. *Dubuque* and I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to inform me whether the Government of Canada have any objection to the entrance of the *Dubuque* into the Great Lakes under the conditions stated.

I have, etc.,

A. C. GEDDES.

His Excellency
The LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 50.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 51

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 19, 1922.

EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to advise you of the receipt of a letter dated April 4, 1922, from the Secretary of the Navy asking that permission be obtained for the U.S.S. *Dubuque* to enter the waters of the Great Lakes for assignment to duty for the training of United States Naval Reservists. It is stated that the *Dubuque* will proceed unarmed and is intended as the relief of the U.S.S. *Yantic* which will be withdrawn from active operations and used as a floating barracks for reservists.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly bring this matter to the attention of the Canadian Government and advise me of the result.

Accept, etc.,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

DEC 22 Recd

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No. 52.

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

No. 70.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, May 15, 1922.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 98 of the 24th April[1] on the subject of the desire of the United States Government to replace the U.S.S. *Yantic* by the U.S.S. *Dubuque*, I have the honour to inform you that no objection is entertained by the Canadian Government to the proposed replacement on condition that neither of these vessels is armed.

It is desirable that the exact date when either of these vessels proposes to pass through any Canadian canal should be notified, in order that the necessary arrangements may be made for passage.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir C. AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.

[1] No. 51.

No. 53.

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

Urgent Telegram
No. 14.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1922.

Your despatch No. 1 of January 16th.[1] I am informed by the State Department that the United States ship *Paducah* is going to Duluth, stopping at Quebec approximately June 8th and Montreal June 9th. No reply has been received with regard to reservation contained in my note that vessels should not be armed. It is therefore possible, judging by the press cuttings and letter from Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa, to Naval Attache, which is dated June 2nd, that guns are carried below deck.

GEDDES.

[1] No. 50.

No. 54.

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

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1922.

My telegram No. 14.[1] I have been assured by the State Department verbally, after they have consulted the Navy Department, that there are no guns of any sort on board the *Paducah*.

GEDDES.

[1] No. 53.

C 45096

No. 55.

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

Secret telegram.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1922.

With reference to your despatch No. 70,[1] I am informed by the State Department that the United States ship *Dubuque* was expected to leave Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 8th for Detroit, arriving at Quebec quay the 13th June and at Montreal the 14th June.

GEDDES.

[1] No. 52.

No. 56.

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

Secret telegram
No. 18.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1922.

With reference to my telegram No. 15,[1] message received to-day from the State Department states that the *Paducah* is held up by the Welland Canal authorities who have not yet received instructions to allow ship to proceed. The State Department request that as soon as possible instructions may be sent.

GEDDES.

[1] No. 54.

No. 57.

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

OTTAWA, June 14, 1922.

Your telegram of June 14th[1] passage through Welland Canal of U.S. ship *Paducah*. Department of Naval Service sent instructions yesterday to Canal Officer at Port Dalhousie approving the issue to this vessel of a "let pass." Department of Railways and Canals were duly notified but though the necessary instructions were received by the Lachine and St. Lawrence officials, the officer on the Welland Canal was not notified. The vessel is now believed to have passed out of the Welland Canal.

BYNG.

[1] No. 56.

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No. 58.

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

No. 177.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, June 16, 1922.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

Name and Date	Subject
From Department of State, Washington, June 15th, 1922.	U.S.S. *Paducah*.

Reference—Washington telegram No. 15 of June 7th, 1922.[1]

[1] No. 54.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 58

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 15, 1922.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR,—Referring to the informal inquiries made by your Embassy as to whether or not the U.S.S. *Paducah* was proceeding into the Great Lakes with her guns stowed, I beg to advise you of the receipt of a letter dated June 10 from the Acting Secretary of the Navy to the effect that the *Paducah* has no guns of any kind on board, stowed or otherwise.

I am, etc.,
WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES, K.C.B.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

No. 59.

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

Secret.
No. 95.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, June 19, 1922.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's two cypher telegrams dated the 7th instant,[1] on the subject of the transfer of the United States ship *Paducah* to Duluth, I have the honour to inform you that my advisers are of the opinion that the time has arrived when this whole question of naval vessels on the Great Lakes might profitably form the subject of discussion between the two Governments.

I shall be glad if Your Excellency will acquaint the Secretary of State of the United States with this suggestion and inform Mr. Hughes that, if agreeable to him, my Prime Minister and the Minister of National Defence propose to leave Ottawa for Washington with this object in view, as soon after prorogation of Parliament as may suit the convenience of the Secretary of State.

I have, etc.,
L. H. DAVIES,
Deputy Governor General.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

[1] Nos. 53 and 54.

No. 60.

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

No. 185.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, June 23, 1922.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform you that I have received a communication from the Secretary of State to the effect that the U.S.S. *Wilmington* has been assigned for duty in connection with the training of Naval Reserves and Naval Militia of Ohio and Kentucky and that it is desired that permission be obtained for the vessel, which will proceed unarmed, to enter the waters of the Great Lakes for this duty.

I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to inform me whether the competent authorities of the Government of Canada are disposed to grant the permission desired.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The Lord BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

No. 61.

From British Embassy at Washington to Governor General

Secret telegram.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1922.

With reference to your despatch No. 95.[1] If agreeable to them, Secretary of State will be glad to see both Ministers on July 5th at noon.

Shall I reserve rooms at hotel as the Embassy is closed for the summer? What accommodation will be required and for how long? I should be glad to have both Ministers dine with me the 5th of July.

[1] No. 59.

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C 45099

No. 62.

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

Telegram
No. 26.

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1922.

Your telegram of June 30th,[1] please inform me if noon on July 12th will be convenient for your Ministers to see the Secretary of State?

CHILTON.

[1] Not printed.

No. 63.

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

Telegram.

OTTAWA, July 5, 1922.

Your telegram 1st July,[1] July 12th at noon will be convenient day and hour for the Prime Minister and the Minister of National Defence to see Secretary of State. Ministers would be glad if Embassy would reserve for them at the Shoreham hotel four bedrooms and two sitting-rooms from 11th of July.

BYNG.

[1] No. 62.

No. 64.

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

Telegram
No. 21A.

OTTAWA, July 11, 1922.

With reference to your despatch June 23rd, 185,[1] permission for United States ship *Wilmington* to enter waters of Great Lakes for duty in connection with training of Naval Reserves and Naval Militia of Ohio and Kentucky, my Ministers represent that as Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence are now visiting Washington with view to discussing general question of naval vessels on Great Lakes, it is thought advisable to delay answer to Secretary of State's communication until matter has been jointly considered. Department of National Defence points out that as this vessel does not replace any other vessel, she will be addition to naval strength of U.S. in these waters.

BYNG.

[1] No. 60.

No. 65.

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

No. 211.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., July 18, 1922.

MY LORD,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch No. 153 of November 9th[1] respecting the proposed visit of the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* to the Great Lakes, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a further note which I have received from the Secretary of State.

C 45100

It will be observed that as the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* has no motive power she is being towed to Buffalo by a mine sweeper which will return to the Atlantic Coast upon completion of duty.

I have, etc.,

H. G. CHILTON.

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

[1] No. 48.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 65

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 14, 1922.

SIR,—Referring to the Ambassador's note No. 840 of November 8, 1921, announcing that the Canadian Government had granted permission for the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay* to pass through Canadian waters into the Great Lakes, I have now the honour to advise you of the receipt of a further letter on the subject from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, dated July 5, to the effect that the *Sturgeon Bay* is now enroute to Buffalo, New York, where the vessel will be used as a floating armoury by the Naval Militia of the state of New York. The Acting Secretary of the Navy adds that inasmuch as the *Sturgeon Bay* has no motive power she is being towed by a mine sweeper which is unarmed, the latter vessel to return to the Atlantic coast upon completion of duty in towing the *Sturgeon Bay* to Buffalo.

Accept, etc.,
For the Secretary of State:

ALVEY A. ADEE.

Mr. HENRY GETTY CHILTON,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Great Britain.

No. 66.

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

Secret.
Telegram
No. 29.

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1922.

With reference to my despatch of July 18th, No. 211,[1] I am informed by State Department that United States ship *Sturgeon Bay* is held up at Cardinal, and it is requested that permission to proceed may be given to her and mine sweeper towing her.

CHILTON.

[1] No. 65.

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C 45101

No. 67.

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

Secret.
No. 117.

OTTAWA, July 28, 1922.

SIR,—With reference to your secret telegram of the 19th instant[1] regarding the U.S.S. *Sturgeon Bay,* I have the honour to state that the necessary permission has been given for this vessel and the mine sweeper which is towing her to proceed through the St. Lawrence canals to lake Erie, on the understanding that the mine sweeper will not remain on the Great Lakes but will immediately return to the Atlantic. Both vessels cleared the St. Lawrence canals on the morning of Sunday, the 23rd instant.

I have, etc.,

L. H. DAVIES,
Deputy Governor General.

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

[1] No. 66.

No. 68.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

Secret.

OTTAWA, August 8, 1922.

Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister:—

During recent years Naval Service Department has felt forced to consider seriously the irregular situation created in the Great Lakes region by what has seemed on the part of the American Government an indifferent attitude towards the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, which calls for a rigorous limitation of naval armament in that region. The Canadian Government, with strict regard for the letter and spirit of the Agreement, have not at present a single armed vessel on the Great Lakes. The United States have however at various times, and even in some instances without notifying us, stationed there vessels, which, though small and lightly armed at first, have gradually been increased in size and efficiency until they are now in fact assuming the character of a squadron with a definite fighting value numbering from fifteen to twenty and exceeding either in tonnage or armament the limits of the Agreement. They are used as training ships for the naval militia of the States bordering on the Great Lakes, and as such form a part of the federal naval establishment. We have had no doubt whatever that this is their sole purpose. We have never entertained a thought that they could indicate any unfriendly intention towards Canada. Their presence, however, if it became realized might arouse unfortunate recriminations and misunderstandings in the minds of the Canadian people who have valued so highly the arrangement of 1817, and it would be deplorable if the situation were allowed to precipitate demands for counter-arming on our part.

After carefully considering these factors laid before us by our naval advisers the Government reached the conclusion that the matter should not be allowed to rest, and as a result I recently paid a brief visit to Washington, accompanied by my colleague, the Minister of National Defence, for the purpose of putting the whole situation frankly before the American Government. Our reception at the hands of the President and the Secretary of State was satisfactory in every way. It was agreed that some arrangement should be

C 45102

reached to remedy the matter, and it was felt that this could best be done by way of a treaty, which, while preserving the full spirit and effect of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, would at the same time adapt its principles to present-day conditions. Finally it was arranged that, after our return to Ottawa we should submit a draft for the purpose.

We have accordingly had prepared by our technical officers and are now considering the draft treaty whose terms are set out below. Before proceeding further with the matter, however, we think that full information of the project should be conveyed to you for any comment and suggestion that may occur to His Majesty's Government. In its direct operation it primarily concerns Canada, and we are confident moreover that it will be welcomed by the other members of the Empire; yet we realize that it is of concern to them as affecting in some degree the political relations of the Empire toward a great foreign power, and it also happens that the original Agreement was on our side made solely by the Government of Great Britain. We should accordingly be glad to have your views, and we should particularly value any suggestions of technical or practical nature concerning the safeguards and conditions that should be incorporated in the Treaty.

It seems essential that any new arrangement should take account of the undoubted fact that conditions obtaining on the Great Lakes to-day differ materially from those of the year 1817. The main changes, as our Naval Service Department point out, are the following:—

First. The present practicability of ingress and egress from and to the ocean of vessels of considerable size, partly through national and partly through international waters, and the possibility that this water communication between the ocean and the lakes may extend in the future to vessels of increasing size.

Second. The natural desire of shipbuilding interests of both countries on the Great Lakes to participate in the construction of naval vessels of a size that may pass out to the ocean.

Third. The great increase and variety under modern conditions of naval squadrons and establishments, calling for increased personnel both in active service and in reserve, and the consequent tendency to seek recruits in such promising areas as the states or provinces bordering on the Great Lakes.

These changes, it is believed, can be met under adequate safeguards without any departure from the fundamental purpose and effect of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, and the draft set out below has been prepared on this basis. It will be seen also that certain of the proposed articles are based on articles of the Naval Limitation Treaty concluded at the Washington Conference of last winter.

As for the method of signature of the proposed Treaty our view is that, having regard to the character and implications of the document, it would be appropriate that the full powers should be issued to Canadian subjects of His Majesty. When the time comes therefore we propose to pass an Order in Council authorizing the issue of full powers to myself as Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs and to my colleague, the Minister of National Defence, to sign on behalf of His Majesty.

We are anxious in accordance with our conversation in Washington to submit a draft to the American Government as soon as possible, and I should therefore be especially grateful for a reply at your earliest convenience.

The preamble and articles of the proposed draft follow:—

Preamble

His Majesty the King, etcetera, and the United States of America,

Desiring through the abolition of their naval armament on the Great Lakes, to contribute to the maintenance of the peace and good understanding that has happily so long subsisted between them, and

Having to that end agreed to adapt to present-day conditions the principles of the Agreement between Great Britain and the United States of

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C 45103

America concluded at Washington on the 28th and 29th April, 1817, and to supplement by provisions relating to the Great Lakes the Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan for the Limitation of Naval Armament, signed at Washington on the 6th February, 1922,

Have resolved, etcetera.

Article One. The present Treaty shall apply to the waters of the Great Lakes, the waters connecting the Great Lakes, the international boundary waters of the St. Lawrence river, and the waters of lake Champlain.

Article Two. No armed vessel shall be maintained on the waters designated in Article 1 by either High Contracting Party except in accordance with Article 3.

Article Three. Such vessels may be maintained on the waters designated in Article 1 by either High Contracting Party as may be necessary for revenue and police duties.

The numbers, specifications and armament of such vessels shall be agreed upon from time to time between the Canadian and American Governments.

Such vessels shall not be used on the waters designated in Article 1 for naval or militia training or for naval manœuvres.

Article Four. No vessel built on the waters designated in Article 1 for naval purposes shall have any offensive or defensive armament placed on board while it is in those waters.

Any such vessel shall be removed from those waters within six months of the date when it is ready for launching.

Each High Contracting Party shall promptly inform the other of any such vessel to be built on those waters within its jurisdiction, communicating the date of the signing of the contract, the date when it is ready for launching, and its main dimensions.

The provisions of this Article shall not be taken to prevent the use on those waters for naval reserve training purposes of unarmed vessels built thereon.

Article Five. Should either of the High Contracting Parties become engaged in war which in its opinion affects the naval defence of its national security it may after notice to the other High Contracting Party suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under Article 4, provided that it shall notify the other High Contracting Party that the emergency is of such a character as to require such suspension. On the cessation of hostilities this suspension shall terminate and Article 4 shall resume its full force and effect.

Article Six. The present Treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties and shall take effect on the exchange of the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible.

It shall remain in force until two years after one of the High Contracting Parties has given notice to the other of an intention to terminate it.

Within one year of the date on which such notice of termination has been received the High Contracting Parties shall meet in conference.

The present Treaty shall supersede the Agreement between Great Britain and the United States of America which was concluded at Washington on the 28th and 29th April, 1817.

BYNG.

C 45104

No. 69.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

Telegram.

OTTAWA, October 17, 1922.

Following from my Prime Minister to you:—

Press despatch from Washington appearing in to-day's papers states British Government has decided to authorize Canada to negotiate direct with United States Department in framing a new treaty to regulate naval strength on Great Lakes.

Would you please advise as to whether your Government has authorized this statement or course of action mentioned. I have received no communication of any kind and am being asked by the press to confirm or deny representations of Washington despatch.

On September 25th, I asked for reply to my communication of August 8th respecting proposed draft treaty concerning limitation of armaments on Great Lakes, but thus far have had no acknowledgment of any kind. The matter is one which our Government would like to have in form to submit for approval when Parliament reassembles in January. We would greatly appreciate immediate word of views of British Government in this matter.

BYNG.

No. 70.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General

Secret
Telegram.

LONDON, October 19, 1922.

Following for your Prime Minister:—

Your telegram 18th October[1] Naval Forces on Great Lakes, our only knowledge of the report you mention comes from newspapers and statement quite unauthorized. Please deny absolutely British Government's authority for statement. Reply to your telegram to the Prime Minister of August 8th is being sent to-day. Delay was of course due to crisis.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

[1] No. 69.

No. 71.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General

Secret
Telegram.

LONDON, October 19, 1922.

Following from Mr. Lloyd George for your Prime Minister:—

I am very sorry that pressure of the last few weeks has prevented me from sending an earlier answer to your telegram of August 8th.[1] We much appreciate your action in consulting us at this stage of the negotiations. As you point out, the matter may well affect the political relations of the Empire generally with the United States. We entirely sympathise with your proposals for revision of Rush-Bagot Agreement. The only technical observations on the proposed Draft Treaty which we have to offer are the following:—

A. Last paragraph, Article No. 4, would allow the United States an unlimited number of unarmed ships built on the lakes to be used for training.

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B. Canada would have no grounds under the Treaty for refusing the United States (?) request to pass any number of warships with guns removed into lakes.

C. In either case such vessels could be armed at short notice and used against Canada.

Further point which occurs to us is that it would appear desirable that size and type of vessels used for training United States Reservists should be so limited that vessels would not out-class any Canadian ships on the Great Lakes which it might be possible to use (?) on outbreak of hostilities. For instance, it is undesirable that the United States should use old cruisers for reservists, as vessels of this class would, unless Canada maintained in peace time vessels of similar type on the lakes, dominate the situation in the time of hostilities.

Further we think you ought to know that considerable doubt is felt here whether the United States are likely to consent to any agreement which will decrease the armed strength on the Great Lakes, for the following reasons:—

A. United States have great difficulty manning fleet and are likely to want to make use of the keenness displayed among naval reservists and Sea Scouts in the states bordering the lakes. To encourage recruiting and training armed ships appear to be essential but Treaty suggests all training should be done in (?) unarmed ships.

B. United States are in strong financial position for building and maintaining ships and may not feel great interest in agreeing to restrictions as to ships on the lakes.

C. United States may in future have direct communication to the lakes independent of Canadian waters.

These considerations of course afford no reason in refraining from putting before the United States Government the proposals in your Draft Treaty, but I mention them because if you find in course of negotiations that the United States unable to accept proposal that no ships on the lakes should be armed other than those required for revenue and police duties, you may find it necessary to consider substitution of a provision allowing the use of armed ships for training but limiting number, size, etc. In that case we should, if you desire, be glad to offer suggestions as to appropriate wording.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

[1] No. 68.

No. 72.

P.C. 2333

CERTIFIED copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 7th November, 1922.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 3rd November, 1922, from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for External Affairs, representing that Your Excellency's Ministers having for some time past had under consideration various deviations on the part of the United States Government from the Rush-Bagot Agreement of the 28th April, 1817, limiting the naval forces to be maintained by the two powers on the Great Lakes, decided to make direct representations to the Secretary of State of the United States, and with that purpose in view, the Prime Minister and the Minister of National Defence shortly after prorogation of the last session of Parliament, visited Washington and had an interview with Mr. Hughes on the 12th July, 1922, at which meeting it was suggested that the principles contained in the Rush-Bagot Agreement should be embodied in a new treaty, due regard being had to the changed conditions of the times. Mr. Hughes concurred in this, and asked the Canadian Ministers to supply him with a memorandum showing the extent and disposition of the armament at present employed on the Great Lakes. He also requested that he might be furnished with a draft treaty of what the Canadian Ministers proposed. A

draft was accordingly prepared, in consultation with His Majesty's Government, and is submitted herewith, together with a memorandum as to the strength of the naval vessels on the lakes, asked for by Mr. Hughes.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that Your Excellency may be pleased to forward this draft treaty, together with the memorandum for the Secretary of State of the United States, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington for the consideration of the United States Government, and for an expression of their views thereon.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 72

Preamble

His Majesty the King, etcetera, and the United States of America,

Desiring through the abolition of their naval armament on the Great Lakes, to contribute to the maintenance of the peace and good understanding that has happily so long subsisted between them, and

Having to that end agreed to adapt to present-day conditions the principles of the Agreement between Great Britain and the United States of America concluded at Washington on the 28th and 29th April, 1817, and to supplement by provisions relating to the Great Lakes the Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan for the Limitation of Naval Armament, signed at Washington on the 6th February, 1922.

Have resolved, etcetera.

Article One. The present Treaty shall apply to the waters of the Great Lakes, the waters connecting the Great Lakes, the international boundary waters of the St. Lawrence river, and the waters of lake Champlain.

Article Two. No armed vessel shall be maintained on the waters designated in Article One by either High Contracting Party except in accordance with Article Three; nor shall there be passed, for any purpose whatsoever, from the sea into the waters designated, by either High Contracting Party, any vessel, either armed or unarmed, which has been designed, built or used for naval purposes, without a mutual agreement beforehand.

Article Three. Such vessels may be maintained on the waters designated in Article One by either High Contracting Party as may be necessary for revenue and police duties.

The numbers, specifications and armament of such vessels shall be agreed upon from time to time between the Canadian and American Governments.

Such vessels shall not be used on the waters designated in Article One for naval or militia training or for naval manœuvres.

Article Four. No vessel built on the waters designated in Article One for naval purposes shall have any offensive or defensive armament placed on board while it is in these waters.

Any such vessel shall be removed from these waters within six months of the date when it is ready for launching.

Each High Contracting Party shall promptly inform the other of any such vessel to be built on these waters within its jurisdiction, communicating the date of the signing of the contract, the date when it is ready for launching and its main dimensions.

Article Five. Should either of the High Contracting Parties become engaged in war which in its opinion affects the naval defence of its national security it may, after notice to the other High Contracting Party, suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under Article Four, provided that it shall notify the other High Contracting Party that the emergency is of such a character as to require such suspension. On the cessation of hostilities this

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suspension shall terminate and Article Four shall resume its full force and effect.

Article Six. The present Treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties and shall take effect on the exchange of the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible.

It shall remain in force until two years after one of the High Contracting Parties has given notice to the other of an intention to terminate it.

Within one year of the date on which such notice of termination has been received the High Contracting Parties shall meet in conference.

The present Treaty shall supersede the Agreement between Great Britain and the United States of America which was concluded at Washington on the 28th and 29th April, 1817.

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 72

LIST of United States Service, Naval and Revenue Vessels on the Great Lakes
Revised 5-10-22 by Navy Directory for 1st September, 1922

	Naval Reserve Training	Revenue Service Patrol Cutters	Ton-	Armament	Remarks
9th N.D. Lake Superior	*Essex*		1,375	3-4" 6-3 pdr.	At Duluth. Old gunboat. To be replaced by *Paducah*.
"	*Paducah*		1,085	Not armed	At. Duluth. To replace *Essex* as floating barracks (Michigan Reserves).
"	S.C. 412		75	1-3" 1 M.G.	At Duluth. (Wisconsin Reserves).
		Cook	75		At Duluth. Ex sub-chaser 438.
		Chippewa	215		At Sault Ste. Marie. Ex. N. tug No. 85.
9th N.D. Lake Michigan	*Commodore*				Wooden Depot ship. Commandant 9th Naval District.
"	*Hawk*		375	1-3 pdr. 2-1 pdr.	At Milwaukee. Yacht.
"	*Wilmette*		2,600	4-4" 2-3" A.A. 2-1 pdr.	Chicago. Converted merchant vessel (Illinois Reserves).
"	S.C. 419		75		At Chicago. (Illinois Reserves.)
"	S.C. 432		75		At Milwaukee. (Ohio Reserves.)
		Tuscarora	739	2-6 pdr.	At Milwaukee.
	3rd N.D. S.C. 437		75	1-3"	At Chicago.
	3rd N.D. S.C. 433		75	2 M.G.	At Chicago.
	3rd N.D. S.C. 431		75		At Chicago.
9th N.D. Lake Erie	*Dubuque*		1,085		To replace *Yantic*. No armament at present Minnesota Reserves.
"	*Gopher*		840	3-3 pdr. 4-1 pdr.	At Cleveland. Old gunboat (Ohio Reserves.)
3rd N.D.	*Sturgeon Bay*				At Buffalo. Floating Barracks for N.Y. Naval Militia.
9th N.D.	*Wilmington*		1,392	8-4" 4-3 pdr.	Not yet passed into Lakes, *will be stationed at Toledo, Ohio.
4th N.D.	*Wolverine*		685		At Erie, Pa. Old gunboat. 4th District.
9th N.D.	*Yantic*		900	4-3 pdr.	at Detroit. Old gunboat. To be replaced by *Dubuque*
		Morrill	420	2-6 pdr.	Detroit.
9th Naval District.	Sub-chaser 63		75	1-3" 2 M.G.	For training of reservists 9th Naval District (Great Lakes.)
	Sub-chaser 64		75	1-3" 2 M.G.	
	Sub-chaser 330		75	1-3" 2 M.G.	

†Note added by S.I.O. 26-7-22.
Auth: A and N Register 22-7-22

~~List of United States Service, Naval and Revenue Vessels (Continued)~~

No. 73.

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

Secret.
No. 147.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, November 15, 1922.

7th November. P.C. 2333.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of an Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada[1] on the subject of a proposed new Treaty between Great Britain and the United States regarding Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes.

Copies of this Minute are being forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir AUCKLAND C. GEDDES, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

[1] No. 72.

No. 74.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

Secret.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, November 23, 1922.

7th November P.C. 2333

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of an Approved Minute of the Privy Council for Canada[1] on the subject of a proposed new Treaty between Great Britain and the United States regarding Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes.

Copies of this Minute are being forwarded to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

The Right Honourable
The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[1] No. 72.

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C 45109

Prime Minister's file

E-9008-A.

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

Memorandum for The Rt. Hon. Mr. Fielding.

In reply to Mr. Fielding's enquiry as to whether a certain despatch calls for any present action, I would say that this despatch is from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 5th October, 1923, and relates to a claim of the United States Government to jurisdiction over the whole of Cook Inlet in Alaska. The despatch in question has already been referred, in addition to the Acting Premier, to the Ministers of Justice, Marine, Railways and Canals, and Interior. I do not think it calls for any present action from the Acting Prime Minister. The Acting Premier's copy of the despatch of the 5th October, 1923, is herewith returned.

Confidential.

J. Pope

Ottawa, 23rd October, 1923.

oct. 18/23

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AP. COPY.

C 45110

WASHINGTON POST, Dec. 4, 1923.

AIR DASH TO POLE BY NAVY IS APPROVED BY PRESIDENT.

SPECIAL BOARD APPOINTED BY DENBY TO LAY PLANS FOR ATTEMPT NEXT SUMMER BY PLANES OR DIRIGIBLE SHENANDOAH.

A dash by air for the north pole will be launched by the Navy Department next summer. Secretary Denby announced yesterday that President Coolidge had been given specific approval to the project as "of great practical value."

The route, date and method of procedure for the trip, however, still are to be decided, a special board of naval officers, headed by Rear Admiral William A. Moffett, chief of naval aeronautics, having been appointed by Secretary Denby to prepare a detailed plan.

The project grew out of the desire of Robert A. Bartlett, the explorer who sailed with Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary in the steamer Roosevelt on the expedition of 1908-09, which saw the Stars and Stripes raised over the north pole, again to make that journey. Mr. Bartlett proposed to Secretary Denby that the Roosevelt be repurchased and equipped for polar work.

Discussion of possibilities of a new polar expedition was begun in the Navy Department. It was pointed out by Naval aircraft experts, however, that if a new "drifting" expedition were organised by the navy, others, perhaps under another flag, might attempt and complete a journey to the pole by air before the Roosevelt party could make half the distance. The decision to employ naval aircraft followed.

BARTLETT IS RECALLED.

Mr. Bartlett, who is a lieutenant commander in the naval reserve force, for the purpose of the polar expedition, has been called to active service in that rank and appointed to the

special . . .

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special planning board, of which he also will be recorder. Other members of the board are Commander William R. Furlong, Lieut. Comdr. Ezra G. Allen and Lieut. Comdr. Fitzhugh Green and Gilbert Grosvenor, president of the National Geographic society.

Admiral Moffett's board has at its disposal the government's records of previous arctic explorations, as well as those of the American Geographic society. On the study of this data, as well as records of weather conditions in the arctic, will be founded a recommendation as to whether the last lap of the journey shall be undertaken in airplanes equipped with skiis efor landing on the ice or with the great navy dirigible Shenandoah.

Naval officials feel that the Shenandoah in many ways would be the most desirable ship for the dash, particularly because the airship can hover over the arctic regions while motion picture records are made or scientific data otherwise obtained. There is no disposition, however, to risk the Shanandoah unless there is every reasonable prospect that she can accomplish the mission.

The announcement by the Navy Department as to instructions given to Admiral Moffett's board said that the purpose of the study would be "to devise plans for an extensive exploration over unknown regions adjacent to the pole."

"When the expedition shall sail," the announcement continued, "of what it shall consist and what its plans will be are not at present known. These topics, among many others, will be the subject of investigation by the board."

The precept of the board under which it was created merely directs it to prepare a detailed plan and to "convene the board as soon as practicable."

In writing Secretary Denby, under date of November 20, approving the project, President Coolidge expressed the belief that it would be/"carried through with the thoroughness and efficiency which marks every project which the navy undertakes."

The . . . .

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The President's letter follows:

"I desire to confirm by this letter the verbal authorization which I have already given you to proceed with the organization of a naval arctic expedition which will start in the coming year. The record of the army and navy in this line of endeavor is one of which the American people will always be proud, for it is marked by a spirit of heroism and devotion which is unexcelled in the history of exploration.

"As it fell to the navy to achieve the final goal, through the efforts of Admiral Peary, it is eminently fitting that the navy should continue the work, and I believe that the expedition which you have in view will be of great practical value and will be carried through with that thoroughness and efficiency which marks every project which the navy undertakes."

AMUNDSEN'S AID PREDICTS "FRIENDLY RACE" TO POLE.

NEW YORK, Dec.3. - The Navy Department's decision to launch a dash by air for the north pole next summer will result in a friendly competition between the navy and the Amundsen air expedition, which about the same time will make its second attempt to fly over the pole, Hakon H. Hammer, Capt. Amundsen's aid, said tonight. ----

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E-9000-C
C 45113

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

respecting the claim of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company.

Taking advantage of the presence in town of Mr. M.M. Mahoney of the Washington Embassy, I mentioned to him the subject dealt with in Senator Beaubien's letter of the 12th instant, sent to me by Mr.King yesterday.

It appears that since the relief bill seems to have been favourably reported by the Senate Committee on Finance, Mr.Mahoney is of the opinion that the next move is to get a Senator to bring the bill before the Senate for action, and doubts that such action would result from diplomatic representation. Mr.Mahoney further suggests that it might be desirable for him to discuss the subject fully with Senator Beaubien and then assist in having the bill brought before the Senate by co-operating with the United States representatives of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company.

Ottawa,25th March,1924

J. Pope
SIR JOSEPH POPE

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FILE F.A. MCGREGOR TO KING.

C 45114

Prime Minister's Office

Memorandum

Friday
April 4. 1924

MR. KING:

Senator Dandurand urges some such action as outlined in the attached letter as a message to be transmitted to the British Ambassador at Washington. Sir Joseph Pope, before he left Ottawa approved the course indicated.

McG.

F.A. MCGREGOR

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 45115

COPY

Ottawa, 4th April, 1924.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that information has reached the Government that a Bill (No. S. 1176) has been introduced in the United States Senate for the relief of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company, authorizing the refund of import duties amounting to $192,278.82 paid by the Company on material imported into the United States, to be manufactured there for shipment abroad, which was destroyed by fire in January 1917 before it was exported. The Committee on Finance on the Senate, to which the Bill was referred, has reported favourably on it and recommended its adoption, expressing the opinion that the money should be refunded as an evidence of international courtesy - the work having been carried on practically as a war measure, and there being reason to believe that the destruction of the property was due to the criminal action of an enemy agent. The Government is of opinion that the circumstances afford every justification for the relief asked for in this legislation, and I am, therefore, to request that His Excellency may be humbly moved to inform His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington of the facts, and to ask him to make such representations to the United States Government in the matter as he may deem best fitted to conduce to the enactment of the desired legislation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,

W.H. WALKER

Acting Under-Secretary of
State for External Affairs.

A.F. SLADEN
The Governor General's Secretary,

OTTAWA.

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C 45116

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

Ottawa,

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C 45117

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OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.
F.

Memorandum for Mr. King.

A request has been received from the Executive Committee of Crystal Garden Carnival, Victoria, British Columbia, that part of the United States Pacific Fleet should be invited to visit Victoria during the Carnival - June 26th to July 4th.

The Deputy Minister of National Defence states that there is no objection on the part of that Department to the visit.

Possibly you might wish to discuss the question with Mr. Macdonald and Dr. King.

(O.D. SKELTON)

Ottawa, 8th June, 1925.

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Vol. I

R E T U R N

re

McIVER CLAIM

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C 45119

Papers laid before Parliament in regard to

McIver Claim

From	To	No.	Date
1. Despatch, H.M. Charge d'Affaires at Washington.	Governor General		1 Aug., 1912
2. Despatch, H.M. Charge d'Affaires at Washington	Governor General	146	4 Sept., 1912
3. Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved			4 Feb., 1913
4. Despatch, H.M. Ambassador at Washington	Governor General	84	11 May, 1914
5. Despatch, Secretary of State for the Colonies	Governor General		16 Aug. 1923
6. Despatch, Governor General	Secretary of State for the Colonies		27 Oct., 1923
7. Despatch, Secretary of State for the Colonies	Governor General		5 Jan., 1924
8. Telegram, Secretary of State for the Colonies	Governor General		26 June, 1924
9. Telegram, Governor General	Secretary of State for the Colonies		2 July, 1924
10. Telegram, Secretary of State for the Colonies	Governor General		27 May, 1925
11. Telegram, Governor General	Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs		25 July, 1925
12. Despatch, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs	Governor General		18 Aug., 1925
13. Despatch, Governor General	Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs		10 Sept., 1925

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C 45120

NO.I.

EXTRACT.

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

BRITISH EMBASSY,

Washington, August 1,1912.

Sir,-

I have the honour to transmit memoranda informally sent to me by the State Department regarding the claims of Alfred Hovey and four other claimants who, though contained in the list sent to Your Royal Highness in my despatch No.91 of June 8th, were not mentioned in my despatch No.94 as I did not then know that they affected the Canadian Government.

These claims are Alert, William John Holden, Elizabeth Johnston, and John McIver.

I have, etc.,

A.MITCHELL INNES.

His Royal Highness,

The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn,K.G.,

&c., &c., &c.,

Governor General of Canada.

ENCLOSURE in No. 1.

John McIver.

This is a claim for $7,802.35, being for a portion of the assessments, royalties, fees and charges, which claimant was compelled through the action of the Canadian authorities directly or indirectly to pay out as owner of certain placer mining claims in the neighborhood of the international boundary on Poker Creek,

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Yukon Territory, which claims were supposed to be within a Canadian jurisdiction but a portion of which upon the completion of the official survey of the boundary in 1907 proved to have always been within the jurisdiction of the United States.

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C 45122

NO.2.

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

No. 146. BRITISH EMBASSY,

Kineo, Maine, September 4, 1912.

Sir,-

In accordance with the provision of the Agreement for the arbitration of Pecuniary Claims, which requires that all claims shall be presented within four months of the date of the confirmation of the agreement, His Majesty's Government and the United States Government have now presented to each other through the Embassy a full list of the claims which they desire either to include in the second or subsequent schedules under this agreement or to reserve for future action.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a list of the claims in the United States list which appear to concern Your Royal Highness's Government.

I have, etc.,

A.MITCHELL INNES.

His Royal Highness,

The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn,K.G.,

&c., &c., &c.,

Governor General of Canada.

ENCLOSURE.

List of Claims which the United States desires to submit to Arbitration pursuant to the Special Agreement of August 18, 1910:-

Extract. McIver, John.

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C 45123

NO.3.

EXTRACT. P.C. 247.

Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Royal Highness the Governor General on the 4th February,1913.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report from the Minister of Justice, dated 28th January,1913, submitting a brief statement (herewith) of the claims of the Government of the United States against His Majesty's Government relating to Canada proposed by the former Government to be submitted to arbitration under the provisions of the Pecuniary Claims Convention between Great Britain and the United States.

The Minister represents that a number of claims have already been agreed to and included in the first schedule of claims and that those mentioned in the accompanying list are the remaining claims preferred on behalf of the Government of the United States, which the said Government desires to be grouped in the second schedule.

x x x x x

While the Minister is not prepared to deny the McIvor claim as a proper one for submission so far as it relates to a demand for revenue collected by the Canadian Government in respect of territory within the United States he observes that the major part of this claim seems to represent expenditures made by the claimant upon a mineral area in Alaska in compliance with Canadian regulations. It would seem that knowledge of territorial limits should be imputed to the claimant equally with Canadian officials. The Minister, therefore considers that if this claim be admitted to the schedule it should be limited to the amount of revenue unduly exacted.

x x x x x

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The Committee concur in the foregoing and, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice, advise that Your Royal Highness may be pleased to transmit a copy hereof, if approved, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

(SGD) Rodolphe Boudreau.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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ANNEX TO NO.3.

PECUNIARY CLAIMS CONVENTION

Claims against Canada presented by United States Government for the Second Schedule.

x x x x x x

John McIver.-This is a claim arising out of two placer mining claims on Poker Creek which was subsequently found to be in United States Territory. The Department of the Interior has refunded to the claimant the purchase money paid in respect of the claims and is also willing to refund him the amount of royalty that he paid on gold won from these two claims upon his establishing the amount of gold that he obtained from them, the Department having no means of finding out what the amount may be. The claimant demands payment in addition to the above-

Witness fees.....$		45 00
Extra assessment for 9 years	4,	135 95
Grouping fee for 9 years.....		7 00
License fee for 9 years.....		90 00
Interest at 7 per cent for 10 1/2 years	3,	668 16

It is not known what the witness fees are for. The assessment is supposed to be money expended on the claims in order to be entitled to a renewal. The grouping and license fees he would have had to pay in any event irrespective of the two claims in United States territory.

x x x x x x x

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C 45126

NO.4

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

No. 84

British Embassy,

Washington, May 11, 1914.

Sir,

At the request of Mr. C.J.B. Hurst, British Agent, before the Arbitration Tribunal appointed to deal with the outstanding British and United States Pecuniary Claims, I have the honour to forward herewith to Your Royal Highness copy of a memorandum of the discussions held between him and the United States Agent on the 6th and 8th instant, showing the position reached in the negotiations for listing the second schedule of the claims.

In this connection I would refer Your Royal Highness to the Approved Minute of the Privy Council forwarded with Your Royal Highness' despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies No. 73 of February 11th,1913.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Royal Highness' most obedient,

humble Servant,

SGD. CECIL SPRING-RICE.

His Royal Highness

The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn,K.G.,

etc., etc., etc.,

The Governor-General.

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C 45127

ENCLOSURE IN NO.4.

x x x x x x

EXTRACT. 14. The views of the Canadian Government, as to the McIver claim were explained to Mr. Clark, and he agreed to look into the facts more closely and asked to have a note of what they had said.

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C 45128

NO.5.

EXTRACT.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to
the Governor General.

Canada.

Downing Street, August 16,1923.

My Lord,-

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, for the consideration of your Ministers, the accompanying copy of a Note from the United States Chargé d'Affaires enclosing a copy of the memorial of Mr. John McIver regarding his claim against the Canadian Government for the refund of the sums paid by him in respect of certain mining claims.

I have etc.,

DEVONSHIRE.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
Lord Byng of Vimy, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc. etc. etc.

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C 45129

Enclosure 1. in No. 5.

No. 857.

London, July 11, 1923.

My Lord,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the memorial of Mr. John McIver, a citizen of the United States, setting forth a claim against the Canadian Government for the refund of the purchase price and fees paid to that Government on certain placer mining claims, which, after their sale, had been found to be in Alaskan instead of Canadian territory. I have the honour to request that the memorial and the accompanying evidence be submitted to the Dominion Government for consideration.

On the 3rd day of February, 1912, Mr. McIver presented this claim to the Department of State through his attorneys. It appears that Mr. McIver's attorneys had previously taken up the matter with the Canadian Government through the American Vice-Consul at Dawson, and that the Canadian Department of the Interior had offered to refund certain fees amounting to $261.15, but had declined to recognise the other items of Mr. McIver's claim. Mr. McIver refused to accept the payment of this amount for fear it would prejudice recovery of the remaining items. At the time Mr. McIver's claim was presented to this Department, negotiations were being conducted by representatives of the United States and Great Britain for a second schedule of claims for submission to the Arbitration Tribunal established under the Special Agreement between the two Governments signed

The Most Honble

The Marques Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.,

etc. etc., etc.,

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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August 18,1910, and the United States expressed its desire to have the McIver claim included among the American claims on that schedule. Subsequently, during a Conference at Washington between Sir Cecil J.B.Hurst, Agent for His Majesty's Government, and Mr. J.Reuben Clark of the American Agency, on May 6,1914, in regard to the second schedule, Sir Cecil read a statement concerning the McIver claim, from which it appeared that the Canadian Government was willing to refund to Mr. McIver the amounts which it had collected from him with reference to his mining claims in American territory upon his establishing by evidence the expenditure which he had made. Mr. Clark thereupon informed Sir Cecil that if the Canadian Government were prepared properly to reimburse Mr. McIver, there would seem to be no need for submitting the claim to arbitration. The outbreak of the World War shortly thereafter interrupted the negotiations, and no further action has been taken in regard to the case.

In view of the fact that the general work of the arbitration has now been resumed and that negotiations for the completion of the second schedule may shortly be undertaken, the Department of State desires to know whether it will be possible to effect a satisfactory settlement of the McIver claim at this time without the necessity of submitting it to arbitration.

If the Dominion Government should be prepared to make a proper reimbursement of the payments shown to have been made in Mr. McIver's memorial, the Government of the United States will be in a position to withdraw the claim from those reserved for arbitration under the special agreement of August 18, 1910.

I have etc.,

(SGD) POST WHEELER
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AD INTERIM

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C 45131

Enclosure 2 in No. 5.

Copy.

MEMORIAL OF JOHN MCIVER.

The memorial of John McIver respectfully shows:

That John McIver is and was at all the times the acts herein set forth occurred, a naturalized citizen of the United States, that he was born at Lewis, Scotland in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on or about the 15th day of March, 1847; That he came to the United States on or about July 4th, 1872, and that he was naturalized on the 23rd day of May, 1893, by the County Court of Lawrence County, South Dakota; that he is now and has been since the 15th day of November, 1909, a resident of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, United States of America, and that at the time the acts herein set forth occurred he was temporarily domiciled near Dawson, Yukon Territory, Dominion of Canada, but within territory included in the Territory of Alaska, United States of America.

That he makes claim in his own behalf by this memorial for the sum of Seven thousand Eight hundred and two and 35/100 ($7802.35)Dollars . through the United States of America to the government of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for acts committed by officials of the said Dominion of Canada. That the facts and circumstances out of which this claim arises are as follows: to wit:

1

That on the 14th day of November, 1900, John McIver purchased certain placer mining claims, to the amount of One

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Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty (1750) feet and known as "1 to 7 below Discovery" on Poker Creek, Forty Mile District, Yukon Territory, from the said Dominion of Canada and made final payment in the same on said date. That at the time the said John McIver so purchased his claim, the Dominion of Canada, through its officials, claiming that the said claims were within the territory and jurisdiction of the said Dominion, by threats and force did compel the said John McIver to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the said Dominion over these claims; that acting under such compulsion and because of the same and under protest John McIver purchased the said placer mining claims as aforesaid from the said Dominion for the sum of Three Hundred and Five (305.00) Dollars and recorded certificates of purchase of the same with the Gold Commissioner of the Department of the Interior for Yukon Territory, an official of the said Dominion, at the further expense of One Hundred and Five ($105.00)Dollars; which said purchase and recordation were acts required to be done by the laws of the said Dominion, by persons seeking to obtain the right to conduct placer mining within the said Dominion. That prior to said purchase said claims had been worked by citizens of the United States, but that on or about the year 1896 or 1897 the said Dominion had included the said claims within its domain by a private survey known as the "Olgivie Survey", and by force driven off the said citizens of the United States who were engaged in working the same, and that no persons were thereafter permitted to locate or prospect the same until the same had been sold by said Dominion at public auction. That the said John McIver purchased the said claims at such a public auction for the sums and at the times as set forth above.

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II

That John McIver remained on the said placer claims working the same until about the 15th day of June, 1909, when by reason of ill health he was compelled to change his domicile to San Francisco in the United States of America.

III

That the exact location of the easterly boundary of Alaska as established by the convention between Great Britain and Russia of February 28/16,1825, was for a long time thereafter undertermined and not marked by any survey or demarkation accepted by both Great Britain and the United States. That by an exchange of notes on October 20th,1899, by Mr. Hay, Secretary of State, on behalf of the United States, and Mr. Tower, British Chargé at Washington, on behalf of Great Britain and Ireland and a modus vivendi and a provisional boundary was established in the vicinity of and including the said placer claims of John McIver in the said Dominion of Canada. That in this exchange of notes it was expressly stipulated:

First: That the arrangement was to be provisional merely and without prejudice to the claims of either party in the permanent adjustment of the international boundary.

Secondly: That citizens or subjects of either Great Britain or the United States found by this arrangement within the temporary jurisdiction of the other, shall suffer no diminution of the rights and privileges which they now enjoy.

That on or about the 15th day of November, 1907, the international boundary between Alaska and the Dominion of Canada was officially surveyed and determined and demarked with suitable monuments sufficiently to determine that a portion of the said placer mining claims Nos.1,2,3,4,5,6,and 7 were and had been at all the time herein mentioned within the territory and

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and under the jurisdiction of the United States, to wit :650 feet of said claims, or claims Nos. 6 and 7 and part of No. 5.

IV

That John McIver was compelled, by reason of the laws of the Dominion of Canada, and under the compulsion and threats hereinbefore set forth, and under penalty of forfeiting all his right, title and interest to said claim, to do, in the excess of the amount of development work or so called "Assessment Work" required by the laws of the United States, in order to hold title to the said placer mining claims of Six Hundred and Fifty (650) feet, assessment or development work to the amount of Seventy-two Dollars and Fifty Cents ($72.50) per One Hundred (100) feet of claim annually; which assessment or development work John McIver did during all the time from the date of his purported purchase of the said claims from the Dominion of Canada until the time that the said Dominion ceased to assume jurisdiction over the same, or a period of Eight (8) years and which development or assessment work so done was in fact done solely by reason of the compulsion and threats aforesaid and That the excess assessment work so done by John McIver under the protest of John McIver during the said Eight (8) years was in the sum of Three thousand seven hundred and seventy (3770.00) Dollars.

V

That during the said period of Eight (8(years at irregular periods, the exact times and amounts of which are by this petitioner unknown, John McIver paid grouping fees to the officials of the said Dominion of Canada to the amount of One (1.00)Dollar per claim or Two and 50/1-- ($2.50) Dollars for said Six hundred and Fifty (650)feet, which fees were in excess of any fees charged by virtue of any law of the

United

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United States and which fee operated solely to the benefit of the said Dominion of Canada.

VI.

That during this period of Eight (8) years as aforesaid John McIver, working for himself and through his employees and agents removed from said Six Hundred and Fifty (650) feet of claim found to be within the United States, gold dust of the average value of Twenty-five Hundred ($2500.00) Dollars per annum upon which there was assessed by the laws of the said Dominion a royalty tax of Two and a half percent (2 1/2%) of said value. That the entire amount of the said royalty, to wit, Five hundred ($500.00)Dollars.....was paid by him in the following manner; that whenever employees were paid for services in gold dust by the said John McIver or merchandise was purchased and gold dust paid therefor by the said John McIver or deposits of gold dust made to his account in the Bank an allowance above the actual value of the same, equal to Two and a half percent (2 1/2%) was by law to be paid by said parties receiving same to the said Dominion; that the Two and a half percent (2 1/2%) paid in excess of the actual value of such services or merchandise or gold dust deposited in the bank was in fact paid to the said Dominion and that in payment of the same the said employees and said sellers of merchandise and said banks were, for that purpose, acting in behalf of the said John McIver.

VII.

That the witness fees or fees for certificate of work to the said Six hundred and Fifty (650) feet, being Two and a half (2 1/2) claims, paid under compulsion as above set forth, amounted to Five ($5.00) Dollars annually and that the total amount actually paid by John McIver from the date of the purchase of

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of the said claims from the said Dominion to the date when the said Dominion ceased to claim the same, was Twenty ($20.00) Dollars, and fees for grants and renewals varying from Fifteen ($15.00)Dollars in 1901, 1902,1906,1907 and Ten ($10.00) Dollars allowed from 1903 to 1905 inclusive, amounting to One hundred ($100.00)Dollars.

VIII.

That the license fee paid for the Grant for Placer Mining, paid to the Mining Recorder, and official acting under the Department of the Interior of the said Dominion was from Seven and 50/100 ($7.50) Dollars in 1903 and 1904, Eight and 50/100 ($8.50) Dollars in 1905, and at all other time Ten ($10.00)Dollars per annum, and that the total amount actually paid by the said Dominion amounted to Seventy-three and 50/100 ($73.50)Dollars.

IX.

That John McIver is solely interested in the claim presented by this memorial; that he has received no part of the said sum though he has communicated with the officials of the said Dominion of Canada through Mr. Carlton Woodward, American Vice Consul in charge at Dawson, Yukon Territory, said Dominion, nor has he received any assurance from him or any official of the said Dominion that the same would be paid, except as the same is made through communications from Honorable George Cole, American Consul at Dawson, Yukon Territory, attacher hereto and made a part hereof as Exhibit "A"

X

That in March,1902, John McIver sold claims Nos.1,2,3 4 and 5 to Jack McConnell, Willis Makin and another party whose name said John McIver does not remember, the said three purchasers

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purchasers sold the same to Peder Miller and Fred P.Durocher, on or before October 5th,1907. That when the said international boundary line was demarked and a part of claim No.5 included in the said Six Hundred and Fifty (650) feet of claim was found to be within the United States as hereinbefore set forth, the said Peder Miller and Fred P.Durocher, threatened to sue said John McIver at law for selling them said part of claim No.5 as a claim located in Canada, when the same was in fact located in the United States, whereupon said John McIver did because of such threats repurchase for a valuable consideration said part of claim No.5 found to be within the United States, together with all claim and right of said Peder Miller and Fred P. Durocheragainst the said Dominion of Canada arising out of said claim No.5 and whereupon said John McIver became subrogated to all the rights and claims of said Peder Miller and Fred P.Durocher against said Dominion of Canada arising out of said Claim No.5 and as to that portion of this memorial arising out of said claim No. 5, claim is made by said John McIver successor in interest of said Peder Miller and Fred P.Durocher.

XI.

That all the fees paid by the said John McIver are the fees regularly charged by the laws of the Dominion of Canada and were necessarily incurred in the operation of the said claim.

XII.

That the said John McIver has been compelled to engage service of counsel and attorney in the collection of said claim in the preparation of this memorial and preparation of affidavits accompanying the same and for other services arising out of this and therefore asks attorney's fees in the sum of one thousand ($1000.00)Dollars.

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XIII.

This claim is itemized in accordance with the facts hereinabove set forth, as follow:

Purchase price (See Par.I). Purchase 1750 feet - cost	$305.00	(A)
Recording	105.00	(B)
	$410.00	
650 feet in United States $\frac{650}{1750}$ of $410.00--$152.50		
Extra assessment work (See Par.IV)		
$72.50 per 100 yearly for Eight years $72.50 x $\frac{650}{100}$ x 8 -		3770.00
Grouping fees (2 1/2 claims at $1.00 per year 8 yrs.(See P.V.)		20.00
Witness fees-eight years (See Par. VII) (C) (650 feet- 2 1/2 claims - $5.00 per year)		40.00
Grants and renewals as itemized (See Par.VII)(D)		100.00
License fee $7.50-$10.00 per yr.for 8 yrs (See LVIII) (E)		73.50
Royalty on gold taken out (See Par. VI)		
$2500 at 2 1/2% annually for 8 yrs) (F)		500.00
Total		$4656.00
Interest 6 years 9 months at 7 %		2146.35
Attorney's fees		1000.00
		$7802.35

As this amount was paid annually from November,1900, to November, 1908, in nearly equal installments, interest may be computed from the intermediate date of November,1904,to Six (6) years and Nine (9) months from date.

In support of this claim this memorial shows that the Dominion of Canada and the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland had notice of the claim of the United States to the territory within which this six hundred and fifty (650) feet of claim was

located

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located and of the fact that citizens thereof would claim relief for all damage suffered by the protest of citizens of the United States residing in the disputed territory made to the officials of the said Dominion and to the officials and government of the United States and widely published in the press of the country. That this protest was understood at least informally by the representatives of both Great Britain and the United States in the negotations in regard to the disputed boundary which were being carried on during that period and that the rights of citizens of the United States were conserved and their right to relief against the offending party impliedly conceded by the terms of the notes exchanged between Mr. Hay and Mr. Tower on October 20th,1899, and referred to hereafter.

That in the face of this protest, the Kingdom of Great Britain acted at its peril and hence subjected itself to liability for all the loss and inconvenience that might be occasioned to citizens of the United States located or about to locate in good faith, within the territory over which the said Dominion was exercising jurisdiction and which might thereafter prove to be the territory of the United States.

That in so assuming jurisdiction as aforesaid over a portion of the placer mining claim of John McIver, he was compelled to pay royalties and expend in fees and assessment work a sum in excess of the amount required by the laws of the United States in whose jurisdiction the property actually was, to the amount of Three thousand Seven hundred and seventy ($3770.00)Dollars.

That this excess was of no benefit to the said John McIver and that the largest part of it directly and all of it, directly or indirectly, inured to the benefit of the Dominion of Canada.

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That the record of much of the moneys claimed to be paid to the said Dominion is a m atter of public record in said Dominion and is therefore not set out more fully in this memorial.

Wherefore this memorial prays that the said John McIver be paid the sum of Four thousand five hundred and forty-two ($4542.00) Dollars.... with interest thereon from the 1st day of Nov. 1904 at Seven (7%)per cent per annum until paid, and One thousand ($1000.00)Dollars for attorneys fees and other expenses necessarily incurred.

(Signed) John McIver.

Wecki and Wythe,
Attorneys for John McIver
721-4 Chronicle Bldg.,
San Francisco, Cal.

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That in addition to the claim made by the foregoing memorial and supplemental thereto, the said John McIver asked for the sum of one hundred and sixty-eight ($168.00)Dollars additional, with interest thereon from the said first day of November,1904, at 7% per annum, until paid. Said claim arising as follows:

That each year from and including the year 1901, to and including the year 1905, or for Six (6) years, the said John McIver in paying the fees set forth in the foregoing memorial was obliged to go from the said Poker Creek to Dawson City or Forty Mile City in Yukon Territory, Dominion of Canada, and that the said trip occupied Seven (7) days more time than would have been required by the said John McIver should he have paid the same at the nearest office where the same would have been received in the United States, and that the said John McIver was compelled to expend Four (4.00)Dollars per day necessary traveling expenses in making the said trip either to Dawson City or Forty Mile City, or Twenty-eight ($28.00)Dollars in excess of the sum which he would necessarily expended in paying the said dues at the nearest office in the United States where they would have been received, or his total damage for the Six (6) years during which such fees had by law to be paid at Dawson City or Forty Mile City, of One Hundred and Sixty-eight ($168.00) Dollars.

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STATE OF CALIFORNIA,)
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO) ss.

John McIver, being duly sworn deposes and says:

That he is the John McIver referred to in the above memorial and in the supplemental claim appended thereto; that he has read both the said memorial and the said supplemental claim, and that the facts therein stated are true except as to those matters which are stated on information and belief, and as to those matters he believes it to be true.

(Signed) John McIver.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 27th day of July, 1911.
Signed) J.D.Brown
Notary Public in and for the City
and County of San Francisco,
State of California.

(SEAL).

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C 45143

Enclosure 3 in No.5.

State of CALIFORNIA)
) ss.
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO)

JOHN McIVER, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I am the claimant in the accompanying memorial. I make this affidavit in support of the claim for royalties paid by me to the goverzment of the Dominion of Canada in the amount of Five hundred ($500.00) Dollars as set forth in Paragraph Six (6) of my memorial. This claim is based upon the assumption that I paid royalty on Twenty-five hundred ($2500.00)Dollars worth of gold every year. I did not keep any record of the amount of gold mined by me as there was no object in so doing, but during the entire time I employed at least one man to help me on my claim. The average wages for the season (a little more than three months) were at the rate of Eight ($8.00) Dollars, per day or about Seven hundred and fifty ($750.00) Dollars. Besides paying my help seven hundred and fifty (750.00) Dollars I also took out not less than five hundred ($500.00) Dollars worth of gold for supplies for my own support and was enabled to cash in twelve hundred ($1,200.00)Dollars to Fourteen hundred ($1400.00)Dollars each year, as near as I can estimate.

Among miners no one but the miner, not even his employees, know what a miner takes out of his claim. That is a subject never discussed. Consequently I am unable to present further corroboration of this claim but it is a matter of common knowledge, supported by the accompanying affidavit of Carl Hermanson that the cost of board in this territory

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this territroy is three ($3.00) Dollars per day, One thousand and ninety-five ($1095.00) Dollars per year. Adding to this the cost of cloting, fuel, and incidental expenses which were very high in Alaska at this time. I believe that I am well within the truth when I allege I took out about One thousand nine hundred ($1900)Dollars yearly for my own account. During the Eight (8) years for which claim is made I had no source of income except the said placer claims, and all the moneys expended by me for wages and for my own support were derived from said claim.

About 1906 as near as I can remember I learned that there was some likehood that these claims would be surveyed out of the Dominion of Canada and so kept a record for my own satisfaction, which record is now lost, but I remember that I found that besides paying Seven hundred and fifty ($750.00)Dollars or more for help and over five hundred ($500.00) Dollars for supplies for myself (purchased from travelling huckster and others, on which an allowance was made for royalty), that I had taken out that year between twelve hundred ($1200.00)Dollars and Fourteen hundred ($1400.00) Dollars additional. On all gold dust paid to my employees and to all others for services and supplies the royalty was allowed in excess.

In support of the said memorial I herewith Offer Twenty-three (23) Vouchers, numbered from Number One (1) to Twenty-three (23) inclusive.

The said vouchers were received by me and I know of my own personal knowledge that each and every of the persons who signed

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who signed the said vouchers was the proper person to sign said voucher, and was the person whose signature appears thereto, and that in each and every case where a voucher is signed by a public official that the person signing said voucher was acting at the time he signed the same as said official and that each of said vouchers was received by me in consideration for the payment of the full amount which appears upon the face of said voucher.

That Voucher No.1 was introduced in support of item marked A in red in Paragraph Thirteen (13) of the said memorial.

Voucher No. 2 in support of item marked B.

Vouchers Nos. 3 to 9 in support of item marked C.

" Nos.10 to 17 " " " " " " D.

" " 18 to 21 " " " " " " E.

Affidavit of Carl Hermanson accompanying this memorial is introduced together with this affidavit in support of item marked F.

As evidence that claimant purchased said lands in 1900 as set forth in Paragraph One (1) herein, Voucher No.22 is appended.

As evidence that claimant purchased for a valuable consideration the interest of Miller and Durocher as set forth in Paragraph Ten (10), Voucher No.23 is appended.

I also append my certificate of naturalization and correspondence with Canadian Government.

JOHN McIVER

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this 1st day of February,1912.

HARRY P.TRICON (?)

Notary Public for the City of County
of San Francisco, State of California.

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(SEAL) My commission expires August 5,1912.

City and County of San Francisco)
State of California.)

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I am the Notary Public before whom the foregoing deposition and affidavit was taken; that I am not interested in the claim of John McIver or any part thereof, to which the said deposition and affidavit relates, nor am I the agent or attorney of any person having such interest.

HARRY P.TRIGGS.

Notary Public.

Dated February 1,1912.

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C 45147

Enclosure 4 in No. 5.

CARL HERMANSON, being first duly sworn deposes and says:

That he is a resident of Glacier Creek, Yukon Territory, Dominion of Canada, and that he was such a resident during all the times herein mentioned; that within the years 1902 and 1909 he was acquainted with and was a neighbor to John McIver; that said John McIver had purchased claims numbered "1 to 7 below Discovery" on Poker Creek, in the Forty mile District, prior to the said 1902; that the said claims are situated about Six (6) miles from said Glacier Creek; that during all the times between 1902 and 1909 the said John McIver was engaged in working the said claims by placer mining; that the said deponent had no means of knowing the amount of gold secured by the said John McIver from the said claims; that said John McIver has inhis employ during the said period one William P. Black for one season, and one Burdette Middleton for another season; that deponent knows of the employ of the said Middleton and Black by the said John McIver because the said Middleton and Black were neighbors of the said deponent; that your deponent does not know but believes that the said John McIver has in his employ at least one man every season during the said period between 1902 and 1909, and may be before the said 1902, but as to that the deponent can not say as he was not acquainted with the said John McIver prior to that time.

Deponent says that the average length of a season over which men are employed on Poker Creek was about three (3) months, and that the wages paid during the said season were Five ($5.00) a day and keep, or Eight ($8.00) per day without board; that the sum of Three ($3.00) per day was a fair average expenditure for board by miners engaged as was the

said

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POOR
COPY

said John McIver in placer mining in that locality.

CARL A.HERMANSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 16th day of August,1911.

M.A.SISET.

A. Commissioner for taking
Affidavits in and for the
Yukon Territory.

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C 45149

Enclosure 5 in No.5.

Forty Mile.
Date June 8th,1901. No.752.

60

PLACER MINING CLAIM.

Certificate in cases of partnership that annual expenditure may after recording claims, be made on any one of the claims affected by such partnership.

This is to certify that, in accordance with the provisions of Clause 39 of the Placer Mining Regulations John McIver recorded owner of Creek Placer Mining Claims described as follows: Nos.1,2,3,4,5,6 and 7 below Discovery Poker Creek, having complied with the conditions required by said Clause, in so far that they have filed a notice of intention to work the above, claims in partnership, they may make the annual expenditure, required by each, on any of the Mining location aforementioned.

Wm. Henry White,

Mining Recorder.

Voucher No.22.

Enclosure 6 in No.5.

Poker Creek.

Oct.5,1907.

Know all men that we the undersigned has this fifth day of October given to John McIver the privilege to locate in his own name all the ground that was surveyed from us of the Lower portion of claim No.4 below Dis. on poker creek in to the American country.

Peder Miller.

Fred.P.Durocher.

Voucher No.23.

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C 45150

Enclosure 7 in No. 5

Final Certificate of Naturalization.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CIRCUIT COURT

State of South Dakota.

Eighth Judicial Circuit.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 23 day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety three, personally appeared before the Honorable Chas.M.Thomas, Presiding Judge of the Circuit Court in and for the Eight Judicial Circuit, state aforesaid, John McIver, an alien born, over the age of twenty-one years, and applied in open court to be admitted to become a naturalized citizen of the United States of America, pursuant to the several Acts of Congress heretofore passed on that subject. And the said John McIver, having thereupon produced to the Court record testimony showing that he had heretofore reported himself and filed his declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, according to the provisions of said several Acts of Congress, and the Court being satisfied, as well from the oath of the said John McIver as from the testimony of Cyrus H.Enos and Malcolm C.Campbell who are known to be citizens of the United States, that the said John McIver has resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for at least five years last past, and at least one year last past within the State of South Dakota, and that during the whole of that time he has behaved himself as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles contained in the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to be the good order, well being and happiness of the same, and two years and upwards having elapsed since the said John McIver reported himself and filed his declaration of intention as aforesaid.

It was ordered that the said John McIver be permitted to take oath to support the constitution of the United States and the usual oath whereby he renounced all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty whatever, and more particularly to Victoria Queen of Great Britain whereof he was heretofore a subject, which said oath having been administered to the said John McIver by the Clerk of said Court, it was ordered by the Court that the said John McIver be admitted to all and singular the rights, privileges, and immunities of a # certified by the Clerk of this Court, under the seal of said Court which is done accordingly.

Chas.M.Thomas,
Judge.

ATTEST :
R.H.Driscoll,
Clerk.

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA) ss.
County of Lawrence)

I.R.H.Driscoll, Clerk of the Circuit Court within and for the County of Lawrence, Eight Judicial Circuit , State of South Dakota, certify the above to be a true transcript of the record as the same remains in my office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Court, at my office in Deadwood,S.D.,this 23 day of May,A.D.1893.

R.H.DRISCOL..
Clerk.

(SEAL)

naturalized citizen of the United States and, that the same be

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C 45151

Enclosure 8 in No.5.

American Consular Service,

Dawson,Y.T.Canada,

January 27,1911.

Frederick, S.Wythe, Esq.,
Attorney at Law,
317 Post Office Building,
San Francisco,Cal.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your communication of December 30,1910 relative to the claim of Mr. John McIver against the Government of Canada regarding a certain mining claim in the Forty Mile District, I beg to enclose a copy of the reply of the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory to a communication of mine regarding this matter, for your information.

When this office is further advised regarding this matter, I will communicate with you.

Yours truly,

Carlton Woodward,

American Vice Consul in Charge

Enclosure herein stated.

Enclosure
(Copy)

Enclosure 9 in No. 5

File No. 12697.
Dawson, 25th January,1911.

Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 20th instant with reference to the claim of Mr. John McIver against the Government of Canada for compensation in respect to certain mining claims, I beg to say that I am communicating with the Department of the Interior regarding this matter and will advise you in due course.

In a report to me regarding this matter the Gold Commissioner states, inter alia, as follows:

"Mr. McIver should be asked to establish in some satisfactory was the exact amount of royalty paid by him to the Comptroller of the Yukon Territory since the 1st of May,1902, on gold recovered from said claims Nos. 6 and 7."

Perhaps Mr. McIver may be able to furnish this information.
I have etc.,

Alexander Henderson.

Commissioner

G.Carlton Woodward,
American Vice-Consul,
Dawson,Y.T.

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C 45152

Enclosure 10 in No. 5.

E.E.S.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Canada.

File No.
45,079 ML. & T.

Ottawa,10th May,1911.

Sir:

I beg to refer you to your letter of the 15th of March last, with respect to the application made by Mr. John McIver for a refund of the sum of $8,660.86, which he claims to have paid in connection with seven placer mining claims situated on Poker Creek in the Yukon Territory.

It would appear that in November,1900, Mr. McIver purchased at public auction at Dawson seven placer mining claims designated Nos.1,2,3,4,5,6 and 7 situated on above creek and that on the 25th of March,1902, heassigned his right to Claims Nos. 1,2,3,4, and 5, from which date he would appear to have had no recorded interest in these claims. It would also appear that in the summer of 1907 the International Boundary was sufficiently completed to show that Claims Nos 6 and 7 , which Mr. McIver retained, were West of that boundary, and for this reason the two claims in question were permitted to lapse in January,1908.

Mr. McIver would appear to have sustained no loss whatever in respect of the five claims assigned by him, and loss which he may have sustained was in connection with claims Nos. 6 and 7 only.

There would appear to be no doubt that Mr. McIver bought certain mining groupd which subsequent surveys showed was not the property of the Crown, and he is therefore entitled to a

refund

Alexander Henderson,Esq.,K.C.,
Commissioner of the Yukon Territory,
Dawson,Y.T.

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refund of the proportionate purchase price of this tract. He would also appear to be entitled to a refund of the fees paid for grants, renewals and certificates of work issued in connection with these two claims, but there is nothing whatever to indicate the quantity of gold which Mr. McIver extracted from the two claims in question and upon which he paid royalty, so that it would be quite impossible for the Department to estimate the amount to be refunded to him.

No payment was made to this Department on account of witness fees, so that the sum of $45.00 for which Mr. McIver asks could not be paid to him. Only the sum of $2.00 appears to have been paid for grouping these claims, and the same fee would have been collected even although Claims Nos. 6 and 7 had not been included. Mr. McIver asks for a refund of $4,135.95 for extra assessment. It is assumed that this means a refund of the amount of the assessment work performed on these claims to entitled him to a yearly renewal. No such fund can be made to him. This work appears to consist of mining operations by which Mr. McIver claims to have recovered about $2500.00 per annum from the ground. Mr. McIver asks for a refund of the sum of $90.00, being the license fee for nine years. It is assumed that he means a free miner's certificate, but since it was necessary for him to have such a certificate in order to hold the other mining properties in which he was interested, he would not appear to be entitled to such a refund. He also claims interest amounting to $3,668.16. This of course cannot be allowed.

It would appear that Mr. McIver is entitled to the following refund:

Proportionate purchase price of two Claims	$87.15
Fees paid for grants, renewals and certificates of work from 1900 to 1908 in connection with the two claims	174.00
Total	$261.15

If Mr. McIver can establish in some satisfactory way the exact

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amount of royalty paid by him on the gold produced from those two claims since the first of May,1902, his application for a refund of such royalty will receive due consideration A refund, however, will be made of the above amount of $261.15.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) L.Periera.

Asst. Sec'y

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C 45155

Enclosure 11 in No. 5.

(H) AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

Dawson, Y.T.Canada, July 27,1911.

Mr. John McIver
c/o Frederick S.Wythe,Esq..
Attorney at Law,
317 Post Office Building,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Sir:

I herewith enclose you a copy of a letter from the Gold Commissioner's office at Dawson, which explains itself.

I am also enclosing you a blank receipt for your signature in case you desire to accept the settlement of the Dominion Government, and return the same to me and I will forward you the check which I hold. If you do not accept the settlement , please return blank receipt.

Very truly yours,

G.C.Cole,
Consul.

Enclosures:
Copy letter from Gold Commissioner,
Blank receipt.

Enclosure 12 in No. 5.

COPY.

File No. 12697.
(No.45089 M.L. & Y.)

Dawson, Y.T., Canada, July 25,1911.

Sir:

Referring to the matter of the application of Mr. John McIver, for a refund of the sum of $8,660.86, which he claims to have paid in connection with certain placer mining claims situated on Poker Creek in the Yukon Territory, and referring to the correspondence which his passed between your office and the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory in that respect , I enclose herewith for delivery to Mr. McIver, Refund Cheque No. 10992 in his favor the sum of $261.15, being a refund of the proportionate purchase price of placer mining claims Nos 6 and 7 on said Poker Creek and of the fees paid for Renewal Grants and Certificates of Work in connection therewith.

I also enclose herewith for signature by Mr. McIver Voucher Receipt No. 10992 which you will be kind enough to get signed by Mr. McIver in the presence of a witness who should also sign and to return to this office at your earliest convenience.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)
F.X.Gosselin.
Gold Commissioner.

G.C.Cole, Esq.,
American Consul,
Dawson,Y.T.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 45156

N.B.Please return to the Department of the Interior,Ottawa.
45079 M.Ley.

Refind.

Dominion Lands.

Department of the Interior.

No. 10992.

Received from the Minister of the Interior, the sum of Two hundred and Sixty-one 15/100 Dollars, for porportionate purchase price of placer mining claims No. 6 and 7 on Poker Creek and fees paid for grants, renewals and certificates of work re said claims without prejudice as to items not mentioned in this receipt.
$261/15/100.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 45157

MEMORIAL OF JOHN MC IVER.

Vouchers No. 1 to 21.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 45158

Enclosure 13 in No. 5.

(A)

No. 2408.

$244.00 GENERAL RECEIPT.

(Stamp)
Department of the Interior
Yukon.

Dawson, Y.T.

Nov.14,1900
DISTRICT
CANADA.....

RECEIVED FROM John McIver the sum of Two hundred & forty-four 00/100 Dollars balance purchase of Government Placer Mining Claim Creek claims Nos 1 to 7 inclusive Poker Creek (40 mile) Receipt No. 1933 - $61.00

(Sd) R.A.Hendman
Agent's Signature

Voucher 1.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 45159

Enclosure 14 in No. 5

(B)

No. 591. Dawson , Y.T. 14 Nov. 1900.

(STAMP)

Department of the Interior
Yukon

$105.00 NOV. 14 1900
DISTRICT
CANADA

GENERAL RECEIPT GOLD COMMISSIONERS OFFICE

Received from John McIver the sum of One hundred and five & 00/100 Dollars for recording fees No. 1 to 7 inclusive Poker Creek (40 mile)

$_____

(Sd.) R.A.Hendman

for Gold Commissioner.

Voucher 8.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 45160

ENCLOSURE 15 in No. 5.

(C) STAMP)

Department of Interior
Forty Mile
Oct. 7, 1902.

Office
CANADA. No. 4361

CERTIFICATE OF WORK....

Placer Mining Claim.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that an affidavit setting out a detailed statement of the work done on the Claim known as Nos. Six and Seven below on Poker Creek since the First day of Dec. 1901 made by John McIver has this day been filed in my office and in pursuance with the Placer Mining Regulations I do now issue this Certificate of work in respect of the above claim to Jan.14, 1903.

Voucher 3. R.M.Blair

MINING RECORDER.

Enclosure 16 in No. 5.

(STAMP)
Dept'of the Interior
Office of the
Oct. 5,1904
Gold Commissioner
YUKON TERR.CANADA.

Received from John McIver the sum of $24.00 for Cert. of Work and Renewal of Nos 6 & 7 below on

Voucher 4 O.S.SINNIE
Chief Clerk.

Enclosure 17 in No. 5.

(STAMP)
Office of Agent to Mining Recorder
OCT. 14, 1905
Glacer Creek

$4.00 INTERIM RECEIPT

Received from John McIver four Dollars for Cert. of Work for Creek Claims Nos 6 and 7 below Discovery on Poker Creek.

Signed. A.Dawson Allen

For Gold Commissioner.

Voucher 8.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 45161

Enclosure 17A in No. 5.

(C)

(STAMP)

No. 19591 Dawson Dept. of the Interior
Office of the
Oct. 17,1906
Gold Commissioner
YUKON TERR. CANADA.

GOLD COMMISSIONERS OFFICE

Registered Documents-Placer

RECEIVED from John McIver Two Dollars for Rec. Ext. of Boundaries of Cl. 6 Bel. Disc. on Poker Ck so as to include Clm. No. 7 Bel. Disc.

$2.00 (Sd.) G.Wynn
Agent.

Voucher 9.

Enclosure 18 in No. 5

No. 10827

CERTIFICATE OF WORK

Placer Mining Claim.

$4.00

(STAMP)
Agency Y.T. Department of the
Interior
Forty Mile
Oct. 8, 1904
Office
CANADA

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that an affidavit setting out a detailed statement of the work done on Creek Placer Mining Claims Nos Six (6) and Seven (7) below Discovery on Poker Creek since the First day of April, 1904 made by John McIver, has this day been filed in my office and in pursuance with the Mining Regulations I do now issue this Certificate of Work in respect of the above claim to 14th January,1905.

(Sgd) R.M.Blair
Voucher 5. Mining Recorder.

Enclosure 19 in No. 5

No. 26028

CERTIFICATE OF WORK
Placer Mining Claim
(STAMP)

162

Agency Y.T. Dept. of the Interior
Office of the
Oct.24 1905
Gold Commissioner
Yukon Terr,Canada.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that an affidavit setting out a detailed statement of the done on Creek Placer Mining Claim No 6 Below Dis. Poker Ck. since the First day of May,1905, made by J. McIver has this day been file in my office and in pursuance of the Mining Regulations I do now issue this certificate of

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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work in respect of the above claim to Jan. 14th,1906.

Voucher 6.

N.G.MEMECY
MINING RECORDER.

Enclosure 20 in No. 5.

(C) No. 26029

CERTIFICATE OF WORK

PLACER MINING CLAIM.

(STAMP)

164.

Agency Y.T.

Dep't of the Interior
Office of the
Oct. 24, 1905,
Gold Commissioner
YUKON TERR. CANADA.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that an affidavit setting out a detailed statement of the work done on Creek Placer Mining Claim No. 7 Below Dis. Poker Creek, since the First day of May 1905, made by John McIver has this day been filed in my office and in pursuance of the Mining Regulations I do now issue this Certificate of work in respect of the above claim to January 14th 1906.

G.A.MEWBCY (?)

Mining Recorder.

Voucher 7.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 45163

Enclosure 21 in No. 5.

RENEWAL. FORM 1.

(D)
No. 36114.

GRANT FOR PLACER MINING

Department of the Interior
(STAMP)
Agent , Department of the Interior
Forty Mile
Oct. 7, 1902
Office
CANADA....

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of Thirty Dollars, being the fee prescribed by clause 28 of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon District by John MCIVER of Forty Mile accompanying his application No.----------dated 6th October 1902 for a Mining Claim in Forty Mile District.

The Minister of the Interior hereby grants to the said John McIver for the term of one year the exclusive right of entry upon the claim being Nos Six and Seven below Discovery on Poker Creek Renewed to 14th January,1904, for the miner-like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon, and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realized therefrom, upon which, the royalty prescribed by the Regulations shall be paid.

The said John McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim, and not already lawfully appropriated, as shall be necessary for the due working thereof, and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said John McIver any right of ownership in the soil covered by the said claim; and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the claim is continuously and in good faith worked by the said John McIver or his associates.

The rights granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Mining Regulations, and no more, and are subject to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed herein or not.

(Sd.) R.M.BLAIR
Mining Recorder

No .

Enclosure 22 in No. 5.

RENEWAL FORM 1.

No. 36136.

GRANT FOR PLACER MINING

Department of the Interior
(STAMP)
Agency Department of the Interior
Forty Mile Oct. 20.1903
Office
CANADA, R.M.B.

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of Twenty Dollars, being the fee prescribed by clause 28 of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon District by John McIver, of Forty Mile accompanying

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Memoranda & Notes

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his application No.----------dated 20th October,1903, for a Mining Claim in Mining Division of the Forty Mile District.

The Minister of the Interior hereby grants to the said John McIver for the term of one year the exclusive right of entry upon the claims being Nos Six and Seven (6 & 7) below Discovery on Poker Creek (RENEWAL) to 14th January 1905, F.M.C.67789, for the miner-like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon, and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realized therefrom, upon which, however, the royalty prescribed by the Regulations shall be paid.

The said John McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim,and not already lawfully appropriated, as shall be necessary for the due working thereof, and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said John McIver any right of ownership in the soil covered by the said claim; and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the claim is continuously and in good faith worked by the said John McIver or his associates.

The rights hereby granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Mining Regulations, and no more, and are subject to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed herein or not.

R.M.Blair
Mining Recorder.

Voucher 11.
RENEWAL.

Enclosure 23 in No. 5.

No. 36148

RENEWAL FORM 1.

GRANT FOR PLACER MINING
Department of the Interior
(STAMP)
Agency, Department of the Interior
Forty Mile
Oct. 8,1904
Office
CANADA

R.M.B.

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of Ten Dollars, being the fee prescribed by clause 28 of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon District by John McIver of Forty Mile,Y.T.accompanying his application No._____dated 8th October, 1904, for a Mining Claim in Mining Division of the Forty Mile District.

The Minister of the Interior hereby grants to the said John McIver for the term of one year the exclusive right of entry upon the claim being No. Seven (7) below Discovery on Poker Creek RENEWAL to 14 January,1906,F.M.C.67830 for the miner-like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon, and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realized therefrom, upon which, however, the royalty prescribed by the Regulations shall be paid.

The said John McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim, and not already lawfully appropriated, as shall be necessary for the due working thereof, and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said John McIver any right of ownership in the soil covered by the said claim, and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the claim is continuously and in good faith worked by the said John McIver or his associates.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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POOR
COPY

C 45165

The rights hereby granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Mining Regulations, and no more, and are subject to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed herein or not.

Voucher 12

R.M.BLAIR.
Mining Recorder.

Enclosure 24 in No. 5.

RENEWAL
No.36147 GRANT FOR PLACER MINING FORM 1.
Department of the Interior

(STAMP)
Department of the Interior
Forty Mile
Oct. 8,1904.
Agency Office
CANADA

R.M.B.-Ten-

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of Ten Dollars being the fee prescribed by clause 28 of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon District by John McIver of Forty Mile Y.T. accompany his application No. _____ dated 8th October,1904, for a mining Claim in Mining Division of the Forty Mile District.

THE MINISTER of the Interior hereby grants to the said John McIver for the term of one year the exclusive right of entry upon the claim being No. Six (6) below Discovery on Poker Creek. (Renewal) to 14 January,1906, F.M.C. 67830.for the miner-like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realized therefrom, upon which, however, the royalty prescribed by the regulations shall be paid.

The said John McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim, and not already lawfully appropriated , as shall be necessary for the due working thereof, and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said John McIver any right of ownership in the soil covered by the said claim; and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the claim is continuously and in good faith worked by the said John McIver or his associates.

The rights hereby granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Mining Regulations, and no more, and are subjects to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed herein or not.

RENEWAL

R.M.BLAIR
Mining Recorder

Voucher 13.

Enclosure 25 in No. 5.

FORM 1.
164 GRANT FOR PLACERS MINING NO 86202
Department of the Interior (STAMP)
Agency Y.T.Dept. of the Interior
Office of the
Oct. 25, 1905
Gold Commissioner
YUKON TERR. CANADA.

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of TEN DOLLARS, being the fee prescribed by clause 29 of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon Territory by J.McIver of Dawson Y.T.accompany his application No.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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POOR
COPY

C 45166

86202 dated 25th October,1905, for a mining claim in Poker Creek Mining Division of the Dawson District.

The Minister of the Interior hereby grants to the said J. McIver for the term of one year from the date hereof the exclusive right of entry upon the claim known as creek claim No. 7 below discovery, Poker Creek, Renewed to 14th January 1907 F.M.C.No.101783 for the miner-like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon, and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realised therefrom, upon which, the royalty prescribed by the regulations shall be paid. The said J. McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim , and not already lawfully appropriated, as shall be necessary for the due working thereof, and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said John McIver any right or ownership in the soil covered by said claim, and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the provisions of the Placer Mining Regulations are strictly complied with J.E.B.

The rights hereby granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Minig Regulations, and no more, and are subject to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed herein or not.

J.E.Belden
Mining Recorder.

File No. 12697

Voucher 14.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

POOR
COPY

C 45167

Enclosure 26 in No. 5.

(D)

No. 86201

FORM 1.
162.

GRANT FOR PLACER MINING
Department of the Interior

Agency, Y.T. Dept. of the Interior Office of the OCT/25,1905

Gold Commissioner
YUKON TERR. CANADA.

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of Ten Dollars, being the fee prescribed by Clause 29 of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon Territory byJ.McIver of Dawson, Y.T. accompanying his application No. 86201 dated 25th October, 1905, for a mining Claim in Poker Creek Mining Division of the Dawson District.

The Minister of the Interior hereby grants to the said J. McIver for the term of one year from the date hereof the exclusive right of entry upon the claim known as Creek Claim No. 6 below discovery of Poker Creek. Renewed to, 14th January,1907 F.M.C. No. 101783 for the miner like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon, and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realized therefrom upon which, however, the royalty prescribed by the Regulations shall be paid.

The said J. McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim, and not already lawfully appropriated, as shall be necessary for the due working thereof , and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said J.McIver any right of ownership in the soil covered by the said claim; and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the Provisions of the Mining Regulations are strictly complied with.J.E.B.

The rights hereby granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Mining Regulations, and no more, and are subject to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed therein or not.
File No. 12697.

J.E.Bolden
Mining Recorder.

Voucher 15.

Oct. 4th,1906.

Received from John McIver the sum of $17.00 for Renewal of the claim No. 6 Below on Poker Creek and for the extension of boundaries.

S.MACFARLANE

Mining Recorder.

Voucher 17.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

POOR
COPY

C 45168

Enclosure 27 in No. 5.

FORM 1.

58674

GRANT FOR PLACER MINING.

Department of Interior,

Dep't of Interior,
Office of the
Oct. 17,1906,
Gold Commissioner.
YUKON TERR.CANADA.

IN CONSIDERATION of the payment of Fifteen Dollars, being the fee prescribed by Schedule D of the Mining Regulations for the Yukon District by John McIver of Dawson,Y.T.accompanying his application No. 58674 dated 17th October,1906, for a mining Claim in Poker Creek Mining Division of the Dawson District.

The Minister of the Interior hereby grants to the said John McIver for the term of one year from the date hereof the exclusive right of entry upon the claim No.6 below discovery Poker Creek, Renewed to 14th January,1908, for the miner-like working thereof and the construction of a residence thereon, and the exclusive right to all the proceeds realized therefrom, upon which, however the royalty prescribed by the Regulations shall be paid.

The said John McIver shall be entitled to the use of so much of the water naturally flowing through or past said claim, and not already lawfully appropriated, as shall be necessary for the due working thereof, and to drain said claim free of charge.

THIS GRANT does not convey to the said John McIver any right or ownership in the soil covered by the said claim; and the said grant shall lapse and be forfeited unless the Provisions of the Placer Mining Regulations are strictly complied with.

The rights hereby granted are those laid down in the aforesaid Mining Regulations, and no more, and are subject to all the provisions of the said Regulations, whether the same are expressed herein or not.

J.E.Bolden.

Mining Recorder.

File 12679.

Voucher 16.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 45169

Enclosure 28 in No. 5.

Date of Issue

Department of the Interior
Forty Mile No. 67830
Oct. 20,1903
Office
CANADA

DOMINION OF CANADA

Free Miner's Certificate.

Department of the Interior
Place of Issue. Forty Mile
Oct. 20,1903
Office
CANADA.

Non-transferable.
Valid for one year only.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that John McIver of Forty Mile has paid me this day the sum of Seven 50/100 dollars and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of a Free Miner, under any Mining Regulations of the Government of Canada, for ONE YEARfrom the 12th day of November,1903.

THIS CERTIFICATEshall also grant to the holder thereof the privileges of Fishing and Shooting, subject to the provisions of any ACT which has been passed, or which may hereafter be passed for the protection of game and fish; also the privilege of Cutting Timber for actual necessities, for building houses, boats, and for general mining operations; such timber, however, to be for the exclusive use of the Miner himself, but such permission shall not extend to timber which may have been heretofore or which may hereafter be granted to other persons or corporations.

Countersigned.

R.M.BLAIR

To be Countersigned by the Gold Commissioner, Mining Recorder, or by an officer or Agent of the Department of the Interior.

JAS.A. HART

Deputy of the Minister of the Interior

Voucher 18.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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POOR
COPY

C 45170

Enclosure 29 in No. 5

(E) O.L.67830

Valid for one year only.

No. 101783.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

Free Miner's Certificate

non-transferable

Agency

the
Dept. of Interior
Dawson Y.T. Office of the
OCT.3, 1904.

Gold Commissioner
YUKON TERR. CANADA.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that John McIver of Dawson has paid me this day the sum of $7.50 Dollars and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of a FREE MINER, under any Mining Regulations of the Government of Canada, for One Year from the 12th day of November, 1904.

THIS CERTIFICATE shall also grant to the holder thereof the privilege of Fishing and Shooting, subject to the provisions of any Act which has been passed, or which may hereafter be passed for the protection of game and fish; also the privilege of Cutting Timber for actual necessities, for building houses, boats, and for general mining operations; such timber, however, to be for the exclusive use of the miner himself, but such permission shall not extend to timber which may have been heretofore or which may hereafter be granted to other persons or corporations.

Countersigned.

A.HEND N.M. (?)

To be Countersigned by the Gold Commissioner, Mining Recorder, or by an Officer or Agent of the Department of Interior.

Voucher 19

JAS.A.HART

Deputy of the Minister of the Interior

Enclosure 30 in No. 5

$20.00 Renewal No. 8158

Office of Agent to Mining Recorder

Oct. 14,1905 Placer Creek

Interim Receipt.

Received from John McIver twenty dollars for grant to Creek Claims Nos 6 and 7 below Discovery on Poker Creek.

A.Dawson Allen

Voucher 21. Gold Commissioner.

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CANADA

POOR
COPY

C 45171

Enclosure 3 in No. 5.

(E) No. 107542.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

Free Miner's Certificate,
non-transferable

Valid for one year only.

Dep't of the Interior
Office of the
OCT.11.1905.
Gold Commissioner,
YUKON TERR. CANADA.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that John McIver of Dawson has paid me this day the sum of Eight 50/xx and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of a FREE MINER under any Mining Regulations of the Government of Canada (GB) from 12 November, 1905, to 30 day of June 1907.

THIS CERTIFICATE shall also grant to the holder hereof the privilege of Fishing and Shooting, subject to the provisions of any Act which has been passed, or which may hereafter be passed for the protection of game and fish; also the privilege of Cutting Timber for actual necessities, for building houses, boats and for general mining operations; such timber, however, to be for the exclusive use of the miner himself, but such permission shall not extend to timber which may have been heretofore or which may hereafter be granted to other persons or corporations.

Countersigned.

L.G.BENNET

To be Countersigned by the Gold Commissioner,
Mining Recorder, or by an Officer or
Agent of the Department of Interior.

Jas. A. Hart.

Deputy of the Minister of the
Interior.

Voucher No. 20.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 45172

NO.6.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

CANADA,
Government House,
Ottawa, October 27,1923.

My Lord Duke,-

With reference to your Despatch of the 16th August last,[1] regarding the claim of Mr. John McIver, I have the honour to enclose herewith, a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Department of the Interior indicating the position of that Department in regard to the extent to which it is willing to entertain this claim.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

The Right Honourable
The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
etc. etc. etc.
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 45173
File 45079

Enclosure 1 in No. 6.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Ottawa, 8th October, 1923.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER
OF THE INTERIOR:

Memorandum:

You Reference 5272, below, is a communication from the Deputy Minister of Justice, submitting the memorial of John McIver with request to certain placer mining property supposed to be in the Yukon Territory, but which on final establishment of the International Boundary was found to be in the United States.

Mr. Newcombe asks that each item of the claim be separately set out with a full expanation containing all information which is available, so that he may be able to advice as to the proper disposition to be made of the claim.

It would appear that a request has been made that this claim be included in the second schedule of claims to be submitted to the Arbitration Tribunal, established under the special agreement entered into by the respective Governments, dated the 18th August, 1910. It is pointed out that if the Dominion Government is prepared to make proper reimbursements to Mr. McIver, the Government of the United States will be in a position to withdraw the claim from the schedule.

The records of the Department show that in November, 1900, Mr. McIver purchased from the Canadian Government at public auction held at Dawson seven placer mining claims. designated Nos 1,2,3,4,5,6,and 7, situated on Poker Creek, all of which property was supposed to be in the Yukon Territory. Payment for this property was made of the sum of $305.00, and grants were issued for the claims, bearing date the 14th January, 1901. The International Boundary between that portion of the said Territory and the United States was not finally established until the summer of 1907, when it was found that claims, Nos 6 and 7, and a portion of Claim No.5, were situated west of this boundary, and, therefore, in Alaska.

Mr. McIver asked for compensation on account of loss which he sustained by the purchase of mining claims which were not the property of the Crown, and he furnished an itemized list of the claims so submitted, as follows:-

I

Purchase price of 1,750 feet.....	$305.00
Recording seven claims.....	105.00
Total.....	$410.00
Refund on account of 650 feet of this property being in the United States.....	$152.50

Attached.....

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CANADA

Attached hereto is a copy of an affidavit made by Mr. Fred P.Durocher to the effect that only about one hundred feet of Claim No.5 was found to lie west of the international boundary. The fee for recording a placer mining claim was $15.00, so that payment of this fee was necessary in connection with each of the five claims, even although one of them, as was subsequently shown, was not of the full size. The same fee was exacted for a fractional claim as for a full claim, so that Mr. McIver is only entitled to a refund of the fee paid for Claims Nos 6 and 7, and the statement should be amended as follows:-

Purchase price of 1,750 feet.....	$305.00	
Recording seven claims.....	105.00	
Total.....	.....	$410.00
Overpayment on account of 600 feet of this property being in the United States.....	104.57	
Entry fee for two claims.....	30.00	
Total.....	$	134.57

III

The position of the international boundary between that part of the Yukon Territory and Alaska was finally established during the summer of 1907, which showed that Claims Nos 6 and 7 were situated west of that boundary, and for that reason these claims were permitted to lapse on the 14th January,1908.

IV.

Mr. McIver states in addition to the resp-resentation work required under the provisions of his grant he was required by the laws of the United States to perform assessment work to the value of $72.50 for each one hundred feet during each year on the portion of these claims which were subsequently found to be in the United States, and he, therefore, claims a refund of $3,770.00.

The assessment work referred to comprised the development of the property by mining and the recovery of gold and as Mr.McIver subsequently claims in section VI of this memorial to have recovered each year from this portion of his property gold to the value of about $2,500,00, it will be observed that this assessment work for which he desires payment was the work which he performed in recovering the gold, and not special work performed to meet the requirements of the mining regulations of the United States. In any case, as the portion of the claims in the United States was only 600 feet, the annual assessment work would amount to $435.00,or $3,480,00 for eight years, and the work which he performed in the recovery each year of $2,500.00 worth of gold was more than sufficient to satisfy this assessment work of $435.00 annually, and no special or additional assessment work appears to have been necessary to satisfy the requirements of the United States' mining laws.

Mr.....

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V.

Mr. McIver claims grouping fees on two and one half claims at $1.00 a year, amounting to $20.00. The records show that the only grouping fee paid in connection with Claims Nos 6 and 7 on Poker Creek was the sum of $2.00, being Registered Document No. 752, recorded againts both claims. This fee was paid only once. It was not necessary to pay it more than once so long as the group remained the same.

VI.

Mr. McIver claims royalty on gold mined, amounting to $2,500.00 each year at 2 1/2% per annum, which, for eight years, would amount to $500.00.

Up to the 1st May,1902, royalty on gold mined in the Yukon Territory was collected from the claim owners, and the books of the Gold Commissioner at Dawson do not show that any royalty was paid on gold mined from these claims up to that date. Under the regulations no royalty was collected on the first five thousand dollars worth of gold produced from a claim, so that in any case Mr. McIver would not be required to pay royalty on the gold claimed to have been mined prior to the 1st May,1902. Since that date royalty has been collected by means of an export tax of 2 1/2% on gold taken out of the Yukon Territory. If the gold was not exported no tax was paid, and if it was used as currency the royalty was paid by the person who might export the gold, which in the large majority of cases was not the miner. There are no means of determining whether the gold taken from Claims 5 and 7 Poker Creek was exported, or by whom, and the Department would scarcely be justified in accepting Mr. McIver's unsupported statement in this respect. If the gold was exported through Alaska, in which it was produced, and was not reported to the Gold Commissioner's office at Dawson, of course no export tax was collected. These claims were recorded on the 14th January,1901, and the international boundary was finally established in the summer of 1907. That would be a period of less than seven years. Up to the 1st May,1902, it is obvious that no royalty was paid on the gold produced from these claims, as Mr. McIver does not claim production up to the amount of the exemption, and no record of payment appears. This would reduce the period for which royalty might be paid to somewhat less than six years at $2,500.00 production a year, or $15,000.00 in all, the royalty on which would amount to $375.00, and no evidence has been submitted that even such amount was paid.

VII.

Mr. McIver submits a claim for payments made on account of witness fees, as follows:-

650 feet, being two and one half claims at $5.00 a year.....$20.00

Prior to the 1st August, 1906, the regulations required the owner of placer mining claims to file evidence,

supported.....

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supported by the affidavit of two reliable and disinterested witnesses, showing the amount of work done on the claim. The miners usually acted as witnesses for one another under this provision of the regulations, without making any charge for services. Mr. Mc Iver claims to have paid witnesses for such services, so that by doing so his witnesses ceased to be disinterested, as required by the regulations. As the regulation requiring the evidence of development to be supported by disinterested witnesses was rescinded on the 1st August, 1906, the period was only six years, and not eight years, as stated in the memorial, and there was no necessity, under the regulations, for making this payment, and in practice there would appear to have been no reason why it should have been made.

Mr. McIver also submits a claim of $100.00 for fees for grants and renewals. Under the regulations the fee for the renewal of a placer mining claim was $15.00 up to the 5th May, 1903, when it was reduced to $10.00, and the fee for recording a certificate of work each year was $2.00. Mr. McIver appears to have paid the following fees for the renewal of placer mining claims Nos.6 and 7, and for the recording of certificates of work in connection therewith, the grants issued on the 14th January, 1901, having already been accounted for:-

	Renewal	Certificate of work
For the year 1902.....	$30.00	$4.00
For " " 1903.....	30.00	4.00
For " " 1904.....	20.00	4.00
For " " 1905.....	20.00	4.00
For " " 1906.....	20.00	4.00
Total	$120.00	$20.00

That is, Mr. McIver paid for two renewals at the rate of $15.00 for each claim, and three renewals at the rate of $10.00 for each claim, amounting to $120.00, and he paid for the five certificates of work issued in his favour $20.00, or $140.00 in all, instead of $100.00, as mentioned in the memorial.

VIII.

Mr. McIver claims that payment was made for license fee $7.50 and $10.00 a year for eight years, amounting to $73.50. It is assumed that the fees referred to were paid for free miner's certificates. Prior to the 5th May, 1903, the fee for a free miner's certificate was $10.00. On the date mentioned it was reduced to $7.50. On the 7th October, 1905, it was reduced to $5.00, and on the 1st August, 1906, it was abolished. Therefore, the fee paid for such certificate in 1901 and 1902 was $10.00 for each year, but since Mr. McIver was the owner of Claims Nos.1,2,3,4, and 5 on Poker Creek, up to the 25th March, 1902, certificates were necessary in connection with these five claims. In May, 1903, the fee was reduced to $7.50, so that in the years 1902 and 1903 the free miner's certificate cost $10.00; in the years 1904 and 1905 it cost $7.50 for each year; and in 1906 the fee was $5.00 so that if Mr.

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McIver can show that he held no mining property in the Yukon Territory during these five years he would be entitled to a refund of $40.00.

IX.

On the 25th July,1911, a cheque for the sum of $261.15 in favour of Mr. McIver was sent to Mr. G.C. Cole, American Consul at Dawson, for delivery, being a refund of the amount which the Department appeared to have received from Mr. McIver in connection with Placer Mining Claims Nos 6 and 7 on Poker Creek, but this cheque was refused and returned to the Department.

X.

On the 25th March,1902, Mr. McIver assigned to Messrs. Mackin Bergeron and McConnell all his interest in Claims 1,2,3,4,and 5, already referred to, and there is nothing to indicate that Mr. McIver had any further interest in these claims, or acquired any interest therein.

XI.

The fees set out in this memorandum are the fees which were provided by the regulations in force at the time.

XII.

There is nothing on file in the Department except the statement made by Mr. McIver to indicate that he incurred legal expenses , or the amount thereof.

Mr. McIver acquired by purchase from the Crown certain placer mining property , a portion of which was subsequently shown to be in the United States, and the records of the Department appear to indicate that payment was made by him of the following amounts in connection with the portion of this property lying to the west of the international boundary, and might, therefore, be refunded to him:-

Purchase price.....	$104.57
Grants	30.00
Renewals	120,00
Certificates of work	20.00
Grouping fee	2.00
Free miner's certificates.	40.00
Total	$316.57

If Mr. McIver can furnish evidence of the amount paid to the Crown as royalty on gold taken from the portion of his property subsequently found to have been in the United States, I think a refund might also be made to him of the amount so paid.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) H.H. ROWATT.

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C 45178

CANADA:

Yukon Territory,

To Wit.

IN THE MATTER OF Placer Mining Claims formerly known as Creek Claims Nos.6 and 7 below Discovery on Poker Creek (a tributary of Walker's Fork, which flows into the Fortymile River from its right limit some distance above the International Boundary line between Alaska and Yukon Territories.)

I, the undersigned FREDERICK P.DUROCHER of Dawson, Yukon Territory, Miner... ..... do solemnly declare,-

At the time of the survey of the boundary line between Alaska and the Yukon Territories during the summer of 1907, by the International survey party, I was residing on said Poker Creek at Creek Claim No.4 below Discovery, and I am aware that it was found by the said survey party that the two claims in question and also about 100 feet of the lower part of the claim then known as No. 5, were situated on the American side of the said Boundary Line, in the Territory of Alaska.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of The Canada Evidence Act, 1893.

(Sgd.) Fred P. Durocher.

Declared before me at
Dawson in the Yukon
Territory, this 2nd day
of December, A.D.1909.

(Sgd.) F.X. Gosselin

A Commissioner for taking Affidavits
in and for the Yukon Territory.

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B.

C 45179

No. -2-

Extract of despatch

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General

CANADA.

Downing Street, January 5, 1924.

My Lord,

With reference to Your Excellency's despatch of the 27th of October last regarding the claim of Mr. John McIver, I have the honour to request you to inform your Ministers that Sir Cecil Hurst, British Agent on the Anglo-American Pecuniary Claims Arbitration Tribunal finds that the United States Agent is unwilling to take up the consideration of a second schedule of claims until all the cases in the first schedule have been disposed of.

2. In the circumstances the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would suggest, for the consideration of your Ministers, that it would be advisable to hold over the question of the McIver claim for the present.

I have, the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

humble Servant,

SGD. DEVONSHIRE

GOVERNOR GENERAL
HIS EXCELLENCY
GENERAL
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
&c., &c., &c.

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8

NO. 8.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to
the Governor General.

Telegram.

London, June 26, 1924,

United States Ambassador has referred further to question of the claim of John Mc Iver. If Ministers see no objection, it is proposed to reply that, after due consideration, His Majesty's Government regret this claim can only be dealt with in connection with negotiations for a second schedule of claims for decision by the Pecuniary Claims Arbitration Tribunal. Please telegraph reply.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

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NO. 9.

From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Telegram.

Ottawa, July 2, 1924.

Your telegram June 26th on the subject of the Mc Iver claim, in connection with the Pecuniary Claims Arbitration with the United States, my Ministers state that while this claim is at present the subject of negotiations between the Department of the Interior and the legal representative of the Mc Iver estate which may possibly result in its settlement, when there would be no necessity of including it in the list of pecuniary claims to be referred to arbitration, there would appear to be no objection to the proposed reply as set out in your telegram referred to above.

GOVERNOR GENERAL.

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NO 10.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to
the Governor General.

Telegram.

London, May 27,1925.

In view of your telegram of July 2nd,1924, Mc Iver Claim, it was thought best to defer reply to the United States Ambassador; but he has now referred further to the case and unless claim has been settled, it is proposed, if your Ministers agree, to reply on the lines indicated in my telegram of June 26th. Please telegraph reply.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

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NO.11.

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

Telegram.

Ottawa, July 25, 1925.

Your telegram of May 27th, Mc Iver claim. My Ministers represent that an effort is being made to effect a settlement rather than to have the claim passed upon by the Pecuniary Claims Tribunal.

GOVERNOR GENERAL.

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NO 12.

From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

to the Governor General,

Canada.

Dominions Office,

Downing Street, August 18,1925.

My Lord,-

With reference to Your Excellency's telegram of the 25th of July and previous correspondence regarding the claim of Mr. John Mc Iver against the Canadian Government, I have the honour to transmit to you, for the information of your Ministers, the accompanying copies of correspondence with the United States Ambassador on the subject.

I have, etc.,

L.S. AMERY.

Governor General

His Excellency

General the Right Honourable

Lord Byng of Vimy, G.C.B.,G.C.M.G.,M.V.O.,

etc., etc., etc.

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Enclosure 1 in NO. 12.

From the United States Ambassador at London to the

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

No. 238.

The American Ambassador presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and with reference to Mr. Post Wheeler's note No.857 of July 11, 1923, concerning the claim of Mr. John Mc Iver against the Canadian Government, for the refund of the purchase price and fees paid to that Government on certain placer mining claims which, after their sale, had been found to be in Alaskan instead of Canadian territory, has the honour to inquire whether any answer has been received from the Government at Ottawa, and, if not, as to whether steps might properly be taken to facilitate the observations which the Dominion Government proposes to make in this matter.

London, June 3, 1924.

Enclosure 2 in NO. 12.

From the United States Ambassador in London to the
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

No. 11.

The American Ambassador presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and, with reference to two notes, the first No.857 of July 11,1923, and the second No.238 of June 3,1924, relating to the claim of Mr. John Mc Iver against the Canadian Government, has the honour to invite Mr. Chamberlain's attention to the fact that there is no record that a reply has been received to either of these communications.

Accordingly, acting under instructions from his Government, Mr. Houghton ventures to enquire whether such steps may be taken by the appropriate British authorities as will facilitate the answer to these representations made some months ago.

London, May 4th,1925.

Enclosure 3 in No. 12.

From the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the
United States Ambassador at London.

Foreign Office, S.W.I,August 7,1925.

Your Excellency,--With reference to your note of May 4th, regarding the claim of Mr. John Mc Iver, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that His Majesty's Government understand

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Continued.

stand that an attempt is being made by the Canadian Government to effect a settlement of this claim by direct negotiation with the claimant.

I have, etc.,

(for the Secretary of State)

R.L. CRAIGIE.

His Excellency

The Honourable

Alanson B. Houghton,

etc., etc., etc.

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C 45187

NO. 13.

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

Canada, Government House,
Ottawa, September 10, 1925.

Sir,-

With reference to your Despatch of the 18th, August, I have the honour to enclose,herewith, a copy of a letter which has been received from the agent of the Department of Justice at Winnipeg, Mr. J. F. Davidson, reporting the present position of the negotiations for settlement of the claim of Mr. John Mc Iver against the Government of Canada for the refund of the purchase price and fees paid to the Government on certain placer mining claims which, after their sale, had been found to be in Alaskan instead of Canadian territory.

I have, etc.,

BYNG OF VIMY.

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

Enclosure in No. 13.

From the Agent of the Department of Justice, Winnipeg, to the Deputy Minister of Justice.

Winnipeg, September 1,1925.

Deputy Minister of Justice,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir,- re A.864-24 John Mc Iver Estate.

In this matter I have seen Mr. Noble, solicitor for the Mc Iver heirs, and have discussed the matter fully with him and have submitted an offer of settlement of $3,000. Judging from Mr. Noble's attitude I believe that he is prepared to advise the various heirs of the estate to accept this sum in settlement. In view of the fact that Mc Iver died in California leaving a will there in which he named an executor it will be necessary to have the will probated in California and letters probate re-sealed within Canada. I have advised Mr. Noble that he would require this and he then informed me that he would have the work proceeded with. In the meantime the matter will stand until the estate is in such a postition that we can deal with it legally.

We shall advise you from time to time in connection herewith as progress is made.

I have,etc.,

J. F. Davidson.

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E-9007

C 45188

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NAVAL VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 93.

From the Governor General to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington
No. 193.

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

OTTAWA, October 30, 1925.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the Department of National Defence has been informed that, on the 16th instant, the armed United States Coast Guard *Morrill* passed through the Cornwall Canal eastbound.

The Department of National Defence had no intimation from the United States Government that this ship proposed passing through the St. Lawrence waterway.

My Government will be grateful if Your Excellency will invite the attention of the United States Government to the usual procedure when foreign armed ships wish to call at Canadian ports or pass through Canadian territorial waters.

In the present instance, there is no objection on the part of the Department of National Defence to the passage of the United States Coast Guard *Morrill* through the St. Lawrence waterway.

I have, etc.,

BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir ESME HOWARD, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
H.B.M. Ambassador at Washington.

No. 94.

From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General
No. 564.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, November 5, 1925.

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

I have, etc.,

(For the Ambassador)

JOHN BALFOUR.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

Name and Date	Subject
To the Department of State dated November 5th, 1925.	Passage of armed United States Coast Guard *Morrill* through Cornwall Canal.

Reference: Canada despatch No. 193 dated October 30, 1925.[1]

[1] No. 92.

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C 45189

ENCLOSURE IN No. 94

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

No. 978.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C., November 5, 1925.

SIR,—At the request of His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, I have the honour to inform you that the attention of the competent authorities of the Canadian Government has been drawn to the fact that, on October 16th last, the armed United States Coast Guard *Morrill* passed through the Cornwall Canal eastward bound. No information from the United States Government that this ship proposed passing through the St. Lawrence waterway had previously been conveyed to the Canadian Government and although the Canadian Department of National Defence, which is the competent Department of the Dominion Government in these matters, had no objection to the above-mentioned passage of the vessel in question, I am requested to invite your attention to the fact that the usual procedure requires that application should be made to the Canadian Department of National Defence in cases where foreign armed ships wish to call at ports in Canada or to pass through Canadian territorial waters.

I have, etc.,

ESME HOWARD.

The Honourable FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

No. 95.

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

No. 585.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, November 23, 1925.

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

I have, etc.,

(For the Ambassador)

H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

Name and Date	Subject
From Department of State, Washington, November 20th.	United States Coast Guard vessel *Morrill*.

Reference: Washington despatch No. 564 of November 5th, 1925.[1]

[1] No. 94.

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ENCLOSURE IN No. 95

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, November 20, 1925.

EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. 978 of November 5, 1925, in which, at the request of His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, you state that the Canadian Government has been informed that on October 16 last the armed United States Coast Guard vessel *Morrill* passed through the Cornwall Canal east bound; and that no information from this Government that this ship proposed passing through the St. Lawrence waterway had previously been conveyed to the Canadian Government. You add that although the Canadian Government had no objection to the above-mentioned passage of the vessel in question, you have been requested to invite attention to the fact that the usual procedure requires that application should be made to the Canadian Department of National Defence in cases where foreign armed ships wish to call at ports in Canada or to pass through Canadian territorial waters.

In reply I have the honour to say that a copy of your note has been sent to the appropriate authority of this Government.

Accept, etc.,

For the Secretary of State,

JOSEPH C. GREW.

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

No. 96.

From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General
No. 611.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C., December 8, 1925.

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

I have, etc.,

(For the Ambassador)

H. G. CHILTON.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

Name and Date	Subject
From: Department of State, Washington, dated December 7th, 1925.	United States Coast Guard vessel *Morrill*.

Reference: Embassay despatch No. 585 of November 23, 1925.[1]

[1] No. 95.

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C 45191

ENCLOSURE IN No. 96

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1925.

EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to refer to your note No. 978 dated November 5, 1925, concerning the passage of the United States Coast Guard vessel *Morrill* through the Cornwall Canal eastward bound on October 16, 1925, without previous notification to the Canadian Government of the desire of this Government to have this vessel pass through Canadian waters. A communication has been received from the appropriate authority of this Government stating that, through inadvertence, the name of the Coast Guard Cutter *Morrill* was not brought to the attention of this Department with a view to obtaining the permission of the Canadian Government for its passage through Canadian territorial waters. Regret is expressed for the failure to take this action and it is stated that steps will be taken to guard against a recurrence of this incident.

Accept, etc.,

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

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

OTTAWA: Printed by F. A. ACLAND, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1925.

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(O.D. SKELTON) TO WLMK C-1203 C 45192
je Vol I
C-2100
1927

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA
E.T.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

Customs Session in Washington.

Wrong telegraphed last week asking for instructions, and upon your authorization he was instructed to arrange for a session as Mr.Rowell requested.

Two considerations arise in Mr.Rowell's letter -
(1) Consular System: I do not think this is a matter for discussion with the United States authorities. It is a matter for Canada to decide whether it is going to embark further upon diplomatic and consular services. As you will recall, I have several times referred to the advisability of looking into the development of a Canadian Consular Service abroad, and have referred to the fact that the United States Consular fees practically paid for the whole of its diplomatic and consular service abroad. I started to prepare a memorandum on the subject,but have postponed it in view of the possibility of a wider report on the whole subject of the most economical method of expanding our diplomatic and consular representation abroad on the lines followed by the smaller powers of Europe. I shall make some suggestions to you on this point shortly. In the meantime I think it should be indicated to Mr.Rowell that the matter is receiving attention from the Government, and that any investigation atWashington should be limited to the purely technical question of the working of consular certificates on export invoices.

(5) It is going to be difficult to draw the line between the investigations and recommendations of the Commission on the subject of revision of the Anti-Smuggling Treaty and the Conference on the same subject between the Canadian Government and the United States Government which is scheduled to take place after the Commission has reported. Possibly this point could be met by the Commission confining itself mainly to a report as to how the Treaty was being carried out and to a summary of the suggestions made for amendment, without any definite recommendation or commitment on this point, at least until after consultation with the Government.

As the Commission is not to meet until the end of August, there is no particular hurry in the matter, and perhaps you might care to discuss it with Mr.Euler at the next Council meeting.

In the meantime I enclose a very tentative draft to Mr.Rowell.

Ottawa, 19th July,1927

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COPY C 45193

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

9-1008
official

THE PRESS November 29, 1927,

CONFIDENTIAL RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION IN THE MORNING NEWSPAPERS OF WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30th, 1927, AND NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY USED, QUOTED FROM, OR PUBLISHED IN ANY WAY.

CONFIDENTIAL
FUTURE RELEASE
NOTE DATE

The Department of State and Labor, which have had under consideration the situation created on the Canadian Border by the Department of Labor General Order No. 86, affecting foreign born aliens residing in Canada and crossing the border daily for the purpose of engaging in employment in the United States, find that during the six months' period ending November 30th, which was allowed for making adjustments in individual cases, so many adjustments have been made that the problem as a whole has largely disappeared. Much of the difficulty in connection with this limited group of British and other foreign born commuters who desire to continue the border crossing privileges and who have registered their applications for visas at an American consulate seems to have been due to the fact that many of the alien commuters had failed to comply with American Law and apply for immigration visas under a misapprehension that mere border crossing permits would answer their purposes. It has now been arranged to give these aliens, who have applied to the consulates on the border for immigration visas, priority status as of the date of the granting of their border crossing permits. It is believed that this will enable these

aliens..

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aliens to satisfy the requirements of the American Immigration Laws as rapidly as the individuals can be examined by the Immigration authorities on the American side of the border. The Department understands that the situation is now satisfactory to the Canadian Government and the requirement of the Immigration Law will be met.

Submitted to The Prime Minister.

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C 45195

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, DEC 22 1927

To THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR CONSIDERATION

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 45196

DINNER

GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER

ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
IN HONOUR OF

THE HON. FRANK BILLINGS KELLOGG

SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA

AT

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

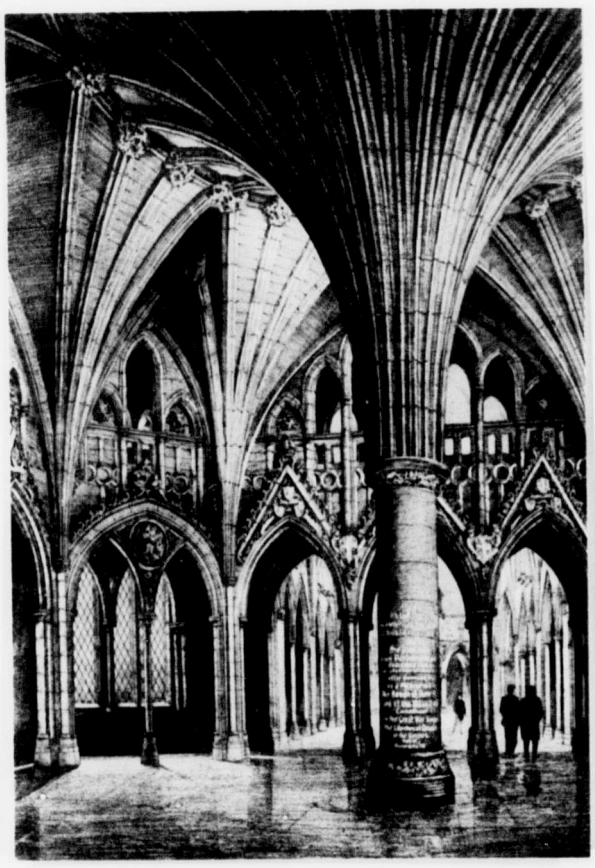
WEDNESDAY, EIGHTH FEBRUARY

NINETEEN TWENTY-EIGHT

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C 45197



HALL OF FAME—HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
OTTAWA

C 45198

MENU

HORS D'OEUVRE

CLEAR GREEN TURTLE SOUP

BROILED GASPÉ SALMON

SWEETBREADS WITH MUSHROOMS

BROME LAKE DUCKLINGS

POMMES PARISIENNE FRESH BEANS

FROZEN PUDDING

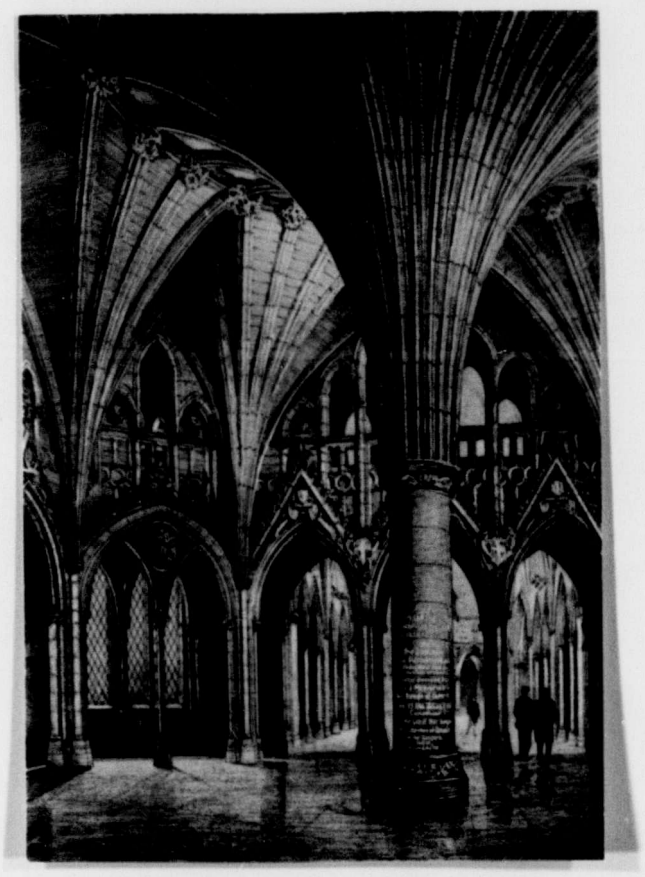
HOT HOUSE GRAPES

COFFEE

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C 45197



HALL OF FAME—HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
OTTAWA

C 45198

MENU

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C 45199

TOASTS

THE KING

—

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

—

OUR GUEST

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 45200 E-1300-A

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Unofficial file

MEMORANDUM

AIDE DE MEMOIRE
BIRD-JOY

June 14, 1928

At the request of the Prime Minister I called on Mr. Phillips and informed him that Mr. King would not be at the office until Monday, June 18.

Mr. Phillips reviewed the Bird-Joy matter and seemed to be personally very much moved by it, and full of regrets that he would be unable to give a favourable answer to Commander Bird, whom he expects to see in Boston at the Harvard Commencement Exercises next week.

It is obvious that Mr. Phillips will be personally embarrassed among his friends if he is unable to obtain this favour from the Government.

H.L.

HARRY BALDWIN.

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C 45201 E-9000-C
1927

W.L.M. Copy personally delivered to him July 11. 28.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Trail Smelter

The discussion of this question has recently taken on a somewhat acrid note, doubtless due to pressure of local interests in the State of Washington.

It will be recalled that complaints that properties in the State of Washington were being seriously affected by sulphur fumes from the smelter of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company at Trail, British Columbia, were first made last Fall. The matter was at once referred to the Government of British Columbia for enquiry. It took some months and several reminders to secure a report, which was to the general effect that investigations by officials of the Province, supported by reports from United States scientists employed by the Company, indicated (1) that the damage done was slight, and (2) that the Company had endeavoured to effect compensation, had succeeded in some cases and been prevented in others by what it considered extortionate demands and also by the laws of the State of Washington which prevented an alien corporation from acquiring land or easement in land.

Our next step was therefore to enquire as to the feasibility of an amendment in the laws of the State of Washington which would permit the granting of compensation. No direct reply to this query was given. We next stated our willingness to join in a reference to the International Joint Commission, asking it to enquire (1) into the extent of any damage done, and (2) as to the amount of indemnity that should be paid and the method of payment. The United States Government replied with increasing vigour, insisting on the inclusion in the terms of reference of provision for prohibiting the emission of sulphur fumes. This would be a most serious affair, as under present technical arrangements it would mean closing down the plant.

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The farmers in the State of Washington picture the position as being that of honest and struggling, home-loving, peaceful farmers in Washington being driven from their happy homes by a greedy and arrogant alien corporation. The Company views the case as an attempt at holdup by farmers in a nearly hopeless section who have come to think that they can get much more out of farming this rich corporation across the boundary than from farming their farms, and who are endeavouring to use the Governments at Washington and Ottawa to threaten a complete cessation of operations and thus force extravagant indemnity. There may be some truth in both views, but from what I have been able to see of the situation I think the Company's case is much the stronger.

As is indicated in the draft note attached hereto, the Company not only stands to its willingness to grant full indemnity for any damages, but is spending half a million in an attempt to see whether it can dispose of sulphur dioxide gases. I do not see that we can go further. Mr. Phillips suggested that the Commission be empowered to make recommendations for the control of the plant itself, adding a statement to the effect ~~that~~ "providing such recommendations do not encompass the destruction of the plant itself". I hardly think the Company would be much more pleased at being half destroyed. In discussing the matter with Mr. Phillips ten days ago I told him that it might be complicated by the absence of Mr. Magrath and the pending resignation of another member of the Commission. As you, however, now have arranged to fill the place of the latter, I see no reason why a partial meeting of the Commission could not be held to initiate the proceedings as soon as agreement on the terms is reached.

Attached are copies of the three United States notes of

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July 5th, June 30th, and May 5th, and a copy of our note of April 25th.

We have been guided in this matter throughout by Dr. King, and have also kept in touch with the Justice Department.

O.D.

Ottawa, 9th July, 1928.

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file, E-9000-C 45204

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Trail Smelter

You will recall that the question of damage done to farm lands in the State of Washington by sulphur fumes from the smelter at Trail, British Columbia, has been referred to the International Joint Commission.

The United States Government last year made an appropriation of $40,000 to carry on investigations into this question. Enquiry is now being made by United States scientists under the Department of Agriculture. During the enquiry held at Trail last fall the Canadian members of the Commission and representatives of the Consolidated Smelters were of the opinion that the enquiry was likely to be sufficiently impartial to be accepted by both sides. Mr. Warren has now come to doubt this very much, and I think the Canadian members of the Commission, while not so convinced as he is, consider there is some possibility of an unduly adverse report. As the interests involved are very large, some five thousand men being employed and incidentally one million dollars taxation being paid annually to the Dominion, there is a good deal to be said for the view that the work of the United States investigators should be checked by competent Canadian scientists. The Consolidated Smelters would be prepared to undertake this investigation at their own expense, but it is felt that enquiries conducted under their management would not be considered wholly impartial. It is therefore suggested that the Government should provide for the appointment of say two scientists, one a metallurgical chemist and one a plant pathologist, to carry on investigations for the coming year in cooperation, as far as possible, with the United States investigators. I believe Dr. King supports this recommendation.

Mr. Magrath has been of opinion that the appointment of

investigators

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investigators by the Canadian Government would tend to make the United States report more definitely ex parte, but I think that his objection on this ground has been somewhat modified. He was, however, to have an interview with Dr. King this morning, and Dr. King will be able to explain the situation.

The Company is making every effort to develop some method of eliminating sulphur from the smelter fumes, with good prospects of eventual success. It is also prepared to pay any reasonable sum to buy lands or obtain smoke easements on the United States side of the boundary, if a way can be found to effect this.

Ottawa, 7th March, 1929

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Ottawa, 7th March, 1929

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C 45206

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

P-1600
1929

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Senator Graham who is interested in the Brockville-Morristown bridge has had a telegram from his agent in Albany, to the effect that Governor Roosevelt of New York State says he hesitates to sign the bill owing to the disapproval of such bills which he suggests has been voiced by the Prime Minister of Canada.

Senator Graham would like to be able to wire to his agent in Albany something to the effect that the Prime Minister of Canada has never given expression to any opinion against the advisability of the construction of the Brockville-Morristown bridge as outlined by the bills which have passed the various Legislatures.

HARRY BALDWIN
Secretary.

Ottawa,
March 20th,
1 9 2 9.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(O.D. SKELTON)

C 45207

K.

Canadian-American Relations

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 12th July, 1929

The United States suggests Mr. Dafoe as Arbitration Commissioner. You will recall that under the Treaty between the United States and a number of countries, provision is made for arbitrating questions which may be referred to it by the two countries concerned, and that the Board consists of five men, one national member and one outsider, appointed by each country, and a fifth man chosen by agreement. Senator Dandurand was selected as a non-national member as regards the United States and ~~Berlin.~~ Brazil. South American country ? ?

Here is good news
will you please have
necessary communication sent
to
17.7.29

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

✓ Ottawa Improvement Plans E-9009

C 45208 Vol. 3

O-1200

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Working Folder the Council-Official three to Council at the Council at 10 o'clock H

FOR MR. KING:

Mr. Newson telephoned to say that a message from Washington states that Mr. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives and also Chairman of the Foreign Service Buildings Commission, will be in Ottawa today with the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Merrill.

Mr. Newson imagines that these officials will wish to discuss the American buildings in Ottawa in relation to the general plan for the beautification of the city. In any event, he has been asked to arrange an interview for Tuesday the 20th, if at all possible.

Mr. Newson says that he is willing to forego his own appointment tomorrow, if that is necessary.

H.R.L.H.

H.R.L. : HENRY

Ottawa,
August 19, 1929.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 45209 E-9000-C

Memorandum for Mr.King: January 10th,1930.

Trail Smelter.

I called up Mr.Magrath on long distance and learned that he had finally come to the conclusion that it would be advisable to have counsel representing the Government. I informed Mr.Lapointe and told him that you had sanctioned the appointment if he considered it desirable. He said that he thought it would be advisable on the whole though he considered that Mr. Rowell's activities should be limited to bringing out properly the evidence prepared by the scientists appointed by the National Research Council, leaving it to the lawyers representing the Company to present their case. The Department of Justice is accordingly communicating with Mr.Rowell, and Read is preparing material to go over with him. Mr.Rowell may be down next week to meet the scientists concerned. Mr.Warren was informed of the action taken.

O.M.

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C 45210 E - 9000-C Consolidated Smelters

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 28th February, 1930

Feb.24
Feb.25.

Attached are two notes from Mr.Massey regarding certain tendencies in International Joint Commission affairs about which I reported to you a short time ago.

I have not yet had time to consult Mr.Read regarding Mr.Cotton's charge that the Government of Canada had accepted without question evidence submitted by the Smelter Company. From my own knowledge of the case, I would say however that the fact was that the Canadian Government neither accepted nor rejected the evidence submitted by the Smelter Company, as the Dominion Government was not a party to the case and was not under the necessity of commenting on the evidence submitted by any party; and, further, that the evidence collected independently by the Dominion Government through the National Research Council did as a matter of fact largely confirm the evidence presented by the Smelter Company's witnesses, who were chiefly United States scientists.

Mr.Massey is wrong too, I think, in stating that our representatives had taken no exception to the attitude of the private counsel on the United States side. They did so emphatically. Two of the private counsel acted like small town police court attorneys.

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On the general point, Mr.Cotton is curiously in error, in contending that private counsel should not be allowed to appear before the Commission. The intention of the founders of the Commission was exactly the contrary, namely, to set up a tribunal where private parties could plead their cases directly without the intervention of the governments at all. Sir George Gibbons frequently spoke with pride of this distinctive feature of the Commission's work. It was on this very ground that I doubted the wisdom of the Government appointing counsel in this case,though in view of developments,I think it was best that the Government should be represented by the most weighty counsel available.

However, the main point is the personnel of the Commission, and if the United States Government carries out its indicated intention,I think things may improve.

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CANADA

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CANADA

C 45212

(COPY)

Personal & Confidential

CANADIAN LEGATION

WASHINGTON

February 24th, 1930.

My dear Dr. Skelton,

W.D. Matthews has just returned to duty at the Legation after a weekend leave in Toronto and has told me of an interesting move which is likely to be made by the Consolidated Smelters with regard to the recent meeting here before the International Joint Commission. Matthews' father, Mr. W.L. Matthews, who is a director of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, told his son that the Smelters people would probably send a communication to the Department of External Affairs asking that representations should be made through this Legation to the Department of State here, protesting against the manner in which the recent case was handled by the United States counsel and the failure of the United States Commissioners to co-operate in conducting it in a manner appropriate to an international tribunal or, in fact, any court of law.

The recent hearing seems to me to provide an excellent opportunity to take up in a friendly way with the Department of State, the general question of the position of the International Joint Commission, its functions, its prestige, and so forth. Unless the matter is dealt with promptly and resolutely it seems to me that this body is likely to suffer greatly in its usefulness, despite all that we say publicly about its being a model international tribunal which might be widely imitated.

Yours sincerely,

SGD. VINCENT MASSEY

O.D. Skelton, Esquire, Ph.D.,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs.
Ottawa, Canada.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 45213

(COPY)

F.

Canadian Legation

Washington

Personal & Confidential. February 25th, 1930.

My dear Skelton;

In the course of my conversation this morning with Mr. Cotton, the Acting Secretary of State, I had occasion to allude to the vacancy on the International Joint Commission and I was very glad to hear something of the ideas of the Administration here with regard to personnel and very pleased at some of the prospects in this connection. Of this I shall tell you more when we meet.

I told Mr. Cotton that in my opinion the atmosphere during the recent hearing of the Smelter case had been very unfortunate and derogatory to the dignity and future usefulness of the Commission. He was more or less in agreement with this view, but I found myself unable to accept his opinion as to the cause of the situation which was created. He contends that we should not allow private counsel to appear before the Commission because of their tendency to take, as he alleges, a narrow view of a situation which should be looked upon in a broad-minded way. In applying this principle to the recent case he said that the United States Government representatives felt that the Government of Canada had accepted without question whatever the counsel for the Smelter Company had chosen to submit as evidence. To this I naturally demurred and as to his general statement of the admissibility of private counsel I said that our representatives had taken no exception, as far as I knew, to the attitude of the private counsel on the United States side of the argument, but had been both surprised and perturbed over the attitude towards the case exhibited by Murdock, the counsel of the Department of State. Mr. Cotton admitted that Murdock had been a little overzealous but, to my surprise, suggested in extenuation of his bearing during the case the fact that he had been annoyed by what he regarded as an uncritical acceptance by the Government of Canada of ex parte evidence submitted by the Smelter Company.

However we may have disagreed as to the causes of the unsatisfactory atmosphere existing during the recent hearing, we found ourselves in agreement on the importance of the personnel of the Commission being of first-rate ability. Mr. Cotton admitted the traditional shortcomings of his own Government in the matter of appointments to this body and assured me of the determination of the Administration to rectify the mistakes of the past at an early date. This, to my mind, would provide the solution of most of our difficulties. With men of genuine capacity on both sections of the Commission, its widened usefulness and enhanced prestige would be automatic.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD.) VINCENT MASSEY.

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C 45214

LAURIER HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

March 9. 1920.

Hon
Vincent Meredy
Canadian Legation
Washington

Will you please convey to the
Association of the
Corps on behalf of the
Commissioners and people of
Canada the expression of
the our sympathy in the
loss which the United States
has sustained in the passing
away of the distinguished
soldier and former President,
the Honourable William Howard Taft.

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C 45215

LAURIER HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

March 9, 1930.

Mrs. W. H. Taft.
Washington D.C.

May I express to you my very
sincere sympathy in your great
bereavement, which carries with
it so much of loss to your country
and to
us all here in the world. Especially
here in Canada where we have spent
with you such many days so
blessed to know Mr. Taft and your
self, with the summer months
which have so very soon
and the deepest sympathy
in the hearts of your many
friends. And how much I feel very
for you
being the bearing of ONE
dear to me personally
personal friend, and a friend to
the whole past comes rising before me.

to Mrs. Taft - by cablegram March 9 1930

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C 45215

LAURIER HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

March 9. 1930.

Mrs. W. H. Taft.
Washington D.C.

May I express to you my very
sincere sympathy in your great
bereavement. which carries with
it so much of loss to your ~~friends~~ country
and to
in all parts of the world. Especially
here in Canada where ~~we have spent~~
with you we were always so
pleased to ~~have~~ welcome Mr. Taft. and you.
~~with us~~ in the Summer months.
I will there be very sad sorrow
and the deepest sympathy
in the hearts of your many
friends. ~~and the deepest sympathy~~
personally I feel very
~~for you~~
keenly the loss of one who
~~was especially~~ for many years
personal friend, and a friend to
~~the~~ all time
the more I reflect upon what ~~he~~ he

to Mrs. Taft by cablegram

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CANADA

C 45216

THE EVENING CITIZEN, OTTAWA, CANADA, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1930.

Interest Displayed At Washington In Canadian Attitude Toward U. S.

One High Official Asks Special Correspondent For The Citizen If Canadians Are Taking as Broad a View of United States-Canadian Relations as They Might.

By C. O. SMITH.
From The Citizen's Washington News Bureau. Copyright by Southam Pub. Co.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 15. — With the opening of the Canadian Parliament in sight more interest in the Canadian attitude toward the United States is being displayed in official circles here.

Government departments are kept well informed concerning Canadian sentiment by the watchful and industrious American consular and commerce services in the Dominion. That an unusual feeling of concern and even of irritation has been created in Canada by the proposed terms of the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill is known here.

One of the government's high officers has asked me if Canadians are taking as broad a view of United States-Canada relations as they might take. He declared that the tariff is only one feature of the picture, that there are others to which the Canadian people should give some attention.

The settled policy of the United States in relation to Canada, he said, notwithstanding the apparent harshness of the new tariff proposals, is to be considerate, to have regard for Canadian sentiment, to foster in all possible ways the understanding and goodwill so desirable between these two neighbor countries.

Evidence of Policy.

He brought forward evidence of the working of this policy.

Canada, he declared, could not criticize the Washington administration's course in the St. Lawrence canal matter. Although President Hoover, by his own public expressions, has shown the greatest eagerness to get on with this project, to have this work begun during his time in office, he has realized the difficulties relating to it which Premier King has had to face and has not pressed unduly for a decision.

The railroad consolidation case was mentioned as an important example of consideration for Canadian interests. By legislation the United States government has decreed that the railway services of the country shall be consolidated into a small number of strong systems. The general purpose of the legislation is to have a few systems with adequate revenues for the expanding needs of the country, while preserving the services now rendered in their localities by many weak railways.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was instructed to devise a scheme of consolidation. Its first plan would throw together in five great systems all the railways west of the Mississippi. But before drawing up this plan the commission excluded from its program the lines in the United States controlled by the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern. It definitely left these as internal parts of the Canadian systems.

Without question some of the American roads would have been glad to have been permitted to absorb these American branches of Canadian lines. If the Interstate Commerce Commission had wanted to, it could possibly have found substantial reasons to justify granting some of these subsidiaries to American roads in the affected territories. No attempt in this direction was considered. The Canadian National and Canadian Pacific were treated with complete courtesy. This action was presented by my Washington friend as one evidence that the United States has every desire to play the game fairly with Canada.

Movement Across Border.

He spoke of the movement of people across the border. Everyone in official Washington knows, he stated, that organized labor has exerted powerful influence to put Canada on the quota list and to stop completely the daily movement of Canadian workers to jobs on the American side. This is a labor policy not an administrative policy.

All the influence of the administration and of the State Department has been employed against it, so far with success. This, he said, surely can be taken as a sign of goodwill. He declared that it positively is evidence of the goodwill toward Canada that does prevail in the administration.

The next subject mentioned was the border liquor situation. My critic of the prevailing Canadian sentiment urged that Canada be patient in this connection that she wait to see how the new efforts at law enforcement work out.

Whether one likes it or not, he remarked, the United States has a prohibition law. The President is bound by oath to enforce it to the best of his ability. The law has created a smuggling situation on the border, with organized forces violating the American law, violating not the prohibition law alone, but the customs law against the illicit entry of goods.

Measures, adopted in the past, have failed to destroy this illegal activity.

Not Against Canada.

The President's duty is to employ more effective measures. If, he added, the President and Congress authorize an anti-smuggling force to operate in the United States as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police might operate in Canada, this should not be regarded by Canadians as a sign of ill-will toward Canada. It is nothing of the sort, this official said, but only necessary enforcement activity. Further, he said, this force, if established, would be carefully trained before entering upon its work, and he believed that no law abiding Canadian, or law abiding American, would have any cause to fear or regret its activities.

This defender of American policies, who is also a good friend of Canada, then referred to the tariff. All tariffs are bound to tread on somebody's toes. Every country has to formulate its own tariff laws to bring the utmost good to its own people, whether by high, low, or no duties. In the present instance the United States government has been called upon to bring new tariffs into play for the special benefit of the American agricultural industry. Because the agricultural schedule in particular is being revised, Canada's export agricultural trade may be hit harder than the export trade of other lands. That is to be regretted, he went on, but Canadians should bear in mind that no American tariff singles out by way of retaliation, or specifically to injure, any one country. An American tariff applies equally to all countries.

Influence Exerted.

But even in the making of this new tariff bill, the contention went on, there was evidence of desire to hurt Canadian industry as little as essential American requirements would allow. In regard to many items in the tariff the State Department had intervened to reduce its possible adverse effect upon Canadian-American trade. Lumber and shingles were left on the free list in the Senate bill; also hides and leather, and other commodities due to this influence.

He then turned to the general trade between the two countries. His claim in this connection is that the lump figures do not tell the whole story.

Canada buys roughly $1,000,000,000 worth of goods a year from the States. The States buy roughly $500,000,000 a year from Canada, but while Canada is the United States' best customer, the United States buys more from Canada than from any other country, a fact apparently overlooked, he declared, by the Dominion. Canada, he pointed out, at present benefits more relatively from American purchases of Canadian goods than the United States benefits by Canada's purchases of American goods, large as these are. The $500,000,000 of United States purchases from Canada is about 40 per cent. of Canada's export trade, while the $1,000,000,000 of Canadian purchases from the States is approximately 22 per cent. of American export trade.

It will be seen that my studious informant has given much thought to this subject of Canadian-American relations. He does not advance his ideas as reasons why Canada should not take such action as she deems necessary in her own interests, following the passing of the new American tariff bill. What he in general suggests is twofold; first, that it would be wrong for Canadians to believe that the United States is ruthless in its attitude toward Canada, the former's basic policy being founded on regard for Canada as a good neighbor; second, that the trade between the two countries, highly valuable to both, does not confer one-sided advantage to the United States, but is actually more beneficial to Canada with prospects of profitable increase of these benefits as Canada's productive capacity expands.

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CANADA

C 45217

LAURIER HOUSE.
OTTAWA

Mr. Baldwin:

An important article by C. O. Smith concerning Canadian-United States relations, has been the object of search by our clipping bureau. I finally wrote to Charlie Bowman, of the Citizen, who tells me that it appeared in the mail edition of the Citizen. of Feb 17, 1930.

Do you think it would be worth while for our office to subscribe to the mail edition of the Citizen, which apparently contains important material that appears in no other edition?
-- Please return the attached clipping
-- and correspondence.

WHM

April 3, 1930.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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Despatches Relative to Revision
of Rush Bagot Treaty

C 45218

1. Hon Min (Wash) - 55 Can. May 3/92
[Blaine's proposal]

2. Gov-Gen - Sec. State Cors. July 7/92

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C 45219

Nor, perhaps, should one overlook the ~~rate of exchange which~~ to which would have it favoured the American dollar

~~The effect~~

The rate of exchange in handling the fears of ~~the~~ anti-American sentiment among those who received payment in ~~shops and resorts in~~ what American tourists were prone to refer to as 'real money'.

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C 45220

Delegation

The All-Canadian Congress of Labour

Members of the delegation received by the following Members of the Government on March 15, 1928:

The Prime Minister

Hon. Peter Heenan

Hon. J. C. Elliott

Hon. J. L. Ralston.

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14-5
C 45221

PRESIDENT:
A. R. MOSHER

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
O. DELEAU
F. WHEATLEY

SECRETARY-TREASURER:
W. T. BURFORD

EXECUTIVE BOARD:
A. R. MOSHER — R. I. BRADLEY
W. T. BURFORD — O. DELEAU
S. SYKES — M. M. MACLEAN
F. WHEATLEY

The All-Canadian Congress of Labour

Le Congrès Canadien du Travail

OFFICIAL ORGAN:
THE CANADIAN UNIONIST

GENERAL OFFICE:
48 CITIZEN BUILDING
OTTAWA, ONT.

Personnel of delegation:

A. R. Mosher, President of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and President of Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees

Omer Deleau, Vice-President of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and President of the Canadian Federation of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers;

W. T. Burford, Secretary-Treasurer of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour;

M. M. Maclean, Member of Executive Board of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees.

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C 45222

Representations made on Tuesday the 6th of March, 1928

to the Prime Minister and members of the Dominion Government

by the Executive Board of

The All-Canadian Congress of Labour

After the introduction of the delegation to the Government by the Honourable Peter Heenan, Minister of Labour, the President of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour (Mr. A. R. Mosher) made a statement on the labour organizations of Canada, as contained in the annexed memorandum.

Mr. Mosher said:

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Memorandum of Representations to the Dominion Government by The All-Canadian Congress of Labour

Mr. Prime Minister and Members of the Dominion Government:

The present delegation, consisting of officers and members of the Executive of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, desires to place before you certain information with respect to the status of the Congress as the representative of a large group of organized workers in Canada.

Canadian Labour Unions

The labour unions of Canada may be classified into two groups; first, national unions independent of foreign control; and second, so-called "international" unions, which are controlled by their United States membership, have their headquarters in the United States, and are, for the most part, affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. The American Federation of Labour affiliates maintain, as their Canadian legislative representative, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. The national group is subdivided into the national Catholic unions, which operate wholly in the Province of Quebec, and the Canadian unions which with one or two exceptions have affiliated with the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, the larger of the two national federations.

History of the Independent Movement

The American Federation of Labour asserts that it is the recognized head of the trade-union movement in North America. It functions as a chartering body of autonomous craft organizations to which it claims the right to give jurisdiction in the United States and Canada. In

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the United States it also acts as the legislative representative of its affiliates. Since 1886 the latter function has been performed by the organization now known as the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, for the Canadian membership of American Federation of Labour unions. The Congress is therefore essentially a lobby for the promotion of legislation on behalf of the members of branch unions of United States labour organizations operating in Canada, It is not allowed to accept affiliation or make representations on behalf of any organized body of Canadian workers except those affiliated with or not dual to A. F. of L. organizations in Canada. Following the adoption of a resolution at the 1902 convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, by which the Congress excluded from affiliation all national unions which were dual to international organizations, various national and independent unions thus excluded from the Congress established the Canadian Federation of Labour. Subsequently, other Canadian unions were organized, and these, with the Canadian Federation of Labour, established in March, 1927, The All-Canadian Congress of Labour. This organization has grown steadily since its formation, and it now represents all the independent labour groups in Canada, with the exception of the national Catholic unions and one or two others.

Basis of Organization

The All-Canadian Congress of Labour is organized on the same basis as the British Trades Union Congress, and otherna tional trades union federations, having jurisdiction over both economic and legislative matters. It not only endeavours to promote legislation in matters of interest to

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labour; but also to further the organization of Canadian workers in autonomous national unions.

In contrast with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (by which, in accordance with its constitutional provisions, affiliation is refused to Canadian organizations which are dual to United States unions) the All-Canadian Congress of Labour accepts the affiliation of any independent organized body of Canadian workers. The policy of the Trades and Labour Congress leaves control of the Canadian movement with the American unions; the policy of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour keeps control within our own boundaries, and provides for the representation of every independent body of organized workers in Canada.

Among the organizations which are affiliated with the All-Canadian Congress of Labour are groups of workers in the following industries: railroads, mines, lumbering, building trades, communication, shipping, as well as other classes of trades and occupations. The Congress maintains an office in Ottawa, with a full-time executive officer, and publishes a monthly journal, "The Canadian Unionist."

During the last few years, there has been a steady development of national sentiment in Canada. The support which the Government has received in its successful endeavours to obtain for Canada a more independent status within the Empire indicates the feeling of the Canadian people in this matter. The formation of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour is a further indication of this desire for independence, and the members of the national unions which compose it feel that the Government, in giving almost exclusive recognition to the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, which depends for its financial support upon unions controlled by membership

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in the United States, is encouraging the perpetuation of a principle which it has repudiated in the matter of Canada's political relationship with other parts of the Empire.

It may be said that Canada is the only country in the world where the Labour movement is not in undisputed control of its own policy and administration. Since it is rightly felt that Canada is entitled to be politically independent, so far at least as her domestic affairs are concerned, of any other part of the Empire, the subjection of the Canadian labour movement to the will of United States labour officials with the recognition of the Government, is subversive of the self-respect of Canadian workers, and we feel that the Government should therefore recognize the right of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour to consultation in respect of social and labour legislation, and to representation in all matters in which the workers of Canada are concerned.

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada

This delegation does not wish to belittle the work done in the past by United States unions and their legislative lobby, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. It is felt, however, that some facts should be presented to you with respect to their representations. In introducing the Congress delegation to the Government in January last, President Tom Moore stated that "the large majority of those composing it hold membership in international unions, though several thousands of them are organized in national, provincial and local organizations, where it is considered their interest can be better served in that way." Since, however, the Congress reported to the Department of Labour a membership of 103,037 for the year 1926 it is evident that the "several thousands"

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referred to by Mr. Moore are insignificant in comparison with the membership of the United States unions affiliated with the Congress.

The term "international" is wholly a misnomer in its application to United States unions. It properly applies to federations of independent national groups which unite for common purposes, much as the nations of the world unite in the League of Nations, which is a purely international body. But the membership of United States unions consists only of American and Canadian workers, the former of whom have absolute control of labour policy. The Canadian members pay their dues to the American headquarters of their unions, and the latter maintain the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada by paying into its treasury a per-capita fee for each Canadian member.

Trades and Labour Congress Conventions

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada claims that its representations to the Government are based upon the decisions made at its annual conventions, and thus are expressions of Canadian opinion. It may be pointed out, however, that the delegates to these conventions comprise a large number who are on the pay of, and under instructions from the headquarters of their respective organizations in the United States, 41 of such delegates being credentialled to the last convention, while delegates were also sent from district councils and provincial federations, thus duplicating the representation of the United States union branches. Out of 1297 local branches of the A. F. of L. unions in Canada for which a per-capita fee is paid to the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada by their respective

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headquarters, credentials were received for only one hundred and eighty five delegates, that is, less than 15 per cent. of the Canadian workers whom the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada claims to represent, had delegates at its last convention.

Mr. Moore also stated to the Government that an effort was being made to leave the impression that the members of the United States unions were "less responsible or desirable Canadian citizens" and the Congress, therefore, felt it necessary to depart from its usual procedure and submit a statement in its defence. The all-Canadian Congress of Labour has never used these terms in referring to the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and the only reason why they are imputed to us by Mr. Moore would appear to be a feeling on his part that they are not unjustified. Whether or not a Canadian citizen who supports and is subject to the dictation of a foreign labour union is "less responsible or desirable" on that account is a matter for the citizen himself to decide. There is now no excuse, however, for any Canadian citizen to give his allegiance to a foreign union on the ground that no Canadian union is available, or that his interests cannot be protected by such a union. The Canadian labour movement has now reached a stage of development in which provision is made for the organization of every class of Canadian worker, so that the existence of branches of American unions, and their legislative lobby, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, is no longer required in this country.

The Object of the Delegation

It is not our purpose to make any suggestions to the Government at the present time with respect to legislation, as we believe that any representations from the Congress should

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be taken up, in the first instance, with the Minister of the Department concerned.

We do however, request that the recognition now given to the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and, in some measure, to the National Catholic unions, and the American Railway Brotherhoods be extended to the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. We feel that, in view of the facts set forth herein, the almost exclusive recognition of the Trades and Labour Congress as the "mouthpiece" of organized labour in Canada is no longer justified, and that the Government should take into consideration the recent developments in the Canadian labour movement as a result of which the All-Canadian Congress of Labour has been formed, as the representative of a large group of autonomous Canadian unions. In all matters of special concern to Canadian workers, therefore, the Congress wishes to co-operate with the Government, and requests for its representations such consideration as is justified by its status, its membership, and its character as the only independent federation of national and autonomous unions in Canada.

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C 45230

Delegations

2 → Can.Council of Agriculture

April 2, 1924

Delegates: W.A.Amos, President, Can.Council of Agriculture
Mrs. Amos, President U.F.Ont (Women) and of Women's Section, C.C.A.,
Mr. Geo. F.Edwards, President, Saskatchewan G.G. Assn.
Mr. J.A. Maharg, M.L.A., President, Sask.Co-operative Elevator Co.
etc., etc., etc.,

omit

Received by: The Right Honourable the Prime Minister
Mr.Robb, Mr.Motherwell, Mr.Sinclair, Mr.Lapointe, Mr. McMurray, Mr.Murdock, Mr.Copp Mr. Graham, Mr.Macdonald. MrStewart, Dr.Beland, and Mr. Cardin.

Subject: Need for immediate and substantial reductions in the Customs tariff; urgent need for rigid economy in administration to ease burden of taxation. Need for agricultural credits; Crow's Nest Pass Agreement, Vancouver route, and Branch Line construction by C.N.R., Completion of Hudson's Bay Rly, etc., etc., etc.,

Disposition: Sympathetic consideration promised.

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ANONYMOUS

MARCH 6, 1925

C 45231 A-1000-C

√ - agric - Can. Council of Agric.
√ Senate Reform
√ Naturalization
√ Rlwys - Hudson Bay Rlwy.
√ Trade - Can. Tr. w. Australia
√ Taxation - Income
Immigration Policy
√ Rural Credit
√ Freight Rates - Beacon

CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

DELEGATION

Received - March 6th, 1925.

The delegation was received by the following members of the Government:

The Hon. W. R. Motherwell, M.P.
The Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, M.P.
The Hon. Ernest Lapointe, M.P.
The Hon. James A. Robb, M.P.
The Hon. Charles A. Stewart, M.P.
The Hon. James Murdock, M.P.
The Hon. J. E. Sinclair, M.P.
The Hon. E. J. McMurray, M.P.
The Hon. Dr. J. H. King, M.P.

The delegation consisted of:

W. A. Amos, President, Palmerston, Ont.	U. F. Ontario.
B. McNiven,	do.
John Beatty,	do.
Mrs. J. S. Amos,	do.
Mrs. Wyman,	do.
W. Bastien,	U. F. Quebec.
J. P. Brady,	do.
Dr. La Fortune,	do.
J. E. Lyness,	do.
Mrs. J. P. Brady,	do.
Mr. McNamara,	do.
A. J. M. Poole,	U. F. Manitoba.
D. G. McKenzie,	do.
W. G. Weir,	do.
Peter Wright,	do.
Mrs. S. E. Gee,	do.
Miss M. E. Finch,	do.
Geo. F. Edwards,	Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association.
A. Baynton,	do.
W. A. S. Tegart,	do.
W. F. Brummitt,	do.
Mrs. Ida McNeal,	do.
H.E.G.H. Scholefield,	U. F. Alberta.
S. Lunn,	do.
Geo. Bevington,	do.
S. S. Sears,	do.
Mrs. R. B. Gunn,	do.

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Members of delegation continued:

Hon. T. A. Crerar,	United Grain Growers Ltd.
J. J. McLellan,	do.
J. F. Reid,	do.
F. J. Collyer,	do.
J. A. Maharg,	Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Co. Ltd.
J. B. Musselman,	do.
R. M. Johnson,	do.
W. C. Mills,	do.
John W. Ward,	Secretary, Canadian Council of Agriculture.

The various resolutions were presented on behalf of the Canadian Council of Agriculture by the following:

1. SENATE REFORM - Mr. B. McNiven.

Mr. McNiven said that a solid mass of public opinion was behind the ~~motive~~ proposal and that new conditions required new machinery, and one of the steps which might well be taken is that in connection with senate reform.

2. CADET TRAINING - Mrs. R. B. Gunn.

Mrs. Gunn pointed out some of the objections to cadet training as being that it only effected a few, that there was no provision for the training of girls, that it had militaristic features, and ~~that~~ and therefore it should be superseded by a system of physical education.

3. NATURALIZATION ACT - Mrs. J. S. Amos.

Re Personal naturalization of women. Mrs. Amos said that women should have the privilege of declaring themselves as to the nationality which they wished to assume.

4. EQUALITY IN DIVORCE - Mrs. S. E. Gee.

5. COASTAL SHIPPING LAWS - Mr. John W. Ward.

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6. PROPOSED STEAMSHIP SUBSIDIES - Mr. J. A. Maharg.

Mr. Maharg said that while the Council was opposed to the general policy of subsidies, it recognized that in some cases necessity ~~must~~ might be sufficiently urgent to warrant the use of such a method, and for that reason it was impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule. He said the Council felt that it did not have all the facts before it in regard to the ocean freight proposition and so were non-committal as to a definite pronouncement at this time.

7. CROWS NEST PASS AGREEMENT - Mr. R. M. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson pointed out that while the Supreme Court has re-instated the Crows Nest rates, it had done so with limitations which had the effect of legalizing discrimination.

8. HUDSON BAY RAILWAY - Mr. J. F. Reid.

Mr. Reid said that in order to protect the Twenty Millions already invested, this project should be pushed to completion as soon as possible.

9. THE CUSTOMS TARIFF - Mr. A. Baynton.

Mr. Baynton said that the Council recognized the difficulty of framing a trade policy to suit divergent interests. At the same time he said adequate outside markets were essential to development and progress of the country. In this connection he asked the Government to give its special attention to the question of reciprocity.

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10. AUSTRALIAN TREATY - Mr. D. G. McKenzie ?

Mr. McKenzie said that the Council objected to the Treaty, because

(1) It provided for an increase in the general tariff;

(2) It added materially to the cost of living, and

(3) It makes it difficult to arrange tariff matters with the United States.

11. DUTY ON KEROSENE - Mr. A. J. M. Poole.

12. TAXATION - Mr. D. G. McKenzie.

In presenting this resolution, Mr. McKenzie observed that the Council believed the principle of the income tax to be just.

13. IMMIGRATION LITERATURE - Mr. Geo. F. Edwards.

Mr. Edwards stated that the Council felt that on the whole immigration literature was of a much too optimistic character. In reply to a question from the Hon. Mr. Robb, he said that the more recent literature, for example that relating to assisting families, was not open to complaint.

14. MENTAL TEST OF IMMIGRANTS. - Mrs. Ida McNeal.

Mrs. McNeal emphasized the necessity of a thorough mental and physical examination of our immigrants, and said that if some system of inspection on the other side could be instituted it would save the hardship caused by turning people back in cases where they proved to be unfit at ports of entry here.

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15. ADULTERATION OF CREAM - Mr. J. P. Brady.

16. REVALUATION OF SOLDIER SETTLERS HOLDINGS. - Mr. P. Wright.

Mr. Wright said that the holdings and equipment of soldier settlers should be re-valued.

17. RURAL CREDIT - Mr. Geo. F. Edwards.

Mr. Edwards said that there was intense interest in the West of late with regard to this question and that it was generally thought that there was great need of vigorous action as soon as possible.

18. HARNESS HORSE ASSOCIATION - Mr. John Beatty.

Mr. Beatty pointed out that by Rule #225, governing country fairs, a fee ranging from $10.00 up, according to the purse, has to be paid or the race falls into the class of "Free for all". He asked that either the powers of the Canadian Trotting and Pacing Harness Horse Association be curtailed or that the penalty be taken off.

19. BANKRUPTCY ACT - Mr. Geo. Bevington.

Mr. Bevington suggested that the Bankruptcy law should be so that it would remain to the Provinces to say whether or not they should ratify and adopt the Act.

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Mr. W. A. Amos.

Mr. Amos, on behalf of the delegation, thanked the Government for having received them, and said that a memorandum would be forwarded later as to all the resolutions.

Honourable James A. Robb, M.P:

Mr. Robb, who replied to the delegation, said that the Government was glad to have the advantage of their suggestions and commented briefly on some of the proposals made.

As to immigration propoganda, Mr. Robb pointed out that there were two kinds, namely, the official advertising of the Government and the letters written from parties in Canada to people and newspapers in the old land. Such part of the latter criticism as is unfair and hostile it is difficult, he said, to meet. He pointed out too that Railway and Steamship advertising was not within the control of the Government and, in fact, any advertising in foreign countries, other than that of the Government itself, could not be controlled in the nature of things by the Government of this country.

As to medical examination of immigrants at ports of embarkation, Mr. Robb said that the proposition had been considered but that the cost would be so great as to be prohibitive. He said that the onus and responsibility, however, was now on the Steamship companies and if immigrants, on arrival here, proved unfit the Steamship companies had to meet the cost of maintenance and transportation and return them to the countries from which they came.

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Regarding the re-valuation of soldier settlers land, Mr. Robb pointed out that it was not fair to say that all such land was over-valued. He said that in fact most of it would sell for a little more than the original price. Of course, he said, some land was bought too high and a considerable amount of equipment also, and the Government was prepared to look into the matter.

As to reduction of taxation, Mr. Robb pointed out what had been done, and also the anomaly presented by people asking for things which involved new expenditure, while, at the same time, asking that the country's expenses be reduced.

Touching on the question of Rural Credits, Mr. Robb said that the Government felt that it was to go very carefully, because if taxes were to be reduced duplication of services must be avoided, and several provinces already had evolved a scheme of rural credits of their own.

Relative to the request for reduction of the tax on kerosene, Mr. Robb pointed out that there would not be very much gained by the people if the Federal Government took the tax off and the Provincial Government put a new one on. He referred in this connection to the proposed tax on gasoline in Ontario.

With reference to the Australian Trade Treaty, Mr. Robb said that the California Raisin interests were putting up a big lobby to defeat the Australia Trade Treaty because they knew they would have to lower their prices to compete with Australia and South Africa.

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In conclusion Mr. Robb said that the Government would be glad to consider in any event all the suggestions made by the Council.

Honourable W. R. Motherwell, M.P:

Mr. Motherwell sought to bring out whether the proposed resolution with regard to ocean freight rates was intended to knock the whole scheme. The Council, as its views were voiced by Mr. Maharg, was inclined to be non-committal beyond stating that it was opposed to subsidies in principle, unless peculiar need could be proven. The onus of proving this particular need they held to rest with the Government.

In conclusion Mr. Motherwell thanked the delegation for the way they had presented their case and assured the members that their requests would be given due consideration.

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C 45239

A-1000-C
A-1000-R
Rural Credit
A-1000-V
T-1101
M-1102
E-1106
A-1003
T-1000
Vol. I Cattle
T-1207
R-1104
R-1109
Vol I
R-1108
T-1000
Vol 3
E-1100
T-1104
I-1000
1926

DELEGATION
of
CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE.

The delegation was received by the following Members of the Government on April 21st, 1926, at 11 A.M.

Hon. W. R. Motherwell, M.P.
Hon. James A. Robb, M.P.
Hon. Charles A. Dunning, M.P.
Hon. Ernest Lapointe, K.C., M.P.

The delegation consisted of:

Mr. Geo. F. Edwards, President, Canadian Council of Agriculture, Regina.
Mr. J. W. Ward, Secretary, Canadian Council of Agriculture, Winnipeg.
Mrs. R. B. Gunn, President, United Farm Women of Alberta; President, Women's Section, Canadian Council of Agriculture; New Lindsay, Alberta.
Miss M. E. Finch, Secretary, United Farm Women of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
Mrs. J. P. Brady, Masson, P. Q.
Mr. J. P. Brady, Secretary, United Farmers of Quebec.
Mr. J. P. McNamara, Burlington, P. Q.
Mr. W. A. Amos, President, United Farmers of Ontario, Palmerston.

Mr. Edwards, in introducing the delegation, pointed out that they were representative of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. He said that the delegation was gratified to know that the Hudson Bay Railway would be completed and also with respect to the downward revision of the tariff. He emphasized that it should never be lost sight of that national prosperity was based on rural prosperity and that the fiscal policy of the country should be made in the light of this fact.

(A). Conscription of Wealth:

Memorandum read by Mr. Edwards.

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(B). Experimental Farm Reports:

Spoken to by Mr. Ward.

Mr. Ward said that Dr. Grisdale had indicated that the reason this request had not been granted was on account of the fact that the fiscal year ended in March. Mr. Motherwell promised to look into the matter.

(C). Pensions Board.

Mr. Ward said that those responsible for this resolution did not come nor send a memorandum. Apparently it was made to support contentions of returned men in Alberta and other complaints in the same regard.

(D). Rural Credits:

Mr. Edwards read the attached memorandum. He also said that with respect to the measure, the Council thought it advisable that the Government should guarantee the bonds behind the rural credits scheme, otherwise the interest rate would probably be not much lower. He said that it was recognized that the Government was backing the scheme to the extent of Fifteen Million Dollars but why not go the whole distance.

(E). Venereal Diseases.

(F). Rust Research.

Miss Finch read the attached memoranda.

(G). Averaging Income Tax.

(H). Income Tax Forms.

Mr. Ward presented the attached memoranda.

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(I). Cadet Training.

Mrs. Gunn presented the attached memorandum.

(J). Treatment for Young Prisoners.

Miss Finch read the attached memorandum.

The Hon. Mr. Lapointe said the matter was engaging his attention.

(K). Inequalities in Laws.

Mrs. Gunn read the attached memorandum.

The Hon. Mr. Lapointe said that the British House of Commons and the Australian Parliament had adopted a resolution recommending the same changes as proposed by the Council, but so far there had beem no legislation. The matter was one requiring joint action throughout the Empire and was on the agenda for the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

(L). Grading of Poultry.

Miss Finch read the attached memorandum.

(M). Truth in Fabric.

Mr. Amos read the attached memorandum. In reply to the Hon. Mr. Robb's query, Mr. Amos said that the Council had not been unanimous on this, not having been discussed by Western organizations.

(N). Duty on Cattle.

(O). World Peace.

Mr. Amos read the attached memoranda.

(P). Canada Grain Act.

Mr. Edwards read the attached memorandum.

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(Q). Board of Railway Commissioners.

Mr. Ward read the attached memorandum. He noted that the figures quoted in the preamble of this resolution had not been checked up.

(R). Western Grain Rates.

This resolution was not spoken to.

(S). National Transcontinental Railway.

Mr. Ward said that the fear was that in investigating the whole rate structure the Railway Board would be too long dealing with this subject.

The Hon. Mr. Dunning said that the Railway Board must determine these matters and the Order in Council passed January 7th directed special attention to this phase of the question and, consequently, the Commission was working on this matter now.

(T). Hudson Bay Railway.

Mr. Ward read the attached memorandum.

(U). The Tariff.

Mr. Amos read the attached memorandum.

(V). Election Dates.

Mr. Edwards read the attached memorandum.

(W). Sales Tax.

Mr. Ward read the attached memorandum. He said that the Council was disappointed that there were not more tariff cuts instead of Income Tax reductions. He said that the latter would not help the poor nor most farmers.

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The Hon. Mr. Dunning said that it would help thousands of farmers in the West on the 1925 crop.

Mr. Ward said the automobile reductions were very popular, but that the tariff on food, clothing, etc., might have been reduced.

The Hon. Mr. Motherwell said that the Tariff Board would deal with most of the tariff items and as a result the Government had only dealt with those cases which were most in need of action.

(X). Mental Tests for Immigrants.

Mrs. Gunn read the attached memorandum.

Mr. Edwards thanked the Government for their courtesy in receiving the delegation.

The Hon. Mr. Motherwell said that he was gratified to see that some of their requests had been already consummated; others were under consideration, and he supposed that all the delegation expected with regard to the remainder was that they would not remain too long in embyro.

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Delegates Rec'd Wednesday April 21 1926

CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

Resolutions of the annual meeting, February 23-26, for presentation to the Dominion Government;

A Conscription of Wealth

"BE IT RESOLVED that this Council place itself on record as believing that in the event of a war in which Canada becomes involved and it becomes necessary to conscript man power that this shall be accompanied by conscription of wealth, resources, etc."

B Experimental Farm Reports

"RESOLVED that while we appreciate the reports sent out by the Dominion Government regarding the work done by the Experimental Farms, yet we believe they would be of greater value if they were distributed in time for study during the winter months."

C Pensions Board

"WHEREAS a number of the medical advisers to the Pensions Board have never had any experience as general practitioners, and
"WHEREAS others of these advisers who graduated during the war were appointed to administrative positions in the C.A.M.C. and afterwards taken on as medical advisers to the Pensions Board, and
"WHEREAS it is the wish of the people of Canada and essential in the best interests of the men that the best medical advisers possible shall be at the disposal of the Pensions Commissioners when dealing with ex-service men's claims,
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the government be asked to entirely reorganize the Board of Pension Commissioners with a view to it being reconstructed so that ex-service men suffering from disabilities may have just and fair consideration of their claims to pension when disabled."

D Rural Credits

"WHEREAS the Dominion Government has expressed in the Speech from the Throne its intention to introduce, during the present session of parliament, legislation providing for the establishment of a system of long-term loans to farmers,
"AND WHEREAS the Canadian Council of Agriculture believes that the ultimate solution of the problem of rural credit will be found in the development of co-operative credit societies controlled and operated by the farmers themselves, but also recognizes that conditions in many parts of Canada are not yet favorable for the development of such societies on a large scale,
"AND WHEREAS/

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"AND WHEREAS the extension of long-term farm mortgage loans at the lowest possible rate of interest and repayable on the amortization plan is an urgent need,
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Council recommend the incorporation in the proposed legislation of the following provisions;
(1) The funds loaned to be raised by the sale of bonds secured by first mortgages on the lands of all the borrowers within any province electing to avail itself of the scheme, the bonds to be guaranteed by the Dominion Government and each Provincial Government to guarantee repayment to the Dominion of all funds employed within its province.
(2) Each Province coming into the system to establish a Farm Loans Board to make loans to individual farmers within that province in such manner as to secure freedom from political influence and to make the system completely self-supporting.
(3) Loans not to exceed fifty per cent of the appraised value of the lands mortgaged and to be applied only to the purchase of lands, equipment and stock, the provision of permanent improvements or the retirement of existing mortgages.
(4) Provision to be made for the establishment in any locality of farm loan associations of ten or more farmers desiring to receive loans under the conditions prescribed, such associations to administer their own affairs under the supervision of the Provincial Farm Loans Board and their members to be jointly liable for ten per cent of the individual obligations incurred. The Council believes that this system of co-operative effort, with joint liability, though slow in growth, will produce the highest type of security and the lowest administrative expense, thus providing long-term farm credit at the absolute minimum of cost.
(5) The rate of interest on loans not to exceed one per cent more than that paid on the bonds sold and in addition the loan to be amortized over a period of not less than thirty years, with permission to repay in whole, or in part, at any time after three years without notice or bonus.
(6) That the term of Farm Loan Bonds be not less than thirty years and that they be not exempt from taxation.
"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a statement of the reasons for these recommendations be prepared and submitted to the Dominion Government."

o E Venereal Diseases ✓

"WHEREAS the danger of the spread of venereal disease is a national menace,
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Council of Agriculture commends the provincial governments for the preventive and educational work, by clinics and otherwise, which they have carried on and the Dominion Government for their policy of contribution of funds for the purpose of assisting the provincial governments in the carrying on of/

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of this work and the Council further recommends the extension of this work as far as may be practical."

o F Rust Research

"RESOLVED that we express appreciation of the work done by Dr. D.Bailey, in connection with the rust problem, and that we ask the Provincial and Dominion Governments to provide every facility for the extension of that work."

o G Averaging Income Tax

"THAT the Dominion Government be requested to amend the Income Tax Act to provide for the introduction of an averaging system so that a tax payer whose income fluctuates from year to year will pay the same amount of income tax in a given number of years as another tax payer with a fixed annual income totalling the same amount in the same period."

H Income Tax Forms

"THAT income tax forms should be available on or as near the first of the year as possible, to enable farmers to compile their returns before the busy season commences."

o I Cadet Training

"WHEREAS the Cadet Corps reaches only a small percentage of boys, and
"WHEREAS, practically no provision is made for the physical education of girls under this scheme, and
"WHEREAS, the Cadet Corps is expensive, considering the number of pupils reached, averaging about $5.00 per cadet, this being necessary because of the very considerable expenditure required for equipment and instructors' salaries, and
"WHEREAS, the Cadet Corps syllabus is not satisfactory educationally in that it includes elements of little or no value from the standpoint of maintaining physical health of children and negatively in that it omits elements which are of great value, both for the child and as a means of fostering permanent health habits in adult life, and
"WHEREAS, the Cadet Corps program can never have the endorsation of the public as a whole, since it is objected to by some parents in every community, and the children of such parents are deprived of any physical training, and also since it is most important that the course in physical education should be taken by all who are physically capable of doing so, and
"WHEREAS, Departments of Education have courses outlined in physical education, eliminating the undesirable features of cadet work and providing health activities in accordance with present day ideas, and
"INASMUCH/

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"INASMUCH as the Dept.of National Defence sets aside a sum of money for cadet training and this allotment,according to the present Minister of National Defence is intended for physical education, and not for militaristic training;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED-
(1) THAT the words "Cadet Training" be deleted and the words "Physical education" be substituted in the estimates;
(2) THAT this grant be turned over to the Provincial Departments of Education to administer."

o J Treatment for young prisoners ✓

"WHEREAS we believe that all prisoners should have every opportunity of becoming useful members of society,
"BE IT RESOLVED that we urge that provision be made whereby young prisoners between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years of age shall not come into contact with habitual offenders and professional criminals."

OO K Inequalities in laws ✓

"WHEREAS the Canadian Council of Agriculture has for the past number of years passed resolutions asking that the inequalities in our laws as between men and women in the matters of domicile, homestead, and personal naturalization be equalized,
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we reaffirm our position regarding the matters mentioned and
"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we respectfully request the government to pass the necessary legislation."

L Grading of Poultry ✓

"RESOLVED that we, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, express our approval of the progress made to date towards the sale of dressed poultry on definite standards and urge the Dominion and Provincial Departments of Agriculture to consult together with representatives of the producers and other interested parties for the purpose of setting Dominion-wide standards for the grading of poultry."

P.O M Truth in Fabric ✓

"INASMUCH as many of the textiles manufactured and offered for sale are in appearance and by description such that none but experts among the buyers know what they are buying and are misled into believing that they are getting a valuable article instead of a very inferior one;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the government of Canada be asked to enact legislation, under penalty, requiring that all textiles offered for sale in Canada, be plainly described as to the nature of the fibres therein, the relative quantities and the quality."

Duty/

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20N Duty on Cattle

"WHEREAS, by the duty imposed on Canadian cattle by the United States, a heavy loss is annually incurred and sustained by the farmers and ranchmen of Western Canada, and
"WHEREAS, we believe it to be of vital importance to the cattle industry of this country that some better trade relations with the United States be obtained;
"NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Council of Agriculture, believing the time is opportune, does earnestly request that the Federal Government enter into negotiations with the United States with the object of making arrangements which will afford relief in this matter."

10 World Peace

"WHEREAS the spirit of peace and goodwill among the peoples of the World, and the desire for permanently peaceful relations between the Nations, are growing in extent and influence,
"AND WHEREAS war has never resulted in the satisfactory settlement of international disputes but has accentuated the differences and rivalries which are the cause of conflict,
"AND WHEREAS the maintenance of armaments and the continuance of preparations for war are definitely unfavorable to the growth of international harmony and goodwill,
"AND WHEREAS the methods of consultation and arbitration, exemplified in the successful efforts of the League of Nations to compose disputes and prevent wars between the nations, are now recognized as feasible and effective,
"BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the Council reaffirms its approval of these methods, its belief in their development, through the instrumentality of the League of Nations, into effective agencies for preserving peace and security throughout the world and urges the government of Canada to lend them active and continuous support."

150

0P Canada Grain Act

"WHEREAS in the first draft of the new Canada Grain Act provision was made in Section 151, subsection 2, allowing the farmer to designate the terminal elevator to which his grain would be forwarded, and
"WHEREAS the Section of the Act was amended withdrawing this right except under unfair conditions, and
"WHEREAS in the second paragraph of subsection 2 of Section 150 special provision is made for relieving the country elevator from liability for grades and weights,
"NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that in the opinion of this Council the provision (formerly in Section 152) giving the owner of the grain the right to direct his grain to whatever terminal elevator he pleases should be restored and the special provisions above referred to in subsection 2 of section 150 should be eliminated from the Act."

Board/

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Board of Railway Commissioners

"WHEREAS, the report of a special committee of Parliament, in 1922 shows the net earnings of the C.P.R. from 1907 to 1921, inclusive, to have been approximately $400,000,000 in the Western Division as compared with approximately $185,000,000 in the Eastern Division, and
"WHEREAS, Western Canada has only one representative on the Board of Railway Commissioners compared with five from Eastern Canada;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that Western Canada be granted equitable representation on the Board of Railway Commissioners."

Western Grain Rates

"WHEREAS, the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada ordered the Railway Companies to file tariffs covering Western grain rates on the basis of existing rates for grain moving eastward of equal distance, and
"WHEREAS, these tariffs when filed showed in some cases actual advances and in other cases discriminations, and
"WHEREAS, agriculture, the basic industry of the country is thereby, hampered and bearing an unequal share of contributing to the cost of maintaining the railways of the country;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that pressure be brought to bear on our Provincial and Federal Governments with a view to having the proper reductions on Western Grain rates put into effect at an early date."

National Transcontinental Railway

"WHEREAS the National Transcontinental Railway was built to carry western grain to Canadian seaports by an all Canadian route and to increase railway traffic between the Maritime Provinces and the West, and
"WHEREAS on the completion of the National Transcontinental Railway in 1916, the Dominion Government put into effect a rate of six cents a bushel on wheat from Armstrong to Quebec and
"WHEREAS the Hon. Dr. Reid, formerly Minister of Railways in the Dominion Government stated in Parliament that six cents a bushel was a profitable rate and
"WHEREAS the Government shortly afterwards increased the rate to 20 cents a bushel with the result that the line is practically unused and
"WHEREAS we are of the opinion that this line should be used for the purpose for which it was constructed,
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention request the Dominion Government and the Board of Railway Commissioners to put into effect the lowest freight rates on grain and live-stock over the National Transcontinental Railway at which the Canadian National Railways can operate without loss."

Hudson/

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o T Hudson Bay Railway

"THAT this Council expresses its gratification at the announcement contained in the Speech from the Throne that the Dominion Government proposes to submit provisions for the completion forthwith of the Hudson Bay Railway and the hope that parliament during the present session will provide the funds necessary for the accomplishment of this national undertaking without further delay."

o V The Tariff

"THAT the Canadian Council of Agriculture do place itself on record as unalterably opposed to the whole principle of Tariff rotection,
"WE believe this system to be unjust and a violation of our basic principle of 'equal rights to all and special privileges to none' in that it gives to certain classes the power to exploit the general public for their own private benefit. We believe that no system of tariff protection can be of benefit to the farmers of Canada in that we are and must continue to be for many years large exporters of agricultural products. We further believe that the present system tection by increasing the farmers' cost of living and production is largely responsible for rural depopulation, with its attendant evils, and the present unsatisfactory financial condition of agriculture, and we believe that immediate and substantial reduction of the tariff is necessary to bhe best interests of Canada."

o V Election Dates

"RESOLVED that this convention protests against the holding of elections either in seeding, harvest, or threshing time as when this is done it virtually disfranchises a large percentage of the rural population."

o W Sales Tax

"THAT the Council go on record as being oppsed to the proposal that there should be a reduction in the Sales Tax accompanied by an increase in the tariff to make good the loss of revenue."

o X Mental Tests for immigrants

"RESOLVED that all immigrants should be examined by a trained psychiatrist at the point of embark tion and that such examinatio should be final."

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In the opinion of the Canadian Council of Agriculture nothing would ever justify the conscription of man power except a great national crisis, and if such a crisis ever occurs, then it must be sufficiently acute to warrant the conscription of wealth and resources also, as wealth is not more but less sacred than life, and there is not, nor ever can be any justification for compelling men to leave their occupations and take up arms to serve the nation for a very small amount per day, and at the same time allow others to profiteer and become wealthy through the national extremity. If the suggestion is adopted as a principle, it will have a reassuring effect upon the great mass of the people as there is a strongly held opinion strengthened by continual propaganda that wars are made to benefit the wealthy at the expense of the life blood of the poorer classes and nothing would so effectively offset this propaganda and opinion as a declaration by the Parliament of Canada that conscription of man power should never take place unless accompanied by the conscription of wealth and resources.

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VENEREAL DISEASES.

"WHEREAS the danger of the spread of venereal disease is a national menace;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Council of Agriculture commends the provincial governments for the preventative and educational work, by clinics and otherwise, which they have carried on and the Dominion Government for their policy of contribution of funds for thepurpose of assisting the provincial governments in the carrying on of this work and the Council further recommends theextension of this work as far as may be practical."

The loss to the Dominion of Canada through sickness and disease constitutes one of the gravest menaces to progress in our country at the present time. It is estimated that through illness alone $270,000,000 is lost to the Dominion annually or an amount equal to seventy-five per cent of the total expenditure of the Dominion Government for 1924. Of all the diseases it is regarded that syphilis constitutes the greatest single cause of mortality and disability, mortality alone being estimated at between 7,000 to 15,000 deaths annually.

To cope with this alarming condition the Dominion instituted a venereal disease prevention program in 1919, a scheme that provides for joint contributions and action by the Dominion and Provincial Governments. Clinical and educational work is now being carried on under these auspices in all the provinces of the Dominion except Prince Edward Island, with the result that 125,000 persons have been treated and treatments given since commencement.

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The value of such service will be realised when it is stated that before 1919 the only opportunity of coping with the disease was through private practise and since 1919, in addition to private practise, 328,963 treatments were given in 1923 and 321,686 in 1924.

That great need for continuing this work still prevails is shown by the number of new cases admitted to Government clinics each year. In 1921 the number of new cases admitted to government clinics was 10,867; in 1922 - 12,252; in 1923 - 12,526 and in 1924 - 11,482, making a total in 1921 of 28,456 new cases, in 1922 - 28,472 new cases and in 1923 28,003 new cases.

In addition to clinical treatment excellent educational work is being done through the fifty branches now established in the provinces by developing ways and means of combatting the seriousness of the disease, by literature, letters, exhibits, newspaper articles and films and in an endeavor to correct fundamental social difficulties that lead to wrong living.

It was therefore with gratification that the people of Canada approved and welcomed the grant of $230,000 first made by the Dominion Government for combatting the disease, and though the grant is somewhat lower at the present time it is hoped the Government may see its way clear to increasing the amount annually until the former grant is reached, thereby enabling the country to not only check but eradicate as far as possible this menace.

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RUST RESSARCH

"RESOLVED that we express appreciation of the work done by Dr. D. Bailey, in connection with the rust problem, and that we ask the Provincial and Dominion Governments to provide every facility for the extension of that work."

The above resolution refers to the research work being conducted at the Dominion Rust Laboratory recently established in the grounds of the Manitoba Agricultural College at Winnipeg of which Dr. D. L. Bailey is the officer in charge. Rust constitutes one of the most serious and difficult problems at present confronting the agricultural industry. Damage from this cause has reduced the yield of wheat and other grain crops in Canada during the past few years by many millions of bushels annually resulting in heavy losses to farmers and therefore to the whole commercial life of the country.

The loss occasioned by rust is greater than is realised by the general public. For instance, last year much of the wheat in Manitoba that yielded twenty bushels per acre and graded 4 Northern would, in the opinion of the farmers of that province, have yielded thirty-five bushels to the acre and graded No. 1 Northern, had it not been affected by rust. Rust is therefore very seriously lowering the value of our grain crops, not only by the production of an inferior quality of grain, but also by reducing the yield as much as forty and fifty

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per cent, as was the case in 1916 and 1922. This is true to such an extent that Manitoba is steadily going out of the production of Marquis wheat, which has proved to be the most valuable wheat ever raised in the west, and in many districts it is being replaced by Durham, an inferior macaroni wheat, invariably of lower market value than Marquis wheat of the same grade.

The discovery of a solution to the rust problem, whether by the production of rust resistant varieties of ~~xxxxx~~ grain, by a change in the methods of cultivation, or by other means will entail an amount of labor and expense which no private individual or organization could undertake, and the benefits of such a solution, when found either partially or wholly will be so widespread as to bring an improvement in economic conditions generally. The undertaking is therefore one which falls quite properly within the scope of the governments of the country, and in the resolution quoted above the Canadian Council of Agriculture expresses its appreciation of the work which is being done through cooperation between the federal government and the governments of the prairie provinces, and would urge that nothing be left undone to facilitate the Department in making its investigation as thorough as possible.

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C 45256

AVERAGING THE INCOME TAX

"THAT the Dominion Government be requested to amend the Income Tax Act to provide for the introduction of an averaging system so that a tax payer whose income fluctuates from year to year will pay the same amount of income tax in a given number of years as another tax payer with a fixed annual income totalling the same amount in the same period."

The present practice in assessing income tax is to consider each year's income as a unit, unrelated to the income of other years, and to use it as the basis in determining the amount of the tax to be paid. It is felt that, in the cases of many farmers as well as of numerous other business men, this practice results in larger taxes being paid by them than are paid on the same amount of income received in a given number of years by persons receiving it in regular annual instalments. When income fluctuates widely in successive years it is easily seen that the total amount of taxes paid in a given number of years may be considerably larger. In the years of large income the exemptions and deductions constitute a smaller proportion of the total income and the higher rates of taxation may come into play.

In order to bring about equality of taxation upon incomes which are equal for longer periods though unequal when compared annually it is urged that the average income received in the last three, or any other more suitable number of years, be taken as the basis of assessment for income tax. This would neutralize the effect of wide fluctuations and make the total tax paid over a period of years more nearly equal to the total tax paid over the same period by persons receiving fixed annual incomes totalling the same amount.

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The application of the averaging method would also enable the net losses of an individual or business concern to be offset against the profits obtained in prosperous years. It is possible at present for the losses of farmers or business men to exceed the profits over a term of years; yet income tax has to be paid in the prosperous years without reference to the losses suffered in other years. This is evidently a discrimination against persons whose income fluctuates as compared with those with equivalent income accruing regularly from year to year.

The suggestion is made that the substitution of the average of the past three years' income as the basis of taxation for that of annual income be submitted to the recently appointed Advisory Board on the tariff and taxation for consideration and early report. The adoption of one year's income as the basis of assessment is purely arbitrary. Annual returns should be required, as at present, but should be used, where income fluctuates, to obtain an average net taxable income.

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CADET TRAINING

"Whereas the Cadet Corps reaches only a small percentage of boys, and

Whereas practically no provision is made for the physical education of girls under this scheme, and

Whereas the Cadet Corps is expensive considering the number of pupils reached, averaging about $5.00 per cadet, this being necessary because of the very considerable expenditure required for equipment and instructors' salaries, and

Whereas the Cadet Corps syllabus is not satisfactory educationally in that it includes elements of little or no value from the standpoint of maintaining physical health of children and negatively in that it omits elements which are of great value, both for the child and as a means of fostering permanent health habits in adult life, and

Whereas the Cadet Corps program can never have the endorsation of the public as a whole, since it is objected to by some parents in every community, and the children of such parents are deprived of any physical training, and also since it is most important that the course in physical education should be taken by all who are physically capable of doing so, and

Whereas departments of Education have courses outlined in physical education, eliminating the undesirable features of Cadet work and providing health activities in accordance with present day ideals, and

Inasmuch as the Department of National Defence sets aside a sum of money for Cadet Training, and this allotment, according to the present Minister of National Defence is intended for physical education and not for militaristic training;

Therefore be it resolved:

(1) That the words "cadet training" be deleted and the words "Physical Education" be substituted in the estimates;

(2) That this grant be turned over to the Provincial Departments of Education to administer."

The Canadian Council of Agriculture in forwarding this resolution begs to be understood not to raise any question as to the importance of the training of adults for national defence, nor does it refer to the methods now being employed by the Department of Militia and Defence for the forwarding of this end. The resolution has to do solely with the organization of Cadet Corps in the Public and High Schools of our land. Three indisputable facts may be stated at the outset.

1. The Cadet Corps has been established under the aegis of the Department of Militia and Defence, acting conjointly with the Provincial Boards of Education, as a means of -

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1. Training boys of school age that they may be more easily prepared should it be necessary to utilize men in the defence of the country.

2. Providing education in health measures for the personnel of the corps.

The use of the schools for the purpose of military training is objected to by some on principle. These objectors are a sufficiently large group to make it impossible for the Cadet Corps to be universally applicable throughout the school. The Cadet Corps is objected to by others, and it is with this group that the Canadian Council of Agriculture allies itself, on the grounds that the primary purpose of our schools is education and that the Cadet Corps is not justified on the grounds of the health education it provides. The Council does not protest that certain results are not obtained, but considers that the curriculum outlined by the Cadet Corps is inadequate from the standpoint of physical education. Some facts may be cited in support of this.

(a) The Cadet authorities have so far recognized that the Cadet Corps syllabus requires amplification, that they have allowed physical education instructors in various cities in Canada to devote at least one-half of the time to games and other forms of athletics.

(b) The Cadet Corps is open only to boys of a certain age and not at all to girls.

(c) The primary purpose of health education in so far as the school goes is surely to form habits which can be continued in adult life. It is for this reason that most physical education programs have latterly departed from expensive gymnasium apparatus and are devoting more attention to games and athletics. The Cadet Corps provides an outlet for adult activity for a very limited group of persons. In other words, the habits which are formed in the Cadet Corps, even if they were available in themselves, are not habits which can be continued in adult life, and unless pupils do become interested in health measures in school there is very little chance that they will take this up on leaving school. The Cadet Corps here is a hindrance to the formation of health habits which can become permanent.

2. The Cadet Corps is expensive for the results which accrue. The average cost per cadet is in the neighbourhood of $5. This is no inconsiderable item no matter from what source it may be financed, and it is necessitated by the expenditure required for equipment, such as uniforms, rifles etc., for the salaries of instructors. A

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broader basis of health education, if adopted, could very well be provided as a part of the school system at a cost of only a fraction of this sum. Much of the instruction can be given by ordinary classroom trachers. The funds of the Strathcona Trust have produced very excellent results in the training of teachers for physical education work, and if this were extended for a few years in summer schools and in the normal schools there would be little reason for requiring any specialists other than for supervisory purposes.

3. Education authorities the world over are questioning the value of the Cadet Corps as an agent for physical education, thus in Gladgow it was the policy until the last decade to require all secondary school pupils (ten or eleven years or over) to take Cadet Corps training under drill instructors. The Glasgow education authorities have become persuaded that this is not achieving the results at which they were aiming, and since the war they have initiated a much broader physical education program. The elements in the Cadet Corps program which could be shown to have a value were retained, but the great body of the present course is new. In a bulletin published by the Department of United States Bureau of Education of Physical Education of the Secondary Schools a committee of specialists in physical education, while claiming that certain elements in the Cadet Corps program were of value, yet insisted that the program was too narrow and too specialized. This is typical of the opinion as far as we have been able to discover it in English speaking countries.

You will recognize, therefore, that our grounds for this resolution are not an anti-militaristic sentiment, but the conviction that the health measures actually aimed at by the Dept. of Militia could more profitably be carried on in a different way. We do not wish to suggest that the Dominion Government has no part to play in this program. It is obviously of the utmost importance to Canada that the boys and girls who come through our schools should have strong healthy bodies, and it is therefore in the interests of the Dominion Government, and particularly of the Department of Militia and Defence, that efforts should be made to secure on the widest possible scale the organization of a program to which every child could be required to subscribe, and which could result in the formation of health habits.

The Council of Agriculture is cognizant of the fact that educational programs are primarily provincial responsibilities. There are good precedents for contending that the Dominion Government should with the sanction and approval of the Provincial Governments assist in financing physical education. Thus technical

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education is financed jointly by the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and until recently agricultural grants were made to the province with a view to stimulating agricultural education.

We are of the opinion, therefore, that the funds now allotted for Cadet Corps Training of School pupils should be specifically designated as funds for the promotion of physical education programs in the schools. It is possible that your government would require some such cooperative basis as is found in the technical education grant.

May we point out in conclusion that in so far as we are concerned we would consider it advisable that the organization built up by the Department of Militia should be retained to the extent that Normal School Instructors and a small staff of supervisors should be available to the provinces. The introduction of a broad health education program based on physical education will require the training of teachers and the supervision of their work. Special instructors, therefore, should be available for Normal Schools, summer schools, winter classes, organization of competitions, organization of schedules for games and athletics and for advising with local education authorities on necessary developments of the physical education program. The Department of Militia has a number of trained instructors who have been rendering very efficient service in this field, and we, as an organization, would desire that this service be continued as a portion of the Dominion contribution of health education.

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Cadet Training

"Whereas the Cadet Corps reaches only a small percentage of boys, and

Whereas, practically no provision is made for the physical education of girls under this scheme, and

Whereas, the Cadet Corps is expensive considering the number of pupils reached, averaging about $5.00 per cadet, this being necessary vecause of the very considerable expenditure required for equipment and instructors' salaries, and

Whereas the Cadet Corps syllabus is not satisfactory educationally in that it includes elements of little or no value from the standpoint of maintaining physical health of children and negatively in that it omits elements which are of great value, both for the child and as a means of fostering permanent health habits in adult life, and

Whereas, the Cadet Corps program can never have the endorsation of the public as a whole, since it is objected to by some parents in every community, and the children of such parents are deprived of any physical training, and also since it is most important that the course in physical education should be taken by all who are physically capable of doing so, and

Whereas, Departments of Education have courses outlined, in physical education, eliminating the undesirable features of Cadet work and providing health activities in accordance with present day ideals, and

Inasmuch as the Department of National Defence sets aside a sum of money for Cadet Training, and this allotment, according to the present Minister of National Defence is intended for physical education and not for militaristic training;

Therefore be it resolved :

(1) That the words "cadet training" be deleted and the words "Physical Education" be substituted in the estimates;

(2) That this grant be turned over to the Provincial Departments of Education to administer."

The Canadian Council of Agriculture in forwarding this resolution begs to be understood not to raise any question as to the importance of the training of adults for national defence, nor does it refer to the methods now being employed by the Department of Militia and Defence for the forwarding of this end. The resolution has to do solely with the organization of Cadet Corps in the Public and High Schools of our land. Three indisputable facts may be stated at the outset.

1. The Cadet Corps has been established under the aegis of the Department of Militia and Defence, acting conjointly with the Provincial Boards of Education, as a means of -

1. Training boys of school age that they may be more easily prepared should it be necessary to utilize men in the defence of the country.

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2. Providing education in health measures for the personnel of the corps.

The use of the schools for the purpose of military training is objected to by some on principle. These objectors are a sufficiently large group to make it impossible for the Cadet Corps to be universally applicable throughout the school. The Cadet Corps is objected to by others, and it is with this group that the Canadian Council of Agriculture allies itself, on the grounds that the primary purpose of our schools is education and that the Cadet Corps is not justified on the grounds of the health education it provides. The Council does not protest that certain results are not obtained, but considers that the curriculum outlined by the Cadet Corps is inadequate from the standpoint of physical education. Some facts may be cited in support of this.

(a) The Cadet authorities have so far recognized that the Cadet Corps syllabus requires amplification, that they have allowed physical education instructors in various cities in Canada to devote at least one half of the time to games and other forms of athletics.

(b) The Cadet Corps is open only to boys of a certain age, and not at all to girls.

(c) The primary purpose of health education in so far as the school goes is surely to form habits which can be continued in adult life. It is for this reason that most physical education programs have latterly departed from expensive gymnasium apparatus and are devoting more attention to games and athletics. The Cadet Corps provides an outlet for adult activity for a very limited group of persons. In other words, the habits which are formed in the Cadet Corps, even if they were available in themselves, are not habits which can be continued in adult life, and unless pupils do become interested in health measures in school there is very little chance that they will take this up on leaving school. The Cadet Corps here is a hindrance to the formation of health habits which can become permanent.

2. The Cadet Corps is expensive for the results which accrue. The average cost per cadet is in the neighborhood of $5. This is no inconsiderable item no matter from what source it may be financed, and it is necessitated by the expenditure required for equipment, such as uniforms, rifles, etc. for the salaries of instructors. A broader basis of health education, if adopted, could very well be provided as a part of the school system at a cost of only a fraction of this sum. Much of the instruction can be given by ordinary classroom teachers. The funds of the Strathcona Trust have produced very excellent results in the training of

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teachers for physical education work, and if this were extended for a few years in summer schools and in the normal schools there would be little reason for requiring any specialists other than for supervisory purposes.

3. Education authorities the world over are questioning the value of the Cadet Corps as an agent for physical education, thus in Glasgow it was the policy until the last decade to require all secondary school pupils (ten or eleven years or over) to take Cadet Corps Training under drill instructors. The Glasgow education authorities have become persuaded that this is not achieving the results at which they were aiming, and since the war they have initiated a much broader physical education program. The elements in the Cadet Corps program which could be shown to have a value were retained, but the great body of the present course is new. In a bulletin published by the Department of United States Bureau of Education of Physical Education of the Secondary schools a committee of specialists in physical education, while claiming that certain elements in the Cadet Corps program were of value, yet insisted that the program was too narrow and too specialized. This is typical of the opinion as far as we have been able to discover it in English speaking countries.

You will recognize, therefore, that our grounds for this resolution are not an anti-militaristic sentiment, but the conviction that the health measures actually aimed at by the Dept. of Militia could more profitably be carried on in a different way. We do not wish to suggest that the Dominion Government has no part to play in this program. It is obviously of the utmost importance to Canada that the boys and girls who come through our schools should have strong healthy bodies, and it is therefore in the interests of the Dominion Government, and particularly of the Department of Militia and Defence, that efforts should be made to secure on the widest possible scale the organization of a program to which every child should be required to subscribe, and which could result in the formation of health habits.

The Council of Agriculture is cognizant of the fact that educational programs are primarily provincial responsibilities. There are good precedents for contending that the Dominion Government should with the sanction and approval of the Provincial Governments assist in financing physical education. Thus technical education is financed jointly by the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and until recently agricultural grants were made to the province with a view to stimulating agricultural education.

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We are of the opinion, therefore, that the funds now allotted for Cadet Corps Training of School pupils should be specifically designated as funds for the promotion of physical education programs in the schools. It is possible that your government would require some such co-operative basis as is found in the technical education grant.

May we point out in conclusion that in so far as we are concerned we would consider it advisable that the organization built up by the Department of Militia should be retained to the extent that Normal School Instructors and a small staff of supervisors should be available to the provinces. The introduction of a broad health education program based on physical education will require the training of teachers and the supervision of their work. Special instructors, therefore, should be available for Normal Schools, summer schools, winter classes, organization of competitions, organization of schedules for games and athletics and for advising with local education authorities on necessary developments of the physical education program. The Department of Militia has a number of trained instructors whohave been rendering very efficient service in this field, and we, as an organization, would desire that this service be continued as a portion of the Dominion contribution of health education.

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C 45266

TREATMENT FOR YOUNG PRISONERS.

"WHEREAS we believe that all prisoners should have every opportunity of becoming useful members of society,
"BE IT RESOLVED that we urge that provision be made whereby young prisoners between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years of age shall not come in contact with habitual offenders and professional criminals."

The Canadian Council of Agriculture, in presenting this resolution desires to draw attention to what it considers one of the essentials of properly conducted institutions for prisoners, viz., classification and segregation of the inmates according to their degree of crime. Society recognizes the years between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one as those when youth is most plastic and impressionable and that the most important factors in determining his future life are environment, associations, and supervision at that time.

In Canada, no matter how young the prisoner above sixteen years, or how innocent of a low degree of vice, no provision is made to separate him from the most depraved and hardened criminals.

In this respect England is far in advance of us. There prisoners between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one are not sent to ordinary gaols or penitentiaries but to Borstal institutions, a series of homes, where they are taught through books and trades to become useful members of society.

In the reports and recommendations of the superintendent of penitentiaries for the years 1919 to 1923, General W.S.Hughes says: "Classification and segregation within

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penitentiaries are as essential as are infectious wards in hospitals. Young first offenders should never be housed in one and the same institution as recidivists and hardened criminals."

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C 45268

Legal Domicil of Married Women.

~~INEQUALITY IN LAW~~

"WHEREAS the Canadian Council of Agriculture has for the past number of years passed resolutions asking that the inequality in our law as between men and women in the matter of domicil be equalized,

"THEREFORE be it resolved, that we re-affirm our position regarding the matter mentioned and,

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we respectfully request the Government to pass the necessary legislation".

Under the resolution the Council respectfully petitions the Federal Government to enact legislation permitting a married women to establish a legal domicil for the purpose of conferring jurisdiction on the proper tribunal in a proceeding for a divorce.

The operation of the law as at present constitued whereby the legal domicil of a woman is that of her husband is manifestly unfair and unjust as illustrated in the now famous appeal case to the Privy Council of the Attorney General of Alberta vs. Reta E. Cook. In this instance Reta Cook secured judicial separation from her husband in the Supreme Court of Alberta November 1921, upon evidence which satisfied the court that both the spouses were resident within its jurisdiction.

In 1922 the wife instituted suit for divorce alleging that the latest domicil of her husband known to her was in the Province. However in regard to domicil the Trial Judge, Judge Walsh, "thought the evidence sufficient to justify the conclusion that Ontario was the domicil was the de of origin of the husband, and not to show that he had acquired any other domicil." Therefore on the rule that so long as the marriage state continues the wife's domicil is that of her husband, the suit was dismissed. Later upon being taken to the Alberta Appeal Court the divorce was granted. This case was then referred as a test case to the Privy Council for final decision, the result being that the appeal of the Attorney General of Alberta succeeded.

This indicates how in order to conform to domicil the wife suffers a severe disability in that proceedings for divorce wear frustrated, although there

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were ample statutory grounds, in this particular instance, of cruelty, desertion and adultery.

In the case of a deserting husband there is the inability in the first place, of the wife to get the necessary information to establish the legal domicil of her husband and make it her own. Where there are a number of little children the deserting husband may roam at will, precluding the possibility of allowing the wife to establish the necessayy domeii domicil and participate in the rights and protection of the law as it stands in regard to divorce and in effect because of this, permitting the misconduct of the husband, and depriving the wife of any means of redress.

We do therefore pray that a wife may be deemed to have a separate domicil of her own, where the husband is guilty of such dereliction of duty as would entitle her to a divorce; or where judicial separation has taken place and the husband and wife have lived apart for a period of two years.

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C 45270

NATURALIZATION ACT

"WHEREAS it is not possible for a married woman who has all the qualifications for British citizenship but whose husband is a citizen of a foreign country to become personally naturalized as a British subject, and

"WHEREAS a woman who is a British subject assumes the nationality of her husband on her marriage to a person of foreign citizenship.

BE IT RESOLVED that the government of Canada be asked to amend the Naturalization Act of 1914 and 1920 to enable married woman to take out personal naturalization papers, and be it further resolved that the Government of Canada be asked to amend the Naturalization Act of 1914 and 1920 to permit a woman who is a British subject but who marries a person of foreign citizenship to retain her British nationality unless she choose to do otherwise".

The Canadian Council of Agriculture in presenting this resolution begs to impress on the Dominion Government that in its opinion the time is now ripe for these changes to be made in the laws governing the naturalization of married woman.

In giving a brief resume of the history of this question we desire first to indicate that in asking for this change we are demanding no new right, but merely the restoration of an old right possessed by women prior to 1870. By the common law of England the nationality of a woman was not affected by marriage. That is, if a British woman married an alien she remained British, if an alien woman married a British subject she remained an alien.

The first act to modify the Common Law position was the Naturalization Act of 1844 when it was enacted, "That any woman married or who shall be married to a natural-born subject, or person naturalized shall be deemed to be a legal naturalized & have all the rights & privileges of a natural born subject".

The position of a British woman married to an alien was first dealt with by the Statute of Naturalization Act of 1870 when it was enacted that "a married woman shall be deemed to be a subject of the state of which her husband is for the time being a subject".

In 1870 the position of a married woman in general was that of a chattel. She could not hold property in her own right.

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She could not vote. By this Act she was not permitted to have any choice of nationality, if she desired to marry an alien. In the findings of the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to join with the committe of the House of Lords on the nationality of married women of 1923: it was pointed out in this connection that no effort was made at the time of this change to ascertain the views of women themselves and practically no discussion took place on this proviso during its passage through either House.
To quote from the report, "The bill wasintroduced in the House of Lords, and in moving the second reading of the Bill the Lord Chancellor simply referred to the fact that the change was proposed in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1869 on the Laws of Naturalisation and Allegiance. No other speaker referred to the subject, nor was it referred to on the Committee or during subsequent stages of the Bill. The second reading of the Bill was carried in the House of Commons without discussion.

The Law remained in this state till the passing of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens' Act of 1914 and amendments thereto of 1918. The Law as it now stands reading:- "That the wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject and the wife of a aline shall be deemed to be an alien.

In this connection we wish to indicate that married women now occupy a very different status in the life of the nation, now enjoy many rights and privileges, have now assumed in large measure equality before the law which they did not possess prior to 1870. For example:- a married woman now holds property in her own right: she has the right to the franchise and she is not disqualified by marriage from holding civil or judicial posts or offices. These important rights have all been gained since 1870 and yet as regards nationality a woman has not regained the precious privilege of retaining British Nationality on marriage to an alien, notwithstanding that it will not be seriously gain-said that nationality today has assumed immeasurably greater importance than heretofore, and the high privilege of British citizenship is recognized as a thing not to be easily acquired or ~~likely-lost~~ lightly lost.

That nationality does hold a position of importance in the minds of women is indicated by resolutions passed the Women's International Suffrage Alliance, by the International

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Council of Women, and by large national bodies of women in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, and in the Dominion.

Recently in the Alberta House the Honorable Mrs. Parlby introduced the following resolution which was passed unanimously by all members of the Alberta Legislature:- "That in the opinion of this House a woman of British Nationality residing in Canada, should not lose, or be deemed to lose, her nationality by the mere act of marriage with an alien, but that it should be open to her to make declaration of aliengage if she so desire.

Action along these lines is in accord with progressive thought in other parts of the world. For example, Sweden in 1924 passed a Bill embodying a similar principle whereby a Swedish woman, while living in Sweden, retains her Swedish nationality on marriage to an alien; and other Scandinavian countries have followed the same procedure.

In Canada the whole question becomes of paramount importance because of the passing in 1922 of theCable Act of the United States whereby it was enacted that "A woman citizen of the United States shall not cease to be a citizen by reason of her marriage unless she makes a formal renunciation of her citizenship before a Court having jurisdiction over naturalization of aliens," and it being further enacted that "Any woman who marries a citizen of the United States shall not become a citizen by reason of such marriage." Owing to the fact that in the western provinces inter-marriages frequently take place between citizens of the United States residing in Canada and British women, we urgently request the Federal Government to enact legislation along the lines indicated in Mrs. Parlby's resolution, and thereby eliminate a source of grave injustice and disability. To give specific instances, a brother and sister from the United States come to Canada to live, and here marry a brother and sister citizen of Canada. In one case the American girl by reason of her marriage acquires all the privileges of British citizenship, while retaining at the same time her United States citizenship and thus becomes a citizen of two countries. On the other hand the girl of British birth loses her British nationality but does not acquire the nationality of her husband, and cannot do so, while they continue to reside in Canada. And this girl, British in everything except marriage, finds herself penalized a citizen of no country, unable to claim the protection of any government, unable to vote, unable to teach or to accept a civil position if theneed arises, and in the event of her husband's death, unable to participate in a Mother's Allowance for the benefit of her children. This condition of statelessness on the part of British women married to citizens of the

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United States gives rise to serious inconveniences in connection with the question of passports should they desire to travel. An incident was related to me as follows: A Scotch girl living in Canada married to an American wishes to go home to Scotland to visit her father who was ill. On application to our Government she was refused a passport because she was not a British subject. She was directed to the American Consul and her request met with the same result, inasmuch as she was not recognised as an American citizen. When it is considered that in the west particularly aliens from many shores, Scandinavian Germans, Icelanders, Ukrainians, and others become assimilated, into community life and marry British women, the whole question becomes one of prime significance. The instances are but typical of the anomalies and injustices which prevail.

And inasmuch as another Imperial Conference is likely to take place this year it is particularly opportune that this subject should be discussed and action taken at this time by the Federal Government. The Council therefore urges upon the Dominion Government that action be taken whereby a British woman married to an alien may be permitted to retain British nationality while she resides in Canada; and further, that the Canadian representatives to the next Imperial Conference be instructed to take a determined stand to the end that the British law may be amended to permit personal naturalization of married women: and to secure the right of a British woman marrying an alien to retain British nationality, if she so desires.

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C 45274

NATURALIZATION ACT

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The Canadian Council of Agriculture in presenting this resolution begs to impress on the Dominion Government that in its opinion the time is now ripe for these changes to be made in the laws governing the naturalization of married woman.

In giving a brief resume of the history of this question we desire first to indicate that in asking for this change we are demanding no new right, but merely the restoration of an old right possessed by women prior to 1870. By the common law of England the nationality of a woman was not affected by marriage. That is, if a British woman married an alien she remained British, if an alien woman married a British subject she remained an alien.

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C 45278

GRADING OF POULTRY

"RESOLVED that we, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, express our approval of the progress made to date towards the sale of dressed poultry on definite standards and urge the Dominion and Provincial Departments of Agriculture to consult together with representatives of the producers and other interested parties for the purpose of setting Dominion-wide standards for the grading of poultry."

In presenting this resolution our desire is to place the marketing of poultry in a similar position to the marketing of practically all other products of the farm, i.e., on a definitely recognized Dominion-wide graded basis. This, we believe, to be in the interests of producers, consumers and the trade. It will act as an incentive to the production of a higher type and quality of fowl as the producer will endeavor to secure the advantage of the highest return on the market and it will ensure to the consumer and trade that the product will conform to the generally recognized ~~standard~~ and established grades. It will further afford an opportunity through the cooperation of the producer and the trade, to establish an ever-growing and wider market for Canadian poultry produce.

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C 45279

P.

Regarding the resolution passed by the Council dealing with the provisions of the Grain Act, the position taken by the Council was that the present provisions of the second and third paragraphs in Sub. Sec. 2 of Section 150, are unfair to the producers, and should be eliminated from the Act. They provide that the producer can only direct his grain to be delivered to a terminal elevator selected by the country elevator company. If he fails to give such directions, the country elevator company can, itself, without the producer's direction, send the grain to whatever public terminal elevator it pleases. Should the producer have special reason for directing his grain to be delivered at some special terminal, he can only accomplish his object by accepting delivery of the grain at the country elevator where it has been placed in store, and in such case the quality of grain he placed in store and the quantity is not assured him.

In dealing with the above case, it is important that the circumstances should be clearly borne in mind. The farmer takes his grain to a country elevator for storage. Before being placed in store, agreement is come to between himself and the country elevator company as to the grade of the grain. While in the vast majority of cases the grade is decided by the representative of the elevator company, there are cases where the decision in regard to grain is the result of mutual agreement between the representative of the country elevator company and the producer. The grade is never named except with the consent and approval of the country elevator representative. In addition to the grade, the quantity of grain as delivered by wagon load, is carefully weighed by the elevator representative, and tickets for each wagon load are given to the producer, setting forth clearly the grade, the gross weight,

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the dockage and net weight, so that both grade and weight are guaranteed on the ticket supplied to the producer by the representative of the elevator company.

With these facts clearly in mind, it seems the most reasonable thing that, when the grain is put out of the elevator to the farmer's order, assurance should be given him that the quality of the wheat - that is, the grade, should be the same as he placed in store, and the quantity as shown on the tickets he holds should also be guaranteed him.

When we speak of delivering grain to a farmer at the country elevator, it must always be understood that the farmer has no means of weighing it; it is invariably put into the railway car, and the car is sealed by the railway agent in the usual way. It is just as safe so far as the interest of the country elevator is concerned, forwarded to the terminal the farmer wants it sent to as it can possibly be when forwarded to the terminal the country elevator wants it sent to, and, as the right of property in the grain is the farmer's, his discretion in sending it to the terminal elevator he approves should not be denied him.

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C 45281

Q.

Board of Railway Commissioners

"WHEREAS, the report of a special committee of Parliament in 1922 shows the net earnings of the C.P.R. from 1907 to 1921, inclusive, to have been approximately $400,000,000 in the Western Division as compared with approximately $185,000,000 in the Eastern Division, and
"WHEREAS, Western Canada has only one representative on the Board of Railway Commissioners compared with five from Eastern Canada;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that Western Canada be granted equitable representation on the Board of Railway Commissioners."

This resolution is not intended to convey any reflection upon the present members of the Board of Railway Commissioners. We do not wish to suggest that because five of the six members of the Board are residents of Eastern Canada they are prejudiced against the West and are not conscientiously endeavoring to deal justly with all portions of the country. Environment, however, has its effects upon one's viewpoint and the Board would undoubtedly be better balanced and better able to understand the conditions prevailing throughout the country if more western men were included. Public confidence is very necessary to the satisfactory functioning of a body charged with the great responsibilities which fall upon the Board of Railway Commissioners and it cannot be expected that the people of Western Canada will have full confidence in a board on which only one of its own people has a seat compared with five from Eastern Canada.

At the present time it is well known, from public pronouncements by the Commissioners, that a condition of deadlock exists/

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C 45282

R/

Western Grain Rates

"WHEREAS, the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada ordered the Railway Companies to file tariffs covering Western grain rates on the basis of existing rates for grain moving eastward of equal distance, and
"WHEREAS, these tariffs when filed showed in some cases actual advances and in other cases discriminations, and
"WHEREAS, agriculture, the basic industry of the country is thereby, hampered and bearing an unequal share of contributing to the cost of maintaining the railways of the country;
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that pressure be brought to bear on our Provincial and Federal Governments with a view to having the proper reductions on Western Grain rates put into effect at an early date."

This matter is at present before the Board of Railway Commissioners and a statement on the subject was made by a representative of the Canadian Council of Agriculture when the Board held a sitting on the case at Ottawa in February of this year. The Board has not yet given a decision and under these circumstances we presume the government would not consider it proper to take any action. The resolution however is submitted in order that the government may be informed of the views of the Council on the subject.

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C 45283

8/

National Transcontinental Railway

"WHEREAS the National Transcontinental Railway was built to carry western grain to Canadian seaports by an all Canadian route and to increase railway traffic between the Maritime Provinces and the West, and
"WHEREAS on the completion of the National Transcontinental Railway in 1916, the Dominion Government put into effect a rate of six cents a bushel on wheat from Armstrong to Quebec and
"WHEREAS the Hon. Dr. Reid, formerly Minister of Railways in the Dominion Government stated in Parliament that six cents a bushel was a profitable rate and
"WHEREAS the Government shortly afterwards increased the rate to 20 cents a bushel with the result that the line is practically unused and
"WHEREAS we are of the opinion that this line should be used for the purpose for which it was constructed,
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention request the Dominion Government and the Board of Railway Commissioners to put into effect the lowest freight rates on grain and livestock over the National Transcontinental Railway at which the Canadian National Railways can operate without loss."

This resolution needs little elaboration, the facts recited in the preamble being sufficient explanation. The statement that a freight rate of six cents per bushel on wheat from Armstrong to Quebec was profitable, attributed to Hon. Dr. Reid, will be found recorded in Hansard of April 26, 1916, pages 3063-4. The matter was referred to the Board of Railway Commissioners by the government by the order-in-Council of June 1925 directing a general inquiry into the freight rate structure of the country. A hearing on the subject has been held, but if action is delayed until the general freight rate inquiry has been concluded and a decision rendered it would appear that some years will elapse before a long stretch of railway, built at a large expense by the country will be put to the use for which it was intended. We would suggest that the government, and particularly the Minister of Railways, give further attention/

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attention to this matter and endeavour to find some way in which it can be dealt with before the next crop is moved. The people of the Maritime Provinces, the City of Quebec, and the town of Cochrane, as well as the farmers of Western Canada are all anxious that the resolution herewith submitted should be put into effect and the national benefits which would result make the matter deserving of prompt and effective measures.

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T.

C 45285

Hudson Bay Railway

"THAT this Council expresses its gratification at the announcement contained in the Speech from the Throne that the Dominion Government proposes to submit provisions for the completion forthwith of the Hudson Bay Railway and the hope that Parliament during the present session will provide the funds necessary for the accomplishment of this national undertaking without further delay."

The Canadian Council of Agriculture has for several years past been urging upon the government the immediate completion of the Hudson Bay Railway, and it was therefore with much gratification that we learned that the government had at last decided to finish the line and thus give the western provinces the direct outlet to the ocean which has been the dream of the people of the West for the last half century. Rumours have gained currency during the last few days that an attempt is being made to reopen the old controversy as to the location of the terminus of the road on Hudson Bay. If there is any foundation for these rumours we sincerely trust the government will not permit the delay of the work for any such cause. The fullest investigations were made before the line was commenced and the decision was made to build to Port Nelson. We are satisfied that when that decision was made the government of that day had facts before it to prove that Port Nelson would furnish a suitable harbor. As a result the right of way has been graded to Port Nelson, several million dollars has been spent on harbor works there and an immense quantity of equipment and material is there ready for the completion of the work. In our opinion the question as to whether Fort Churchill or Port Nelson should be the terminus of the line/

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line should be regarded as settled. To reopen it would mean delay, expense, and unnecessary controversy. We urge the government to proceed with the work as already planned without delay and with all possible speed.

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THE CUSTOMS TARIFF

"That the Canadian Council ofAgriculture do place itself on record as unalterably opposed to the whole principle of tariff protection. We believe this system to be unjust and a violation of our basic principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, in that it gives to certain classes the power to exploit the general public for their own private benefit.

We believe that no system of tariff protection can be of benefit to the farmers of Canada, in that we are and must continue to be for many years large exporters of agricultural products. We further believe that the present system of protection by increasing the farmers' cost of living and production is largely responsible for rural depopulation with its attendant evils and the present unsatisfactory financial condition of agriculture. And we believe that immediate and substantial reduction of the tariff is necessary in the best interests of Canada."

The Canadian Council of Agriculture in submitting its resolution on the tariff at this time would like at the outset to refer you to the memorandum presented on the subject of taxation a year ago. The concluding paragraph of which reads as follows:

"The reduction of the cost of living is one of the objects which all public authorities as well as private citizens should strive to assist at the present time. The cost of living is one of the chief factors in determining the cost of production.

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and a lower cost of production would of course be beneficial not only to those engaged in agriculture but also to manufacturers the railways, and all classes of producers. The government has frequently expressed its desire to assist in bringing about a reduction in the cost of living and of production and we express the hope that on the next occasion when a reduction of taxation is undertaken it will take the form of a lowering of the customs tariff, particularly upon the implements of production and the common necessities of life."

While we note with a measure of satisfaction the government's announcement of a reduction in the tariff on automobiles, the foregoing presentation will explain why we still feel disappointed in the recent budget.

The farm people are quite conversant with the persistent and aggressive campaign waged by the manufacturing interests to retain the status quo of protection and therefore appreciate all the more the courageous stand taken by the government at this time. The precipitate action on the part of certain automobile industries whom we have good reason to believe are not only largely backed but even controlled by American capital serves as a splendid object lesson of the ~~bluff~~ tactics of bluff and intimidation towards laborers and governments both of whom they would gladly hold in subservience.

The peculiar nature that protective measures have served to develope was never more apparent. This pampered member of the industrial family has again had his wishes challenged, has been asked to make concessions in the interests of harmony in the household and in the spirit of the spoiled child either whimpers or sulks.

Contrast with this the attitude of the Canadian farmer on historic occasions on which his modus operandi has been most vitally affected. A generation ago the McKinley tariff rendered barley growing in Canada no longer a profitable undertaking. A little later the cattle embargo necessitated the abandonment of the feeding of heavy beef cattle. On neither occasion did the

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Canadian farmers summarily and in concert register their determination to discontinue production or go on strike. They readjusted ~~themselves~~ their industry to such undertakings as would ensure a net return and carried on in spite of their handicaps.

In his proverbially humble manner the farmer has developed the possibilities of his holding. He has scientifically improved the quality of his livestock and has established a better grade of grain and fruit so as to meet the requirements of the world's markets. More recently a co-operative endeavour, self-developed, is making it possible for him to secure a larger return for his product. Without protection or subsidy, and too often amid adverse circumstances, he has become self-reliant and deserves a recognition seldom accorded him. Less demonstration and more ready adaptability might ~~accomplish~~ engender a like spirit in other fields of economic endeavor.

Approximately two years ago, we were listening to similar prophecies of impending industrial stagnation and disaster in connection with the manufacture of agricultural implements. It is now reassuring to hear reports concerning three of our more distinctively Canadian manufacturers of agricultural implements, that the stock of the Massey Harris Company has gone up, that the Cockshutt firm has more unfilled orders than at any time in its history, that the bank loans of the Frost and Wood company are substantially lower than at any time since the company's organization in 1899 and that its outlook for the business of the coming year was most favorable. Such results are only natural and are based upon true and scientific laws of economics. Paternalism and artificial aids can never serve to develop real initiative, nor can they insure a healthy, virile, self-reliant enterprise. Any legitimate, well-conducted and economically managed industrial

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undertaking should find the remaining protection of 20 and 27½ per cent adequate to enable it to meet all competition.

Experience leads us to believe that the resultant reduction in prices of automobiles will stimulate sales, thereby increasing production and giving employment to a larger number of workers.

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C 45295

V.

Undoubtedly it is the very essence of democratic political institutions that the great mass of the people who comprise the electorate should have every facility provided for exercising their franchise, and it is contrary to the spirit of democratic government for the Government of Canada to call an election at a time of the year when it is extremely difficult for the agricultural class to get out to vote, owing to [redacted] being engaged in either seeding, harvesting or threshing. Party expediency is not sufficient warrant for calling an election at a time of the year which makes it virtually impossible for many farmers and their wives to take time to travel the long distances necessary to cast their votes in many rural constituencies.

The Federal Election was held last year on October 29th when a large number of Western farmers were engaged in threshing, with the result that a very small vote was polled in many rural constituencies.

The Council of Agriculture strongly protests against this practice as being contrary to political ethics, and believes that the proper time to hold an election, unless some special circumstance prevents, is during the summer months when the roads and weather may be expected to be the most favorable to having the largest possible vote polled.

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W.

C 45296

SALES TAX

"THAT the Council go on record as being opposed to the proposal that there should be a reduction in the Sales Tax accompanied by an increase in the tariff to make good the loss of revenue."

The proposal has been made by bodies representing manufacturing interests and retail traders that the sales tax should be reduced and the loss in revenue made good by increases in the tariff of import duties. The attitude of the Canadian Council of Agriculture towards this proposal is one of strong dissent and opposition and we are glad to observe from the budget speech made by the Minister of Finance last week that the government did not yield to this demand. Last year the Council expressed to the Government the conviction that reduction of taxation, as it becomes possible, should take place by reducing and removing those protective duties on imports which increase the costs of living and production in preference to the reduction of other indirect taxes such as the Sales Tax and that the Income Tax should be maintained at substantially the scale then in force. This delegation is therefore unable to agree entirely with those who are so enthusiastic regarding the tax reductions announced by the Finance Minister in his budget speech. The levying of taxation by direct methods and in accordance with personal ability is essential if the national expenditures are to be distributed evenly and justly over the whole body of taxpayers. The income tax ought therefore to be maintained at its former level and surpluses available for tax reduction should be utilized to lessen the burden of indirect taxation. Indirect taxes are justified only/

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only by the physical difficulties of collecting direct taxes and the desirability of obtaining contributions to the revenue from all classes. Ease of collection and universal application are their chief advantages. Some measure of indirect taxation is probably indispensable under existing conditions. But the sales tax takes from the consumer less, over and above actual revenue and cost of collection, than the tariff. Import duties, unless levied upon articles not produced in Canada, enable the prices of all similar commodities produced in Canada to be raised by the amount of the duty. The duties paid by the consumers on imported articles go to the national treasury, but the increased prices paid, because of the duties levied upon imports, upon the home produced articles go into private pockets. Increase of the tariff in order to provide greater revenue would inevitably result in far more than the revenue increase being taken from the consumers. The Sales Tax, though indirect and for that reason unequal in incidence, does not compel the consumers to pay into private pockets as well as into the public treasury anything like as much as import duties would do. Regard for equity in taxation therefore compels opposition to the proposal to raise the tariff in order to reduce the sales tax.

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C 45298

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X

C 45300

RESOLUTION.

Mental Tests for Immigrants.

"Resolved that all immigrants should be examined by competent psychiatrists at the point of embarkation and that such examination should be final."

It is assumed by your petitioners that any wise immigration policy should provide for the following conditions:

1. Should allow the greatest possible freedom in the movements of peoples who desire to enter Canada for a brief visit or en route to another country. It is conceded that under such circumstances that there should be a minimum of restraint and interference.

2. It should provide for some means of ensuring that those persons who intend to become residents of Canada shall be characterized both by the absence and presence of certain traits. Successive governments have recognized this policy and the immigration act and regulations specify certain classes that shall be excluded, namely: Vide Immigration Act, section 3.

This Council is deeply concerned with the effectiveness of the measures being taken to ensure that the intention of this act shall be enforced in so far as it relates to mentally defective and mentally diseased persons or to those who are likely to procreate children showing these defects.

3. It should allow for the contingency that some persons may enter Canada as visitors and later desire to remain here.

The right and the necessity for this country to apply stringent regulations as to the type of persons who may be allowed to make a permanent domicile in Canada is now unquestioned. The wording of section 3 of the immigration act is in our opinion sufficiently broad to protect Canada from those who are not desirable entrants. The Council is of the opinion however, that the methods at present employed for the detection of these persons are not adequate and that the regulations could be made effective only by a radical change in procedure.

It is not deemed by us to be necessary to recapitulate at length evidences as to the failure under the present system to debar mental defectives, insane persons and persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority. Sub-sections A., B and K.

Memoranda have been presented to Canadian Governments from various sources during the past ten years with evidence on this point. Two or three recent investigations may however be cited.

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1. The Province of British Columbia has recently appointed a Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene to inquire into the causes for the alarming increase in the demand for institutional accommodation for the insane or feebleminded in that province. In introducing his resolution for the appointment of this commission the provincial secretary, Hon. Dr. Sloan point out - (1) That there had been an enormous increase in the mental hospital population, and attributed this to defective immigration regulations. (2) He announced that the Provincial Government would not assume the responsibility of caring for permit cases.

2. In the city of Toronto an inquiry was made as to the places of birth of children known by the Psychiatric Division of the Board of Health to be feebleminded. The results are very disconcerting. Only 25% of the children are clearly Canadian. 26% were born outside of Canada and were therefore admitted by the inspectors of immigration. There is no reason for believing that the situation in Toronto is unique. For this failure our present policy must clearly be held responsible. Another 49% of the defective children in Toronto were born in Canada of parents who have arrived since 1900. Although some of these children were admittedly born of apparently normal parents it is generally recognized by psychiatrists that over half of cases of feeblemindedness are due to the inheritance of mental deficiency from one ot both parents. Here again we are forced to the conclusion that the present procedure is one that not only creates problems of immediate care but one which provides an unending source of expense to our Canadian people through the admission of persons who will procreate defective children.

Before leaving this problem of mental defectives the Council wishes to remind you that a large number of social and economic problems are closely bound up with it. A recent investigation of the work of family welfare agencies in Canada has shown that approximately 25% of their outlay goes to care for families in which one or both parents are feebleminded. At best these persons can become only unskilled labourers and in times of industrial depression or unemployment they find themselves unable to compete with other persons.

It is more difficult to define the responsibility of our officials in cases of insanity. Certainly they can be expected to reject developed cases of mental disease but in the early stages this can be done only in the light of the previous medical and social history of the person. It is conceded that a number of those newcomers who fill our mental hospitals owe this condition to the stress of adjustment to a new country. The important point is that diagnosis and prognosis can often be made only in terms of the personal history of the patient and the history of the family from which he has come.

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From yet another angle the present system is shown to be inadequate. In no small number of cases are families rejected at the port of entry or admitted under bond the cause of obvious defect or conditions specified under section 3 of the Immigration Act. In the memorandum we cannot go into the details of cases but the existence and frequency of such cases is well known to members of your government. It may be pointed out that the government of British Columbia has adopted a very definite attitude as to its responsibilities for our "bonded" cases. But from the standpoint of the prospective immigrant the result is often financial disaster. The risks attending transfer of family and home to a new land are great enough without having them complicated by an antiquated and uncertain system of inspection.

In the opinion of this council the only adequate, effective and fair method of dealing with those who announce their intention of coming to Canada as immigrants is to place Canadian medical officers in the countries from which immigrants are coming to Canada. This method has such obvious advantages that it is difficult for the Council to understand why your Government should not have made a change prior to this date.

1. The most urgent reason from the standpoint of the prospective immigrant is that he has a right to be assured before he finally breaks his contacts with his own land that he and his family are not of a type debarred by statutesfrom Canada.

2. The present method of examination places on the shoulders of our medical examiners a responsibility they cannot discharge. The pressure of numbers and the urgency of transportation companies are only secondary to the lack of information our officers have as to the previous medical, social and educational history of the prospective entrants. Diagnosis of mental conditions can be made in many instances only when such data is available, and it is obvious that this can be secured only in the land from which the immigrant comes. The Council recognizes that some time will have to be taken to secure such information but are firmly of the opinion that the danger of admitting persons mentally unfit and liable to procreate mentally unfit children is serious enough to warrant such caution. To ask this is to ask no more guarantee than any business firm would require with regard to an employee whom they expected to retain permanently and the selection of our future citizens in a business task the people of Canada expect your government to discharge for them with as much care and zeal.

3. The chief objections that have been offered to the scheme are two in number but in neither case does the Council consider the point valid.

It is objected that such a system will very seriously increase the costs of inspection. It is conceded that the costs will be

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greater but when we remember that each defective child who enters our school auxiliary classes cost school authorities about $1600 as against $600 for the normal child and that each defective who enters an institution costs on an average of $5000 (a conservative) estimate of fifteen years of institutional life at $350 a year) it will be seen that a psychiatrist practically earns his salary every time he keeps an institutional case out of the country. Linked up as is mental defect with crime, chronic unemployment, the spread of venereal disease and family relief it is obviously impossible to attempt an estimate of what the failure of immigration officers are costing Canada to-day. The Council however, does not intend to criticize these officers, whom it believes to be doing the best under possible conditions, but to urge in the strongest manner possible the utmost importance of making their duty one that they can be fairly expected to carry out and then hold them responsible to the limit for any failures on their part. Canada is spending a great deal to-day in an effort to secure desirable immigrants and it is difficult to understand why any procedure should be followed in the mental examination that tends so far xx to render these expenditures futile.

The number of psychiatrists required and their disposition geographically is of course a matter for your Department of Health to determine but the acceptance of the policy is in the opinion of this Council a matter of grave importance.

A second objedtion that has been offered is that other countries will not welcome such an inspection service in their land. This position seems to us to be so trivial as to require no further comment than to say that the situation in Canada is too pressing to allow for quibbling. Out state supported institutions for the insane alone cost us $8,000,000. a year and represent a capital investment of $27,000,000. This is but a small fraction of the total burden and Canada cannot add to it.

Another objection is often raised that if made complusory it will unduly interfere with movements of peoples whose intention is to visit only. This difficulty, however, great as it may seem in theory is not in reality so serious. All persons coming under assisted passage schemes should be obliged to come under these regulations. All others can be warned of the dangers of migrating without such examination being made prior to embarkation. Steamship companies bringing out immigrants should be obliged to show certificates from Canadian medical officers, from the land of embarkation, allowing the steamship to carry as immigrant passengers specified persons.

The proposals herein contained are not presented as novel. They represent only a summary statement of opinion that is held by members of our Councils, and by citizens in general throughout our whole country. In presenting once more this resolution asking

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that the procedure in the application of the Immigration regulations be changed as indicated, the Council believes that it speaks on behalf of a very large portion of those who are most vitally interested in securing for Canada an increase, but selected population.

immigrant.

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C 45305

RESOLUTION.

Mental Tests for Immigrants.

"Resolved that all immigrants should be examined by competent psychiatrists at the point of embarkation and that such examination should be final."

It is assumed by your petitioners that any wise immigration policy should provide for the following conditions:

1. Should allow the greatest possible freedom in the movements of peoples who desire to enter Canada for a brief visit or en route to another country. It is conceded that under such circumstances that there should be a minimum of restraint and interference.

2. It should provide for some means of ensuring that those persons who intend to become residents of Canada shall be characterized both by the absence and presence of certain traits. Successive governments have recognized this policy and the immigration act and regulations specify certain classes that shall be excluded, namely: Vide Immigration Act, section 3.

This Council is deeply concerned with the effectiveness of the measures being taken to ensure that the intention of this act shall be enforced in so far as it relates to mentally defective and mentally diseased persons or to those who are likely to procreate children showing these defects.

3. It should allow for the contingency that some persons may enter Canada as visitors and later desire to remain here.

The right and the necessity for this country to apply stringent regulations as to the type of persons who may be allowed to make a permanent domicile in Canada is now unquestioned. The wording of section 3 of the immigration act is in our opinion sufficiently broad to protect Canada from those who are not desirable entrants. The Council is of the opinion however, that the methods at present employed for the detection of these persons are not adequate and that the regulations could be made effective only by a radical change in procedure.

It is not deemed by us to be necessary to recapitulate at length evidences as to the failure under the present system to debar mental defectives, insane persons and persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority. Sub-sections A., B and K.

Memoranda have been presented to Canadian Governments from various sources during the past ten years with evidence on this point. Two or three recent investigations may however be cited.

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1. The Province of British Columbia has recently appointed a Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene to inquire into the causes for the alarming increase in the demand for institutional accommodation for the insane or feebleminded in that province. In introducing his resolution for the appointment of this commission the provincial secretary, Hon. Dr. Sloan point out - (1) That there had been an enormous increase in the mental hospital population, and attributed this to defective immigration regulations. (2) He announced that the Provincial Government would not assume the responsibility of caring for permit cases.

2. In the city of Toronto an inquiry was made as to the places of birth of children known by the Psychiatric Division of the Board of Health to be feebleminded. The results are very disconcerting. Only 25% of the children are clearly Canadian. 26% were born outside of Canada and were therefore admitted by the inspectors of immigration. There is no reason for believing that the situation in Toronto is unique. For this failure our present policy must clearly be held responsible. Another 49% of the defective children in Toronto were born in Canada of parents who have arrived since 1900. Although some of these children were admittedly born of apparently normal parents it is generally recognized by psychiatrists that over half of cases of feeblemindedness are due to the inheritance of mental deficiency from one ot both parents. Here again we are forced to the conclusion that the present procedure is one that not only creates problems of immediate care but one which provides an unending source of expense to our Canadian people through the admission of persons who will procreate defective children.

Before leaving this problem of mental defectives the Council wishes to remind you that a large number of social and economic problems are closely bound up with it. A recent investigation of the work of family welfare agencies in Canada has shown that approximately 25% of their outlay goes to care for families in which one or both parents are feebleminded. At best these persons can become only unskilled labourers and in times of industrial depression or unemployment they find themselves unable to compete with other persons.

It is more difficult to define the responsibility of our officials in cases of insanity. Certainly they can be expected to reject developed cases of mental disease but in the early stages this can be done only in the light of the previous medical and social history of the person. It is conceded that a number of those newcomers who fill our mental hospitals owe this condition to the stress of adjustment to a new country. The important point is that diagnosis and prognosis can often be made only in terms of the personal history of the patient and the history of the family from which he has come.

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immigrant

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Message for Montreal Herald
Original handed by P.M. to Mr. Morlat
Dec. 20/24

C 45310

N-1300
Vol. 2-B

CANADA'S NATIONHOOD

Canadians are proud of the new national status which the energy of her pioneers, the valour of her soldiers, the foresight of the statesmen of the past, have won for their country these latter days.

They are proud of the place they hold in the world's industry. The largest foreign trade per head of any country, the finest wheat the world grows, the greatest railway and hydro-electric systems, a steady expansion in the range and magnitude of manufacturing industry, these are achievements of which a young people may well be proud.

But the question remains, what are we making of these opportunities? Are we developing a national civilisation, a distinctive culture, to correspond? Political status is but the form, economic achievement is but the foundation; the important question is the quality of the life which gives worth and content to this form, the value and distinctiveness of the civilization we build on this foundation.

In this Canadian civilization, we must strive to keep all that is most worthy in the traditions of the two great peoples from whom we are chiefly sprung, and to add something of our own, something that will mark out our Northland from all other lands, some contribution in our turn to the common pool of mankind's inheritance.

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Only the few among us will be able to create, to fathom some deep mystery of science, to work out a new treatment for an old disease, to write a poem that will live in the people's hearts, to carve a statue that will forever imprison and immortalize a mood. But the rest of us can give the encouragement and recognition that genius deserves, and provide as far as we may favouring conditions under which it may work.

Only the few can create, but we should all be able to enjoy and make our own the best that has been said and done before us. The average man and woman must be enabled to enter more fully into their spiritual heritage. Not only " a chicken in the pot for Sunday," but a growing bookshelf on the wall, should be a nation's aim. It is for this reason that the achievements of our writers and our men of science, the steadily rising standards of our schools and colleges, the wider appreciation of what is sound and beautiful in art and architecture, the increasing effectiveness of the press in bringing before us day by day and week by week the most significant of the happenings among our fellowmen, these and the other signs of a fuller and richer national life are a better index of nationhood than constitutional powers or industrial achievement.

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C 45312

E-1302-41

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 5th June, 1928

International Congress of Popular Art.
Prague, October, 1928

In March, we were advised by the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (which is a sort of stepchild of the League of Nations, with headquarters in Paris) that under the auspices of the ~~Committee~~ Institute an International Congress of Popular Art would be held in Prague in October, 1928, and that the Government was requested to name official representatives to take part.

The Congress will deal with all forms of folk art, particularly folk lore and handicraft of all kinds. It will be followed immediately by an Exhibition.

The invitation was referred to the Department of Mines, as the ethnology work of the Government is under its jurisdiction. I believe the question of sending Mr. Barbeau was considered by the Department, but we were advised in April by Dr. Camsell that it was not proposed to send a representative.

Mr. Georges Bouchard, M.P. informed me on Saturday that he had had a discussion with you on the subject, and that you were favourable to the proposal to send a governmental representative, if it was found possible. Mr. Bouchard has been much interested in the handicraft movement in Quebec, and would liketo take part in the Congress. He added that if it were a question of sending only one representative, he would prefer to see Mr. Barbeau go rather than himself. The Congress would undoubtedly be of much cultural interest, and the revival of handicraft products in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, as well as the wide interest shown in recent folk song developments in the Province of Quebec, indicate that it has a profitable commercial side as well.

The National Council of Women are urging that Mrs. Dignam, Convenor of the Art Committee, should be appointed as a government representative. She would be prepared to go at her own expense.

If Mr. Barbeau is sent, his expenses would be met by the Department of Mines. From what appropriation would Mr. Bouchard's expenses be met if he were appointed? Unforeseen Expenses expenditure? It is possible that the Canadian Pacific, which is much interested in Quebec developments, would co-operate by giving special rates.

O.D. SKELTON

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C 45313

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

E.T.

8

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

for Mr. King's signature

12 December, 1923

In submitting the enclosed report to the Governor in Council respecting the use of the flag over the High Commissioner's Office, I desire to point out that in it I made no reference to the Canadian soldiers fighting under it at the front, because I find on enquiry that this was not done. The flags carried by the Canadian troops were not taken into action, and in fact I believe remained in England during the war.

J. Pope

Ottawa, 12th December, 1923

DEC 12 Recd

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C 45314 E-1452

8

E.T.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

The undersigned has recently had his attention drawn to the practice which prevails of flying the Blue Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly over the offices of the High Commissioner for Canada in London. This flag was authorized by a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 16th July,1870, to be flown by Canadian Government vessels, and its use on land in the heart of London is manifestly irregular. The reasons offered for this variation from the Union Jack, which is flown over all Canadian Government buildings in Canada, is to be found in the need very generally felt by Canadians in London for a distinctive emblem which will afford a ready means of distinguishing the character of the buildings over which it floats, and the portion of the Empire to which they belong.

The undersigned considers that this purpose would be served by the employment in this connection of the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly, which, though originally authorized by the Admiralty to be flown over vessels of the Canadian Mercantile Marine, has come to serve a wider application, having been displayed in times past from the Government buildings in Ottawa, and quite generally

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throughout the country, where it is still often spoken of as the 'Canadian Flag', meaning thereby, the distinctive emblem of Canada.

The undersigned therefore, without contemplating any variation from the present practice regulating the flying of flags from the Government buildings within the Dominion of Canada, and assuming that no local regulation would be violated thereby, recommends that the requisite authority be given for displaying the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly, on suitable occasions from all buildings owned or occupied by the Canadian Government, and situated without Canada.

All of which is respectfully submitted ;

W. L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Ottawa, 23rd January, 1924

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IH/5

P.C. 134

C 45316 0

Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 26TH JANUARY 1924

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 23rd January, 1924, from the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitting that he has recently had his attention drawn to the practice which prevails of flying the Blue Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly over the offices of the High Commissioner for Canada in London. This flag was authorised by a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 16th July, 1870, to be flown by Canadian Government vessels, and its use on land in the heart of London is manifestly irregular. The reason offered for this variation from the Union Jack, which is flown over all Canadian Government buildings in Canada, is to be found in the need very generally felt by Canadians in London for a distinctive emblem which will afford a ready means of distinguishing the character of the buildings over which it floats, and the portion of the Empire to which they belong.

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in the fly, which, though originally authorised by the Admiralty to be flown over vessels of the Canadian Mercantile Marine, has come to serve a wider application, having been displayed in times past from the Government buildings in Ottawa, and quite generally throughout the country, where it is still often spoken of as the 'Canadian Flag', meaning thereby, the distinctive emblem of Canada.

The Prime Minister therefore, recommends, without contemplating any variation from the present practice regulating the flying of flags from the Government buildings within the Dominion of Canada, and assuming that no local regulation would be violated thereby, that the requisite authority be given for displaying the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly, on suitable occasions from all buildings owned or occupied by the Canadian Government, and situated without Canada.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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IH/3 P.C. 623

N-1300
1 of 2 A
C 45318

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 23rd April, 1925.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 21st April, 1925, from the Minister of National Defence, stating that a distinctive Canadian Flag has been authorized to be used by Canadian Government owned vessels and by other vessels of Canadian registry, and that there is throughout the country a desire that there should also be adopted for use ashore a distinctive Flag which shall be recognized as the Flag of the Dominion of Canada.

The Minister, therefore, recommends that a committee be appointed to consider and report on the most suitable design that should be adopted for a Canadian National Flag for use ashore, and that this committee be composed of the following:

G.J. Desbarats, Esq., C.M.G., Deputy
Minister of National Defence - Chairman
Thomas Mulvey, Esq., B.A., K.C.,
Under-Secretary of State.
A.G. Doughty, Esq., C.M.G., L.L.D.,
Dominion Archivist.
Commodore Walter Hose, C.B.E., A.D.C.,
Director of the Naval Service.
Major-General H.A. Panet, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.,
Adjutant General.
Group Captain J.S. Scott, M.C., A.F.C., A.D.C.,
Acting Director of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation and submit the same for approval.

E.J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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P.C.993. C 45319 N-1300 - 2 of 2 - A

Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee
of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency
the Governor General on the 20th June, 1925.

The Deputy of

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 20th June, 1925, from the Minister of National Defence, submitting that in accordance with representations made in Parliament by the Prime Minister on the 17th June, 1925, with respect to the procedure that should be followed in regard to the question of the adoption of a Canadian National Flag for use ashore and that it is desirable that the matter should be decided by Parliament before any action should be taken thereon by a Committee, and recommending for these reasons that the Order in Council of the 23rd April, 1925 (P.C.623) appointing a Committee to consider and report on the most suitable design for a Canadian National Flag for use ashore, be cancelled.

The Committee concur in the foregoing, and advise that the said Order in Council be cancelled, accordingly.

E. J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister

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N-1300
Vol. 2-A
C 45320

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CANADA

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KING:

Monday,
June 22, 1925

The following letters protesting against any change in the flag have been received:

Date		
1925		
June 9	Royal George Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 387,	Toronto
11	Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire,	Toronto
14	Oakridge Loyal Orange Lodge,	East Toronto
14	Brunswick Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 404,	Toronto
15	North-West District Branch, His Majesty's Army and Navy Veterans,	Toronto
15	Enniskillen Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 387,	Toronto
16	Men of the Empire, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 880,	Toronto
16	Loyal Orange County Lodge, Co. of Haliburton,	Toronto
16	City Grand Loyal Orange Lodge No. 2067,	Toronto
16	King Edward VII, Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 2961,	Toronto
16	Star of Bethlehem Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 2052,	Toronto
17	Birch Cliff Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 2856,	Birch Cliff, Ont.
17	Great War Veterans' Association, Lake Shore Branch,	New Toronto, Ont.
17	R. H. Sarsfield, Esq., Arlington Hotel,	Toronto
18	The United Empire Loyalists' Association,	Toronto
18	Prince Alfred Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 501,	Toronto
18	Great War Veterans' Association, East Toronto Branch,	Toronto
18	Amputations' Association of the Great War, Toronto Branch,	Toronto
18	King Edward VII Loyal Orange Lodge No. 97, Young Brition Association,	Toronto
18	The United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada,	Toronto
18	Loyal Orange County Lodge of East York,	Toronto
X 19	A. A. Campbell, Esq., 794 Wellington St.,	London, Ont.
19	Sproule Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 2253,	Toronto
19	Loyal Orange County Lodge of West Peterboro,	Peterboro, Ont.
19	Daughters and Maids of England Benevolent Society, Rose of Kent, No. 21,	Toronto
X 19	Alvin A. Beach, Esq.,	Sturgeon Falls, Ont.
X 16	Thomas Bingle, Esq.,	Brantford
16	Victoria Loyal Orange Lodge No.588	Toronto

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June	20	Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 1709,	Sturgeon Falls, Ont.
	20	Clarke Wallace Lodge 183, L.O.B.A.	Toronto
	20	The Great War Veterans' Association, Ontario Provincial Command,	Toronto
	20	Loyal Orange District Lodge, No. 3,	North Gower, Ont
	20	The Corporation of the Township of York,	Toronto

(W. H. Measures)
Jr

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(W. H. Measures)
Jr

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C 45322 N-1300
Vol. 2 - A

CANADIAN FLAG for USE ON LAND

In reply to criticism of the action of the Government in appointing ~~a Commission~~ an inter departmental committee to receive and consider designs for a Canadian flag for use ashore, the following statement of the facts is submitted:

At the outset it should be clearly understood that in dealing with the proposal for a distinctive Canadian flag for use ashore, we touch only one quarter of the question involved in the adoption of distinctive symbols to emphasize the identity of the Dominion.

The four different aspects of the case are as follows:

(a) Armorial bearings
(b) Flag for use on the high seas by vessels owned by the Canadian Government
(c) Flag for use on the high seas by vessels privately owned but with Canadian registry
and lastly the proposal we are now considering -
(d) Flag for use ashore.

As regards the first three, Canada has already distinctive symbols. In the case of (a) I need not enter into the full details of the difference between the Royal Arms and the Arms of Canada, sufficient to say that the motto on the latter is a new one and the Maple Leaf and the Ancient Banner of France are introduced. An interesting fact which should be noted in connection with this matter, as it has a direct bearing on our problem in

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Canada, is that ever since the union of the Crown, Scotland as an evidence that she was in every sense a co-partner within the union, had different armorial bearings, bearing a different motto, just as Canada, for the same principle, has a different coat of arms now.

(b) is the Canadian Blue Ensign, bearing the coat of arms of Canada on the Fly;

(c) is the Canadian Red Ensign, also bearing the coat of arms of Canada.

The important point, however, is not the details of those differences, but the fact that in each case there is a difference, a separate identity, and another matter of just as great importance as far as the present controversy is concerned, is that all such differences were created - such separate identifications established - when Conservative governments were in power in Canada. The Liberals had nothing whatever to do with the suggestions for the various changes, and neither had the Canadian Parliament, which body was never consulted.

The Privy Council Order calling for the submission of designs for distinctive armorial bearings was dated March, 1919, at which time the Borden government held office. The new design was approved by the Privy Council of Canada, and authorized by Royal proclamation in April and November 1921, respectively, on which dates the Meighen government was in power. It is true

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that since the present Liberal Government took over control alterations were made in the design, but those were of a purely technical nature and at the instance of the experts in heraldry.

The Canadian Blue Ensign was originally authorized in 1865 (despatch from Secretary of State for the Colonies 16th December, 1865) before Confederation, the authority being confirmed in 1870 (despatch from Secretary of State for the Colonies, 16th July, 1870) during the John A. MacDonald regime.

The Canadian Red Ensign was authorized in 1892, when Sir John Abbott's government held the reins, but the Order-in-Council requesting that the Imperial authorities make the change, is dated June 1890, when Sir John A, MacDonald was premier.

Thus, three quarters of the problem with which we are concerned, has been settled already, not only by the creation of distinctive symbols at the request of Conservative governments in Canada, but Conservative governments under four different leaders, including Sir John A. MacDonald.

As far as the Empire as a whole is concerned, the other self-governing Dominions are proceeding along the lines indicated above, indeed, Australia and New Zealand have gone the length of settling the entire question by having distinctive flags for use on sea and land, and South Africa, at this very moment, having settled all other parts of the question is considering the advisability of a flag for use ashore. The policy may be right or

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it may be wrong, but there is no doubt that it is being subscribed to in a more or less degree by the most of the Dominions, and the lead in this direction was given to them by our political opponents when in 1870 Sir John A. MacDonald's government petitioned the British authorities to grant ~~[illegible]~~ Canadian owned vessels the privilege of flying the Canadian Blue Ensign.

Coming down to the grievance against the present government in respect of a Privy Council Order that a Commission be appointed to consider designs for a Canadian Flag for use on land, the facts are as follows:

The matter came before the Privy Council through the Minister of National Defence, who in turn was moved to act by representations which had been made to his department from outside sources for the adoption of such a flag. The Privy Council thereupon designated a Committee to consider the matter and named as its members such gentlemen as by virtue of their appointments in the civil, naval and military services, would have been nominated by any government who had to deal with such a question. Those officials and officers are experts in matters of this kind and it is part of their duty to advise when called upon. Indeed, Dr. Doughty and Mr. Mulvey were made use of by the Conservative government on the previous occasion when other parts of the question were disposed of, and the further members of the Commission were not then consulted for the good reason that they did not at the time

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hold their present appointments.

Having secured a design, it was the intention of the Cabinet to place the whole matter in front of Parliament, but in the interval politics intervened, the Government was charged with all sorts of nefarious dealings, and when it became evident that truth was the last thing which opponents desired to respect, the Government, after the Prime Minister had made statements regarding the negotiations in the House of Commons on the 17th and 22nd of June, 1925, let the matter drop. The following extract from the utterance of the Prime Minister on the former date summarizes his attitude in the matter:- "While I am able to sympathize with the point of view which would have for Canada a distinctive national flag, ... I would be proud and happy to have Canada in the future, as in the past, to have the Union Jack recognized as the national flag, moreover, I would not lend my support to any proposal which did not include the Union Jack as the most distinctive feature of any national flag that at any time it might be proposed to adopt."

In respect of principle, it will be noted that there is no difference between the attitude defined in the closing sentence of the above quotation, and that of Sir John A. Macdonald, or any leader of the Conservative party when they petitioned for a separate ensign with the Union Jack prominent in the design

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So as to make the position of the Prime Minister still clearer, the following extract is quoted from a speech which he delivered at the Raising of the Union Jack on a flagstaff at Chicopee Heights, near Kitchener, on the 5th of August, 1925:

"The flag represents the noblest and highest ideals to us as citizens of our country and of the Empire..... The flag represents the best citizenship and reminds us of the duty we owe to our country, as well as of the great heritage that has been handed down to us for which we should all be thankful. The flag teaches us to be true to ourselves and to Canada, and if we are true to ourselves and our country we cannot fail to be true to the British Empire."

"The flag impresses upon us the greatness of the Empire, the great Commonwealth of Nations, as King George in an address broadcasted over the Empire said. The flag, therefore, represents a group of democratic self-governing nations, each working for the common good as well as for its own interests."

In brief, the situation regarding this question can be stated as follows: Conservative governments in Canada in the past, commencing as far back as 1870, give the lead in the matter of requesting and securing distinctive symbols to identify Canadian nationality, and Conservative governments settled three-quarters of the whole question involved. The other self-governing Dominions

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of the Empire are following this lead. Some of them having already settled the entire question by securing distinctive armorial bearings and flags on sea and land. The adoption of this policy excited no particular comment, and the loyalty of the parties concerned to the Empire was never questioned.

A Liberal government in Canada, at the request of citizens of the Dominion and preliminary to placing the matter before Parliament, appoint a Commission of Experts to consider designs for a distinctive Canadian flag for use ashore - that is to say, settle the remaining quarter of a problem of which ~~the~~ Conservative governments have already settled three-quarters - and immediately a certain section of the community brand them as traitors.

Aug. 19/25 H. M. Urquhart

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C 45329

MEMORANDUM

To Mr. King:

I enclose a copy of a letter from Harding, of the Dominions Office, which I have acknowledged.

O.D.Skelton

Mr. Cooper
Mem enclosed to Council
Copy & memo
Dec 29-25 K.
Dec. 29, 25

Ottawa, 19

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C 45330 N-1300
Vol 2-A

Dominions Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1,
23rd November, 1925.

Dear Skelton,

26th Octr. I enclose a copy of a letter which Mr. Amery has received from the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of St. George at Edmonton, Alberta, regarding the proper flag to be displayed on land by British subjects on National and Ceremonial occasions, together with a copy
Novr. of the reply which his Private Secretary has sent.

Quite apart from any other consideration, it was felt that the discussions in the Canadian Parliament this year on the flag question and the terms of the Canadian Order in Council of the 26th of January, 1924, as to the flying of the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly on Canadian Government Buildings, rendered any form of reply other than that sent, unsuitable. We thought, however, that you should see the correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) E. J. HARDING

O. D. SKELTON, ESQ., Ph.D.

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C 45331

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ST. GEORGE

P. O. Mortlake Block,
Edmonton,
Alberta,
26 October, 1925.

The Right Honourable,
L.C.S.Amery, M.P.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies,
The Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
London.

Sir:-

I am taking the liberty of approaching you with regard to the proper flag to be displayed on National and Ceremonial occasions by British subjects on land, throughout His Majesty's Dominions.

We, as a Branch of the Royal Society of St. George, have waged a vigorous campaign to drive off the streets and public buildings the Red Ensign (speaking quite respectfully) and cause the Union Jack to be substituted in its place, although with only varying success.

There is in existence at the present moment a movement, so far we believe non-official, in one or two of the self-governing Dominions to design and display a distinctive Dominion Flag, embodying, of course, the Union Flag in one form or another.

Against this movement we propose to resolutely set our face and influence, deeming it to be a tampering with the most fundamental Imperial tradition.

I would, Sir, most respectfully ask that our attitude, having regard to the display of the Land Flag, i.e. the Union Jack, may be strengthened and confirmed by a ruling from you.

I have, etc.

(Sgd.) G. W. BAGSHAWE
Hon. Secretary

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C 45332

23rd November, 1925.

Sir,

I am desired by Mr. Amery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th of October, regarding the proper flag to be displayed on land by British subjects on National and Ceremonial occasions.

The request in the last paragraph of your letter is not, however, one with which it is possible for Mr. Amery to comply.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) M. E. ANTROBUS

G. W. BAGSHAWE, Esq.

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C 45332-A

DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA
YC

Memorandum

regarding Resolution proposed by Mr. McIntosh, Member for North Battleford, on the subject of a Canadian flag.

- I -

Certain facts regarding flags in Canada and in the other Dominions

Before paying attention to the resolution proposed by Mr. McIntosh, the Member for North Battleford, it may be well to give certain facts regarding the practice on this subject (1) in Canada and (2) in the other Dominions.

1) In Canada

It may be said that we have several flags:

a) the Canadian Blue Ensign, which is the flag of our Government-owned marine;

b) the White Ensign, which is the flag for British men-of-war;

c) the Canadian Red Ensign, which is the flag of our mercantile vessels.

These flags may be considered to be for a particular purpose.

The Canadian Red Ensign, however, may be regarded as having a wider application. It has been spoken of, for many years, as the flag of the country.

The history of the Canadian Red Ensign as the Canadian flag and not only as a flag for a particular purpose is a somewhat long one. It has been, however, related

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related several times, more particularly during certain controversies on the question of a national flag.

(See attached pamphlets: "The Future of Canada - A Perplexed Imperialist - The Canadian Flag", by John S. Ewart; "Sir John A. Macdonald and the Canadian Flag", by John S. Ewart; "The Canadian Flag", by F.C.Wade.)

(See also copy of Memorandum entitled "Canadian Flag for use on land", which seems to have been prepared by some member of the Flag Committee of 1925, possibly Mr. Mulvey.)

The main fact is that for may years after Confederation, under Conservative Regimes, the Canadian Red Ensign was considered in practice as the flag of the country. The opinion of Lord Stanley, the Governor General of Canada, on December 12th, 1891, has often been quoted:

> "It has been one of the objects of the Dominion, as of imperial policy to emphasize the fact that by Confederation, Canada became not a mere assemblage of Provinces, but one United Dominion, and, though no actual order has ever been issued, the Dominion Government has encouraged by precept and example the use on all public buildings throughout the Provinces of the red ensign with the Canadian badge in the fly.
> Of course it may be replied that no restriction exists with respect to flags which may be hoisted on shore, but I submit that the flag is one which has come to be considered as the recognized flag of the Dominion, both ashore and afloat, and on sentimental grounds I think there is much to be said for its retention, as it expresses at once the unity of the several Provinces of the Dominion and the identity of their flag with the colours hoisted by the ships of the mother-country."

Lord Stanley expressed that opinion at the time of the opposition made by the British Admiralty to the Canadian Red Ensign. Sir John Macdonald is responsible for

having

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having instituted at that time the Canadian Red Ensign as the flag of the country. It is true that the authority which the British Government undertook to give in this connection was supposed to cover only the flying of that Ensign on our mercantile marine vessels. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the British authorities even in those days could not undertake to prescribe anything to us in the way of a shore flag.

Whatever may have been the practice for many years, it may be said that officially the Union Jack remains the flag of the country; that is probably the reason why in 1904, in the face of the extensive practice already mentioned, a Minister of the Crown (Mr. Sutherland) decided one day to pull down the Canadian Red Ensign and substitute for it the Union Jack.

The same thought, some years ago, seems to have induced a Provincial Minister of Education (Dr. Young of British Columbia) to have an Order-in-Council passed deciding that the Union Jack alone should be flown on every school flagstaff in the Province.

The Liberal Party has added much to the authority of the practice regarding the Canadian Red Ensign when, by Order-in-Council passed in 1924, they decided to fly this flag on Canadian Buildings abroad, partly on the ground that it has come to serve a wider application and has been spoken of as the flag of Canada.(A copy of the Order-in-Council is attached hereto).

It should be added that if this long practice of flying the Canadian Red Ensign as the Canadian flag became

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became confirmed by parliamentary sanction so as to be officially recognized as our national flag, this action would be in accordance with the action taken by mostly all the other Dominions in regard to a national flag. It would also mean adopting our sea flag as the flag of the country. It is a point worthwhile bearing in mind when we consider that the flags of the other Dominions were originally sea flags only.

2) In other Dominions

All the other Dominions have their own national flags. While all of them fly the Union Jack, they also fly flags of their own. With one exception, these Dominion flags are the Red and Blue Ensigns with the arms or an emblem of the Dominion in the fly.

Australia

The flag of the Commonwealth has been adopted in 1903. For the new flag, Australia chose the Southern Cross. Four of the five stars shown in the Cross have seven points, and under the Union Jack in the canton is one large seven-pointed star, which has nothing to do with the constellation, but symbolizes the six states and the Commonwealth as a whole.

Curiously enough, it seems that it is the Red Ensign which is more frequently displayed as the Australian flag, although it was the Blue Ensign which was sanctioned as the official flag of the Commonwealth for use on land as well as sea. The Red Ensign being for use on merchant vessels, this would indicate that in practice Australia is doing very much what Canada has been doing for many years, with this difference that it cannot be said that any Ensign has

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has been sanctioned as the official flag of Canada for use on land as well as sea.

The similarity therefore between the Australian flag and the so-called Canadian flag is remarkable.

New Zealand

The Dominion of New Zealand has also chosen the Southern Cross to be placed on the Ensign. The Blue Ensign is the official flag of the Dominion. Four large stars of the constellation are shown on the fly; the stars are red with a tiny white border to each star.

The similarity therefore between the New Zealand flag and the so-called Canadian flag is also remarkable.

Union of South Africa

A new flag has recently been adopted which consists of three horizontal stripes, orange, white and blue, with, inset on the white stripe, the Union Jack and the old flags of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. (See attached summary of the South African flag question and its settlement.)

Irish Free State

The Irish Free State is the only Dominion who has adopted a banner which shows no connection with the rest of the British Commonwealth. The national flag consists of three upright stripes, green, white and orange, the green being nearest to the pole.

It may be recalled that this banner took its place among the Dominion flags unfurled by the King at the opening of the Wembley Exhibition.

Fuller

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Fuller details regarding flags of the ~~South~~ self-Governing Dominions may be found in a recent publication: "Peeps at the Union Jack" by Nora Hewett, pp. 51-64. The flag of each Dominion is well illustrated. A copy is attached hereto.

- II -

Resolution proposed by Mr. McIntosh

(A copy of the Resolution is attached hereto.)

1) It seems that it would be advisable to drop this resolution. The question of flags is essentially an intricate one and the question of a national flag cannot be easily discussed(publicly)without certain disturbing elements being introduced by some people into the discussion. The example of South Africa shows how difficult it is to arrive,on a problem of this kind,at a conclusion satisfactory to every part of the National Community.

The problem must be faced some day and in a not too distant future, but it would seem to be good wisdom to seek a proper moment to raise the question nationally. Leaders of all Parties would find no hesitation in agreeing on this point. The advisability of not introducing into a general election a disturbing question of this nature must be seen by all.

Mr. McIntosh, if he were approached, might possibly be inclined to adopt the same view and decide not to present his resolution at this time.

On the other hand, his resolution is on the Order paper and it is natural to anticipate that he will

wish

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wish to proceed with its presentation. Moreover, in all probabilities, he does not forget that in 1925 the Government, through the Prime Minister, declared in the House that it was desirable that the whole question be discussed and settled by Parliament first, consequently, that if the Government considered the first session of a Parliament as the best time during the life of a Parliament to have the whole question discussed and settled, they deliberately allowed a good occasion to pass when this Parliament began.

(Attached here are the observations made in the House by the Prime Minister on June 17th and 22nd, 1925).

If the proposer presents his resolution, the question arises as to the attitude to be adopted towards its object.

2) It may first be said that the Prime Minister has made his own personal position fairly clear when he declared in the House, on June 17th, 1925:-

> "Speaking for myself, may I say that while I am able to sympathize with the point of view which would have for Canada a distinctive national flag, just as Australia, South Africa and other of the self-governing British dominions have their national flags, I would be proud and happy to have Canada continue in the future as in the past to have the Union Jack recognized as the national flag, moreover, I would not lend my support to any proposal which did not include the Union Jack as the most distinctive feature of any national flag that at any time it might be proposed to adopt."

One would think that Mr. McIntosh had this declaration in mind when he was framing his resolution.

The purpose of the resolution is partly, but not wholly, to refer the whole question of a Canadian flag to a special committee. If its sole purpose were to

refer

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refer this question to a committee, the situation would appear rather simple and would perhaps present no great difficulty. Probably no Member of the House would take any objection to this reference which would mean that the matter would be all thrashed out in the committee and not in the House, But according to the terms of the resolution, the committee will be bound to consider the advisability of a Canadian flag specifically defined, that is to say,"a flag representing Canada as a whole and in which the British flag shall occupy the position of honour, thus sympolizing the Dominion as an equality partner in the Commonwealth of British Nations." This definition is very likely to give rise to the expression of divergent opinions in the House on the question as to what the flag of the country is or should be. One may easily imagine a possible divergence of views according to the following categories:

1. those who wish to have only the Union Jack;
2. those who desire a Canadian flag on which the Union Jack would occupy the place of honour;
3. those desiring a Canadian flag on which the Union Jack would occupy an essential place but not the place of honour;
4. those desiring a Canadian flag without the Union Jack.

And there may be other views expressed in connection with what a Canadian flag should contain as essentials.

Once a controversy of this kind is inaugurated in the House, it will be continued in the Press and when one

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one remembers what happened in South Africa, it may be expected that Parliament will have a difficult task to perform.

It seems that there would be some advantage in submitting an amendment to the resolution, which would aim at referring this whole question of a flag for Canada to a committee without tying to it the string of a definition as to what the flag should be even on general lines. An amendment of this kind might well be supported by the main argument that all the other Dominions have a flag of their own, and that as the question of a national flag is most complex and difficult in every respect, it might be referred entirely to a committee for consideration. It is safe to anticipate that because of this complexity and difficulty the Committee will reach no definite conclusion and find themselves obliged to report in a manner which would mean shelving the whole question.

- III -

The definition of a Canadian flag on general lines, as contained in the resolution, seems to contemplate the possible adoption of the Canadian Red Ensign as the official flag of Canada. In this respect, it may be assumed that Mr. McIntosh has tried to strike a middle course between a multitude of possible opinions.

The Canadian Red Ensign is our official merchant marine flag and, as already stated, it has been in practice the flag of the country in spite of what may have been said against it on the ground of principle or official sanction or otherwise. It is, so to speak, the Union Jack with the Canadian Coat of arms in the fly of the Ensign. It is similar in character to the Australian and New Zealand flags.

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Conclusion

The more one thinks of this problem, the more strongly one must be inclined to believe that its consideration should be postponed by every possible means at this time.

It seems to be of the utmost importance that it should receive a very careful and thorough examination before it be made an object of public discussion. The Government, it is true, are committed to the procedure of a decision by Parliament first. But there is every advantage to be gained in seeing to it that the matter is not brought up before Parliament until the Government are prepared to examine it thoroughly and until they have made up their mind to settle it - to reach a conclusion in accordance with the will of the people. The will of the people is represented by Parliament, but once discussion has started in Parliament, it will quickly be seen that public opinion is stirred up from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The will of the people might necessarily have to be ascertained in other ways, as every organization in the country would sooner or later take a part in the discussion; for instance, a referendum might become a necessity. Very probably, many negotiations with the Opposition, with every faction in the House, with important organizations in the country would have to take place before a solution could be found in a direction representing the will of the people.

Besides, it goes without saying that no government can think of tackling safely a matter of such nation wide interest without realizing that their own attitude must be

commanded

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commanded to a very large extent by the attitude of the party supporting them because the question of a national flag cannot be looked upon as one separable from the question which relates to certain essential parts of their general policy.

Ottawa, 22nd February, 1929.

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C 45-332-K

DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
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LB/EH

APPENDIX TO MEMORANDUM.

The memorandum of February 22nd, 1929, attached hereto contains the following statement on page 3:

"Whatever may have been the practice for many years, it may be said that officially, the Union Jack remains the flag of the country".

Mr. Thomas Mulvey, the assistant-secretary of State, who has made a study of this subject for many years, says in a memorandum, a copy of which is attached:

"There is no precise authority under which the Union Jack is flown in Canada on land as the national flag. In fact, it has been contended by many that the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms on the fly is the Canadian national flag. It was not until April, 1911, that a Colonial Office despatch decided officially that the Union Jack should be flown on land."

Further on in the same memorandum, Mr. Mulvey adds: "There is no distinct authority for flying the Union Jack itself. This appears to have followed the British subjects who came to Canada as their national emblem."

The Colonial Office despatch referred to above by Mr. Mulvey is one which was addressed by L. Harcourt to Earl Grey, the Governor-General, on April 12th, 1911, and says: "I shall be glad if Your Excellency will cause the writer to be informed that the Union Jack is the National Flag of Canada as of all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions."

For complete information, I attach hereto a copy of the correspondence in question on this point.

It may be added that the Order-in-Council of 1924

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deciding that the Canadian Red Ensign should be flown on Canadian buildings abroad, refers to this decision as "this variation from the Union Jack which is flown over all Canadian Government buildings in Canada."

II.

I have made another statement on page 4, which I think should be corrected. It reads as follows: "All the other Dominions have their own national flags. While all of them fly the Union Jack, they also fly flags of their own.

I understand that the Irish Free State never flies the Union Jack, and my statement should be read in the light of this exception.

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C 45-332-M

COPY

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE FLAG TO BE FLOWN ON LAND BY BRITISH SUBJECTS

Ebenezer, Saskatchewan, Canada,
March 11, 1911.

The Secretary,
His Imperial Majesty,
King George V.

My Lord,

I am the teacher at one of the Public Schools in the Canadian North West.

An order has recently been issued by the Department of Education that every school in the Dominion shall fly the National Flag, and there seems some uncertainty amongst the people in this locality as to the flag this school shall have. I hold that the Union Jack pure and simple is the National Flag of the British Empire throughout the world; but find some people on this side of the Atlantic have a notion that the "Red Ensign" with Canadian Coat of Arms (the Naval Flag) should be used in Canada.

I shall be much obliged therefore if you would say which is in order.

Trusting to receive the favour of your reply,

I beg, &c.,

(Sd.) JOHN F. STEDMAN.

Canada.
Miscellaneous.

Downing Street,
12 April, 1911.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency a copy of a letter received by the King's Private Secretary from Mr. J.F. Stedman respecting the National Flag to be flown in Canada.

I shall be glad if Your Excellency will cause the writer to be informed that the Union Jack is the National Flag of Canada as of all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
humble Servant,

(Sd.) L. HARCOURT.

Governor General,
His Excellency, The Right Honourable Earl Grey,
&c. G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., &c., &c., &c.

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C-45332-N

From Mr. Harcourt to the Governor General

Canada
Miscellaneous

Downing Street,

21st May, 1912.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to your Royal Highness a copy of a letter in regard to the flag which should be used by private persons who are British subjects.

2. I should be glad if you would be good enough to cause the writer to be informed that the Union Flag is the National Flag of Canada as of all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions, and may be flown on land by all British subjects: and that the Red Ensign, with the Arms of the Dominion of Canada in the fly, is intended to be used only by Canadian merchant vessels.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) L. HARCOURT

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COPY

The Canadian Government recognized a wide-spread agitation for a distinctive Canadian flag, and it was for that reason that a committee of officials was appointed to consider suggestions, and to report to the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Native Sons of Canada, a patriotic organization at Vancouver, offered a prize of $1,000 for a design. Some gentlemen of prominence at Toronto had established a committee to select a design and award a prize therefor. These were some of the visible evidences of this agitation. It apparently arose not in Canada but abroad. Canadian soldiers returning from the front on parade through London were not recognized, while the Australians and New Zealanders, who flew their own distinctive flag, were given great applause. At Wembley, Canada has no flag to distinguish its buildings from those of the United Kingdom and the Crown Colonies. Australia and New Zealand have. At Bisley, the Union Jack flying over the Canadian quarters means nothing. The Dominion Government found the same difficulty with the High Commissioner's Office in London. The Union Jack flying from that building indicates nothing to the ordinary Britisher. The Union Jack is the proper flag for anyone in the United Kingdom to fly, so that the flying of the Jack would give no indication of the character of the Canadian building.

The following is set out in the Order-in-Council respecting the flying of a flag on the Canadian Building, dated the 26th of January:

"The reason offered for this variation from the Union Jack, which is flown over all Canadian Government buildings in Canada, is to be found in the need very generally felt by Canadians in London for a distinctive emblem which will afford

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a ready means of distinguishing the character of the buildings over which it floats, and the portion of the Empire to which they belong. The Prime Minister considers that this purpose would be served by the employment in this connection of the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly, which, though ordinarily authorized by the Admiralty to be flown over vessels of the Canadian Mercantile Marine, has come to serve a wider application, having been displayed in times past from the Government buildings in Ottawa, and quite generally throughout the country, where it is still often spoken of as "the Canadian Flag," meaning thereby the distinctive emblem of Canada. The Prime Minister therefore recommends, without contemplating any variation from the present practice regulating the flying of flags from the Government buildings within the Dominion of Canada, and assuming that no local regulation would be violated thereby, that the requisite authority be given for displaying the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms in the fly on suitable occasions from all buildings owned or occupied by the Canadian Government, and situated without Canada."

The Government had a sufficient precedent in appointing the Committee. The Arms Committee was established by Order-in-Council dated 26th March, 1919, by the late Government of Sir Robert Borden. This Committee consisted of:

Thomas Mulvey, K.C., Under-Secretary of State, Chairman;

Sir Joseph Pope, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., I.S.O., Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs;

A.G. Doughty, C.M.G., Lit.D., Dominion Archivist;

Major-General W.G. Gwatkin, C.B., C.M.G., Department of Militia and Defence.

These gentlemen were chosen quite irrespective of their personality, but on account of their official duties. The

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State Department is the depositary of the Arms and of the Great Seal, and it is that Department which is called upon to advise respecting formalities arising through the use of flags, arms and seals. Sir Joseph Pope was formerly Under-Secretary of State, and his knowledge of such matters extended over a very lengthy period. Dr. Doughty, as Dominion Archivist, has knowledge of all matters pertaining to these subjects. The late Sir Willoughby Gwatkin was Inspector-General of the Militia.

The present Government in appointing the Flag Committee, similarly, chose officials representing the Departments chiefly interested together with others with expert knowledge. Mr. Desbarats, Deputy Minister of National Defence, represents the Department which uses flags to a greater extent than any other Department of the Government; the Under-Secretary of State, for reasons similar to those for which he was appointed on the Arms Committee; similarly, Dr. Doughty; Commodore Hose, as Director of the Canadian Navy, and Captain Scott, Director of the Canadian Air Force.

To the ordinary individual, a flag is a device for national use, and representing a precise nationality. To the army, naval and air forces the flag represents much more. First, it undoubtedly represents the nationality it stands for, but by many additions and differences it may stand for a particular officer and a particular service, the army, the navy, the air force, the consular and other services. For this reason, in suggesting a design for a flag it is necessary that one suitable for all services should be selected. And it is for this reason that the officers above referred to were appointed to the Committee.

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There is no precise authority under which the Union Jack is flown in Canada on land as the national flag. In fact, it has been contended by many that the Red Ensign with the Canadian Arms on the fly is the Canadian national flag. It was not until April, 1911, that a Colonial Office despatch decided officially that the Union Jack should be flown on land.

The flags to be flown by Governors and Lieutenant-Governors appears tp have been first established by an Order of the Queen-in-Council dated 7th August, 1869; and in Canada this flag is the Union Jack with the Arms of the Dominion or of the respective Provinces in the centre. The subject was again dealt with by an Order-of the Queen in-Council dated 8th February, 1870, when the flags of the Governor-General of Canada and the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were definitely described and authorized. By a Warrant of the Admiralty dated 14th April, 1886, the Blue Ensign and Blue Pendant were authorized to be flown by police vessels of the Government of Canada. By Admiralty Warrant of the 2nd of February, 1892, the Red Ensign of His Majesty's Fleet, with the Canadian Coat of Arms on the fly, was authorized to be flown on Canadian registered ships. By an arrangement made with the British Admiralty, approved of by Order-in-Council on the 16th of December, 1911, the White Ensign of the British Navy was authorized to be flown on the ships of the Dominion Naval Force, and at the jackstaff the distinctive flag of the Dominion.

There is no distinct authority for flying the Union Jack itself. This appears to have followed the British subjects who came to Canadaas their national emblem.

In the year 1900 the New Zealand Government passed

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a Statute which provided that the Blue Ensign with the Southern Cross on the fly should be for all purposes the flag of New Zealand. This statute, however, provided that it was not to come into force until proclaimed, and that it was not to be proclaimed until it had received the approval of His Majesty the King. In the year 1903 Australia also adopted its peculiar flag, and that flag was afterwards approved of by His Majesty the King.

These are the precedents which the Canadian Government had before them in appointing the Flag Committee.

In the first place this Committee was appointed merely to suggest a device. That suggestion would then require the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council, subsequently of the Parliament of Canada, and also the sanction of His Majesty the King.

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C 45333 Z-1405-C

Delegation of Members
representing
Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto.

1926
Received on May 27th/at 11.45 A.M., by the Prime Minister and Honourable James A. Robb.

The delegation was introduced by Mr. L. O. Clifford and consisted of:

Mr. J. G. Kent, Manager, Canadian National Exhibition.
Mr. John Dixon
Col. Deacon
Mr. C. Ross
Mr. Sam Harris
Mr. Moffat
Mr. T. A. Russell
Mr. WM. Inglis.

Mr. Dixon, on behalf of the delegation, stated that the Canadian National Exhibition intended featuring the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation next year. In that connection they desired, if possible, to have the Dominion Government construct a building to house exhibits from other Dominions and Colonies of the Empire. He said that this year sixteen thousand feet of space was being occupied by New Zealand and it was believed that Australia would look favourably toward having an exhibit next year.

The Ontario Government is now building a building which it is estimated will cost $600,000. This building is being financed by the City of Toronto and being paid for by the

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Ontario Government in annual instalments of $50,000 over a period of twenty years.

As a further evidence of the growing importance of the Exhibition, Mr. Dixon pointed out that it is intended in 1927 to hold a Canadian Poultry Congress at which five thousand delegates are expected to be present.

Mr. Moffat pointed out the large portion of New Zealand trade which was enjoyed by Canada and said that in his line of business, electric ranges, Canadian manufacturers had practically seventy-five per cent. of the trade. He instanced this as showing the great possibilities of trade extension within the Empire and felt that much encouragement would be lent by the establishment of exhibits from other Dominions at the Canadian National Exhibition.

Mr. Kent said that the British Government had practically promised a building to house the exhibits of British manufacturers and he asked the Dominion Government to help facilitate matters so that this building might be gone on with as soon as possible.

The Prime Minister asked whether the Winter Fair building, which had been asked for and was being considered, would not be available to meet the purpose in question, but Mr. Kent said that it was really only useful as stables and in connection with live stock exhibits and would be used by the Canadian National Exhibition as well as by the Royal Winter Fair.

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Mr. King and Mr. Robb both expressed their sympathy with the proposal but said that, of course, the whole question would require looking into. The Prime Minister thought the matters should be dealt with on an Imperial basis rather than in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, though the latter might be used as a fitting point of association. He thought possibly the whole idea might be broached at the Imperial Conference, with a view to seeing whether or not reciprocal arrangements might be made with other Dominions.

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Aug. 27, 1927 C 45335A.

(Comparisons)

CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION

The Canadian National Exhibition has grown with the growth of Canada. Has grown from small things.

First exhibition held here in 1846

had few scattered buildings worth $ 120,000

Present exhibitionshas 80 bldgs.
valued at $ 5,000,000

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THE CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION

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C45335A-2

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION

The Canadian National Exhibition, while it is the successor of fairs held as early as the 'forties, is more directly sprung from the exhibition held by the Industrial Exhibition Association, which commenced operations in 1877 and was incorporated by Act of the Provincial Legislature in 1879, when Angus Morrison, John Jacob Withrow, Philip Armstrong, James McGee, Patrick George Close, Alexander McGregor, Andrew Smith, William Rennie, George Leslie, Jr., William F. McMaster, Thomas Davison, Lucius R. O'Brien, Edward Gurney, Jr., H.P. Dwight, E. B. Shuttleworth and others, were incorporated as the Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, with authority of a very inclusive character, "to exhibit any and every variety of thing and being found in animal and vegetable life, and every variety of mineral" - thus including the whole of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms within its scope. The Toronto Exhibition had therefore from the first, a universal mandate, and in theory at least is a microcosm of the world. Further, this comprehensiveness of function was continued by the Act of 1912, which changed the name of the Association to the "Canadian National Exhibition Association," and has been increasingly realized in practice down to the present time, when the Canadian National Exhibition, crowded with exhibits of the productions of all parts of the world, deserves to be called what in reality it is, a great annual World's Fair. In this capacity it is an educational factor of the very first importance as bringing to our Canadian people who constitute the great majority of its visitors,

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a better idea of the products of other parts of the Empire and the world, while on the other hand, its visitors from other countries obtain an extraordinarily vivid and correct conception of the enormous variety and the high quality of the products of the Dominion. This interchange of experience between Canadians and their guests, from which advancement springs, though great in every ordinary year, must necessarily be greater still in a year when we celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, and when the Directors of our National Exhibition have strained every nerve to furnish us with a particularly grand conclusion to that wonderful series of celebrations which have taken place in the last two months, throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion. So, as two months ago, the eyes of all Canada were fixed upon Ottawa, our capital, as the centre of the celebration of the political achievement which brought Confederation into being, so to-day they are fixed upon this great industrial city of Toronto and this Canadian National Exhibition, where the economic and industrial achievement of our country in the sixty years of its existence is set before us in tangible and visible form. To see what our achievement has been, we have only to look around.

From its commencement this Canadian National Exhibition has been served by able and public-spirited men, who have recognized its national and international importance, and have spared no pains to make it worthy of Canada and her great place in the world. The best evidence of the public appreciation of their efforts, the most certain sign of their great success, is to be found in the increase of the attendance of

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visitors. In 1883 171,000 persons visited the fair; twenty years after, in 1903, this number had trebled, while the next decade again almost doubled the attendance, which reached the then record of 1,009,000 in 1913. Thereafter, together with the country, the Exhibition faced difficult days, and the attendance did not again reach the million mark until 1919, when the first visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, was a leading factor in raisin it to 1,201,000. Thereafter there was a fairly steady increase and 1926 made a new high record with 1,573,000. The special attractions which are on view in this year of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, together with the appeal which this year's exhibition makes to our patriotism as Canadians, should certainly enable us to leave the 1926 mark far behind, and there is some ground for hoping that with favorable weather such as favoured us at Ottawa total attendance may be well up toward the two-million mark.

In past years, one of the most characteristic features of the Canadian National Exhibition has been the amount of space devoted to the products of the other parts of the Empire. For example, there have been for a long time annual exhibitions of West Indian products, which have done much to arouse our interest in and sympathy with our not too prosperous cousins to the south, who, except for Newfoundland, are our nearest neighbours within the Empire, and whose products are so largely complementary to our own. The increase of our trade with them has been facilitated by the Trade Treaty of 1925, under which our duties on West Indian products do not exceed fifty per cent of our general tariff rates upon the same commodities.

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Similarly, our trade with Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other parts of the British Empire has rapidly increased in recent years, partly as the result of the exhibition of this goods at the Canadian National Exhibition and the attendance here of visitors from these countries. Taking all parts of the British Empire outside of the United Kingdom together, our imports from these countries have increased from $2,388,000 in 1896 to $22,456,000 in 1914 and $49,405,000 in 1927; Similarly our exports to countries of the British Empire other than the U.K. have risen from $4,048,000 in 1896 to $23,388,000 in 1914 and $87,508,000 in the fiscal year ended March 1927.

As regards our trade with the United Kingdom, our exports to the Old Country which were under $63,000,000 in 1896, rose to $215,000,000 in 1914 and to $453,000,000 in 1927 or more than seven times what they were thirty years ago; our imports, however, have increased only from $69,000,000 in 1896 and $132,000,000 in 1914 to $164,000,000 in 1927; in this last year they were adversely affected by the great coal strike and the consequent decline in British production not only of coal but of commodities generally.

The first of all World's Fairs, held in London in 1851, was generally hailed at that time as inaugurating an era of international peace, when men beat their swords into ploughs (?) and their spears into pruning-hooks, and compete with each other only in the arts of peace and the achievements of science. That expectation was unfortunately destined to fail of realization, yet there is no doubt that such exhibitions as this are a factor in promoting an increase of knowledge and a better understanding among the notions of the world. So while this present exhibition marks our pride in

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our national unity, in our achievements of the past sixty years and in our pres present position among the nations of the world, we wish to join with it an expression of our friendliness toward all nations, and our hope that the years to come may be years of peace and prosperity for all mankind. Such a hope may fitly find expression at this exhibition of the world's products, held in this great city of Toronto, whose Indian name signfies "the meeting-place".

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C 45336

5 GEORGE V.

CHAP. 8.

An Act to incorporate The Canadian Patriotic Fund.

[*Assented to 22nd August, 1914.*]

Preamble.

WHEREAS it is desirable to provide a fund for the assistance, in case of need, of the wives, children and dependent relatives of officers and men, residents of Canada; who, during the present war, may be on active service with the naval and military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies; and whereas money is now being raised for the said purpose, and it is desirable to provide for the administration of the same: Therefore His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as *The Canadian Patriotic Fund Act, 1914.*

Incorporation.

2. His Royal Highness The Governor General, His Honour Sir J. M. Gibson, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, His Honour Sir François Langelier, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, His Honour Josiah Wood, Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick, His Honour D. C. Cameron, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, His Honour Thomas W. Paterson, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, His Honour James D. McGregor, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, His Honour B. Rogers, Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island, His Honour Geo. E. Brown, Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan, His Honour G. H. V. Bulyea, Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, The Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, P.C., G.C.M.G., The Honourable Sir George E. Foster, K.C.M.G., The Honourable George H. Perley, The Honourable Robert Rogers, The Honourable W. T. White, The Honourable L. P. Pelletier, The Honourable J. D. Hazen, Colonel The Honourable Samuel Hughes,

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The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G., The Honourable Sir James Whitney, K.C.M.G., The Honourable Sir Lomer Gouin, K.C.M.G., The Honourable J. K. Flemming, The Honourable G. H. Murray, The Honourable J. A. Matheson, The Honourable Walter Scott, The Honourable A. L. Sifton, The Honourable Sir R. P. Roblin, K.C.M.G., The Honourable Sir Richard McBride, K.C.M.G., The Honourable George Black, Sir Hugh Graham, The Honourable T. Berthiaume, E. R. Wood, Esq., The Honourable Sir William Mulock, K.C.M.G., J. K. L. Ross, Esq., The Honourable Robert Jaffray, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, K.C.V.O., Sir William Mackenzie, E. J. Chamberlin, Esq., The Right Honourable Chief Justice Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, G.C.M.G., The Honourable C. Sifton, H. B. Ames, Esq., M.P., F. S.Barnard, Esq., George Burn, Esq., T. C. Casgrain, Esq., K.C., The Honourable R. Dandurand, Sir Henry K. Egan, J. B. Fraser, Esq., Herbert S. Holt, Esq., The Honourable Sir Melvin Jones, The Honourable A. E. Kemp, The Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, The Honourable R. Lemieux, A. M. Nanton, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Patterson, William Price, Esq., A. F. Sladen, Esq., C.M.G., Sir Byron Edmund Walker, C.V.O., E. C. Whitney, Esq., and Lieutenant-Colonel D. R. Wilkie are incorporated under the name of "The Canadian Patriotic Fund" (hereinafter called the "Corporation").

Objects.

3. The objects of the Corporation shall be to collect, administer and distribute the fund hereinbefore mentioned for the assistance in case of need of the wives, children and dependent relatives of officers and men, residents of Canada, who, during the present war, may be on active service with the naval and military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies.

Property vested in Corporation.

4. There shall vest in the Corporation,—

(*a*) any moneys, securities and other property which are now the property of The Canadian Patriotic Fund Association, incorporated by chapter 92 of the statutes of 1901, and which the Association may agree to transfer;

(*b*) all moneys at any time contributed to be expended or distributed by or through the Corporation hereby created.

Liabilities assumed.

5. Upon the transfer of the funds, securities and other property of The Canadian Patriotic Fund Association to the Corporation, the Corporation shall be subject to the obligations, debts and liabilities of the said Association up to the amount so received.

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Executive committee.

6. The affairs of the Corporation shall be administered by an executive committee, consisting of a president and such other officers and members as the corporation may from time to time determine.

2. The persons whose names are mentioned in section 2 shall constitute the provisional executive committee, and provided that ten of the said persons are present at the meeting, the Corporation may be organized and the executive committee may be elected by them. Until otherwise provided by by-law or regulation made by the executive committee, ten members of the executive committee shall be a quorum.

Distribution of funds.

7. The Corporation shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, pay, apply or distribute to the best of its judgment, in such manner, among the persons entitled to share therein, and in such amounts, as in the absolute and uncontrolled discretion of the Corporation seems proper or advisable; and the Corporation shall take such means as it thinks necessary or advisable to ascertain who are entitled to share in the said fund, and to what extent and in what manner the persons entitled will be relieved by the Corporation.

Branches.

8. The Corporation shall have the power to establish branches or local organizations throughout Canada, and to co-operate with any association or organization established in any place in Canada, for purposes similar to those of the Corporation, upon such terms and conditions as the Corporation may by by-law determine.

Investments.

9. Pending the final distribution of the fund, the Corporation may,—

(*a*) invest it in the public consols, stocks, bonds, debentures or other securities of the United Kingdom, or of any Dominion or dependency thereof, or in the debentures, bonds, stocks or other public securities of Canada, or of any province of Canada, or of any municipal or public school corporation in Canada; or,

(*b*) deposit it with any chartered bank in Canada.

Audit.

10. On and from the thirty-first day of December, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, the accounts of the Corporation shall be audited by the Auditor General of Canada, and a report of such audit, with such further statement as seems proper, shall be published as the Corporation directs; and the said auditor, or his successor in office, shall be the auditor of the Corporation.

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Liability of Corporation for its officers.

11. Except as provided for by the next preceding section, and except as to any fraudulent act or fraudulent omission of the Corporation, the Corporation shall not, nor shall any of its members, be liable or in any way answerable for any of the acts, errors or omissions of the Corporation or of any of its officers, members, employees or agents, with respect to the receipt, expenditure or distribution of the said moneys, or of any portion thereof, or in any other respect in carrying out the objects of this Act.

Ex-officio members.

12. Until the Corporation is dissolved as hereinafter provided, the successor or successors in office of the Governor General, and of the Lieutenant Governors of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the Commissioner of the Yukon, shall be members of the Corporation.

Head office.

13. The office of the Corporation shall be in the City of Ottawa.

By-laws and regulations.

14. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Corporation may make by-laws, rules and regulations as to the holding of its meetings, the admission of additional members to the Corporation, the appointment and duties of its officers and employees, the appointment of members to fill vacancies, the quorum at meetings, and generally the internal government of the Corporation and the carrying out of the objects of this Act.

Payment of expenses.

15. The Corporation may, out of the moneys vested in it, pay all expenses it thinks necessary or proper to incur, or which it considers have been properly incurred by the said Corporation, or on its behalf, in connection with the carrying out of the objects of this Act or of the work of the said Corporation or of the committees thereof.

Dissolution of Corporation.

16. When the purposes for which the Corporation is created have been fully carried out, completed and finished, the corporate powers of the Corporation shall be deemed to have ceased and the Corporation to be dissolved.

OTTAWA: Printed by JOSEPH DE LABROQUERIE TACHÉ, Law Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty.

C 45340

5 GEORGE V.

CHAP. 2.

An Act to amend The Canadian Patriotic Fund Act, 1914.

[*Assented to 8th April, 1915.*]

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:— 1914, 2nd Sess., c. 8.

1. Section 3 of *The Canadian Patriotic Fund Act, 1914*, statutes of 1914 (Second Session), chapter 8, is amended by adding thereto the following subsections:—

Newfoundlanders in Canadian forces.

"2. The Corporation may also assist, in case of need, residents of Newfoundland who are the wives, children and dependent relatives of officers and men, residents of Newfoundland, who, during the present war, may be on active service in the Canadian naval or military forces.

Objects of Corporation extended to:—

"3. The Corporation may also, during the war and for six months after the termination of the war, assist in case of need:—

Incapacitated officers and men.

(*a*) Officers and men, residents of Canada, who return to Canada incapacitated by wounds, injuries or disease received or contracted while on active service with the naval or military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies during the present war; and

Widows, etc., of officers and men.

(*b*) Residents of Canada who are widows, children and dependent relatives of officers or men, residents of Canada, who die from wounds, injuries or disease received or contracted while on such active service.

Limit of assistance that can be given.

No assistance shall be given to any person under the provisions of this subsection for a longer period than six months, or to any person who is in receipt of any gratuity, pension or allowance paid by His Majesty or by any foreign government in consequence of incapacity or death occurring as aforesaid."

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C 45341

8-9 GEORGE V.

CHAP. 35.

An Act to amend The Canadian Patriotic Fund Act, 1914.

[*Assented to 24th May, 1918.*]

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:— 1914, (2nd sess., c. 8); 1915, c. 2.

1. Subsection one of section three of *The Canadian Patriotic Fund Act, 1914*, chapter eight of the statutes of 1914, (second session) is repealed and the following is substituted therefor:—

"**3.** (1) The objects of the Corporation shall be to collect, administer and distribute the fund hereinbefore mentioned for the assistance in case of need of the wives, children and dependent relatives resident in Canada, of officers and men who, during the present war, may be on active service with the naval and military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies." Objects.

2. This Act shall be deemed to have come into operation on the twenty-second day of August, 1914. Retroactive effect.

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9-10 GEORGE V.

CHAP. 44.

An Act respecting The Canadian Patriotic Fund.

[*Assented to 7th July, 1919.*]

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:— 1914, 2nd. Sess., c. 8; 1915, c. 2; 1918, c. 35.

1. Sections three and sixteen of *The Canadian Patriotic Fund Act, 1914*, chapter eight of the statutes of 1914 (second session) are hereby repealed and the following sections are substituted therefor:—

"**3.** The objects of the Corporation shall be to receive, collect, administer and distribute the fund hereinbefore mentioned, for the assistance, in case of need, of the wives, children and dependents, resident in Canada, of officers and men who during the War which began in August, 1914, may be, or may have been, engaged on active service with the Naval, Military or Air forces of His Majesty or of His Majesty's Allies. Objects.

"**16.** When the objects of the Corporation have been fully carried out, or when under the powers conferred by this Act, the Corporation has divested itself of all moneys received or collected for the purposes of the said Corporation and of all rights, titles and interests to or in any moneys to be received or collected for those purposes, and when the accounts of the Corporation have been audited to the satisfaction of the Auditor General of Canada, and a summary of that audit, containing such particulars as the Governor in Council sees fit to require, has been published in the *Canada Gazette* for such period as the Governor in Council requires, the Governor in Council, by Proclamation, to be published in the *Canada Gazette* and in such other manner, if any, as He requires, for such periods respectively as He requires, may declare that the Corporation shall be dissolved on the date fixed by the Proclamation, and on and after that date the Corporation shall cease to exist." How corporation to be dissolved.

2. Subsection three of section one of chapter two of the statutes of 1915 is hereby repealed. Repeal.

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C 45343

12-13 GEORGE V.

CHAP. 12.

An Act respecting The Canadian Patriotic Fund.

[*Assented to 28th June, 1922.*]

1914 (2 sess.), c. 8; 1915, c. 2; 1918, c. 35; 1919, c. 44.

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

In case of need Gov. in Co. may pay sums not exceeding $900,000 to Corporation.

1. (1) Whenever the Governor in Council is satisfied that the resources of The Canadian Patriotic Fund are inadequate to enable the Corporation to continue to perform the relief work that has been carried on by it, and that the result of the cessation of any part of the said work would throw upon the public authorities, whether Dominion, provincial or municipal, additional burdens for the relief of distress, the Governor in Council may authorize the payment from the Consolidated Revenue Fund to The Canadian Patriotic Fund such sums as the Governor in Council may from time to time deem requisite to enable The Canadian Patriotic Fund to continue its work, but such sums shall not in the whole exceed the sum of nine hundred thousand dollars.

Arrangements for similar relief work in Manitoba.

(2) In the case of the province of Manitoba, in which province The Canadian Patriotic Fund is not operating, the Corporation may make arrangements with any association or organization established therein for purposes similar to those of the Corporation for the carrying on of such relief work in the said province, and may, out of the funds provided by this Act, pay to such association or organization such sum or sums as may be mutually agreed upon between the Corporation and such association or organization.

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6. P. C. 1783 C 45344 S-1101

Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the The Deputy of 7 TH SEPTEMBER 1922

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable the Prime Minister for the Minister of Finance, submits that by Chap. 12 of the Statutes of 1922, An Act respecting the Canadian Patriotic Fund, authority is given to the Governor in Council, in case of need, to authorize the payment to the Canadian Patriotic Fund of such sum as may from time to time be deemed requisite to enable the said Fund to continue its work, such sums not to exceed in all the sum of $900,000.

The Honorary Secretary of the Canadian Patriotic Fund has represented to the Government that the resources of the Fund were inadequate to enable the emergency relief work to be continued by the Fund beyond the 31st July, 1922, and that the cessation of such emergency relief work would throw upon the Dominion, Provincial or Municipal public authorities additional burdens for the relief of distress and has stated that an advance of $80,000 was necessary to provide for the continuance of such relief work after the 1st August for that month.

It will now be necessary to meet the requirements for the month of September, and the Prime Minister, therefore, recommends that under the provisions of said Act,

authority

The Honourable
The Minister of Finance

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authority be granted for the payment to the Canadian Patriotic Fund of the sum of $80,000 to enable the said Fund to continue its emergency work during the month of September.

The Committee advise that the requisite authority be granted accordingly.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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The Committee advise that the requisite authority be granted accordingly.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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MEMORANDUM C 45346
Prime Minister's Office

Ottawa. .....

MR. KING:

I assume you will wish to make some personal reference to Her Excellency, who succeeded Sir Robert Borden as President of the Canadian Red Cross Society in 1926, and possibly also to Dr. Robertson, Chaurman of the Central Council.

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C 45347

THE RED CROSS

THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE AND THE GENEVA CONVENTION IN 1864.

During the same year in which the Fathers of Confederation met at Quebec to frame the resolutions which laid the foundations of a united Canada, a Convention was signed at Geneva by the representatives of twelve nations who came together to establish the foundations of the International Red Cross. The fruit of one Conference was a great experiment in nation-building which time has crowned with conspicuous success. The result of the Geneva Conference was a great experiment in international co-operation which not only did much to remove the worst barbarities of war, but also set up an organisation which has devoted its energies to the relief of human suffering without respect to national boundaries. It is a tribute to the courage of those who founded the Red Cross Society that they ~~are~~ were not daunted by the strength of their adversaries, a strength which is attested by a tragic series of wars and plagues which date from the beginning of the world's history. With high resolve they faced the obstacles in their path, and the best evidence of their success is found today in a vast organisation which is universal in its scope and influence.

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RED CROSS FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH WAR.

It is natural, perhaps, that the Red Cross is primarily associated in our thoughts with the conduct of war, for it was in the theatre of war that it rendered its first and its most spectacular service. Today, however, the nations of the world are making a determined effort to abolish war as an instrument of national policy, and it is not too much to hope that the special phase of Red Cross activities which has engaged its attention in the past will become less important as time goes on. It would be stretching a figure of speech beyond its true intent to suggest that the Red Cross has "beaten its swords into ploughshares", but I am sure we all look forward to the day when the dressing station and field ambulance of the battle-field will be displaced by the Red Cross hospital in the slums of our cities and on the frontiers of civilization.

THE CANADIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY.

As Canada did not exist as a political entity when the Red Cross Convention was signed in 1864, the origin of the Red Cross Society in this country is of more recent date, having been established in 1896 as a Voluntary Auxiliary

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to the Department of National Defence, and in matters of health as a Voluntary Auxiliary to the official Health Authorities of the Dominion, Province and Municipality. Its purpose is finely expressed in words which are familiar to many who are here today: "In time of peace or war to carry on and assist in work for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world". If the value of an organization is measured by the degree to which it has endeavoured to attain the highest ideals, it is evident, I think, to anyone who has observed the variety and magnitude of the work of the Red Cross in Canada that it stands second to none in its claim to our interest and our sympathetic support.

We meet on this occasion to pay tribute to the achievements of the Red Cross not only in those lands which have required its ministrations in time of war, but with a full recognition of the important contribution it has made and will continue to make to the upbuilding of our own national life in time of peace through the prevention of disease and by virtue of its splendid service in safeguarding the health of our people.

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In speaking more particularly of the Red Cross in Canada, I should like to emphasize three important aspects of its organization and activities:

(1) It is a voluntary organization.

(2) It performs an indispensible service in a country with rapidly expanding frontiers.

(3) It is an agency for the promotion of international good-will.

A VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION.

As a voluntary organization, the Red Cross Society depends in the main upon the contributions of individuals for the proper performance of its work. There are occasions, no doubt, when this appears to be a handicap to its efficiency, but I am convinced that, rightly understood, its voluntary character is one of its greatest advantages. "Where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also." It is no less important to the Red Cross that it shall have sufficient funds to carry on its work, than that it shall command the willing interest and co-operation of the great mass of our people. If its achievements receive the publicity they deserve, I feel certain that there will be no lack of financial support for any programme it may decide to undertake. In

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every community where it is now organized it is supervised by a group of workers whose services are entirely voluntary. The spirit which prompted self-sacrifice in time of war must not be allowed to languish in time of peace. The capacity for service and for generous giving is latent in every community. If we only call it forth in time of war, we are unconsciously cultivating the association of the virtue of self-sacrifice and national service with the evil of war which we are doing our utmost to exterminate. The service of humanity in time of peace, and a full appreciation of the heroism of this service, has a very important bearing on our efforts to abolish war.

OUTPOST HOSPITALS.

To its splendid work for disabled soldiers and their dependents, and its educational campaign among school-children for the prevention of disease, the Red Cross in Canada has added a service of great and permanent value through the establishment of hospitals and first-aid posts in the remote and inaccessible settlements of our Dominion. From British Columbia to New Brunswick, there are no less than forty of these

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hospitals and stations which provide medical attention and nursing care to thousands of our people who would otherwise be deprived of medical aid in time of sickness and distress. To my own mind there is no feature of Red Cross Work in this or any other country which appeals so strongly to the sympathy and imagination. It would be impossible to estimate the comfort and consolation which Red Cross nurses have brought to settlers of the northern country and the more remote regions of the Western Provinces, and particularly to the brave women whose share of pioneering is in some respects more difficult and dangerous than that of their men who till the soil. A day will come, I hope, when the Canadian historian will do full justice to the service rendered by the Red Cross in the development of Western and Northern Canada. Certainly there could be no stronger appeal to our energetic support and co-operation than the eloquent record of the cases treated at these outpost hospitals on the very frontiers of civilisation.

AN AGENCY OF INTERNATIONAL GOOD-WILL.

And finally let me say just a word of the Red Cross as an agency for the promotion of international good-will. It is typical of its universal appeal and its recognition of a

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universal duty that the purpose of the Canadian Red Cross Society is described as being the mitigation of human suffering, not merely within our own boundaries, but throughout the world. There could be no more practical response to the great command "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel". The very symbol of the order suggests its all-embracing purpose. If there is a famine in China or Russia, or an earthquake in Japan, the response of the Red Cross comes from all the countries of the earth. Who can measure the effect of such co-operation in bringing together the people of alien countries in the common cause of humanity? It affords a splendid example of that growing spirit of international good-will which holds such a rich promise for future peace. One cannot but believe that nations which have united under the Red Cross to relieve famine, sickness and distress the world over will find it increasingly difficult to entertain the thought of war. This indeed has become the accepted doctrine of the International Red Cross, as expressed in a memorable manifesto issued in 1921 by its Joint Council. "Faithful to the ideal which inspired its founders and which it has ever served, the Red Cross hereby declare before the whole world that its work does not end with

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war. The Red Cross appeals to the heart of all mankind, that each individual may find in himself the needful strength and determination to make and keep universal peace."

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing the toast to the Red Cross.

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C 45355

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

AIDE-MEMOIRE:

Re: Red Cross Society Luncheon

Mrs. Waager telephoned and gave me the following information:

The luncheon will be held at the Chateau Laurier (room not yet decided) at one o'clock on Wed. May the 15th. Her Excellency the Viscountess Willingdon will preside. She will enter the room after the guests are assembled and they will be presented to her at the end of the luncheon.

It is estimated that there will be between one hundred and fifty and two hundred guests. Among those expected are Red Cross officials, Cabinet Ministers, the leader of the Opposition, the local health authorities, members of Parliament and the general public, which has been invited to purchase tickets.

It is hoped that the Prime Minister will propose the toast of the Red Cross Society and in his speech make some reference to the peace time programme of the Red Cross.

Ottawa,
May 8th,
1 9 2 9.

H. B.

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C 45356

The Canadian Red Cross Society

ANNUAL REPORT

FOR THE YEAR

1 9 3 2

Issued by

The Canadian Red Cross Society
410 SHERBOURNE STREET
TORONTO, 5

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C 45358



Camera Portrait by Hugh Cecil

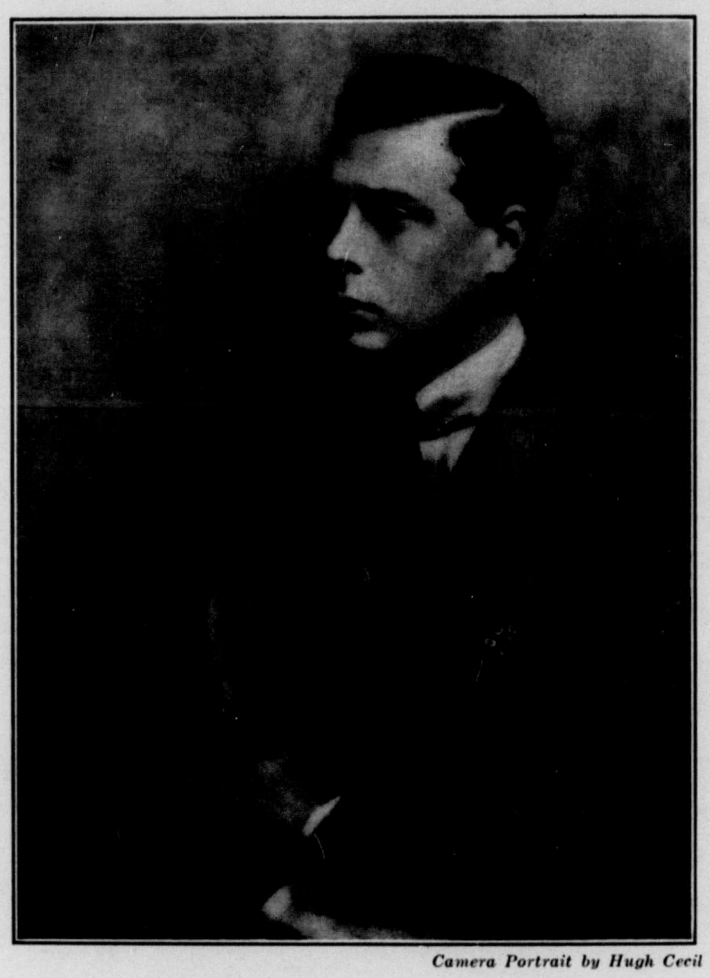
His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales

Patron of the Canadian Red Cross Society

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Camera Portrait by Hugh Cecil

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales

Patron of the Canadian Red Cross Society

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C 45359

His Royal Highness' Message

St. James's Palace, S.W.,
March 14, 1933.

As Patron, I send to the Canadian Red Cross Society, on the occasion of the Annual Meeting of the Central Council, my best wishes for the continued success of the excellent work which its members are doing in these hard times.

EDWARD P.

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C 45360

The Canadian Red Cross Society

Founded 1896 Incorporated 1909

"The purposes of the Society shall be:—

"To furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded of armies in time of war. . . .

"In time of peace or war to carry on and assist in work for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

—The Canadian Red Cross Society Act.

THE Red Cross was founded in 1864 to assist in caring for the sick and wounded of armies at war. At that time the official military medical service was woefully deficient and wounded soldiers underwent indescribable suffering because of the lack of organized care.

To-day the need of volunteer service on the field of battle has practically disappeared but the Red Cross still fulfils its original and fundamental purpose by supplementing military medical and nursing personnel according to the requirements of the situation and by furnishing hospital supplies and comforts in addition to that provided by military authority. Another most important task, undertaken by the Red Cross as soon as it was founded, consists of tracing and caring for prisoners of war. For this part of its work its complete neutrality makes it especially well-fitted.

After the War the duties of the Red Cross were very greatly increased. The Covenant of the League of Nations, in Article XXV, states that "the members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of national voluntary Red Cross organizations which shall have as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

In signing this agreement the nations delegated to the Red Cross the duty of maintaining an active organization in time of peace and directing its energies towards improving conditions of life by reducing sickness and alleviating suffering.

Ever since the war the Canadian Red Cross Society has not only continued to discharge to the utmost its responsibilities to those who were disabled during their military service but has also striven unceasingly to perform the additional task assigned to it under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

C 45361

Though the war ended fifteen years ago, the Society's work for disabled soldiers has not materially diminished, the patients in the military hospitals being almost as many to-day as they were in 1920. The Society has also done much useful work in all parts of Canada through its activities looking towards the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering. The value of these measures has been completely proved. They are fully described in this report.

Because of its continuing care for those who were disabled in the service of the Empire and of the value of its peace-time work for the welfare of the Canadian people, the Red Cross has become firmly established in the hearts and minds of all Canadians. As the largest and most inclusive "service" organization and as the recognized voluntary auxiliary to governments, federal, provincial and municipal, its position as an integral part of the national life of the Dominion is fully recognized.

F. D. L. SMITH,

Honorary Secretary.

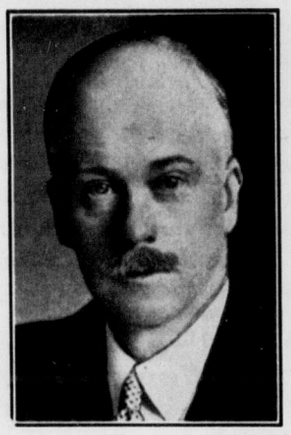


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C 45362

The Officers, the Central Council and the Executive Committee for 1933



THE PRESIDENT

The Officers

Patron

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

Vice-Patrons

His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of each of the Provinces.

Past Presidents

Her Grace The Duchess of Devonshire.
Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, P.C., G.C.M.G.
Her Excellency The Countess of Willingdon.

President

His Excellency The Earl of Bessborough, P.C., G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada.

Honorary Vice-Presidents ..... Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, P.C., K.C.
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents ..... Lady Drummond.
Sir Richard S. Lake, K.C.M.G.

Chairman of the Central Council and the Executive Committee ..... Norman Sommerville, K.C.

Honorary Secretary ..... F. D. L. Smith.

Honorary Treasurer ..... F. Gordon Osler.

Honorary Solicitor ..... Norman Sommerville, K.C.

Honorary Advisor in Public Health .... Col. George G. Nasmith, C.M.G., Ph.D., D.Sc.

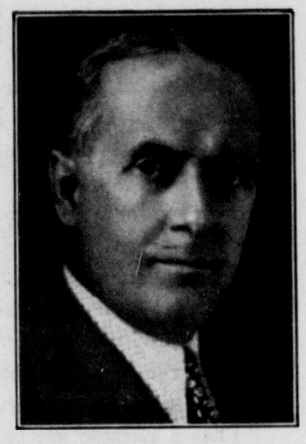
Honorary Advisor in Nursing ..... Miss Jean I. Gunn, Reg. N.

Trustees ..... F. Gordon Osler.
A. H. Campbell.
Lt.-Col. A. L. Bishop.

C 45363

The Central Council

The President, the Vice-Presidents, the Chairman of the Central Council and Executive Committee, the Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Advisors in Public Health and Nursing, the Trustees, and the following members:—



THE CHAIRMAN
NORMAN SOMMERVILLE, K.C.

Elected by the Provincial Divisions—

British Columbia:
Mrs. J. E. Fitzwater,
Mrs. Angus Macdonald,
J. G. Corry Wood.

Alberta:
Mrs. William J. Allan,
D. M. Duggan, M.L.A.,
Norman Hindsley, M.L.A.

Saskatchewan:

Manitoba:
F. M. Burbidge,
Col. H. J. Riley,
C. D. Shepard.

Ontario:
W. H. Alderson,
Prof. George M. Wrong,
Dr. J. T. Phair, D.P.H.

Quebec:
E. G. Hanson,
A. E. Holt,
Mrs. C. F. Martin.

New Brunswick:
Mrs. D. J. Shea,
Mrs. Leonard Tilley,
Col. E. C. Weyman.

Nova Scotia:
J. C. Gass,
Mrs. J. A. Hanway.

Prince Edward Island:
Hon. Mr. Justice F. L. Haszard,
Dr. H. D. Johnson,
Hon. W. J. P. McMillan, M.D.

Elected at Large—

George C. Derby,
W. L. Gilliland,
Mrs. W. J. Hanna,
R. S. Hooton,
H. E. Mahon,
Brig.-Gen. G. E. McCuaig, C.M.G.,
Col. W. S. M. MacTier, M.C.,
Dr. C. D. Parfitt,
Mrs. H. P. Plumptre,
H. G. Stanton.

The Executive Committee

The Officers of the Society and the following members:

Mrs. W. J. Allan,
W. H. Alderson,
F. M. Burbidge,
George C. Derby,
J. C. Gass,
W. L. Gilliland,
Norman Hindsley, M.L.A.,
A. E. Holt,
R. S. Hooton,
Dr. H. D. Johnson,
H. E. Mahon,
Brig. Gen. G. E. McCuaig, C.M.G.,
Dr. J. T. Phair,
Mrs. H. P. Plumptre,
H. G. Stanton,
Mrs. Leonard Tilley,
Colonel E. C. Weyman.

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C 45364

Honorary Membership

IN April 1928 the Central Council adopted a By-law constituting two categories of Honorary Membership in the Society. These were Honorary Counsellors and Honorary Members.

The By-law provided,

"That Honorary Membership shall be conferred by the Central Council or Executive Committee on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of a Provincial Division.

"That Honorary Counsellorship shall be conferred only by the Central Council of the Society.

"That these awards shall be conferred only for outstanding and exceptional voluntary service to the Society.

"That a suitable pin or badge shall be issued by the National Headquarters for each class of Honorary Membership."

In accordance with the by-law the following members have been elected Honorary Counsellors of the Society:

1930—Dr. James W. Robertson,
Lieut. Col. R. W. Leonard,
1931—Her Excellency The Countess of Willingdon,
Honorable G. Howard Ferguson,
Mrs. H. P. Plumptre,
Hon. Mr. Justice F. L. Haszard,
Miss Mary M. Phillips,
1932—Lady Drummond,
Mrs. C. B. Waagen.

Honorary Memberships have been conferred upon the following members of the Society:

1930—Mrs. P. J. McManus, Nova Scotia Division,
Dr. T. B. Acker, Nova Scotia Division,
Miss Frances Campbell, Ontario Division,
Mrs. A. M. Rowan, New Brunswick Division,
Miss G. M. Robertson, Quebec Division.
1931—Mrs. C. B. Waagen, Alberta Division,
Miss Frances H. Stetson, New Brunswick Division.
1932—Mrs. I. F. Longley, New Brunswick Division.

Honorary Counsellorships

The resolutions regarding the Honorary Counsellors elected by the Central Council in 1932 were as follows:

C 45365

Lady Drummond

The Executive Committee of the Quebec Division recommended that Lady Drummond be elected an Honorary Counsellor of the Society.

Lady Drummond began her Red Cross service soon after the outbreak of the War. She acted as Assistant Commissioner in charge of Information in England from February 1915 to January 1918. She was elected to the Central Council of the Society in 1917. She became Honorary President of the Quebec Division in 1920. She has been a Vice-President of the Society since 1921.

On motion by Mrs. H. P. Plumptre, seconded by Sir Richard Lake, Lady Drummond was duly elected an Honorary Counsellor of the Society.

Mrs. C. B. Waagen

The Executive Committee of the Alberta Division recommended that Mrs. C. B. Waagen be elected an Honorary Counsellor of the Society.

Mrs. Waagen has been intimately associated with the Red Cross in Alberta since its organization upon the outbreak of the War. At that time became a member of the Executive Committee of the Division and Superintendent of Supplies. From 1917 to 1920 she acted as Joint Honorary Secretary of the Division and in 1916 was elected its First Vice-President. Since 1918 she has administered the work of the Division. She became a member of the Central Council of the Society in 1919 and a member of the Executive Committee in 1926. In 1931 she was appointed, in addition to her other office, the Honorary Acting Commissioner of the Alberta Division.

On motion by Mr. W. H. Alderson, seconded by Hon. Wm. Egbert, M.D., Mrs. C. B. Waagen was duly elected an Honorary Counsellor of the Society.

Honorary Memberships

On behalf of the Executive Committee the Secretary reported that on recommendations received from Provincial Divisions, Honorary Memberships had been conferred upon the following:

Mrs. I. F. Longley

The Executive Committee of the New Brunswick Division recommended that Mrs. I. F. Longley be elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

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C 45366

Mrs. Longley became associated with the Red Cross in the early part of the war. In 1916 she was presented with a Life Membership by the Govan, Saskatchewan, Branch of which she had been acting as Honorary Secretary. She was also appointed to the Executive Committee as a representative of that district. After the war she was an energetic member of the Regina Branch and a little later when she moved to Saint John, N.B., she played a large part in the development of the peace-time programme of that Branch. In 1925 she was elected a member of the New Brunswick Executive Committee and in 1930 she became a Vice-President of the Division and was also elected a member of the Central Council of the Society.



Annual Meeting of Central Council, April 1933

Front Row—R. S. Hooton, Col. G. G. Nasmith, Miss Jean Gunn, Mrs. Angus Macdonald, Mrs. J. E. Fitzwater, Mrs. Leonard Tilley, Mrs. D. J. Shea, Mrs. H. P. Plumptre, Mrs. W. J. Allan, Miss Jean Browne, and Dr. H. D. Johnson.

Second Row—F. M. Burbidge, Lt. Col. A. L. Bishop, J. C. Gass, A. E. Holt, F. G. Osler, Norman Sommerville, Chairman of the Central Council, H. G. Stanton, Dr. J. T. Phair, Lt. Col. J. F. Buckley, F. D. L. Smith, and Dr. F. W. Routley.

Top Row—Dr. J. L. Biggar, W. H. Alderson, J. G. C. Wood, A. H. Campbell, Dr. C. D. Parfitt, and H. E. Mahon.

C 45367

Report of the National Commissioner to the Central Council of the Canadian Red Cross Society for the Year 1932

The Annual Report of almost every organization in Canada upon its activities in 1932 has emphasized the difficulties that have had to be faced, the economies that have had to be effected and the deficit which has nevertheless resulted from the year's operations. Gloss it over as they may, general managers have had, on the whole, nothing but bad news for their shareholders.

The Red Cross is in a very different situation. Nineteen hundred and thirty-two has been a wonderful year, the best since nineteen-eighteen. We have materially increased our assets; our turnover has been greater than at any time since the War, and our dividends have been many times larger. For our assets are the good will of the people of Canada and we have never enjoyed that more fully. Our turnover is the service we are privileged to render and never have the opportunities for service been greater. Our dividends lie in the knowledge that we have been able to promote health and to relieve distress, and in this respect last year has set a new standard for the whole Society.

At the meeting of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies Dr. Masarykova of the Czechoslovak Red Cross remarked that when economy became an aim in itself there was a danger that the spirit of an organization would suffer. Judge John Barton Payne, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the League, said that in the affairs of the League the programme of economy had had an almost spiritual aspect and that was the fine sympathetic co-operation which had prevailed in the Secretariat. The same thing is true about the Canadian Red Cross Society in all its parts. If difficulties and struggles bring out the true nature of a person or an organization, then the Red Cross in Canada can congratulate itself upon the true nature of its workers. That fine sympathetic co-operation of which Judge Payne spoke has never been more evident throughout our Society. Everywhere there have been more people more eager to work together unselfishly for the good of the work than at any time before. The crisis through which we are passing has none of the excitements of the war. It has been a monotony of disheartening and dispiriting weeks and months, weakening the natural optimism and energy of our people. But it has called forth reserves of courage and devotion and these have been put freely at the disposal of the Red Cross. These

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are the factors to which we may attribute the record of the Red Cross in 1932.

Organization:

The Divisions report an increase of five in the number of Branches. The total now stands at 521. But in addition to the officially reported branches, there are groups and individuals in almost every community in Canada who stand ready at any time to assist in Red Cross work. What is of much more importance than the number of organized branches is that in every Branch there has been a still further increase in interest, activity and membership. This has been the result of the opportunities that have presented themselves for providing the Branches with definite work. For example, an admirably strong and active Branch has grown up in Vancouver almost entirely because it has been possible to enlist the services of a large number of people in an active programme of assistance to the destitute.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the strength of the Society ultimately rests on the vigour and interest of the Branches of which it is composed and that no effort is too great to find appropriate activities in which local groups can play a real part. There is, of course, another side to this matter. If a Branch is exhausting all its energies and resources on its own local undertakings, it can assume no share of the burden of those activities, such as Junior Red Cross organization and Outpost Hospital maintenance, that can be carried on only by the Division as a whole. No doubt officers and members of Divisional Executives realize this difficulty. It is one that can be overcome only by keeping closely in touch with the Branches and driving home to their members the importance of the service the Division renders and the paramount necessity of maintaining the Red Cross in Canada as a completely integrated body throughout all its parts.

Receipts:

If the financial transactions of the Society may be taken as an index of its activity, last year saw a very material increase in Red Cross work throughout Canada. Both the gross receipts and the gross expenditures were larger than those in any year since the war. The receipts from all sources were $965,257, an increase of $136,568 over those in 1931. Voluntary contributions, including those made to the National Emergency Fund, except in Alberta and Saskatchewan, were slightly over $510,000.00, an increase of $144,000.00. Decreases occurred in the receipts from the Outpost Hospital and Nursing Services by approximately $3,000.00, from

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Junior Branches by $9,000.00 and from a number of other sources by a little over another $6,000.00. The major increases occurred in the receipts from voluntary contributions and the funds for relief work.

Expenditures:

Last year the total expenditures on Red Cross work of all kinds in Canada,—so far as these have been reported—, exceeded the million dollar mark for the first time since the war. They amounted to $1,056,307.38, an increase of $91,050.71 over those in 1931. The principal increases were in Soldier and general relief, in health work and in the service to Crippled Children. The Outposts, though a larger volume of work was done, cost slightly less, no doubt because of the reduction in food costs and in salaries. Additional expenditures were unavoidable in connection with the distribution of relief. Members of Council will no doubt be glad to know that every Red Cross service was fully maintained.

Soldiers:

During 1932 there were some adjustments in the arrangements for the general care of ex-service men. In some centres this was assumed as part of the official programme to a rather larger extent than had been the case in 1931. The task of the Red Cross was, therefore, to some degree better defined. It was able to devote itself more completely to those ex-soldiers who, because of sickness or other similar added difficulty, required more assistance than could be obtained through the official agencies.

As reported, expenditures amounted to $228,715.65, an increase of $4,000.00 over those in 1931 and just a little less than double the amount so expended in 1929. This sum, however, does not really represent all the expenditures for soldiers. Few of the Divisions found it possible to keep records distinguishing exactly between assistance for soldiers and other relief, and a considerable part of the disbursement under the latter heading was in fact made to alleviate distress among ex-service men and their dependents. The outstanding activity under this heading was the operation of the Hostels. No one can estimate the benefits which these comfortable and well managed establishments have provided for thousands of men who would otherwise have had to take their place in the bread-lines. Complete figures for Canada are not available but, so far as reported, these hostels provided 313,226 nights' lodgings and 814,829 meals.

One Disabled Soldiers' Workshop, in Victoria, is still being operated under the aegis of the Red Cross. It is admirably managed and the excess of expenditure over revenue is kept at a very moderate figure.

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Throughout the Society the needs of ex-service men and their dependents have first call on available resources, and the welfare of disabled soldiers in hospital and their families is, as always, a matter which receives constant attention.

Outposts:

The number of Outposts in operation last year was forty-five, a reduction of four from the number of those in operation during 1931. In that year the Saskatchewan Division handed over four of its Outposts to their communities. Five Divisions are providing this form of service. Quebec has two Nursing Stations in the Magdalen Islands. Twenty-five Outposts are in Ontario, five are in Manitoba, ten in Saskatchewan and three in British Columbia. Since 1920 when this form of Red Cross work began, the Outposts have taken care of 169,592 patients. It is a most interesting fact that the per diem cost of hospital care in those Red Cross Outposts where accurate comparison can be made is lower than in comparable small independent or municipal hospitals. This is no doubt due to the efficient direction and management that the Red Cross provides.

Last year the total expenditures on Outposts and Nursing Service was in round figures $235,000.00, a decrease of $4,000.00 from the expenditures in 1931. Notwithstanding this, 22,781 patients were cared for, an increase of nearly 2,000 over the 1931 figure. Of these 5,246 were in-patients and 17,535 were out-patients who were treated either at the Outpost or at their own homes.

When one considers the difficulties, handicaps and even dangers which our Red Cross nurses must face on their errands of mercy to this army of sick and suffering people, one realizes that there has been no lessening of the heroism and self-sacrifice for which those who nurse the sick have always been famous.

Junior Red Cross:

The Chairman of the National Junior Red Cross Committee will present a detailed report upon the progress of Junior Red Cross during the school year 1931-32. There are, however, one or two aspects of that part of our work which might be mentioned here.

"The Canadian Red Cross Junior" has weathered the financial storm extremely well. Notwithstanding the hard times, the average monthly circulation has shown only a slight decrease. In 1928-9 and 1929-30 the circulation averaged 29,300 a month. Last year the average was 26,300. Its contents, illustrations and make-up have undoubtedly reached a higher

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standard of excellence and in the opinion of those fully qualified to judge, it is regarded as the best magazine for children in the country, if not on the continent. Thanks to Miss Browne's own personal and persistent efforts, a very substantial revenue has been secured from advertising. As you will see from the report of the Honorary Treasurer, this amounted to $1,029.50 in the fourteen month period under review. This has been applied to the editorial costs and has made it possible to eliminate these from the charges for the magazine as made to the Divisions.

The annual Financial Statements of the Divisions show that there has been a very substantial decrease in the general contributions from our Junior members. They reached their peak in 1928 when they were $49,842.00. Last year they amounted to $16,755.53, or just a little over one-third the former figure. In spite of this reduction, the number of crippled children cared for has not materially diminished. The expenditures on this service were $56,474.91, about $4,000 more than was spent in 1931. These were met from the $16,700.00 contributed by the Juniors, the governmental per diem allowances of $18,500.00 and the contributions from Seniors of $6,700.00 earmarked for Crippled Children. The balance of about $12,000.00 was made up from balances from the previous year and from Senior funds.

Home Nursing Classes:

No doubt it will be of interest to Council to know that classes in Home Nursing have been organized in five of the Divisions. Only in the Ontario Division is the work carried on by special members of the staff. In the other Divisions the necessary arrangements are made by members of the regular staff and only when the opportunity offers. Consequently, comparatively few students are instructed. The benefits of these simple demonstrations in elementary nursing and home care are very great, and it is to be hoped that just as soon as possible every effort will be made to extend the instruction to many more groups than are now being reached.

Last year 99 classes, comprising 1,880 students completed courses. Altogether since they were begun in 1924, 22,389 women and girls have profited from the valuable knowledge gained from the teaching provided in this way by the Red Cross in Canada. No such results could have been attained except for the splendid voluntary co-coperation of hundreds of registered nurses in all sections of the country.

Relief:

As stated in the report made last year, economic conditions have enormously extended the amount of general relief that the Red Cross has

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had to provide. Expenditures for relief in 1929 were $12,292.00. In 1931 they were $226,258.00 and last year they totalled to $290,403.17, or nearly twenty-five times the sum so expended before the depression.

Many of these expenditures were made on behalf of provincial governments and municipalities and the total includes disbursements made from the National Emergency Fund in Alberta and the Lieut.-Governor's Distress Fund in Saskatchewan. The amounts received to offset these expenditures amounted to $238,641.03, leaving the sum of $51,762.14 as obtained for this service from the general receipts of the Branches and Divisions of the Society.

So far as can be discovered from the reports of the Divisions, during the year assistance of one kind or another was given to approximately 150,000 people. It is to be regretted that more complete information is not available. If records had been kept not only in all the Divisional offices but also by the Branches, it would have been possible to report an even more astonishing number of those whom the Red Cross had the privilege of helping last year.

One feature of this service to which special reference should be made is the administration by the Saskatchewan Red Cross of the Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan's Emergency Distress Fund. The Trustees invited the Red Cross to administer the Fund on behalf of the destitute sick in the Province. Up to the end of 1932 3,218 patients had been provided with absolutely necessary treatment at a cost of $69,820.00.

The Clothing Relief work done by the Alberta Red Cross, which acted as the purchasing and distributing agency for the Provincial Government, also assumed very large proportions. The Division distributed clothing to the value of $44,242.00. With this expenditure and very considerable supplies of donated articles, assistance was given to over 27,000 people, all of whom were in desperate need. In Ontario every branch was engaged in providing relief and the extent of the assistance given reached an astonishing total. The Nova Scotia Division also was called upon to co-operate with the authorities in furnishing clothing and other relief and in these two provinces alone the Red Cross assisted well over 70,000 people. The story is the same in all the other Divisions. Essential needs were met and every possible effort was made to alleviate sufferings caused by the economic crisis.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that, following the distribution of the very large supply of military clothing given to us by the Militia authorities at the end of 1931, the Department has continued to supply us

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with quantities of surplus or condemned garments and blankets. These have been divided up between the Divisions as equitably as possible and have been of great help in meeting the calls made upon them. Among the gifts were 2,000 greatcoats, which, after they were dyed and the buttons changed, furnished 2,000 destitute men with a protection against the cold which they must otherwise have lacked.

While it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to have been able to relieve the needs of so many people, and a tribute to the Red Cross to have been so frequently invited to undertake this difficult task, let us pray that next year it will be possible to report that the number of our fellow citizens for whom this service has been necessary, has been reduced to a mere fraction of the figures given in this report and that the return of more prosperous conditions has relieved the Red Cross, together with governments, municipalities and individuals, from the arduous duties described above.

Items of Special Interest:

The Prince of Wales

In October of last year the Red Cross in Canada was very greatly honoured by His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales who most graciously consented to become the Patron of the Society. The Royal Family has always shown a profound interest in the Red Cross. His Majesty The King is Patron of the British Red Cross Society and Her Majesty The Queen is its President, while His Royal Highness The Duke of York is the Chairman of the Council.

On his first visit to Canada in 1919 His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales became a Life Member of the Canadian Red Cross Society and, as a citizen of Canada by reason of his ranch in Alberta, his acceptance of the office of Patron to the Society is particularly appropriate.

British Empire Red Cross Day

The anniversary of Florence Nightingale's birthday, chosen by the British Empire Red Cross Committee as "Red Cross Day" for the Empire, was commemorated last year by special exercises in a large number of Junior Red Cross branches in the schools throughout Canada. An article by the Chairman of Central Council accompanied by a picture of the Florence Nightingale statue in London appeared in a great many newspapers, and a number of Branches, which were making their annual appeals at that time gave much publicity to the occasion.

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Gift from the National Birthday Trust Fund

Last autumn, at the suggestion of Dr. Helen MacMurchy, a request was made to the National Birthday Trust Fund of England for a supply of crushable chloroform capsules which the Fund was sponsoring for use in obstetrical work. The Fund sent the Society a most generous supply of the capsules for use in its Outpost Hospitals, specifying only that a report should be made upon each case in which they were used. The reports so far received indicate that the capsules should prove a most valuable addition to the armamentarium of the physicians and nurses at the Red Cross Outposts.

Gratitude of Japanese Red Cross

The contributions made by Canada to the Japanese Red Cross at the time of the earthquake in Tokio have not been forgotten. A letter of thanks from the President of the Japanese Red Cross Central Maternity Hospital was received some months ago to mark the tenth anniversary of the receipt of the gift.

New Red Cross Branches

The Secretary General of the British Red Cross Society, who is also the Secretary of the British Empire Red Cross Committee, which was appointed at the Empire Red Cross Conference in 1930, wrote to say that the Committee had been helpful in establishing three new Overseas Branches in Southern Rhodesia, the Gold Coast and Swaziland. The Canadian Red Cross made a further contribution of £25 towards the expenses of the Committee.

Co-operation of Railways

The Canadian Railway Companies again last winter generously agreed to carry relief supplies to Northern Ontario and Western Canada free of charge.

Conclusion:

Finally, it might not be inappropriate to refer to the concluding paragraph of last year's report. It was then suggested that essential qualities were revealed when difficulties had to be faced and hardships had to be endured and that the essential qualities of the Red Cross were enthusiasm for its ideals and energy in its undertakings. The year through which we have passed has undoubtedly brought us face to face with many difficulties and hardships but it has substantiated the forecast. Never have the members of the Society striven more devotedly to realize the ideals of the Red Cross and to fulfill its responsibilities. Never have they displayed their essential qualities more fully.

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Armed with this knowledge we can look forward with confidence to whatever the future may have in store. The experiences of the past year have shown that, however great the difficulties with which it may be faced, the Red Cross in Canada can meet its obligations and responsibilities, and can respond to the innumerable calls made upon it for assistance. Though enormous additional tasks have been assigned to it, there has been no lessening of its regular activities for "the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering." We know now that the greater the demands that are made upon the Red Cross the more admirably and effectively the various units of the Society take whatever steps that may be necessary to satisfy them, and that in doing so they command the esteem and support of the people of Canada.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. L. BIGGAR, M.B.,
National Commissioner.

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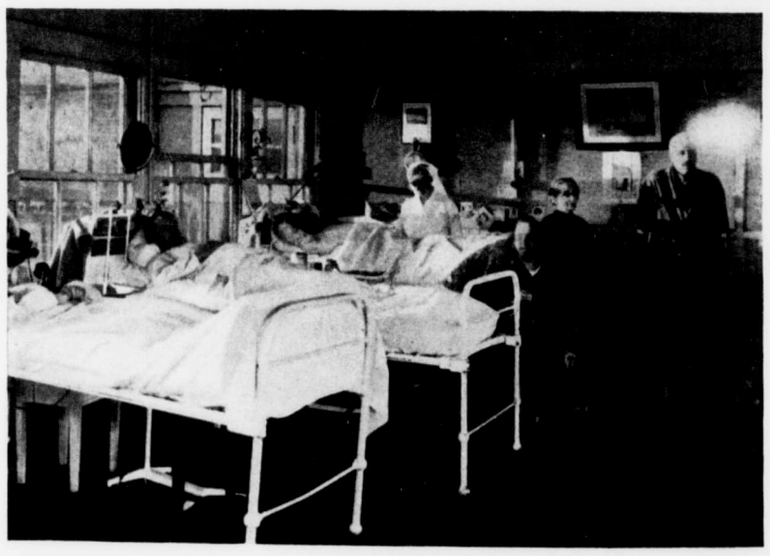
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The Red Cross and the Ex-Soldier

THE Red Cross was founded to care for the sick and wounded of armies at war. To assist in their care both during and after a war is still its essential task. The Red Cross in Canada has constantly accepted this part of its work as a primary duty.

For many people the Great War is no more than a fading memory, but for those who were disabled and left permanently handicapped, it cannot be forgotten, nor has the Red Cross forgotten them.



A Ward in a Soldiers' Hospital

Every Division and Branch of the Society recognizes its responsibility to supplement the governmental measures on behalf of sick and disabled former members of the Canadian forces.

In this task the Red Cross co-operates with all other agencies,—military and civil, official and voluntary—, which are similarly engaged, and adapts itself to the particular conditions of each community in its arrangements for soldier relief. Its purpose is to ensure so far as is possible that the disabled soldier and his dependants suffer no avoidable hardship.

The Red Cross workers maintain the closest possible contact with the officials of the Department of Pensions and National Health, with the Superintendents and Matrons of Military Hospitals, with the Soldier

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Settlement Board, with the officers of the Canteen Fund, the Canadian Legion and with all the other agencies which deal with ex-service men and their dependents. In this way overlapping is avoided while few, if any, really necessitous cases are overlooked. In many instances the Red Cross workers find that the soldier requires advice and direction rather than financial assistance. Their knowledge of procedures and opportunities equips them to furnish these efficiently.



Summer Home for Ex-Soldiers

An ex-service man is brought into contact with the Red Cross in one of several ways. As a patient in a military hospital he meets the Red Cross visitors who are anxious to be of service to him. Should he lack something necessary to his comfort or welfare, they will, if the hospital authorities approve, provide it for him. Should he be in difficulties they will help him to solve them. Should his dependents be in want, they will arrange for their relief. Through them he learns that he has friends of whose interest he was unaware.

If he is a soldier-settler in difficulties his problem will be brought to the attention of the Red Cross through the officers of the Soldier Settlement Board. In most of the provinces he will receive a Red Cross Christmas parcel containing useful gifts for his family and himself. Should sickness overtake him or his dependents, he knows that he can count on advice and help from the Red Cross.

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If he applies for assistance directly to the Red Cross his circumstances are investigated, the condition of his family is ascertained and arrangements are made to meet the needs of the case. Similarly, if he is directed to the Red Cross by some other agency, action is taken to satisfy the requirements of the situation, be it a railway fare to his home, admission to hospital for an illness not related to his service, an artificial limb, a loan to recover his possession from a pawnbroker or a bed and a meal until permanent arrangements can be made.



Christmas Dinner for Patients in a Soldiers' Hospital

All the Divisions report that the regular visiting of ex-soldier patients in hospitals has been continued throughout the year. At Christmas and in some provinces on other festal occasions special treats have been organized for them. Assistance has been given to ex-service men and their dependents especially in cases of sickness or injury. Dentures and other necessities have been furnished in cases of destitution. Medical care, and in some instances hospital treatment, has been provided and every effort made by arrangement with official or other voluntary agencies to ensure that no necessitous case is overlooked.

Perhaps the outstanding feature of Red Cross soldier work in British Columbia is the organization of regular fortnightly concerts and entertainments at the Provincial Mental Hospital at Essondale and the Home for Incurables at Marpole. The Superintendents of these institutions have not hesitated to express their conviction that these have a highly beneficial influence on the patients.

In Alberta the Canteen Fund Trustees continued last year to make use of the Red Cross as its agent for the investigation and approval of applications for special assistance from the southern part of the province. Towards the end of the year a hostel for single homeless ex-soldiers was opened in Edmonton under the aegis of the Red Cross.



His Excellency visits an Ex-Soldiers' Hostel

Through the extensive Clothing and Sickness Relief programme of the Saskatchewan Red Cross, essential assistance was given to hundreds of ex-service men and their families. Similarly in Manitoba the relief measures provided for many destitute soldiers throughout the province, and late in the year a Hostel for single ex-service men was opened in Winnipeg, to be conducted in co-operation with the Manitoba Relief Commission.

The Ontario Division reports that in addition to the regular visits to soldier patients throughout the province and the operation of the Summer Outpost at Toronto Island, which provided 1,116 hospital days for long treatment cases at the Christie Street Departmental Hospital, most if not

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all the Branches "adopted" the ex-soldier's needs as their responsibility in local relief programmes. The problem of the sick and needy soldier presented greater difficulties than at any time since the war. Much assistance was required and was provided. Outstanding were the Hostels for single homeless veterans. These establishments supplied 149,052 free nights-lodgings and 517,846 free meals. Altogether the Division expended $94,876.00 on service to soldiers and their families in 1932.

During the year 1932 the Quebec Division dealt with 11,198 applications from ex-soldiers and was able to provide the required relief or to direct the applicant to where assistance could be obtained. 6,776 ex-soldiers with dependents were assisted in cases of sickness or distress at a cost of $29,109.92. Hospital treatment was provided for 658 men who were ineligible for treatment under the Department of Pensions and National Health. Convalescent care at the Red Cross Convalescent Home at Ste. Anne de Bellevue was provided for 665 men, at a cost of $10,903.17. During the year 1931 only one Hostel was operated for the care of homeless and destitute ex-soldiers but during 1932 it was found necessary to open and equip two additional buildings to take care of over 2,000 destitute men. A total number of 106,570 free beds and 296,980 free meals were provided by the Society at a cost of $40,226.47.

Through an arrangement with the Montreal Dispensary a building was equipped as a Nursing Home with a capacity of sixty beds, and is now operated by the Society for the benefit of ex-soldiers who require nursing care but who cannot be admitted to one of the City hospitals.

In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in addition to visiting the soldier patients throughout the year and providing them with special treats at Christmas and Easter and entertainments during the summer, each of the Divisions gave special assistance to several hundred ex-service men who were in dire need. Transportation, food, clothing and lodgings were frequenty provided, and through the Red Cross many hundreds of ex-soldiers and their families were helped to overcome difficulties and meet emergencies which otherwise they could not have surmounted.

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Junior Red Cross

Origin and Development

THE Junior Red Cross has two parents,—the school and the Red Cross. It may well be asked how these two forces were brought together, for previous to the Great War, their paths did not converge. To answer this question, it is necessary to recall the historic conference at Cannes in 1919 called by the five Great Powers to discuss the problems of reconstruction following the War. There it was decided that the Red Cross Societies of the world should be called upon to add to their humanitarian duty of bringing help to the victims of international armed strife, the further task of "the promotion of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering" in times of peace. At the same conference it was pointed out that in order to ensure the successful carrying out of

A Junior Red Cross Pageant

this programme, the Red Cross would have to enlist the children and youth of the world.

When the Red Cross opened its doors wide in 1920 to children and young people, there were teachers here and there who were eager to grasp this opportunity for their pupils; and each year sees an increasing welcome to Junior Red Cross in the schools, as its aims become more generally known.

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Aims

Members of the Junior Red Cross undertake

(1) to promote the rules of healthy living,

(2) to help others who need their help, especially invalid and crippled children,

(3) to cultivate the friendship of the children of other countries.

Organization

The unit of organization is the class-room and the club is known as a Branch. Membership is open to all school children who agree to practise the health rules and to keep the motto "I Serve." The Branch is a self-governing body, with the teacher acting as an adviser. The members of the Branch elect their officers, appoint their committees, decide upon their activities and arrange their programme; in short, they manage their own affairs just as in similar adult organizations.

"Lone membership" may be extended to young people who are living in isolated districts, or in a community where so far it has been impossible to get a Branch organized.

What It Accomplishes

(1) In Health.

Because Junior Red Cross belongs to the children themselves, and they are active participants in it, their enthusiastic interest is aroused in its programme. They take on their own shoulders the responsibility of practising the rules of healthy living. This becomes their own personal affair, not something that they do only because they must. As a result, wherever Junior Red Cross is organized, one finds children eating the right kinds of food, keeping themselves clean, sitting and standing erect, taking precautions against "catching" diseases and following the other Junior Red Cross Rules of Health.

(2) Service for Others.

Junior Red Cross not only appeals very strongly to the natural benevolence of children, but also provides a practical channel for the exercise of this quality. In Canada, the efforts of the Juniors are usually concentrated on the Crippled Children's Fund.

By means of small sums of money contributed to this fund,—money which must be saved or earned by the members either individually or collectively—the Junior Red Cross organization of Canada has been able to supply necessary treatment for 9,765 handicapped children whose parents could not afford to pay for it. The ability to walk, hear, see—life itself—

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thousands of children owe to the kindness in action of the Junior Red Cross.

Besides the work of contributing to the Crippled Children's Fund, the Juniors do many kinds of service in their own schools and communities. The cleaning of schools and school yards, the supplying of individual towels and drinking cups, the organizing of hot school lunches, the ventilation of class-rooms are a few of these activities. Making garments for babies and children, toys and scrapbooks for children in hospital, bringing fruit or valentines to invalids in the community, welcoming immigrant children to Canada, constitute only a fraction of the kind things that Juniors do for others.

(3) Good Citizenship and International Friendliness.

The child who has learned to protect his own health and that of others and who has learned the habit of service for others is essentially a good citizen. Through holding meetings, electing officers, speaking in public, raising and accounting for funds, undertaking work for the common good and so on, members of the Junior Red Cross gain a practical experience in civic duties.

There are now 12,592,804 members of the Junior Red Cross in 50 countries of the world. These members are developing a real spirit of comradeship through the interchange of portfolios of correspondence. By means of this interchange, children in one country are learning the customs, ideas and tastes of children in other countries in an intimate and friendly way which could never be possible through the printed pages of a textbook.

Annual Report of Junior Red Cross for the School Year 1931-32

The annual report of the Junior Red Cross must coincide with the school year, which generally throughout Canada begins in September and ends on June 30th. The report presented herewith is for the period September 1931 to June 1932, and shows a loss in membership as compared with the previous year, whereas during the school year 1932-33, several provinces show such a considerable increase in membership that we have reason to believe at the end of June 1933, all records of previous years will be greatly surpassed.

At the end of June 1932, we had in Canada 7,309 branches and 228,965 members. Four provinces made gains totalling 227 branches and 14,041 members, but these gains were offset by losses in the other provinces. Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba showed substantial increases. The largest increase in branches was in Prince Edward Island

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A Junior Red Cross Patient Cured of Club Foot

(126 branches) and the largest increase in members in Ontario (5,313 members).

Work for Crippled Children

During the year, 978 cases were treated through the Crippled Children's Fund, classified as follows:

Orthopedic	414
Fitted with glasses and other eye treatment	194
Tonsil and adenoid operations	136
Convalescent	61
Other medical and surgical cases	153
Dental cases	20
Total	978

From the beginning of the peace-time programme to the end of last school year, 9,765 handicapped children, exclusive of dental cases, have been treated in Canada through Junior Red Cross funds. Of these, 3,366 were treated in Saskatchewan.

During the last year the sum of $17,434.35 was raised by members of the Junior Red Cross for "The Crippled Children's Fund," an average of 8 cents per member. This takes into account only sums of money that

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have gone through the books of the Provincial Divisions. In all the provinces, Juniors contribute and spend quite considerable sums of money in community service, but so far it has been impossible to estimate even approximately the amount so spent. It is interesting to note that Saskatchewan Juniors raised the sum of $5,980.69 during the year.

The orthopedic clinics which have for some years been a feature of the work in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, were continued this year. Dr. T. B. Acker of Halifax held clinics at Sydney, Glace Bay, Sydney Mines, New Waterford, Kentville, Bridgetown, Digby, New Glasgow, Antigonish, Yarmouth, and at Charlottetown and Summerside, Prince Edward Island. This method of holding local clinics has proved very successful in these two provinces.

The Junior Red Cross hospitals in Calgary and Regina both continue to work to capacity. As there is no other children's hospital in Saskatchewan or Alberta, the Junior Red Cross hospitals fill a very definite need.

Health

The annual reports of the branches show that the Juniors themselves realize that the practice of health habits is their first obligation of membership. School officials, teachers and public health nurses are enthusiastic in their praise of improved personal hygiene in class-rooms where Junior Red Cross is organized. The Junior Red Cross has, of course, no monopoly of the health rules. In most of the provinces similar rules are incorporated in the school curriculum, but Junior Red Cross has the power, proven over and over again, of lifting tasks into the realm of a ritual followed with satisfaction and enthusiasm.

International Friendliness

The Junior Red Cross in providing world contacts for its members, is undoubtedly laying a solid foundation for international friendliness. Judging by the correspondence that passes through National Office, the bond of comradeship which develops as a result of belonging to a world-wide organization with common purposes is very real. During the year Canadian Juniors sent 175 letters and portfolios to Juniors in other countries. They were divided among the provinces in the following order:— Quebec 58, Ontario 35, Prince Edward Island 26, New Brunswick 23, Nova Scotia 15, Alberta 8, British Columbia 6, Saskatchewan 3, Manitoba 1. In return, they received 187 from the following twenty-three countries:— Australia, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, India,

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Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jugoslavia, Latvia, New Zealand, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

International Posters

During the year the Junior Red Cross Section of the League of Red Cross Societies requested all the National Sections for posters to be made by the members. There were two categories,—those under 14 years of age, and those 14 years of age and over. This request was published in the Magazine and emphasized in provincial News Letters. As a result, thirty-five posters were forwarded to National Office and five judges selected seven of the best from this number to forward to the League offices in Paris.

Many other countries sent posters to the League offices, and an international jury met at the League Secretariat on October 15th to select eight in each category for publication. One of the eight in category (a) (Juniors under 14 years of age) to receive honourable mention by the judges was made by a Canadian Junior, Mary McInnis of Holy Angels' Convent, Sydney, Nova Scotia.

The following is an excerpt from a letter from Mr. Milsom, Director of the Junior Red Cross Section, League of Red Cross Societies, in which he made the announcement of the judges' decision:

"We are very happy to announce that the jury selected a poster made by a Canadian Junior to receive a reward. Please accept our most sincere congratulations on this success achieved by a member of your Section. The participation of the Canadian Juniors in this competition proves that they were once more ready to serve the cause of the Junior Red Cross, and they deserve to be highly complimented."

A reproduction of the posters selected by the judges was published in the February number of the Magazine.

Labrador and Bermuda Branches

Before Newfoundland took over the Canadian Labrador, several branches were organized by the Quebec Division, and these are still enrolled by that Division. Since then, through the co-operation of the Toronto Branch of the Grenfell Association, several other branches have been organized through national office. There are 15 branches in Labrador, established in the following places—St. Mary's River, Forteau, North West River, Harrington Harbour, Kegaska, Bradore Bay, Old Fort, St. Augustine, St. Paul's River, Mutton Bay, Old Post, and in the summer schools at Wolf Bay, Salmon Bay, Shekatika and Gull Island. These

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branches are carrying out a really wonderful Junior Red Cross programme. Accounts of their activities are published from time to time in the Magazine.

We have also an active branch in Dudley Hill School, Paget, Bermuda, organized by Miss Minnie Hewitt, who was one of the first teachers in Nova Scotia to organize a branch.

The branches in Newfoundland and Bermuda were organized only after consultation with officials of the British Red Cross Society.

We are now in communication with the Mission House, Selkirk, Yukon, and hope to have a branch organized there in the near future.

What Children Themselves Think of Junior Red Cross

It has not as yet become usual in Canada to extend an invitation to representatives of the Junior Red Cross Section to attend annual meetings of the Society. So far, this has been done in only one province, Manitoba. Adults are very apt to interpret the reactions of children according to their own opinions, and sometimes these interpretations are wide of the mark.

The letters sent in to Provincial Division offices by the children themselves are sometimes revealing, although even letters are not the best means of expression. Many of these letters give evidence of the pleasure children find in taking responsibility, and how they respond. The two following letters may be regarded as typical. They are from children in Toronto and Brantford respectively:

(1) "Enclosed find an order for 37 Junior Red Cross magazines, hoping for more orders. I am a great booster for the Junior Red Cross Club of our school. Until appointed as one of the committee I did not find it as interesting as it is now.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JAMES LONGO,
Circulation Manager."

(2) "I hope you are feeling well, for I am, and also all the children.

"I was vice-president of a Red Cross group in our schoolroom last year. This year our president has moved and I would like to start it this year, and I was wondering if you could interest our teacher this year in having us join. If you couldn't, I would like you to send information how to join and I think I could handle a group myself.

Yours truly,

(Signed) DONALD BROWN."

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The following letter was written by two girls in a small town in British Columbia:

"My sister and I wish to join the Junior Red Cross. Is it possible for the two of us to join by ourselves? Due to other amusements and because so many live so far from town there is no Red Cross Branch in our school, but my sister and I were wondering if it were possible for just one or two from one town to join.

"My sister's name is Joyce. She is 13 and is in Grade X. My name is Kathleen Mary. I am 14 and am in Grade XI.

"In applying for membership in the Canadian Red Cross Society as a Junior we both promise to do our best:

(1) To keep the Health Rules,
(2) To help other children who need assistance,
(3) To be of service to our family, our school and our country.

"Hoping that you will permit us to join your wonderful organization, we remain

Yours respectfully,

KATHLEEN and JOYCE CLOTWORTHY."

The two girls were enrolled as "Lone Members" by the Director of Junior Red Cross in British Columbia, and inside of a few weeks, they succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of their teacher, with the result that a Branch was formed in their school.



Alberta Juniors, after their Empire Day Programme

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What Teachers Think of Junior Red Cross

Hundreds of letters are available to show what teachers think of the Junior Red Cross. The following is typical:

From an Indian School, the Kispiox Mission, in Hazelton, B.C.

"Under separate cover we are mailing our portfolio which we hope will be good enough to exchange with a foreign country. We are also mailing a box of handkerchiefs for the Crippled Children's Hospital or any place you think they might be used. Many of the handkerchiefs have been made by the younger girls of our Society.

"This is the first time any Red Cross work has been done in this village. There has been a great improvement. The Juniors have been coming to school on time with hair combed and clean hands and faces.

"The members have worked well. They have helped their nurse by collecting bottles, making paper envelopes for pills and powders, delivering soup, custards and jellies to the sick.

"The school room has been kept clean and curtains bought for our windows.

"We are planning to do more and better work next year.

Yours truly,

(Signed) HELEN EARL,
Director, 'Kispiox Juniors.' "

What Parents Think of Junior Red Cross

From the teacher of a very isolated rural school in Northern Ontario, near the Manitoba border. This district is settled by very new Canadians, mostly Scandinavians.

"Thank you very much indeed for your kindness in remembering us with the pretty Valentines. The pretty bright colours are surely much appreciated here. Our Valentine's Day Party was a success. The parents were much pleased to see the efficient manner in which the Junior Red Cross had instructed their children to carry on a business meeting. It was a training they had never been able to receive themselves and they appreciate the fact that their children are reciving it.

"Junior Red Cross is a real live thing here.

"Again thanking you,

Sincerely,

(Signed) HARRIETTE MACPHERSON."

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What an Educationist Thinks of Junior Red Cross

"The health programme of the Junior Red Cross is in harmony with the content and spirit of the curriculum; in fact, the curriculum recommends that Junior Red Cross Societies be organized in schools as health clubs. The course in Citizenship stresses organization of pupils for community helpfulness, and in this connection also recommends the Junior Red Cross.

"Nevertheless the organization of Junior Red Cross Societies should not be looked upon by the teacher as something which must be done to meet the requirements of the curriculum, but as a *golden opportunity* to teach children such important principles of life as neighborliness, consideration for others, and mutual helpfulness. The Junior Red Cross in Saskatchewan offers a splendid opportunity for service of the highest type.

"The Department of Education notes with satisfaction the growth in membership. It is to be hoped that all schools, where societies have been organized, will re-enrol for the coming year and that many new societies will be organized in the schools of the province.

"It is interesting to note that in one case at least a school pupil, who took an active part in Junior Red Cross work ten years ago as secretary of a branch, is to-day teacher-director of the same branch.

(Signed) JOHN S. HUFF,
Deputy Minister of Education,
Saskatchewan.

What a Health Official Thinks of Junior Red Cross

"How is it a boy can play baseball or football or hockey all day and never tire, and yet when he is asked by his father to shovel a little snow or carry out some ashes, he is tired in no time?

"How is it a girl can hike with her chums for miles in order to have a picnic in some delightful spot and never think of complaining of the effort, and yet when Mother asks her to help wash the dishes, or help mind the baby, she is just too tired for words?

"Why is it that Dad has to stand over Bill every minute to see that he does his homework in arithmetic, history and what not, whilst he can leave him for hours with Robinson Crusoe or Tom Sawyer and forget that he has a boy?

"Why is it that Mother has to urge and coax and threaten

Mary because she is so "picky" in her eating at the home table, when this same Mary will visit at her chum's place and eat everything in sight?

"We all know the answer,—where there is novelty and interest there is no need to urge or coax in order to get things done.

"This is the principle through which the Junior Red Cross seeks to promote health among school children. By presenting health information in an interesting way, by stimulating health habits through group interest and responsibility, Junior Red Cross is able to secure far greater results along health lines than can usually be secured through the ordinary avenues of academic teaching.

"When Dad sees Junior come home from school and wash his hands before eating, ask for a second helping of all the vegetables that have been prepared for the mid-day meal and then slip upstairs to brush his teeth before returning to school, he will recognize the fact that a Junior Red Cross Club has been organized, and that Junior is secretary or treasurer or some other important cog in the machine.

"When Mother notices that Mary chooses milk instead of tea for lunch, is very particular about having the window of her sleeping room opened at night, no longer sits down to read in a dark corner or facing the light, she will understand at once that Mary has become a member of the Junior Red Cross Club in her class.

"Such is the transformation produced by Junior Red Cross. Many a parent and teacher will bear witness that this is the usual result where such an organization enters into the school life of children. What was formerly a matter of driving, coaxing or bribing, in order to secure the regular performance of the ordinary health procedures, has now become the spontaneous activity of a Red Cross Junior.

"Under the guidance of the teacher the class is organized to carry out its own programme. Officers and committees assume the responsibility and direction of effort. The motto is "I serve," and special interest is taken in the discovery and treatment of crippled or otherwise handicapped children throughout the province. In the last ten years, 9,765 such children in Canada have received treatment because of funds collected through the Junior Red Cross.

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"Altogether I know of no organization that has a better influence for good on the average child, physically, mentally and morally, than the Junior Red Cross.

(Signed) J. E. DAVEY,
School Medical Officer,
Hamilton, Ontario.

Endorsation by School Inspectors

At a meeting of the school inspectors of Manitoba, held early in March, the Junior Red Cross was unanimously endorsed. It was not only approved, but the inspectors undertook to take an active part in increasing its organization in their schools.

Prince Edward Island school inspectors have for some years endorsed Junior Red Cross at Teachers' Conventions. At a recent meeting they took a further step; they undertook to recommend it to all classrooms which have not yet organized.

Individual inspectors in the other provinces have during the past ten years placed themselves on record as being cordially in favour of Junior Red Cross, and have done much towards getting it organized in their schools.

. . . . . .

Perhaps if we ceased to regard childhood merely as a preparation for glorified adult life, and regarded it as a complete stage of life itself,—different from adult life and old age, but nevertheless a stage in itself—we could grasp a little of what Junior Red Cross means in the physical, mental and spiritual lives of the quarter of a million boys and girls in Canada who owe it their allegiance.

JEAN E. BROWNE,
National Director of Junior Red Cross

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Red Cross Outpost Hospitals

RED CROSS Outpost Hospital service began in 1920. From such records as are available it would appear that the first Outpost was built by the Red Cross branch at Altario, Alberta. Very soon afterwards the Saskatchewan Division provided a hospital at Paddockwood, the Alberta Division sent a nurse to Pouce Coupe and the Manitoba Division established four Outpost Nursing Stations. In the 13 years of their existence the Red Cross Outposts have cared for 169,592 patients.



The Red Cross Outpost Hospital at Altario

To-day five Divisions operate a total of 45 Outpost Hospitals. The Quebec Division operates two Outpost Nursing Stations in the Magdalen Islands. Twenty-five Outposts are in Ontario, five are in Manitoba, ten in Saskatchewan and three in British Columbia. This is the same number that were in operation at the beginning of 1932, but is a reduction of four from those operated during the whole or part of 1931, the Saskatchewan Division having handed four of its Outposts over to their communities during that year.

Last year 22,781 patients were cared for in and through the Outposts, which provided a total of 57,193 hospital days' care for the 5,246 in-patients. Obstetrical cases numbered 1,386 and operative cases 2,131. In the table which follows the statistical information is given in detail.

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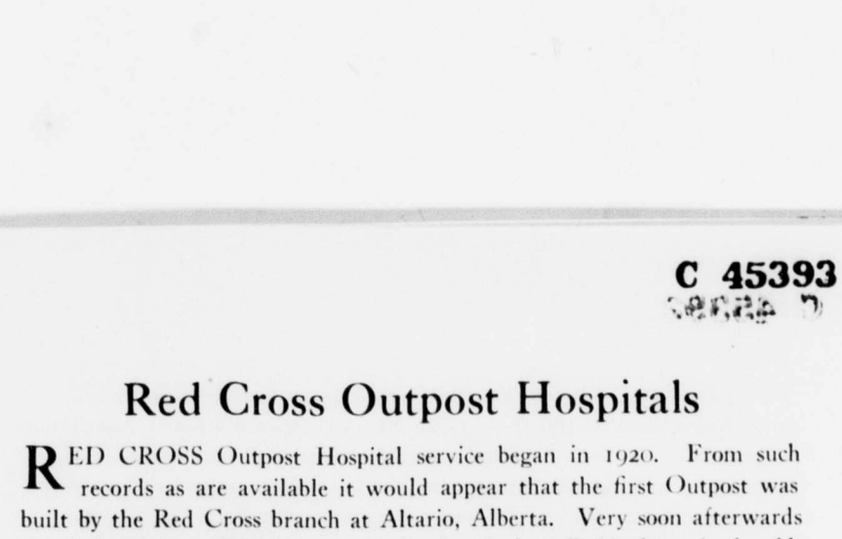
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Besides the actual nursing care of the sick, the Outposts have served their communities as health centres. Outpost Nurses have inspected tens of thousands of school children and have watched over the welfare of hundreds of expectant mothers. They have given advice and instruction for the benefit of thousands of homes and have made an invaluable contribution to the health of the pioneer communities where the Outposts were situated.



Taking a Patient home from an Outpost

The Red Cross Outpost Service has passed the experimental stage. In the thirteen years since it began it has secured not only the approval of the public but also the confidence of the provincial governments. The communities served have shown their appreciation by regularly increasing their contributions.

It is an interesting fact that in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario the per diem cost of Red Cross Outpost Hospitals containing six or more beds is lower than that of the other small, independent or community hospitals in those provinces. This is undoubtedly due to the most efficient direction and management that the Red Cross provides.

The centralized administration, the expert supervision and the ideals of the Red Cross have combined to ensure that the Outposts provide a most efficient service at a remarkably low cost. No one can estimate the number of lives they have saved or compute the hours of suffering they have relieved.



A Sick Woman is brought to an Outpost

Outpost Statistics for 1932

	B.C.	Sask.	Man.	Ont.	Que.	Total
In-patients	435	1,748	.....	3,063	.....	5,246
Outpatients treated at Hospitals	160	786	4,135	5,008	405	10,494
Outpatients treated at Home	2,077	125	1,400	3,269	170	7,041
Total Patients	2,672	2,659	5,535	11,340	575	22,781
Collective Hospital Days	4,430	18,815	.....	33,948	.....	57,193
Operations	157	259	86	1,679	.....	2,181
Deaths	22	11	20	130	0	183
Births at Outposts	93	496	.....	562	.....	1,151
Births at Homes	10	11	92	94	28	235
Total Births	103	507	92	656	28	1,386
Schools Visited	64	*	.....	349	4	417
Children Inspected	2,210	*	.....	11,838	.....	14,048
Total individuals attended	4,882	2,659	5,535	23,170	575	36,821

* In Saskatchewan this work is done by the Department of School Hygiene.

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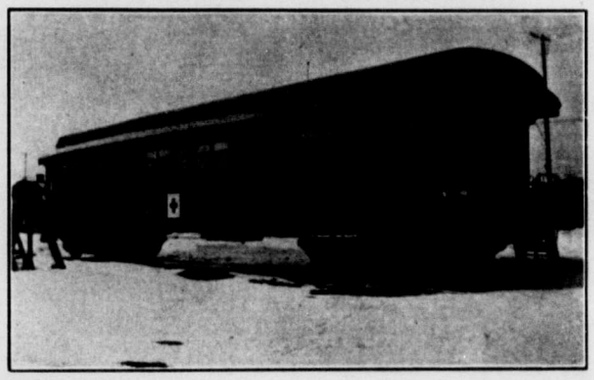
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The location of the Outposts in operation during 1932 is shown in the following table, which also includes the bed capacity and nursing strength:—

Name of Outposts	Beds	Cots	Nurses
Pouce Coupe, B.C.	20	1	4
Grand Haven, B.C.	2	0	1
Sunset Prairie, B.C.	1	0	1
Bengough, Sask.	12	6	3
Bracken, Sask.	11	6	2
Carragana, Sask.	4	2	1
Nipawin, Sask.	12	6	2
Paddockwood, Sask.	3	2	1
Rabbit Lake, Sask.	7	3	2
Rocklen, Sask.	5	3	1
Tuberose, Sask.	10	4	2
Tulibee, Sask.	6	2	2
Wood Mountain, Sask.	5	2	1
East Braintree, Man.	1	0	1
Fisher Branch, Man.	1	1	1
Grahamdale, Man.	3	1	1
Alonsa, Man.	1	0	1
Rorketon, Man.	1	1	1
Apsley, Ont.	3	2	1
Atikokan, Ont.	2	1	1
Bancroft, Ont.	7	3	2
Blind River, Ont.	25	5	3
Bonfield, Ont.	1	1	1
Bracebridge, Ont.	17	5	5
Coe Hill, Ont.	5	2	1
Dryden, Ont.	14	6	4
Englehart, Ont.	9	4	3
Hornepayne, Ont.	7	2	1
Kakabeka Falls, Ont.	3	2	1
Kirkland Lake, Ont.	25	5	7
Lion's Head, Ont.	4	2	1
Loring, Ont.	2	2	1
Nakina, Ont.	7	3	2
New Liskeard, Ont.	18	5	3
Quibell, Ont.	2	1	1
Rainy River, Ont.	8	2	2
Redbridge, Ont.	....	....	1
Redditt, Ont.	3	2	1
St. Joseph's Island, Ont.	8	2	3
Thessalon, Ont.	10	3	4
Whitney, Ont.	2	1	1
Wilberforce, Ont.	2	1	1
Grand Entry, Que.	0	0	....
Grosse Isle, Que.	0	0	1
Hurkett, Ont. (Red Cross Railway Coach)*	2	0	1
Nipigon, Ont. (" " " ")	....	....	....
	291	102	81

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The Outpost on Wheels

* This "Outpost-on-Wheels" is operated with the co-operation of the Canadian National Railways. The converted coach provides excellent accommodation, and the nurse in charge furnishes the settlement at which it may be situated not only with emergency nursing service, but also with expert public health nursing. She makes prenatal and postnatal visits, inspects school children, gives counsel and advice to the isolated families, and in general raises very materially the health standards of the communities.

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Nursing Services

THE Red Cross has a deep interest in both Visiting and Public Health Nursing. So far as Visiting Nursing is concerned, the Society has restricted its activities to pioneer and rural districts, realizing that cities and towns are admirably served by the Victorian Order of Nurses, to which the Red Cross has always given its fullest possible co-operation and and assistance.

Visiting Nursing in pioneer districts is an essential part of the Red Cross Outpost service, while in rural communities it has been a development from one of the early undertakings of the Red Cross, which soon after the war financed the employment of Public Health Nurses in a large number of country districts in many parts of Canada. This was undertaken as a demonstration for a definitely limited period and in quite a number of places the community, with the assistance of its provincial government, has continued the service. In a few places the nurse, originally intended for Public Health work, has without giving this up, become a Visiting Nurse and is supported by a local Red Cross branch.



An Outpost Nurse makes a Home Visit

In addition to financing the Public Health Nurses, the Red Cross, soon after the war, made arrangements with a number of Canadian universities to establish courses in Public Health Nursing, a training not

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previously obtainable in Canada. The Red Cross paid the major part of the costs of these for three years. To-day they are an integral part of the regular curriculum in five Canadian universities.

In most instances Red Cross activity in this form of work has been directed towards the support of public health nurses, as in Port Alberni, B.C. where the local Branch has contributed $900 a year towards the salary of the nurse, as well as having supplied and maintained a car for her use. In addition a series of well-baby clinics and home nursing classes have been conducted. At Kamloops the local Red Cross managed a well-baby clinic and at Chilliwack a nursing clinic. Though bedside nursing is not a part of the programme of the Society, the New Westminster Branch, at the request of the municipal authorities, has supported two visiting nurses who have, in addition, conducted a well-baby clinic in the Royal Columbian Hospital.



Mothers at a Red Cross Well-Baby Clinic

The Ontario Division has a fund from which loans are made in case of necessity to nurses from Ontario taking a University course in public health nursing. These loans are returnable when the nurse resumes employment on the completion of her course.

Three local Branches in New Brunswick supported in whole or in part public health nurses in their communities. Some Branches also assisted with diphtheria immunization clinics, and one Branch financed a tonsil and adenoid clinic.

Through the activities of nurses in the employ of the Red Cross, 15 Crippled Children's Clinics were organized last year in the Maritime Provinces. Thirteen of these were held in Nova Scotia and two in Prince Edward Island. Dr. T. B. Acker of Halifax, an outstanding specialist in Orthopaedics, gave his services to the Red Cross for these clinics.

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Red Cross Relief

LAST year in every part of Canada even heavier demands for relief than in 1931 were made upon the Red Cross. As was stated in the section describing the activities of the Society for ex-service men, a great deal of the work of Red Cross Divisions and Branches was to provide various forms of assistance for destitute soldiers and their families. Broadly speaking, Red Cross relief during 1932 consisted generally of clothing, medical care and extra nourishment, although many other kinds of assistance were also given.

As described in the Annual Report for 1931, the campaign for the National Emergency Fund was launched in December of that year by the Right Honourable the Prime Minister of Canada. At the end of July 1932 total contributions to the Fund amounted to $222,493.50. A detailed report upon the fund will be found on page 51. In addition to this amount the reported Red Cross disbursements on relief for 1932 were $67,909.67, making a total expenditure of $290,403.17 on this part of the Society's work during the last twelve months. This amount is twenty-five times greater than the expenditures which were made on relief in 1929.



Red Cross Members making Garments

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A study of the reports of the Divisions and Branches in all parts of the country indicates quite clearly that the reported disbursements do not begin to account for all the relief that was given. In scores of centres materials, either contributed or purchased at extremely low prices, were made up into thousands of garments. Many thousands of articles of used clothing were made over. Hundreds of pairs of boots were repaired, thousands of pounds of wool were knitted into sweaters, scarves, mittens and so on and in innumerable different ways the needs of the people were satisfied.

Throughout the year the Department of National Defence handed over to the Red Cross surplus or otherwise unneeded military clothing and blankets for distribution to the needy, and though some of the articles had to be dyed and others cut up and made over, there was no lack of workers to effect the necessary changes and many thousands of destitute people were assisted by this means.



A Red Cross Clothing Relief Depot

In some parts of the country the Provincial Divisions of the Society acted as the official clothing relief agencies for their provincial governments. In a number of cities and towns the Branches performed a similar service for municipal authorities. Indeed one of the conspicuous features of general relief work during the last two or three years has been the increasing

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number of occasions on which governing bodies have called upon the Red Cross to undertake on their behalf the entire responsibility for some phase of their relief programmes.

A brief and necessarily incomplete summary of the work of each of the Divisions may be of interest though space forbids any detailed recital of all of their accomplishments.

The British Columbia Division distributed nearly three tons of clothing, while the Vancouver Branch turned three miles of flannelette and a quarter of a ton of wool into garments. Nearly every Branch in that province supplied milk to undernourished children and adults.

The Alberta Division reported that as the agent of the provincial government it supplied clothing to 12,761 people and, in addition, furnished from its own funds and resources necessary clothing to a further 14,680 people who were in dire need but were not eligible for governmental issue, making a total of 27,441 individuals who received this form of assistance through the Red Cross in that province. The Divisions also supplied over 400 expectant mothers with layettes and gave medical care, which in many instances included hospitalization, to 97 seriously ill patients.

Early in the year the Saskatchewan Division was largely relieved of the enormous task it had performed for two years as the agent of the provincial government of providing necessary clothing for the thousands of people whom the drought had rendered destitute in that province. This part of the work was assumed by the Saskatchewan Relief Commission, but from September 1, 1931, to February 8, 1932, the Red Cross in Saskatchewan, acting for the government, had purchased and distributed clothing to the value of $173,778.64 and with these supplies had served 31,597 people. Shortly before the end of 1931 another essential and difficult task was assigned to the Saskatchewan Division of the Society when the government invited it to undertake the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor's Emergency Distress Fund which was ear-marked for the relief of the destitute sick. Up to the end of 1932 treatment had been provided for 3,218 patients at a cost to the fund of just under $70,000.00. All of the administration costs were borne by the Red Cross.

In Manitoba nearly 3,000 destitute men, women and children in rural districts received clothing relief from the Red Cross, which also provided necessary treatment for 109 sick people. On behalf of the authorities the Division had also supplied the clothing needs for some 4,000 people.

Last year the relief work of the Red Cross in Ontario reached very large proportions. The extent of the work of the Division on behalf of

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destitute ex-service men and their families has been described in a previous section of this report. For the general population an even larger volume of service was required. The municipal authorities invited seven Branches to assume responsibility for all the clothing relief needed in their areas and practically every one of the Branches of the Society in the province assisted in this feature of the general relief work. Many other forms of assistance were given including rent, fuel, transportation, medical attention, hospitalization and milk for undernourished children and special foods for invalids. The repair of worn boots and the purchase of new ones was one of the activities of a number of the Branches, while the Provincial Work Room, besides supplying linen, bedding, dressings and garments for the Outpost Hospitals, sent clothing and other relief to 631 families, or approximately 5,000 individuals.



A Hostel for Homeless Men

The Quebec Division, the extent of whose relief work on behalf of destitute ex-soldiers and the families has already been described, took care of the needs of the poverty stricken members of the population of the Magdalen Islands where its Outposts are situated.

In New Brunswick over 1,000 individuals were assisted with clothing and in addition cod liver oil was supplied to a large number of babies, while groceries, fuel, milk for undernourished children and other essentials were made available to needy people in all parts of the province.

In Nova Scotia thousands of garments both new and used were distributed. Clothing bureaus were established and sewing groups organized by most of the Branches in the province. Over 50,000 quarts of milk were supplied to undernourished children as well as extra nourishment for

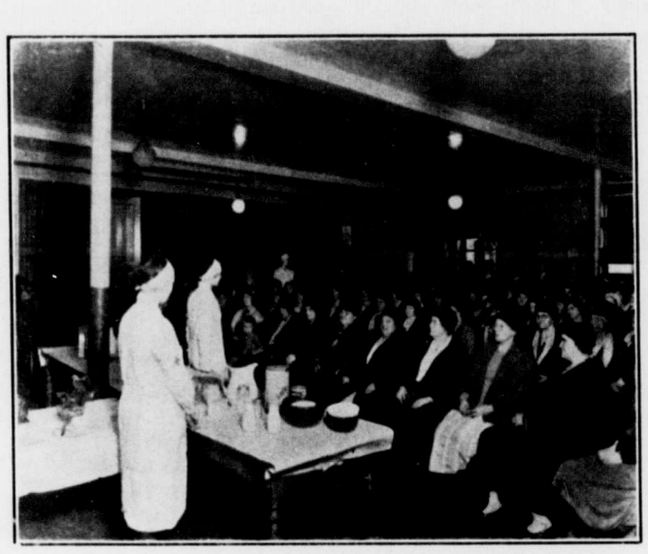
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a large number of invalids and convalescents. In many cases the Division also provided nursing service and medical care.

The Red Cross in Prince Edward Island supplied more than 7,000 quarts of milk to undernourished children and also provided for the essential needs in the way of food and clothing for more than one hundred destitute families in the province.



A Class in Nutrition

Nutrition Service

Developing out of the relief work in Ontario Nutrition classes were organized in seven communities. Instruction was given voluntarily by qualified dietitions under the direction of a graduate in Household Science on the staff of the Division. The Division also published an admirable, brief recipe book which provided thousands of housewives with simple and clear instructions on the preparation of food materials issued by Relief departments.

Alberta Rest Camp

Last summer the Alberta Division organized a Rest Camp for women and children in a district where a pioneer population had been struggling

C 45405

against adverse circumstances and had just suffered from a very severe hail storm. Besides suitable recreation, classes in Home Nursing were given and many healthy services were rendered.

National Emergency Fund

An interim report upon the National Emergency Fund was included in the last Annual Report of the Society and a brief description was given of the origin and preliminary arrangements for the Fund, the collection and distribution of which had been entrusted to the Society by the Right Honourable the Prime Minister of Canada. The Prime Minister made his appeal for contributions to the Fund on December 10, 1931, and the campaign was no more than in full swing at the end of that year. Contributions to the Fund reached their maximum in January and February but continued to be received though in decreasing numbers until June.

In September the Chairman of the Central Council and Executive Committee submitted a report upon the undertaking to His Excellency The Governor General, President of the Society. The salient features of



His Excellency and The Prime Minister discuss Relief Measures

this report were that the moving picture film had been exhibited in 247 of the leading moving picture houses in Canada where it had been seen by some three hundred thousand people, that the radio appeal had been broadcast over a network of forty-seven stations to an audience estimated at

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at least a million and a half people, that the official announcements of the Fund had appeared on three occasions in eighty-six Canadian daily newspapers and that between December 10th, when the Prime Minister's appeal was made, and the first of January, the Press had carried over fifty-two solid pages of news items regarding the Fund. In addition to this over ten thousand individual letters had been sent out from the National Office and probably more than five times this number from the Divisional Offices of the Society, which also arranged for much local publicity and in some parts of Canada made an intensive personal canvass. This was especially the case in Saskatchewan, where the undertaking was known as the Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan's Emergency Distress Fund, Alberta and Nova Scotia.

As the Chairman pointed out to the President of the Society, the appeal for contributions had not been very well received in certain important quarters and the results were somewhat disappointing. There was, however, no question that the Fund had not only provided the means to relieve a very great deal of suffering but had also materially stimulated contributions to local relief funds which otherwise would not have been forthcoming and had prompted a large volume of contributions in kind to various relief organizations throughout the Dominion.

The total receipts from the appeal, including His Honour's Emergency Distress Fund in Saskatchewan, amounted to $222,493.50. They were received from the following sources:—

Special contributions from national organizations	$ 24,386.17
Contributions in British Columbia	1,412.98
" " Alberta	49,734.74
" " Saskatchewan	79,897.75
" " Manitoba	5,676.06
" " Ontario	27,087.38
" " Quebec	11,886.60
" " New Brunswick	3,693.71
" " Nova Scotia	17,787.29
" " Prince Edward Island	930.74
	$222,493.50

When all the circumstances under which the appeal was made are taken into consideration and it is realized that earlier in the year enormous sums had been contributed for local relief purposes, especially in Ontario and Quebec, it must be granted that the effort made by the Canadian Red

Cross Society was eminently worth while. As a result of the contributions to the Fund, relief of one kind or another was provided to at least fifty thousand people.

In organizing the Fund it had been agreed that fifty per cent. of all the collections in each of the Provincial Divisions should be remitted to National Office to form a Central Fund from which allocations should be made to those areas in which the distress was most acute. As time went on, however, it became apparent that the situation in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia was such that all the contributions received in those provinces were required to meet their own needs.

The details of the receipts and disbursements of the Central Portion of the Fund are as follows:—

RECEIPTS

Special Contributions			$ 24,386.17
From Divisions, 50% of Collections:			
Ontario	$ 14,831.96		
Quebec	7,406.87		
New Brunswick	1,647.98		
Prince Edward Island	481.37		
		24,368.18	
For Divisions:			
British Columbia	$ 984.48		
Alberta	485.85		
Saskatchewan	21.00		
Manitoba	650.82		
Nova Scotia	2,004.37		
		4,146.52	
			$ 52,900.87

DISBURSEMENTS

Costs of Campaign	$ 6,051.66		
Relief Work	1,708.57		
Returned to Divisions:			
British Columbia	$ 984.48		
Alberta	485.85		
Saskatchewan	21.00		
Manitoba	650.82		
Nova Scotia	2,004.37		
		4,146.52	
Grants to Divisions:			
British Columbia	$ 2,500.00		
Alberta	17,000.00		
Saskatchewan	18,000.00		
Manitoba	2,000.00		
New Brunswick	1,000.00		
Nova Scotia	500.00		
		41,000.00	
			$ 52,906.75
Dr. Balance			$ 5.88

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Seaport Nurseries

THE Seaport Nursery Service of the Canadian Red Cross Society is unique. It had its origin in the war, when members of the Red Cross Branches at Saint John, Halifax and Quebec met the in-coming steamers to greet returning soldiers and the wives and children of soldiers still overseas. At the request of the Department of Immigration this activity has been continued since 1921 as a service to immigrant women and children.

Under the emblem that wins immediate and universal recognition, newly landed women and children, many of whom are fatigued and bewildered by the difficulties and confusion of debarkation, are welcomed and made to feel at home. In the nurseries they find an atmosphere of friendliness and helpfulness in which to rest and refresh themselves. There are comfortable beds for the weary and the ailing. The mothers get a cup of tea and the little ones milk and biscuits. Willing volunteer workers care for the children while the adults make arrangements for the next stage of their journey. Toys and picture books keep the children interested and amused. Often extra clothing must be supplied, food provided and instructions given in the care of the little ones. When the trains are ready the new citizens embark, happy in the knowledge that their welfare is a matter of concern to the Society that knows no national differences. They have learned also that on their arrival at their destination other Red Cross workers stand ready to furnish any further helpful advice that may be needed.

The technical work of the Nurseries is supervised by Miss V. A. Tremaine, R.R.C., but without the splendid service of the voluntary workers it would be impossible to carry it out successfully. Every member of the Red Cross in Canada should realize the devotion of those who respond by day or night to the warning that a ship is about to arrive and who find no hours too long and no work too hard in ministering to the needs of Canada's newly arrived citizens.

The Quebec Nursery was in operation from the end of April to the end of November. Voluntary helpers from the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire assisted the Red Cross nurses. The I.O.D.E. also sent generous donations of magazines and clothing, and conducted a small Post Office for the convenience of immigrants who are always anxious to send letters to their relatives. The Junior Red Cross of the Province of Quebec provided all kinds of clothing, dolls, toys, scrap-books, puzzles and some very attractive posters. The warm clothing supplied by the Quebec Juniors

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was a great blessing to many scantily-clad children who arrived in Canada in the chill days of autumn.

The Halifax Seaport Nursery was in operation all the year round. It is conducted by a committee of voluntary workers under the convenership of Mrs. P. J. McManus. During the past year a group of members of the Junior Service League also assisted in this work, at least two being on duty at each ship. The work has been carried on to the expressed satisfaction of the various Immigration, Steamship and Railway officials who frequently visit the Nursery. The members of the Junior Red Cross at Halifax provided a Christmas tree for immigrant children arriving during the Christmas week. The tree was beautifully decorated and each child received a gift of a toy and candy from a member of the Junior Red Cross. The Juniors also provided scrap books, story books, handkerchiefs, soap, face cloths and articles of clothing for distribution throughout the year. Through the generous gifts of clothing from Local Branches and friends of the Red Cross many scantily clad children have been sent on their way better prepared to face the cold Canadian winter.

The following table indicates the continued reduction of the numbers who entered Canada last year. Nevertheless the value of the service to those who did come in was undiminished.

Year	1930	1931	1932*
Ships	448	259	232
Infants, women and children	27,260	7,830	6,733

*Covering 14 months.

Some details regarding the work done is shown by the subjoined statement.

Nursery	Ships	Infants and Children	Women	Total
Halifax	125	1,254	1,725	2,979
Quebec	99	2,339	1,415	3,754
	224	3,593	3,140	6,733

Records of those who have passed through the Red Cross Seaport Nurseries have been kept since 1921. In the eleven years 262,342 women and children have been cared for and given such assistance as they may have required. The kindly workers have sent them on their way cheered with the knowledge that they had a friend in the Canadian Red Cross Society.

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Assistance for Settlers

In 1925 the British Red Cross Society made a grant of £2,000 to the Canadian Red Cross Society. The money was to form a Special Fund which was "to be applied in relieving distress arising out of sickness or suffering among settlers in Canada under the British Family Settlement scheme, on the understanding that priority would always be given to the ex-service disabled man."

The grant was exhausted early in 1927 but the British Red Cross Society, the Overseas Settlement Committee and the Department of Immigration and Colonization of Canada each contributed one-third of an additional grant of £2,000 for the same purpose. In May 1930 the British and Canadian Governments made a further joint contribution to the Fund of $3,244.44.

The Fund is administered by the National Office of the Canadian Red Cross Society, which acts upon the advice and recommendations of District Superintendents of the Soldier Settlement Board in co-operation with the Provincial Divisions of the Canadian Red Cross.

It sometimes happens that unforeseen expenses incidental to settling himself in his new surroundings may exhaust the immigrant's money. Sometimes illness or accident may leave him penniless and in debt. Grants from this Fund have helped to mitigate suffering caused by extraordinary expenses incidental to sickness or accident. Since 1925 assistance has been given in 272 cases.

The following summary gives the number of families who were assisted from this Fund during 1932:

Provincial Division	Cases	Amount
Alberta	5	$ 362.85
Saskatchewan	1	200.00
New Brunswick	2	97.00
	8	$ 659.85

Appreciation

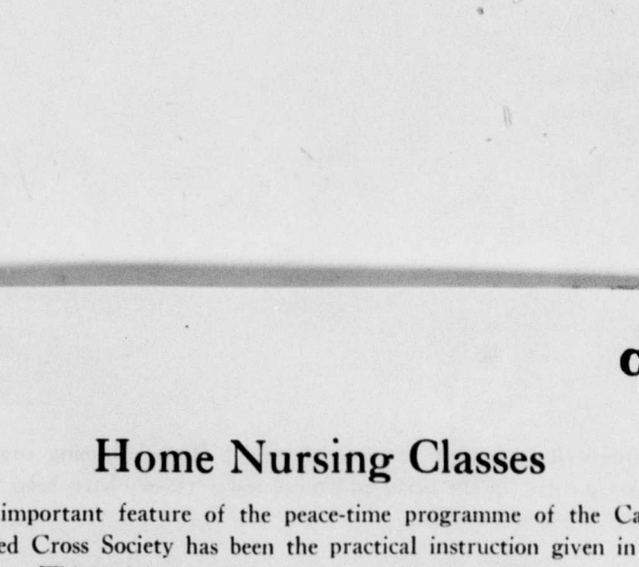
The following is an extract from a letter received from the Department of Immigration and Colonization:

"May I take once more the opportunity of expressing to your Society our warm appreciation of the assistance which is forthcoming so consistently from the Red Cross in our work."

C 45411

Home Nursing Classes

AN important feature of the peace-time programme of the Canadian Red Cross Society has been the practical instruction given in Home Nursing. This activity was initiated in 1924 by the publication of a Home Nursing Manual which was prepared with the assistance of experts in the fields of Medicine and Nursing. The Manual has undoubtedly served the purpose for which it was intended, as 42,462 copies have been purchased by students in the Home Nursing Classes and others who have heard of its value.



A Home Nursing Class in Operation

The women who have taken the Home Nursing Classes have learned by demonstration and practice the elementary principles of the care of the sick. They have been given simple instruction in the recognition of illness, and they have been taught the importance of the proper feeding of their families. They have thus become better able to ensure the well being of their families and also to assist their less well informed neighbours.

During the first few years of the operation of this activity, specially qualified organizers were employed by many of the Divisions and large numbers of Classes were formed. Latterly only the Ontario Division and

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the Toronto Branch have maintained special Home Nursing organizers and, consequently, in the other provinces fewer classes have been formed and fewer students enrolled.

The following table shows the number of groups which were organized and which completed the course of instruction in 1932:

Division	Classes Organized	Classes Completed	Students Instructed
Ontario	87	87	1,694
Prince Edward Island	5	5	101
Nova Scotia	3	5	54
British Columbia	1	1	20
New Brunswick	1	1	11
	97	99	1,880

Since 1924 when Home Nursing instruction began, 1,529 classes, comprising 22,387 students, have taken the complete course of instruction. The subjoined table shows the distribution by provinces:

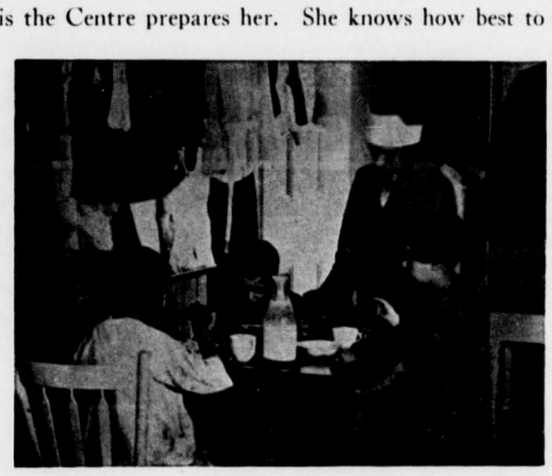
Division	Classes	Students
Ontario	799	11,590
New Brunswick	199	3,637
Nova Scotia	175	2,544
Alberta	161	1,898
Saskatchewan	77	977
British Columbia	63	947
Prince Edward Island	43	557
Quebec	9	171
Manitoba*	3	68
	1,529	22,389

* In Manitoba instruction in Home Hygiene has been a part of the Provincial Government programme for some years. Consequently the Red Cross has not undertaken to organize Home Nursing Classes in this province.

Visiting Housekeepers

IN 1925 the Toronto Branch of the Society inaugurated a new form of Red Cross work by undertaking to meet the problem of the home temporarily deprived of its keystone by the illness of the mother. The Branch established a Centre for the training of Visiting Housekeepers whose task it would be to take the place of the incapacitated mother. This Centre is now conducted by the Extension Department of the University of Toronto.

The Visiting Housekeeper is not a trained nurse nor an expert social worker though she receives some elementary instruction in both these sciences. Her duty is to provide intelligent management for the household, and for this the Centre prepares her. She knows how best to budget the



A Visiting Housekeeper at Work

family income, to feed the children, to give simple nursing care under professional guidance and, in brief, to be a competent housekeeper. Invariably she strives to bring about better conditions in the family she serves. Not only does she hold the family together when the absence or illness of the mother endangers its integrity, but her training enables her to advise and instruct her clients to their great advantage.

Red Cross Visiting Housekeeper service has had its widest development in Ontario. The Division operates a Visiting Housekeeper section under the direction of a graduate in Household Science and thus provides a general supervision of the Visiting Housekeeper service of five Branches. The Red Cross in Toronto is no longer directly engaged in this activity.

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On the formation of the Toronto Visiting Housekeepers' Association, the Toronto Red Cross resigned the work and has contributed $5,000.00 a year to the Association for its care of the families of ex-soldiers.

Visiting Housekeeper service may be said to be still in the experimental stage. The method followed in the Alberta and New Brunswick Divisions differs considerably from that followed in Ontario. In the latter Division the Visiting Housekeeper is a full-time employee of the Red Cross and on being assigned to a family spends all of her working hours with it, taking full charge of the household and doing all its work. In Alberta the Visiting Housekeepers are carefully selected competent women who are on call. When their services are required they are assigned to the family and function in the same way as the Ontario Housekeepers, drawing their pay from the Red Cross. In New Brunswick the Visiting Housekeeper employed by the Saint John Branch follows a different method. She visits a number of households each day just as is done by a Visiting Nurse. For each household she does some particular task which requires more skill or experience than is otherwise available. Working as she does in the closest co-operation with the Victorian Order of Nurses, she is able to meet the particular needs of anywhere from four to eight families every day.

It is as yet impossible to foretell how ultimately these various forms of Visiting Housekeeper service will work out. The Ontario method is undoubtedly the most effective but for many communities its cost seems prohibitive and it lacks elasticity.

The Alberta plan is proving satisfactory. The fixed costs are lower than in Ontario, as the Housekeepers are paid only for the time they are employed. It is, however, much more difficult to provide the training for the work that is of great importance.

In Saint John all those with knowledge of its details have nothing but praise for the work of the Visiting Housekeeper who is an expert and specially trained woman. Even though her daily visit to a family may not take at the least any more than half an hour, she is able to keep its affairs in order and to see to it that all the rules necessary to its welfare are followed.

Until these various forms of Red Cross Visiting Housekeeper service have been watched and studied for several years more, no conclusions can be drawn in regard to the one which will be found most appropriate and satisfactory to any given community.

C 45415

Enrolment of Nurses for Emergencies

AS was reported last year, the co-operative action of the Canadian Nurses' Association and the Canadian Red Cross Society towards the enrolment of nurses for emergency service came into effect in 1930. At the end of 1931, 576 nurses were enrolled.

During 1932 the number of Enrolled Nurses increased very materially in nearly every province. At the end of last year the enrolment was as follows:—

British Columbia	215
Alberta	68
Saskatchewan	39
Manitoba	106
Ontario	305
Quebec	130
New Brunswick	34
Nova Scotia	44
Prince Edward Island	10
Outside Canada	44
	995

The following self-explanatory letter was received from the Director General of Medical Services when the first list of Enrolled Nurses had been sent to him:—

"I have to-day received from you the list of trained nurses who have signed that they are willing and ready to serve in the event of war or national disaster. This list is a very valuable one and I am arranging to have it placed properly in the records at Defence Headquarters, so that it may be used in any mobilization.

"It is noted that your Society undertakes to keep the list corrected up to date. Therefore, any amendments you put forward will be carefully filed and the necessary corrections made in the original.

"With very high appreciation for this public service rendered by your Association,

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) J. T. CLARKE,
Colonel,
Director-General, Medical Services."

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Organization and Publicity

THE Canadian Red Cross Society functions under a special Act of the Canadian Parliament, which sets forth its duties and responsibilities, authorizes its use of the Red Cross emblem and describes the composition of its governing body.

The provisions of the Act are elaborated by the By-laws of the Society. Reference need be made here only to three of these, those referring to the composition of the governing body, known as the Central Council, to membership in the Society and to the autonomy of the Provincial Divisions.

The By-law regarding the Central Council provides that it shall be composed of three members elected annually by each of the Provincial Divisions and of not more than twelve members elected at large together with the Officers of the Society. From among its members the Council elects the Officers and the Executive Committee.

The By-law regarding membership specifies that the Society may enrol Senior Members, Honorary Members and Junior Members. Senior Members are those who subscribe and pay annually the sum of one dollar or more; Honorary Members are those who have been so elected by the Central Council or the Executive Committee, and Junior Members are those who are enrolled as such in accordance with the regulations of the Provincial Divisions.

The By-law conferring autonomy upon the Provincial Division provides that in time of peace a Provincial Division shall have full control of its finances and operations subject to conformity with the By-law regarding membership in the Society and to the general policy of the Society regarding Red Cross work.

One of the duties of the Provincial Divisions is to organize Branches of the Society and to enrol members. A minimum of ten members in any community can form themselves into a Branch and obtain a Charter.

The following table shows the number of Branches as reported by the Provincial Divisions at the end of 1932:—

Division	Branches
British Columbia	14
Alberta	43
Saskatchewan	301

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Manitoba	42
Ontario	62
Quebec	12
New Brunswick	22
Nova Scotia	25
Prince Edward Island	....
	521

Publicity

In all parts of Canada the Red Cross enjoys the happiest relations with the Press, which has given a very generous amount of space to Red Cross news. The Radio stations have also invariably placed their facilities at the disposal of the Red Cross both for the dissemination of information on health topics and for carrying its appeals for support into every household. In addition each Division issues from time to time pamphlets and folders describing its actvities. These are freely distributed throughout its area.

By these and other means the ideals and the programme of activities of the Red Cross in Canada have reached an ever increasing number of people.

It is estimated that last year at least fifty per cent. of the adult population of Canada heard in one way or another something about the Canadian Red Cross Society.

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REPORT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER CANADIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY FOR 1932

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AS AT FEBRUARY 28, 1933

ASSETS

Duchess of Connaught Endowment Fund Assets—		
Cash on Deposit	$ 38.17	
Bonds and Stocks (per schedule)	10,410.87	
Lands, Buildings, Furniture and Fixtures (Less Reserve for Depreciation)	32,751.10	
		$ 43,200.14
Reserve Fund Assets—		
Dominion of Canada Conversion Bonds (Par Value $85,500.00)		83,980.47
Maintenance Fund Assets—		
Dominion of Canada Conversion Bonds (Par Value)	15,000.00	
Accrued Interest on Investments	1,825.83	
Cash on Deposit—Dominion Bank	9,933.95	
Cash on Hand	25.00	
Accounts Receivable (per schedule)	7,257.56	
Alberta Division—Assignment of McCullough Bequest	16,084.77	
Advances to Divisions	6,346.93	
Inventories	3,414.40	
		$ 59,888.44
Designated Fund Assets		2,264.92
		$189,333.97

LIABILITIES

Duchess of Connaught Endowment Fund—		
Re Investments	$ 10,449.04	
Re Premises	32,751.10	
		$ 43,200.14
Reserve Fund—		
Balance of Fund as at December 31, 1931	84,148.11	
Less transferred to Maintenance Fund	167.64	
Balance of Fund as at February 28, 1933		$ 83,980.47
Maintenance Fund—		
Liabilities on Maintenance Account: Accounts Payable	$ 39.00	
Maintenance Fund as at December 31, 1931	$ 63,184.78	
Add: Sundry Adjustments	817.58	
Transfer from Reserve Fund	167.64	
	$ 64,170.00	
Deduct: Excess of Expenditure over Revenue for period	4,320.56	
	$ 59,849.44	
		$ 59,888.44
Designated Funds		2,264.92
		$189,333.97

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE

The above statement has been prepared pursuant to request of the Executive Committee, and we certify that it is in accordance with the explanations of the National Commissioner and the books of the Society. All securities were inspected by us in the vaults of Toronto General Trusts Corporation in company with officers of the Society on March 13, 1933, and found to be in order.

ROBERTSON, ROBINSON, McCANNELL & DICK,
Chartered Accountants.

Toronto, March 18, 1933.

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STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE
FOR 14 MONTHS ENDING FEBRUARY 28, 1933

REVENUE

Interest on Investments		$ 7,675.05
Duchess of Connaught Endowment Fund Income		1,252.38
Donations—General		7.95
Net Revenue on Sale of "Red Cross Junior"		209.32
Leonard Trust		500.00
Revenue—Supplies		113.02
Interest on Advances to Divisions		285.29
Grant—Dominion Government		9,000.00
		$ 19,042.99

EXPENDITURE

Administration Expenses		$ 11,732.99
Land and Buildings—Expenses of Upkeep		819.27
Travelling Expenses to Council and Executive Meetings		2,200.70
Publications		334.66
Junior Red Cross Administration Expenses		3,619.17
Port Work Salaries and Expenses		2,108.32
Grants to other Organizations—		
International Red Cross	$ 300.00	
British Empire Red Cross Committee	95.18	
League of Red Cross Societies	1,200.00	
		$ 1,595.18
Miscellaneous—		
General Expenses		135.68
Depreciation—		
Furniture and Fixtures	$ 409.25	
Buildings	408.33	
		$ 817.58
		$ 23,363.55
Excess of Expenditure over Revenue to Maintenance Fund Account		$ 4,320.56

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STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
JANUARY 1, 1932, TO FEBRUARY 28, 1933

RECEIPTS

Cash on Hand and in Banks, December 31, 1931		$ 20,098.59
Duchess of Connaught Endowment Fund Interest	$ 1,271.82	
Interest on Investments	5,849.20	
Cash Proceeds of Exchange of Bonds	167.64	
Donations	5.95	
"Canadian Red Cross Junior" Magazine—		
Division Subscriptions	$ 12,159.32	
Other Subscriptions	221.02	
Advertisements	1,029.50	
Leonard Trust	500.00	
	$ 13,909.84	
Senior Supplies sold to Divisions	818.97	
Junior Supplies sold to Divisions	2,240.64	
Purchases for Re-sale	856.06	
Office Rent	2,800.00	
Chinese Relief Fund	2.00	
Grant—Dominion Government	9,000.00	
Accounts Receivable 1931	784.74	
Emergency Fund	44,603.93	
Administration—Telephone and Miscellaneous Receipts	550.55	
Junior Red Cross Administration—Miscellaneous	49.61	
Seaports	52.50	
Premises Expense—Miscellaneous Receipt	8.64	
	$ 82,972.09	
	$103,070.68	

DISBURSEMENTS

Administration—		
Salaries	$ 9,124.41	
Accounting Services and Auditing	300.00	
Interest and Exchange and Sundries	60.25	
Freight and Express	14.80	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,151.39	
Postage	141.63	
Travelling Expenses	1,218.07	
Stationery and Supplies	358.41	
	$ 12,368.96	
Lands, Buildings and Fixtures:		
Wages	$ 970.00	
Laundry	64.65	
Repairs	529.06	
Coal and Gas	589.54	
Taxes and Water	1,034.29	
Light	285.17	
Supplies	155.20	
	$ 3,627.91	
Travelling Expense to Council and Executive Meetings		2,200.70

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Publications	311.92	
Inventory—Senior	707.68	
—Junior	2,420.84	
		$ 3,128.52
Goods purchased for Re-sale		774.12
Junior Red Cross—		
Administration—		
Salaries	2,607.50	
Travelling Expense	769.55	
Postage, Express and Freight	289.21	
Miscellaneous	17.05	
		$ 3,683.31
Magazine—		
Editorial Costs	2,607.50	
Printing	10,529.77	
Engraving	771.08	
Articles and Illustrations	762.66	
Distribution	21.40	
		$ 14,692.91
Port Work—Salaries and Expenses		2,160.82
Emergency Fund		48,251.26
Miscellaneous Expense		135.68
Disaster Relief—Chinese Fund		161.00
Grants to other Organizations—		
British Empire Red Cross Committee	95.18	
League of Red Cross Societies	1,200.00	
International Red Cross Committee	300.00	
		$ 1,595.18
Charge re Interest accrued on purchase of Duchess of Connaught Fund Bonds		19.44
		$ 93,111.73
Cash on Hand and in Bank, February 28, 1933		9,958.95
		$103,070.68

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE

The foregoing is an abstract of Receipts and Disbursements of the Head Office of the Canadian Red Cross Society for the fourteen months ending February 28, 1933, taken from the accounts as audited by us.

ROBERTSON, ROBINSON, McCANNELL & DICK,
Chartered Accountants

Toronto, March 18, 1933.

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THE OFFICERS OF PROVINCIAL DIVISIONS FOR THE YEAR 1932

British Columbia Division

(Office—317 Belmont House, Victoria)

Honorary President
His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

President
Sir Richard Lake, K.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents
Dr. G. A. Lamont
Dr. Geo. M. Weir
Mrs. J. E. Fitzwater

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer
Fred Landsberg

Commissioner
J. G. Corry Wood

Alberta Division

(Office—Customs Building, Calgary)

Patron
His Honor The Lieutenant Governor of Alberta

Honorary Presidents
Right Honourable R. B. Bennett, P.C., K.C., M.P.
Honourable Patrick Burns

President
Honourable William Egbert, M.D.

First Vice-President and Honorary Acting Commissioner
Mrs. C. B. Waagen

Vice-Presidents
D. M. Duggan, M.L.A.
Mrs. E. G. Mason
His Honour Judge Jackson
Walter Huckvale
Miss Mary Bull
J. P. Evans

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer
Miss Mary Pinkham

Honorary Solicitors
Col. F. C. Jamieson, K.C.
Hugh C. Farthing, M.L.A.

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Saskatchewan Division

(Office—2331 Victoria Ave., Regina)

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His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan

Honorary Vice-President
Honourable J. T. M. Anderson, Premier of Saskatchewan

Past President
W. L. Gilliland

President
C. P. Frankling

Vice-Presidents
H. S. McClung — W. E. Kirsch

Honorary Treasurer
R. G. Hamilton

Honorary Solicitor
P. H. Gordon, K.C.

Honorary Secretary and Commissioner
W. F. Marshall, M.A.

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(Office—187 Kennedy St., Winnipeg)

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His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba

Vice-Patrons
The Honourable the Premier of Manitoba
His Worship the Mayor of the City of Winnipeg

President
C. D. Shepard

Honorary Vice-Presidents
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Vice-Presidents
George Stordy — John R. Dutton

Honorary Treasurer
F. M. Burbidge

Honorary Secretary
A. E. Windatt

Chairman of Executive Committee
C. E. Drewry

Commissioner
A. Purkis Cameron

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Ontario Division

(Office—410 Sherbourne St., Toronto 5)

Honorary President
His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario

President
W. H. Alderson

Vice-Presidents
Mrs. H. P. Plumptre — Mrs. T. Albert Brown
D. McDermid — F. F. Treleaven
Mrs. J. A. Wilson

Honorary Secretary
H. G. Stanton

Honorary Counsel
Col. C. S. MacInnes, C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.

Honorary Treasurer
George S. Matthews

Director
Dr. Fred W. Routley

Quebec Division

(Office—1109 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal)

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His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec

Honorary President
Lady Drummond

Honorary Vice-Presidents
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Sir H. Montagu Allan, C.V.O.
Brig.-Gen. H. S. Birkett, M.D., C.B.
J. W. McConnell
Hugh Paton
Lady Shaughnessy
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Mrs. Colin Sewell
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President
Brig.-Gen. G. Eric McCuaig, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Vice-Presidents
Huntly R. Drummond — A. E. Holt
Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor — Robert Adair

Honorary Secretary
Col. W. S. M. MacTier, M.C.

Honorary Treasurer
Jackson Dodds, O.B.E.

Manager
Lieut.-Colonel John F. Buckley, D.S.O.

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New Brunswick Division

(Office—72½ Prince William St., Saint John)

Patron
His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick

Honorary President
Senator W. E. Foster

President
Dr. D. F. W. Porter

Vice-Presidents

Mrs. L. P. D. Tilley
Mr. E. A. Schofield
Rev. Wm. Swan
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Mrs. Manfred Robinson
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Honorary Treasurer
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Honorary Solicitor
Mr. R. G. McInerney

Honorary Secretary
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Nova Scotia Division

(Office—108 Granville Street, Halifax)

Honorary President
His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia

President
J. C. Gass

Honorary Vice-President
W. H. Hayes

Vice-Presidents

Mrs. J. A. Hanway
Mrs. P. M. Fielding
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A. E. Nash
Mrs. P. J. McManus
W. E. Poole
H. G. Harris
Rev. M. A. MacAdam

Honorary Secretary
Miss Margaret Brown

Honorary Treasurer
H. E. McMahon

Honorary Solicitor
J. L. McKinnon

C 45427

Prince Edward Island Division

(Office—59 Grafton Street, Charlottetown)

Honorary President
His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island

Past President
Hon. Mr. Justice Haszard

President
Dr. H. D. Johnson

Vice-Presidents

W. F. Tidmarsh
Miss Gladys Holman

Honorary Secretary
Hon. W. J. P. McMillan, M.D.

Honorary Treasurer
D. A. McKinnon

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Legations: Paris and Tokio

Arguments for

Personal representation is the method which all countries have found helpful and necessary in their international relations.

Every argument to be urged in support of legations and embassies by other countries, can be urged with respect to Canada:

e.g. dealing with questions on the spot;
learning the atmosphere;
understanding the personalities;
anticipating problems;
understanding point of view of country.

Additional reasons in case of Canada.

Her point of view quite different sometimes questions from other parts of Empire -

Re France: Arbitration of disputes
Japan: Restriction of immigrants.

With nationhood must assume obligations of nation;
Not be dependent on other parts of Empire.

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Advantages of experience to legation in United States, and United States legation in Canada.

Advantages to both countries and to British Empire have been proven.

Government's intention to move slowly, and as circumstances justify.

Canada's relations with four Great Powers

With France:

Tie is one of kinship
sentiment

Increased obligations on Commissioner General
grown up with European conferences,
League of Nations, etc.

Great service rendered by Hon. Phillippe Roy -
During War,
Appointed 1911; retained in office under Cons.

With Japan:

Nearest neighbour on Pacific

Nothing so important as development in Far East and Pacific problems.

Canada already studying Pacific problems -
sending special representatives;
better to have resident representative.

Number of Japanese immigrants.
Trade ? (see later reference to trade)

Speech by Cahan. re war with Orient

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Procedure followed - through British Foreign Office

Satisfaction expressed by British Govt.

Quote: Sir Austen Chamberlain,
Mr. Amery

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Arguments of Opposition against Legations

Means a separatist idea -

Not borne out by Washington
New links established
Consultation, co-operation, and co-ordination all made possible
Sir Esme Howard's statement.

Equality of status argument -

Baldwin on same
Impression on mind of foreign state
re: size and solidarity of Empire.

The alternative:

Have business done through British Ministers,
over whom no control.
Britain's problems large enough.
Danger of break if mistake made

The doctrine of sovereignty not understood by Oriental mind -
- should be, not understood by Tory mind

Bennett's argument on nationality;
situation now existing at Washington.

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Argument for single foreign policy (Perley, Argenteuil)

Monopoly, versus Joint control -
Not imposition of single will

Is reversion to the past, compatible only with
Imperial Federation or Imperial Council;

Would lead to dismemberment of Empire.

Conference and co-operation in different countries
of world, strengthen Empire.

Why always assume Canada to be responsible for
difference of view, and to be in wrong.

Trade Commissioners, vs. Diplomacy.

Bound up together: e.g. immigration with Orient,
and attitude of foreign countries towards trade agents.

Not independence, but self dependence, and self reliance;

Agency for goodwill.

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Japan Agreement

Agreement

First fruits of our policy to establish legation at Tokio, and adjusting of the perplexing problem of immigration from the Orient.

As result of long discussion between representative Japan and Canadian Government.

Am authorized to say Japan herself proposes to limit to 150 per annum immigration of all classes - agricultural, domestic servants, wives and children of immigrant Japanese - Stop practice of picture brides.

Passports to be visaed by Canadian Minister;

Canada to administer her immigration laws toward Japan as towards other countries.

To go into effect, 1st of September.

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3. Paris Legation.

It is not correct to say that in addition to the Legation we are maintaining another institution or agency in Paris, on which $44,000 odd was spent last year. This sum was spent in 1927-28 for the Office of the Commissioner/General, which gave place to the Legation in October, 1928. The Legation and the Commissioner General's Office did not both exist at the same time; the expenditures referred to have to do with different years.

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E-4001

(1923) C 45436

PARIS AGENCY OFFICE

PARIS, FRANCE.

Can. Representative in Paris

The Office of the Commissioner General of Canada in France has grown out of the appointment of Mr. Hector Fabre, who, in 1882, while acting for the Government of the Province of Quebec, was appointed as Agent of the Canadian Government, the appointment of Mr. Poindron, as Canadian Commercial Agent at Paris in 1902 and the appointment of Mr. Paul Willard, as General Immigration Agent for France.

Mr. Philippe Roy was appointed on the 2nd May, 1911, as Commissioner General of Canada in France.

The duties assigned to Mr. Fabre in 1882 were to spread information respecting Canada in France and on the Continent, and also to conform to any instructions which he might receive from the High Commissioner for Canada in London, in regard to any duties to be discharged or assistance to be rendered in connection with efforts to bring about more favourable relations between Canada and France. When Mr. Roy was appointed His Majesty's Government was informed "that the Canadian Government does not propose to vary the status and functions of Mr. Roy from those assigned to the late Mr. Fabre". The Minute of Council dated 13th December, 1911, set out that the work of the Department of Trade and Commerce in Paris be placed under the Commissioner General.

The services of Mr. Roy have been made use of in connection with various conferences etc., held in Europe during the past year, such as the International Labour Conference and the International Customs Facilities Conference.

J. Pope

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E-4001

C 45436

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

L.S.

Memorandum for the Hon. the Prime Minister.

In 1918-19, 1919-20, 1920-21, 1921-22 and 1922-23 Mr. Philippe Roy, Commissioner General for Canada in Paris, was granted a special bonus of two thousand five hundred dollars ($2500.00) in view of the increased cost of living, and by Minute of Council, dated 28th April, 1922, this bonus was continued for the period of the fiscal year now drawing to a close.

I presume the conditions in Paris justifying this grant still exist, but in order that the bonus may be continued through the next fiscal year, a further Minute of Council will have to be obtained. I accordingly submit a draft recommendation for Mr. King's signature.

J. Pope

Ottawa, 29th March, 1923.

Signed April 4.

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C 45437

Paris Office:

Extract from Departmental Report, 1927:

The Agency at Paris has discharged its usual duties (1) in obtaining the varied information required by Government Departments and individuals in regard to trade and other matters, (2) details of French legislation and regulations affecting Canadian interests (3) and in smoothing out difficulties with the local authorities in behalf of Canadian importers and travellers. (4) It provides a much appreciated centre to which Canadian visitors may address themselves for assistance in obtaining advice as to conditions of residence, travel, passports and other local matters in which they may be interested.

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C 45438

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

C.

Note for the Prime Minister.

Attached is a letter from Mr. Roy of August 6th, and a memorandum on the work of the Canadian Office in Paris. This arrived on Tuesday, in response to a suggestion of mine in the Spring, so that it was not necessary to send on your letter instructing Mr. Roy to prepare such a report.

O.D.S.

Ottawa, 16th August, 1927.

AUG 17 RECD

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C 45439

TRANSLATION

Commissariat General for Canada.

17 19
Boulevard des Capucines
Paris.

6 August, 1927.

My dear Doctor,

Some time ago, about the end of March, you requested me by letter to prepare for you a memorandum on the work of the Canadian Commissariat at Paris.

It is rather difficult to lay down in a report such as this all the direct and indirect action of an office like ours which for practical purposes has become that of a legation in a foreign capital.

It is certain that our office at Paris fulfils a mission and plays a part much more important than a great number of legations accredited to the French Government.

I enclose a memorandum which I asked my secretary to prepare. Incomplete as it is, it will give you an outline of the work we are called upon to develop and increase each year.

I am informed by colleagues attached to foreign embassies and legations in France that the revenue from their consular posts covers and even exceeds the general expenses of all their services administered by the Department for Foreign Affairs. In the case of the United States I know that the revenue of the American Consulate is greater by far than all the expenses incurred by the consulate and Embassy at Paris.

It seems to me that we should establish a system similar to that adopted by other countries and that in this manner we could with more grace ask parliament to vote appropriations

Dr. Oscar Douglas Skelton,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,

OTTAWA.

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required for the upkeep and development of our representation in foreign countries. I recall that you already mentioned the matter to me the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you: I trust that you still have the projet in mind.

In my opinion the proceeds from the sale of Customs stamps should be turned over to the credit account of agencies in foreign countries which sell them. This calls for a complete organization which is of the greatest interest.

The Hon. Mr. Lapointe who is back from Geneva to day, tells me that you will come for the next assembly of the League of Nations. I am glad to hear that, as it will afford us an excellent opportunity to discuss and set clearly most of these problems.

Nothing has been done with regard to new quarters and new furniture for our offices at Paris; if it is true that the Government is seriously contemplating the establishment of a legation at Paris, it is better to wait that a definite decision be arrived at before making any changes. We will discuss the matter in Paris.

I have etc.,

(Sgd) Philippe Roy.

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C 45441

MEMORANDUM

The Commissioner General for Canada in France has the honour to submit to the Right Honourable W. Lyon Mackenzie King, Premier of Canada, the following exposé respecting the work of the Commissariat General of Canada in France.

This work may be considered:

(a) from the point of view of official relations with the French authorities;

(b) from the point of view of relations with French citizens and Canadians residing in or visiting France.

Official Relations.

The Commissariat General serves as a liaison:

1st - between the various departments of the Federal Government and the departments of the French Government.

It is authorized to take every steps in order to obtain from the French Government information required at Ottawa particularly as to the exact meaning or the application of regulations respecting foreign companies, the organization of public services etc., and on the other hand to furnish French authorities particulars which they may require in order to keep their nationals posted with regard to Canadian legislation and thus promote good relations between the two countries. Should difficulties or misunderstandings arise it strives to solve them or explain them in a manner conformable to Canadian interests.

It secures the representation of Canada at all official ceremonies at which the diplomatic world participates as well as to meetings of committees such as those of the International Refrigeration Institute and of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. It brings in contact Canadian personalities visiting Paris with French political economic and intellectual circles, helps Canadian officials in their inquiries by introducing and recommending them to French departments where they are likely

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to obtain the information sought for, facilitates French official missions to Canada by directing them to departments and Canadian institutions whose work corresponds to the object of their inquiry.

In a more general way, it endeavours to keep up the good dispositions of every French authority towards Canada and avails itself of every opportunity to promote with them a better understanding of the interests and of things Canadian according to such means as circumstances offer.

2nd - Between the provincial Governments and the French Government.

It reciprocally supplies to the former or to the latter, as the case may be, Statistics, official reports and full information concerning their situation and particularly with regard to systems adopted and experiences obtained in matters of public instruction, stock raising, forest protection and agriculture. As in the federal field, it strives to solve difficulties, to bring together representatives of the provinces and those of the French Government and, generally speaking, to promote the interests of the Canadian provinces in the manner above described.

3rd - Between the French Government and Canadian services in France namely:

(a) Canadian Battlefields Memorial Commission, in favour of which it secures from French services such as the Customs Department and Prefectoral Administration, every facilities as regards exemption from customs duties and the protection of the Vimy Concession, and is ever ready to work jointly with the representatives of the Commission.

(b) The Trade Commissioner.

It supplies him with reports , memoranda and particulars of an official nature, presents and supports before

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the French authorities, claims submitted by Canadian importers and exporters with reference in particular to customs and transportation matters. It communicates to directors of French services concerned remarks and observations deemed useful for the purpose of drafting or amending such new regulations as would encourage and stimulate Franco-Canadian trade relations and in a general way, devotes itself to facilitate such relations by simplifying formalities and by obtaining the sympathetic consideration of the Department of Trade and Commerce:

(c) Canadian Archives in Paris.

It applies to committees controlling French archives and libraries for the required authority to search for documents concerning Canadian history, and to copy or photograph such documents.

(d) Immigration Offices.

To which it secures every facilities for the inspection of emigrants bound for Canada as well as the protection of the Prefecture of Police in order to curtail as much as possible the wrong-doings of undesirable emigrants.

(e) Customs Inspector.

This post recently created has not given rise as yet to many official proceedings. The incumbent however enjoys the advantage of recommendations which enable him to cross frontiers without difficulty and secure for him more freedom with regard to the vigorous enforcement of the regulations governing foreigners in France.

(4) Between every French authority and Canadians in France.

In harmony with the Department for Foreign Affairs, it looks into the possibilities of rules relative to dual nationality, with regard either to French citizens having obtained Canadian

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naturalization or with regard to Canadians by birth but of French descent who upon arrival in France, are subject to the obligations of military service in the French army .

It issues all documents and official papers such as certificates de coutume, of nationality, or of domicile, as is required by French authorities in the case of marriage, succession, registration at Universities, etc, and authenticates contracts, powers of attorney, certificates of birth, marriages and death, and in general, all authentic deeds in Canada the legal value of which it is desired to have acknowledged in France.

At the request of Canadian families, it causes inquiries to be made regarding the estates or the whereabouts of relatives lost in France and in the case of demise, accidental deaths or suicides of Canadians, looks after burial formalities and succession regulations.

It offers facilities to Canadians who desire to sojourn in France for a period exceeding two months, to obtain the required permis de séjour, and in case of infraction or any difficulties whatsoever with the French police authorities, it endeavours, as circumstances present themselves, to obtain the withdrawal or the best possible settlement.

It seeks and obtains from the Department of Public Instruction or from the Direction des Beaux Arts, the indispensable authorizations to Canadian professors to visit schools of higher, secondary or primary education, to work in State laboratories, and with regard to students, it secures their admission, on exceptional grounds, to French normal Schools, obtain for them the equivalent of their Canadian University certificates, exemption from course of studies should it be necessary, and the right to draw and paint in the State Museums.

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Finally to tourists desiring to visit State establishments ordinarily closed to the public, as for instance, the Departments, the prison, the Court House, etc., it obtains for them the required permit as well as cards to assist at meetings of the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate or the French Academy.

The above review is by no means limitary and deals with important current cases only.

RELATIONS WITH INDIVIDUALS .

1st - French and others:

It proceeds with the authentication of all documents of French origin intended to be used as legal documents in Canada, it causes the oath to be taken in cases of application for a patent for an invention, affidavits, etc., and controls consular invoices and sells customs stamps used in exportations from France to Canada.

It supplies either verbally or by correspondence information respecting Canadian legislation especially with reference to the circulation of capital, methods of taxation, incorporation of outside companies, bankrupycies, succession duties, land grants, matrimonial legislation, divorces, naturalization conditions etc., and concerns itself with the settlement of estate of soldiers of allied armies killed in action and who had left a homestead in Canada.

It furnishes full information with regard to the organization and expansion of industries, labour conditions in agriculture, their production, results of stock raising, facilities concerning imports and exports, cost of living in Canada, means of publicity, trade agencies of the Canadian Government, book-trade and libraries, Statistics published by the federal and provincial governments and distributes all advertising trade literature to centres most likely to be interested.

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It informs tourists and commercial travellers proceeding to Canada of passport regulations, steamship and railway companies Canadian banks, chief hotels, tourist information agencies and endeavours to rouse and cultivate in the French public mind curiosity and interest with regard to natural beauties, and the material and intellectual progress of Canada, by supplying French lecturers with all the information they require , together with lantern slides and moving picture films about Canada.

The average number of foreigners visiting the Commissariat for the reasons above mentioned and less frequent purposes is fifty a day.

2nd CANADIANS.

It concerns itself with regard to passports with their renewal when they have expired or issuing them when lost and marriage cases as well. It helps to obtain in the necessary authority to travel to closely watched territories such as Morocco or Assyria and certain occupied territories. It give information as to visa formalities, foreign consulates in Paris where such visa may be obtained and countries requiring same. It issues the necessary certificates in favour of Canadians wishing to enter Canada via the United States or to spend some time visiting the latter.

It renders to Canadians, from a legal point of view , the same services as it does to French citizens, as far as authentication and the taking of the oath are concerned, and keeps them posted as to regulations governing aliens with reference to permis de séjour, taxes, licence to drive a car in France, etc.

It causes graves of Canadian soldiers killed during the war to be found for persons desiring to visit them and takes with the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment or with its Agent in London, the necessary steps in favour of Canadian pensioners who ask that their pension be either increased or confirmed

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and receivesevery declaration required by the authorities with reference to their circumstances.

At the request of Canadian association such as "The National Council of Education" or the "Toronto Horse Show", it sees to it that French delegations are sent to Congresses or international conferences and assist in the preparation for their departure.

It has organised a real bureau of information for the accommodation of Canadians visiting Paris, which furnishes them with full particulars respecting Canada of France, and especially with regard to transportation, hotels, boarding, restaurants, schools, hospitals, trade establishments, theatres, museum, etc.

It strives to assist stranded Canadians, and if necessary, it seeks authority to send them back home by giving full information as to their circumstances. In the case of sickness it sees to it that they be sent to hospitals and properly attended to.

It furnishes Canadian Students returning to Canada with the certificate which enables them to benefit of the lower rate granted them by steamship lines and at the request of certain provincial governments sends out reports with reference to the standing of their students holding scholarships, in order to judge whether the appropriation to that effect should be extended or renewed.

To persons having lived a long time in France and who return to Canada for permanent residence it prepares a certificate which enables Canadian Customs authorities to assimilate such cases to those of emigrants with their household furniture.

It receives the mail of persons who desire to have it forwarded in its care to be either delivered to them personally or sent to a stated address, the first having an average of 100 and the second category 75.

It places the telephone at the disposal of such persons for conversations in Paris, and a reading room in which may be found

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writing desks and newspapers and reviews from all the provinces of Canada and France. This room is the most frequented by the Canadian Colony in Paris which numbers over six hundred residents and tourists whose number varies from fifty to two hundred depending upon the season.

In short, speaking generally , it does its part towards creating in Paris an atmosphere of sympathy in which Canadians and Frenchmen are happy to meet and which enables them to keep up, from a political, economic and intellectual point of view, the best relations in the interest of both countries.

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C 45449

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE
"STADACONA - PARIS"
TÉL: CENTRAL 18-03

17 19
BOULEVARD DES CAPUCINES
PARIS

PR/LV

6 Août 1927.

Mon cher Docteur,

Il y a quelque temps, à la fin du mois de mars dernier, vous me demandiez, par lettre, de vous préparer un mémoire sur les activités du Commissariat du Canada à Paris.

Il est assez difficile d'exposer, dans un rapport comme celui-ci, toute l'action directe et indirecte d'un service comme le nôtre, mais il est devenu, par la pratique, celui d'une légation dans une capitale étrangère.

Il est certain que notre bureau à Paris remplit une mission et joue un rôle beaucoup plus important qu'un grand nombre de légations accréditées auprès du Gouvernement français.

Je vous envoie un Mémorandum, que j'ai fait préparer par mon secrétaire; tout incomplet qu'il soit, il vous donnera un aperçu des activités que nous sommes appelés à développer et à augmenter chaque année.

Dr Oscar Douglas Skelton,
Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat,
aux Affaires Etrangères,
Ottawa.

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Je suis informé, par des collègues appartenant à des ambassades et des légations étrangères en France, que les honoraires prélevés par leur service consulaire couvrent et même dépassent les frais généraux de tous leurs services dépendant du Ministère des Affaires Etrangère. Dans le cas des Etats-Unis, je sais que les recettes du Consulat des Etats-Unis dépassent de beaucoup tous les frais encourus par le Consulat et par l'Ambassade à Paris.

Il me semble bien que nous devrions établir un système semblable à ceux adoptés par les autres pays, et qu'ainsi nous aurions meilleure grâce pour faire voter par le Parlement les crédits nécessaires au maintien et au développement de nos services à l'étranger. D'ailleurs, je me souviens que vous m'en aviez déjà dit un mot la dernière fois que j'ai eu le plaisir de vous voir: j'espère que vous n'avez pas perdu le projet de vue.

A mon avis le produit de la vente des timbres de douane devrait être versé au compte créditeur des services à l'étranger, qui font ces ventes. Il y a là toute une organisation à faire qui offre le plus grand intérêt.

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L'Hon. M. Lapointe, qui arrive ce matin de Genève, me dit que vous viendrez à la prochaine assemblée de la Société des Nations. J'en suis fort aise, car nous aurons là une excellente occasion de discuter et de mettre au point la plupart de ces questions.

Je n'ai rien fait au sujet d'un nouveau local et d'un nouvel ameublement pour nos bureaux à Paris; s'il est vrai que le Gouvernement songe sérieusement à établir une Légation à Paris, il vaut mieux attendre qu'une décision définitive ait été prise pour faire des changements. Nous en reparlerons à Paris.

Veuillez agréer, mon cher Docteur, l'assurance de mes sentiments les meilleurs et les plus dévoués.

Philippe Roy

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C 45452

M E M O R A N D U M

Le Commissaire Général du Canada en France a l'honneur de soumettre au Très Honorable W. Lyon Mackenzie King, Premier Ministre du Canada, l'exposé suivant sur les activités du Commissariat Général du Canada en France:

Ces activités peuvent être envisagées :

a) du point de vue des rapports officiels avec les autorités françaises;

b) du point de vue des rapports avec les particuliers français et canadiens, soit résidant, soit de passage en France.

RAPPORTS OFFICIELS

Le Commissariat Général établit la liaison :

1°. entre les différents ministères du gouvernement fédéral et les ministères du gouvernement français.

Il a pour mission de faire toutes les démarches en vue d'obtenir de l'administration française les renseignements qui lui sont demandés à Ottawa, particulièrement quant au sens exact ou à l'application des réglements concernant les compagnies étrangères, l'organisation des services publics, etc.. et, d'autre part, de fournir aux autorités françaises les informations qui leur sont nécessaires pour tenir leurs nationaux au courant de la législation canadienne et favoriser ainsi les relations entre les deux pays. Dans les cas de difficultés ou de malentendus, il

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s'emploie à les résoudre ou à les éclaircir de la manière la plus conforme aux intérêts canadiens.

Il assure la représentation du Canada à toutes les cérémonies officielles auxquelles participe le monde diplomatique en France, ainsi qu'aux réunions de comités, comme ceux de l'Institut International du Froid et de l'Institut de Coopération Intellectuelle. Il met en contact les personnalités canadiennes de passage à Paris avec les milieux politiques, économiques et intellectuels français, favorise les enquêtes d'officiels canadiens en les présentant et les recommandant aux départements français susceptibles de leur fournir la documentation recherchée et, d'autre part, facilite les missions officielles françaises au Canada, en les dirigeant vers les ministères et institutions canadiennes dont les activités répondent au but proposé à leur étude.

D'une manière plus générale, il s'efforce d'entretenir les bonnes dispositions à l'égard du Canada, de toutes les autorités françaises et ne néglige aucune occasion de développer chez elles une meilleure compréhension des intérêts et des choses canadiennes suivant les moyens qui lui sont fournis par les circonstances.

2°. entre les gouvernements des provinces canadiennes et le gouvernement français.

Il procure réciproquement aux uns et à l'autre, suivant leur demande, les statistiques, rapports officiels et toute documentation sur leur situation propre et surtout en

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ce qui concerne les systèmes adoptés et les expériences faites en matière d'instruction publique, d'élevage, de protection des forêts et d'agriculture. Comme dans le domaine fédéral, il s'applique à résoudre les difficultés, à faire rencontrer les représentants des autorités provinciales et ceux des autorités françaises et, dans l'ensemble, à promouvoir les intérêts des provinces canadiennes de la façon ci-haut exposée.

3°. entre le gouvernement français et les services canadiens en France, à savoir :

a) Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission,

en faveur de laquelle il obtient des services français, comme la Direction Générale des Douanes ou l'Administration Préfectorale, toutes facilités quant à la franchise douanière ou à la protection du terrain de la concession de Vimy, et, en toute occasion, collabore avec les représentants de la Commission.

b) Le Commissaire du Commerce.

Il lui fournit tous rapports, memorandums et informations de source officielle, présente et soutient auprès des autorités françaises les réclamations qui lui sont soumises, surtout en matière de douanes et de transports, de la part d'importateurs ou d'exportateurs canadiens, communique aux directeurs des services français intéressés les remarques et observations qui sont jugées utiles pour faire rédiger ou modifier de nouveaux réglements dans le sens le plus propre à encourager et stimuler les relations commerciales franco-

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canadiennes et, en général, s'emploie à les faciliter par la simplification des formalités et par le bienveillant appui qu'il obtient du Ministère du Commerce.

c) Archives Canadiennes à Paris.

Il demande aux Commissions chargées du contrôle des Bibliothèques et Archives Françaises, les autorisations nécessaires à la recherche de documents intéressant l'histoire du Canada, ainsi qu'à la copie ou à la photographie des dits documents.

d) Bureaux d'Immigration,

auxquels il fait accorder toutes facilités pour l'inspection des émigrants désirant se rendre au Canada, ainsi que la protection de la Préfecture de Police pour que les fraudes soient autant que possible évitées de la part d'émigrants indésirables.

e) Inspecteur des Douanes.

Ce poste récemment créé n'a pas donné lieu, jusqu'à présent, à de nombreuses démarches officielles. Le titulaire bénéficie, cependant, de recommandations qui lui permettent de franchir facilement les frontières et de ne pas se plier rigoureusement à toute la réglementation concernant les étrangers en France.

4°. entre toutes les autorités françaises et les Canadiens en France.

Il étudie, d'accord avec le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, les possibilités de réglement dans les cas de

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double nationalité, soit qu'il s'agisse de sujets français ayant obtenu la naturalisation canadienne, soit de canadiens par naissance, mais descendant de sujets français, et qui, en venant en France, seraient soumis aux obligations du service militaire dans l'armée française.

Il établit tous documents et pièces officielles, comme certificats de coutume, de nationalité ou de domicile, tel qu'il est exigé par les autorités françaises dans le cas de mariage, de succession, d'inscriptions aux Universités, etc.. et légalise les contrats, procurations, actes d'état civil et, en général, toutes pièces authentiques au Canada et dont on désire faire reconnaître la valeur légale en France.

Il fait procéder, à la demande des familles canadiennes, à des recherches d'héritages ou de parents disparus en France, et dans le cas de décès, morts accidentellement ou suicidés canadiens, s'occupe des formalités d'inhumation et de réglement de succession.

Il facilite aux Canadiens désirant faire un séjour de plus de deux mois en France, l'obtention du permis de séjour nécessaire, et dans le cas de contraventions ou de difficultés quelconques avec les autorités de Police françaises, s'efforce, suivant les circonstances, d'en obtenir le retrait ou la solution la plus avantageuse.

Il demande et se procure au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique ou à la Direction des BeauxArts, les autorisations indispensables aux professeurs canadiens pour visiter

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les Etablissements d'Enseignement Supérieur, Secondaire ou Primaire, pour travailler dans les Laboratoires de l'Etat, et quant aux étudiants, il les fait admettre, à titre exceptionnel, dans les Ecoles Normales Françaises, leur obtient l'équivalence de leurs titres universitaires canadiens, l'exemption de la scolarité s'il y a lieu, et le droit de dessiner et de peindre dans les Musées de l'Etat.

Enfin, aux touristes qui désirent visiter des établissements d'Etat, ordinairement fermés au public, comme les Ministères, la Conciergerie, le Palais de Justice etc.. il fait aussi remettre les permis exigés et obtient, en faveur de ceux qui les lui demandent, des cartes pour les séances de la Chambre des Députés, du Sénat ou de l'Académie Française.

L'exposé ci-dessus n'étant, en aucune manière, limitatif et se rapportant aux cas les plus courants,

RAPPORTS AVEC LES PARTICULIERS

1°. Français et autres:

Il procède à la légalisation de tous les documents d'origine française et devant être utilisés comme pièces légales au Canada, fait prêter le serment dans les cas de demande de brevets d'invention, d'affidavits, etc.. et contrôle les factures consulaires et vend les timbres de douane devant accompagner les exportations de France au Canada.

Il fournit, soit verbalement soit par correspondance, des renseignements sur les lois canadiennes, surtout en ce qui concerne la circulation des capitaux, les modes d'imposition,

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l'incorporation des compagnies étrangères, les faillittes, les droits successoraux, les concessions de terres, les régimes matrimoniaux, les divorces, les conditions de naturalisation, etc..., et s'occupe du réglement des successions des militaires des armées alliées morts à la guerre et ayant laissé un homestead au Canada.

Il donne toute information quant à l'organisation et au développement des industries, aux conditions de travail dans l'agriculture, aux produits des unes et de l'autre, au rendement de l'élevage, aux facilités d'importation et d'exportation, au coût de la vie canadienne, aux moyens de publicité, aux services commerciaux du Gouvernement canadien, aux librairies et bibliothèques, aux statistiques publiées par le Gouvernement fédéral et les Gouvernements provinciaux, et distribue toute brochure de propagande commerciale dans les milieux les plus aptes à s'y intéresser.

Il fait connaître au touriste ou au voyageur de commerce désirant se rendre au Canada les formalités de passeport, les compagnies de navigation et de chemin de fer, les banques canadiennes, les principaux hotels, les centres d'information tourisitque, et s'efforce de susciter et de développer dans le public français la curiosité et l'intérêt à l'égard des beautés naturelles et du développement matériel et intellectuel du Canada, en fournissant à des conférenciers français toute la documentation qui peut leur être utile, ainsi que des plaques à projections et des films cinématographiques sur le Canada.

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La moyenne des visiteurs étrangers qui se présentent au Commissariat Général, pour les raisons ci-dessus exposées et d'autres moins fréquentes, étant de cinquante par jour.

2°. Canadiens.

Il s'occupe quant aux passeports, de leur renouvellement, lorsqu'ils sont périmés ou de leur délivrance lorsqu'ils ont été perdus, ainsi que dans les cas de mariage. Il facilite l'obtention des autorisations nécessaires pour voyager en des zones particulièrement surveillées, comme au Maroc ou en Syrie et sur certains territoires occupés. Il renseigne sur les formalités de visa, les consulats étrangers à Paris où l'on peut obtenir ce visa et les pays pour lesquels il est obligatoire. Il émet les certificats nécessaires pour les Canadiens désirant rentrer au Canada par les Etats-Unis ou y séjourner pendant quelque temps.

Il leur rend, au point de vue légal, les mêmes services qu'aux Français, en ce qui concerne les légalisations et prestations de serment, et les met au courant de tout réglement au sujet des étrangers, soit en matière de permis de séjour, d'impôts, de permis de conduire une automobile en France, etc...

Il fait rechercher les tombes des militaires canadiens tombés au front, pour les personnes qui désirent les visiter, et fait auprès du Département du "Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment" ou auprès de son représentant à Londres, les démarches nécessaires en faveur de pensionnés canadiens qui demandent de faire

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augmenter ou confirmer leur allocation et il reçoit toutes déclarations exigées par les autorités quant à leur situation matérielle.

A la demande d'associations canadiennes, comme la "National Council of Education", ou la "Toronto Horse Show", il fait en sorte que des délégations françaises soient envoyées à des Congrès ou réunions internationales et collabore à l'organisation de leur départ de France.

Il a organisé une véritable agence de renseignements au profit des Canadiens venant à Paris, qui leur fournit toute information sur le Canada ou la France, notamment sur les transports, les hotels, les pensions de famille, les restaurants, les établissements d'enseignement, les hopitaux, les maisons de commerce, les théâtres, les musées, etc..

Il s'occupe d'assister les Canadiens en détresse et, s'il y a lieu, demande l'autorisation de les rapatrier en fournissant tous les détails sur leur situation. Dans les cas de maladie, il voit à les faire hospitaliser et traiter suivant leurs besoins.

Il remet aux étudiants canadiens rentrant au Canada le certificat leur permettant de bénéficier de la réduction accordée en leur faveur par les compagnies de navigation et à la demande de certains gouvernements provinciaux, fait parvenir des rapports sur les études de leurs boursiers, afin que les autorités puissent juger, s'il convient, de prolonger ou de renouveler leur subvention.

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Il prépare aussi pour ceux qui ont fait un long séjour en France et qui retournent définitivement au Canada, un certificat qui permet aux autorités douanières canadiennes d'assimiler leur cas à celui des immigrants apportant leur mobilier.

Il reçoit le courrier de ceux qui veulent bien le faire expédier à ses soins et le leur remet de main à la main ou le fait suivre à une adresse donnée, ceux qui se présentent pour en prendre livraison étant en moyenne de cent, les autres de soixante quinze.

Il met à leur disposition un téléphone pour les communications dans Paris, et un salon de lecture, où l'on peut trouver des tables de correspondance ainsi que des journaux et revues de toutes les provinces du Canada et de France, cet endroit étant le plus fréquenté par la colonie canadienne à Paris qui compte plus de six cents résidents et des touristes dont le nombre varie de cinquante à deux cents suivant la saison.

Enfin, d'une manière générale, il contribue surtout à créer à Paris une atmosphère de sympathie où Canadiens et Français se retrouvent avec plaisir,et qui leur permet d'entretenir, aux points de vue politique, économique et intellectuel, les meilleures relations dans l'intérêt des deux pays.

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OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

Memorandum for Mr. King

Do you not consider that it would be advisable to inform Chamberlain of the decision as to exchange of Ministers between Canada and France? If so, a draft is attached.

Ottawa, 9th January, 1928.

P.S. Inquiry from Harding on same subject since received : attached.

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Vol 2

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

E.T.

Memorandum for Mr.King: 9th January,1928

Since submitting a draft statement on the exchange of Ministers between Canada and France, we have received the attached telegram from London with reference to the announcement to be made by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs tomorrow.

The communique is exactly in the form of the draft agreed upon by M. Briand and M.Dandurand. It might be better to make an exactly similar formal announcement here which you could amplify to the press as in the longer revised draft attached. It will be noted also that the communique is not to be issued in Paris until after the meeting of Council on the morning of January 10th. That will be twelve or one o'clock Paris time or five or six Ottawa time. It is a question then whether the announcement should be given out here this afternoon for the Tuesday morning papers, or postponed until tomorrow noon: the latter seems better

In view of the telegrams from London, it seems advisable to inform the French Government of our intention to publish a statement simultaneously through the Foreign Office rather than through Mr.Roy. (Draft attached).

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C 45464 E-1100f Vol 2

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
January 9,
1928

MR. KING:

Subsequent to submitting the draft announcement regarding the establishment of a French Legation in Canada, to which you approved, Dr. Skelton has received a cable from London. Dr. Skelton now recommends that you do not make the announcement today.

H.L.

I did not intend to speak today - but I commission for tomorrow instead WLMK

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Paris (presumably this vote will be brought up before the Tokio vote)

In 1882 (administration of Sir John Macdonald) two years after the establishment of the High Commissioner in London, Mr.Hector Fabre was appointed Agent of the Canadian Government: in 1911 Mr. Roy was appointed Commissioner-General. These appointments indicated the growing recognition of the need of Canadian representation in France. Now that the principle of the appointment of Dominion Ministers has been recognized, it is fitting,both on grounds of historical connection between France and Canada, and because of trade interests and practical convenience, that the post of Commissioner General should be expanded into a Legation.

(As a matter of fact our trade, and particularly our exports, with France is much less than with Germany, and even with Italy and Belgium.

1927	Imports	Exports.
France	$26,552,814	$11,704,457
Germany	$16,802,712	$40,183,235.
Belgium	$10,184,103	$18,069,001.
Italy	$ 3,937,998	$25,105,423.

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C 45466 E-4008

Statement prepared for issue to press, Jan. 10, 1928. Official

The advisability of providing for an exchange of Ministers between Canada and France has been receiving consideration by the two governments for some time. The question has recently been discussed formally. The Honourable R.Dandurand, representing the Canadian Governme t, after official presentation by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the British Ambassador in Paris to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, reviewed the situation with M.Briand. It was found that the two governments were in entire agreement as to the opportuneness of an exchange of Ministers. The Canadian Government considers that in view of the historic traditions which bind the two countries and of the increasing importance of political as well as of trade interests of Canada in France and the Continent of Europe generally, it is desirable to extend the scope of the work hitherto carried on by the Commissioner-General of Canada in Paris by establishing a Legation. The Government of France holds a corresponding view as to the establishment of a French Legation in Canada.

The Canadian Parliament will be asked to make provision for the establishment of a Can dian Legation at an early date. The recommendation of the appointment of a Canadian Minister will be made subsequently.

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C 45467 E-4008
Official

Communique to be published on January 10th.

Following negotiations opened through the Diplomatic channel and after official interviews held in Paris during December last, between Mr.Dandurand, Minister of State and Senator of Canada, and Mr.Briand, the Canadian and French Governments have decided to create a Legation of Canada in France and a Legation of France in Canada.

The Minister of France in Canada will reside at Ottawa.

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C 45468

Canadian Representative in Paris

The office of the Agent of Canada in Paris was first occupied in 1882 by the Hon. Hector Fabre, whose duties were defined as: "to spread information in France and on the continent of Europe regarding Canada, its resources and its advantages as a field for emigration. That he will also solicit the attention of the capitalists of France to the minerals, timber and fish products of Canada and the promise which they offer in return for their development".

The agent is also instructed "to conform to any instructions which he may receive from the High Commissioner for Canada in London regarding steps to be taken to improve the commercial relations between France and Canada, and to report monthly to the Secretary of State the efforts which he may have made to carry out the duties entrusted to him".

Hon. Hector Fabre held office until his death in 1910. His successor, Hon. Philippe Roy, was appointed in May 1911, under the title "Commissaire General du Canada en France".

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C 45469

Appointment of Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary to France.

P. C. 1391 - 1st August, 1928.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 28th July, 1928, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitting that it has been considered desirable, in view of the increasing importance of the relations between Canada and France, that the Dominion of Canada should be represented in Paris by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, appointed by His Majesty on the advice of his Canadian Ministers, to have charge of Canadian affairs, serving as the ordinary channel of communication between the Canadian and the French Governments and acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and reporting to him.

The Committee therefore, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that the office of the Commissioner General for Canada in Paris be replaced by a legation as from October 1st, 1928, and that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint the Honourable Philippe Roy as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, with the special object of representing in France the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letter of credence.

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C 45470

C A N A D A and F R A N C E

I n d e x

Canadian Representative at Paris:

(1) History of Office at Paris,

Hon. Hector Fabre, 1882 - 1911 Agent of Canada
Hon. Philippe Roy, 1911 - 1928 Commissaire General du Canada en France

(2) Orders in Council appointing:

Hon. Hector Fabre, July 12, 1882
Hon. Philippe Roy, May 1, 1911 (Commissaire)
Aug. 1, 1928 (High Commissioner)

(3) Salary for Representative:

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, - Hansard, May 9, 1911.

(4) Appointment of Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary:

Speech from the Throne, Jan. 26, 1928
Prime Minister's speech on the Address, Jan. 31, 1928

(5) Official Papers (copies) re Appointment of Minister:

a. Telegram to Secretary for Dominion Affairs
b. " from " " " " "
c. Memorandum to Council, July 28, 1928
d. Letter to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs
e. Letter from the British Ambassador to France (Sir Wm. Tyrrell) to Hon.Aristide Briand, (Minister of Foreign Affairs, France).

French Minister to Ottawa:

(6) Chamber of Deputies arrange for Diplimatic relations with Canada, March 17, 1928

(7) Appointment of Mr. G.J.H.M. Knight, October 2, 1928

(8) Welcome to Ottawa:

a. Official Welcome
b. Mr. Knight presents his credentials
c. Official call on the Prime Minister
d. Government dinner to Mr. Knight

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C 45471

Canadian Representative at Paris

(1) History of Office at Paris:

Hon. Hector Fabre, 1882 - 1911

Hon. Philippe Roy, 1911 - 1928

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C 45472

Canadian Representative at Paris

(2) Orders in Council:

Hon. Hector Fabre, July 12, 1882

Hon. Philippe Roy, May 1, 1911 as Commissaire

Aug.1, 1928 as High Commissioner

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Canadian Representative in Paris

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P.C. 1453 C 45474

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 12th July, 1882.

On a Report Dated 5th July 1882, from the Right Honourable Sir John Macdonald, stating that the Honourable Hector Fabre having been selected by the Government of the Province of Quebec to reside in Paris, France, in order to promote their financial, Commercial and other interests, he, the Minister, is of opinion that it is in the interest of the Government of Canada to avail itself of the services of Mr. Fabre, and thus call the attention of intending emigrants, capitalists and others to the superior advantages offered by Canada.

The Minister,therefore, recommends that with the consent of the Government of Quebec the services of Mr. Fabre be retained for a period not exceeding three years, at an annual remuneration of $2000, payable quarterly; Mr. Fabre's duties to be made known to him from time to time, and to report to the Secretary of State of Canada monthly and more frequently when required.

The Minister further recommends that an additional sum of $500., to be also paid quarterly, be allowed Mr. Fabre for contingencies, printing and other petty expenses.

The Committee submit the foregoing recommendations for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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Canadian Representative in Paris

P. C. 237 - 1st May, 1911.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, advise that the Honourable Philippe Roy, of Edmonton, Alberta, be appointed Commissaire General du Canada in France, at a salary of $8000 per annum, to date from the 1st May, 1911, provision therefor to be made in the Supplementary Estimates for the current year.

(Sgd) E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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P.C.1391. C 45476

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee
The Deputy of
of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor
General on the 1st AUGUST 1928

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 28th July, 1928, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitting that it has been considered desirable, in view of the increasing importance of the relations between Canada and France, that the Dominion of Canada should be represented in Paris by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, appointed by His Majesty on the advice of his Canadian Ministers, to have charge of Canadian affairs, serving as the ordinary channel of communication between the Canadian and the French Governments and acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and reporting to him.

The Committee therefore, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that the office of the Commissioner General for Canada in Paris be replaced by a legation as from October 1st, 1928, and that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint the Honourable Philippe Roy as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, with the special object of representing in France the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letter of credence.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 45477

Canadian Representative at Paris

(3) Salary for Representative:

Sir Wilfrid Laurier - Hansard, May 9, 1911

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Canadian Representation in Paris

SIR WILFRID LAURIER: Hansard May 9, 1911, pp 8694-5.

We have appointed a new agent at Paris. My hon. friend knows that Mr. Fabre, the late agent, was paid by this parliament $6,500 and $2,000 additional which was contributed by the Quebec Government. We have not thought it advisable to accept any contribution from the Quebec Government, and we have made the salary of Mr. Roy, the new agent, $8,000. Mr. Fabre received no allowance whatever for contingencies; everything came from the sum of $6,500. It is now proposed to provide $5,000 for office rent, and such contingencies as are necessary to carry on the work.

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C 45479

Canadian Representative at Paris

(4) Appointment of Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary:

Speech from the Throne, Jan. 26, 1928

Prime Minister's Speech Jan. 31, 1928
on the address,

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C 45480

Appointment of a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary
to France.

(Reference in Speech from the Throne
January 26, 1928).

(Unrevised Hansard, p. 2)

By agreement between the governments of France and Canada, ... it is proposed that each of these countries shall be represented in the other by a Minister plenipotentiary.

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C 45481

Canadian Representative at Paris

(5) Official Papers (copies)

re Appointment of Minister

(a) Telegram to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

(b) Telegram from " " " " " "

(c) Memorandum to Council, July 28, 1928

(d) Letter to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

(e) Letter from British Ambassador (Sir Wm. Tyrrell) to Hon. Aristide Briand, French Foreign Minister.

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C 45482

TELEGRAM

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
TO: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

CODE
CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, Nov. 22nd, 1927.

The Canadian Government has been considering the question of further diplomatic representation abroad. It is of the opinion that it is not desirable to enter into direct diplomatic relations with any considerable number of countries for some time to come and that appointments of ministers when made should be on a reciprocal basis. It is however not desired to limit exchange of ministers to the United States alone. There are certain countries with which diplomatic relations in the near future would be very desirable. In the case of France there are many reasons for changing the status of Canadian Commissioner General to that of Minister Plenipotentiary, and our Pacific interests indicate that an exchange with Japan in the near future would be to common advantage. From informal statements there is ground for believing that an exchange with France would meet with approval in Paris. Senator Dandurand, who sailed last week to act as Canada's representative on the December Council, will visit London and Paris on his way to Geneva. Canadian Government would be obliged if Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could find an opportunity of discussing the situation with him during his London visit.

EXTERNAL.

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C 45483

TELEGRAM

FROM: The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, CANADA.

CONFIDENTIAL
CODE
NO. 3. LONDON, 9th January, 1928.

No. 3. January 9th. Confidential. Your telegram January 5th, exchange of Ministers between Canada and France. Following telegram has been received from His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, Begins: Ministry for Foreign Affairs states that Canadian Commissioner General in Paris has on behalf of Canadian Government expressed hope that an announcement may be made immediately respecting appointment of a Canadian Minister to Paris.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs therefore propose to issue to the Press the following communique after Meeting of Ministers' Council on morning of 10th January:

" a la suite de negociations engagèes par la voie diplomatique après les entretiens qui ont eu lieu a Paris en decembre dernier entre Monsieur Dandurand ministre d'etat et senateur du Canada et Monsieur Briand, les gouvernements Canadian et Francais ont decidé de crêet une Lègation du Canada en France et une Legation de France au Canada. Le Ministre de France au Canada residera à Ottawa".

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

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C 45484

TO: HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL-IN-COUNCIL

The Secretary of State for External Affairs has the honour to submit that it has been considered desirable, in view of the increasing importance of the relations between Canada and France, that the Dominion of Canada should be represented in Paris by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, appointed by His Majesty on the advice of his Canadian Ministers, to have charge of Canadian affairs, serving as the ordinary channel of communication between the Canadian and the French Governments and acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and reporting to him.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs therefore recommends that the office of the Commissioner General for Canada in Paris be replaced by a legation as from Oct. 1st, 1928, and that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint the Honourable Philippe Roy as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, with the special object of representing in France the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letter of credence.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

Ottawa, 28th July, 1928.

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C 45485

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

No. 320. Ottawa, August 9, 1928.

Sir:-

With reference to our despatch of November 22nd, 1927, and following communications regarding further diplomatic representation of Canada abroad, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of an approved minute of the Privy Council of Canada, dated August 1st, 1928, recommending that His Majesty the King, be humbly moved, on the request of His Canadian Ministers, to appoint the Honourable Philippe Roy, an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary at Paris, with the special object of representing in France, the interestes of the Dominion of Canada, and to request that the necessary letter of Credence may be issued.

I would further request that a Commission be issued under the Royal Sign Manual and Signed appointing Mr. Roy, similar to that which was forwarded to us, together with your despatch of May 30th, 1928, in the case of Mr. Massey, and which has been countersigned by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and that,

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the letter of Credence and the Commission of appointment be forwarded to the Secretary of State for External Affairs in care of the Commissioner General for Canada in Paris.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) O. D. Skelton.

for the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,
London.

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C 45487

Immediate

No. 569,
(107/10/1928) August 28, 1928.

Monsieur le President,

Under instructions from Lord Cushendun, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and Canada have come to the conclusion that it is desirable that the handling of matters at Paris relating to Canada should be confided to an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Government of the Republic. Such a Minister would be accredited by His Majesty The King to the President of the French Republic, and would be furnished with credentials which would enable him to take charge of all affairs relating to Canada. He would be the ordinary channel of communication with the Government of the Republic on these matters.

2. Matters which are of Imperial concern or which affect other Dominions in the Commonwealth in common with Canada will continue to be handled as heretofore by this Embassy.

3. The arrangements proposed by His Majesty's Government would not denote any depature from the principle of

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the diplomatic unity of the Empire. The Canadian Minister would be at all times in the closest touch with His Majesty's Ambassador and any question which may arise as to whether a matter comes within the category of those to be handled by the Canadian Minister or not would be settled by consultation between them. The Canadian Minister being responsible to His Majesty's Government in Canada would not be subject to the control of His Majesty's Ambassador nor would His Majesty's Ambassador be responsible for the Canadian Minister's actions.

4. In communicating to you these proposals, which His Majesty's government trusts will promit the maintance and development of cordial relations between the British Empire and France, I have been instructed to express the hope that the Government of the Republic will concur in the appointment of a Canadian Minister at Paris on the footing I have indicated above. As regards questions such as the precedence to be attributed to the Canadian Minister or any other points which the Government of the Republic may desire to raise in connection with the appointment the views of the Government of the Republic will be awaited.

I have etc.,
(SGD) W. TYRRELL.

His Excellency
Monsieur Aristide Briand,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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C 45489

French Minister to Ottawa

(6) Chamber of Deputies and Diplomatic Relations with Canada,

Paris, March 16, 1928

(Canadian Press Cable, Mar. 17, 1928)

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C 45490

Appointment of French Minister to Ottawa

Ottawa Morning Journal, March 17, 1929

Associated Press Cable

PARIS, MARCH 16, 1928. The Bill providing for the Established of diplomatic relations with Canada and the creation of a French legation in Ottawa, Ontario, was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies today, and now goes to the Senate.

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C 45491

French Minister to Ottawa

(7) Appointment of Monsieur Georges Jean Henri Knight, October 2, 1928

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C 45492

Appointment of French Minister to Ottawa

Montreal Gazette, Oct. 3, 1928.

Canadian Press Cable.

PARIS, OCTOBER 2. - The appointment of Jean Knight as French Minister to Canada, was announced officially today, confirming previous intimations that M. Knight would be sent to Ottawa as France's first diplomatic representative in the Dominion.

The French minister-designate was present at the reception at the Canadian legation this afternoon, when Hon. Philippe Roy, Canada's newly appointed Minister to France, and Madame Roy, received about one thousand prominent people in honour of Premier Mackenzie King, of Canada.

Georges Jean Henri Marie Knight, was born in Paris on Sept. 5, 1880. He has had considerable experience in the French consular service, chiefly as commercial attache for the Far East and as consul at Shanghai. He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and has a diploma from the school of political science.

OTTAWA, OCTOBER 2.- Jean Knight, newly appointed French minister to Canada, is a member of the French diplomatic service, originally of Scottish descent. Already arrange-

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ments have been made for the new legation to occupy offices on Wellington Street opposite the Parliament Buildings. The Japanese government has already arranged for offices in the same building. Henri Coursier, consul for France in the city of Montreal, is to be moved to Ottawa as one of the staff of the French Legation.

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C 45494

CAREER OF M. GEORGES JEAN KNIGHT

(Taken from the Montreal Daily Star, November 6, 1928).

Georges Jean Knight, first Minister of France at Ottawa, will leave on the steamer Ile de France tomorrow for New York and will assume the duties of his new post at Ottawa about November 16.

M. Knight is a true Parisian. He was born and brought up in the village of Passy, an old village annexed to Paris in 1860, and his sojourn in the Orient, when he was commercial attache in China, only enhanced his love for Passy.

The Knights are a branch of the Scotch clan of MacNaghton from the west coast of Argyll near Oban on the Firth of Lorn. They were Highlanders who in the 14th century migrated to the southeast lowlands of Kirkcudbright abutting on the Irish Sea and Solway Firth and settled near the town of Castle Douglas. There the name changed to MacNaught. The county estate was Kilquharity, the inhabitants of which called the MacNaughts' "knights", no doubt pronounced "neet". Hence the new Minister's name.

On his mother's side he comes from a New Orleans family by name of Marigny, the father of which had kept his French nationality. The Marignys descended from from Francois de Marigny, an officer in the French army at Quebec at the end

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of the 17th century. His patent of nobility was registered in Quebec in 1681. In 1709, however, the family left the old French-Canadian city for New Orleans.

The MacNaughts, or Knights, like the Hennessys and other Scottish and Irish families settled in France in the 18th century. M. Knight is therefore part Scottish and part Canadian.

France's new Minister at Ottawa has had a distinguished career in the Orient and is an authority on Chinese and Japanese affairs. For almost 20 years he was commercial attache in China. As principal negotiator of the accord between China and Indo-China he was largely responsible for the revision of the tariff between the two countries. During the Chinese troubles M. Knight at great personal risk protected French interests and when he returned to France was awarded the Prix de President Clementel.

During the past 10 years he visited Canada several times, first in April 1919, when he was the guest of M. Ponsot, French Consul-General in Montreal. In 1925 he renewed his friendships in Canada when, Director of the Department for American Affairs at the Quai d(Orsay, he twice travelled from coast to coast studying the resources of the Dominion.

Incidentally, M. Knight's name is often pronounced here the same as in Canada but the French generally make an "E" out of the "I", as did the Scottish in the 14th century.

M. Knight is a bachelor.

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French Minister to Ottawa

(8) Welcome to Ottawa:

(a) Official Welcome

(b) Mr. Knight presents his Credentials

(c) Official call on Prime Minister

(d) Government dinner to Mr. Knight.

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C 45497

Appointment of French Minister to Ottawa

Montreal Gazette, Nov. 16, 1928

OTTAWA, Nov. 15th.- Canada today officially welcomed the first minister for France to be appointed to the Dominion -- M. Jean Knight. Detraining in the capital shortly after the noon hour, the new ministerial representative for the French Republic was greeted by Premier W. L. Mackenzie King, members of the Dominion cabinet, Major Willis O'Connor and E. C. Mieville from Government House, and Henri Coursier, first secretary to the French Legation in Canada.

In greeting the new French minister, Premier King, in a few homely words of welcome, expressed his pleasure at the arrival of Mr. Knight in the Dominion. Mr. Knight replied that he was deeply moved by the attendance of the Prime Minister and other representatives of Canadian officialdom to meet him. The official party then adjourned to a leading hotel in Ottawa where the recently appointed Minister for France will make his residence.

In an interview with representatives of the press, Mr. Knight stated that the resignation of Premier Poincare

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of France and his later acceptance of the offier of the President of France to form a new government would not result in any change in the foreign policy of France. The portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs in the new French Government, Mr. Knight pointed out, would be filled by Hon. Mr. Briand, former incumbent of the office in the previous Poincare Administration.

Questioned in respect to the trade treaty between Canada and France, Mr. Knight said he had no instructions in the matter. He was unaware, he replied further, of any proposed changes in the trade agreement.

The question of building a French Legation in the capital was a matter, the French Minister stated, which would probably engage his attention in the near future. For the present at least, the French Legation offices, he said, would be located in leased offices immediately facing the Parliament Buildings.

Mr. Knight asked to be excused from further discussion of his new position until he had presented his credentials to His Excellency the Governor-General. There were no matters of standing importance which would engage his immediate attention.

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This was the occasion of his third visit to Canada, the French Minister states. In 1919 he had visited friends in Montreal; and in the fall of 1925 he had made a business visit of a personal character to Vancouver.

The traditional bonds of France and Canada were referred to by Mr. Knight. Because of the past friendship the co-operation between Franch and Canada with other parts of the British Empire during the Great War and the work of the League of Nations, it was a distinct pleasure to have the honour to be France's first Minister appointed to Canada.

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Appointment of French Minister to Ottawa

French Minister presents Credentials to His Excellency

the Governor - General

Ottawa Morning Journal, Nov. 17, 1928:

France's new Minister to Canada, - George Jean Knight - formally presented his credentials to the Governor General, Viscount Willingdon, at Government House, yesterday. With the Dominion Government represented by Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, the ceremony was brief.

Letter of Credence:

The letter of credence from President Doumergue reads:

"Gaston Doumergue,
President of the French Republic.

"To His Majesty King George V. of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India.

My very dear and close friend:-

"Animated by the keenest desire to express to Your Majesty the great value which I attach to the development of friendly relations which happily exist between France and Canada. I have decided to accredit to your Majesty, M. Georges Jean Henri Marie Knight, Chevalier de l'order National of the

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Legion of Honor, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Ottawa. The qualities which distinguish this representative are a guarantee that he will endeavour to fulfill his mission in a manner to deserve your confidence and thus win my approval. It is with this conviction that I pray Your Majesty to welcome him cordially and to accord entire faith and confidence to all that he will say on my behalf, especially when he will express to you, dear and close friend, the assurance of my high esteem and of my constant friendship.

"Done at Rambouillet, this 17th October, 1928.

(SGD) "GASTON DOUMERGUE"

(COUNTER-SIGNED) "A. BRIAND".

Addressing Viscount Willingdon in presenting his credentials, Mr. Knight said:

"In transmitting to Your Excellency the letters from the President of the republic which accredits me to His Majesty King George V., as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Government of the French Republic to Canada, I am pleased to express to him the deep satisfaction felt by my Government at the establishment of more direct and intimate diplomatic relations with the Canadian Government.

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"The historic ties uniting the Canadian nation with France have always been particularly dear to the heart of all Frenchmen. To these bonds, the Canadian blood shed on the battlefields of France in the course of the common sustained struggle for right and liberty, has given a new forde and grandeur.

"And since then, that the sacrifice of so many glorious dead may not have been made in vain, Canada, invited to take her place in the Council of the League of Nations, brings to France united to the British Empire in close and fruitful friendship, a valuable collaboration in the task of guaranteeing for all peoples the benefits of the peace. The signature of the Prime Minister of Canada placed on the pact for the renunciation of war at Paris associated on one of the first occasions, his country, in its own name and as a free nation in an international act designed to hold an exceptional place in history. This the French people will not forget.

"Faithful to these remembrances, united with the Canadian people, in the present as in the past, the French people formulates sincere wishes for its greatness and prosperity."

The Governor-General's reply:

Viscount Willingdon, in replying to the French Minister, stated:

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"In the name of His Majesty King George, let me extend to you a very warm welcome on your arrival here as the first diplomatic representative of your great country to Canada, and on behalf of its Government and people I give you a very cordial greeting.

"I sincerely trust that you may find your life here full of happiness and interest and that the ties and associations which have for long years linked our two countries, may be further strengthened by your presence amongst us."

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C 45504

Appointment of French Minister to Ottawa

Official call on Prime Minister

Ottawa Morning Journal, Nov. 16, 1928:

Georges Jean Knight, recently appointed French Minister to Canada, who arrived in Ottawa yesterday morning, paid an official call on Premier Mackenzie King, at the Prime Minister's office in the Parliament Buildings yesterday.

Mr. Knight was accompanied by H. Coursier, first secretary to the French Legation. Cabinet was sitting when the new Minister arrived, by Mr. King left the Privy Council Chamber to receive him.

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Appointment of French Minister to Ottawa

Government dinner to Mr. Knight

Ottawa Morning Journal, Nov. 17, 1928:

HOPES BONDS WILL GROW STRONGER
Prime Minister expresses Welcome to
Georges Jean Knight at Banquet

The hope and belief that the friendly relations, not only between France and Canada, but between France and the British Empire would be fostered by the appointment of a French Minister at Ottawa, was expressed last night by Premier Mackenzie King.

The Prime Minister was speaking at a Government dinner to Georges Jean Knight, the new French Minister, which was attended by members of the Privy Council and Cabinet, and by persons prominent in the official life of the Capital.

Premier King presided, and toasts to the King, the French Republic, and to the guest of the evening were drunk.

In responding to the toast to "Our Guest", Mr. Knight thanked the Prime Minister and Government for the welcome accorded to him. He referred to the bonds between Canada and France which had been strengthened during the war and expressed the hope that these would grow even stronger in the years to come.

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C 45506

Welcome to M. Knight

Minister from the Republic of France to Canada.

November 15, 1928.

It is especially appropriate that the first Minister from the Republic of France to Canada should represent in his own person two races which for three centuries have been associated first as rivals and then as co-partners in the colonization of North America. If the frontiers of Canada have been pushed steadily westward and northward from the sea, it has been due in large measure to the pioneering genius and adventurous courage of settlers who crossed the seas from France and Scotland to seek an abiding home in the New World.

M. Knight, being well versed in Canadian history, will recall that Quebec was founded by his maternal ancestors, the French, three hundred and twenty years ago. It is possible however, that he may not know that his paternal ancestors, the Scots, were not far behind in the race, and that during this coming year there will be celebrated at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the arrival of the first Scottish settlers in Canada under the charter granted by James I to Sir William Alexander.

While we welcome M. Knight as a representative of that happy association between Old France and Scotland, which has continued for several centuries, may I assure him that he is

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doubly welcome in Canada as the lineal descendant of Francois de Marigny, who was an officer in the French Garrison of Quebec at the end of the Seventeenth Century.

On the ground of sentiment, in addition to the high qualifications and distinguished career of M. Knight as a diplomat, I am sure that the Government of France could not have made a happier choice in its selection of a First Minister to Canada.

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C 45508

Legations: Paris and Tokio

Arguments for

Personal representation is the method which all countries have found helpful and necessary in their international relations.

Every argument to be urged in support of legations and embassies by other countries, can be urged with respect to Canada:

e.g. dealing with questions on the spot;
learning the atmosphere;
understanding the personalities;
anticipating problems;
understanding point of view of country.

Additional reasons in case of Canada.

Her point of view quite different on some questions from other parts of Empire -

Re France: Arbitration of disputes
Japan: Restriction of immigrants.

With nationhood must assume obligations of nation;
Not be dependent on other parts of Empire.

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Advantages of experience ~~to~~ legation in United States, and United States legation in Canada.

Advantages to both countries and to British Empire have been proven.

Government's intention to move slowly, and as circumstances justify.

Canada's relations with four Great Powers

With France:

Tie is one of kinship
sentiment

Increased obligations on Commissioner General
grown up with European conferences,
League of Nations, etc.

Great service rendered by Hon. Phillippe Roy -
During War,
Appointed 1911; retained in office under Cons.

With Japan:

Nearest neighbour on Pacific

Nothing so important as development in Far East and Pacific problems.

Canada already studying Pacific problems -
sending special representatives;
better to have resident representative.
Number of Japanese immigrants.
Trade ? (see later reference to trade)

Speech by Cahan: re war with Orient

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Procedure followed - through British Foreign Office

Satisfaction expressed by British Govt.

Quote: Sir Austen Chamberlain,
Mr. Amery

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Arguments of Opposition against Legations

Means a separatist idea -

Not borne out by Washington
New links established
Consultation, co-operation, and co-ordination all made possible
Sir Esme Howard's statement.

Equality of status argument -

Baldwin on same
Impression on mind of foreign state
re: size and solidarity of Empire.

The alternative:

Have business done through British Ministers,
over whom no control.
Britain's problems large enough.
Danger of break if mistake made

The doctrine of sovereignty not understood by Oriental mind -
- should be, not understood by Tory mind

Bennett's argument on nationality;
situation now existing at Washington.

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C 45512

Argument for single foreign policy (Perley, Argenteuil)

Centralized control

Monopoly, versus Joint control -
Not imposition of single will

Is reversion to the past, compatible only with
Imperial Federation or Imperial Council;

Would lead to dismemberment of Empire.

Conference and co-operation in different countries
of world, strengthen Empire.

Why always assume Canada to be responsible for
difference of view, and to be in wrong.

Trade Commissioners, vs. Diplomacy.

Bound up together: e.g. immigration with Orient,
and attitude of foreign countries towards trade agents.

Not independence, but self dependence, and self reliance;

Agency for goodwill.

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C 45513

Japan Agreement

Agreement

First fruits of our policy to establish legation at Tokio, and adjusting of the perplexing problem of immigration from the Orient.

As result of long discussion between representative Japan and Canadian Government.

Am authorized to say Japan herself proposes to limit to 150 per annum immigration of all classes - agricultural, domestic servants, wives and children of immigrant Japanese - Stop practice of picture brides.

Passports to be visaed by Canadian Minister;

Canada to administer her immigration laws toward Japan as towards other countries.

To go into effect, 1st of September.

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C 45514

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

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C 45515

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

C 45516

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

C 45517

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

C 45518

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

C 45519

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

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C 45520

House of Commons
Canada

(1) Natural development
Self Government
Economic
External affairs
Treaties
Economic
Defence
(2) Importance of Arctic
(3) Canada's position
(4) Sovereignty
(5) Use
(6) Use of personal conference
(7) Use of Canada
(8) Use of Empire (mutual defence)

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-9-

Tokio. The outstanding feature in world politics in the past quarter century has been the shift of interest from Europe to Asia and to the New World. The Pacific will divide importance and influence upon the world's destinies with the Atlantic in the next fifty years. Canada is extraordinarily and uniquely situated to share in this development, facing on both oceans, and relatively near to both continents. This offers a great opportunity and imposes a great responsibility. We must learn more of our neighbors across the sea, study their problems, adjust our relationships. We cannot change our place on the map and cannot avert the problems that will arise in consequence; the only question is whether we will or will not prepare for study and action on such problems through the method of diplomatic exchange which every country has recognized as the necessary and best means.

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Japanese Legation in Ottawa.

Provision for the establishment of a Legation in Ottawa was made by the Japanese parliament during the short session held in April. A vote was passed of 120,000 yen, or $60,000; this does not include salaries, which are provided from the general diplomatic appropriation.

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Trade with Japan and China

		1926	Calendar Years	1927
Exports	to Japan	$37,684,134		$29,616,517
"	" China	18,471,824		13,276,515
"	" All Asia	76,133,838		63,525,157
Imports	from Japan	$11,239,604		11,840,212
"	" China	4,797,477		2,738,621
"	" All Asia	33,345,984		31,271,194

(1927 shows a reduction over 1926 on account of war in China and commercial depression in Japan.) In 1926 Japan was our third best customer, being exceeded in the volume of our exports purchased only by Great Britain and the United States. In 1927 it was the fourth largest customer. Our exports to Japan are 300 times as great as they were thirty years ago. Our imports from Japan, while only about one-third of our exports, are still large enough to give Japan rank as sixth in the list of countries from which our imports come.

It is a striking fact that our exports to Japan in 1926 were greater in value than were our exports to the United Kingdom and France combined in the years when we first sent a High Commissioner to London and an Agent to Paris. Our exports to Asia now are greater than were our exports to all the world at that time. Exports to Asia and Oceania, that is, taking in other Pacific countries, were greater in value in 1926 than our exports to all foreign countries, including the United States, in 1906.

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JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

Unfortunately the political crisis in Japan has delayed a reply to our last note and will make it difficult to arrange any agreed statement as to the existence or progress of the present negotiations. The Japanese parliament met April 20, but adjourned a day later and has been adjourned from day to day to make it possible to learn whether the government, which is in a minority of two or three votes, can win over some of the ten independents. Press despatches say another dissolution may follow. The row with Chinese Nationalist troops in Shantung also complicates matters. We have impressed on Tomii the necessity of a speedy reply but it is far from certain that one can be received before our estimates come up. If not, I shall see Tomi again and see whether an agreed statement as to the progress of negotiations can be arranged. In any case, it is a matter for question how much emphasis we should place on immigration regulation as a reason for the exchange of legations.

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C 45525

House of Commons
Canada

Main question
President Wilson

Mrs Humphreys
Paris - Scotland
Sweden Mid Europe

Allemagne
Federal -

Independence (Hof
Germany Gt Britain
Swiss Danemark

How can problem be worked out
as autonomous countries work
together
in free association

How will effect of Communism
and Fascism work in Europe?

Germany
Set aside as
Saar down

Half day at Versailles
Turned a very different setting
... at Geneva

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C 45526

[illegible] BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, EMPEROR OF INDIA, &c., &c., &c. TO ALL AND SINGULAR TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING!

WHEREAS it appears to be Our pleasure to nominate a fit person of approved wisdom, loyalty, diligence and discretion to represent Us in the character of Our Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington with the especial object of representing in the United States of America the interests of Our Dominion of Canada;

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing special trust and confidence in the discretion and faithfulness of Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Honourable Charles Vincent Massey, Member of Our Privy Council for Canada, have nominated, constituted and appointed, as We do by these Presents nominate, constitute and appoint him the said Charles Vincent Massey to be Our Envoy....

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C 45526

George R. I

GEORGE, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, EMPEROR OF INDIA, ETC., ETC., ETC. TO ALL AND SINGULAR TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING!

WHEREAS it appears to Us expedient to nominate some person of approved Wisdom, Loyalty, Diligence and Circumspection to represent Us in the character of Our Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington with the especial object of representing in the United States of America the interests of Our Dominion of Canada;

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing special trust and confidence in the discretion and faithfulness of Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Honourable Charles Vincent Massey, Member of Our Privy Council for Canada, have nominated, constituted and appointed, as We do by these Presents nominate, constitute and appoint him the said Charles Vincent Massey to be Our Envoy....

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C 45527

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E/

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington for the purpose aforesaid.

And We therefore request all those whom it may concern to receive and acknowledge Our said Trusty and Well-beloved Charles Vincent Massey as such Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and freely to communicate with him upon all matters which may affect the interests in the United States of America of Our said Dominion.

Given at Our Court of Saint James, the Seventh day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-six, and in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND,

W. L. Mackenzie King.

Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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"The appointment of a minister by Canada re Tokyo implies by international law that the Dominion is a sovereign state. We are not, and that implication will create misunderstandings at home and abroad. . There can be no such thing in international law as equality of status between Canada and Great Britain until such time as this country has the powers of a sovereign state and absolute independence both within and without our country. Then, and then only, may we have equality of status. I have said, and I repeat, that as far as I am concerned I propose to die protesting against that independent conditions being achieved. . . I submit further that such appointments make for separation as against solidarity. How must this Britannic commonwealth of nations speak with respect to foreign policy? As I have said, it must speak either as a unit with a single voice or as individual partners with many voices; it must speak with one voice or many. Can it speak on matters of foreign policy with more than one voice? It cannot and remain united. . . . . This empire should have but one representation of its foreign policies.

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"It is illogical to conclude that this commonwealth of nations can speak as several entities when we know that in matters of foreign policy it must speak with one voice or perish. There can be no division when you come to a question of foreign policy. The king cannot be neutral in one country and at war in another. We cannot be at peace andwar at the same time, and this commonwealth of nations must speak with one voice. It cannot speak with one voice if power is given to the representative of Canada or any other part of the commonwealth to speak with a dissenting voice. . . I am compelled to place myself on record as against these proposals with all the implications that are involved - and the implicationsoare more powerful still - the implicationsof protection in a foreign land, when Canadians rush to their own flag to find protection in their own legation? Where are our fleets? Where are our police? Armim are but policemen. Where are they? Where are our police patrols - our cruisers abroad? . . . . . When British subjects rush for the protection of their own country, to their ministry, to their legation, the implication is at least that we can afford some protection. What

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protection can we afford? None. This is putting on show, a pretence, without having behind us power, authority or means with which to assert ourselves should difficulties arise. And the same reliance which in days gone by we have have to place upon the fleet and might of England, the taxpayers of England, to protect the lives and property of our citizens, we shall once more have to place upon them as against this bogus representation of nationality, this false representation of sovereignty which we do not possess and which places us in the eyes of the world in a position wholly unwarranted either in fact or in law."

Mr. Bennett - Hansard, p. 4164, 7
June 11, 1928.

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Arguments Advanced Against Appointment of
Canadian Minister to Japan.

Hon. R. B. Bennett - Speech on the Address - January 30, 1928, p. 34.

1. Mr. Bennett analyzed the term "international law" and pointed out that properly speaking Ministers were only exchanged between sovereign states. The appointment of a Canadian Minister to the United States or to France could be defended on practical or sentimental grounds. It was equally true that although the appointment of such Ministers might be inconsistent with the strict interpretation of international law, the anomalous status of Canada within the British Empire was fully appreciated in the United States and France and, therefore, the exchange of Ministers between Canada and these countries would not be liable to misconstruction.

Mr. Bennett feared, however, that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Tokio would create in the mind of the Japanese people a belief that Canada was acting as a sovereign and independent state.

"You set up a Minister in Tokio. The Japanese are highly specialized in international law and they will read the word "state" as meaning just what I have said and "Minister" as meaning just what I have said. They will treat Canada in the sense I have indicated from the authorities, with all the

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"implications relating to property, protection, navy and army, and all these other matters that are involved. What are the implications with respect to setting up diplomatic relations in Tokio? One can understand it in Paris, where they are familiar with our institutions, but when you are dealing with a far-off country the situation is fraught with the greatest possible danger to this country."

2. Mr. Bennett expressed the opinion that what Canada needed was Trade Commissioners and not Ministers in Japan.

"What this country wants in Japan and all other foreign countries are Trade Commissioners under the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to carry forward Canada's trade. The Minister of Trade and Commerce knows that Trade Commissioners are what are wanted; men who will carry forward Canada's trade, not our diplomatic skill and power to the countries of the world. What this country desires to deal with are practical matters, not matters that carry with them the implications of international law to which I have referred." .....

"I desire to make it perfectly clear that we on this side of the House are opposed to setting up these Legations as long as our present status continues with respect to Trade Commissioners. We do not desire that the implications that are attached to our position shall be misunderstood in the world at large."

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3. The appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan will have disastrous consequences.

"It is going to bring about disaster as certain as anything can be. About that there can be no doubt. One need not engage in prophecy; one need not be a prophet who reads the diplomatic history of Japan and the United States during the last twenty-five years to understand what it means to start diplomatic relations in Tokio. It is only necessary to know what has taken place to understand the situation. You, Mr. Speaker, represented this country in dealing with problems of immigration and if we set up an embassy or legation in Tokio you can realize the position."

Mr. E. J. Garland - February 2, 1928 - p. 120.

Mr. Garland pointed out that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan might wound the sensibilities of some of the other Asiatic countries.

"As the Prime Minister is aware, Chinese sensibilities as well as the sensibilities of other nations on that continent are very easily offended and it may be that they will resent the suggestion that the affairs of their country can be handled, in any way, either in regard to diplomatic relations or otherwise, from Tokio."

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Sir George Perley - February 2, 1928 - p. 126.

Sir George Perley feared that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan would open the way for a dangerous extension of the policy of appointing Canadian Ministers abroad. There were special reasons for appointing Canadian Ministers to the United States and France which did not apply in the case of the appointment of a Minister to Japan.

"But this proposal that we should appoint more Ministers to foreign countries is, to my mind, a most dangerous precedent. Who can tell where it is going to end? What other Ministers are going to be appointed?".....

"What is going to be the situation if we have Ministers in all parts of the world? The Government is confining itself now to these two proposals, but who knows what day they may decide to appoint Ministers to other countries? And what will be the position in those foreign capitals if every section of the British Empire decides to send a representative there? Let us suppose we have six Ministers from as many parts of the British Empire, all resident in Czecho-Slovakia. We can imagine the confusion that will be there. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, where this plan is going to make for the whole-hearted co-operation of the British Commonwealth, such as we all want to promote."

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Sir George Perley - March 28, 1928 - p. 1863.

Sir George Perley expressed the opinion that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan would not make for peace, inasmuch as it would militate against the solidarity of the Empire.

"Then my right hon. friend made a reference to a matter in connection with which I certainly disagree with him; I refer to his claim that the appointment of a Minister to Japan is a step in the direction of peace. He brought that forward as one of his reasons for saying that this is a peaceful government, ready to do everything possible in the direction of peace." .....
"I do not agree with the suggestion that the appointment of a Minister to Japan is a step in that direction." .....
"My own feeling is that we should have a joint foreign service for the Empire, in which we should have our share. In such an organization Canadian boys would have an opportunity equal to that of boys from England or Scotland; we might have a Canadian in the position of ambassador for the British Commonwealth in Japan, representing all parts of the Empire. I do not think we can have half a dozen ministers in Tokio representing the British Empire and still maintain that Empire permanently, as I for one want it maintained. I believe that the appointment which has been made by the government is a

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step in the direction of independence. I am not going to argue that now; I mention it simply because I do not think the Prime Minister should have brought it up."

Senator J. S. McLennan

Senator McLennan expressed the view that there should have been more preparation and knowledge given before a decision was reached to send Envoys to Paris and Tokio. There are a great number of questions to be settled between Canada and the United States, but there are no such close relations or mutual problems with France and Japan. There was also the danger that in extending our diplomatic service to Japan and France it might be considered a slight by other important countries.

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C 45537

re Tokyo

"What this country wants in Japan and all other foreign countries are trade commissioners, under the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to carry forward Canada's trade. The Minister of Trade and Commerce knows that trade commissioners are what are wanted, men who will carry forward Canada's trade, not our diplomatic skill and power, to the countries of the world. . . I desire to make it perfectly clear that we on this side of the house are opposed to setting up these legations as long as our present status continues. We do not desire that the implications that are attached to our position shall be misunderstood in the world at large. It is going to bring about disaster, as certain as anything can be. . . It is idle boasting to talk about our position in a foreign country because some representative over there can wear gold lace and a uniform. That does not advance the interests of the country a single sou."

Mr. Bennett - Hansard, p. 29,
January 30, 1928.

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C 45538

Mr Bennett
resumed June 11, 1928
p 41644

"The appointment of a minister by Canada implies by international law that the Dominion is a sovereign state. We are not, and that implication will create misunderstandings at home and abroad. . There can be no such thing in international law as equality of status between Canada and Great Britain until such time as this country has the powers of a sovereign state and absolute independence both within and without our country. Then, and then only, may we have equality of status. I have said, and I repeat, that as far as I am concerned I propose to die protesting against that independent condition being achieved. . . I submit further that such appointments make for separation as against solidarity. How must this Britannic commonwealth of nations speak with respect to foreign policy? As I have said, it must speak either as a unit with a single voice or as individual partners with many voices; it must speak with one voice or many. Can it speak on matters of foreign policy with more than one voice? It cannot and remain united. . . . . This empire should have but one representation of its foreign policies.

re Tokyo

Statute of Westminster removed last vestige of colonial inferiority

Still fear almost about federating will have more control of home affairs by Parliament

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C 45539

Monday
May 7
1928

MR. KING:

Re: Estimates for Japanese Legation.

I attach the following memoranda which you may find of assistance in dealing with the Estimates for the Legation at Tokio:

1. Summary of arguments advanced by Opposition against appointment of Canadian Minister to Japan.

2. Opposition expressed to previous steps in the expansion of Canada's foreign relations.

3. Development of Canada's external relations.

4. Canada's trade with the far East. Memorandum prepared by Professor Cudmore.

5. Hansard reports of discussions on Tokio Legation and Oriental Immigration.

N.McL.R.

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(1)

C 45540

Arguments Advanced Against Appointment of
Canadian Minister to Japan.

Hon. R. B. Bennett - Speech on the Address - January 30, 1928, p. 34.

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"implications relating to property, protection, navy and army, and all these other matters that are involved. What are the implications with respect to setting up diplomatic relations in Tokio? One can understand it in Paris, where they are familiar with our institutions, but when you are dealing with a far-off country the situation is fraught with the greatest possible danger to this country."

2. Mr. Bennett expressed the opinion that what Canada needed was Trade Commissioners and not Ministers in Japan.

"What this country wants in Japan and all other foreign countries are Trade Commissioners under the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to carry forward Canada's trade. The Minister of Trade and Commerce knows that Trade Commissioners are what are wanted; men who will carry forward Canada's trade, not our diplomatic skill and power to the countries of the world. What this country desires to deal with are practical matters, not matters that carry with them the implications of international law to which I have referred." .....

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3. The appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan will have disastrous consequences.

"It is going to bring about disaster as certain as anything can be. About that there can be no doubt. One need not engage in prophecy; one need not be a prophet who reads the diplomatic history of Japan and the United States during the last twenty-five years to understand what it means to start diplomatic relations in Tokio. It is only necessary to know what has taken place to understand the situation. You, Mr. Speaker, represented this country in dealing with problems of immigration and if we set up an embassy or legation in Tokio you can realize the position."

Mr. E. J. Garland - February 2, 1928 - p. 120.

Mr. Garland pointed out that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan might wound the sensibilities of some of the other Asiatic countries.

"As the Prime Minister is aware, Chinese sensibilities as well as the sensibilities of other nations on that continent are very easily offended and it may be that they will resent the suggestion that the affairs of their country can be handled in any way, either in regard to diplomatic relations or otherwise, from Tokio."

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Sir George Perley - February 2, 1928 - p. 126.

Sir George Perley feared that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan would open the way for a dangerous extension of the policy of appointing Canadian Ministers abroad. There were special reasons for appointing Canadian Ministers to the United States and France which did not apply in the case of the appointment of a Minister to Japan.

"But this proposal that we should appoint more Ministers to foreign countries is, to my mind, a most dangerous precedent. Who can tell where it is going to end? What other Ministers are going to be appointed?".....

"What is going to be the situation if we have Ministers in all parts of the world? The Government is confining itself now to these two proposals, but who knows what day they may decide to appoint Ministers to other countries? And what will be the position in those foreign capitals if every section of the British Empire decides to send a representative there? Let us suppose we have six Ministers from as many parts of the British Empire, all resident in Czecho-Slovakia. We can imagine the confusion that will be there. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, where this plan is going to make for the whole-hearted co-operation of the British Commonwealth, such as we all want to promote."

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Sir George Perley expressed the opinion that the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Japan would not make for peace, inasmuch as it would militate against the solidarity of the Empire.

"Then my right hon. friend made a reference to a matter in connection with which I certainly disagree with him; I refer to his claim that the appointment of a Minister to Japan is a step in the direction of peace. He brought that forward as one of his reasons for saying that this is a peaceful government, ready to do everything possible in the direction of peace." .....

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step in the direction of self-defence independence. I am not going to argue that now; I mention it simply because I do not think the Prime Minister should have brought it up."

Senator J. S. McLennan

Senator McLennan expressed the view that there should have been more preparation and knowledge given before a decision was reached to send Envoys to Paris and Tokio. There are a great number of questions to be settled between Canada and the United States, but there are no such close relations or mutual problems with France and Japan. There was also the danger that in extending our diplomatic service to Japan and France it might be considered a slight by other important countries.

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re Tokyo

"In foreign countries we must have one voice if we are going to preserve this commonwealth of nations; we must present a united front to foreign countries in all matters of foreign policy which affect every portion of the commonwealth. I do not think we should follow out the present plan. . . . . All I wish to say to-day is that I think the government have made a mistake in this proposal; I think they have been in too much of a hurry. . . I do feel strongly that the government has taken a step in the wrong direction. . . . I feel that this action is on the path towards independence and if that policy continues, and other dominions adopt the same policy, I cannot see how it will be possible in the future for the various component parts of this commonwealth of nations always to act together without friction in regard to the serious matters of foreign policy."

From: Prime Johannesburg
Brief of the Empire

Sir George Perley - Hansard, p. 4154-5,
June 11, 1928.

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C 45547

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

Nov. 14/28

Re Paris

whatever is done by way of "Increase" do it first session.

2nd do not provide for too much spread, between London, Paris Washington

JAR

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C 45548

Memorandum of Legation and London Expenditures.

I. Minister's Salary and Allowance.

	Washington	Paris	London
Salary	$12,000	$12,000	$12,000
Allowance	10,000	10,000	5,000
" (car)	2,000	3,000	3,000
	$24,000	$25,000	$20,000
	& quarters	as agreed Nov. 14th	

II. Summary of Washington Expenditure.

Salaries and Allowance:

Minister	$24,000		
Secretaries (4)	28,750		
Other staff	21,500	$74,250	
Stationery, supplies, newspapers		3,000	
Telegraph and telephone		3,000	
Travel		4,500	
Equipment and maintenance		6,000	
Fuel, light, office		3,800	
Sundries		2,500	
		$97,050	$96,000

III. Tokyo Estimate, very approximate.

Minister's Salary and Allowances	say	$25,000
Rent of office	"	12,000
Secretaries	"	14,000
Other staff	"	8,000
Current equipment, supplies, telegraph, travel and maintenance	"	12,000
		$71,000

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C 45549

Memorandum for the Prime Minister. 14th November, 1928

I have no memorandum prepared as to Mr.Roy's requests.

Briefly the position is as follows:

	Paris.		Washington (Mr.Massey)
	Present salary	Requested.	
Minister's salary	$12,000	$12,000	$12,000
" Allowance	5,000	10,000	10,000
Car	3,000	3,000	2,000
	20,000	25,000	24,000
Apartment Rent	___	$3,000 - $4,000	free quarters
Furnishing Apartment	___	1,000 - 2,000	
	Say	$29,000 to $31,000	
	Total appropriation	$75,000	

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C 45550

Memorandum for Mr.King: 15th November,1928

Appointment of Canadian Minister to Japan.

In view of the interest of the Governor-General in this matter,it might be desired to discuss it with him before a final decision is made or announced.

The question of the date of the departure of the Minister is a somewhat complicated one. Presumably it would not be desired to have Parliament open without the Legation having been established or at least very definitely under way. It is also desirable to have the Minister arrive in time to utilize the surplus of the vote of the current fiscal year so far as is needed for the purchase of furnishings,equipment and supplies. The vote is $50,000,and if the Legation were established early in January,there should be at least $30,000 available if required for this purpose. Presumably a great part of the supplies could be purchased in Canada and shipped by the steamer on which the Minister takes passage, or earlier. On the other hand, the sailing would be conditioned both by the receipt of credentials and by steamship schedules. A communication from the British Ambassador in Tokyo to the Japanese Government announcing the basis of the new Canadian Legation cannot be forwarded until Sir Austen Chamberlain has returned to England and a definite decision has been reached as to the revision of the wording of the letter at present in use. After that it will be necessary to submit the name of the proposed Minister and receive the consent of the Japanese Government. This,of course,will be a formality,but will take some little time. Following the receipt of the consent,it will be necessary for the King to issue Letters of Credence,which will have to be mailed to Ottawa for delivery to the new Minister. Unless very great expedition is used, it is doubtful whether that could be done with certainty by say December 17th or 18th, the latest date for leaving Ottawa in order to connect with the Canadian Pacific sailing on December 22nd. Assuming that the Minister would sail by a Canadian and not by a United States or Japanese line, the available dates are as follows:

"Empress of Asia". Leave Vancouver Dec.1; arrive Yokohama Dec.13.
"Empress of France". Leave Vancouver Dec.22; arrive Yokohama Jan. 3.
"Empress of Russia". Leave Vancouver Feb. 2; arrive Yokohama Feb.14.
"Empress of Asia". Leave Vancouver Feb.16; arrive Yokohama Feb.28.

The long gap between December 22nd and February 2nd is I believe due to shifting the "Empress of Canada" to another service. It would look then as if December 22nd or February 2nd would be the most available dates. The American Mail Line has sailings December 29 and Jan. 12, and the N.Y.K.Japanese Line on Jan.8 and Jan.15.

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Ottawa, January 5, 1929

MEMORANDUM:

Canadian Relations with Japan

On January 1st I offered the position of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Canada to Japan to the Honourable Herbert M. Marler, of Montreal. The letter was sent by special delivery on New Year's Day and an acknowledgment received the day following.

Mr. Marler came to Ottawa to-day (January 5th) to talk over the situation with me. He had made up his mind to accept the appointment and told me that both he and his wife were prepared to do all they could to make the position one of which the Government and the country would be proud. The substance of his remarks was as follows:

"You would know that it would be my wish to be of any service I can to you and to the Government. I have always said that you could count on me and if it is your wish for me to go to Tokyo, I will be glad to do so. I feel very much honoured by the position offered me and will endeavour to do what I can to fill the office in a satisfactory way. There are a few matters which you will have to help me adjust. I will speak of them later, but, as I gather, you are anxious that Canada

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shall stand out among the countries of the world as a nation. I feel that the men who made the British Empire in the past and who went out to India, to Canada and the other Dominions, did not stop to reckon what it might mean in the way of immediate sacrifice, nor what it would involve of absence from hom. We must be prepared, in Canada, to view our obligations to our country in a similar light, and be prepared to go anywhere, if it is likely that, by so doing, we can be of real service. The present position offers the highest opportunities of service."

When I saw how Marler viewed the matter, I enlarged considerably upon the opportunities which I thought the position offered. First: Of keeping friendly the relations between Japan and Canada; Second: Of promoting the trade of this country; Third: Co-operation within the British Empire; Fourth: Making apparent to other parts of the Empire and to the world that we in Canada had just as good material and brains for the Foreign Service as any other part of the Empire. I cited the great success which Massey had made of Washington, - a success which the English as well as the Americans admitted was equal to, if it did not surpass, the British Ambassador himself. I spoke of Roy's position of confidence with the Government of France

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and the French people, and said that I believed that, with our New World point of view, we could be of immense service in furthering ideals and policies which some of the older countries were slow to grasp as being the best for the maintenance of friendly relations between nations.

I then took up with Marler the question of his candidacy for the Federal House and told him that I had felt it would be a mistake for him to re-enter Parliament just now; that there were many who were very jealous of him and that to open a constituency might lead to his defeat through undermining on the part of some of those who would like to see him undermined at once. There was the possibility of a French candidate being put in against him. The situation would be different at a General Election. He said to me that he had not been responsible for trying to force his way into the House; that the Convention had been called for the purpose of getting someone to the fore who would look after the riding; that Baldwin was in financial straits and anxious to get out; he, Marler, would ask me to help him free himself from the constituency in a way that would not disappoint his friends and aupporters. He suggested that I should see one of the leading

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French Canadians, named Goulet, whom he would bring to Ottawa on Monday, and tell him that the Government wanted Marler's services in the Orient and that the part which they had played in the constituency in bringing him to the fore was partly responsible for his being thought of at this moment for the position of Minister to Japan. He (Marler) was ready to appoint a secretary at his office in Montreal, to look after the needs of the constituency, but nothing need be said at the moment about whether or not he would contest the riding, when the time came for a General Election.

At this point I said to Marler that I thought his case was parallel to Massey's; that Massey had been most anxious to be in the House of Commons; that I had had difficulty in persuading him that the Legation was his proper sphere for work and that he would come to see that such was the case. He admitted to-day that the appointment to Washington was in every way preferable to what the post of Minister in the Government would have been. I said to Marler that I believed it would be the same with him in Japan, though I was quite prepared also to say that if the circumstances seemed to warrant it and he preferred, at the time of a General Election, to come back and run in Stanstead for the Federal House,

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that I would arrange to send someone else to Japan, and to see that his position, far from being prejudiced as a result of going to Tokyo, would be really advanced by so doing. I said that already there had been some pressure to have Dr. King go to Japan, but I would not like to think of making a change in the Ministry at present. Marler did not urge the question of returning; indeed, he rather spoke as though he had made up his mind to make a success of diplomatic life. He dwelt upon the important part which his wife, as well as he himself, could play through their wealth and opportunities of social services. He said he was quite prepared to take the position without any salary. I told him that we would not think of that, for many reasons; that I thought there should be salaries attached to the positions which would be without regard to the private means which an individual might have; that our thought was to put Tokyo on a par with Paris, allowing $75,000. for the expenditure of the Legation for the year, out of which the Minister would be paid a salary of $10,000., with $12,000. additional as an allowance and $3,000. for a car, which would make a $25,000. position. Marler said that he would be prepared personally to spend $50,000. of his own money, per year, in addition to what was given him in this

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way, so that whatever entertaining was done might be on a scale and in a way which would allow people to see that he was anxious to do all that could be done on Canada's behalf. He doubted if the $75,000. for the Legation would be needed for the first year, but asked if, for the purchase of furnishings, etc., which would ultimately belong to the Legation, he might use part of the appropriation not otherwise exhausted. I told him that, as long as he kept within the appropriation, I believed we could permit a good deal in the way of latitude on expenditures for different things.

Marler then spoke of the time of appointment and said that he would like to visit Washington to see what was being done there, and also go to London to get his uniform etc., before going to the Orient. He thought that he might run as far as Paris to see the Canadian Legation and also see something of Mr. Larkin in London. In this way, he would be familiar with what was being done in the different diplomatic posts. I told him that we would have to allow him what was reasonable in the matter of time, but would wish to make the announcement of his appointment before Parliament met and have a reference to it in the Speech from the Throne. I suggested that, before going to Paris, he should get in touch with the interests in Canada that

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were trading with the Orient, - the C.P.R., etc., etc. - so as to discover the many ways in which it might be possible for him to be of service. I asked him to have something prepared in the nature of a sketch of himself and his career, which could be used by the Department of External Affairs in announcing his appointment. I stressed very strongly what might be done in the way of developing a real trade in the Orient, and pointed out in this connection that the Government would be glad to have him visit China as well as Japan, and that he might find it advisable to return home one year via India; that what we really would wish was that he should acquaint us with the opportunities of furthering Canada's interests on the other side of the Pacific and keep us informed of everything likely materially to affect Canada, arising from that source.

Marler asked me what I thought might be possible and advisable in the way of building a Legation in Tokyo. He seemed to feel that what we should aim at would be having a residence that would be properly located and appropriately furnished, but that time should be taken for this step. I told him that I thought his best plan would be to stay at a

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hotel for awhile and then to rent a furnished residence, having a down town business office for Legation purposes; that, after being in Tokyo for a time, he could then decide on whether it was best to have the Legation offices in the residence of the Minister and also what might be best in the way of a building, equipment etc.; that I thought we could not consider making expenditures for this purpose until after a General Election and until after we had demonstrated that there was a real place for a Legation in Tokyo. Marler agreed entirely with this point of view. I found him, in our whole conversation, most reasonable and indeed most generous in his whole attitude. I feel he is admirably equipped for the position; in fact, he is just the type of man who will make a real impression in the Orient and also a fine impression in the diplomatic world. I am quite delighted with having secured his services for the country in this important post.

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C 45559

Appointment of Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan

Extract from "Ottawa Journal", January 12, 1929

Honourable Herbert M. Marler of Montreal, a former Minister without Portfolio in the King Government in 1925, will be recommended to His Majesty the King as Canadian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tokyo, Japan, according to an announcement made last night by the Prime Minister.

Premier Mackenzie King said the appointment of the Canadian Minister to Tokyo would shortly be followed by the coming of a Japanese minister to Ottawa. He could not say when the Japanese nominee would be named, but that it would be shortly as the Tokyo authorities were only waiting the appointment of the minister of the Dominion.

The Prime Minister last night expressed the greatest satisfaction that Mr. Marler had agreed to accept the Tokyo post. Acceptance involved a sacrifice on the part of Mr. Marler. Mr. King pointed out that it will probably be some time before Mr. Marler can leave Canada for Japan.

The appointment of the first Canadian Minister in the Orient is considered of special importance at this juncture in view of the increasing significance of the Pacific in internationals and the possibilities of rapid growth in Canadian trade with Japan, the Premier pointed out.

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The Prime Minister stated that Canada now has representation at London, Paris, Washington, and Tokyo. In London the Dominion is represented by Hon. P. C. Larkin, Canadian High Commissioner; in Paris, Hon. Phillippe Roy is the Canadian Minister. Hon. Vincent Massey represents the Dominion as Minister at Washington, and Mr. Marler will occupy the same position at Tokyo.

Biography:

The new Canadian Minister to Tokyo is a member of the Privy Council of Canada, having been a member of the Cabinet in 1925, belongs to a family which has lived in Canada continuously since 1768. He was educated at McGill University from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law with first-class honours. He is by profession a notary of the Province of Quebec, and is the son of W. de M. Marler, D.C.L., LL.D., of Montreal, who was for many years a professor of the law of real estate in McGill University, and who founded the firm of W. de M. and H. M. Marler of Montreal, in which he and his son have been associated for more than 30 years. In 1902 Mr. Marler married Beatrice Isobel Allan, a grand-daughter of the late Andrew Allan, one of the founders of the Allan Line, and of the late Matthew Henry Gault.

In addition to his extensive professional and business experience, Mr. Marler has a long record of activity in the public

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life of Canada. For many years he was a member of the Council of Education for the Province of Quebec, and in 1917-18 held the post of Fuel Administrator of that province. In 1921 he was elected to the House of Commons of Canada for the constituency of St.-Lawrence - St.George, Montreal. In 1922 he was chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Soldiers' Pensions and Civil Re-establishment. In 1925 he served as chairman of the committee on transportation in the negotiations which resulted in the trade agreement between Canada and the West Indies. Mr. Marler took an active part in the last revision of the Bank Act, and made several extensive studies as regards Dominion and railway finance and tariff questions. In 1925 he was sworn of the Privy Council of Canada and called to the Cabinet of Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, but was defeated in the general election of that year and resigned from the Cabinet. In 1927 he was National Treasurer and chairman of the finance committee of the National Committee for the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

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C 45562

C A N A D A and J A P A N

Canadian Minister to Japan:

1. Speech from the Throne, Jan. 26, 1928

2. Prime Minister's speech on the Address, January 31, 1928 (Unrevised Hansard, p.67)

3. Appointment of Minister - Hon. Herbert M. Marler, Extract from Ottawa Journal, Jan.12, 1929

4. Opening of Legation; departure of Dr.Keenleyside, May 1, 1929.

5. Mr. Marler's arrival - presents credentials

Japanese Minister to Canada:

10. Official announcement re Opening of Legation, Extract from Ottawa Morning Citizen, July 21, 1928

11. Announcement of appointment of Mr. Y. Iawate in charge of the Legation

12. Appointment of First Japanese Envoy, announcement re Hon. Iyemasa Tokugawa, May 1, 1929.

13. Arrival of Mr. Tokugawa - presents credentials
Guest of Government at dinner

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C 45563

Canadian Minister to Japan

(1) Speech from the Throne, January 26, 1928

Unrevised Hansard, page 2.

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C 45564

Appointment of a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

Reference in Speech from the Throne
January 26, 1928.

(Unrevised Hansard p. 2)

By agreement between the governments of .....
.....Japan and Canada it is proposed that each of these countries shall be represented in the other by a minister plenipotentiary.

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C 45565

Canadian Minister to Japan

(2) Prime Minister's speech on the Address,

January 31, 1928

Unrevised Hansard, page 67

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C 45566

Governor General's Speech
Address in Reply by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
January 31, 1928

(Unrevised Hansard page 67)

Re: Canadian Representation in Japan.

Now I turn to the orient, and let me first point out the change which has taken place in the situation there. I believe it is true that our trade with the orient to-day is greater than was the trade of Canada with the United Kingdom at the time the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into office. When that event took place Canada's trade with the United Kingdom stood at a certain figure. That figure is exceeded to-day, so I am informed, by the total trade of Canada with the orient. Now volume of trade is indicative of a variety of increasingly important interests, and while I think it is wholly desirable, as my hon. friend (Mr. Bennett) said, that we should have trade commissioners, and an increasing number, scattered in different parts of the world, no trade commissioner as such, it must be remembered, has any right to approach the ministers of the government of the country in which he holds office, nor does he speak with any authority on behalf of the government by whom he may be employed. He is not a representative of that government, he is the agent of a government department. I may say that our government has received from trade commissioners in different parts of the world repeated appeals that their status should be improved, that they should be given something of a diplomatic status; that Canada was suffering because they had not the status which would enable them on behalf of the dominion to have those relations with the governments of the countries in which they were stationed which they felt was desirable in the interest of Canada. We have appointed one representative to the United States. We intend to appoint a minister to France, who will be the sole representative on the continent of Europe, and one to Tokyo who will be the sole representative on the continent of Asia. Hon. members surely will not therefore feel that this is proceeding with undue haste in such an important matter. To appoint but one representative in Europe, one in Asia, in addition to one in America, each of whom will have the standing of ministers and be in a position to meet the diplomats and members of governments of other countries on an equal footing, is surely not in the present stage of our international relations a matter of proceeding with undue haste. And may I say to my hon. friend that the purpose we have in view in this matter is not at all that of emphasizing our status. That is not our view. We do not need to emphasize our status; our status is conceded and we are no longer worrying about it. But what we do maintain is this, that if there is to be equality of status there must be something also in the way of responsibility with respect to our own affairs, foreign as well as domestic, in whatever pertains to the relations between this dominion and other countries of the world. What we wish to do is to assume the responsibility which we as a nation, having to deal with an increasing measure of foreign affairs, feel we should assume in the position to which Canada has attained at the present time. This I submit, is essential to effective co-operation with other parts of the Empire.

May I say one further word in regard to our representation in the orient? Here I touch on a very large subject, and I hope the house will receive what I have to say as coming from a profound conviction of what I sincerely and deeply believe is of importance in the relations of this country with the orient. I was sorry to see at the party convention which my hon. friend attended that among other resolutions which were passed was a resolution declaring for oriental exclusion. I do not wish to question the motives of anyone in connection with the introduction or passing of that resolution. I believe one can read it, as an hon. member from my hon. friend's own party has done, as not really meaning what it appears to say. May I make this perfectly clear, that as regards desiring a white Canada and a white British Columbia, as regards desiring to maintain the standards of our labour in British Columbia, I will yield place to no one in the belief that we must not permit competition of the oriental races with our own people in that province? I think the numbers that have come into this country from the orient are excessive already and there is abundant reason why every possible measure compatible with good relations and good will between the different nations of the world should be adopted in order that we may prevent what I believe would be a very serious consequence were labourers, for example from the orient to be permitted to come to this country in any numbers. But what I do say is this, that in dealing with foreign countries a government and a people, as large as the population of Canada is, as important as this country is, cannot afford to fail to take cognizance of the susceptibilities of the nations with which they are doing business and with which they wish to deal not only this year but for years to come. Hon. members know very well that there is no term more offensive to the Japan-

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ese people than the word "exclusion". I feel that in this parliament on these matters of foreign affairs my hon. friend opposite and myself ought to be able to unite in taking a question of this kind completely out of the realm of party politics. Let us agree that we do not want oriental labour coming into this country in competition with our own. But let us realize this, that if we are going to remain, as I hope and pray we always shall remain, a part of the British Empire, we owe a certain obligation to be true not only to ourselves but to other parts of the British Empire in our relations with and attitude towards other countries of the world.

During the time I was privileged to be present at the meetings of the imperial conference I learned a good deal about the difficulties that were confronting Great Britain in some of her foreign relations. Indeed, if not the main purpose of the conference, it always seemed to me to be the most effective part of the conference that those who came from other parts of the empire were afforded an opportunity of coming to appreciate the magnitude of some of the problems with which Great Britain herself had to deal and the importance of certain considerations with respect thereto. I believe that within the last year or two there has been no problem which Britain has had to face that has been comparable in the seriousness of its aspect with that of the unrest which has developed in China, which in the last session of this parliament led to discussions here and there as to whether or not there was to be war in the orient and whether or not this country was to participate in it. Along with that unrest in China, stimulated as there is every reason to believe it has been from some other parts of the world, there has been great unrest in India. If to the unrest in India and the unrest in China you give the Japanese nation cause to feel indignation and resentment at the British Empire, I do not know what the consequences are going to be. I wish to say to say to my hon. friends opposite that when the government was face to face with the situation created by that resolution, and was forced to ask itself how, in the face of it, it was to deal with this oriental problem, then, and for the first time, we took the position that we could not stand for restriction of immigration by a policy of exclusion in those terms, but that we would do our utmost by diplomatic endeavour with a friendly nation to see that the numbers of Japanese coming into this country were reduced to the lowest possible point in a manner which would help at the same time to preserve the friendly relations between that country and ourselves and between that country and the British Empire.

Mr. BENNETT: Perhaps my right hon. friend will explain what he said a moment ago that there were too many of them now.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I meant exactly what I said. I would say so to-morrow in Japan. I think there are too many Japanese of the labouring classes in British Columbia at the present time. I have always made that clear. My hon. friend turned to the Speaker yesterday and complimented his honour upon his visit to Japan and the result of his diplomatic mission some twenty years ago. Does my hon. friend think we would have succeeded even at that time in getting the reduced numbers we succeeded in getting if the whole matter had been left to despatches or to the roundabout process of dealing through the Foreign Office in Great Britain with the Foreign Office in Japan? It was because we were able to send from Canada one of our own citizens, one of our own administration, and have him deal at first hand with the Japanese government that we were able to make the arrangement we did at that particular time. There was one remark which my hon. friend made yesterday that I did not like. I hope I was wrong in what I gathered as to the meaning of his reference to the diplomatic skill of this country. I contend that the diplomatic skill of Canada with respect to Canadian affairs is of just as high an order as the diplomatic skill of Great Britain or of any other part of the British Empire.

Mr. BENNETT: I made no reference to the diplomatic skill of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am glad to hear my hon. friend say that.

Mr. BENNETT: Where a gentleman has been able to remain in power from 1921 to 1926, as my right hon. friend has, I have a high regard for his diplomatic skill.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I can tell my hon. friend he will come to have a still higher regard if he just continues where he is for another half a dozen years.

Mr. BENNETT: It will not be that long.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I conclude, Mr. Speaker, by saying that it has been solely from a desire of meeting the responsibilities of Canada as one of the sister dominions of the British Empire, to play our part with respect to Canadian affairs as we believe we should play it in foreign relations as well as in domestic relations with a full consciousness of our responsibilities, that we have been

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led to take the step we have taken with regard to representation in Europe and Asia and of which we hope this house will approve? In other words, our desire in these matters as respects our country in its relation to other parts of the British Empire is expressed by the three words: equality, co-operation and responsibility. We believe in the equality of the British nations within the empire; we wish to co-operate in a friendly and helpful way with all parts of the empire, and we wish in co-operating to assume to the full the responsibilities which as a nation within the British Empire we believe we have in imperial and international affairs.

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C 45569

Canadian Minister to Japan

(3) Minister Appointed -

Honourable Herbert M. Marler, of Montreal

(Extract from Ottawa Journal, January 12, 1929)

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The Prime Minister stated that Canada now has representation at London, Paris, Washington, and Tokyo. In London the Dominion is represented by Hon. P. C. Larkin, Canadian High Commissioner; in Paris, Hon. Phillippe Roy is the Canadian Minister. Hon. Vincent Massey represents the Dominion as Minister at Washington, and Mr. Marler will occupy the same position at Tokyo.

Biography:

The new Canadian Minister to Tokyo is a member of the Privy Council of Canada, having been a member of the Cabinet in 1925, belongs to a family which has lived in Canada continuously since 1768. He was educated at McGill University from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law with first-class honours. He is by profession a notary of the Province of Quebec, and is the son of W. de M. Marler, D.C.L., LL.D., of Montreal, who was for many years a professor of the law of real estate in McGill University, and who founded the firm of W. de M. and H. M. Marler of Montreal, in which he and his son have been associated for more than 30 years. In 1902 Mr. Marler married Beatrice Isobel Allan, a grand-daughter of the late Andrew Allan, one of the founders of the Allan Line, and of the late Matthew Henry Gault.

In addition to his extensive professional and business experience, Mr. Marler has a long record of activity in the public

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life of Canada. For many years he was a member of the Council of Education for the Province of Quebec, and in 1917-18 held the post of Fuel Administrator of that province. In 1921 he was elected to the House of Commons of Canada for the constituency of St.-Lawrence - St.George, Montreal. In 1922 he was chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Soldiers' Pensions and Civil Re-establishment. In 1925 he served as chairman of the committee on transportation in the negotiations which resulted in the trade agreement between Canada and the West Indies. Mr. Marler took an active part in the last revision of the Bank Act, and made several extensive studies as regards Dominion and railway finance and tariff questions. In 1925 he was sworn of the Privy Council of Canada and called to the Cabinet of Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, but was defeated in the general election of that year and resigned from the Cabinet. In 1927 he was National Treasurer and chairman of the finance committee of the National Committee for the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

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C 45573

Canadian Minister to Japan

(4) Opening of Legation: departure of Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside as First Secretary,

May 1, 1929

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C 45574

Ottawa Citizen, May 1, 1929

Opening of Canadian Legation at Tokio.

Ottawa Man is Off to Tokio to Open Legation

Hugh L. Keenleyside Left Last Night as First Secretary to the New Canadian Office in Japan.

James A. Langley as Commercial Secretary

Native of Ottawa. Has Been Assistant Trade Commissioner in Japan.

Hugh L. Keenleyside, second secretary in the Department of External Arrairs, left Ottawa last night for Tokio to open as first secretary the new Canadian legation there. Hon. Herbert M. Marler, of Montreal, first minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary, is making a business trip to England and will not reach Japan until the late summer.

Mr. Keenleyside, is to be accompanied by Miss Nancy Baird, formerly on the staff of the Japanese consul here for six years and latterly on the staff of the advisory tariff board, sails from Vancouver on the Empress of France on May 9. Mr. Keenleyside joined the External Affairs Department staff as third secretary eight months ago, being promoted to be second secretary in December. Miss Baird will also be on the staff of the new legation.

Mr. Kenleyside is accompanied by Miss Nancy Baird, fromerly on the staff of the Japanese Longman, Green & Co., of Toronto. Mr. Keenleyside, who is a Vancouver boy, graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of British Columbia, subsequently taking post graduate work in two or three American universities. Upon completing his training he served as professor of modern history for some time on the staffs of Syracuse University and Brown University at Providence, R.I., and then returned to his alma mater in a similar capacity. He came to Ottawa from his post there last September. He is quite an athlete and served as football coach in the American universities where he taught.

Mr. Keenleyside, who is about 32 years of age, is married and has a family of two young children, a girl nearly three year old, and a baby boy a few weeks old. They will join him later, remaining for some months in the Capital at their home, 27 Melgund avenue.

Though he has only been a resident of the Capital for less than a year, Mr. Keenleyside has made many riends, as also has Mrs. Keenleyside, in government circles, where they will be much missed.

Hon. Mr. Marler will take out one or two other members for his staff when he sails from Vancouver late in August.

Commercial Secretary.

James A. Langley, Canadian Trade Commissioner in Japan, will also act as commercial secretary of the legation. A third appointment will be made during the summer.

J. A. Langley was born in Ottawa, and was educated at the Ottawa Collegiate Institute. He spent some time as secretary to the King's Printer, and later in business. He enlisted in the Canadian Field Artillery, and served in France with the 25th Battery. He was appointed junior trade commissioner on November 20, and after a year's training in the Department of Trade and Commerce became assistant trade commissioner at Kobe, Japan. In 1925 he was promoted to the post of trade commissioner. In 1927 he made an official tour of the Dominion for the purpose of consulting with firms interested in trade with Japan.

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C 45575 394-B

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Ottawa Morning Journal, May 1, 1929.

Arrange Opening Legation In Japan

Dr. Hugh Keenleyside Is Charge d'Affaires Until Arrival Hon. H. Marler.

It was announced from the Department of External Affairs last evening, that Hon. Herbert Marler, before undertaking his duties as Canadian Minister to Japan is making a short visit to England. In the meantime, arrangements are being made for opening the Canadian Legation in Tokyo. Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside will be appointed first secretary and Charge d'Affaires until Mr. Marler's arrival in Japan, and James A. Langley, Canadian Trade Commissioner in Japan, will also act as commercial secretary of the Legation. A third appointment will be made during the summer.

Dr. Keenleyside was born in Toronto but has resided from an early age in Vancouver. He is a graduate of the University of British Columbia and of Clark University. He enlisted for overseas service with the 68th battery, and later served with the 2nd Tank Corps as gunner. He has recently published a book entitled "Canada and the United States." Dr. Keenleyside was successful in the competition held by the Civil Service Commission in June, 1928, for Legation secretarial posts, and was appointed temporarily in September to the Department of External Affairs.

J. A. Langley was born in Ottawa, and was educated at the Ottawa Collegiate Institute. He spent some time as secretary to the King's Printer, and later in business. He enlisted in the Canadian Field Artillery, and served in France with the 25th Battery. He was appointed junior trade commissioner on November 20, 1922, and after a year's training in the Department of Trade and Commerce became assistant trade commissioner at Kobe, Japan. In 1925 he was promoted to the post of Trade Commissioner. In 1927 he made an official tour of the Dominion for the purpose of consulting with firms interested in trade with Japan.

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C 45576

Canadian Minister to Japan

(5) Mr. Marler arrives at Tokyo and presents his credentials

Official Reception

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C 45577

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Ottawa Morning Citizen, September 19, 1929.

First Canadian Envoy to Japan Given Audience

Hon. Herbert Marler Presents Credentials to Emperor Hirohito at Japan In Splendid Ceremony.

Occasion Marked By Pomp and Ceremony

Minister Extended Hearty Welcome and Assured of Hearty Co-Operation.

TOKYO, Sept. 18.—Canada, Canadian affairs and Canadian prospects were emphasized in the Empire of Japan today as never before. In a splendid ceremony, Hon. Herbert Marler, first minister to be accredited by the Dominion to any monarchy, was received in audience by His Imperial Majesty Emperor Hirohito.

The great lobby of the Imperial hotel, where Mr. Marler is staying until he has secured a permanent residence, was decorated with Canadian and Japanese flags and the ensigns of Canada and Japan floated side by side from the hotel roof.

The reception of the Canadian minister was attended by a great deal of pomp and ceremony such as traditionally accompanies functions at this ancient port.

Shortly after 10 o'clock, an automobile from the palace, painted with the imperial red, carrying the royal insignia in gold on the doors with liveried chauffeur and footman, appeared at the hotel.

Leaves For Palace.

Mr. A. Takahashi, master of the imperial household, dressed in the uniform of his office, was received by Mr. Marler in the ministerial sitting room. A few minutes later, the minister, resplendent in gold braided Windsor uniform, left with Mr. Takahashi in the imperial car, being accompanied to the hotel door by three legation secretaries, Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, of Vancouver; Mr. J. A. Langley and Kenneth P. Kirkwood.

Bearing the minister and the master of the household, the car sped along the wide downtown streets of Tokyo, past buildings of most modern construction. It skirted a large park laid out in western style and then crossed the ancient moat which for hundreds of years has been part of the defence works of the imperial palace.

At the principal palace gates used on such ceremonial occasions, trumpets sounded on the approach of the Canadian minister and a guard of honor presented arms as the car passed them.

On arrival at the palace door, Mr. Marler and the master of the household descended. In a magnificent reception room, done in lacquered wood and embellished in priceless works of Japanese art, Mr. Marler was greeted by Baron Hayashi, formerly ambassador at London and now grand master of ceremonies in the imperial household.

Mr. Marler and Baron Hayashi proceeded along a hallway to the audience chamber, where the emperor was waiting, sitting by his throne chair. To the right stood Baron Shidehara, minister of foreign affairs. To the left was the official interpreter and behind the throne were ranged members of the imperial suite.

Speech Interpreted.

Entering the chamber, the Canadian minister bowed three times as he approached the throne, finally arriving within handshaking distance of His Imperial Majesty. There he read his speech, which was interpreted. Letters of greetings from King George in His Britannic Majesty's own handwriting and the ministers' letters of credence were presented personally to the emperor, whose speech in Japanese was interpreted to Mr. Marler. The emperor then shook hands with the Canadian minister and a few minutes' conversation followed. The emperor expressed the hope that he would see the minister again and the audience was over.

Mr. Marler's speech was brief. He referred to his coming to Japan with the special object of representing Canada, and conveyed the sentiments entertained by King George for the emperor. He expressed hope for the felicity of the imperial family and the Japanese people. The minister voiced also his own most profound respect and expressed the hope that his efforts would strengthen the bonds of friendship and interest uniting the people of Canada and Japan in peace, amity and concord.

Emperor's Reply.

In reply, the emperor expressed gratification that King George had chosen so distinguished a personage as Canada's first representative in Japan. He extended a hearty welcome and offered congratulations on his safe arrival.

Continuing, the emperor said: "I earnestly hope that the direct representation thus newly exchanged between Japan and Canada may contribute largely towards better mutual understanding and benefit because of closer contact and more precise information. To the end of further cementing the amicable bonds of friendship between us, I can assure you that you can rely on the heartiest co-operation of my government and people."

As the empress was not receiving, Mrs. Marler did not accompany the minister to the palace.

The Canadian Club of Japan has arranged a banquet to the new minister at Tokyo on the evening of September 25, at which Mr. Marler will make his first public appearance on Japanese soil.

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C 45578

Japanese Minister to Ottawa

(10) Official announcement re Opening of Japanese Legation -

Extract from Ottawa Morning Citizen,

July 21, 1928

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Appointment of Japanese Minister to Canada

Ottawa Morning Citizen:
July 21, 1928

Official announcement of the opening of the Japanese legation in Ottawa was made from the office of the Prime Minister yesterday.

The announcement is as follows:

"The Prime Minister was formally notified that the Government of Japan is opening its Canadian legation in Ottawa from this date. Mr. Shuh Tomii, formerly Consul General of Japan in Ottawa, has been appointed first secretary and will act as Charge d'Affaires pending the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary. The Japanese consulate general in Ottawa will be closed from this date but Mr. Kiyoshi Fukui, attache of the legation, has been appointed vice-consul in charge of consular affairs. The legation staff at present, in addition to the first secretary, will consist of Mr. Kiyoshi Fukui, attache, Mr. Tetzupiro Kohri, attache, and Mr. Kenzo Yokoh, chancellor."

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C 45589

Japanese Minister to Ottawa

(11) Announcement of Appointment of

Mr. Y. Iawate, in charge of Legation

Ottawa Morning Citizen, December 29, 1928

[redacted]

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C 45581

Appointment of Japanese Minister to Canada

Ottawa Morning Citizen, Dec. 29, 1928:

Mr. Y. Iawate has been named to take charge of the Japanese legation to succeed Shuh Tomii. This announcement was made yesterday at the Japanese legation office here, Mr. Iawate is no stranger here, having on a previous occasion held the post of Japanese consul in Ottawa.

Mr. Tomii, Japanese charge d'affaires here, stated to the Citizen that he had received instructions from his government to return to Japan. He stated further that Mr. Iawate was appointed on December 27 as first secretary of the Japanese legation at Ottawa. Mr. Iawate will shortly leave Japan for his new post, and Mr. Tomii will leave Ottawa as soon as Mr. Iawate arrives here to take over his duties at the head of the legation.

Mr. Iawate was for some years stationed at Washington, D.C., as the attache, and later as third secretary of the Japanese embassy there. About ten years ago he was stationed in Ottawa for about a year, as acting consul general. He returned to Japan, where he remained for about three years and was subsequently appointed consul general and stationed at Calcutta, India, where he remained about two years. Since holding this office he

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has been in Japan.

It is understood that there has been much conjecture in Japan as to who would receive the appointment to the Ottawa post, and that several names had been mentioned in connection with the appointment. Only yesterday, in a cable despatch from Sydney, New South Wales, that the Japanese consul there, Gen. I. M. Tokugaka, had received instructions to return to Japan. It was stated that it had been reported last July that he would be promoted to the post at Ottawa.

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C 45583

Japanese Minister to Ottawa

(12) Announcement of Appointment of the Minister, Honourable Iyemesa Tokugawa, first minister

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C 45584

Ottawa Citizen, May 1, 1929

Opening of Japanese Legation
Appointment of Minister

Hirohito Names Hon. Tokugawa First Minister

Japanese Consul-General at Sydney, Australia, Will Represent Japan in Canada, with Office in Ottawa

Associated Press Despatch.

TOKIO, April 30.—Hon. Iyemesa Tokugawa, Japanese consul-general at Sydney, Australia, grandson of the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns, and son of Prince Iyenato Tokugawa, chairman of the House of Peers in Japan for the past 25 years, was today named by Emperor Hirohito as first minister of the Japanese Empire to Canada. He has served with distinction in the Japanese diplomatic service for 20 years.

Hon. Mr. Tokugawa was born on March 4, 1884. He graduated from the peers' school and the law college of the Imperial University at Tokio. He passed the state examination for the diplomatic and consular service in 1909, in which year he was attache of the Japanese embassy at London, England. In the same year he married Nao-Ko, sister of Prince Tadashige Shimazu. After serving in London for four years he returned to Tokio to become councillor of the foreign department there, becoming successively secretary of the department and private secretary to the foreign minister until 1915. Then he was named second secretary of the Japanese legation at Peking, China, in 1918, becoming first secretary there the following year. Later he was named first secretary of the Japanese embassy at London in 1921, but before he assumed that post he was transferred as consul-general at Sydney, Australia, in 1925, which post he held until last March.

ARRIVES IN JUNE.

Hon. Yoshio Iwate, charge d' affaires of the Japanese legation here, stated this morning that he has received no official word, as yet, of Hon. Mr. Tokugawa's appointment as minister here. Mr. Iwate does not expect the new minister to arrive in Ottawa until some time in June, since he is a member of the special reception committee at Tokio under Baron Hayashi, former Japanese ambassador at London, Eng., for the visit of the Duke of Gloucester, third son of King George V, to confer on Emperor Hirohito the coveted Order of the Garter. The Duke, who arrives in Tokio on Thursday of this week, plans a month's stay in Japan before returning to England via Canada. It is just possible, Mr. Iwate said, that the new minister will travel to Ottawa in the Duke's party.

Hon. William Phillips, United States minister, voiced his great pleasure in hearing of Mr. Tokugawa's appointment.

"Though it has not been my privilege to meet Mr. Tokugawa personally," Hon. Mr. Phillips remarked, "I have heard much of him for many years and know him by reputation to be one of the most eminent of the Japanese diplomatists. I am sure that I, in common with all members of the diplomatic corps, will look forward with keen anticipation toward happy associations with Mr. Tokugawa on his arrival in Ottawa."

Mr. Iwate, who reached Ottawa a few days ago as successor to Hon. Shu Tomii in charge of the legation, will become first secretary on the arrival of the new minister. The personnel of the legation staff will be unchanged with the other members including J. Fukui as third secretary, T. Khori as attache and K. Yoho as chancellor.

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C 45585

Japanese Minister to Ottawa

(13) Japanese Minister presents Credentials

Guest of Government at Dinner

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Ottawa Citizen Oct 22/29

Tenders Dinner As Welcome To Japanese Envoy

Premier King Host at Distinguished Gathering. Minister Speaks of Cause Of Peace in Pacific Region

Premier on Dominion's International Relations

Sir Robt. Borden Says Mr. King's Words Will Be Echoed By All Canadians.

Hon. Iyemasa M. Tokugawa, newly-arrived Japanese envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Canada, was socially welcomed to the Capital at a dinner tendered him by Premier W. L. Mackenzie King on behalf of the Dominion government at the Country Club last night. It was a distinguished gathering of cabinet ministers, former members of the Privy Council, members of the Supreme Court, and representatives of other foreign nations at Ottawa, which attended the function.

Responding to warm words of greeting spoken by Premier King in welcoming him as the third resident foreign minister here, joining Hon. William Phillips, United States minister, and Mr. Jean Knight, French minister, Hon. Mr. Tokugawa said that Japan has been proud to have been associated with the British Empire in many efforts directed to the noble cause of perpetuating peace in the past and would be happy to continue those efforts in the future.

Premier King Speaks.

Premier King spoke in part as follows:—

"May I say, first of all, to Mr. Tokugawa, how much the Canadian people will appreciate the sentiments of friendship and good-will expressed by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan in the letters presented today to His Excellency the Governor-General. It is happily true that the relations between Canada and Japan and between the British Empire and Japan are of the happiest and best, and always have been. We recognize in the Empire of Japan an old and faithful ally of the British Empire and, in these days where formal alliances are giving way to friendly understandings between nations in the promotion of peace, an equally loyal and trusted friend.

In International Affairs.

"Whether we like it or not, our country cannot escape rapid growth in her international relations, and least of all can she escape those special responsibilities and obligations as well as opportunities which arise out of her geographical position and her position as a nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Let me pause for a moment to draw your attention to the geographical position of Canada, in relation to the coutries of which I have just made mention. The United States is our nearest neighbor, our only neighbor on the continent of North America. France is our nearest neighbor and our oldest neighbor on the continent of Europe. Japan is our nearest neighbor on the continent of Asia. We hold immediate relations and relations ever increasing in importance with each of these countries. On a world scale, our country's position is that of the center of a sort of world amphitheater surrounded as we are, on three sides, by these great powers. Our frontiers are completely exposed. Of necessity, in friendship and goodwill more than in aught else lies our security. These three countries, in turn, have relations with Great Britain, with possibilities and consequences far more vast than those arising out of her relations with any other of the nations of the world. The problems of the Atlantic and the problems of the Pacific and all that lie between are bound up in that relationship. This of itself is an all-sufficient reason why Canada should seek to inform herself, at first hand, and keep informed on what is transpiring in each of these countries, and why she, to the extent of her power, should at all times see that the friendliest of relations should be maintained between these countries and the British Empire. To do our part in maintaining the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations and to further to the utmost of our ability friendly relations between the British Empire and the rest of the world and in particular the three great powers which I have mentioned, this, it seems to me, is Canada's role in international affairs.

"The symbol of British unity is to be found in the British Crown. The security of the Crown rests in a Throne which is 'broad based upon a people's will.' Whatever may serve to broaden the base, and thereby secure more firmly the foundation upon which all government throughout the British Empir rests, is making for British unity and its permanency. It is making as well, I believe, for the peace of the world. It is in this belief at least that the present administration has sought, at Washington, at Paris and at Tokyo, not only to assume responsibility for all that per-

friendly help and sympathetic support of the Canadian government and my Canadian friends. I will always remember, at the same time, that the happy relations between Canada and Japan are based upon the foundation of traditional friendship and goodwill between the British nations and ourselves.

"Japan is proud to have been associated with the British Empire in many efforts directed to the noble cause of perpetuating peace, and the people of Japan are anxious to maintain and promote the friendly cooperation between us for the greater good of humanity. As regards Canada in particular, the Japanese people have a great admiration for the wonderful progress she has made with such determination and courage and are specially anxious to enter into still closer relationship with her. They are welcoming the opening of direct diplomatic relations between us. In the great Pacific ocean our destinies lie together.

"Canada and Japan," the minister concluded, "are marching hand in hand toward the great cause of permanent peace in this region."

Hon. R. B. Bennett, the Conservative leader, was present to pay his respects to the new minister but had to leave early to catch the Toronto train.

Those present were as follows:

The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, prime minister; the Hon. the Japanese minister, the Hon. the United States minister, the Hon. the French minister, the Hon. leader of the opposition, the Hon. Sir Geo. Perley, Rt. Hon. Geo. P. Graham, the High Commissioner of Great Britain, the Right Hon. the Chief Justice of Canada, Hon. Charles A. Dunning, Hon. J. C. Elliott, Hon. Dr. J. H. King, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Hon. Robert Forke, Hon. Frank Oliver, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. W. J. Roche, Hon. James A. Robb, Hon. Lucien Cannon, Col. the Hon. J. L. Ralston, Mr. Iwati, Mr. E. R. E. Chevrier, M.P.; Mr. E. C. Melville, Col. Jno. G. Foster, Mr. Gordon C. Edwards, M.P.; Mr. K. Fukui, Mr. William Marchington, Mr. E. J. Lemaire, Mr. W. H. Walker, Mr. Harry Baldwin, Mr. W. H. Measures and Mr. Laurent Beaudry.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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Oct 22/29

A Special Compliment.

"May I also say that in the choice of Mr. Tokugawa himself as envoy and minister plenipotentiary we recognize that His Imperial Japanese Majesty and the government of Japan have sought to pay a special compliment to our Dominion. We know of Mr. Tokugawa's noble lineage, and it is a source of pride to us, as it must be to him, to know that his distinguished father, Prince Tokugawa, the head of the premier noble family of Japan, and one who has served his country on important international missions, is at present the president of the House of Peers, the Upper Chamber of the Imperial Diet. Mr. Tokugawa and his illustrious ancestors are examples of the readiness of the aristocratic families of Japan to devote their talents to the public service of their country.

Mr. Marler's Reception.

"I should like to take advantage of this, my earliest opportunity, to say to Mr. Tokugawa how much we all appreciate the very cordial manner in which Mr. Marler, our minister in Japan, has been received in his country. Some account of that reception came to us through the cabled despatches which appeared in the press at the time of his arrival or shortly after. Within the past day or two, however, I have begun to receive personal communications from both Mr. and Mrs. Marler, and the first of the official despatches, and all alike are in glowing terms of the welcome accorded Canada's representative in Japan. I might mention in particular the hospitality extended to them by Mr. Tokugawa himself before his departure from the Orient.

Legations' Significance.

"I recognize the social character of this gathering, and that this is not a time to go into more or less weighty matters, and I shall refrain from touching upon them. I shall content myself with but a closing reference to the significance of the legations which have recently been established by Canada, and the end which we hope they may serve in international affairs. In this connection I cannot perhaps better focus attention on what I am most anxious to emphasize than by drawing attention to the parties to the Quadruple Pacific Treaty, of which I have just made mention, and of the relation which Canada bears, in part or in whole, to all of them, first of all through her geographical position, and secondly through her position as a nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations. May I, in speaking of Pacific treaties, remind you that the Pacific is the world's greatest ocean, twice as large as the Atlantic, and about its rim lives half of the entire human family.

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Sir Robert Borden.

In closing, Premier King asked Sir Robert Borden if he would add a few words of welcome and the latter gladly complied. Sir Robert said the words of Mr. King would be echoed by all the people of Canada. "It is our confident hope," he added, "that in the years to come Canada and Japan will continue to look across the mighty Pacific ocean in friendly gesture and co-operation." During the Washington conference, Sir Robert had the pleasure of meeting the illustrious father of the new minister from Tokio. Prince Tokugawa, said Sir Robert, contributed in no small measure to the success of that conference. Japan had done a signal honor to Canada in selecting as the first minister to this country the gentleman whom they were now honoring and all hoped that he would long continue to fill that high office. "I have confidence," said Sir Robert, "that our guest will aid in a very effective way to the maintenance of good relations not only between Canada and Japan, but also to the good relations existing between Japan and the British Commonwealth."

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"Japan is proud to have been associated with the British Empire in many efforts directed to the noble cause of perpetuating peace, and the people of Japan are anxious to maintain and promote the friendly co-operation between us for the greater good of humanity. As regards Canada in particular, the Japanese people have a great admiration for the wonderful progress she has made with such determination and courage and are specially anxious to enter into still closer relationship with her. They are welcoming the opening of direct diplomatic relations between us. In the great Pacific ocean our destinies lie together.

"Canada and Japan," the minister concluded, "are marching hand in hand toward the great cause of permanent peace in this region."

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Oct 22/29

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LEGATION AT TOKYO.

November 22-27: Canadian Government informed London of intention to propose exchange of Ministers with France and Japan.

December 4 -27: Dandurand reports Foreign Secretary sympathetic.

December 6 -27: Ottawa requests Foreign Secretary to take up with Japan.

December 22-27: London sends draft of proposed instructions to British Ambassador at Tokyo.

December 23-27: Ottawa approves.

January 13-28: London states Tilley has acted; informed Japan that his understanding was that Canadian Minister would deal with matters concerning Canada alone and not with matters generally concerning the Empire.

January 19-28: London reports Japan happy to receive and send Ministers.

January 7-29: Ottawa states it is desired to learn whether appointment of Marler would be acceptable to Japan.

January 11-29: Order-in-Council (P.C.37) provides that His Majesty be humbly advised to appoint Marler Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

January 11-29: Prime Minister announced to press Government proposed to recommend Marler's appointment.

April 30-29: Ottawa advises London proposed to establish Legation in May under Charge d'Affaires.

May 30-29: Iwate reports Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs recognizes Canadian Legation established on 21 May, and sends congratulations on exchange of representatives.

January 18-29: Sir William Clark telephones to state that he has been advised that the name of Mr. Marler had been approved by Counsellors of State acting for His Majesty, and that a telegram had been sent to the British Ambassador at Tokyo asking him to communicate with the Japanese Government along the lines which Sir William had discussed with the Prime Minister that day.

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Schedule of Arrangements

for

H.E. The Hon. Herbert Marler's

visit to

The Kwansai District

&

November 25th, 26th, and 27th

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SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1929.

H.E. The Hon. Herbert Marler and Mrs. Marler will leave TOKYO by the DAY EXPRESS TRAIN at 10.00 A.M. scheduled to arrive at SANNOMIYA STATION (KOBE) at 9. 30 P.M.

Mr. James A. Langley from the Canadian Legation, Tokyo, will be in attendance at the Sannomiya Station to meet the guests, and will take care of any necessary introductions.

The party will proceed to THE TOR HOTEL by MOTOR CAR, where accommodation has been arranged.

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25TH, 1929.

9.00 A.M.	Breakfast at the Tor Hotel.
10.00 A.M.	H.E. Herbert Marler leaves to pay an Official call on H.E. Governor Takahashi.
	Mrs. Marler will receive callers up to 11.30 A.M.
	H.E. Herbert Marler returns to Tor Hotel at 11.00 A.M.
11.15 A.M. to 11.45 A.M.	H.E. Governor Morio Takahashi returns call. H.W. Mayor Kurose and others will call.
NOON.	Guests invited to Luncheon will be presented by His Britannic Majesty's Consul General to H.E. Herbert Marler and Mrs. Marler. This will take place in the main Dining Room of the Tor Hotel.
12.30 P.M.	Luncheon at Tor Hotel. Hosts. President of the Kobe and Osaka Foreign Chamber of Commerce and Mrs. Ernest W. James. Guests include H.E. The Governor, Officials and their wives. British Consul General and Mrs.Massy Royds, Consular Officials and their wives, and some 70 Prominent Ladies and Gentlemen of the BRITISH COMMUNITY OF KOBE.
AFTERNOON.	H.E. Herbert Marler and Mrs. Marler will take a Motor Car drive to AKASHI CASTLE, and on the return stop at the Home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Jonas for TEA, and afterwards inspect a collection of INRO and NETSUKE. Return to TOR HOTEL about 6.30 P.M.
7.30 P.M.	Canadian Residents Dinner. (Kobe Chamber of Commerce Building).

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1929.

8.30 A.M.	Breakfast at the Tor Hotel.
9.15 A.M.	H.E. Herbert Marler will leave for Osaka by MOTOR CAR.
	Drives direct to British Consulate Osaka. In company with British Consul makes Official calls on The Governor of Osaka and other Officials.
	Returning to British Consulate about 11.30.
10.45 A.M.	Mrs. Marler leaves for Osaka by Motor Car arriving at British Consulate at/about 11.45.
NOON.	H.E. Herbert Marler and Mrs. Marler leave British Consulate for The Osaka Hotel.
12.30 P.M.	Luncheon at Osaka Hotel. Hosts. The Pan Pacific Club.
2.30 P.M.	Mrs. Marler leaves Osaka for Kobe by Motor Car arriving at The TOR HOTEL at/about 3.30 P.M.
	Mrs. Marler will attend the Kobe Women's Club TUESDAY MEETING and will speak.
	Mrs. Marler will dine informally at the Home of Mrs. Ernest W. James, Kobe.
	H.E. Herbert Marler will spend the afternoon visiting the Osaka Castle, Osaka Mainichi and Asahi Buildings.
6.30 P.M.	Dinner at the Osaka Club. Host. The President of the Kobe and Osaka Foreign Chamber of Commerce. Guests will include Governor, Mayor, and other Officials, together with some 150 Prominent Japanese and Foreign business men of Osaka.
10.00 P.M.	Returns by Motor Car to Kobe.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27th, 1929.

8.00 A.M.	Breakfast at Tor Hotel.
9.00 A.M.	Dr. Bates to call for H.E.Herbert Marler and Mrs. Marler. Motor Car drive to Kwansai Gakuin.
10.00 A.M.	His Excellency to address students at Kwansai Gakuin.
NOON.	Luncheon (informally). Hosts. Dr. and Mrs. Bates.
AFTERNOON.	Opening of The Canadian Academy Athletic Field. H.E. Herbert Marler to give an Opening Address.
5.30 P.M.	Return to Tor Hotel.
8.00 P.M.	Dinner at Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank. Hosts. Mr. and Mrs. D.M. Ross.

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 28th, 1929.

7.30 A.M.	Breakfast at the TOR HOTEL.
8.42 A.M.	Leave Sannomiya Station, Kobe, by train for K Y O T O.
10.00 A.M.	Arrive at Kyoto Station. Proceed immediately to MIYAKO HOTEL, where accommodation has been arranged.
11.00 A.M.	H.E. Herbert Marler will call on Governor of Kyoto, returning to Miyako Hotel about noon.
11.30 A.M.	Governor returns call.
12.30 A.M.	Luncheon. Host. President of Kobe and Osaka Foreign Chamber of Commerce. Guests include Governor, Mayor, President of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and their wives.
2.30 P.M.	Drive to Momoyama, Meiji Tenno and Shoken Kogo - and thence to Uji, Byo-do-in and on the way back Sanju Sangendo.
4.30 P.M.	Kyomizu and Chiyo-in.
5.30 P.M.	Return to Miyako Hotel.
7.30 P.M.	Dinner.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29TH, 1929.

Morning Schedule if Weather Permitting.

8.30 A.M. Breakfast at Miyako Hotel.

9.00 A.M. Drive to Kameoka.

10.00 A.M. Start down the RAPIDS to Arashiyama, where the motor car will meet the party at/about noon.
Return via Kinka-kuji Gardens.

1.00 P.M. Return to Miyako Hotel for Luncheon.

If Wet.

9.00 A.M. Drive to Otsu - Hiyoshi Jinsha - Ishiyama - dera - Miidera and back to the Hotel.

AFTERNOON.

2.30 P.M. Motor to Takao-maples.

3.30 P.M. Kurama and on the return journey stop at the Shimo-kama Shrine, thence to Heian jingu Shrine.

5.30 P.M. Return to Hotel.

Dinner. Open.

Leave NEXT MORNING by Day Express for Tokyo.

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The letter from Japan is quite evidently from Mrs Marler — I think you would be interested

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At Home and Abroad

INDIA.

A short note from Miss Annie Edgar which accompanied the article she speaks of printed on another page. She wrote from Palampur, Punjab, in August.

I am enclosing a copy of a report on osteo-malachia which I have written for the Red Cross. The Punjab Red Cross has sent me a donation of rupees, two hundred to be used in treating osteo-malachia casees, and has asked me to write a report for them. I thought you might be interested in having it.

This is our rainy season and we are having very heavy rains this year. In one twenty-four hours we had 8¾ inches of rain, and for sixteen days we did not see the sun. It is rather lucky that we are in our new house, because part of the wall of the servants' quarters of the old house has fallen down. It looks as though part of the kitchen might come down too. We have had about seventy inches of rain since the first of July, and the rain will probably continue for another month.

Miss Balderson is away on holiday. Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson are in the hills studying for language exams. Miss Nattress is at language school, and Miss De Blois is away on sick leave. I am saving my holidays for the winter and will then visit warmer climes.

In the past three days I have had about one hundred and forty patients. Surely they should have a doctor to attend to their needs. A very ill child was brought to me last evening. I did not know what was wrong with it. It died early this morning.

JAPAN.

This gives us an account of Japanese affairs different from those that usually appear in these pages.

We began on Tuesday at 9.30 a.m. by attending a function that Prince Chichibu was at. Herbert had a lunch and I entertained some of the passengers from the "France."

There was a reception given by the American Charge d'Affairs and a marvellous dinner at the Turkish Ambassador's of 85. The table was beautifully decorated with red, yellow and white flowers, the national colours. I sat between the Danish and German Ambassadors. The former is the most delightful man. Educated at Oxford, and so good looking. The German is most firmly convinced that there is nothing in Canada but farms and I could not make him think otherwise. He asked if we lived and worked a large or small farm, and if small ones were allowed. He still believes that I must have spent my life behind a plow in spite of my best frock.

On Wednesday we went to a garden party given by Baroness Nitseic. The compound takes up the whole of the top of a hill and is at least 40 acres. One gets the most beautiful far view. The house is the most enormous and perfect Japanese, with beautiful woodwork. Some exquisite pictures. The gardens were a dream. No flowers of course, but all so beautifully kept. The party was from two to five. We spent the evening at a reception at the French Embassy given for the officers of the warships.

On Thursday Prince and Princess Chicibu gave a garden party in one of the Imperial gardens. It was like an enormous English park with large trees and a golf course. We realized how much we miss the feeling of space which is quite absent here. In the evening we went to a reception given on a grand scale by Baron Dao. In one room was conjuring, in another an exhibition of Geisha dancing, and another was a beautiful ballroom. I went up and spoke to a forlorn looking foreigner, who turned out to be an American visitor and a friend of Lady and Mabel Hickson's.

On Friday I had promised to receive, so Herbert took Aunt Lucie to a party given in the most beautiful garden in Tokyo. The exhibition of 'mums was evidently marvellous, and they brought home the present of a fan each. Herbert's is a gold ground with cherry blossoms painted on it. Rather lovely. I had at least a hundred callers, and they all had tea from fifteen tea cups. The "boys" are amazing managers and always rise to

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the occasion. Plenty of food seemed to appear from nowhere. Then we had eighteen for dinner, and we went on to a reception given at the British Embassy for the Prince and Princess.

I had the chance of quite a long talk with the latter. She is very young, very pretty, and was beautifully dressed in silver lace. We dined with her father, the Ambassador, in London, which was an easy opening for conversation. Yesterday I went out to visit a garden home kept by two English ladies for consumptive girls. It is run in a most up-to-date way, and is the only one in Japan. It is so well known that it is always full, 70, and many go home cured each year. It's a wonderful work.

This morning we went to Church, while Herbert at eleven-thirty went in his Windsor uniform to lunch with the Emperor. There were eleven hundred there, but only the 25 Ambassadors, Ministers and Charge d'Affair met the Emperor. He received them and shook hands, then went on to the banqueting hall where all the other guests were already seated. The Emperor was on a dais alone, the diplomatic corps below him. They were seated at low black lacquer tables on low chairs. Before each guest were placed two lacquer tables on which was all the food. A marvellous looking fish, and quantities of other weird dishes. Also an ornament, a small wooden stand on fancy legs with a wee pine tree, three 'mums, a white saki cup with the Emperor's crest, two stocks and cherry blossoms in gold. The Emperor drank his saki, the guests followed suit and put the cup in their pockets as per instructions. Then a speech was read for the Emperor, the British Ambassador replied, and the guests went home to a hearty lunch. The chauffeurs returned to the palace with the master's card and bringing home the uneaten food daintily arranged on a special platter done up in white linen. All most interesting and extraordinary to us. At the Garden Parties all, even the highest Japanese, take special squares of cotton and bring home all uneaten food. I think I will do likewise to their delicious cakes.

We have another hectic week ahead, including a reception given by the Women's Guild of the Church, two dinners and a tea. Other parties are outside. Most of the things this week are for visiting foreigners, and I am also going to see the Canadian Mission School. There are not many dull moments.

Between whiles I am getting cupboards made, hoping for the arrival of our belongings, making curtains, and generally trying to make the house look respectable. We don't like to see Canada represented in such a poor way, but it is the very best we can do.

JAPAN.

Our first letter from Miss Mabel M. Colton since she went to Japan will be found extremely interesting. She writes to her "dear W.A. friends":

It seems a long time since last January, when the "President Cleveland," which carried me from Victoria, glided into Yokohama harbour and we gathered to the port side to catch our first glimpse of peerless Fuji. The day was clear and sparkling and Japan's great mountain towered over all, white, spotlessly pure in the sunshine, truly an inspiration to Japanese and foreigner alike. Our ship, covered from bow to stern with congealed snow, must have looked like a great white ghost creeping in to that lovely harbour.

I have wanted so much to write and say "Thank you" that I am able to be here—to become familiar with this lovely land and its people and incidentally try to absorb their difficult language. Our Mr. Kennedy writes, "Be like a sponge and just absorb—and then when the occasion arises—a good squeeze and lo—". I absorb during the day, but so often in the night the sponge gets dried up and however hard I squeeze, the right word cannot be induced to drop forth. However, I'm always encouraged to remember that I am backed by the prayers of the W.A., and that alone should be an inspiration, and although my own powers are feeble, it does seem that in God's good time all those prayers must be answered and He will give the understanding needed.

From January to June I lived with a C.M.S. Missionary in Tokio, on a little island known as the model slums, and where our Miss Butcher is now living. From there I crossed by ferry to the

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mainland, thence by bus to the city, and electric car to the Language School, which I attended five days a week. Tokyo has a charm all its own—this great rushing city with its over two million inhabitants, its trains, electric cars and taxis, its ceaseless hubbub, its colossal office buildings and department stores, its big Schools and Universities—where at last men and women are stating in no uncertain terms what they want and how they want it, where old customs are fading into oblivion, where a new and better knowledge—through opening their heart to the world, through receiving from and giving to, other countries—is gradually taking hold. The poverty and greater miseries than poverty pull at our heart-strings, and though one has a burning desire to help, must stand by helplessly. The language—or rather lack of it—is a terrible handicap.

I shan't attempt to describe the cold—but never in my life have I met such intense cold—and I've lived in Toronto.

If you can apply, "There was a young man of Quebec, who fell in the snow to his neck, when they said, 'Ain't you frize?' he said, 'Yes, I is—but we don't call this cold in Quebec!" to Tokyo, it gives one a fair idea of the cold there. But such days of bright clear sunshine, when our big windows facing the sea of Tokyo, were thrown open to catch every bit of warmth. Quickly I became a sun-worshipper. Then the nyubai—or wet season came, steamy days of incessant rain, and no mud on earth can compare with Tokyo mud—the capital once a swamp, therefore all reclaimed land, and not natural soil, has not the absorbing properties, and within an hour of heavy rain, Tokyo becomes a sea of mud. The Japanese wear high geta, which lifts them above the slush, a most sensible wet weather shoe, really like walking on small stilts. Though many thousands of business men wear foreign clothes, nearly all the women still wear national costume, their thick black lustrous hair uncovered, the kimono and obi, covered by the haori coat, spotless white tabe, which covers the foot and fits snugly round the ankle, and geta—a fascinating dress and very beautiful, but after a friend's "amah" had taken three-quarters of an hour to fit one into one, I decided I preferred my own loose clothing, and to breathe and eat in comfort. Then spring came, and each month brings its own flowers in Japan. Most of all I longed to see some greenery. The beautiful cherry blossoms came before any green buds could be seen. The Language School Students enjoyed a picnic to Arakawa to see the many coloured cherry blossoms, the trees stretching for ten miles along the Sumida river. With May, at last the trees budded in a perfect green; it was the most welcome sight. In this month the boys' festival is celebrated by flying large paper carp, on long bamboo poles, in front of each house where there are boys. The carp is very strong and is known to swim against the stream, so this fish has become a symbol in teaching boys courage and perseverance.

Wisteria, azaleas and peonies bloomed in May in great profusion, and June brought the irises. One of my teachers took me to some beautiful gardens at Horikiri, just filled with irises, interspersed with little streams, tiny bridges and stone lanterns, and here and there shady tea verandahs, where little maids served tea and biscuits. There's a kind of friendly hospitality about Japan wherever one goes, especially in regards to tea.

In July the temperature rose to 110 degrees in the shade, and I left the heat of the city for the cool mountain air of Karnizawa. It took us five hours in the hot train to cover one hundred miles, but the journey was well worth the result. I felt like a restored being in the crisp air. I could write reams of the beauty of the Japanese countryside. I had begun to think the beauty of Japan was a myth, living in Tokyo. Now I saw it in all its glory—the pine covered hills, the ripening rice on every side, tiny winding paths leading past thatched farmhouses, and over all, a great smoking volcanic mountain. In this beautiful summer resort on the 24th July an interesting ceremony took place in the home of Bishop and Mrs. Hamilton—the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on Bishop Matsui, successor of the late Bishop Motoda, Bishop of Tokyo. Dr. and Mrs. O'Meara of Toronto and their daughter and her

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husband (Dean and Mrs. Trivett of Shanghai) were spending some time in Japan, the former on their return to Canada after their world tour. Dr. O'Meara had recovered sufficiently from his severe illness to confer the degree, which had travelled with him nearly round the world. Bishop Matsui is a graduate of Wycliffe College, and as Bishop McKim of North Tokyo in his congratulatory address said: "Well read in the Scriptures, of a patient and humble disposition, a real leader of men and loved by all." It was a very happy occasion. Six for eign Bishops were present and after the informal convocation, Mrs. Hamilton gave us a delightful tea on her shady lawn, one of those nice "get-togethers" that leaves everyone a little richer in happiness than before.

Later in the holidays I joined Miss Cox's house party in Takayama, another beauty spot on the north-east coast. Miss Marie Foerstel was also one of the party. One day, when all was quiet and the fifty or more foreigners were taking their siesta, there was a sudden yell from a small American that had sat patiently on a rock for several hours, "Hot Dog! the Graf Zeppelin." There was a general exodus to the point, regardless of attire; then from behind the far pines glided a great silver torpedo. Excitement ran to fever-pitch in Tokio—not even the smallest office boy could be induced to work—for everyone, regardless of the heat, crowded the roofs. This was an event that could only happen once in the world's history.

Three weeks later I returned to the mountains for our Canadian Conference; this was really the most interesting event of the holidays. All our Missionaries were present, except those on furlough. The Conference was held at the summer home of our Rev. J. W. Spencer, on Lake Nojiri, continuing for three days. The first and third morning Holy Communion was celebrated at 7 a.m.; later, an address, business session, consisting of yearly reports of the different stations, etc., intercessions, lunch, afternoon session and tea. As the typhoon rains were on, no one minded a little being indoors all day, and we all benefited so much by the prayer time, the friendly gatherings and the discussion of the different work, problems, etc. After the holidays I came to Matsumoto, a beautiful spot situated at the foot of the Japanese Alps. The Bishop thought this a quiet and conducive place to study, and the air is wonderful after Tokio. This is a city of over 70,000 people, and the place where our Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy worked for many years, and doubly dear to me for all the associations they have given.

I am very happily situated in Sei Maruja Kwan, half of which is a kindergarten, with the teachers' rooms above. Our portion is a large foreign house with Miss Florence Hamilton, Miss Moss and Miss Clench, the latter very kindly helping me in my language study; also I have a Japanese teacher two hours each day—it is all interesting, but such a slow, slow process. I feel so sorry for my teachers—as well as myself. The last roses have gone from the garden; our big, beautiful willow and all the trees have been cut for the winter, and the cold is here. To-day at my teacher's home I was invited into the "rotaku," which is a small fire sunk into the floor in the centre of the room; a table about 12 inches high is placed over the fire, and over the table a padded covering. Cushions are placed on the floor, and sitting on one of these and pulling the quilt over the knees, one soon becomes very warm, and here we studied in perfect comfort.

Sometimes I go with Miss Moss to a class at the G.P. Office; it is interesting to see about 40 girls sitting Japanese fashion on the floor, all joining lustily in the English chorus singing and later listening to the story Miss Moss has to tell them, and finishing with two or three hymns. One day I tramped with a Japanese teacher over a mountain to a little country village for a children's meeting. Little ones of 5 and 6 years, as well as the older children, came with tiny babies tied to their backs, and listened so eagerly to the story and answered questions on the story of the week before; they learnt a Christmas hymn, and when asked to choose one to finish with, they called for "The fight is o'er, the battle won." I smiled at their choice, but as we all sang together, I

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thought of the English words, and longed that they might come true for these dear Japanese babies. Then, in spite of the fire in the centre of the room, or their bundles of babies, we played a jolly game and laughed so much nobody wanted to go home. As the class was held in a back room of the village post-office, the little Postmistress invited us into the office, and sitting behind the grill, she served us tea and cakes, figs and stewed fruits, eaten off a toothpick, chestnuts in sauce and fresh fruits, and all the time she talked and laughed with us and replenished our tiny cups with refreshing Japanese tea. The children all waited outside, regardless of their heavy burdens, to say more good-byes, and at last, with many bows and smiles, we said a last "sayonara" and departed. You just can't help loving all the Japanese people, they are so hospitable and friendly.

Miss Moss returned from a meeting one week, saying: "I feel like John the Baptist" There was a chorus of "Why?" "Well, I've been fed on tea and locusts—nice crisp locusts, but I was so thankful it's not correct to eat the back hairy legs!" In spite of such delicacies, we are all in the best of health.

Miss Trent and Mrs. Hirose left us this morning, after two such happy days for all of us. We were able to have first hand news of many friends in Canada. At one of the women's meetings held in the prayer-room here, they both told of their experiences while on furlough, the women listening with joy about Canada; then afterwards we had tea and pickles, and Japanese pickles have a flavour all their own—there are many varieties, and are nearly always served with tea in this part of the country.

Some time has elapsed since I started this "epistle to the Canadians," and the Alps are now covered with snow and look perfectly glorious. Each day as I lift up my eyes to the hills and mountains beyond, I think of the paraphase of 121st Psalm that was sung so beautifully for me by our W.A. when I left Vancouver. God the Lord has indeed made His world very beautiful.

This month I have been on a visit to the capital for a few days, and had the joy of meeting Hide Motoda San again. We met quite early and went to Yokohama to do our winter shopping, and in spite of heavy rain, we had a delightful day. Sitting side by side in the little train going down to Yokohama from Tokyo, I heard all about dear W.A. friends, especially those in Toronto, and the world seemed very small and Canada very close just then, and I longed that many of the dear girls in Japan might come to our Canada and return as ambassadors for Him.

The Japanese are great lovers of flowers and plants, and they have a very old custom of cutting the roots of a tree and wiring the branches, so that they can grow so far and no farther. One can often see what would originally have been a mighty gnarled pine, so trained that it is only a few inches high, an extremely artistic decoration and an art in itself. Last spring I bought a tiny azalea grown in this manner in a shallow dish, its roots cramped, its branches wired and trained to go in the three directions, representing Heaven, Earth and Man—symbolical to me of the Japanese people—its own individuality unexpressed, allowed to grow only in the direction in which it is guided. A friend in Tokyo cared for my plant after I left, but she asked me to bring it back with me this time. I did so; it was shrivelled up and dying, then I remembered the gardener told me the wire must be removed in the autumn, the bonds that were crushing out life. I removed the wire from the three tiny branches, oh, so carefully, and wished I could take away just as easily those things that are binding the dear Japanese people. When I came to the strong wire that was holding the main stem, I stopped, and thought, "No, the Japanese gardener shall free this himself; he shall care for it for a time and gradually see this little tree stretch its limbs upwards to the sun and to a new life.

Oh, pray with me that the vision of Christ may come to this lovely land, the vision of a Saviour that will liberate them from all their bonds, that they too may stretch arms upwards to the Eternal Light—that they may all be given into the Hands of the great good Gardener, growing freely and beautifully as He planned.

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AMY CAROLINE GAVILLER, REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

There entered into the nearer Presence of her Heavenly Father on December 16th, 1929, at her home in Hamilton, Ontario, Amy Caroline Gaviller, well known and beloved by many members of the Woman's Auxiliary throughout the Dominion, and deeply regretted by all.

Miss Gaviller was a member of an earnest Christian family, and from her earliest days was surrounded by an atmosphere of keen interest in, and devoted zeal for, the work of the Church, both at home and in the Mission field. This influence was manifested by her spirit of deep devotion, and by her readiness to assist at all times in her Parish of Christ's Church Cathedral, and in the work of the Woman's Auxiliary.

For thirty-two years she served as an officer of the Niagara Diocesan Board; first, as Secretary of Literature; then Recording Secretary; Convener of the Literature Committee, and Vice President. For over twenty years she was Secretary of the Juniors and Babies' Branch of the Dominion Board of the W.A. During her term of office, the amalgamation of the Babies' Branch of the W.A. with the Little Helpers of the Font Roll took place, the Babies' Branch afterwards being known as The Little Helpers. The work of the Juniors and Little Helpers had a special appeal for Miss Gaviller on account of her great love for all children, and under her direction, there was an increase both in the membership and in the Missionary givings of the children of the W.A. She was a Life Member of the Niagara Diocesan Board, and also of the Dominion Board of the W.A.

Among her many talents, she possessed the gift of being able to express her thoughts with her pen and wrote a number of pamphlets for the Woman's Auxiliary. Probably one of the best known of these is the little poem on The United Thank Offering "Of Thine Own Have we Given Thee," which has had a wide circulation among members of the W.A. and many others.

She was a woman of wonderful personality, with high ideals and varied talents, but with it all, very humble minded, and it is difficult to give an adequate expression of appreciation of her life and example. The following tribute sums up in a wonderful way some of her characteristics: "She was just one of the loveliest personalities I ever knew,—so strong,—so human,—so tender-hearted, so witty," to which can be added "so brave."

Her many friends mourn her passing. They miss the kindly welcome and the gracious hospitality of the Gaviller home, but they render thanks to Almighty God for the privilege of her friendship, for her unfailing kindness and sympathy, especially to those less fortunate than herself, and for her years of loving and devoted service on behalf of the extension of Christ's Kingdom on earth.

"Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty;"
They shall behold the land that is very far off."

REV. CANON O'MEARA.

The whole Church in Canada will feel the loss of one of its outstanding members now that the Rev. Canon O'Meara has been called to Higher Service. His great work in connection with Wycliffe College is too well known to need any special mention, but over and beyond that, his devoted service to the cause of Missions has been a wonderful help and inspiration to those who have been also working in the same great cause, as well as an incentive to many who, alas, are still among the "not interested." Who will take up the torch from fallen hands and carry on?

The loving sympathy of our members goes out to Mrs. O'Meara and her daughters in their sorrow.

INDIA'S CRY.

What is this cry, this feeble wailing cry?
Wringing the mother hearts of all the earth?
It is the cry of tender, brown-skinned babes
Who brought no loving welcome by their birth.
The little girls, unwanted as a clod,
Thrown as a sacrifice to Ganges' God.

What is this cry, this startled frightened cry?
Of terror and of pain, from little brides?
Who ere their childhood days are well begun
Must leave their homes, to take their marriage rides.
Just little girls of ten or twelve. We shrink
To think the cup of horror they must drink.

List to this cry. The weeping widow's cry.
Some widowed yet a maid. Sad is their fate.
Time was when they were burned upon the pyre
Of him who was, or was to be their mate.
Poor little ones, that almost kinder were,
Than lifelong slavery that they must bear.

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CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

THE

VISIT OF GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,

and

LADY CURRIE

to

TOKYO

April 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th

1931.

SCHEDULE OF ARRANGEMENTS

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Saturday, 4th April 1931.

9.39 p.m. General Sir Arthur Currie, Lady Currie and Captain Sprange will arrive at Kyoto Station. They will be met by Mr. James A. Langley, First Secretary of the Canadian Legation in Japan (in charge of commercial matters), who will conduct them to the Miyako Hotel.

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Sunday, 5th April 1931.

Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will have the day free in Kyoto.

Mr. Langley will be subject to their directions and will suggest points of interest, including the following:-

Imperial Palace,
Nijo Detached Palace.
Kinkakuji Temple (Gold Pavilion).
Kiyomidzu Temple.
Maruyama Park.
Chion-in Monastery.
Yamanaka Art Gallery.
Shugakoon Garden.

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Monday, 6th April 1931.

8.21 a.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will leave Kyoto for Tokyo, accompanied by Captain Sprange and Mr. Langley.

4.55 p.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will arrive at Tokyo Central Station. They will be met there by the following:-

An Official of the Foreign Office, as representing H.E. Baron Shidehara, H.I.J.M. Foreign Minister.

H.E. Baron de Bassompierre, Belgian Ambassador and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.

H.E. Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, Ambassador of the United States to Tokyo.

T.E. The Canadian Minister and Mrs. Marler.

Mr. T.M. Snow, the British Charge d'Affaires.

Captain M.G.B. Legge, British Naval Attache.

Lieut.-Col. M.J. Simson, British Military Attache.

Dr. H.Ll. Keenleyside, First Secretary of the Canadian Legation, and Mrs. Keenleyside.

Mrs. James A. Langley.

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Mr. K.P. Kirkwood, Second Secretary of the Canadian Legation.

An Officer representing the Chief of General Staff.

Baron Y. Sakatani, President, and Mr. S. Shimidzu, Secretary of the Japan-Canada Society.

Mr. G.S. Patterson, President of the Canadian Association in Japan, and Mrs. Patterson.

Dress for Sir Arthur and Lady Currie - informal travelling.

5.15 p.m. Sir Arthur, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will proceed to the Canadian Legation.

Lady Currie, accompanied by Mrs. Marler, will proceed to the Canadian Legation.

Captain Sprange, accompanied by Mr. Kirkwood, will proceed to the Canadian Legation.

5.30 p.m. Arrival at the Canadian Legation.

7.40 p.m. Sir Arthur, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will leave the Canadian Legation for the Belgian Embassy.

Lady Currie, accompanied by Mrs. Marler and Captain Sprange, will leave the Canadian Legation for the Belgian Embassy.

Dress - Formal evening. Decorations.

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8.00 p.m. Dinner given in honour of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie by the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, the Belgian Ambassador; and Baroness de Bassompierre.

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Tuesday, 7th April 1931.

9.10 a.m. Sir Arthur Currie, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will leave the Canadian Legation to call on H.E. Baron Shidehara, H.I.J.M. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dress - formal morning.

9.30 a.m. Arrive at the Foreign Office and call on H.E. Baron Shidehara.

10.00 a.m. Sir Arthur Currie, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will call on Mr. T.M. Snow, the British Chargé d'Affaires.

10.30 a.m. Sir Arthur Currie, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will visit the Chancellery of the Canadian Legation.

11.15 a.m. (Approx.) Return to Canadian Legation.

1.00 p.m. Lunch at the Canadian Legation in honour of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie. The list of guests appears on the following sheet.

Dress - informal.

2.40 p.m. Sir Arthur Currie will leave the Canadian Legation, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, for a visit to the Imperial University.

Dress - formal morning.

Mr. Kirkwood with Captain Sprange will precede Sir Arthur Currie and the Canadian Minister.

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3.00 p.m. Arrive at Imperial University. Sir Arthur will be met at Main Hall by the President of the University, Dr. Kiheiji Onozuka and the Secretary, Mr. Eguchi. They will be shown the Library, the Lecture Halls, the "Earthquake Laboratory", and other matters of interest.

The visit to the University will be followed by tea served at the University Club.

4.30 p.m. Mrs. Marler will entertain at tea for Lady Currie.

5.00 p.m. (approx) Sir Arthur Currie will return to Canadian Legation.

7.10 p.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will leave the Canadian Legation for the residence of Their Excellencies Prince and Princess Tokugawa.

Mr. Kirkwood, accompanied by Captain Sprange, will precede Sir Arthur and Lady Currie to Prince and Princess Tokugawa's residence.

Dress - Formal evening. Decorations.

7.30 p.m. Dinner in honour of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie by Their Excellencies Prince and Princess Tokugawa.

9.30 p.m. (approx.) Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will leave the residence of Their Excellencies Prince and Princess Tokugawa and return to the Canadian Legation. They will later proceed to the dance to be given by

- Captain Legge -

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Captain Legge, the British Naval Attaché, at the British Embassy.

Mr. Kirkwood and Captain Sprange will follow to the Canadian Legation and subsequently to Captain Legge's dance.

Dress at Captain Legge's dance - Dinner jacket; black tie.

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Luncheon, Tuesday 7th April 1931

Guest List.

T. E. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Baroness Shidehara.	
T. E. Prince and Princess Iyesato Tokugawa.	
Baron Yoshiro Sakatani.	President, Japan-Canada Society.
Dr. Joji Sakurai.	Prof. Emeritus, Imperial University.
Dr. Kiroku Hayashi.	President, Keio University.
The British Chargé d'Affaires and Mrs. Snow.	
Lieut-Col. H. J. Simson and Mrs. Simson.	Military Attaché, British Embassy.
Dr. T. Baty.	British Adviser to Japanese Foreign Office.
Miss Baty.	
Captain A. P. Sprange.	
Mr. J. A. Langley and Mrs. Langley.	First Secretary, Canadian Legation.
Miss Coles.	Secretary to Mrs. Marler.

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Wednesday, 8th April 1931.

9.40 a.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie, accompanied by the Canadian Minister and Mrs. Marler, will leave the Canadian Legation for the Meji Shrine.

Dress - Frock coat. For ladies, afternoon.

Mr. Kirkwood, accompanied by Captain Sprange, will precede to the shrine.

10.00 a.m. The officials of the shrine will meet Sir Arthur and Lady Currie at the outer office and will conduct them and the Canadian Minister and Mrs. Marler to the shrine itself. After the purification ceremony, sacred trees will be placed at the shrine by the visitors. The party will then return to the shrine office for registration.

11.00 a.m. (Approx.) Return to the Canadian Legation.

12.10 p.m. Sir Arthur, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will leave the Canadian Legation for the Tokyo Kaikan. Lady Currie will leave the Legation accompanied by Mrs. Marler, and Captain Sprange by Mr. Kirkwood.

Dress - Informal.

12.30 p.m. Arrival at the Tokyo Kaikan, where Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will be received by Baron Y. Sakatani, the President; and Mr. S. Shimidzu, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Japan-Canada Society.

Luncheon by the Japan-Canada Society in honour of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie.

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Principal guests in accordance with the memorandum on the next page.

Sir Arthur will be expected to make a short address at the luncheon, not exceeding fifteen minutes.

2.30 p.m. Lady Currie will return to the Canadian Legation accompanied by Mr. Kirkwood. The remainder of her afternoon is left free until her wishes can be ascertained.

2.30 p.m. Sir Arthur Currie and Captain Sprange will be met at the Tokyo Kaikan by Lieut-Col. Simson, the British Military Attache, who will conduct them to the War Office. While Lieut-Col. Simson will be in uniform it is quite in order for Sir Arthur Currie and Captain Sprange to wear informal dress.

2.45 p.m. Call on the Minister of War, His Excellency General Ugaki.

3.15 p.m. Call on the Chief of General Staff, General Hanzo Kanaya.

3.30 p.m. Visit, accompanied by military officers, to War College and Headquarters of Third Infantry Regiment.

5.00 p.m. (approx.) Return to Canadian Legation.

5.40 p.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie, accompanied by Captain Sprange, will leave the Canadian Legation for dinner given by the Chief of General Staff, probably at the Industrial Club of Japan. They will be met

- at -

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at the place of the dinner by Lieut-Col. and Mrs. Simson.

6.00 p.m. Dinner given by the Chief of General Staff, General Kanaya, in honour of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie. Guests will include Japanese military officers and their wives.

Dress - Dinner jacket; black tie.

8.00 p.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will leave the dinner of the Chief of General Staff at this hour at the latest, and return to the Canadian Legation.

8.45 p.m. Sir Arthur Currie, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, will leave the Canadian Legation for the gala performance of the Kabuki Theatre in honour of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Siam, on the invitation of H.E. Baron Shidehara, H.I.J.M. Foreign Minister.

Lady Currie, accompanied by Mrs.Marler, will leave the Canadian Legation for the Kabuki Theatre.

Dress - Formal evening dress. Decorations.

9.10 p.m. Arrive at Kabuki Theatre

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Japan-Canada Society Luncheon, Wednesday 8th April 1931

Guest List.

H.E. Prince I.Tokugawa	
Baron Y.Sakatani	President of Japan-Canada Society
Mr. and Mrs. R.Nagai	Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Mr. T.Taketomi	Director of Commercial Affairs Section, Foreign Office.
Mr. H.Matsushima	Director of European and American Affairs, Foreign Office
Mr. T. Shiratori	Director of Bureau of Information, Foreign Office.
Mr. S.Tamura	Member of House of Peers.
Mr. N.Ohtani	Vice-President, Nippon Yusen Kaisha
Mr. N.Ariga	Director, Mitsui Gomei Kaisha
Mr. C.Isono	President, Meidiya and Co.
Mr. K. Kato	Managing Director, Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha.
Mr. K. Nanjo	Managing Director, Mitsui Bussan Kaisha.
Miss Nanjo	
Mr. S. Kurokawa	President, Kokusai Steamship Co.
Mr. T. Ishihara	Director, Chiyoda-gumi.
Mr. Shozo Saito	Proprietor, Saito Shozo Shoten
Mr. M. Takasu	Manager, Kasechu Shoten.

and other prominent Japanese guests.

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Japan-Canada Society Luncheon, Wednesday 8th April 1931.

Guest List (continued).

T. E. The Canadian Minister and Mrs. Marler.	
The British Charge d'Affaires and Mrs. Snow.	
Lieut-Col. H. J. Simson	Military Attache, British Embassy.
Captain M. G. B. Legge	Naval Attache, British Embassy.
Mr. and Mrs. W.B.Cunningham	Commercial Counsellor, British Embassy.
Dr. and Mrs. H. Ll. Keenleyside	First Secretary, Canadian Legation.
Mr. and Mrs. J.A. Langley	First Secretary, Canadian Legation.
Mr. K. P. Kirkwood	Second Secretary, Canadian Legation.
Dr. G. E. Bott	East Tokyo Mission, United Church of Canada.
Mr. D. D. MacGregor	
Miss A. Keenleyside	
Miss Emma Kaufman	National Council Y.W.C.A.
Dr. Caroline Macdonald	
Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Harris	
Mr. and Mrs. G.S. Patterson	National Council Y.M.C.A.
Mrs. P. G. Price	East Tokyo Mission, United Church of Canada.

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Captain and Mrs. M. F. Kennedy	Reuters' Correspondent
Mr. S. Lowrie	Manufacturer' Life Insurance Company of Canada.
Mr. W. R. Buckberrough	Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Tokyo.
Colonel and Mrs. Gerald Berks	International Y.M.C.A.
Mr. and Mrs. M. Fitzgerald	Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Yokohama.
Rev. and Mrs. D. R. McKenzie	Japan Mission of the United Church of Canada.
Mr. K. G. McNab	
Mr. E. Griffiths	Sun Life Insurance Company of Canada.
Mr. W. D. Cameron	Sun Life Insurance Company of Canada.

and other guests.

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Thursday, 9th April 1931.

The morning is left free for Lady Currie.

9.50 a.m. Sir Arthur will leave the Canadian Legation, accompanied by the Canadian Minister, for the Imperial Palace.

Dress - Frock coat.

A memorandum as to procedure at the audience follows on the succeeding pages.

10.15 a.m. Arrival at the Imperial Palace.

10.30 a.m. Audience with His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

11.00 a.m. Return to Canadian Legation.

12.00 p.m. Luncheon at Canadian Legation in honour of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie. The guests are in accordance with the memorandum on the next page.

Dress - informal.

1.30 p.m. Sir Arthur and Lady Currie will leave the Canadian Legation by motor-car for Yokohama.

Captain Sprange and Mr. Kirkwood will precede them in another car.

2.30 p.m. Arrival at C.P.R. docks, Yokohama.

3.00 p.m. The "Empress of Japan" sails for Canada.

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Luncheon, Thursday 9th April 1931

Guest List.

H. E. The Minister of Finance, Mr. Junnosuke Inouye	
T. E. The Governor of Tokyo and Mrs. Ushizuka	
Viscount T. Inoue	Member of House of Peers
Baron Takuma Dan and Baroness Dan	Managing Director, Mitsui Trust Company.
Mr. and Mrs. Yoshitake Mori	Formerly Counsellor, Japanese Embassy in London.
Dr. Inazo Nitobe and Mrs. Nitobe	Member of House of Peers.
Dr. R. Masujima and Mrs. Masujima	Member of Macaulay Scholarship Committee.
Captain A. P. Sprange	
Mr. K. P. Kirkwood	Second Secretary, Canadian Legation.
Miss Coles	Secretary to Mrs. Marler.

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C 45619

CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

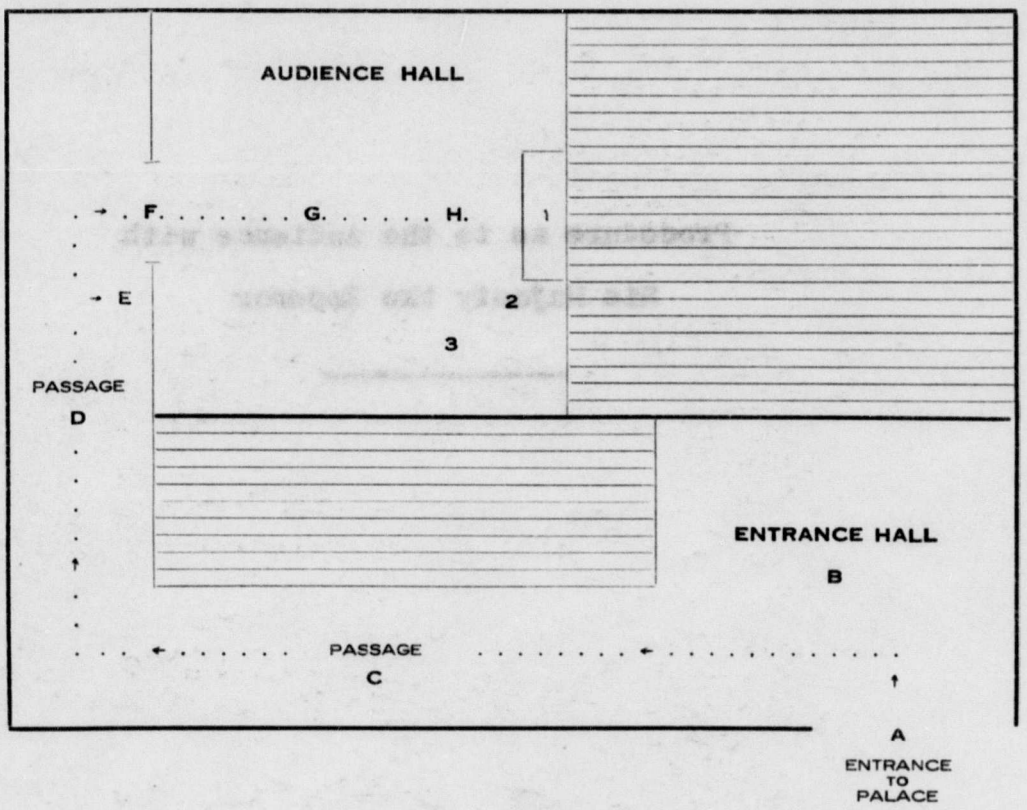
Procedure as to the Audience with

His Majesty the Emperor

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Plan Illustrating Procedure as to the Audience with His Imperial Majesty the Emperor



1. His Imperial Majesty The Emperor
2. Interpreter
3. The Canadian Minister

(EXPLANATION OF ABOVE DIAGRAM ON FOLLOWING PAGE)

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CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

Procedure as to the Audience with

His Majesty the Emperor

A. Entrance to the Palace.

B. Entrance Hall where coats and hats will be left.

C. & D. Halls leading to Audience Chamber, the Phoenix Hall. Arrows indicate route.

E. At this point Sir Arthur Currie will await the summons of the Emperor. Meanwhile the Canadian Minister will advance alone and petition His Majesty to receive Sir Arthur.

F. On the Minister's petition being granted, Sir Arthur will be so advised by a Chamberlain, and will then advance to the point F. (the centre of the door to the Audience Hall) where he will bow to His Majesty.

G. After a slight pause he will advance to the point G. (half way to the Throne) where he will bow again to His Majesty.

H. After another slight pause, Sir Arthur will advance to the point H. (being within handshaking distance of His Majesty) where he will again bow to His Majesty.

The Emperor will engage Sir Arthur in conversation (through an interpreter), and will then Himself indicate the termination of the Audience.

Sir Arthur will then reverse the above procedure, retiring to the door, bowing at the three points H., G. and F. He will await the Canadian Minister at the point K.

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C 45621

1. Legation at Washington.

The building is not merely a residence; it is a Legation building, of which the greater part is utilized for office and public rooms, and the remainder as a residence. This is the practice adopted in the case of the British Embassy in Washington, and British embassies and legations in practically all other capitals; four out of five of the legations in Washington find it more convenient to have office or chancellory and residence in the same building.

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2. Washington maintenance vote.

The vote last year was not $60,000.

The vote for 1927-28 was $130,000 but the Prime Minister stated that if a building were purchased instead of rented, the expenditure would be kept within $100,000. This was done, and the vote for 1928-29 was cut to $100,000. The same amount is asked for 1929-30.

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C 45623

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT WASHINGTON

PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The question of the publication of the correspondence may be raised again this year. Attached hereto is a memorandum of May 11th, 1920, indicating the ground upon which the correspondence was withheld last year.

2. There was a long confidential correspondence and negotiation between three Governments - the Canadian, British and American Governments - and it led up to an agreement which was embodied in the agreed statement made simultaneously in the Canadian and British Parliaments of May 10th, 1920. A copy of that agreed statement is also attached hereto.

3. The customary practice in international affairs therefore was fully observed last year. It is not the usual practice to publish the confidential negotiation leading up to an agreement or treaty between nations. Even President Wilson's famous dictum about "open covenants," did not, according to his own interpretation, require the details of the negotiations of the "covenants" to be published. What was essential, and what everybody to-day agrees upon as a sound rule in international practice, was that the agreements themselves should be published in order that there might be no secrecy whatever as to the engagements or obligations to which a country might be committed. In this case the agreement was published at the earliest possible moment, and it discloses the only engagements in this matter to which the Canadian Government is committed.

4. The governing reason for withholding the correspondence last year was that it included confidential discussions with a foreign government, that is, the Government of the United States. That reason still holds. It might be possible to publish the

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correspondence simply between the Canadian and British Governments, leaving out all communications with the American Government and all allusions thereto. The result would be somewhat fragmentary; but there would seem to be no insuperable objections on grounds of the interest of the State.

(SGD.) L. C. C.

OTTAWA, APRIL 21, 1921.

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E-9001
C 45625

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT WASHINGTON

PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE

After going through the correspondence on this subject again I submit that, for the present at all events, it is not in the public interest to publish any of it.

The original telegram of October 3rd, 1919, to London, and the reply of October 28 from H. M. Government might perhaps be published (though from the latter there would have to be excised the part about finding new Embassy Buildings); but thereafter the correspondence enters upon the question of the new Minister's precedence and other points which were discussed freely but informally and confidentially with the United States' Government. In view of the nervous attitude shown by the State Department I do not see how we could possibly publish any of the papers touching on these points. It was only too evident that they did not want any of these points raised publicly, especially in a presidential campaign year. They must be taken to know their own country and the risks that would be involved. It must also be remembered that we are asking them to receive a Minister from us; no nation is entitled of right under international practice to have a permanent diplomatic agent received by another. Accordingly, it is important that we should be scrupulously careful to respect all their sensibilities in the matter, and most particularly those which concern the act itself of sending our agent.

To publish a part of the first two telegrams without the rest would be incongruous; the confidential matter is inseparable; the result would be fragmentary and rather meaningless. Accordingly it is submitted that all should be withheld. The public announcement

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contains the arrangement as reached in the negotiations; even President Wilson's famous point about "open covenants" did not, according to his own interpretation, require the details of the negotiations of the "covenants" to be published.

(SGD.) L. C. CHRISTIE

OTTAWA, MAY 11, 1920.

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C 45627

WASHINGTON

Amount voted -

1926-27	-	$ 60,000.	
1927-28	-	130,000.	Legation established
1928-29	-	100,000.	
1929-30	-	100,000.	

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Extract from Debates, House of Commons, Dominion of Canada, Session 1920, Volume III, Pages 2177-8

CANADIAN MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AT WASHINGTON

Announcement That His Majesty Will Accredit a Canadian Plenipotentiary to the United States

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a statement which, from the importance of its character, I shall read, with the permission of the House. It has reference to negotiations which have for some time been going on between the British and the Canadian Governments in respect of Canadian representation at Washington. The negotiations have been concluded, and to-day a statement will have been made in the House of Commons in London, and I desire that the House of Commons here shall have cognizance of the matter at the same time.

As a result of recent discussions an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian Governments to provide more complete representation at Washington of Canadian interests than has hitherto existed. Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on advice of his Canadian ministers, shall appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian minister will take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by His Majesty to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose.

This new arrangement will not denote any departure either on the part of the British Government or of the Canadian Government from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the British Empire.

The need for this important step has been fully realized by both Governments for some time. For a good many years there has been direct communication between Washington and

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Ottawa, but the constantly increasing importance of Canadian interests in the United States has made it apparent that Canada should be represented there in some distinctive manner, for this would doubtless tend to expedite negotiations, and naturally first-hand acquaintance with Canadian conditions would promote good understanding. In view of the peculiarly close relations that have always existed between the people of Canada and those of the United States, it is confidently expected as well that this new step will have the very desirable result of maintaining and strengthening the friendly relations and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States.

Hon. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Inasmuch as the right hon. Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) has asked the permission of the House to make a statement. I should like to ask the House to give me permission to say a word with reference thereto, if not now, then on the first appropriate occasion.

Mr. SPEAKER: I feel sure that the House would be only too happy to give the hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) an opportunity to give expression to his views on the memorandum just read, but I do not think it is desirable that there should be any general debate on the subject unless there is some specific motion before the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the hon. the leader of the Opposition shall have liberty to speak.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried, carried.

Hon. MACKENZIE KING: I wish to ask my right hon. friend if he will be good enough to see that all the correspondence in reference to this matter is laid on the Table at the earliest possible moment. My purpose in rising now is not to refer at the moment particularly to the far-reaching and important step the Government has taken but rather to express surprise that Parliament has not been acquainted with the correspondence in reference to this matter before the whole matter was finally concluded. If I understand the announcement which my right hon. friend has just made, it is to the effect that the whole transaction is finally settled as between the Government of Great Britain, the Canadian Government and the United States Government, and

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Parliament has had no opportunity whatever of giving any consideration to the matter in its far-reaching inter-Imperial and international bearings. I think that is not the course which the Government should have taken. Parliament should have been fully apprised of and given opportunity to discuss the essential matters relating to this far-reaching step before the Government came to any final decision in connection with it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: As this is not the time for discussion I do not propose to enter into the second part of the question raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King). I would merely say that all the available papers in connection with the negotiations will be brought down as quickly as possible and presented to the House.

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C 45831 (1922)

REPRESENTATION AT WASHINGTON.

I have here a statement which was made by the Right Hon. the Prime Minister of Great Britain shortly after my right hon. friend returned from the Conference of Premiers. It reads:

As regards the Dominions and India, it was arranged at the recent Imperial Conference that His Majesty's Government should represent the whole Empire at Washington.

That was the position in which the treaty matter was left at the Imperial Conference attended by my right hon. friend.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Are you reading the whole statement? I cannot think that that statement was made in that naked form. If so, I would dispute it.

Mr. KING: I will read my right hon. friend's own statement which is just as naked as the other, and I think he will discover that its meaning is quite apparent. It was during June, July and August that my right hon. friend attended the Conference. On the 18th of October my right hon. friend handed out the following statement to the press of this city:

As the result of recent telegraphic communications between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, it has been arranged that a representative of Canada should be appointed as a member of the delegation which will represent the British Empire at the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions summoned by the Government of the United States to meet at Washington on November 11th. The Canadian Government have accordingly appointed Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden G.C.M.G. as the representative of Canada for this purpose.

xxx

xxx The above quotation is taken from the statement of the Prime Minister of Great Britain in reply to a question by the Rt.Hon. H.H. Asquith in the House of Commons. (statement in extenso in Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Great Britain, October 18, 1921.)

It would appear that:-

"that as regards the Dominions and India, it was arranged at the recent Imperial Conference that His Majesty's Government should represent the whole Empire at Washington."

was the decision arrived at at the Imperial Conference, but owing to the pressure brought to bear by one or more of the Dominions' representatives who attended that Imperial Conference, further addition was made to that decision as appears in the second portion of the Prime Minister's statement as given out in British Parliament on 18th October, 1921, as follows:-

"In view, however, of the vital importance of the subjects to be considered at that conference, ~~however,~~ he on Disarmament, it was felt to be very desirable that the Dominions should be represented by their Prime Ministers themselves, or, if this proved impossible, by persons nominated by them."

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REPRESENTATION AT WASHINGTON.

In support of this, attention is drawn to the fact:-

1. That on October 8, 1921, Mr. Hughes in addressing the Australian House of Representatives made public some very important telegrams. He said that he had received on October 3rd. the following telegram from Lloyd George:

> "I am very anxious that the standpoint of Australia and New Zealand should be well represented on the British empire delegation at the conference. Your personal presence is, in my opinion, highly desirable. I urge you to go if possible. Failing this, a single delegate might serve as representative of both Australia and New Zealand, as your standpoints are identical. I should greatly prefer you to go yourself. If you cannot, please consult Mr. Massey and tell me what you propose. We should welcome any officer whom you may wish to send to serve on the secretariat."

A little later on he further made reference to the telegram sent from the Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon to the British Ambassador at Washington which had been forwarded to him for his information and which included the following paragraph:

> "It was arranged at the recent Imperial Conference that His Majesty's government should represent the whole Empire at Washington. While not prepared to represent the dominions, His Majesty's government would prefer the British delegation to include men with special knowledge of Canadian, Australian and Indian points of view."

2. The telegrams sent by Mr. Lloyd George to the Ambassador in Washington in which, in one of these information was desired, as to what general procedure was contemplated by the United States Government with regard the Conference and in such telegram was again enunciated the general policy;

> "it was arranged at the recent Imperial Conference that His Majesty's Government should represent the whole Empire at Washington."

It would further appear that representation for the Dominions was brought about largely by the decided agitation made by General Smuts, as reported in his Speech on the Status of the Dominions and reported by reuters correspondent at Pretoria (folio 10).

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This activity of General Smuts received favourable comment as reported from London:-

> "The Glasgow Herald says it thinks the dissatisfaction expressed by Premier Smuts of South Africa and by several extreme upholders of the autonomy school in Canada at the failure of the British government to secure separate dominion representation at the Washington conference is perfectly natural." (folio 9)

Further, by the contribution of Grattan O'Leary in MacLean's Magazine of September would indicate very conclusively that he was unable(in as close touch as it would appear he at that time was) to determine that the Dominions would receive the representation which he himself felt was not only the right of Canada but of other Dominions.

Unquestionably the idea that prevailed primarily at the Conference was ~~so~~ clearly defined by the Prime Minister when he intimated ~~that~~:- in House of Commons on 18th August 1921.

Imperial Idea

> "It had been decided, sometime during the War, that we should have a discussion upon the constitutional aspect of the Empire, and I was bound to put that down on the Agenda; but the general feeling was that it would be a mistake to lay down any rules or to embark upon definitions as to what the British Empire meant. To do so would be to limit its utility. To do so, I think, would be to weaken its unity. It is that indefinable thing that makes the British Empire united, potent. You are defining life itself when you are defining the British Empire."

and with this constitutional aspect of the Empire strongly in mind it is most evident that it was only by the further pressure brought to bear both by General Smuts and Premier Hughes was this original decision laid aside or at least further augmented to allow Canada and the other Dominions direct Representation.

and therefore there is no evidence that the late Prime minister was the force to bring about this subsequent result.

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MEMORANDUM TO MR. KING:

I called to say good-bye and wanted to tell you that I had just had a two or three minutes talk with Mr. Fielding about the project of sending a Canadian representative to Washington as Ambassador for Canada, or whatever they call it. All I wanted to say to you was that, for my part, I concur absolutely in Mr. Fielding's ideas on the subject, as expressed in his speech in the House last Session, and for myself I earnestly hope no such Canadian "Ambassador" will ever be appointed because I sincerely believe it would be a step in the direction of separation between this Country and England.

A. B. Aylesworth.

Ottawa, April 6, 1922

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CANADA

C 45635

Friday,
April 7, 1922
8.45 p.m.

MR. KING.

Sir Joseph Pope tells me that Mr. Mahoney is on the staff of the External Affairs Department as its agent in Washington - that he is acting really as an unofficial connecting link between Canada and the British Embassy; and is in Washington to keep the Department posted on congressional and other reports being issued and to act for the Department directly in a more or less unofficial capacity in matters which otherwise would have to be dealt with in a roundabout way through the British Embassy.

McG.

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CANADA

C 45636

Friday,
April 7, 1922
8.45 p.m.

MR. KING.

In addition to the information regarding Mr. Mahoney contained in the attached memorandum, Sir Joseph Pope tells me that Mahoney was first brought in when Sir Charles Gordon was head of the War Mission. When the War Mission was closed up, Sir George Foster suggested the wisdom of retaining Mahoney in a subordinate capacity - partly to keep things going until some policy was decided upon with respect to the Washington office. This was arranged for at very little expense; Mahoney has a room at the Embassy, for which there is no charge, and has one stenographer to assist him.

McG.

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CANADA

C 45637

Extracted
Washington papers

E. T.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

Memorandum

respecting Mr. M.M.Mahoney.

Mr.Mahoney was born of Irish parents in Cornwall,Ontario; first employed on the Ottawa and New York Railway; removed to Ottawa and was given charge of transportation work. When the Imperial Munitions Board was constituted, he passed into their service. They sent him to Washington, and when the Canadian War Mission opened under Lloyd Harris, he was appointed a member of the staff. In July 1919, Mr. J.W.Bain resigned as Secretary of the Canadian War Mission, and Sir Charles Gordon wrote to me recommending the appointment of Mr. Mahoney to succeed Mr. Bain. At that time I knew nothing of Mr.Mahoney, never having seen him, but I submitted the letter to Sir Robert Borden, who carried out Sir Charles Gordon's suggestion by appointing Mr. Mahoney as Secretary to the Mission. When in April,1921, Mr.Meighen resolved to terminate the Canadian War Mission at Washington, Sir George Foster wrote me a letter pointing out the disadvantages which he considered as likely to follow from the closing up of the Washington office, and suggesting that Mr.Mahoney should be allowed to keep things going there on a reduced scale until the Government's policy with regard to Canadian representation was declared. Mr. Meighen approved this suggestion of Sir George Foster, and Mr.Mahoney has since continued to act as unofficial agent of this Department in Washington. The British Embassy give him office room and,we pay his salary and that of one clerk.

Mr.Mahoney's services are useful in several ways. He keeps close watch on Congress and furnishes necessary information,including statistical and congressional data, for the various Government Departments at Ottawa, especially as regards Trade and Commerce, Finance,Immigration, and Alien Property Custodian. He also answers enquiries from Canadian business corporations and keeps the Government Departments at Ottawa informed as to the progress of United States legislation on tariff matters, immigration, alien property,etc. His presence at the Embassy and his relations with the staff there are cordial, and he also enjoys pleasant personal relations with various United States officials which facilitate their ordinary intercourse. Altogether I think he fills a useful office in keeping these connections alive as it were, pending a more official arrangement.

Ottawa,18th April,1922.

W. Foster

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CANADA

C 45638 E-1319.

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.
GM

Confidential memorandum for the Prime Minister.

With reference to Mr. Bureau's private note herewith, we have a vote for $60,000 for Canadian representation at Washington, of which only $5,000 has been expended so far. Mr. Mahoney, our agent at Washington, has at present only one clerical assistant. Inasmuch as such an appointment would be outside the Dominion of Canada, there is nothing I can see, (apart possibly from the Civil Service Commission,) to prevent the Minister from attaching Mr. Tom King to Mr. Mahoney's staff and paying him what he thinks fit. The Civil Service Commission have never interfered, either with Mr. Mahoney or his clerk, nor given any sign that they are aware of their existence.

Ottawa, 14th September, 1922.

J. Pope

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WLMIC TO GOV-GEN-IN-COUNCIL E-1319.

C 45639 TOM KING

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

The undersigned has the honour to represent that Your Excellency's advisers have for some time past been impressed with the desirability of having a resident correspondent connected with the press at Washington, who would be in a position to ascertain and report confidentially from time to time what it might be of interest for the Canadian Government to know touching legislative, administrative and judicial proceedings in that capital.

The undersigned understands that foreign governments very generally employ in such capacity American newspaper men, who can talk with senators, congressmen and executive officials with the object of finding out and reporting what it may be useful for their principals to know. Many things are happening in Washington from day to day of importance to the Canadian Government. During the coming session there will no doubt come up for consideration questions of special interest to the Dominion, such, for example, as the regulation of naval strength on the Great Lakes; the re-writing of the Transportation Act, especially those sections dealing with labour and labour disputes; the Borah Bill, which has already passed the Senate, exempting American coasting vessels from the payment of tolls on the Panama Canal; tariff

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legislation; the Ship Subsidy Bill, and others. The most important work in connection with these subjects will be done in committee, the proceedings of which are often not reported at all. It is particularly desirable, having regard to these and other questions, that we should have a trustworthy agent on the spot closely to watch this committee work, and to furnish us with confidential reports from time to time.

The undersigned accordingly recommends that he be authorized to engage in that capacity the services of Mr.T.W.King, formerly connected with the Canadian Press Limited, and now doing journalistic work at Washington, and to pay him therefor, out of the Vote for Canadian Representation in the United States, the sum of one hundred dollars a month, such payment to begin from the date of the Minute of Council founded on this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

(SGD) W.L.Mackenzie King,

Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Ottawa, 25th October, 1922.

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SIR JOSEPH POPE TO WLMK C 45641

Canadian Representative at Washington

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.
E.T.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

Submitted herewith is copy of the report of Mr.M.M.Mahoney, agent of the Department of External Affairs at Washington, for the year 1922.

J. Pope
SIR JOSEPH POPE

Ottawa, 17th March, 1923

MAR 17 Rec'd

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C 45642

ANNUAL REPORT OF MR.M.M.MAHONEY,

AGENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AT WASHINGTON,D.C.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA MAR 16 1923

In my report last year, I dealt with the nature of the work carried on by this office. Much of what was said in that report applies to the activities of the office during 1922.

As showing some of the subjects which have engaged attention, and as to which instructions and requests for information have been received from time to time, the following are mentioned:

Tariff ...(enactment and administrative regulations).
Ship Subsidy ...(Proposed legislation).
Labor Trouble ...(Coal miners and railroad shop craftsmen).
Alien Property ...(Legislation and activities, U.S. Alien Property Custodian).
Alaskan Fisheries.
Immigration.
Coal - Anthracite and Bituminous.
Agriculture ...(Legislation and departmental regulations).
Anti-Dumping ...(Findings issued by Treasury Department).
Canadian Ex-Service Men (resident in U.S.) (Information furnished in co-operation with United States Veterans' Bureau).
Oil Pollution of Navigable Waters.
Copyright and Patent Laws.
Arctic Exploration -Wrangel Island.
Marking Regulations - U.S. Customs.
Countervailing Duties.
St. Lawrence Deep Waterways.
Treasury Decisions.
In Transit Movement of Alcoholic Liquors.
Smuggling.
Irrigation ...(Alberta Survey Board).
Chicago Drainage Canal.
War Finance Corporation.

THE COAL SITUATION:

This is a matter which required attention throughout the entire year. About the middle of January it became apparent that preliminary efforts of meditation between the Miners' Union and the Coal Operators was not likely to produce

results

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results. The bituminous operators in the Central Competitive Field (comprising Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana) showed no disposition to meet with officials of the Miners' Union for a conference, declaring that they were not eager to make a new wage schedule, for two reasons: First, because they wished the existing rate of pay materially reduced; secondly, that they had suffered such severe competition from non-union fields, that they would be placed at a great disadvantage by entering into a contract with the Union.

The Department of Commerce, Geological Survey, Department of Labor, and Interstate Commerce Commission were all dealing with different phases of the situation. Connections were promptly established with these agencies, and all information obtainable was promptly forwarded to the Department.

The President, on or about March 8th, sought to have the miners and operators join in a wage conference, with a view to avoiding a strike. His efforts in this connection proved unsuccessful. On March 8th, a telegram was sent to the Department, with official, confidential information to the effect that unionized coal mines would suspend operations on or about April 1st. Later, the Canadian Manufacturers Association was warned of the impending strike, and through the Association industries were urged to organize in efforts to lay in stocks of coal before the mines ceased operations. The results were most encouraging; communities in Ontario and Quebec which draw large supplies of bituminous coal from the United States entered the period of the strike heavily stocked and the fact that the accumulated stocks along

with

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with the small amount obtained from non-unionized mines, enabled these industries to carry on throughout the "longest strike in history", was in no small degree due to timely action. The strike began on April 1st, 1922, and ended August 15th to 25th, 1922 - 137 to 147 days - and involved 605,000 men.

The foregoing has to do with the bituminous situation only. The anthracite mines, one hundred per cent unionized, were completely tied up from April 1st to September 11th.

On July 24th, the President appointed a committee to undertake the distribution of coal. This organization functioned until September 22nd, when the work was turned over to the Federal Fuel Distributor. The latter agency was created under an Act of Congress approved September 22nd, 1922. Officials of the President's Committee, and the Interstate Commerce Commission were interviewed daily, and the Department was kept informed of developments. On August 1st, a telegram was sent to the Department, recommending the establishment of a Dominion Fuel Agency at Ottawa. The Government's immediate action in setting up the Federal Advisory Fuel Committee was most gratifying, and subsequent developments have shown, conclusively, that the move was made at the right moment. Throughout the fall and winter, the situation necessitated daily conferences with officials here, and close personal contact with the Pennsylvania Fuel Commission at Philadelphia. Correspondence relating thereto has been carried on directly with the Federal Advisory Fuel Committee.

RAILROAD SHOP CRAFTS STRIKE:

When the coal strike was at its height the situation was

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was dangerously aggravated by a Railroad Shop Crafts Strike, which lasted from July 1st, 1922, until the middle of September, and from which the railroads have not yet fully recovered.

THE UNITED STATES COAL COMMISSION:

Pursuant to an Act of Congress approved September 22nd, 1922, the President set up a Commission, consisting of seven members, and clothed with authority "to make a searching investigation into the whole coal industry, with provision for its lawful activities and the bestowal of authority to reveal every phase of coal production, sale and distribution." The scope of the investigation is more fully outlined in a statement sent to the Department on January 17, 1922. It is believed that the information which the Commission secures and presents in its report will be helpful and useful to our coal-producing Provinces; also to the Dominion Government, in the consideration of many questions which require study and solution in connection with the fuel problems of Ontario and Quebec. Therefore, the activities of the United States Coal Commission are being closely followed and promptly reported.

An interim report dealing with the bituminous coal situation was submitted to the President on January 15th, 1923. The Commission's programme calls for a report on the anthracite situation on or before July 1st, 1923; and to complete its investigation and make final report before the end of September, 1923.

UNITED STATES TARIFF ACT, 1922:

The new Tariff Act became law on September 22nd, 1922. During the year 376 pieces of correspondence dealing with this legislation were handled by this office.

CO-OPERATION WITH NEW YORK OFFICE:

An effort is made to co-operate to the fullest extent possible

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possible with the Canadian Trade Commissioner in New York. Statistical reports, surveys of industries, and other data eminating from the various departments of the Government here, considered useful as a basis for editing trade reports, is promptly supplied to the New York Office.

ALIEN PROPERTY:

The Canadian Custodian has been kept informed of the activities of the office of the United States Alien Property Custodian; also as to legislation by the Congress looking to the return of alien properties.

Communications are received daily from all parts of the United States, calling for information in respect of Dominion land grnats, immigration and customs regulations, and like subjects. It may be stated, also, that communications of this nature, addressed to His Majesty's Embassy are now being turned over to this office for attention. The same applies to Canadian inquiries received at the Embassy by telephone; and information of all kinds concerning Canada is furnished continually to Government officials and to individuals. From Canada, inquiries are received from every Province - particularly from the large manufacturing centres. Generally speaking, the information sought and furnished has to do with interpretations of United States departmental regulations respecting tariff, immigration, transportation, and merchant marine laws.

The total amount expended by this office during the calendar year, 1922, was $10,478.04. This amount includes an item of $400.00 representing storage charges on Canadian War Mission furniture and garage rent; also about $300.00 paid to the Superintendent of Documents for publications purchased for the Department, so that the total cost of maintaining the office throughout the year averaged something less than $825.00 per month.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Washington
14th March 1923.

W. W. Mahoney

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C 45647 E-9004-M

Can. Representatives to Washington

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

Memorandum regarding duties of the Washington Agency.

When the offices of the Canadian War Mission in Washington were closed, it was felt desirable to retain the services of Mr. M.M. Mahoney, formerly Secretary of the Mission. Mr. Mahoney while acting as Secretary of the Canadian War Mission, had established cordial unofficial relations with the various departments of the United States Government, which had been most helpful in procuring necessary information, including statistical and Congressional data for Government departments at Ottawa, especially as regards the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Finance, Immigration, and the Alien Property Custodian. To sever these connections by closing up everything at that time (April, 1921), besides the inconvenience to the Government offices at Ottawa which it would entail, would render it more difficult for the new Canadian representative to start things again in Washington.

Mr. Mahoney has taken an active part in various questions affecting Canada, such for example as the United States tariff, the coal situation, labour troubles and the transport of liquor to the Yukon. Mr. G.P. Mackenzie, Gold Commissioner of the Yukon, in a memorandum to the Director of the North West Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior, dated 23rd December, 1922, states:

> "In every move of importance in the negotiations (regarding transport of liquor to the Yukon) I had the benefit of the very capable advice of Mr. Mahoney, the Canadian Government representative at the Embassy, and also of Mr. Broderick of the Embassy, and it is not too much to say that to these gentlemen largely belongs the credit of the satisfactory adjustment of the matter."

By Minute of Council dated 27th May, 1921, Mr. Mahoney was appointed as an agent of the Department of External Affairs in Washington at an annual salary of $5,000. The services of Miss Carter, who had been with the Canadian War Mission, were also retained at a salary of $1860 per annum. Mr. Mahoney has been granted a living allowance of $150 a month from the 1st April, 1923.

Ottawa, 9th June, 1924.

J. Pope SIR JOSEPH POPE

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C 45648

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
June 26,
1 9 2 4

(1)

MR. KING:

Senator Belcourt was furnished with our complete official file on the subject of Canadian representation at Washington. He says he thinks we have other information on the subject. I find that the only thing we have is the private correspondence which you have had with Mr. Larkin and with Mr. Fielding. That, of course, cannot be for his reading.

McG.
F.A. McGREGOR

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Vol. 2 - B

THE SENATE
CANADA

N.A. Belcourt
K.C.
(July 4, 1924.)

MEMO FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

RE

An Act respecting the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Canada to the United States of America.

Senator Dandurand believes this Act to be adequate with a slight modification in clause 7 which he has made.

Until we have organized and developed a diplomatic corps in Canada, the Government will of necessity look to Parliament for its envoys and no Senator will accept to vacate his seat till the diplomatic career becomes a permanent one.

This is not an abnormal proposition as the Lords accept such appointments and retain their seat in the Upper House. Likewise the Senators in France.

Parliament should be content with voting a lump sum for the time being, to be controlled by the Governor-in-Council, till the establishment is made and definitely settled.

This Bill should be passed at this Session, otherwise the whole matter may have to stand for another year. This being the Legislation of the two late Governments, it seems that it will be no great difficulty in having the Bill passed this Session.

JUL 4 1924

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C 45650

An Act respecting the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Canada to the United States of America.

1. This Act may be cited as "The Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Act".

2. The Governor in Council, under the Great Seal of Canada, may from time appoint an officer called the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Canada to the United States of America, with residence at Washington in the United States of America, ~~and~~ who shall hold office during good behavior.

3. The Envoy Extrordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary shall:

(a) act as representative of Canada in the United States of America and in that capacity exercise such powers and perform such duties as are, from time to time, conferred upon and assigned to him by the Governor in Council;

(b) carry out such instructions as he, from time to time, receives from the Governor in Council respecting the national, political, commercial, financial and general interests of Canada in the United States of America and elsewhere.

4. The Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary shall receive such salary, and allowances, and upon retiring from office, such annual pension or retiring allowance as may be determined by the Governor in Council, and the said salary, and allowances, pension or retiring allowance shall be payable out of any unappropriated moneys forming part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

5. The Governor in Council may appoint such officers, assistants, clerks, servants and messengers in the office, or residence of the Envoy Plenipotentiary as ~~he~~ may deem necessary and determine their salary or remuneration.

6. Such officers, assistants, clerks, servants and messengers shall not be subject to examination under the Civil Service Act.

The provisions of the Civil Service Superannuation and

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Retirement Acts shall, subject to the provisions of the next preceding section, apply to the officers, assistants, clerks and messengers employed in the office of the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

7. Notwithstanding anything contained in Chapter 10 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, or any other Act, any member of Parliament who may be appointed to the office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary shall, so long as he remains a member in good standing of the Parliament of Canada, retain the right, power and privilege, ~~including~~ excluding the right to receive the sessional indemnity ~~attaching thereto~~ while holding said office, to sit and vote in said Parliament as fully and to all intents and purposes as if he did not hold the office aforesaid.

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C 45652

Dr. O. D. Skelton Dec. 1, 1924.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT WASHINGTON (1)

Page 1. 1. Status. The British Government will probably desire that the rank of the proposed Minister shall be that of Minister Plenipotentiary only, not that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

" 4. 2. Powers and Duties.

3. Relations to British Ambassador. Arrangement adopted in the case of the Irish Free State.

" 8. 4. Procedure in Appointment.

10. 5. Staff.
(a) Rank and numbers.
(b) Salaries and Allowances. Examples, British service and High Commissioner for Canada in London.
(c) Possible scales of Canadian Legation as to numbers, salaries and other expenses.

Appendix A. British Embassies and Legations, Staff and Salary.

" B. United States Diplomatic Service, Staff and Salary.

" C. Diplomatic List, Washington.

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C 45652

Dec. 1, 1924.

Dr. O.D. Skelton

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT WASHINGTON (1)

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C 45653

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT WASHINGTON

1. Status: "Minister Plenipotentiary," or "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary"?

The proposal of the Borden Government, in 1920, was for the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary.

The diplomatic representatives at Washington are designated either "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary" (in the case of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia, Spain, and Turkey) or "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary," in all other cases.

In the negotiations between the British and Irish Free State governments, it was proposed by the Irish Free State to appoint an "Irish Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary" to the United States of America (March 3, 1924, Fyle E-1650). In the confidential despatch from the Foreign Office to Sir Esme Howard (June 23, 1924, same fyle), following on personal discussion between the Foreign Office and the Irish Free State Minister of External Affairs, it was stated, "It is not proposed to give the Minister the rank of Envoy Extraordinary." In the official British correspondence with the United States government and the King's letter of credentials, the rank indicated is that of "Minister Plenipotentiary."

The four classes of diplomatic agents usually recognized to-day, according to Satow, are:

1. Ambassadors, legates and nuncios;
2. Envoys and ministers plenipotentiary;
3. Ministers resident, accredited to the sovereign;
4. Charges d'affaires, " " the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

As is indicated in the quotation given below*

* Diplomatic agents are now divided into the following classes -
1. Ambassadors. Legates; who are papal ambassadors extraordinary, charged with special missions, primarily representing the Pope as Head of the Church, always cardinals, and sent only to states

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

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from Sir Ernest Satow's "Diplomatic Practice," the standard British authority in this field, the use of the term envoy arose in the seventeenth century, and during the eighteenth, as a result of disputes over precedence, came to be given to most ministers. As Satow notes, it is now the common practice to give to an agent of the second class the double title of "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary."

It is not clear on what ground the British government objected to the double title in the case of the Irish Free State Minister - an objection which may be anticipated equally in our case. The matter is not of great importance, save possibly as regards precedence, and the fact that in the Borden government agreement of 1920 and the Irish Free State arrangement of 1924 only

(Footnote cont'd.)

acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. Nuncios, who are ordinary ambassadors resident, and are never cardinals.

2. Envoys and ministers plenipotentiary.
3. Ministers resident, accredited to the sovereign.
4. Charges d'affaires, accredited to the minister of foreign affairs.....

The designation Envoye, which is a translation of ablegatus, seems up to the middle of the seventeenth century not to have been more highly esteemed than that of Resident. At that period the general position was as follows: Diplomatic agents were still divided into two classes, the first consisting of Ambassadors or legati, the second comprising Agents, Residents, Envoyes and Ablegati; of these Agent is the earliest, Envoye the latest in origin. Just as the title of resident had superseded that of agent, so the envoye with the additional qualification of extraordinaire pushed the resident ever further into the background.

In the second half of the seventeenth century arose the practice of designating resident ambassadors as "extraordinary." Originally this term had been applied only to those who were sent on special missions.
.....

At the negotiations which preceded the peace of Nijmegen (1678) the conjunction of the two titles of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in one person made its appearance. According to the regulations at the French Court the envoy extraordinary presented his letters of credence to the King, while the mere minister plenipotentiary, like the resident and others of the third class, such as the charge d'affaires, delivered theirs to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The common practice now is to give to an agent of the second class the double title of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

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the term and rank of Minister Plenipotentiary are accorded might make it difficult, if desired, to insist on the double-barrelled term. In face, however, of the general practice of giving both titles, it would seem to be for the British government to justify an exception.

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2. Powers and Duties.

1920 Provision: "A Minister Plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian Minister will take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests."

It is assumed that if any appointment is made under existing circumstances, the Minister's duties will be confined to those outlined in the first sentence above. The 1920 arrangement, as appears from the debates, contemplated the appointment of a Canadian minister as second in command in the British Embassy, and housed in the same building.

3. Division of Authority and Relations to British Ambassador.

In the published correspondence between the British Ambassador and the U.S.Secretary of State, on the appointment of the Irish Free State Minister, Sir Esme Howard states (June 24, 1924):

> "Under instructions from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that it is desirable that the handling of matters at Washington exclusively relating to the Irish Free State should be confided to a Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the United States Government. Such a Minister would be accredited by His Majesty the King to the President of the United States, and he would be furnished with credentials which would enable him to take charge of all affairs relating only to the Irish Free State. He would be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government on these matters.
>
> "Matters which are of Imperial concern or which affect other Dominions in the Commonwealth in common with the Irish Free State will continue to be handled as heretofore by this Embassy.
>
> "The arrangements proposed by His Majesty's Government would not denote any departure from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the Empire. The Irish Minister would be at all times in the closest touch with His Majesty's Ambassador, and any question which may arise as to whether a matter comes within the category of those to be handled by the Irish Minister or not would be settled by consultation between them. In matters falling within his sphere the Irish Minister would not be subject

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to the control of His Majesty's Ambassador, nor would His Majesty's Ambassador be responsible for the Irish Minister's actions."

The instructions from the Irish Free State Ministry of External Affairs to their prospective Minister (June 25, 1924) refer to this point as follows:

"The Free State Minister will be the official channel of communication with the United States Government for matters exclusively affecting the interests of the Irish Free State.

"RELATIONS WITH H.M.AMBASSADOR.

"The Free State Minister shall not purport to deal with matters affecting the whole Commonwealth.

"H.M.Ambassador shall be in no way responsible for action taken by the Free State Minister.

"The Free State Minister shall not be in any way subject to H.M.Ambassador's control.

"Instructions are being forwarded to H.M.Ambassador requesting him to afford his assistance and that of his staff to the Free State Minister.

"In all matters affecting, or likely to affect the other, or any other, States Members of the Commonwealth, the Irish Free State Minister shall consult with the Ambassador and inform him fully of the position.

"If any doubt should arise as to whether any particular question exclusively concerned the Irish Free State the point should, if possible, be settled by consultation between the Irish Free State Minister and the British Ambassador. Failing settlement by such consultation it should be referred to the two Governments.

"The Government desires that the frankest and most cordial relations should exist between the Free State Minister and H.M. Ambassador and all steps should be taken to avoid any possible misunderstanding. For this reason, the instructions given above as to consultation should be interpreted in their widest sense. It may well happen that matters which in their initial stages appear to be of exclusively Irish interest may subsequently prove to be of concern to other parts of the Commonwealth. It would be well, therefore, to make it a general rule that it is better to inform the Ambassador of matters of apparently purely Irish concern rather than that he should not be consulted in a matter which might later have general interest."

Similar arrangements will doubtless be proposed in case of a Canadian appointment.

It is doubtful whether any questions interesting both Canada and the United States which are likely to arise can strictly be called "exclusively" Canadian;

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"distinctly" might be a better word. And in the long run at least, it is likely that the Canadian Minister would sometimes be called upon to deal, individually or jointly, with our interests in matters affecting several or all parts of the Empire (e.g., a Washington disarmament conference). It is hardly consistent with the assumption that in the British Commonwealth all His Majesty's Governments are of equal status, if one of these governments is to deal only with what are "exclusively" its affairs and another is to have charge of matters of "Imperial" or general concern. The practical question is whether it is desirable to insist on a different verbal statement at the outset or to trust to a gradual broadening out or fuller recognition of the Minister's powers as the outcome of experience. So with the assertion which occurs both in the Canadian statement of 1920 and the Irish arrangement of 1924, that "the principle of the diplomatic unity of the Empire is preserved." Even on the assumption that the British Ambassador is to continue to deal with all imperial or general affairs, this seems too broad a contention; it is one to which the Canadian Government could hardly assent, but if it is simply a face-saving statement by the British Government, not requiring acquiescence, that is another matter.

The Foreign Office despatch to Sir Esme Howard, June 23, 1924 (No. 180, confidential) declares:

> "The basis on which the (Free State) appointment will be made and which will control the future relations between you and the Irish Free State Minister will be the principle underlying the treaty resolutions of the Imperial Conference in October last."

In the interview between Sir Esme Howard and Secretary Hughes, on June 24, 1924 (Col.Sec.Despatch of June 30), Secretary Hughes is reported as saying:

> "As regards questions which might ultimately arise as to whether certain matters were within competency of Irish Legation or this Embassy, these could only be settled as they arose and it was no use to attempt to define them now."

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In the House of Lords on June 25, 1924, the Earl of Selborne asked what steps were being taken to harmonize the representations of the British Ambassador and the Free State Minister in respect of matters which concern both Great Britain and Ireland or the whole British Empire. Lord Arnold and Lord Parmoor replied by paraphrasing the instructions as given above. Lord Curzon referred to the "great apprehension and extreme reluctance" with which the Foreign Office had agreed to the Canadian suggestion of 1920 (fortunately abandoned since, he intimated), and declared it would be very difficult to draw a line between the two spheres, e.g., Irish-U.S. commercial treaty negotiations might arise, and though the Free State Minister might think they were solely of Irish concern they would really "involve the interests of every part of the Empire." Lord Haldane considered it inconsistent with the unwritten Constitution of the Empire to seek to give a "precise definition" beforehand.

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4. Procedure in Appointment.

(a) Discussion with British government of proposed appointment.

(b) Securing assent of United States government through British Ambassador.

(c) Canadian Order-in-Council requesting King to name X.Y. as Minister.

(d) Letters of Credence from King to U.S.President.[1]

(e) Publication of appointment in Canada Gazette (note - published in London Gazette in Free State case but Free State Minister reports this an oversight on their part).[2]

(f) Communication, before or after appointment, to other Dominions.[3]

(g) Passing of Act of Parliament (at what stage?)

---

1 Credentials in the case of the Free State appointment:-

"GEORGE, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c.,&c.,&c.

"To the President of the United States of America,

"Sendeth Greeting!

"Our Good Friend,

"We have judged it expedient to confer the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary upon Our Trusty and Well-beloved Timothy Aloysius Smiddy, Esquire, with the especial object of representing in the United States of America the interests of Our Irish Free State.

"We request that You will give entire credence to all that Mr. Smiddy may represent to You in Our Name, especially when he shall assure You of Our esteem and regard, and of Our hearty wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the United States of America.

"And so we commend You to the protection of the Almighty.

"Given at Our Court of Saint James the 1st day of September, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-four and in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

"Your Good Friend,
(Sgd) GEORGE R.I."

2 Extract from London Gazette: 10th October, 1924:

"Foreign Office,
October 7th, 1924.

"The King has been graciously pleased to appoint:-

"Timothy Aloysius Smiddy, Esquire, to be His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, with the especial

(Cont'd on p. 9.)

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4. Procedure in Appointment.

(a) Discussion with British government of proposed appointment.

(b) Securing assent of United States government through British Ambassador.

(c) Canadian Order-in-Council requesting King to name X.Y. as Minister.

(d) Letters of Credence from King to U.S.President.[1]

(e) Publication of appointment in Canada Gazette (note - published in London Gazette in Free State case but Free State Minister reports this an oversight on their part).[2]

(f) Communication, before or after appointment, to other Dominions.[3]

(g) Passing of Act of Parliament (at what stage?)

---

1 Credentials in the case of the Free State appointment:-

"GEORGE, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c.,&c.,&c.

"To the President of the United States of America,

"Sendeth Greeting!

"Our Good Friend,

"We have judged it expedient to confer the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary upon Our Trusty and Well-beloved Timothy Aloysius Smiddy, Esquire, with the especial object of representing in the United States of America the interests of Our Irish Free State.

"We request that You will give entire credence to all that Mr. Smiddy may represent to You in Our Name, especially when he shall assure You of Our esteem and regard, and of Our hearty wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the United States of America.

"And so we commend You to the protection of the Almighty.

"Given at Our Court of Saint James the 1st day of September, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-four and in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

"Your Good Friend,
(Sgd) GEORGE R.I."

2 Extract from London Gazette: 10th October, 1924:

"Foreign Office,
October 7th, 1924.

"The King has been graciously pleased to appoint:-

"Timothy Aloysius Smiddy, Esquire, to be His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, with the especial

(Cont'd on p. 9.)

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Footnotes cont'd:

object of representing in the United States of America the interests of the Irish Free State."

3 Protests were made by New Zealand (May 3, 1924) and Australia (May 10, 1924) against Irish Free State appointment; in fyle E-1650.

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5. Staff.

(a) Rank and Numbers.

The British Diplomatic Service is graded as follows:

Ambassadors
Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary
Counsellors
First Secretaries
Second Secretaries
Third Secretaries

Naval and Military Attaches
Commercial Counsellors and Secretaries
(See Appendix A).

The British Embassy in Washington consists of:

1 Ambassador	1 Commercial Counsellor
1 Counsellor	1 Commercial Secretary, Second Grade
1 First Secretary	1 Archivist
2 Second Secretaries	2 Naval Attaches
1 Third Secretary	1 Military Attache
	1 Air Attache
	1 Secretary to Ambassador

The Danish Ministry in Washington consists of:

1 Minister
1 Counsellor of Legation
1 Secretary of Legation
1 Attache
1 Agricultural Adviser, Attache

Fuller details in App. A and C.

(b) Salaries and Allowances.

The British scale is given in App. A. Ambassadors receive £2500 and Ministers £2000 as salary, with frais de representation or entertainment allowances of varying sums (£2500 at Stockholm, £3000 at Brussels, £3600 at Buenos Aires, and £14.000 at Paris): in addition an official Residence is owned or leased. The other officials are given salary, representation allowance, and house rent allowance, as in App. A.

M. Jusserand, in his letter to Senator Dandurand, reports:

"Powers which are not quite of the first rank generally give their Ministers at [illegible]

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Washington a remuneration of from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars; the Swiss Minister, for example, receives twenty thousand dollars; he is not supplied with a residence, but the rent and all the expenses of his office are paid by the government. The Rumanian Minister is a little better remunerated; he receives, I believe, twenty-three to twenty-four thousand dollars; his Government has acquired a fine residence which serves as Legation and in which his office is established, the office expenses being paid for him. Furthermore, Rumania is contemplating the purchase of a house near the Legation in which to instal the office, as the present quarters are too small."

The Office of the High Commissioner in London entails an expenditure of $120,000 to $140,000 a year. In the year 1922-23, for example, the main items were as follows:

Salaries, Civil Government (permanent staff, not including High Commr.)	$34,875.00	
Salaries, Contingencies	17,650.74	
Salaries, bonus	4,656.87	$57,182.61
Contingencies:		
Salaries of temporary staff (18 employees)	18,139.82	
High Commissioner, House allowance	5,000.00	
Travel and Motor Expenses	9,812.74	
Rent, fuel, light and cleaning	20,053.43	
Telegraph, telephone, and postage	7,389.66	
Stationery, Parl.Pub., newspapers	3,616.44	
Special advertising	3,249.71	
Sundries, including income tax	6,488.35	
Petty Cash	2,044.42	
(High Commissioner's $10,000 salary included in this total.)		$77,232.64
Publications, Canadian		993.31
		$135,408.56

Some of these expenditures would of course not be necessary in the Washington office.

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(c) Assuming a vote of $60,000, it would seem possible to provide a Canadian Legation at Washington on one of the two scales suggested below:

Official	Salary	Representation Allowance	House and Rent Allowance
	$	$	$
1. Minister	12,000-15,000	5,000 - 5,000	5,000 - 7,500
2. 1st Secretary	5,000- 7,500	1,000	
3. 2nd "	3,500- 5,000	500	
4. (2nd ")	3,500	500	
5. Private Sec'y	2,500- 3,500	500	
6. Stenographer	1,500- 2,000		
7. (Stenographer)	1,000- 1,500		
8. Messenger	1,000- 1,500		
	26,500-39,500	5,000 - 7,500	5,000 - 7,500
	5,000- 7,500		
	5,000- 7,500		
Office Rent	4,000- 6,000		
" supplies,etc.	10,000-15,000		
Travelling	2,000- 3,000		
Contingencies	7,500-10,000		
	$60,000-88,500		

12,000
7,500
7,500
27,000

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C 45665 Appendix A.

BRITISH EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS

Staff and Salary

I. GENERAL

The Salaries and Allowances of Officers of H.M.Diplomatic, Commercial Diplomatic and Consular Services are fixed generally in accordance with the following scales:-

(1) DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Rank	Salary	Representation Allowances	House Rent Allowances( )
	£	£	£
Ambassadors	2,500	(Vary according	to the
Envoys Ex.& Mins.Plen.	2,000	(requirements of	the post.
Counsellors	1,200-50-1,500	300-1,100	300-700
First Secretaries	800-25-1,000	250-700	200-700
Second Secretaries) Third Secretaries)	300-20-600	150-550	150-400

(2) COMMERCIAL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICES

Comml.Counsellors	1,700	300	250 (a)
Comml.Secretaries,Grade I)		300	250 (a)
Inspectors-General of) Consulates)	1,200-50-1,500	300	250 (a)
Consuls-General)		300	250 (a)
Comml.Secretaries,Gde II) Consuls)	800-25-1,000	250	200 (a)
Comml.Secs.,Grade III	600-25-800	100	100-200 (a)
Vice-Consuls (b)	300-20-600	100-150	100-200 (a)

(a) These allowances are maximum amounts up to which actual expenses are paid.

(b) Vice-Consuls in the Far Eastern Services receive a special rate of salary of £600-25-£700.

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II. TYPICAL COUNTRIES

1. Argentine Republic (Buenos Aires):

Rank	.Name	.Salary	Allowance			
			Rep!n	House Rent	Local	Office
		£	£	£	£	£
En.Ex.& Min.P.	Sir B.F.Alston, K.C.M.G.,C.B.	2,000	3,600	- (?)	-	-
2d.Sec.	J.H.Leche,O.B.E.	300-20-600	150-550	150-400	-	-
						Pesos
Comml.Sec (1st Grade)	H.O.Chalkley,C.B.E.	1,200-50-1,500	300	250 (a)	600	21,170
Nav. Attache Air Attache	Capt.G.A.Wells,R.N. Wing.Com.A.V. Bettington,C.M.G.					
Translator	C.F.A.Bristow (c)	400		350	250 (d)	
Archivist	E.Lamb	210			325	

(a) These allowances are maximum amounts up to which actual expenses are paid.
(c) Has personal rank of Vice-Consul,and local rank of 2nd Secretary in the Diplomatic Service.
(d) If married.

2. Belgium (Brussels):

Amb.Ex.& Plen (e)	Rt.Hon.Sir Geo.D. Grahame,G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G.	2,500	3,000	- (?)	-	-
Counsellor	C.J.F.R.Wingfield	1,200-50-1,500	300-1,100	300-700	-	-
1st Sec.	Hon.T.A.Spring-Rice,M.V.O.	800-25-1,000	250-700	200-700	-	-
2d Sec.	Adrian Holman	300-20-600	150-550	150-400	-	-
Hon.Attache	Capt.C.A.F. Wingfield	.....	....		....	
Comml.Sec., 1st Grade	J.Picton Bagge	1200-50-1500	300	250 (a)	-	1743
Mil.Att.	Col.H.Needham,C.M.G.,D.S.O.	....		....	....	
Archivist	C.F.O.Gibson	230	-	~~150~~	150	-

(a) See above.
(e) Is also Envoy,etc.,to Luxemburg.

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3. Sweden (Stockholm):

Rank	Name	Salary	Allowance			
			Rep'n	House Rent	Local	Office
En.Ex.& Min.P.	Sir Colville A.de R.Barclay,K.C.M.G., C.B.,C.B.E.,M.V.O.	2,000	2,500	-(?)	-	-
Counsellor	Hon.Patrick W.M. Ramsay	800-1000	-	-	-	-
3d Sec.	H.E.L.Montgomery, M.C.	300-20-600	150-550	150-400	-	-
Comml.Sec., 2d.Grade	Herbert Kershaw, O.B.E.	800-25-1000	250	200(a)	-	Kr. 21,095
Nav.Attache	Capt.Wion de Malpas Egerton,D.S.O.,R.N.	....				
Mil.Att.	Lt.Col.A.C.Temperley,C.M.G.,D.S.O.	....				
Archivist	Geo.Alex.Urquhart	200-300	-	-	170	-
Sec. to H.M. Min.(temp.)	Grenville Grove	(350)	-	-	200	-
Chaplain(hon.)	Rev.H.M.Williams	....				

4. France (Paris):

Amb.Ex.& Plen.	Most Hon.Marquess of Crewe,K.G.	2500	14,000	-(?)	-	-
Min.Plen.	E.C.E.Phipps,C.M.G., C.V.O.	2000	(?)	(?)	-	-
1st Sec.	O.G.Sargent	800-25-1000	250-700	200-700	-	-
"	H.Knatchbull-Hugessen,C.M.G.	800-25-1000	250-700	200-700	-	-
3d Sec.	F.R.H.Millar	300-20-600	150-550	150-400	-	-
Hon.Att.	Capt.Arthur Paget	....				
"	Capt.G.J.Sandys	....				
"	H.M.G.Jebb	....				
Comml.Couns.	J.R.Cahill	1,700	500	250(a)	-	£750 & Fcs.8000
Comm.Sec., 2d Grade	A.H.S.Yeames	800-25-1000	250	200(a)	-	-
Nav.Att.	Commdr.E.B.C. Dicken,D.S.C.,R.N.	....				
Mil.Att.	Maj.Gen.Hon.Sir. G.J.Sackville-West	....				
Asst.Mil.Att.	Brevet Lt.Col. D.M.Graham,D.S.O., M.C.,	....				
Air Att,	Squadron-Ldr. J.P.C.Sewell	....				
Sec.to H.M. Amb.(temp.)	Hon.G.Chichester	300	-	-	-	-
Archivist	W.D.Cuthbertson, M.B.E.	400	~~100~~	180	-	-
Asst. "	E.J.Moignard	235	-	-	170	-

(a) See p. 1.

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5. United States (Washington):

Rank	Name	Salary	Allowance			
			Rep'n	House Rent	Local	Office
Amb.Ex.& Plen.	Rt.Hon.Sir Auckland C.Geddes,G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	2,500	14,500	-(?)	-	-
Counsellor	H.G.Chilton,C.M.G.	1200-50-1500	300-1100	300-700	-	-
1st.Sec.	Hon.H.W.Brooks	800-25-1000	250-700	200-700	-	-
2d Sec.	H.F.C.Crookshank	-	-	-	-	-
"	G.H.Thompson	300-20-600	150-550	150-400	-	-
3rd Sec.	A.H.Hamilton Gordon	300-20-600	150-550	150-400	-	-
Comml.Couns.	John J.Broderick	1700	300	250(a)	1200	$19,000
Comm.Sec., 2d Grade	Capt.Eric G.Buxton	800-25-1000	250	200(a)	400	-
Archivist	G.D.Baker	300-400	-	-	325	-
Nav.Att.(Asst)	Engineer Commdr. H.A.Brown	...				
Nav.Att.	Capt.Francis L. Tottenham,C.B.E.,R.N.	....				
Mil.Att.	Col.C.E.C.Charlton, C.M.G.,D.S.O.	....				
Air Att.	Wing Commdr.M.G. Christie,C.M.G., D.S.O.,M.C.	....				
Sec. to H.M. Amb.(temp.)	H.Tennant	300	-	-	450	-

(a) These allowances are maximum amounts up to which actual expenses are paid.

REFERENCE:

Foreign Office List, 1924.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 45669 App. B.

UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Staff and Salary
(Apparently not including special or living allowances)

1. Argentina (Buenos Aires):

Rank	Name	Date of Commission	Compensation
Amb.E.& P.	John W.Riddle	Nov.18,1921	$17,500
1st Secretary	Spencer Willing	Sept.7,1922	7,000
2nd "	W.H.Schoellkopf	July 24,1923	4,500
Comml.Att.	Edward F.Feely	Oct.22,1920	.....
Nav.Att.	Com.Isaac F. Dortch	June 28,1922	.....

2. Belgium (Brussels):

Amb.E.& P.	William Phillips	Feb.29,1924	17,500
1st Sec.	J.C.Dunn	Mar.7,1924	6,000
2d Sec.	T.L.Daniels	Dec.17,1921	4,500
3d Sec.	W.T.Prendergast	Nov.13,1922	3,500
Mil.Att.	Maj.D.C.McDonald	Mar.13,1924	.....

3. Czechoslovakia (Prague):

E.E.& M.P.	Lewis Einstein	Oct. 8,1921	10,000
2d Sec.	F.F.A.Pearson	Mar.3,1922	4,500
Mil. Att.	Lt.Col.H.N.Cootes	Jan.15,1923	.....

4. France (Paris):

Amb.E.& P.	Myron T.Herrick	Apr.16,1921	17,500
Counselor	Sheldon Whitehouse	Apr.16,1921	9,000
1st Sec.	E.G.Greene	Mar.1,1922	6,000
2d Sec.	H.H.Tittmann,jr.	May 26,1921	4,500
3d Sec.	Christian Gross	Jan.16,1924	3,500
Coml.Att.	C.L.Jones	Aug.8,1922	.....
Asst.Com.Att.	J.F.Butler	Jan.4,1922	.....
Nav.Att.	Capt.T.L. Johnson	May17,1924	....
Mil.Att.	Col.T.B.Mott	May 9,1919	....
Asst.Mil.Att.	Lt.Col.J.R. Thomas,jr.	Aug.11,1922	....
"	Lt.Col.W.I. Westervelt	May17,1923	....
"	Maj.Carlyle H. Wash	June 7,1922	....
"	Maj.D.C.McDonald	Apr.11,1923	....
Asst.Nav.Att.	Com.J.H.Towers	Feb.21,1923	....
"	Com.W.F.Eberle	Apr.12,1923	....
"	Com(C.C.)J.C. Hunsaker	Nov.15,1923	....
"	Com.H.F.Leary	Apr.12,1924	....
"	Com.C.A.Jones	June 27,1924	....
"	Lt.Com.J.James	Apr.26,1923	....

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F. Great Britain (London):

Rank	Name	Date of Commission	Compensation
Amb.E.& P.	Frank B.Kellogg	Dec.11,1923	$17,500
Counselor	Frederick A.Stirling	June 18,1923	9,000
1st Sec.	Frederic R.Dolbeare	Jan.31,1923	7,000
"	Herbert S.Goold	Jan.18,1922	6,000
2d Sec.	Frederick P.Hibbard	Jan.8,1924	4,500
"	Percy A.Blair	Apr.27,1923	4,500
3d Sec.	Wm.H.Taylor	Feb.2,1924	3,500
Coml.Att.	Walter S.Tower	Sept.23,1921	....
Nav.Att.	Capt.C.L.Hussey	Jan.21,1922	....
Mil.Att.	Lt.Col.K.A.Joyce	Dec.12,1923	....
Asst.Nav.Att.	Com.J.H.Towers	Feb.21,1923	....
"	Com.(C.C.)J.C.Hunsaker	Nov.15,1923	....
"	Com.H.F.Leary	Apr.12,1924	....
"	Com.C.A.Jones	June 27,1924	....
"	Lieut.J.H.Kyger	Dec.20,1921	....
Asst.Mil.Att.	Maj.S.O.Elting	Mar.13,1923	....
"	Maj.H.C.Davidson	Apr.6,1923	....
"	Maj.E.J.Atkisson	May 20,1924	....

REFERENCE:

Foreign Service of the United States

Dept. of State,
Washington, 1924.

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C 45671 App. C.

DIPLOMATIC LIST, WASHINGTON,
September, 1924

1. Argentina - March 10, 1924.

Mr. Honorio Pueyrredon, Amb.E.& P., 1600 New Hampshire Ave. (telephone, Potomac 1109).
Madame Julieta M. de Pueyrredon. Absent.
Miss Julia Helena Pueyrredon. Absent.
Miss Raquel Pueyrredon. Absent.
Mr. Felipe A. Espil, Counselor of Embassy, 1806 Corcoran St. Absent.
Mr. Eduardo Racedo, 1st Sec. of Embassy, St.Albans Apartments.
Madame E.Racedo.
Commander Ricardo A. Vago, Nav.Att., Wardman Park Hotel.
Madame Amanda B.deVago.
Mr. Conrado Traverson, 2nd Sec. of Embassy, 1806 Corcoran St.
Mr. Wenceslao Escalante, Attache, 1806 Corcoran St.
Office of Embassy, 1806 Corcoran St.(tels.North 852 and 853.)

2. Belgium - May 12, 1920.

Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Ambassador E. & P., 1780 Massachusetts Ave. Absent.
Baroness de Cartier de Marchienne. Absent.
Mr. Robert Silvercruys, 1st Sec. of Embassy and Charge d'Affaires ad interim (July 31, 1924).
Mr. M.E.M.Ulser, Comml.Sec., The Roosevelt.
Madame Ulser.
Count Antoine de Laubespin, 2nd Sec.
Office of Embassy, 1780 Massachusetts Ave.(tels.Main 8196 & 8396).

3. Denmark -Nov. 8, 1912.

Mr. Constantin Brun, E.E.& M.P., 1605 Twenty-second St (tel. North 3052). Summer address: Clover Cottage, Bar Harbor, Maine.
Mr. Kaj Helmer-Petersen, Counselor of Legation, 2000 Massachusetts Ave. (tel.Potomac 2270).
Mrs. Helmer-Petersen.
Mr. A.Konow Bojsen, Sec. of Legation, 1730 Lanier Place (tel.Adams 811). Absent.
Mr. Roger Nielsen, Attache. Absent.
Mrs. Nielsen. Absent.
Mr. Soren Sorenson, Agricultural Adviser to the Danish Govt. Attache. (Office, 422 Southern Building, tel.Main3572). Absent.
Office of Press Department, 433 Southern Blg.
Office of Legation, 435 Southern Bldg (tel.Franklin 7918).

4. France - Feb. 7, 1903.

Mr. J. J. Jusserand, A.E.& P. Absent.
Mme Jusserand. Absent.
Mr. Andre de Laboulaye, Counselor of Embassy and Charge d'Affaires ad interim (July 2, 1924), Macsfolly Farm, Forest Glen, Maryland (tel.Kensington 35.)
Mme de Laboulaye.
Brig.Gen.Geo.A.L.Dumont, Mil.Att., Hamilton Hotel (tel.Main 2580)
Mme Dumont.
Mlle Marthe Dumont. Absent.
Mlle Paule Dumont. Absent.
Capitaine de Vaisseau, Jean F.J.E.Rigal, Nav.Att., 1501 Eighteenth St. (tel.Main 7236).

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Mr. M. Heilmann, First Sec. of Embassy, The Argonne
(tel. Columbia 4630).
Mme Heilmann. Absent.
Mlle Heilmann. Absent.
Mlle Claire Heilmann. Absent.
Mr. Charles Auguste Louis Le Neveu, Comml.Att. Absent.
Mr. Jules Hanry, 2d Sec.,1860 California St.(tel.Potomac 355).
Capt.E.Lombard,Asst.Mil.Att.,The Portland (tel.Main 8676).
Maj.Georges Thenault,Asst.Mil.Att.for Aeronautics, The
Argonne (tel.Columbia 4630). Absent.
Chief Engineer Paul Edouard Henri Gripon, Asst. Nav.Att.,2118
Kalorama Road (tel.North 2096). Absent.
Mr. Jean Boyer, Financial Attache.
Mr. Paul-Boncour, 3d.Sec.,1860 California St.(tel.Potomac 355).
Office of Military Attache, 1501 Eighteenth St.(tel.Main 6961).
Office of Naval Attache,1501 Eighteenth St.(tel.Main 7236).
Office of Commercial Attache, 46 East Twenty-fifth St.
New York City (tel.Madison Square 1929.)
Office of Financial Attache, 35 Nassau St.,New York City
(tel.Rector 2886).
Office of Embassy, 2460 Sixteenth St. (tels.Columbia 1242 -1243).

5. Great Britain - March 5, 1924.

The Right Hon. Sir Esme Howard,G.C.M.G.,K.C.B.,C.V.O.,Amb.E.& P.,
1300 Connecticut Ave.
Lady Isabella Howard.
Mr. Henry Getty Chilton, Counselor of Embassy,1812 R Street
(tel.North 61).
Mrs. Chilton.
Col.C.E.C.G.Charlton, Mil.Att.,1922 Sunderland Place
(tel.Franklin 7186).
Mrs. Charlton.
Capt.F.L.Tottenham,R.N.,Nav.Att.,1215 Sixteenth St.
Group Captain M.G.Christie,Air Attache,2400 Sixteenth St.
Mr. John Joyce Broderick, Comml.Counsellor of Embassy,
1601 Sixteenth St.
Mrs. Broderick. Absent.
Hon. H.W.Brooks, 1st Sec.,2132 Bancroft Place (tel.North 9398).
Hon.Mrs. Brooks.
Mr.H.F.C.Crookshank,2d.Sec.,1301 Nineteenth St.
Mr.J.Balfour,2d Sec.,1301 Nineteenth St.
Mr.G.H.Thompson,2d Sec.,2400 Sixteenth St.
Engineer Commander H.A.Brown,R.N.,Asst.Nav.Att.,1301 Nineteenth St
Mrs. Brown.
Mr. Eric Buxton,Comml.Sec.,1301 Nineteenth St.
Mrs. Buxton.
Mr. H.H.Sims, Attache,1819 Nineteenth St.(tel.Potomac 468).
Mr. Leander McCormick-Goodhart, Attache, The Brighton
(tel.North 3496).
Office of Embassy, 1301 Nineteenth St. (tel.Franklin 5272).

REFERENCE:

Diplomatic List.

Department of State, Washington,
September, 1924.

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C 45673
E. 1200
1925-26
E-9001
Vol. 2-A

CANADIAN ENVOY TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. JACOBS:

1. In what year was the office of Canadian envoy to the United States created?
2. Since the creation of such office, what sum or sums have been included in the estimates for the upkeep of the same?
3. Has the British government been consulted with regard to the creation of such office? If so, has it agreed to the same?
4. Is it the government's intention to fill the office? If so, when?
5. Is it in the interest of Canada that the office of envoy to the United States should be established?
6. If so, why has the appointment been delayed?

Right Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Had the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) been in his seat, I would have asked him to bring these questions up when the estimates for the Department of External Affairs are under consideration. I think that would be a more appropriate time to deal with them.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Stand, then?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, I would like to have the question dropped, and if my hon. friend does not approve of that method he can reinsert it on the order paper at some other time.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Dropped.

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Mr. Jacobs—On Monday next—INQUIRY OF MINISTRY—1. In what year was the office of Canadian Envoy to the United States created?

2. Since the creation of such office, what sum or sums have been included in the Estimates for the upkeep of the same?

3. Has the British Government been consulted with regard to the creation of such office? If so, has it agreed to the same?

4. Is it the Government's intention to fill the office? If so, when?

5. Is it in the interest of Canada that the office of Envoy to the United States should be established?

6. If so, why has the appointment been delayed?

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND QUESTIONS

C 45675

Mr. Jacobs—On Monday next—INQUIRY OF MINISTRY—1. In what year was the office of Canadian Envoy to the United States created?

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5. Is it in the interest of Canada that the office of Envoy to the United States should be established?

6. If so, why has the appointment been delayed?

MR. JACOBS' NOTICE OF MOTION

1. The office of Canadian Envoy to the United States has not been created. On May 10, 1920, the Acting Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that an agreement had been reached between the British and Canadian Governments for the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington in charge of Canadian affairs.

2. Provision has been made in the Estimates for Canadian representation at Washington as follows:-

1919-1920 -	$50,000.00
1920-1921 -	80,000.00
1921-1922 -	60,000.00
1922-1923 -	60,000.00
1923-1924 -	60,000.00
1924-1925 -	60,000.00

3. See answer to No.1

4. ----------

5. ----------

6. ----------

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CANADA

C 45676
E-9001
Vol. 2

Washington Legation

To Mr. King: July 13, 1925.

When Mr. Mahoney was here last month we had some casual conversation as to an estimate of the expenses likely to be involved in the establishment of a Canadian Legation. He said he had been looking into the question, so I asked him to submit an estimate. He has now done so. I enclose his statement, and a copy of his letter.

Mr. Mahoney's estimate, summarized, is as follows:

Salary of staff	$35,550
Office expenses:	
Current	26,850
¼ of capital expenses	2,350
Minister's expenses for residence, maintenance, and service	21,270
Entertainment	15,500
Total	$101,520

While part of the above sums would be included in the Minister's salary, doubtless a further allowance would have to be made for net salary over and above expenses, say $5,000.

I enclose a copy of my reply to Mr. Mahoney.

I understand that entertainment is heaviest in the first year. Every Legation receives or dinners the newcomer, and he must retaliate in kind. After the first year the pace slackens.

I think it is probable that $60,000, the present vote for this purpose, will be found inadequate. If, however, the appointment is not made until fairly well on in the fiscal year, it is quite probable that this sum would cover expenses for the balance of the first year.

O.D.S.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 45677

British Embassy,
Washington, June 30, 1925.

My dear Dr. Skelton:

During our conversation in your office on the 16th instant, I promised to send you an estimate of the expenses likely to be involved in connection with the establishment of a Canadian legation here.

I now send with this letter statements listed below. The estimates set forth therein are based on such information as I have been able to obtain from the foreign legations, as well as from my own observations:

Exhibit "A" - Proposed staff and salaries, opposite which I have shown corresponding salaries paid by the British Embassy;

Exhibit "B" - Estimate to cover equipment and office expenses;

Exhibit "C" - Estimate of Minister's expenses for residence, maintenance and servants;

Exhibit "D" - Entertainment. I know you will appreciate that this is a most difficult matter to itemize. I have, however, attempted to set forth some of the principal items that would come under this heading;

Exhibit "E" - Statement showing the complete staff of the British Embassy, along with the salaries and allowances paid.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) M. M. MAHONEY

Dr. O.D.Skelton, M.A.,Ph.D.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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EXHIBIT "A"

PROPOSED STAFF	PROPOSED SALARIES	CORRESPONDING SALARIES PAID BY BRITISH EMBASSY
Minister's Office:		
Private Secretary to Minister . . .	$3,600	$3,600
Stenographer	1,800	1,800
Secretary of the Legation (also in charge of commercial and trade matters) . . .	8,000	10,640
Clerk Accountant	2,400	4,000
Stenographer	1,800	1,800
Second Secretary	5,000	7,500
Social Stenographer	1,800	2,100
Stenographer	1,800	1,800
Librarian and Code Clerk	1,800	1,800
File Clerk	1,500	1,500
2 Messengers (one with status of Information Clerk in charge of desk in reception room and the other to run errands)	3,000	3,000
Telephone Operator	1,250	1,250
Chauffeur	1,800	1,800
	$35,550	$42,590

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EXHIBIT "B"

ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF OFFICE EXPENSES

CAPITAL ACCOUNT:

Office Equipment	$4,000	
One Safe	400	
One Limousine	5,000	
		$9,400

CURRENT EXPENSES:

Rent of Offices @ $600 per month	$7,200	
Telephone Service (switchboard and 8 phones)	120	
Telegrams and Cables	2,000	
Postage	1,250	
Stationery	2,500	
Insurance Premium	30	
Government Publications (purchased from Government Printing Off.)	400	
Taxi Hire and Car Fares	1,000	
Newspaper Clippings	200	
Newspapers and Publications . .	500	
Typewriter Supplies and Repairs .	300	
Flags	50	
Floral Wreaths	100	
Christmas Gratuities	200	
Travelling Expenses (Minister) . .	3,000	
" " (Secretaries) .	2,000	
Automobile Supplies	1,000	
Unforeseen Expenditures: Temporary Employees, etc. . .	5,000	
		26,850
		$36,250

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EXHIBIT "C"

ESTIMATE OF MINISTER'S EXPENSES
FOR RESIDENCE, MAINTENANCE, AND SERVANTS

Minister's Residence		$12,000
Heating		800
Lighting and Gas	600	
		$13,400
Servants in Minister's Residence:		
Butler	1,800	
Cook	1,620	
3 Maids at $600 each	1,800	
Laundress	900	
Janitor Service (attending furnace, lawn, etc.)	1,500	
Uniforms for Butler and Maids . .	250	
		7,870
		$21,270

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EMHIBIT "D"

ENTERTAINMENT - OCTOBER 1st to JUNE 1st

20 dinners - 25 people at $5 per plate	$2,500
Daily luncheons, average 5 people	2,000
Entertaining Canadian and other official delegates to conferences and missions such as Inter-parliamentary Union, and Debt Funding Missions	1,500
One Diplomatic Evening Reception	1,500
Teas and afternoon receptions	2,000
Club memberships (three)	500
Wines, Flowers, table and other Decorations . .	1,500
Temporary servants for teas, receptions, etc. .	1,000
Unforeseen expenses	3,000
	$15,500

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EXHIBIT "E"

C 45682

NAME	RANK	SALARY	ALLOWANCES REP. & HOUSE RENT ETC.	TOTAL IN DOLLARS at $4.86 per £
			Per Year	
DIPLOMATIC:				
The Ambassador		£2,500	£14,500	$83,620
H.G. Chilton	Counsellor of Embassy	1,500	1,800	16,038
Col. Charlton	Military Attache		(see note)	
Capt.F.L.Tottenham	Naval Attache		" "	
Capt. M. Christie	Air Attache		" "	
Hon. H. W. Brooks	First Secretary	1,000	1,400	10,640
G. H. Thompson	Second "	600	950	7,533
Mr. J. Balfour	Second "	600	950	7,533
Capt. H.A.Brown	Ass't Naval Attache		(see note)	
Mr. Hopkinson	Third Secretary (acts as Sec'y to Ambassador)	600	950	7,533
George Baker	Archivist			3,600
G. Ferris	File Clerk			1,800
	2 Ass't Lady File Clerks @ $1,500 each			3,000
	4 Stenographers (salaries ranging from $1,500 to $1,800)			6,580
	1 Typist			1,500
	1 Information Clerk			1,560
	3 Messengers (white)			4,680
	2 Messengers (colored) on duty 8 a.m. Clean offices and act as errand boys during day.			1,920
	2 Night Watchmen			3,120
	1 Janitor			1,000
	Total			$161,657
COMMERCIAL:				
J. J. Broderick	Commercial Counsellor	1,700	1,750	16,767
Eric Buxton	First Comm.Secretary	1,500	650	9,000
H. H. Sims	Attache (acts as accountant to Commercial Dept.,for which he is paid			4,000
L.McC. Goodhart	Honorary Attache			no salary
	3 Stenographers (salaries ranging from $1,680 to $1,800)			5,160
	1 File Clerk (Archivist)			2,100
	1 Librarian			1,680
	Total			$38,707
	Diplomatic, total			$161,657
	Commercial, "			38,707
Secretarial-Stenographer to Military Attache (man)				3,000
" " " Naval " (lady). . . .				3,000
" " " Air " (man)				3,000
Total amount of salaries and allowances				$209,364

Note: This does not include salaries of Military, Naval, and Air Attaches. They are paid regular naval,and military pay, plus liberal representation allowances.

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C 45683

Ottawa, Canada,
July 13, 1925.

M. M. Mahoney, Esq.,
The British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

Personal

My dear Mr. Mahoney:

I have read with much interest the statement you have sent in response to our conversation, outlining the probable cost of a Canadian Legation in Washington. I have no doubt that it is a reasonable estimate, as compared with the outlay of the majority of legations in Washington, and that if the country appoints a Minister at all, there is a certain scale of expenditure which cannot possibly be avoided. I understand, however, from such information as I have gathered of the Cabinet's attitude, that they do not wish to begin with such a full-fledged staff. Possibly the Irish Free State's establishment would be a little too modest for our purposes, but it may be that a happy mean can be discovered.

In any case, your very detailed and informed statement will be extremely helpful when the matter comes up for definite consideration.

Yours sincerely,

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

We note - carpet

C 45684

MINISTER OF FINANCE
CANADA

Aug 8/25

Re Washington office

Strictly confidential

Lemieux and I chanced to meet in Dondeau and his office about 3 weeks since; he asked me to say to you that Providing Belcourt's conditions were unacceptable he Lemieux, was now prepared, if you offered him the position to accept - without any

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Conditions — but the
wished it clearly
understood that
he did not wish to
interfere with Belcourt's
chances."

Jas A Robb

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 45686

COPY

THE WILLIAM DAVIES COMPANY LIMITED

In your reply please refer to C.B.Lindsey.

Toronto 2, Canada.
November 16th, 1925

Department of External Affairs for Canada,
Parliament Buildings,
OTTAWA.

Dear Sirs:

Last week we had occasion to correspond with your Representative Mr. M.N.Mahoney, at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C., regarding the ruling on the import duty levied against Fresh Sausage entering the United States from Canada.

Our appeal to Mr. Mahoney grew out of the fact that the Customs Officers in New York City were admitting Sausage only under a duty which we did not consider to be a fair one. This resulted in our having to pay approximately 4¢ per pound more than we thought correct.

Four days after we wrote Mr. Mahoney we received a wire from him quoting us authority for a decision in our favor.

We are simply bringing this to your attention as we feel that prompt and efficient service of this kind on the part of our Canadian Representative in Washington should be the subject of favorable comment.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) C.B.Lindsey

Cooked Meat Dept.

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CANADA

C 4568?

E-9004
Markey

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

F.

Can. Representative to Washington

Memorandum for Mr. Moyer.

(2)

16th November, 1925.

I enclose copy of a letter received from The William Davies Company, expressing appreciation of the efforts of Mr. Mahoney in a recent point in which they are interested. I have acknowledged the letter, and also brought it to the attention of Mr. Mahoney. I thought that perhaps at some convenient time the letter might be brought to the Prime Minister's attention.

O.D.S.

Ottawa, 23rd November, 1925.

NOV 24 Recd

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CANADA

C 45688 E-9001
Vol. 1-B

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA
E.T.

1926

No. 1*

February 8—*Mr. Cahan*—ADDRESS—For a return showing:—

1. A copy of the Royal Commission and Instructions, if any, issued by His Majesty the King to Honourable Vincent Massey as Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the interests of Canada in the United States;

2. A copy of each and every Order in Council passed by His Majesty the King in Council or by the Privy Council of Canada, requesting, authorizing or approving of the said appointment of the Honourable Vincent Massey as such Minister Plenipotentiary;

3. A copy of all correspondence between the Prime Minister of Canada or any Minister of the Government of Canada, with the Prime Minister of Great Britain or any Minister or department of the Government of Great Britain relating to the said appointment of the Honourable Vincent Massey as such Minister Plenipotentiary;

4. A copy of any instructions issued by the Government of Canada to the said Minister Plenipotentiary.

Notes for Prime Minister's consideration: (not draft statement).

1. No Commission is issued in the case of a Minister; a letter of credence is issued, of which we have a copy ("A"), and could include it in the return as soon as presented to President Coolidge (February 19th).

   As the question reads, "a copy of the Royal Commission and instructions, if any", it is not necessary to make any statement or objection today. on this point.

2. A copy of the Canadian Order-in-Council ~~can~~ of course be provided ("B"). In this Order-in-Council it was stated that the appointment of Massey by the King on the advice of his Canadian ministers was requested. The appointment is made by the letter of credence. Mr.Cahan is evidently trying to find out whether there was any British Order-in-Council intervening between the Canadian advice and the King's action. It might be as well to ignore this point for the present.

3. This could be brought down, subject as usual to the consent of the British authorities.

4. This should not be acceded to. It might be said that the only instructions issued by the Government of Canada to the Minister deal with specific questions pending between the two governments which it would not be customary ~~nor in the national interest~~ to make public.
   (NOTE: no such instructions actually issued as yet, but some are being drafted for consideration.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 45688 E-9001 Vol. 1-B

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA
E.T.

1926

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 45689

to be a true

Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 10th November, 1926.

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

P.C.1780

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a memorandum from the Honourable James A. Robb, Acting Prime Minister, submitting that following full consideration by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada and after consultation between the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of Great Britain, it has been considered desirable in view of the increasing range, importance and urgency of questions requiring adjustment between Canada and the United States, that the Dominion of Canada should be represented in Washington by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary appointed by His Majesty on the advice of His Canadian Ministers to have charge of Canadian affairs, serving as the ordinary channel of communication between the Canadian and United States Governments and acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and reporting to him.

The Acting Prime Minister further submits that it is not in contemplation to adopt the provision of the agreement effected in 1920 between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Canada whereby the Canadian Minister was to be a Member of the British Embassy and to have charge, in the absence of the Ambassador, of the Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as of Canadian interests.

The Acting Prime Minister accordingly recommends that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint the Honourable Vincent Massey as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington with the special object of representing in the United States of America the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letter of credence.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemieux

Clerk of the Privy Council.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

AF.

C 45690

(C O P Y)

P. C. 1780.

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 NOVEMBER 1926.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a memorandum from the Honourable James A. Robb, Acting Prime Minister, submitting that following full consideration by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada and after consultation between the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of Great Britain, it has been considered desirable in view of the increasing range, importance and urgency of questions requiring adjustment between Canada and the United States, that the Dominion of Canada should be represented in Washington by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary appointed by His Majesty on the advice of His Canadian Ministers to have charge of Canadian affairs, serving as the ordinary channel of communication between the Canadian and United States Governments and acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and reporting to him.

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The Right Honourable
the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

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The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

(Signed) E. J. LEMAIRE,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 45692

Appointment of Honourable Vincent Massey
as
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
to the United States.

GEORGE,
by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperior of India, &c., &c., &c.

To the President of the United States of America, Sendeth Greeting!

Our Good Friend!

We have judged it expedient to confer the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary upon Our Trusty and Well-Beloved the Honourable Charles Vincent Massey, Member of Our Privy Council of Canada, with the especial object of representing in the United States of America the interests of Our Dominion of Canada.

We request that You will give entire credence to all that Mr. Massey may represent to You in Our name, especially when he shall assure You of Our esteem and regard, and of Our hearty wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the United States of America.

And so We commend You to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at Our Court of Saint James, the Seventh day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-six, and in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.

Your Good Friend,

(Signed) George R.I.

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C 45693 E-9006

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

E

Can. Representative to Washington —

Note for Mr. King.

3rd December, 1926.

Attached is copy of a letter from Mr. Mahoney summarizing the legislative outlook in the current session of Congress. A copy is also being sent to Mr. Massey.

O.D.S.

O. D SKELTON

Ottawa, 10th December, 1926.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 45694

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CANADA.

British Embassy,
Washington, December 3,1926.

NO. 3

My dear Dr. Skelton:

With regard to the short session of Congress, which begins December 6th and ends March 4th, 1927, it now seems that the chief legislative matters to be dealt with include the following:

SUPPLY BILLS:

The House will, in a general way, give preference to the appropriation bills, and may get one or two of these supply measures over to the Senate before the Christmas holidays.

CHICAGO DIVERSION:

By agreement, the Senate takes up the Rivers and Harbours bill on December 15th. This measure contains the Illinois River project, which was passed by the House last session by a vote of 139 to 58.

While it seems there are enough votes in the Senate to pass the bill, and notwithstanding the public statements of Mr. Hoover and others in support of those interests advocating a deeper waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, (reported in my letter No. 2, December 2nd) I still believe there is a chance of the Illinois project being removed from the bill before it emerges from Congress.

FARM RELIEF:

A revival of the farm relief controversy was assured today, by the drafting of a new McNary-Haugen stabilization bill for the creation of a Government corporation to export farm products.

It is understood that most of the provisions of the old bill were rewritten into the new measure. It will authorize a $250,000,000 appropriation to be used as a revolving fund by the proposed corporation.

This fund would be repaid to the Government through the levying of an equalization fee upon the products benefited. Its export features would apply to cotton, wheat, corn, swine and rice.

Owing to the recent upheaval in the cotton-growing industry, it is possible that Southern Senators and Representatives might now support such legislation, but in all probability no definite action will be taken upon the bill during the short session.

Dr. O. D. Skelton, M.A., Ph. D.,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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RADIO:

Bills passed by the House and Senate will be taken up immediately by conferees of both Houses, and legislation of some sort may be expected.

ALIEN PROPERTY:

During the past month hearings have been held before the House Committee of Ways and Means in the matter of returning to owners the German property held by the Alien Property Custodian, and of arranging for settlement of the claims of American nationals.

In this connection, the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, on November 30th, announced that the Committee had reached a complete agreement on the principles of a non-partisan bill, which will be introduced as soon as Congress convenes. Two copies of Chairman Green's statement are attached hereto.

MILK AND CREAM:

The Lenroot Bill, the intent of which is to restrict imports of milk and cream from Canada, was passed by the House last session, and it is now pending on the Senate calendar.

MIGRATORY BIRD BILL:

A measure to meet more effectively the obligations of the existing Migratory Bird Treaty with Canada is pending in the Senate under the general orders of last session.

FOREIGN COMMERCE BILL:

This bill would create in the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, a Foreign Commerce Service, to be composed of commercial attaches and trade commissioners.

Appointments to this service would be made by the Secretary of Commerce after examinations held by the Civil Service Commission and the Department and would be to grades and classes,- i. e., commercial attaches in senior and junior grades; assistant attaches; trade commissioners and assistant trade commissioners. The salary range would be as follows: Class 1, per annum, $8,000 to $10,000; Class 2, $7,000 to $9,000; Class 3 $6,000 to $8,000; Class 4, $5,000 to $7,000; Class 5, $4,000 to $6,000; Class 6, $3,000 to $5,000; Class 7, below $3,000.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is strongly urging the adoption of this measure. It has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

TAX REDUCTION:

As this subject is still in the throes of politics it is impossible to forecast at this time just what may develop in the way of tax reduction.

TABLED RESOLUTIONS:

Resolutions left on the table, which can be called up any time, include:

Investigation of activities of the Tariff Commission;
Investigation of prices abroad compared with domestic prices;
Representation in any foreign conference for further limitation of armament;
Investigation of prohibition in all its phases;
Recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia.

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The foregoing, in a general way, covers the legislative programme as it appears at this writing, at least as to major bills. There will, of course, be some other miscellaneous or emergency matters not now foreseen.

The possibility of an extra session after March 4th, is not receiving any serious consideration at the present time.

As a result of the Senatorial election in Maine on Monday last, the line-up of the Senators to be sworn in on March 4th now stands: Republicans 48; Democrats 47; Farm-Labour 1.

This standing will enable the Republicans to organize the committees of the Senate by a single vote. There are, however, half a dozen Republicans (Progressive) who vote with their party on organization matters, but on legislation are independent, so it appears that the Republicans will have little more than a paper control of the next Senate.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) M. M. MAHONEY.

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C 45697

COPY.

UNITED STATES DAILY ~~XXXX~~ NOVEMBER 29,1926.

AGREEMENT MADE ON BILL TO RETURN ALIEN PROPERTY.

CHAIRMAN OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR PAYMENTS.

Complete agreement on the principles of a non-partisan bill for return of alien property, both that in the the Alien Property Custodian's hands and the ships, patents and radio stations held by the United States Government, as well as on the payments of awards of American claimants against Germany, was announced orally on November 30 by Representative William R. Green (Rep.), of Council Bluffs, Ia., chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means.

Representative John W. Garner (Dem.) of Uvalde, Tex., ranking minority member of the committee, joined in the announcement that the committee is agreed on the proposed legislation. Chairman Green was authorised by the committee to appoint a subcommittee to draft a measure in accord with the principles adopted.

Chairman Green made the following statement:

"The plan agreed to, which is a compromise of the plan proposed previously by Mr. Green, provides for a system of deferred payments as follows:

"Alien property held by the Alien Property Custodian The return of 20 per cent (aggregating $48,000,000) of the Alien Property Custodian's funds, will be deferred and they would receive immediately $192,000,000.

"Ships, patents and radio stations, limited in the aggregate to $100,000,000, of which $50,000,000 is to be deferred.

"Mixed Claims Commission awards to American claimants, totalling $190,000,000, of which $133,000,000 is to be paid at once and $57,000,000 deferred. Of these awards, the LUSITANIA and similar death claims are to be regarded as preferred, not being subject to deferred payment.

"The plan contemplates a $100,000,000 appropriation to cover the payments for the ships, patents and radio.

"The principle to be adopted should apply, without discrimination, to each of the three groups (that is, owners of property held by the Alien Property Custodian, owners of ships, etc., and American nationals).

"In order to do this, it is necessary to determine the funds available for distribution, determine the aggregate amounts to be paid, pay in cash as much as possible, and defer the payment of the remainder.

"As an illustration: Assume that

"(1) The total value of the German property held by the Alien Property Custodian (exclusive of the unallocated interest fund) is $240,000,000.

"(2) The total awards to American nationals, including interest to Jan.1, 1927, is $190,000,000.

"(3) The aggregate awards for the ships, radio stations, and patents, will be $100,000,000.

"Based upon the above amounts, if 70 per cent were paid in cash and the payment of 30 per cent were deferred,

the . . .

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the following would result.

"It will be necessary to raise in cash $183,000,000 and to defer the payment of $155,000,000.

"The following cash is available: Appropriation by Congress, $100,000,000, 30 per cent of property held by Alien Property Custodian, $48,000,000; unallocated interest $26,000,000; 2 1/4 per cent payments under the Dawes Plan, to September 1, 1927, $14,000,000, total cash available, $188,000,000. Surplus Cash required, $183,000,000. Surplus cash, excess of amount actually required under the new plan, $5,000,000.

"Based upon these figures, the total deferred payment would be $155,000,000, which would bear interest at 3 1/2 per cent per annum and which would be retired out of future 2 1/4 per cent payments. Assuming these payments to be $11,000,000 a year all amounts would be paid in 18 or 19 years.

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Canadian-American Relations
Canadian Representative to Washington

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

C 45899

Note for Mr. King.

4th December, 1926.

I attach copy of a letter from Mr. Mahoney summarizing his work as Agent of the Department of External Affairs in Washington. A copy of this letter is also being sent to Mr. Massey.

O.D. SKELTON.

Ottawa, 10th December, 1926.

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C 45700

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

British Embassy,
Washington, December 4, 1926.

NO. 5

My dear Dr. Skelton:

As the time approaches for the establishment of a Canadian Legation, it is perhaps desirable that I should send you a statement indicating, briefly, the duties which I have been performing as Agent of the Department here.

In this connection, I am submitting the enclosed statement in duplicate.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) M. M. MAHONEY.

Dr. O. D. Skelton, M.A., Ph. D.,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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C 45701

AGENCY DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CANADA.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The office of the Agent of the Department of External Affairs was created on May 27th, 1921, following the closing up of the affairs of the Canadian War Mission.

The first move in the direction of keeping the Government departments at Ottawa informed direct as to the activities of the United States Congress, the Executive departments, and the agencies of the Government, began after my appointment as Secretary of the Canadian War Mission. The necessity for such a service soon after became more pronounced, especially when Congress took steps to enact a stop-gap tariff measure, now known as the Emergency Tariff Act. Then followed a general revision of the Tariff Laws, the Revenue Laws, the Immigration Laws, and other legislation in which Canada was peculiarly interested if not concerned.

Preceding the revision of the tariff, the United States Tariff Commission made an exhaustive survey of each and every commodity listed in the then existing Act. Each survey was printed in a standard form of pamphlet. Copies of these surveys, (over 500 publications) along with other valuable reports of the Tariff Commission, were obtained and forwarded to Ottawa as soon as printed.

While the Tariff Bill was passing through the Committee stages of Congress, its progress was closely observed and promptly reported. This included the forwarding of Committee print copies of the hearings, records of discussions in the House of Representatives and the Senate; also relevant cuttings from the press.

Similar action was taken in connection with all bills considered by Congress which were likely to be of interest to the Dominion.

Following the enactment of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law, with its radical departures from preceding tariffs, communications

piled /

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piled in daily from all parts of Canada, mostly seeking authoritative interpretations of the Act and of the regulations issued in connection therewith. The same was true to a lesser extent in the case of other new legislation such as the Immigration Restriction Laws, the Merchant Marine Act, Anti-Dumping Laws, etc.

Meanwhile, many other problems were dealt with. Perhaps one of the most important was the shortage of coal in Canada, due to labour troubles in all the mines and with the transportation systems.

The miners' strike, which stopped production at all unionized mines during the latter part of 1919, caused depletion of surplus stocks of coal in Canada and the United States, which could not be replenished on account of adverse transportation conditions. While the Canadian industries were badly handicapped, due to lack of sufficient fuel, this situation became more serious on account of United States railroad strikes which began before the miners' strike was settled and lasted well into 1920. Not only Canada was not getting a supply of coal for winter stock, but we had to overcome unsurpassed difficulties in obtaining a sufficient quantity to meet the immediate demands of our public institutions, utilities, and buildings.

A careful survey was made of the situation, both in Canada and the United States, statistical information was gathered daily showing production and distribution in the United States, exports to Canada during the preceding years as compared with exports to all foreign countries during the same period, so that when conditions became critical and the United States authorities were obliged to restrict exports, embargo the bunkering of foreign vessels, and control domestic distribution, we were prepared on a moment's notice to deal intelligently with the authorities here, and to combat the activities of the New England States, the Hearst press, and certain Congressmen, in their efforts to have Congress embargo the shipping of coal to Canada.

Without entering further into the details of what may have been accomplished through the efforts of this office during the

1919-20 /

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1919-20 strikes, and the equally serious coal crisis of 1923, it may be enough to say that the records contain letters of appreciation from the Dominion Fuel Controller, members of the Federal Advisory Fuel Board, Provincial authorities, and the many Canadian importers of coal.

Measures of general importance considered by Congress and reported upon by this office during the past year include the following:

Agriculture:
- Credit Act (still in committee stages)
- Co-Operative Marketing (legislation enacted July 2nd, 1926)
- Dumping of Farm Products (pending in Committee stages)
- Plant Quarantine (amendment enacted April 13, 1926)
- Haugen Farm Relief Bill (rejected by Senate June 24, 1926)
- Future Sales (still in Committee stages)

Alaskan Fisheries: (legislation enacted June 18, 1926)

Alien Property. (legislation enacted May 7, 1926)

Appropriations. (all Departments and Independent Offices)

Aviation:
- Commercial (legislation enacted May 26, 1926)
- Army (legislation enacted May 5, 1926)
- Navy (legislation enacted April 12, 1926)

Bankruptcy Act. (amendment enacted May 27, 1926)

Blue Sky Law. (pending in Committee stages)

Bridges International.

Coal. (still in Committee stages)

Convict Made Goods. (pending in Committee stages)

Food and Drugs Act. (pending in Committee stages)

Foreign Service. (pending in Committee stages)

Foreign Trade Zones. (pending in Committee stages)

Immigration. (3 amendments to Quota Law considered; 1 amendment adopted; 2 remain on calendar)

Merchant Marine:
- Load Lines for vessels (pending on House Calendar)
- Overseas Trade Act (pending before Senate Committee)
- American Seamen (pending on Senate Calendar)
- Marine Employees Compensation (passed Senate on House Calendar)

Marking of Merchandise. (pending on House Calendar)

Milk /

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Milk and Cream. (pending on Senate Calendar)

Passports. (Act authorizing U.S. Consulates to issue passports approved July 3, 1926)

Patents. (pending before Senate)

Radio. (pending before Conference of both Houses)

River and Harbour Bill. (pending on Senate Calendar)

Railroad Labour Act. (Adopted May 20, 1926)

Truth in Fabric Act. (pending on Senate Calendar)

Trade Marks. (proposed revision of Trade Mark Laws still in Committee stages)

World Court. (Consent of U.S. adherence adopted with reservations January 27, 1926)

The first regular session of the 69th Congress ended on July 3, 1926. Bills left pending in Committees and upon the calendars of their respective Houses will maintain their status until the new session begins. In the ordinary course the next session will be the "short" session which will assemble on December 6th, 1926, and expire by limitation on March 4, 1927.

CHICAGO DRAINAGE CANAL:

An effort has been made to give this subject special attention. The legal proceedings before the United States Supreme Court, as well as any action taken by Congress, has been promptly reported, involving 355 pieces of correspondence, and the forwarding of 12 copies each of all relevant Congressional Documents, Departmental Papers, and Briefs filed with the United States Supreme Court.

ALL-AMERICAN DEEPER WATERWAY:

New York interests advocating an All-American Deeper Waterway from the Great Lakes to the Hudson River, were unsuccessful in their efforts to have the 1926 Rivers and Harbours Bill provide for such a project. They finally succeeded, however, in having a provision made for a further study and survey.

In this connection, the Board of Engineers, on October 23, 1926, issued a public notice of an adverse report, in which it was

stated/

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stated that the Board's adverse conclusions are based upon the principal grounds that the construction and operation of the proposed waterway would require an expenditure largely in excess of the probable benefits to be derived therefrom. This latest report by the Board of Engineers is the third adverse report upon the project within the last two years, and the second adverse report within eight months.

Another scheme for an All-American Deep Channel from the Lakes to the Hudson is that promoted by Millard F. Bowen, and known as the "Bowen Scheme".

The activities of the promoters of both schemes have been fully reported.

ST. LAWRENCE DEEPER WATERWAY:

Twelve or more copies of all the material emanating from various sources here on this matter are promptly forwarded; also reports from time to time dealing with the activities of those supporting the project, as well as those opposing it.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION:

The functions of this Commission, both under the Act creating it, and the additional duties imposed upon it by the "flexible provisions" of the Tariff Act of 1922 are such that its far-reaching activities demand close focusing. I doubt that any other governmental agency has ever gathered and published such a vast amount of economic and industrial information relating to customs laws and usages of all nations.

FLEXIBLE TARIFF LAW:

Proceedings by the Tariff Commission, under the "flexible provisions" of the Tariff Law, since its enactment, to date, have resulted in proclamations by the President, granting increases in the tariff rates of nine articles, namely: oxalic acid, barium dioxide, wheat, wheat flour, sodium nitrite, potassium chloride, butter, men's straw hats, print rollers.

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In the case of the first five commodities, legal proceedings have been instituted by importers for judicial determinations as to the constitutionality of the President's powers to change tariff rates. This litigation is now well on the way to the Supreme Court for final decisions.

Decreases have been proclaimed in three cases only: by-products of mill feeds, Bobwhite quail, and paint brush handles. In each of these instances, the maximum reduction of 50 per cent was authorized.

Investigations now under way, in which Canada is interested, include the following:

Commodity	Status
Halibut	Investigation completed and reported to President.
Casein	Final report before Commission.
Rag Rugs	Pending before Commission.
Glue	Pending before Commission.
Magnesite	Pending before Commission.
Maple Sugar and Syrup....	In progress.
Logs of Fir, Spruce, Cedar and Western Hemlock..	In progress.
Shingles	In progress.
Fluorspar	In progress.
Milk and Cream.....	In progress.
Flaxseed	In progress.
Eggs and Egg Products.....	In progress.

In the case of shingles, the investigation is under the general powers of the Commission. This commodity being on the free list, no change in its tariff status can be authorized except by Congress.

COMMERCIAL:

Another aspect of the services of this office is the affording of aid to Canadian manufacturers and exporters from whom communications are received daily, which in most cases necessitates informal representations to the appropriate departments of the Government.

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The matters involved include Treasury Decisions, Customs Duties, Excise Taxes, Anti-Dumping Laws, Interstate Commerce Decisions, Quarantine Regulations, Pure Food Laws, Contract Labour Laws, and Marking of Merchandise Requirements.

For efficient transmittal direct to Canadian manufacturers, copies of United States Departmental regulations and opinions relating to the imports of merchandise are forwarded to the Canadian Manufacturers Association for distribution to the firms interested.

During the year many letters have been received from Canadian business men, the Canadian Manufacturers Association, and other commercial organizations in Canada, containing expressions of appreciation for the efforts put forth to facilitate their business with American importers.

Through the courtesy of the United States Department of Commerce this office receives four to six copies of all its statistical statements and Trade Information Bulletins; also copies of a weekly summary of cables from the Department's Agents abroad. These reports, along with other commercial data, published for the use of the American manufacturers and exporters are promptly and regularly forwarded to Ottawa.

AID TO CANADIAN NATIONALS:

During the winter and spring months many calls are had from ex-members of the Canadian Forces and other Canadians now resident in this country, who become stranded and seek assistance, financially and otherwise. Since no fund is provided, arrangements are made with local charitable institutions to put them up temporarily. Meanwhile efforts are put forth to find employment for them.

Enquiries from ex-Canadian soldiers, mostly with regard to medicinal treatment and pensions have not been so numerous during the past year. In dealing with such cases, I cannot emphasize too strongly the splendid spirit of co-operation extended by the Foreign Relations Section of the United States Veterans Bureau.

A number of young Canadians coming to this country, who are unable to find employment before their funds become exhausted, fall

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into the hands of the United States Army and Navy Recruiting Officers. Then, after a few months service, appeals for assistance to obtain their release are received, in some cases from the men themselves, others from Ottawa, and in many cases from their parents. Informal representations to the War Department in 12 such cases resulted in the release of 11 men.

PUBLICITY:

Through the courtesy of the Canadian Department of the Interior, and of Immigration and Colonization, it has been possible to distribute a considerable amount of literature pertaining to the Resources of Canada, Export Trade, Land Grants, and Information for Tourists. The Weekly News Letter "Canada Week by Week" is furnished regularly to the leading newspapers.

Since April, 1921, an office has been located in the British Embassy, by virtue of a temporary arrangement pending the appointment of a Canadian Minister. As anticipated at the time, this move proved of mutual benefit in that it relieved the Embassy of dealing with the steadily increasing number of enquiries and other matters pertaining to Canada.

On the other hand, it enabled me to attend to all such matters summarily and, of course, the prestige of His Majesty's Embassy was invaluable, particularly in dealing with problems of a quasi-diplomatic nature.

I desire, also, to record my deep appreciation of the generous treatment accorded me by His Excellency the British Ambassador, his predecessor, Sir Auckland Geddes, His Majesty's Minister, Mr. H. G. Chilton, and the Commercial Counsellor, Mr. John Joyce Broderick, to all of whom I am deeply indebted for their confidence and wise counsel; also to the other members of the staff for their splendid spirit of co-operation.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) M. M. MAHONEY.

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C 45709 1927
O.D. Skelton

1

WORK OF THE CANADIAN MINISTER

The range and importance of the questions arising between Canada and the United States and requiring consideration by their governments and their representatives are well indicated in a statement issued by the State Department of the United States on the appointment of the United States Minister to Canada. The Canadian Minister to the United States will of course be as much concerned in such negotiations as the United States Minister to Canada.

Attached.

Ambassador Bryce some years ago declared that the greater part of his time was occupied in considering Canadian questions.

Mr. Massey's work since going to Washington has included representations on the following among other questions:

Work of the Pecuniary Claims Commission, a temporary tribunal set up to adjust certain outstanding claims by citizens of either country against the government of the other.

Negotiations regarding radio broadcasting, to provide for division between Canadian and United States stations of the limited number of available wave lengths.

Representations regarding use of British Columbia ports by United States fishing vessels.

Provision for representation of Canadian interests in the hearings to consider the regulations to be drawn up under the Lenroot-Taber Milk Bill.

Discussion of the United States embargo on milk shipments from western Quebec and eastern Ontario.

Many detailed cases regarding:

Extradition of persons charged with crimes.

Deportation of Canadians or United States citizens.

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Seizure of vessels charged with rum-running.

Claims for customs refunds or against United States departments.

In addition Mr. Massey reports from time to time on pending legislation or administrative action of probable interest to Canada.

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C 45711 March 1927.
O.D Skelton

Notes on Washington Legation Appropriations.

I. Salaries and Allowances of Minister and Staff.

(a) Minister.

The Washington appointment is our first experiment in diplomacy. That makes it both more necessary and more difficult to set a proper standard in the appropriations for Minister and staff, and in the provision of quarters. Some light can be obtained from general considerations, some from our own experience in quasi-diplomatic appointments, the High Commissioner in London and the Commissioner General in Paris, and some from the practice of Great Britain and the United States.

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

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(chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee) is not to be caught with gold plate such as the British Ambassador flashes in Rio de Janeiro. Our jobs in Washington are our own and call for little of that daily hobnobbing with other legations which is inevitable in European capitals where everyone is playing the same game - how to tilt the balance of power a little more his own way - and is interested in every move and intrigue of every other representative. In the last analysis, it is the man that counts, not his house; knowledge of human nature or a sense of humor will go farther than tapestried walls and elaborate soirees such as some Latin American legations give.

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

The salaries and allowances paid our present chief representatives abroad, with proposed changes, are as follows:

	Salary	House Allowance.	Living Allowance	Upkeep of car.	Total
High Commissioner, London.					
Present	$10,000.	$5000.			$15,000.
Proposed	$12,000.	$5000.	—	$3000.	$20,000.
Commissioner General, Paris.					
Present	$12,000.	~~$5000~~	$2500.	$3000.	$17,500.
Proposed	$12,000.			$3000.	$20,000.

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

The inadequacy of United States salaries has been notorious from the beginning of things. John Quincy Adams writes from London in 1815:

> "It is needless to say to you, or to any person having been in the same capacity here, that the annual salary of an American minister is insufficient to support a man with a family - I say not, in the style of high official rank, but in the decency becoming a private gentleman".

John W.Davis, Ambassador in London nearly a century later,gave similar testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee:

> "No man likes to talk about his private or personal affairs, but you will forgive my doing that because of the facts I have to offer about the conditions. I went to London at a salary of $17,500. I am quite sure that my establishment in London was more modest than that of any other ambassador there. I did not do a great deal of entertaining. I only did the entertaining which was indispensable to return the courtesies which I officially received. Of course, you can not always take and never give. You must entertain the officials of the Government who entertains you to be recognized as on a friendly footing with them."
>
> "I paid as rent for my house $8,000 in round figures - that is, paid 1,500 pounds sterling,plus rates and taxes,which are the real estate rents on it; which it cost me every year I was there,roughly. There was also a very low rate of exchange which I had in my favor the whole time, the low rate of exchange on the pound sterling,which went once as low as $3.30 and ran from that to $4.10 and up and down. Living as I was,without any ostentation - it was not a time for ostentation, and had I been a multi-millionaire I would not at that particular time, under the circumstances, have indulged in the slightest ostentation whatever; the British people were just

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coming out of the war, were all distressed, still had the wounds on their persons and were bowed down with financial difficulty, and any man who could have made a display at that time would have made himself unpopular; it was eminently a time for conservatism and quietude - but with all that, living as I was, counting the expenses of myself and family, which is small, it cost me,roughly, three times my salary every year I was there, between fifty thousand and sixty thousand dollars. I do not believe that anybody could possibly have done it, done it decently, with any less expenditure than that. Now, of course that is not fair".

Walter Page writes to Colonel House on February 13,1914,as follows:

> "Of course I am open to the criticism of having taken the place at all. But I was both uninformed and misinformed about the cost as well as about the frightful handicap of having no Embassy. It's a kind of scandal in London and it has its serious effect. Everybody talks about it all the time: 'Will you explain to me why it is that your great Government has no Embassy: It's very odd!' 'What a frugal Government you have!' 'It's a damned mean outfit, your American Government.' Mrs.Page collapses many an evening when she gets to her room. 'If they'd only quit talking about it!' The other Ambassadors, now that we're coming to know them fairly well, commiserate us. It's a constant humiliation. Of course this aspect of it doesn't worry me much - I've got hardened to it. But it is a good deal of a real handicap, and it adds that much dead weight that a man must overcome; and it greatly lessens the respect in which our Government and its Ambassadors are held. If I had known this fully in advance, I should not have had the courage to come here. Now, of course, I've got used to it, have discounted it, and can "bull" it through - could "bull" it through if I could afford to pay the bill. But I shouldn't advise any friend of mine to come here and face this humiliation,without realizing precisely what it means - wholly apart, of course, from the cost of it".

Britain pays its ambassadors and ministers:

1. Salary. £2000 to ministers, £2500 to ambassadors.[x]
2. Foreign allowances, "to include entertainment and representation allowance, varying in amount according to the necessities of individual posts".
3. Residence. Adequate houses or apartments, or rent allowances, which apparently are taken to be the actual amount required, if any, to provide suitable quarters over what would be required at home.

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[x] Foreign Office List,1926.p.116.

The personal salaries of members of the Diplomatic Service serving at home and abroad respectively are fixed on the following basis:-

	At Home	Abroad.
	£ a year	£ a year.
Second and Third Secretaries	200-20-240-25-500	300-20-340-25-600
First Secretaries	700-25-900	800-25-1000.
Counsellors	1000-50-1200	1200-50-1500.
Ministers		2000
Assistant Under-Secretaries of State	2200 inclusive	
Ambassadors	1200-100-1500	2500.
Permanent Under Secretary of State	3000 inclusive.	—

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The United States pays:

1. Salary. $10,000 to ministers(e.g. Sweden,Canada), or $12,000 in a few cases; $17,500 to ambassadors.

2. Foreign allowances: 0

3. Residence: hitherto quarters in only half a dozen cases; no rent allowance elsewhere.

Under the Porter Act,1926, the sum of $10,000,000 was appropriated by Congress for the acquisition or construction of legation and consular buildings, including housing quarters; Pierpont Morgan has recently given a house for the U.S.Ambassador in London.

The following table shows the comparative sums paid to British and United States ministers at important posts:

	Great Britain Salary and Representation Allowance.	United States Salary.
Albania	$8,515	$10,000.
Argentina	43,978	17,500
Austria	21,899•	10,000
Belgium	26,765•	17,500
Bolivia	14,599	10,000
Brazil	45,014	17,500
Bulgaria	17,032	10,000
Chile	23,359	17,500•
China	24,332	12,000•
Colombia	14,399	10,000
Cuba	10,012	12,000•
Czechoslovakia	19,466	10,000
Denmark	21,899	10,000
Egypt	58,398•	7,500
Esthonia,Latvia and Lithuania	18,006•	10,000
Finland	18,735	10,000
France	80,297•	17,500
Germany	38,932•	17,500
Great Britain		17,500
Greece	19,466	10,000
Italy	$38,932	17,500
Japan	29,199•	17,500
Mexico	14,599	17,500
Netherlands	24,332•	12,000
Norway	21,899	10,000
Panama	15,572	10,000
Persia	24,332	10,000
Peru	18,102	17,500
Poland	27,252	12,000
Portugal	19,466	10,000
Rumania	19,466	10,000
Serb-Croat-Slovene State	18,979	10,000
Siam	14,599	10,000•
Spain	29,199•	17,500
Sweden	21,899	10,000
Switzerland	18,248•	10,000
Turkey	42,581•	17,500
United States	97,330•	
Uruguay	20,439	10,000
Venezuela	14,599	10,000

•Residences owned by Government and supplied in addition to salary

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Taking into consideration the reasonable needs of the post, the greater public responsibilities as compared with those of London and Paris, and the examples of the British and United States services, the one perhaps too aristocratic, the other too undemocratic, to afford an exact model, some such amount as follows might be required:

Salary	12 000
House allowance (if residence not provided)	8 000
Living or Foreign Allowance, including representation	10 000
Total -	30 000

(b) Secretaries.

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

This would appear to be the proper system for us to work toward. For the present, of course, appointments will have to be made from outside and to higher grades. At the outset three or perhaps four "secretaries" or executive members should suffice.

The salary schedule in the British Service is given in

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in the footnote, page 4 above. Allowances frequently exceed salaries. The pay of the British Embassy staff in Washington in 1925 was as follows:

	Salary	Allowance	Total
Counsellor (designated also as Minister Plenipotentiary)	£1500	£1800	$16,038.
First Secretary	£1000	1400	10,640.
Second "	600	950	7,533.
Third "	600	950	7,533.

In the United States there are nine grades of Foreign Service Officers, including both diplomatic and consular staff. Class I, including senior Counsellors of Legation and Consuls General, are paid $9000; (most have served from twenty to thirty years); Class II, same ranks, $8000; Class III, First Secretaries, Consuls General and and Consuls ,$7000; Class IV, First Secretaries and Consuls, $6000; Class V, Second Secretaries and Consuls, $5000; Class VI, Second Secretaries and Consuls, $4500; Class VII, Third Secretaries and Consuls, $4000; Class VIII, ditto, $3500; unclassified, $2500 to $3000. Commercial Secretaries attached to the more important legations receive from $7500 to $9000.

The Canadian scale might run as follows:

	Salary	House Allowance	Representation or Living allowance	Total
First Secretary	$4500	$1500	$2000	$8000
Commercial Secretary(or Sectary of Legation)	4500	1500	2000	8000
Second Secretary (acting also as Private Secretary)	3750	1500	1750	7000
Third Secretary	3000	-	1000	4000
				$ 27000

The clerical staff might include four clerks and stenographers; two messengers, and a chauffeur would also be needed. A staff of this size would require approximately $12000 in Washington.

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Legation Quarters

There are nearly sixty legations in Washington. In ten cases the Minister's residence and the office are in separate buildings but in nearly fifty the same building is used. All the legations are situated north or north-west of the White House and State Department, in what has been the best residential district. Washington is a city with no centre or many centres, and with no very definitely determined business area: just in what direction business is likely to go is hard to determine: ten years have seen the transformation of Connecticut Avenue, one of the finest residential sections, into a business area. The guess might be hazarded that the Legation area would tend to go northward and northwestward to the higher land, and that it would be in this direction we should look for a permanent home for the Canadian Legation - though not so far out as the new British Embassy. (See map attached). Not attached

There are at present few buildings available which would be large enough for the office and the residence of a Minister with family and white servants (in Washington colored servants usually sleep at home), and suitable both in location and layout.

Of the houses for sale three might be noted:

(1) Wichfeld property, 1746 Massachusetts Avenue (see B on map) : a very fine 5-story house, splendid marble and wood-carving, well adapted for offices first floor, reception second, living third, staff fourth and servants fifth floor; in first class condition; room for further building on back of lot; belongs to a Swift heiress now abroad; asks $500,000; Spanish Government reputed to have offered $400,000; believed would take $450,000; inquiries being made whether would lease for 3 years, furnished, at $35,000 a year.

(2) Eustis property, marked "A", south of Dupont Circle, stands out in open space, looks better from outside, not quite so well laid out; would require a good many improvements; $250,000.

(3) Wardman House , marked "J" , 2234 Mass. Ave., in Sheridan Circle; 4 stories; not as commodious or convenient as either of above; property adjoining could be added for about $30000, and thus give adequate room for both residence and offices.

150 000

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Most of the houses which are for rent are too small for both office and the Minister's requirements, or are considered not well laid out. A house available two months ago but not now, Governor Pinchot's (I) could have been rented for $12000 and impressed me as satisfactory. Of those now available, one of the houses of Mrs. Henderson on 15th Street (K, and see photograph), near the Italian and French embassies, impressed me favorably from outside; I was not inside; if more room is needed, Mrs. Henderson can rent an adjoining house also; the rent is $10000, unfurnished. Senator Belcourt liked this very much; Mr. Massey does not.

For immediate use, the Wichfeld house which is one of the finest in Washington, would be most available. It is , however, a question whether any house should be bought until more consideration of the future trend of legation and residential areas can be given, and of the needs of the office and of the present (and, as Mr. Chilton remarked, of future) ministers for residence purposes.

If this property could be leased for three years furnished at $30000 or $35000, under all the circumstances this would appear the best arrangement.

Failing this, the only course appears to be to rent temporary office quarters (which can be found convenient to the British Embassy, at Dupont Circle, in a small brick house (C) $400 a month, or in a suite of 10 rooms in the Transportation Building (D), $582 a month), and for the Minister to take a suite at the Mayflower Hotel (4 rooms, and 2 servants' rooms, regularly $2160, for $1250 a month.) All the legations leave Washington about the middle of June, leaving only a skeleton staff, and return in September. By that time it should be possible to make more permanent arrangements.

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(4)

Furnishing. A good nucleus of office furniture already exists in Washington, held in storage since the Canadian War Mission closed. All additional requirements can be purchased and paid for out of the current year's vote of $60,000.

For residence furnishing, there is available about $12,000 of linen, silver and glassware ordered in London during the Conference, and which can also be paid for out of the current vote. If an unfurnished house is taken, it will be necessary to furnish it, but it is assumed that the figure of $35,000 allowed above would cover this if need be, taking into account the $12,000 already spent: rental, say at $12,000-$15,000, leaving a balance for furnishing of $20,000-$23,000 next year.

Maintenance The following estimate is of course approximate, but it is based on comparisons with London and Ottawa and is believed to be reasonably adequate. It does not include the purchase of a car, which can be made out of the current vote:

Maintenance of building	$4500
Telegraph, telephone, postage	3000
Stationery	2500
Publications, newspapers	1000
Travelling expenses, Minister	2000
Travelling expenses Secretaries	1000
Taxi hire	1000
Motor car maintenance, garage (Minister provides personal car chauffeur)	2000
General and unforeseen	4000
	$21,000

Summary:

Minister, salary and allowances (if no quarters provided)	$30,000
Staff, salary and allowances	$39,000
Rent (of Wichfeld house, furnished, or rent of unfurnished house, and furnishing)	$35,000 or less
Maintenance	$21,000
	$125,000.

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C 45721

APPENDIX.

The total cost of the chief United States embassies and legations, including salaries, rentals and maintenance, in the fiscal year 1926, is given by the Department of State as follows:

Paris	$150,293.01
Peking	143,647.16
Tegucigalpa(Honduras)	118,012.34
London	103,380.00
Berlin	83,804.80
Tokyo	80,988.19
Mexico	73,118.01
Constantinople	73,080.04
Rome	67,442.79
Habana	55,557.52
Madrid	52,000.52
Lima	49,541.43
Buenos Ayres	48,538.67
Santiago	43,995.80
Brussels	43,682.09
The Hague	38,995.39
Berne	37,998.00
Warsaw	37,719.40
Vienna	36,406.35
Bucharest	36,313.01
Rio de Janeiro	35,129.02
Teheran	34,253.03
Budapest	33,420.98
....	
Copenhagen	24,415.82
Helsingfors	21,687.53
....	
Salvador	11,619.75.

This must include expenses of some Central American war.

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O.D. & Canada

C 45722

April 12, 1927.

PURCHASE OF WASHINGTON LEGATION

Attached are a copy of a code telegram sent to Mr. Massey yesterday, and a copy of a telegram from Mr. Massey sent at 3.10 last night.

This morning Mr. Massey telephoned to make sure of the proposal as to Minister's salary and allowance. He was told the provision was for $12,000 salary, and $10,000 allowance instead of $18,000. Definite provision for a car can be made by Order-in-Council, or simply charged up to Contingencies if that is found possible.

Mr. Massey stated that after full consideration he still believed purchase was much the best policy. If the purchase was decided on he would agree to the reduction proposed in the total annual appropriation and also the reduction in Minister's allowance from $18,000 to $10,000.

Mr. Massey added that he had received a telegram from Mr. Elliott inquiring as to prices paid for other legations. It was not easy to extract definite information on these points in a hurry, but he hoped to be able to send figures for two or three to-day.

While some of Massey's original ideas were, I felt, extravagant, I must say that I think he has taken the proposed reduction very decently.

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C 45723

COPY OF CODE TELEGRAM

TO THE CANADIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON

Ottawa, April 11, 1927.

Massey, Beaver, Washington.

Since announcement has been made of contemplated purchase of building Government has encountered serious opposition from its own followers and Progressives and understand Conservatives intend active opposition to purchase. Only possibility of getting purchase through lies in showing saving in rent and allowances which will result from purchase. If Government provides salary of twelve thousand dollars together with house free of rent and taxation it is considered that proposed allowance of eighteen thousand for house and representation will require reduction being stated as representation allowance of ten thousand dollars with provision made in addition out of contingencies for upkeep of car. Reduction will of course also be possible in amount included in present estimate for rent and upkeep of Legation. The House of Commons could then be assured that the total maintenance vote could be cut hereafter at least to one hundred thousand dollars. Our choice appears to lie between purchase with understanding of reduction in annual estimate or allowing item to stand and continue renting quarters. Estimates expected late tonight or tomorrow. Above from Prime Minister.

EXTERNAL

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C 45724

re Washington

"I am wholly opposed to the establishment of this embassy at Washington. It is but the doctrine of separation, it is but the evidence in many minds of the end of our connection with the Empire. For that is what it means. It is nothing else ultimately, because if we are a sovereign state we cannot belong to the British Empire."

Mr. Bennett - Hansard, p. 2472.
April 13, 1927.

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C 45725 D Skelton

April 13, 1927.

UNITED STATES LEGATIONS

Until recently the United States has not made any extensive provision for the acquisition of property abroad for Legation purposes. Under the Lowden Act of 1911 provision was made for purchasing a number of buildings. Under this statute buildings have been acquired at Paris, Constantinople, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, Havana, Mexico City, San Jose, Panama, San Salvador, Oslo, Prague, and Pekin. In 1926 it was pointed out that the State Department was paying out $560,000 a year in rentals for diplomatic and consular offices abroad, not including residences. In that year the Porter Bill was passed by Congress, appropriating $10,000,000 for the acquisition or erection of legation and consular quarters abroad.

Attached are a report of hearings on H.R.6771, the original bill providing for a $5,000,000 appropriation. Attention may be called particularly to the evidence of Mr. Carr, page 18. See also statement of Hon. John W. Davis, pages 192-4, and of Ambassador Page on page 60-2.

J. P. Morgan ~~has~~ recently presented the United States Government with a house in London to be used as an Embassy. The United States Government spent $150,000 in putting it into shape.

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LEGATIONS.

It is the almost universal practice in Washington to combine the office and residence quarters of legations in single buildings. This ensures permanency, making it unnecessary to seek and furnish a residence every time a new minister is appointed (cf. "manse for other kind of "minister"); and convenience, enabling minister and some of his staff to be in close touch with office and to see callers at all reasonable times. It makes it possible also to send men of moderate means as ministers. Between 45 and 50 of the legations in Washington follow this practice; in 8 or 10 the office and residence quarters are distinct, in some cases pending other arrangements.

The same practice exists in nearly all capitals, though in some cases the business and residential areas are too far apart to make a combination possible.

The quarters proposed for the Canadian Legation in Washington are within a short distance of the White House and business and hotel section, more convenient in this respect than almost any other legation. There is room for additions to the building if they should become necessary any time in the future.

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If it is decided to make the purchase, it should be made clear in answer to criticism:

(1) that the building is primarily an office rather than a residence;

(2) that it is almost the universal practice to combine office and residence in one building in Washington, this being the case in 41 legations. In about ten, chiefly Latin-American states, the residence and the office are separate;

(3) that, particularly in the case of the representative of a country like Canada, where there will be many people desiring personal interviews with the Minister and the staff, it is desirable to have the office and residence combined and to have the quarters within very easy reach of stations and hotels, as is the case with the Wichfeld building. (Wichfeld, by the way, was formerly a member of the Danish Legation, but the building itself was never, as has been stated in a press despatch, occupied by the Danish Legation.)

The proposed salary and allowance of $22,000 is exactly one-fourth of the amount of the salary and allowance paid to the British Ambassador in Washington. He, of course, has free quarters as well.

It will be stated that the appropriation for the Legation in Washington is much more than is proposed for the United States Legation in Ottawa. This is true, but it may be noted:

(1) that the United States has, and will continue, a Consul-General with a large staff, as well as a Minister, in Ottawa;

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(2) that the outlay required in Washington is greater because it is a more expensive city to live in, and since the Minister is in contact with fifty other Ministers instead of being the only one, as in Ottawa. (Perhaps this argument should not be given much prominence.)

(3) that the United States practice of paying salaries to Ministers far below the minimum reasonable costs they must incur (for example, Mr. Davis, recently United States Ambassador in London, states that the absolute minimum outlay of the United States Ambassador there is three times his salary and allowances) is not a democratic or desirable model to follow. It means that only very rich men can accept diplomatic posts.

I am quite sure that Mr. Massey will spend much more than his salary and allowance. ~~The~~ In fact, the weak point in the purchase, aside from the question of its political expediency at the present moment, and some uncertainty as to the future trend of the legation centre and of real estate values, lies, I think, in the fact that the house is bigger than another Minister without a large private income could fittingly keep up. While I have never been personally in favor of ~~the~~ purchase now, I think that, at least so far as the present tenure is concerned, a strong case can be made out for it.

O.D.

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Number of Canada in United States C 45729

Ottawa,
Wednesday, April 13, 1927

To W L M K.

Cost of Embassies in Washington

EMBASSY	Cost of BUILDING	Cost of LAND	Cost of FURNISHINGS	TOTAL
Argentine Purchased in 1913	$300,000 Additions & alterations cost 68,000 $ 368,000		No information	$ 368,000 (without furnishings)
Italy on 16th Street	$ 480,000 addition 40,000 520,000	$ 80,000		$ 600,000 (without furnishings)
Mexico on 16th Street Purchased in 1922 or 1923	$ 350,000 (including land) Additions & alterations - structural 115,000 $ 465,000 (including land)		New furniture in addition to what was in old bldg. $ 100,000	$ 565,000
Spain on 16th Street	Original cost in 1922, including land $500,000 (property recently purchased for Embassy, but information as to purchase price not available.)			

Above information given tonight by Mr. J.B.Hunter who says it includes all information Mr.Massey has.

Belgium

W.L.M.K.

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CANADIAN.LEGATIONS C 45730
CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT WASHINGTON

Ottaw

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C 45731

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Allowance to Mr. Massey.

Mr. Massey's salary has been set at $12,000 a year, beginning from the date of his appointment on November 25th. Authority has also been given for a house and representation allowance from the date of the opening of the Legation on February 18th and an allowance of $2,000 for the upkeep of a car from April 1st.

It was arranged between the Prime Minister and Mr. Massey that the house and representation allowance was to be reduced to $10,000 upon moving into the Legation headquarters. The allowance paid since June 1st, when the move was made, has been at the rate of $10,000, though the Order-in-Council authorizing payment of $18,000 has not been modified.

Mr. Massey has raised the question whether, in view of the heavy expense involved in official entertainment and upkeep of staff, and on the understanding that the total expenditure, including salary and allowance, would be kept within $100,000 a year, it might not be possible to continue the allowance at the rate of $18,000.

If this is agreed upon, no change in the Order-in-Council is required. If it is decided to continue the $10,000 basis it may be advisable to set this limit by a fresh Order-in-Council (recommendation to Council accordingly attached), covering 'representation', without any reference to 'house'.

(O.D.S.?)
Hurt.

Ottawa, 21st July, 1927.

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C 45732

P.C. 565.

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by The Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General on the 29th March, 1927.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that the Honourable Vincent Massey, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, be paid a salary of $12,000 per annum as from the date of his appointment by His Majesty, the 25th November, 1926; such amount to be chargeable to the vote Representation in the United States, 1926-27, and thereafter to be provided out of the money voted for the Washington Legation.

(sd.) E.J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Rt. Honourable

The Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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L.P.

C 45733

P.C. 302

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 21st February, 1927.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that the Honourable Vincent Massey, who has been appointed to Washington as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, be granted a House and Representation Allowance of $18,000 per annum to date from February 18th, 1927, such amount to be chargeable to the vote Representation in the United States, 1926-27, and thereafter to be provided out of the money voted for the Washington Legation.

(Sd.) E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable

The Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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P. C. 27/829

C 45734

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Treasury Board, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 5th May, 1927.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS :-

The Board recommend that authority be granted for the payment to His Majesty's Canadian Minister at Washington, the Hon. Vincent Massey, of an allowance of TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS ($2,000.) per annum, to date from the 1st April, 1927, to cover the upkeep of his motor car such amount to be paid from the Vote for Representation at Washington.

(Sd.) E.J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable

The Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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C 45735

CANADIAN LEGATIONS.

1. Washington:

(a) Work Done:

The usual work of a legation abroad, in direct and indirect advancement of Canadian interests: the legation one of the busiest in Washington.

Cf. following extract from Report of Secretary of State for External Affairs for past year:

> A notable occurrence in the year's history was the inauguration by the Dominion of direct diplomatic relations with foreign powers by the accrediting of a Canadian Minister to the President of the United States in the person of the Hon. Vincent Massey and the subsequent reception at Ottawa of the President's representative, the Hon. William Phillips, as United States Minister at this capital. Mr. Massey presented his credentials to the President on February 18, and Mr. Phillips was received by the Governor General on June 1.
>
> After being housed for three and a half months in temporary rented quarters, the Chancery of the Legation was moved early in June to a building at 1746 Massachusetts avenue, purchased by the Government as its permanent establishment. This building contains ample space for offices, and, in addition, reception and residence apartments.
>
> The Legation has been fully employed from the day of its establishment. In the ten and a half months between February 18 and December 31, 1,098 despatches have been sent to the Department of External Affairs, and 306 notes have been addressed to the Secretary of State of the United States, in addition to more informal communications with these offices. There has also been a large and increasing volume of correspondence with Government departments in Washington, with business firms and private individuals, as well as with other diplomatic missions.
>
> Among matters which have engaged the attention of the Legation have been the following:—
>
> The many problems connected with boundary waterways.
>
> The numerous questions connected with the movement of persons across the international border, and especially the situation created in Canadian border towns by the alteration of the United States regulations in April, 1927. This question occupied the attention of the Legation for many months until a satisfactory settlement was reached which protected the interests of the two or three thousand Canadians, born outside Canada, who were principally affected.
>
> Many questions connected with the United States tariff and trade between the two countries, of which the most important was the embargo declared on milk shipments from parts of Eastern Canada to the United States in March, 1927.
>
> The allocation of radio broadcasting channels and other radio matters of international importance.
>
> The means of co-operation between the two Governments in the suppression of smuggling, both by land and sea.
>
> International flying; international fishery questions; the extradition of criminals.

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In general the protection of the interests of Canadian citizens in a very wide range of matters, principally connected with immigration, deportation, arrest and imprisonment, settlement of estates, and claims against the Government of the United States.

Reference might also be made to the part played by the Legation in connection with international visits and ceremonies. Thus it was concerned in bringing about the flight of Colonel Lindbergh to Ottawa during the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, and was responsible for many of the arrangements for the official celebration of the opening of the Peace Bridge over the Niagara river in August as well as of the unveiling of the memorial erected in Arlington cemetery by the Government of Canada in memory of the citizens of the United States killed with the Canadian forces during the Great War.

Special reference might be made to the success of the Legation in clearing up the situation created by the issue by the United States Department of Labour last year of an order classifying as immigrants persons crossing the border daily to work in the United States, which meant that residents of Canada, whether citizens or not, who had been born elsewhere than in Canada, could be admitted only by being placed on the quota of their country of birth. This affected many thousand "commuters", especially on the Detroit and Niagara borders. The matter was taken up by the Canadian Legation, and an extension secured and other adjustments made which have made it possible for all those employed in the United States who wished to continue to work there, with the exception of a very small fraction, not exceeding five per cent, to continue. The adjustment met with the strong approval of responsible local authorities on the Windsor border. Fortunately, more fundamental relief was afforded by the revival of industrial activity on the Canadian side: employment in the Windsor area increased by

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at least 3,000 in two months this Spring,and is still continuing.

Objection may be raised in debate in connection with a suit brought by certain foreign born residents of Canada, backed by R.A.Reid,barrister of Toronto, in a New York Court to compel the United States Immigration authorities to admit them as residents of Canada on the ground that Article 3 of the Jay Treaty of 1794 provided as follows:

> "It is agreed that it shall at all times be free to His Majesty's subjects and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians, dwelling on either side of the said boundary line freely to pass or repass by land or inland navigation into the respective territories of the two parties on the Continent of America".

The Circuit Court of Appeals of New York confirmed this interpretation of the Jay Treaty and enjoined the United States Immigration authorities from barring entry of the aliens in question. The United States Immigration authorities, however, have refused to be bound by the precedent and appeal is being taken to a higher Court. Various Canadian critics of the Administration and of the Legation at Washington, notably the Toronto Globe, have taken advantage of this incident to declare that a lone Toronto barrister succeeded in doing more for Canadians than the Government and the Legation.

The situation is a somewhat delicate one to discuss. The question of the application of the Treaty to the matter was given immediate attention in the Department,and we

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communicated with the British Foreign Office to get their opinion. In 1812-14 Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, officially informed the United States that he knew of no exception to the rule that all treaties are put an end to by a subsequent war between the same parties. The United States, as a matter of fact, later took the same stand. Courts, however, both in Great Britain and in the United States have held certain sections of the Treaty to be valid. The best current opinion on international law, I think, would take the ground that there are certain kinds of clauses in international treaties, such as those determining boundaries, which are permanent by their nature and not changed by a subsequent war unless specifically so stated in the treaty which ends the war. Other provisions covering commercial and similar privileges are, however, generally assumed to be ended by a subsequent war. It did not seem advisable for Canada to take the position that the Jay Treaty had been ended, but neither is it desirable to affirm its continuance, as that would involve us in more serious difficulties than the present immigration matter. The same Article 3 of the Jay Treaty provides that imports into His Majesty's territories in America from the United States shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by His Majesty's subjects on the

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importation of the same from Europe. If this Article were held to be in force,we would be in serious difficulty,as imports from the United States are subject to our general tariff and are not granted the intermediate tariff extended by treaty to many European countries, or much less the special terms of the French Agreement. The subject is not one,however,on which we could very well publicly state our position.

If the question comes up, it might be said in the first place that while the Canadian Government was anxious to assist in solving any temporary difficulties that might arise through the sudden barring of Canadian commuters from work in the United States, it does not consider it any part of its duty to facilitate the permanent emigration of Canadians to the United States. Further, if the Jay Treaty is referred to, it might be stated that the question of the applicability of the Treaty has received careful consideration by the Canadian Government and has been discussed with the British Foreign Office. I do not think it would be advisable to make any statement as to whether or not we considered it applicable.

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(b) Outlay.

$130,000 voted in 1927-28; Prime Minister assured House that as considerable part of this sum was for rental in case a property was leased, the expenditure would be kept within $100,000 if a property was purchased. The expenditure was slightly over $98,000.
$100,000 asked this year.

Cost of Building - $477,754.35.

(Cost of Building in London, $1,540,781.55.
Ground rent of £2000 paid annually in addition).

Salaries and Allowances of staff, in Estimates Book.

("Legation at Washington")

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C 45741

Appointment of Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary

at Washington

- I N D E X -

1. Resolution by Nova Scotia Legislature, 1855, recommending appointment of a representative at Washington.

2. Resolution by Mr. Blake favouring appointment of a Canadian representative at Washington, - 1882.

3. Resolution by Mr. McCarthy, favouring appointment of Canadian representative at Washington, - 1892

4. Resolution by Sir Richard Cartwright, favouring appointment of Canadian representative at Washington, 1889

5. Resolution by Mr. Lewis favouring appointment of Canadian commercial agent in Washington, - 1911

6. Announcement of proposed appointment of a Canadian Minister at Washington, by Sir George Foster, Acting Prime Minister, 1920

7. House of Commons Debate on proposal, May 17, 1920
" " " in Committee of Supply, June 30, 1920
" " " in Committee of Supply, Apl. 21, 1921

8. Order-in-Council appointing Hon. Vincent Massey Canadian Minister to Washington

9. Copy of Letter of Credence of Hon. Vincent Massey

10. Press Clippings re Mr. Massey's appointment

11. Speech by Hon. Vincent Massey, delivered to Toronto Canadian Club, on his appointment as Minister

12. Extract from Speech from the Throne, December 10, 1926

13. Extract from Prime Minister's speech on the Address, December 13, 1926

14. Staff, personnel, etc., Prime Minister's reply to Mr. T. L. Church, M.P., Feb. 14, 1927

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(2)

15. C. H. Cahan, M.P., Request for correspondence re appointment of Minister to Washington, and the
a. Prime Minister's reply thereto

b. Dr. Skelton's memorandum re history of appointment

c. Further reply to Mr. Cahan by the Prime Minister

16. Approval, expressions of, re policy, voiced in House of Commons

17. Disapproval, expressions of,

Debate on Supply, House of Commons, April 13, 1927
Honourable Hugh Guthrie,
Honourable R. B. Bennett,

Replied to by the Prime Minister

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C 45743

(1) Resolution by Nova Scotia Legislature - 1855

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C 45744

Resolution Passed by Nova Scotia Legislature
April 3, 1855
Recommending the Appointment of a Representative at Washington to attend to the interests of the British North American Colonies.
(N.S. Journals, 1854-5, p. 734)

"Resolved, That in view of the greatly increasing trade and intercourse between the British North American possessions and the United States, consequent upon the operation of the reciprocity treaty lately concluded, it is, in the opinion of this house, highly desirable and expedient that some competent person should be appointed specially to represent and protect British colonial interests in the United States; and that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor be respectfully requested to bring this resolution to the notice of the imperial government."

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C 45745

2

(2) Resolution by Mr. Blake - 1882

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C 45746

Resolution Favouring Appointment of a
Canadian Representative at Washington.

April 21, 1882

(Revised Hansard page 1075)

MR. BLAKE moved:

"That Mr. Speaker do not leave the Chair, but that it be Resolved, that Canada no longer occupies the position of an ordinary dependency of the Crown; she numbers four millions of free men trained in the principles of constitutional Government; she comprises one-half of the North America Continent, including seven Provinces federally united under an Imperial Charter, which recites that her Constitution is to be similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom; and that she possesses executive and legislative authority over vast areas in the North-West, out of which one Province has already been created, and in time others will be formed.

"That special and increasing responsibilities devolve upon the Government and Parliament of Canada in connection with the development of her resources, the improvement of her condition, her general progress in the scale of nations, and her geographical situation which renders her even more responsible than the Government of the United Kingdom for the maintenance of international relations with the United States.

"That having regard to these considerations, there is no possession of the Crown, beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, which is entitled to such an ample measure of self-government, or so full an application of the principles of constitutional freedom, as the Dominion of Canada.

"That it would be for the interest of Canada to obtain freer access to the markets of the world; and that a more extended interchange of commodities with other countries would augment the national prosperity.

"That in most of the treaties entered into by England, reference has only been had to their effect on the United Kingdom, and the Colonies have been excluded from their operation, a fact which has been attended with unfortunate results to Canada, especially as relates to France.

"That the condition of Canada, and the system on which her duties of Customs have been, and are now imposed, vary widely from those existent in the United Kingdom, and open to the basis and negotiation of commercial arrangements with other States or British

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possessions, views and considerations which do not apply to the case of, or harmonise with the policy of the United Kingdom; which it is difficult for the Government of the United Kingdom to advance; and which can be best realized and presented by the Government of Canada through a negotiator named by her for the purpose of providing separate trade conventions with countries, with which Canada has or may expect distinct trade.

"That the complications and delays involved in the reference to the Departments of the Government of the United Kingdom of points arising in the course of trade negotiations enhance the difficulties of the situation, and diminish the chances of success; and have already resulted in loss to Canada.

"That it is expedient to obtain all necessary powers to enable Her Majesty, through Her representative, the Governor General of Canada, acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, to enter by an agent or representative of Canada, into direct communication with any British possession or Foreign State, for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements, tending to the advantage of Canada, subject to the prior consent, or the subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada signified by Act."

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C 45748

(3) Resolution by Mr. McCarthy - 1892

3.

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C 45749

Resolution Favouring Appointment of Canadian Representative at Washington.

May 2nd, 1892

(Revised Hansard page 1950)

MR. McCARTHY moved:

"That, in the opinion of this House, in view of the vast commercial interests existing between the United States of America and Canada, and of the political questions from time to time requiring adjustment between the Dominion and the neighbouring Republic, it would tend to the advancement of those interests and the promotion of a better understanding between the two countries were a representative appointed by the Government of the Dominion, subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Imperial Advisers, and attached to the staff of Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, specially charged to watch, guard and represent the interests of Canada."

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C 45750

(4) Resolution by Sir Richard Cartwright - 1889 .

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C 45751

Resolution Favouring Appointment of a
Canadian Representative at Washington.

February 18, 1889

(Revised Hansard page 172)

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT moved:

"1. That it has become a matter of extreme importance to the well-being of the people of this Dominion that the Government and Parliament of Canada should acquire the power of negotiating commercial treaties with foreign States.

"2. That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will empower Her Representative, the Governor General of Canada, acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, to enter, by an agent or representative of Canada, into direct communication with any foreign State for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements tending to the advantage of Canada, subject to the prior consent or subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada, signified by Act."

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C 45752

(5) Resolution by Mr. Lewis - 1911

favouring appointment of Canadian Commercial Agent at Washington.

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C 45753

Canadian Commercial Agent at Washington

MR. LEWIS: Hansard, May 19, 1911, page 9512

I wish to ask another question. On December 15, 1909, I brought forward the question of a commercial agent to represent Canada at Washington, stating at that time that we have commercial agents in almost every country in the world--the Netherlands, Australia and some other countries connected with us by treaties, but that in the country of our greatest commercial neighbour, with which we have the most intimate personal and other relations, we have no agent.

The matter was again brought up in this House on March 14, 1910, when reference was made to an article in the Toronto "Daily Star." I then asked the government whether it was not high time that it should have an agent at Washington so as to furnish us with information as to what was going on in the United States, a country with whom we had such large dealings. I pointed out that every commercial agent of the United States in Canada sent a weekly report as to our commerce and as to how the United States merchants could improve their business with Canada. The government at

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that time stated that they had no fault to find with the British Ambassador, but I say that this agent would not replace the British Ambassador but would be there to advise and consult with him, and I have no doubt the British Ambassador would welcome the appointment of such an agent.

MR. FIELDING - Revised Hansard p. 9512.

Washington is not a commercial city and the conditions under which commercial agents are appointed in other places would certainly not apply to Washington. If there were an agent at Washington at all he would probably have to be something more than a mere commercial agent. While the matter has not escaped the attention of the government, no action has been taken upon it.

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C 45755

(6) Announcement of proposed appointment of a Canadian Minister at Washington -

Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster, 1920

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C 45756

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION.

Vol. LV. Ottawa, Monday, May 10, 1920. No. 49.

The Unrevised Edition of each day's Debates is issued at 10 a.m. on the day following.

Members' Revision should be returned to the Editor within twenty-four hours after publication.

Matter not actually spoken in the House is not admitted to the Official Report except written answers under Rule 37.

THOMAS P. OWENS,
Editor of Debates.

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Retirement of Certain Members of the Public Service—Bill 120—Hon. Mr. Calder—Provision to retire Civil Servants because of age or disability. First reading.

Battlefields' Memorials. Report of the Committee commended to the Government—Hon. Mr. Mewburn.

Answers to Questions put by: Mr. Tobin, Mr. Cardin, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Foster (York), Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Brouillard, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Rinfret, Mr. Hocken, Mr. Savard, Mr. Boyce, Mr. Casgrain.

Pictou Harbour. Transfer from Commissioners to the Government—Hon. Mr. Ballantyne—Resolution considered in Committee and Bill 12 read a first time.

Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907, Amendment. Consideration of Bill 57 (from the Senate) in Committee—Hon. Mr. Meighen. Bill reported.

Exchequer Court Act Amendment. Bill 108. Rt. Hon. Mr. Doherty. Second reading. Considered in Committee, reported, third reading.

Dominion Franchise Act. Bill 12—Hon. Mr. Guthrie—further considered in Committee. Section 29: Electors, qualifications for; allegiance, nationality and naturalization. Amendment (Mr. Guthrie) that disabilities of Naturalization Act shall not disentitle a person to vote, discussed. Sub-amendment (Mr. Euler) negatived: Yeas, 59; nays, 79. Amendment (Mr. Guthrie) agreed to. Amendment (Mr. Pardee) negatived: Yeas, 44; nays, 76. Section agreed to on division. Progress reported.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Speaker:
THE HONOURABLE EDGAR N. RHODES.

Monday, May 10, 1920.

The House met at Three o'clock.

ROYAL ASSENT.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that he had received the following letter:

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the Right Honourable the Chief Justice of Canada, acting as Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General, will attend in the Senate Chamber on Tuesday, May 11th at 4.30 p.m., for the purpose of giving the Royal Assent to certain Bills.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd.) ARTHUR F. SLADEN,
Deputy of the Governor
General's Secretary.

BATTLEFIELDS MEMORIAL.

Hon. S. C. MEWBURN (East Hamilton): Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the House, I move, seconded by Mr. McCurdy:

That the first Report of the Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question of what Memorials, if any, should be erected on the battlefields of the late war, be commended to the consideration of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: In the absence of the customary notice this motion can, of course, be entertained only by unanimous consent of the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Motion agreed to.

CANADIAN MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AT WASHINGTON.

ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HIS MAJESTY WILL ACCREDIT A CANADIAN PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE UNITED STATES.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a statement which, from the im-

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portance of its character, I shall read, with the permission of the House. It has reference to negotiations which have for some time been going on between the British and the Canadian Governments in respect of Canadian representation at Washington. The negotiations have been concluded, and to-day a statement will have been made in the House of Commons in London, and I desire that the House of Commons here shall have cognizance of the matter at the same time.

As a result of recent discussions an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian Governments to provide more complete representation at Washington of Canadian interests than has hitherto existed. Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on advice of his Canadian ministers, shall appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian minister will take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by His Majesty to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose.

This new arrangement will not denote any departure either on the part of the British Government or of the Canadian Government from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the British Empire.

The need for this important step has been fully realized by both Governments for some time. For a good many years there has been direct communication between Washington and Ottawa, but the constantly increasing importance of Canadian interests in the United States has made it apparent that Canada should be represented there in some distinctive manner, for this would doubtless tend to expedite negotiations, and naturally first-hand acquaintance with Canadian conditions would promote good understanding. In view of the peculiarly close relations that have always existed between the people of Canada and those of the United States, it is confidently expected as well that this new step will have the very desirable result of maintaining and strengthening the friendly relations and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States.

Hon. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Inasmuch as the right hon. Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) has asked the permission of the House to make a statement, I should like to ask the House to give me permission to say a word with reference thereto, if not now, then on the first appropriate occasion.

Mr. SPEAKER: I feel sure that the House would be only too happy to give the hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) an opportunity to give expression to his views on the memorandum just read, but I do not think it is desirable that there should be any general debate on the subject unless there is some specific motion before the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the hon. the leader of the Opposition shall have liberty to speak.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried, carried.

Hon. MACKENZIE KING: I wish to ask my right hon. friend if he will be good enough to see that all the correspondence in reference to this matter is laid on the Table at the earliest possible moment. My purpose in rising now is not to refer at the moment particularly to the far-reaching and important step the Government has taken but rather to express surprise that Parliament has not been acquainted with the correspondence in reference to this matter before the whole matter was finally concluded. If I understand the announcement which my right hon. friend has just made, it is to the effect that the whole transaction is finally settled as between the British Columbia Government, the Canadian Government and the United States Government, and Parliament has had no opportunity whatever of giving any consideration to the matter in its far-reaching inter-Imperial and international bearings. I think that is not the course which the Government should have taken. Parliament should have been fully apprised of and given opportunity to discuss the essential matters relating to this far-reaching step before the Government came to any final decision in connection with it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: As this is not the time for discussion I do not propose to enter into the second part of the question raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King). I would merely say that all the available papers in connection with the negotiations will be brought down as quickly as possible and presented to the House.

RETIREMENT OF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

Hon. J. A. CALDER (Minister of Immigration and Colonization) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 120 to provide for the

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created double polls in each polling subdivision. It would be practically impossible to get the vote polled in the time allowed for the polling to take place. As far as I can see a thorough revision of the lists in the country constituencies is necessary previous to an election, especially where those lists are two years old. I cannot see any other procedure to follow that would give justice to the people living in the country; and in my opinion it would be a mistake to adopt any amendment that would tend to disfranchise great numbers of these electors. Probably hon. members who represent constituencies in the East have no idea of the size of our western constituencies. For example, my constituency is something like three hundred miles long by one hundred and fifty miles wide, and it would be out of the question for many persons to travel such a great distance to register in any town or village. Yet their only means of getting their names on the list would be on polling day, and they would be compelled to bring two of their neighbours a very great distance to give evidence that they were properly qualified. Therefore I think some other method should be adopted whereby registration can take place in our rural constituencies. I would like the committee to carefully consider these matters because they affect the western constituencies in a very important manner.

Progress reported.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at Eight o'clock.

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF CANADA AT WASHINGTON.

On motion of Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister) for Committee of Supply:

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queens): Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of this motion to invite the attention of the House for but a few minutes to what I regard as a question of large importance. I refer to the negotiations which seem to be in progress respecting the representation of Canada at Washington.

During the war a number of business men were sent to United States, appointed to what was called a War Mission, whose business in that country was to endeavour to obtain for Canada a share in the large volume of contracts that were being made for munitions of war and for supplies. I believe that the Mission discharged that duty in a way that brought a great deal of business to Canada, and that its work in that respect was eminently successful. At the last session of Parliament an appropriation of $50,000 was asked for that Mission, and associated with that in the item was, "Representation of Canada at Washington." I am inclined to think that what was contemplated by the Government at that day must have been materially different from the larger project of which we know a little, but very little, at the present stage.

Let me say frankly that my own observation and my own experience in relation to transactions of public business between Ottawa and Washington lead me to entertain great doubt as to the wisdom of the step that the Government are taking. I am afraid that it means that at a time when everybody is talking of the need of economy; at a time when many worthy projects are turned down because the Government say they cannot find the money for them,—at such a time I am afraid that the Government are plunging into a form of expenditure which promises but little substantial good for Canada but which is full of possibilities of future trouble. But while I give that in passing as my own impression, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I give it only as an impression and one for which I alone am responsible. I realize that the question of representation at Washington is one on which there may be difference of opinion, not unlikely on both sides of the House. I take it for granted that at a later day opportunity will be afforded for a wider discussion of the question. I do not propose at this moment to enter into the wider question of whether or not it is expedient to have representation for Canada at Washington. I quite realize, as I have said, that there are differences of opinion on that subject, and I myself feel that for lack of information we should all be disposed to reserve a final judgment until we are better informed. I do not ask the House to associate itself with the impression I have given. But I do think there is a point upon which the House might well take strong ground, and that is that in a matter of such large importance this Parliament is entitled to be furnished with more information than it has received in this connection.

There has been a great deal of talk from time to time of what is called government by Order in Council. More than once during this session, and not on this side only, members have expressed the view that

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there was too much government by Order in Council. There is, I am afraid, a tendency in our Parliamentary system—I believe that students of English politics have found the same there—to magnify the power of the Cabinet and to minimize the power of Parliament; and that is a tendency which we should guard against. The Cabinet, after all, is only a Committee of Parliament, and beyond that we should not be prepared to give it unlimited power. There are times, I know, when a Government must determine things promptly. An emergency may arise; a crisis comes; the Government must act promptly; it must come to a decision and trust to Parliament to justify it later. There is another set of circumstances under which a Government may be justified in feeling that they have public opinion behind them. After a question has been discussed for a long time in Parliament, on the platform and throughout the country, a Government may feel that they have a clear knowledge of public opinion which will enable them to reach conclusions without taking Parliament into their confidence until a later stage. But there are no such conditions here. There is no emergency; there is no crisis; there is nothing in connection with this Washington business so far as Canada is concerned which could suffer if it were delayed for a week, a month,—aye for a year; and the Government by Order in Council which might have been justified in time of war, cannot be justified in time of peace.

Then, as to the second point. I have said that there may be occasions when a Government is justified in making up its mind that it has public opinion behind it, after there has been a long discussion, perhaps an agitation,—debates in Parliament; discussions on the platform. All these are conditions, I say, which may create a ground upon which a Government may feel that it has public opinion behind it. But there is no such condition here. There has been practically no discussion of this Washington business, beyond a brief reference to it in the last session, there has been no debate at all. There has been no resolution of this Parliament setting forth that we were dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. There has been no discussion on the public platform. No candidate has presented himself to the electors of Canada on the ground that he wants a definite representation of Canada at Washington. In all these respects, then, there is nothing to justify the Government in coming to a hasty conclusion. Nevertheless, it would seem, from the little information that we have, that the Government are disposed to reach a conclusion without taking Parliament into their confidence.

I have said that it appears that the project the Government now have in hand is larger than was in their mind a year ago. When the item of $50,000 was voted to which I have referred, the minister in charge, the President of the Privy Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) stated that they were about winding up the business of the War Mission but that it was intended to have a permanent representative at Washington whose range of duties would be somewhat wider than that of the Mission. Then the question of expense was mentioned, and he said that the cost of the War Mission had been from $4,000 to $5,000 a month. I quote my hon. friend's words:

> The present expenditure in connection with the Mission is between $4,000 and $5,000 a month. We do not anticipate that the permanent representation will exceed that amount.

So it was evident that at that time a very modest project was in the mind of the minister. But what do we find to-day? Not only do we find a much larger scheme indicated by the memorandum read the other day by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster); we find that the modest appropriation of $50,000 last year has already jumped to $80,000 in the Estimates of the present year. I venture to say that if the project be carried out it will be found at no distant date that much more than $80,000 will be needed to meet the expenses.

Now, I have stated, Sir, that my own impressions of this matter are not favourable, but I want to emphasize the fact that I am not asking the House to join me in that. I am reserving these impressions for consideration at a later day if that be necessary. But I want to urge very strongly that in a matter of so much importance Parliament is entitled to have received in a larger degree the confidence of this Government. I say that in a matter of so much gravity, for the Government to withhold information and proceed to commit the country to this new scheme at Washington is a step which Parliament ought to look upon with very grave suspicion. It is a matter of large importance. It is of financial importance; for I am satisfied that even the $80,000 which is asked this year will be found quite inadequate to the maintenance of the proper dignity of Canada's representative as proposed at Washington. But it is important in another respect; it is important in its relation to our

communications with the United States. It is important in its bearing on our relations with the Mother Country. It is important in every respect; it comes nearer to being a constitutional change than any of the various matters which have recently been brought to the attention of the House. For all these reasons, on an important matter, on a matter which is not urgent nor pressing, on a matter which affords every opportunity for preliminary consideration and reflection, it would be a wise policy for the Government to halt in their proceedings, and before they go further, to bring the whole matter fully before the Parliament of Canada, in order that we may be able to exercise sound judgment on the subject. For that reason, without dwelling on the matter further, and with the full understanding that at a later stage on the main question, if necessary, I shall be permitted to discuss this matter further, confining myself at present entirely to the question of Parliamentary procedure, I move:

> That all the words after the word "that", to the end of the question, be left out and the following words be inserted instead thereof:
> "This House desires to record its opinion that before any arrangement respecting the permanent representation of Canada at Washington is consummated, the House should be fully informed concerning the negotiations between the Canadian, Imperial and United States Governments, and all correspondence and Orders in Council on the subject should be submitted to the House."

Hon. N. W. ROWELL: (President of the Council): I am sure hon. members have listened with interest to the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) who has moved this amendment. I may congratulate my hon. friend on one point of his remarks at least, that is that, after persistently denying for a year and a half or two years in this House and in the press that Canada's status had been modified in any degree whatever, he to-night acknowledges the fact that there is some modification and improvement in our status, as shown by the step that has been taken.

My hon. friend's criticism of the action of the Government appears to be based on three grounds: First, that there is no occasion for such an appointment, that no conditions exist which call for it; second, that there is no public opinion in the country behind such an appointment; and third, that before any arrangement is consummated, all the facts should be submitted to the House.

Dealing briefly with these points in the order in which they are raised by my hon. friend, let me say with reference to the first, that my hon. friend and the other members of the House have only to recall conditions existing between two great countries having a boundary line 4,000 miles in extent, and in which for many years the chief work of the British Ambassador at Washington related to Canadian affairs, to realize that Canada has important and vital interests which require the attention of a representative of Canada. My hon. friend has conceded that during the period of the war Canada required representation at Washington and that we were represented by business men who did a fine piece of work for Canada. I am sure my hon. friend realizes the fact that the largest part of the external trade of the Dominion of Canada is with the great nation to the south. Does he realize that the great nation to the south has a larger trade with Canada than with all the republics of Central or South America? We are one of the very largest customers of the United States, and the United States is the country with which we in Canada have the largest trade. There are not only the conditions of trade, but other questions do and must invariably arise between two nations geographically so closely and intimately related as the peoples of our two countries, calling for the attention of a Canadian minister.

What are the objects of having a representative at the capitol of another state? to safeguard and protect the interests of the people of the country concerned. Does any hon. member doubt that a Canadian, possessing the intimate knowledge which a Canadian should of Canadian affairs and trade conditions, is better qualified, to look after Canadian interests than a man who has not that knowledge or experience? Surely no hon. member will question that fact? That being so, I do not think hon. members will question that it is in the interests of Canada that we should have in the great capitol of the neighbouring nation a Canadian to look after our rights and interests there. I do not wish to mention questions that are coming up. Hon. members have only to recall questions that arise from week to week and from month to month which are provoking discussions in the press of the United States and in the press of Canada, to realize how important it is that we should be in a position to communicate directly with the American Government, to represent the views of the people of Canada to that Government through our representative at the capitol at Washington in order that the rights and interests

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of the people of this country may be properly guarded and protected in the premises. In saying this, I have nothing but words of appreciation for the conduct of the different British ambassadors at Washington. They have sought to place themselves in touch with Canadian matters; they have put forth every effort to represent fully and adequately our views so far as it has been possible for them to do so. In what I have said about the importance of Canadian representation, I do not wish that any implication should arise that the British ambassadors who have been present at Washington have not put forth every effort to look after Canadian interests there.

My hon. friend's second contention was that there is no public opinion behind this change. The difficulty with my hon. friend in this respect is that he has such an incurable obscurantism on all matters concerning Canada's status, that he is unwilling to see the evidence of public opinion in this country on this matter. I could turn to the press of Canada, and the Canadian newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the possible exception of the journal so ably edited by my hon. friend, have been discussing this matter for the past year and a half. My hon. friend says that there is no public opinion behind this change. Let me draw attention to one of the leading newspapers of Western Canada about which I know because the matter has been drawn to my attention, and I am not sure that what I say of this one paper is not equally true of other newspapers in Western Canada. Every one recognizes the influence of the Winnipeg Free Press as an exponent of public opinion in Western Canada, whether one agrees or disagrees with it. From the time this question was raised that paper has been explaining and expounding the question, urging that the time had come when such a representative should be appointed, and stating that it was the duty of Canada to see that such a representative should be appointed. Let me instance the leading papers of Ontario, the Toronto Globe, the Mail and Empire, the Star. I am not sure about the Telegram.

Mr. CASGRAIN: Are they your newspapers?

Mr. ROWELL: The Toronto Globe, the Mail and Empire and the Star have all been strongly advocating the appointment of a Canadian representative. I am not sure but what the same thing is equally true of the World, although my attention has not been called to the position of that particular paper, while it has been called to the position of the other papers. Although I have not gone through the press with a view of getting at the facts I am quite sure if you examine the newspapers of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific you will find that this question has been discussed for a year and a half at least and that the overwhelming expression of opinion, as voiced through the press, has been strongly in favour of the proposal which the Government has now consummated.

Then my hon. friend says: There is no public opinion, public opinion has had no opportunity to register itself. In that respect I should just like to draw my hon. friend's attention as to what has actually been placed before the Parliament of Canada. In the first session of last year the Estimates were laid on the table of the House on the 19th of March. An item was included providing the sum of $50,000 for the Canadian War Mission and representation at Washington. That estimate came up for the consideration of the House on the first day of April.

Mr. FIELDING: A suitable day.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend says "a suitable day" because he has such an idea of Canada, of her position and her future, that he has not yet been able, since these discussions arose, to take the broad gauge view of Canada's position and her place in the Empire. I appeal to my hon. friends: Have faith in your country, have faith in her people, have faith in their ability to look after their country's interests when the need arises.

Mr. BUREAU: Legislate them good.

Mr. ROWELL: It would take a good deal of legislation to make my hon. friend good.

Mr. BUREAU: Don't use your own yardstick in judging others.

Mr. ROWELL: Turning again to the question of public opinion, this matter came up in this House on the first day of April, and my hon. friend who was then leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) suggested that the matter should stand over for further consideration. On that occasion my hon. friend the member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) asked the question of me—I was in charge of the estimate—whether it was the intention of the Government to appoint a representative at Washington.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Be careful there.

Mr. ROWELL: I will read my hon. friend's words.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question, question.

Mr. ROWELL: I do not wonder that my hon. friends are getting a little impatient, because they should know that on this matter the Government is carrying with it, without a shadow of doubt, the judgment of the people of Canada. This matter came up on the first of April, and my hon. friends will find a reference to it on page 1074 of Hansard. In answer to the question that it should stand, I stated:

> It is an item that involves an important principle and will stand some discussion.

Then my hon. friend the member for Maisonneuve asked for information on it, although it was agreed that it should stand over. He asked:

> Has there been any correspondence exchanged between this Government and the Imperial authorities with regard to representation at Washington?

Then he goes on to say that the question came up while Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in power, and that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had the idea of appointing a representative at Washington, but that the matter had dropped.

Mr. LEMIEUX: A representative at Washington?

Mr. ROWELL: What my hon. friend stated was:

> as Commissioner at Washington, having the same status as our Canadian Commissioner at London.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: Then he goes on to say that the proposal did not eventuate, and he asked what the situation then was. Though it was agreed that the matter should stand over, I stated that the item in the Estimates was to make provision:

> For a permanent representative at Washington. The exact form which that representation will take is a matter of consultation between the Prime Minister and the Imperial Government .....The intention is to continue the present Canadian War Mission in existence until the arrangements are made for a permanent representative. The moment those arrangements are concluded the War Mission will go out of existence, but we do not consider it expedient that there should be an interregnum between the end of that Mission and the appointment of a permanent representative. That is the object of inserting this item in the Estimates.

My hon. friend then made a suggestion as to who would be a good representative, and congratulated the Government on the proposal.

That announcement, Mr. Speaker, was passed from one end of Canada to the other through the public press. It also went over to England and was the occasion of certain questions being asked in the English House of Commons. At the request of the then leader of the Opposition, as I have already intimated, it stood over for consideration and discussion, and it was not called up again for five weeks, until the 5th of May. So if any hon. members desired to formulate any views in reference to this matter they were given an abundant opportunity to do so; they were given nearly five weeks in which to consider the matter before the question was again called up. Did hon. members on that occasion protest against the necessity of appointing a representative at Washington? According to my recollection not one member on the other side of the House raised a protest. The matter was before the House all through the spring session, and unless I am mistaken my hon. friend the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) said not a word about it from the beginning to the end of the session. Other members on the Opposition side did, but generally speaking, their words were words of congratulation on the action which the Government proposed.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding, I was asked specifically on that occasion what was involved in the appointment. I think it was the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) who asked whether the Canadian representative at Washington would have diplomatic standing, and whether he would be entitled to conduct negotiations direct with the American Government, and my answer was that I believed that so far as concerned purely Canadian affairs he would conduct negotiations direct with the American Government, and so far as concerned matters that were not purely Canadian, they would be dealt with in co-operation with the British ambassador. That was the effect of my statement made on that occasion, on the 5th of May, 1919. That is the exact effect of the statement made to the House by the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) on Monday last. The principle was clearly laid before the House last year, before the Government asked the House to vote the amount in supply. If hon. members did not appreciate its significance, the Government and members on this side of the House are not responsible for that. If hon. mem-

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bers did not take advantage of that occasion to express their views on the matter, if they had any criticism to offer, hon. members on this side of the House are not responsible. The Government had every reason to believe that they had not only the people of Canada behind them, but a united parliament in the action they were about to take.

My hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has said: But you should not have done this by Order in Council. When my hon. friend says that we should have submitted something further to the House than we have submitted, I confess I am at a loss to understand just what he has in view. We have passed no Order in Council in connection with this matter. Nothing so far has been done by Order in Council in connection with this matter. The Government's legislative section and authority to take action during the year was the estimate voted last session; the Government's legislative sanction and authority for action now will be the item contained in the Estimates this session. The item last session passed the House, was concurred in and formed part of the Bill of Supply which was passed unanimously and the Government had the full sanction and authority of Parliament for continuing the negotiations in order to reach a conclusion on the matter.

Not only was the matter up then. It came up a few days later, on May 8, 1919, when my hon. friend for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux), referring to a despatch which appeared in the papers reporting a question asked in the Imperial House of Commons, inquired in reference to the appointment of a Canadian representative at Washington, and then suggested that possibly as that representative would only be a commercial representative or agent, it was not necessary to consult the Imperial Government with reference to the appointment. My reply to his question will be found on page 2202 of Hansard of May 8, 1919, and is as follows:

> The Canadian representative at Washington will be very much more than the Canadian agent. His status will be very different from the status of the Canadian representative in Paris or London. Therefore, there is consultation with the Imperial Government with reference to the appointment. I stated the other evening that confidential communications had been held between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Imperial Government in reference to this matter but that these were not yet concluded and that when they were the House would be advised of the whole purport of them.

Could there be any clearer statement made to the House as to the character of the negotiations that were being carried on? And yet not one member on the Opposition side of the House questioned our proceeding with the negotiations along the line I have indicated, and the spring session of 1919 concluded with not a real word of criticism or of protest after that date. Can my hon. friends, after the matter having been submitted to Parliament as I have mentioned, and after their having failed to offer any real opposition to it or any real criticism of the Government for continuing and concluding the negotiations, with any degree of fairness now seek to criticise the action of the Government in doing what the Government then intimated they were about to do?

The Government continued the negotiations and concluded them. At what date, Mr. Speaker, would my hon. friend say that the Government should have brought this matter again before the House and asked the sanction of Parliament? How could we bring it before Parliament any further than we did until an understanding was arrived at? In confidential negotiations of that kind we could not bring down a partial understanding. The negotiations were necessarily confidential between the British Government and this Government, particularly as they affected representation at another court. It would have been just as reasonable if my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) had been criticised in 1911 and told: "You should not have concluded an agreement at Washington until you first submitted your proposals to the House and had the sanction of Parliament." My hon. friend did what was the reasonable thing to do if the Government of the day was prepared to take the responsibility for it. He went ahead and concluded the agreement and then submitted it to Parliament, as that agreement had to be submitted for it affected the changes in the tariff. That is exactly what the Government did in this case, but they did more—they brought the matter down a year ago while the negotiations were in the early stages and laid the principle of it before the House, they took a vote of the House in respect to it, and there being no opposition they had the mandate of the House to go on with the negotiations.

The Government have now concluded an understanding embodied in the statement made to the House by the Acting Prime Minister, and the House will be asked to give its legislative sanction to that understanding when it is asked to vote the item in Supply which will come up in due course.

What arrangement could be fairer? How could the Government take the House more fully into its confidence than it has done in a matter of this kind? I submit that my hon. friend's criticism is wholly beside the mark and does not touch this grave and important step in Canadian representation and constitutional development.

One word more, Mr. Speaker, I am sure my hon. friend must realize, if he is a student of constitutional history, that the conduct of foreign affairs is the especial prerogative of the Crown; and when I use the word Crown, I am using it in the sense in which it is used under our constitution: the Crown advised by its constitutional advisers. It is the duty of the Government to carry on these negotiations and to reach a conclusion on them, and there is no obligation to consult the House before they reach a conclusion; in fact, the conduct of foreign relations would, I submit, be impossible, if the Government went further than they have done in the present case. They laid the principle before Parliament; they had parliamentary approval of it; they went on and negotiated an understanding; they have informed Parliament of the nature of that understanding; they have submitted an estimate to the House in order that Supply may be voted to maintain and support the representative thus established.

The Government has followed true constitutional practice and precedent in the course it has taken. My hon. friend's criticism of the Government's course, I submit, is unfortunate in this respect: it may give rise to the impression that there is a real difference of opinion among Canadian people upon this question. I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that there is any real difference of opinion in Canada upon this question. I believe that the overwhelming mass of our people are in favour of the proposal and look upon the step taken by the Government as one distinctly in the interests of Canada, and, I believe, also in the interests of the British Empire. It means that Canadian affairs at Washington in future, when the representative is appointed, will be conducted by a Canadian direct with the American Government. And I can only repeat that I am sure that is a step that our people desire to have taken. We cannot always remain in a dependent position having our affairs looked after and managed by other people.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend says, "Hear hear." I hope he will say "Hear, hear" with equal emphasis when I say,—that we are not going to change our settled allegiance to the King and cut the tie that binds us to the Mother Country in order to obtain the management of our own affairs.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: We are going to do two things—manage our own affairs and maintain the unity of the British Empire. We believe that we are entitled to manage our own purely Canadian affairs within the British Empire, and that is what this policy implies and involves. In so far as it does involve a constitutional departure—and I agree with my hon. friend that it does involve a constitutional departure—it is the logical and inevitable development of what has been taking place in this country for the past five, ten, twenty, thirty years; it is the logical and inevitable development of the work of our soldiers overseas, of our status under the Peace Treaty, and of the present position of Canada within the British Empire and in the world.

In the course the Government has taken, just as at the Peace Conference, the Government are carrying out not only the judgment of Parliament but the judgment of the people of Canada. For, whatever my hon. friend may say to the contrary, Canada is to-day associated with the Mother Country and the other Dominions in a great League of Nations under a common sovereign—the strongest and most influential factor for the preservation of the world's peace that exists to-day. And it is of vital moment that good relations should be preserved between Canada and the British Empire as a whole and the United States, the other great branch of the Anglo-Saxon race. Good relations between these two countries are not only important so far as they affect Canada and the Mother Country, they are important so far as they affect the future peace of the world. There is no better way to maintain a good understanding than by being able to meet men face to face, to talk over problems in which you are both interested, and to supply full information, for the majority of international, as well as personal, misunderstandings, spring from a lack of knowledge and a lack of appreciation of the viewpoint of the other. I believe that a Canadian representative in Washington, meeting and talking with representatives of the American Government and dealing with problems common to both, will make for strengthening the good relations that now exist between the two countries, will make not only for their maintenance in the

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future, but should help to remove some of the misunderstandings that from time to time arise between some people in the United States and some people in the Mother Country. The whole effect should be to strengthen and bind together nations having so much in common in their history, in their traditions, in their ideals and in their common love of democratic government and free institutions.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Quebec East): Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the amendment moved by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), namely, that all the papers concerning this change should be brought before Parliament and that the question should be fully discussed before a final decision is taken. My hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) has certainly not given all the details that are necessary to enlighten the House as to the meaning of the change that is being made. We are just as much at sea as ever after the speech delivered by my hon. friend. We were told in the official statement that was given to the House a few days ago that this change is practically no change at all. Here are the words of the statement:

> This new arrangement will not denote any departure either on the part of the British Government or of the Canadian Government from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the British Empire.

Yet, we are told that this appointment to Washington involves a very important change—the President of the Privy Council having used the words "very important departure." The language is certainly ambiguous, as all diplomatic language is, and I think I am within the mark when I say there are not five members of this House who really know the meaning of the change that is being made by this proposal.

My hon. friend says that Parliament was consulted last year when an estimate was voted for a certain amount, and that my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) at that time approved of the step. The very few words uttered by my hon. friend from Maisonneuve indicate that he understood, as we all did at the time, that the proposal was to appoint a trade commissioner at Washington. The President of the Privy Council at that time said that it was to continue the work done by the trade commission which had been in Washington during the war, and my hon. friend from Maisonneuve said that it was even more important to have a commissioner in Washington than in Paris or even in London. Will the President of the Privy Council say that it is only a trade commissioner that is going to be appointed to Washington?

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. ROWELL: I stated then clearly that it was a great deal more. If my hon. friend will turn it up in Hansard he will see it.

Mr. LAPOINTE: But my hon. friend will admit that it was understood by the House at that time that the work of the representative was to continue the operations of the trade commission in Washington. Surely the voting of that sum did not mean that Parliament had decided on such an important question as this. As far as I am concerned, I will readily admit anything that looks like national self-assertion, anything which advances Canada along the road of nationhood, appeals to me. As General Smuts said last year, in a figurative way; "The British Empire ended in July or August, 1914," that is, that all the countries under the British flag are sister nations, the word "Empire" meaning a dominant state with subordinate states. But we must know exactly where we are going, because the body that is responsible to the Canadian people for any such important step as this is the Canadian Parliament and not the committee of the Privy Council. If we are to accept the words of the official statement that was made to the House this may be a very important change although later on it is said there has been no constitutional departure. This statement reads:

> Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on advice of his Canadian ministers, shall appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian minister will take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by His Majesty to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose.

There is no better constitutional authority than Professor Keith and here is what I read in his work "Responsible Government in the Dominions," page 1133 volume 3:

> It would be a completely different thing to approve direct communications on political matters or the direct negotiation of treaties proper, and it would clearly be in theory a termination of the existing unity of the Empire, and the fundamental alteration of its constitution.

The same author in his recent work "Imperial Unity and the Dominions" speaks as follows, page 297:

> It would be hopelessly expensive for any Dominion to duplicate the system of consuls, and even if the men were appointed they could not receive any consular status, as the right to appoint consular officers is one which appertains only, and is accorded in treaties solely, to the sovereign power in the Empire. If it were desired to give them consular status, this could indeed be done by securing their appointment by the Crown as His Majesty's consuls for Canada, or whatever other Dominion was concerned, but such an appointment would mean that the holders of office were appointed on the advice of the Imperial Government, and would have to be subjected to the control of the Imperial Government, since that Government would be responsible for them vis-à-vis the foreign Government, as it is not now responsible for mere commercial agents.
>
> The same result can be attained more effectively and easily and much more cheaply, by the use of British consuls by the Dominions, who can pay if necessary any extra clerical expense caused by their employment. The same consideration, it may be added, applies to the representation of the Dominions by diplomatic officers in the foreign capitals: These officers could not, as long as the Empire is constituted as at present, be other than appointees of the Crown on the authority of the Imperial Government.

Mr. Curtis, who is a great Imperialist, in his important book, "The Problem of the Commonwealth" takes the same position, and says:

> For, when trying to protect their subjects against disorder, the British Government would be obliged to say that Canadians were no longer included in that description. It would have to declare that Canadians had ceased to be British subjects, and the Canadian Government would have to admit that declaration. These consequences are such as no human ingenuity can change or evade. For all British subjects control of their foreign relations must rest in the hands of one Government only. Any section of British subjects who transfer that final authority to a government special to themselves and different from the government which decides those issues for other British subjects, in doing so renounce their status as such. To reconcile a common citizenship with allegiance to two different states is no more possible than to construct a triangle of which two sides are together less than the third.
>
> This method, therefore, of completing the achievement of responsible government by the Dominions, so much in harmony with the process already followed, and so simple in its inception that it needs but a few strokes of the pen, is one which involves the least moderate change in the condition not only of the Dominion itself, but of all its citizens. It leads not merely to reform but straight to disruption of the Commonwealth—to consequences of the most revolutionary kind; and that, no doubt, is the principal reason why no Dominion Government has ever attempted to follow it. To argue whether they should follow it or not is beside the purpose of this inquiry. The people of the Dominions must settle that for themselves. Here we are simply concerned to discover the most moderate reform which will give them the same responsibility for their foreign affairs as the people of Britain, and to show that this particular method, though simple in appearance, involves revolution and not reform is enough for that purpose.

Mr. DEVLIN: On what page is that to be found?

Mr. LAPOINTE: At page 130. Mr. Curtis, recognizing the natural desire on the part of citizens of the Dominion to have a voice in the control of their own affairs, even foreign affairs, indicates only two methods of arriving at that solution. He says, first you must have either an Imperial Council, or an Imperial Cabinet, composed of ministers of the different Dominions as well as of the Mother Country. The other solution he indicates is an Imperial Parliament—all the apostles of Imperial Federation have advocated the same scheme—and he says it is the only solution for the Dominions, if they want to have a voice in foreign affairs. The only other alternative is independence, and of course he deprecates this mode of arriving at a solution of the question. Now if men, able men, students of constitutional affairs, men who desire a solution of the constitutional relations between the Mother Country and the various parts of the Empire, state that the only way for the Dominions to have a voice in their foreign affairs—if they do not desire independence—is the establishment of an Imperial Parliament which will have the control of all those representations in the foreign country, I say that such a step as the one which has been adopted should have been submitted to Parliament for full discussion before it was entered into. That is specially the case when we have been told for the last two years that immediately after the war an Imperial Conference would be called for the purpose of considering, studying and settling all the constitutional changes which are desirable in the relations between the Mother Country and the various Dominions of the Empire. Why did not the Government wait until this conference had been held before taking a step that may be very important, because when this conference takes place some people may come and say: Here is an accomplished fact; the Dominions have already a voice in their foreign affairs; and that being so they must agree to some Parliament or council or cabinet to which those diplomatic representatives shall be responsible.

Further, Mr. Speaker, it is said that the Canadian representative at Washington will automatically replace the British Ambassa-

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dor when he is absent. If that representative is appointed by us, surely we will be responsible for his actions. Will the people of Canada be responsible for all the actions of that representative when he acts in the capacity of the British Ambassador in the absence of the regular ambassador? Another question I wish to ask is this: If the Canadian representative acts as British Ambassador surely the British Parliament or the British Government will have something to say in the selection of that representative, and he cannot be selected or appointed on the recommendation of the Canadian Government only? I could not believe that the British Government would agree to be represented by, and held responsible for the actions of, a man in the selection of whom they would have no voice whatever. Again I say Parliament should be given all particulars, all details about this appointment: Upon what conditions the British Government have agreed to the appointment of a Canadian representative at Washington? What is the real status of that officer? To what extent will the Canadian people be held responsible for his actions when he acts as British Ambassador? To what extent will the Imperial Government or Parliament have responsibility for the appointment of that officer? Then, and then only, shall we be able to discuss the question, and then only shall the Canadian people be in a position to decide as to the merit or the demerit of the constitutional change effected by this policy.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): It is sometimes said of a policy that it is damned by faint praise. I think it may be said of this proposal to appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, that hon. gentlemen opposite have praised it by very faint condemnation.

My hon. friend (Mr. Lapointe) has referred to certain constitutional authorities and has pointed out the grave apprehensions entertained by those authorities if such a course should be pursued. I do not propose at this moment to enter into the great question of the future constitutional relations of the Empire. As my hon. friend has said, that subject will be discussed at a great constitutional conference, not called, I assume, this year, but perhaps next year; and I hope at that conference both sides of this House, whatever party may be in power, will be represented. I believe that as foreign relations in the United Kingdom are lifted beyond the petty controversy of party politics, so the relations of Canada to our Empire may be lifted beyond the petty controversy of party politics in this country. As I have already said in this House, if I should be Prime Minister of Canada when that conference is called, I should certainly invite hon. gentlemen on the other side to participate with us in the discussions which will take place. I am not going to enter into that question now; I have just this to say: that he would be a bold man who would undertake to set forth the precise lines upon which constitutional changes in the future will be worked out and upon which the constitutional relations of the different nations of the Empire to each other and to the Mother Country will be based in the future. On the other hand, I think he would be a timid man who is not confident that the problem is not insoluble and that those relations will be worked out in such a way as to give to every nation of the Empire its adequate voice and place within the Britannic commonwealth.

I should like to point out to my hon. friend that when in days gone by, forty or fifty years ago, the question was raised of handing over to the Canadian people and to the Canadian legislature the control of their public domain, the control of their fiscal policy, the control of all their domestic affairs, the same grave apprehensions were expressed as to the effect which those just and merited concessions would have upon the solidarity of the Empire. My hon. friend need have no apprehensions as to the effect of this proposal. What does it amount to, after all? It amounts to this and only this: that a country like Canada, with eight and a half to nine millions of people, bordering the great republic to the south for four thousand miles and far more intimately associated with that country than with any other country outside the British Empire, should have its representative in the Embassy at Washington which represents the whole Empire. Is there anything startling or novel in that? Is there any reason why it should not be carried out? Does my hon. friend know what the Government did of which he was a supporter? He raises grave constitutional difficulties as to who shall appoint this minister and who shall be responsible for him. Does he know that the Government which was in power before 1911 concluded a treaty with the United States under which three Canadians were appointed to act with three men appointed by the United States Government in respect to all matters under the control of the International Joint Commission?

What are these men but ambassadors, in a sense—ambassadors charged also, it is true, with the duty of settling differences between the two countries by judicial determination? When my hon. friend the then Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) went to Washington in 1911, what was his position, to all intents and purposes? He was an ambassador sent on behalf of Canada to the United States for the purpose of negotiating a treaty. If that is good constitutional practice for three, four or five months, where do you find any violation of the constitution in appointing a permanent representative to do the same thing and to deal with matters of precisely the same or more varied character?

My hon. friends on the other side seem to be strangely alarmed about this proposal. The hon. member (Mr. Lapointe) says that he is very happy to support any assertion of the dignity and status of the Canadian people, or words to that effect. He does not seem to be very happy in his support of the proposal this evening. I hope that his mind will be reassured after this debate has taken place and that he will come to a more illuminating and happier view of the proposal which has been placed before the country.

The hon. gentleman is strangely alarmed as to the terrible consequences which will ensue to this country if the Canadian minister at Washington in the absence of the British Ambassador should venture to carry on negotiations with the United States Government, and he wants to know to what extent the people of this country will be responsible. They will be responsible to precisely the same extent as if the British Ambassador himself had carried on the negotiations; no more and no less. I should have thought that that answer would have occurred to my hon. friend before he propounded that rather curious question.

Well, let us look a little at some of the observations which the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has made. In the first place, in connection with his demand that all the correspondence and Orders in Council should be laid on the table of the House. I should like to say just this: the correspondence has been conducted on the one hand with the Government of the United Kingdom and on the other hand with the Government of the United States. The correspondence does not tell the whole story, because there have been many oral interviews in which the subject has been discussed on many occasions during the past three years. I had the correspondence examined very carefully; I myself examined it carefully. I must say to my hon. friends on the other side of the House that in my judgment it cannot be brought down with any advantage to the public interest,—more than that, without detriment to the public interest. The negotiations with the Mother Country were naturally of an exceedingly confidential character. That is equally true—and I will emphasize this fact—with regard to the negotiations with the Government of the United States. My hon. friends on the other side are well aware, no doubt, that no country has the right to demand that any other country shall receive its minister. Every country must grant that in response to a request, and it is not obliged to grant any such request. Therefore, while the consultations with the British Government were of a highly confidential nature, whether they were written or oral, so on the other hand, the consultations and the correspondence with the Government of the United States are confidential to an even greater degree and cannot be disclosed in this House. All that has been arranged so far, with the exception of some minor details, perhaps not yet fully consummated, has been placed before the House in the statement read by the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) just a week ago to-day, I believe. As regards taking the initiative in this matter, I accept, at once and with the greatest possible grace, the fullest responsibility for the part that I have taken. It would make no difference whether I accepted the responsibility or not, that responsibility would rest upon me. I began these negotiations with the Government of the United Kingdom more than three years ago by oral discussion with the then Secretary of State for the Colonies and with the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The matter rested for a time, and then it was taken up again in the autumn of 1917; but on account of war conditions and by reason of the enormous pressure of business affairs between the two countries, the conclusion then reached was that the purpose for the time being during the war would be better served by the appointment of a Canadian Trade Commission. That Trade Commission was appointed, and the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has borne worthy and true testimony to the fact that members of that commission did splendid, unselfish, patriotic service for the country which they represented. Later on, and after the Trade Commission had about completed its work, the subject was further discussed. While I was abroad last

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year it was discussed, not only with members of the British Government, but with some members of the other Dominions of the Empire, notably with the Prime Minister of Australia. The matter stood then until October last when it was taken up in a more systematic form. Negotiations have been carried on ever since, and they have resulted in the announcement which was made in this House just one week ago and which has been received with great favour, not only in this country but in the United States. What reasons are there for appointing a Canadian representative at Washington? I need only emphasize them, as the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) has dwelt upon this phase of the argument.

Let me pay a tribute to every British Ambassador with whom I have been associated as Prime Minister, Lord Bryce, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Lord Reading. I found every one of them eager and anxious to do everything within his power to maintain the interests of this country; but Lord Bryce himself said to me that three-quarters of the work transacted by the Embassy at Washington had relation to the interests of Canada. We all know perfectly well that the staff of the British Embassy at Washington was never selected, so far as we could observe, with any special purpose of placing thereon persons specially familiar with the ideals of the people of this country and with conditions in Canada. I felt many a time during the past nine years that we should have a representative at Washington, and I am confident that such was the view of Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the latter years of his tenure of office as Prime Minister. I should greatly doubt whether his proposal merely suggested the appointment of a commercial agent at Washington. Why should you appoint a commercial agent at Washington?

Mr. FIELDING: The Prime Minister says "his proposal." What proposal does he refer to? Where does he find the evidence of such a proposal?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) alluded last year to a proposal.

Mr. FIELDING: Not to any proposal. The hon. member for Maisonneuve said that he understood it was the desire of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to make an appointment, but I am free to say that the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier never made any proposal on the subject.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I know they never made any definite proposal. I was speaking of proposal in another sense. If my hon. friend is sensitive as regards the word "proposal," I will substitute "idea" or "thought," if he finds fault with my language. I know perfectly well that his idea was not put into execution, but I am certain that he had some such idea in his mind and that he did not intend to send a commercial agent to Washington. Why should he send a commercial agent to Washington? If he wanted to send a commercial agent to the United States, he would send him to some of the great commercial centres, such as New York or Chicago. He surely would not send a commercial agent to Washington, because a commercial agent would be practically useless there.

I have spoken of the tremendous interests of Canada at Washington and of the great volume of work in the Embassy relating to the interests of this country. I have spoken also of the absence of any person distinctly Canadian in his ideals or knowledge who might have afforded necessary assistance in dealing with these questions. The condition as it existed before the war in respect of relations between the United States and Canada will continue in the future, and I anticipate great advantages from the proposal which the Government have announced.

Criticism has been made that we should have come to Parliament with these negotiations. We could not come to Parliament with these negotiations because they were of a highly confidential character from first to last. Every gentleman familiar with constitutional procedure should know that in respect of such matters it is absolutely essential that the Government shall take the initiative and that the result of any proposal which they may formulate shall be announced to Parliament afterwards. I should say to the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) that when we announced last year that we proposed to send a diplomatic representative to Washington, we said about everything that could be said on the subject. That involved everything because the practice of diplomacy is an ancient one and is governed by a great body of rules, conventions and understandings that have grown up, so that the sending of a diplomatic agent is perfectly intelligible to any one who cares to study the subject. Further than that, the whole matter under British constitutional practice has

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always been regarded as peculiarly within the sphere of the prerogative of the Crown, and that means, under our constitutional practice, within the discretion of executive government. Instead of the view that this infringes in some way upon the rights and privileges of this House, I should like to point out to the hon. member for Quebec East, who is a constitutional student, that the exercise of a prerogative of this kind in this way gives to the House of Commons a greater control of the whole question than it could get if legislation were introduced. Let me read to him the words of a great constitutional authority on that subject. Dicey, than whom no man stands higher in the discussion of constitutional questions, points out this:

> He points out that the survival of the prerogative, conferring as it does wide discretionary power on the Cabinet involves a consequence which constantly escapes attention. It immensely increases the authority of the House of Commons, and ultimately of the constituencies by which that House is returned. Ministers must in the exercise of all discretionary power inevitably obey the predominant authority in the State.

As the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has said, the Cabinet is only a committee of the House of Commons, and it can continue to act as such only as long as it has the support of a majority of that House. Then Dicey continues:

> Now that the House of Commons has become by far the most important part of the sovereign body, the ministry in all matters of discretion carry out, or tend to carry out, the will of the House. When, however, the Cabinet cannot act except by means of legislation other considerations come into play.

In the Mother Country the power of the House of Lords is sometimes interposed. In this country we sometimes find our benevolent efforts frustrated by the action of another body. A very good example which is given by Dicey is this: During Queen Victoria's reign the House of Commons passed a Bill for the abolition of purchase in the army. The Bill was rejected by the Lords. The object, however, was achieved by Royal Warrant under the prerogative. Dicey sums it up in this way:

> The prerogatives of the Crown become the privileges of the people.

Now every one who is at all familiar with constitutional questions knows that the Sovereign has prerogatives in respect to foreign relations. Those prerogatives must be exercised upon the advice of the Sovereign's advisers. When, therefore, we undertook to deal with this matter we dealt with it as advisers of the Crown by confidential communication. When those communications had eventually reached an understanding, when matters were ripe both in the United Kingdom and in the United States for an announcement to be made to this Parliament, the announcement was made. So the Government accepts, as, of course it must accept, full responsibility for the course which it has taken, and that responsibility is one which we shall bear very lightly, because we believe that the time has long since been ripe when this great and growing nation should have its own direct representative at Washington. Instead of cavilling at the idea that a Canadian Minister sitting at Washington should represent the whole British Empire when the ambassador is absent, I am inclined to think that the people of Canada will be proud and glad that that duty and that responsibility rests upon a Canadian sent to Washington by the Government of Canada.

Further than that, the intimate association between the people of the United States and Canada has led to a very perfect understanding between the peoples of the two countries. Perhaps there are no two nations in the world between whose peoples a more perfect comprehension exists at the present time than that which does exist between the people of Canada and the people of the United States. Thus, I venture to think, as my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) has well said, that this proposal to have a Canadian at Washington acting, not in opposition to, but in co-operation with the British ambassador, will tend not only to the good of this country but to a more perfect understanding and better relations between the Empire of which we form a part and the great republic of our kinsmen to the south.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, as this is the first opportunity I have had the privilege in this House of addressing my right honourable friend as Prime Minister may I avail myself of the occasion to say to my right honourable friend that I am pleased to see him so restored in health as to be able again to resume the very onerous duties of his high position.

I am sure it will come somewhat as a surprise to the people of this Dominion when, on reading the debates of this House to-morrow, they discover that in this new and far-reaching step which the Government is about to take, if indeed, it has not already been taken, the only word the Government has to give to the people of

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Canada is, to all intents and purposes:—this is not a matter on which we can give you any information one way or the other; this is not a matter on which you are entitled to know anything one way or the other; it is a matter so secret that the Government itself must deal and settle with is without any knowledge of the people or the people's representatives in Parliament. That is the main question in the motion which is before the House this evening. The hon. gentlemen who have spoken on the other side of the House, the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) and the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), have dwelt at considerable length on the reasons why Canada should have a permanent representative at Washington. There is nothing in the motion before the House to-night referring to the wisdom or unwisdom of having a permanent representative at Washington. My hon. friend the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) in introducing this resolution took particular care to point out to the House that that was a question which might well be discussed at another time or upon another occasion; that what he wished to do by this resolution was to bring concretely before this House and the country the question of the supremacy of Parliament or the autocracy of the Cabinet. That is all that is involved in the resolution before the House. Let me read the resolution:

This House desires to record its opinion that before any arrangement respecting the permanent representation of Canada at Washington is consummated, the House should be fully informed concerning the negotiations between the Canadian, Imperial, and United States Governments, and all correspondence and Orders in Council on the subject should be submitted to the House.

Is there an hon. member of this House representing a constituency in this country who will say that that is not what his own constituents demand of him? I, for my part, cannot see how any member of this House can go before his constituents or before the people of this country and say he is prepared, in regard to any transaction, I do not care how small or how great, to defend any action of a ministry which cannot be openly disclosed before the people's representatives in this House.

When, a week ago, the right hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), at that time the Acting Prime Minister, announced in the House the matter which we are discussing this evening, I asked my right hon. friend if he would at a very early date lay on the table of the House all the correspondence relating to this matter, and he replied in these words:

I would merely say that all the available papers in connection with the negotiations will be brought down as quickly as possible and presented to the House.

That was the promise given to us a week ago, that all the available papers in connection with the matter would be brought down as quickly as possible and presented to the House. My right hon. friend at that time evidently anticipated that it was going to be possible to give the representatives of the people in Parliament at least some information in regard to this far-reaching matter. But to-night the Prime Minister says to us: I have had all the correspondence carefully gone over, I have examined the papers myself, and hon. members of the House of Commons shall not see one of them. That is what we are now told, that the file has been gone through by the Prime Minister himself, and that having been looked through, the people's representatives in Parliament are not to have any access to the papers or any of the correspondence. Well, Sir, all I can say is, it is a mighty bad beginning in a new departure if our foreign policy,—because this is a venture in foreign policy,—is to be bound up with secrecy from the start. We are driving right into the very vortex that created the whole situation in Europe, going against the very thing which the allied nations have been urging so strongly, namely —that diplomacy should not be secret but that it should be open and above board. Why, Sir, if in a matter which concerns the relations between the different parts of the Empire, between different nations, we start off by informing the people's representatives in Parliament that they cannot be told one word in regard to the conditions which have brought about their all-important change, what may we expect as the result of such diplomacy?

Now, my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) said that this matter had been discussed in this country back and forth, and that there was no doubt about the voice of the press in regard to it from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He spoke particularly of one paper, the Winnipeg Free Press, and he said that we would all recognize that paper as the exponent of public opinion in the Middle West. Well, I have in my hand the latest editorial on this very subject in the Winnipeg Free

Press, and I will read it to my hon. friend, and to the House, because apparently while the President of the Privy Council is not willing to listen to anything that may be said by the people's representatives here, he attaches great importance to the press generally, and to this organ in particular. What the Winnipeg Free Press says in its editorial is what my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) has said in his motion. Under the heading, "Our Minister at Washington," the Winnipeg Free Press of May 12th has the following:

The appointment of a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington is an interesting innovation about which it will be possible to comment intelligently when more information is available than was supplied in the very guarded statement read to the House of Commons on Monday by Sir George Foster.

And that is all the information we have.

Mr. King, the Opposition leader, expressed the view that before the arrangement—whatever it might prove to be—was made, Parliament should have been given the opportunity to discuss and consider it. However this may be, it is beyond dispute that it will be the duty of Parliament to submit the arrangement to very keen scrutiny to make sure that it is all that is being claimed for it. It will be within the right of Parliament to object, if it does not approve of what is being done; and any such recorded objection would bring the whole thing to the ground.

Meanwhile the need is for full and explicit information.

Does the hon. President of the Privy Council hear that statement?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is exactly what my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), is asking, that before this matter is consummated we get full and explicit information.

It is intimated that our Canadian minister will deal with all matters arising between Canada and the United States which are exclusively Canadian in character; the Imperial ambassador will participate in the negotiations only when Imperial interests are involved. Very well; but what happens if a disagreement should arise—which might easily happen—

Those are questions which any hon. gentleman sitting on the other side might reply to later in the evening, so that the country may get light on this subject as speedily as possible.

—between the Canadian minister and the British ambassador as to whether a question is, or is not, exclusively Canadian? Even in the exclusively Canadian matters about which there is no dispute, will the Canadian minister carry negotiations through to the end; or will it be necessary, in the final resort, to call in the British minister to do the actual signing?

Our representative is to be known as a minister. Will he be accepted as a minister by the State Department at Washington? Will he be a member of the diplomatic corps, having all the rights, powers, immunities and privileges enjoyed by the ministers of all other countries represented at Washington? Will he be the equal in diplomatic statute of, let us say, the minister from Venezuela? Or will his position at Washington be actually undefined with a mere courtesy status? Parliament and the country will need conclusive answer to these and similar questions; and not until this information is supplied will it be possible to say whether this is a step forward or backward.

It is asserted in certain quarters that this marks an enlargement of Canadian powers and that it is another step forward on the road to nationhood. The Government at Ottawa no doubt believes that this will be the effect of the innovation. But we regard with some trepidation formal arrangements entered into three years after the adoption of a declared policy of equality of status between all the British nations by which it is possible that Canada may accept ratify, and confirm a status of admitted diplomatic inferiority, formally putting her name to documents that confirm this subordination. If the Canadian minister at Washington is only a camouflaged chief clerk or a commissiner it would be better to have no minister there.

Those are not the words of hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, they are the words of the Winnipeg Free Press, which my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council so highly values.

Mr. MURPHY: A Government authority.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The article continues:

If his position there is by courtesy, if Canada cannot endow her representative with all the powers which other ministers enjoy, then Canada should send no one to Washington until she can vest him with the true prerogatives of office.

Information upon these extremely important points is lacking; until it is forthcoming any conclusive judgment upon the wisdom or otherwise of the Government's action is not possible. But the matter is of great importance and Parliament should regard it as one of its prime duties to see that the matter is fully discussed from all angles and in the light of full knowledge.

It is unnecessary to point out, Mr. Speaker, that that is exactly what we on this side of the House are asking should be done. In this resolution we are asking that Parliament should be informed in as much detail as possible in regard to this transaction before it is finally consummated.

But we have not only the views of our Canadian press. Since this announcement was made, there has been time for word to come from other parts of the Empire, and what do we find? In Great Britain, in Australia and in the other Dominions we find expressions of opinion questioning the wisdom of this arrangement without any light

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or information upon it. Let me read from another leading daily, an organ of the present Government—the Montreal Star. That paper has a well known correspondent in England whose cables, published under the name of "Windermere," are read with interest in all parts of this country. And I should mention to the House that those who know "Windermere" know him to be a member of the British House of Commons. If one looks at the Montreal Star of May 12, one will find a despatch relating to the announcement which was made in this House on this subject and to a similar announcement made in the British House on the evening of the same day. That despatch was cabled by "Windermere." Omitting a few preliminary remarks, it says:

There is, nevertheless, widespread sympathy among Parliamentarians—

Those are the members of the British Parliament.

—with the view recorded from Ottawa that so momentous a departure might well have been calmly and fully debated in Parliament, so that a momentous departure setting a precedent for a revolution in the whole machinery of British diplomacy in all countries could have been reviewed in all its aspects before the change was made. As it is, the change seems to the public as having been rushed.

Then referring to the Australian view "Windermere" says:

An Australian of high rank whom I consulted assures me that Australia is now certain to demand that she also have full rank with an Australian minister at Washington. New Zealand and South Africa should, he declared, follow suit, with the result that ultimately, not alone Washington, but every other great foreign capital, and certainly Paris, Rome, Berlin, Petrograd, and Tokio, will have its circle of fully accredited British Empire ministers among whom the British Ambassador will be first, perhaps, but first among equals. He added: "If the Canadian minister at Washington is to be the fully authorized British Ambassador in the absence of the British representative," we assume that the Australian minister will be singled out for the same distinction in some equally important European capital, or say, Japan.

"You Canadians claim that this is the national prayer and, indeed, the inevitable sequel to Canada's new national status as accorded at the Peace Conference. Very well! we as Australians throw up our hats with you, but don't run away with the notion that you have not perhaps unwittingly taken on far-reaching new responsibilities which every Dominion within the Empire will wish to take too, and which carries the seed of vital changes in the whole structure of an Empire.

"There was some cheering in the British Commons when Bonar Law announced the change. Most English public men welcome every sign of increasing power and influence of England's younger partners overseas, but I can quite understand the feeling of many longsighted Englishmen and perhaps some Australians that before making this plunge into the unknown at the bidding of the Canadian ministers, who, perhaps, only half appreciate its ultimate significance, it would have been wiser to discuss the whole subject round the friendly family table of the Imperial Conference. We could have all had our say then."

Will any one, viewing the affairs of the British Empire from the point of view from which they are likely to be regarded by representatives of the British Isles and of the different Dominions, find anything unreasonable in a request of that kind? If our action in failing to discuss this matter openly and freely is going to create some unrest in Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, and some concern in England, surely we are not helping to bring about the closer relations between the different parts of the British Empire which it ought to be the object of every free Parliament within the Empire to bring about. There are very strong reasons why a transaction that is fraught with so many possibilities should not have been finally consummated until Parliament had had a full opportunity to discuss it in all its bearings.

When hon. members have referred to the debates that have taken place in this House they have spoken about a permanent representative at Washington. That is a subject upon which we might all be very much united, and it might well be that there might be no difference of opinion as to the propriety of having a permanent representative at Washington. If there were differences of opinion, surely it would be worth while having those differences discussed in Parliament and the case considered upon its merits. But what the Government have consummated in this transaction is something far different from a proposal to establish a permanent representative of Canada at Washington. It is not only a permanent representative that is proposed, but a Minister Plenipotentiary is to be appointed who, to all intents and purposes, is to be the British Ambassador at Washington during the time when the British Ambassador may be away from the country or absent from duty. No one can say how long a time that will be; no one can say what questions will come up while the Canadian plenipotentiary is acting as British Ambassador at Washington. Is there any one here who believes that a step of that kind is going to be free from all kinds of possible danger? What is it that has brought about the desire to have our own representative at Washington? It is that time and again we have taken exception to what British diplomatists at Washington have done on our behalf. Is our representative likely to be so perfect that he will

always satisfy British opinion? Why not let British diplomatists manage British affairs and let us manage our own affairs? Then we will not get into those mix-ups and troubles that on occasions we have had reason to doubt the wisdom of British diplomatists voicing Canadian interests in matters between the United States and ourselves. Is it to be supposed that the time will never come when the people of Great Britain will not have reason to feel that their interests as watched by the Canadian plenipotentiary acting as British Ambassador will not have been guarded in as satisfactory a way as they could have wished?

There are two extreme views that may be taken in regard to a matter of this kind. One is that the affairs of Canada should be managed exclusively by the British Embassy; the other that the Canadian representative should manage the British Embassy, as is here proposed, for part of the time. What seems to be the more rational course is the middle one, that in matters between Canada and other countries Canada should manage her own affairs, and that in matters between Great Britain and other countries, Great Britain should manage her own affairs, always when necessary with co-operation and conference between the two. At the present time, when the British Ambassador is absent the British charge d'affaires is responsible for the business of the Embassy. My right hon. friend had something to say about responsibility. Let us go into this matter a little. Sometimes it is necessary to recall an ambassador. Let us assume that the British minister is away and that it happens that the Canadian plenipotentiary has been acting when, perchance, a mistake is made. Whom are the British Government going to recall? Are they going to recall the Canadian minister at Washington? They cannot do that; he does not belong there; he belongs here. Are they going to recall the British Ambassador? He is not responsible; he has had nothing to do with the transaction. These are complications which suggest themselves. Are these things not worth considering; are they of no concern to the future of the British Empire? They surely ought to be considered here as being matters intimately bound up with our relations with the Mother Country. We should have co-operative relations, relations by conference and discussion, but when it comes to so vital a matter as that of taking on the responsibilities that must come from the larger and vast considerations involved in this departure as proposed, I do not believe that, proud as the Canadian people are of their status as a nation, they would wish to have any representative of this country go to Washington and deal with questions that affect all parts of the British Empire in their relations with the United States, questions which may relate to the different countries of Europe, questions which may grow out of conflicting matters that come to the fore in connection with the League of Nations, of which the United States is as yet not a member and may not be a member for some time to come.

I do not believe the Canadian people wish to launch too deep into experiments in foreign policy at the present time. All matters of government, and particularly matters affecting diplomatic relations, are matters of constitutional evolution. If we are going to advance, by all means let us proceed along the line of evolution; but let us take one step at a time. Do not let us begin with the extreme step that is being taken in this arrangement without any reference to the views of the representatives of the people. I submit to my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) that at this of all times it would have been fitting and in accordance with the rights of this Parliament, as it was owing to the supremacy of parliament and its position as a great deliberative assembly, before concluding anything, to have brought before this House a resolution expressing the opinion of the Government that Canada should be represented at Washington by a Minister Plenipotentiary and to have given hon. members an opportunity of deciding upon that question here. If the Government wished to go a step further and to say they desired that the Canadian minister plenipotentiary should be also the British Ambassador at Washington, for the time being, they might well have presented that view also in the form of a resolution and have given us an opportunity of discussing it here. That would not be ignoring Parliament, that would be leaving it to the Canadian people through their representatives to say what they wished to have done, but the Government has not done that; the Government has brought forward no resolution. It has done all of its own volition.

The President of the Privy Council says: "We will give you a chance when it comes to voting the money." That is about the only time this Government ever comes to Parliament in regard to anything. We have had one measure after another during this session in regard to which we have been told: "No, the transaction is already

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settled, an Order in Council has been passed and all we want is that you should vote the money." That is all we have a chance to do. We have had Orders in Council and agreements placed on the Table and we have been told "we want you to ratify." Why? Because they cannot put these things into effect without money; money is needed, and they have to ask Parliament for it. But there is no chance for the people's representatives to discuss the merits of the transaction; everything is signed, sealed, and delivered; as it was with the Grand Trunk agreement, and as it is with this transaction. The only think left is to vote the money. The Government simply says to its supporters: "You vote the money, you support the agreement, or we will go the country and you will be out of your seats for good." The right hon. the Prime Minister smiles, but he knows perfectly well that he can go away for months and months and that when he comes back he will find his followers responding to every crack of the whip. The Government say: "You give us your support, or if not we will go to the country, and out you go." I think the time has come when the Government should recognize its responsibility to the people, and bring before this Parliament every transaction that has any bearing upon the future relations of Canada with other countries or that has to do with payments which our people will have to make.

Mr. Speaker, I might refer to many other points but I think that what I have said will, perhaps, be sufficient to indicate that all we are asking in this resolution is that the supremacy of Parliament in matters that pertain to the well-being of the people shall be recognized and that that is a wise request. It does not matter how far this transaction has gone at the present time; we still ask that this Parliament be given full information, and that it be given enough correspondence to let us see that at least there is something in writing about the matter. We do not know at the moment that the Government have even got a signed agreement as between the British Government and the Government of Canada, or as between the United States and this country. The Prime Minister says that we are to have nothing. Well, how this Parliament is to ratify or act upon nothing is a mystery that it is going to be difficult to explain; and until we get something that can be concretely seen and regarded not only by Parliament but by the people of the country we are justified, I think, in taking any course calculated to secure to the people their rights in this matter.

Now, in regard to the secrecy of this kind of diplomacy, the inability to bring down any correspondence, let me remind the House in regard to one subject that was mentioned here this evening—the Reciprocity agreement. My right hon. friend, referred, I think, to the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's as having negotiated that treaty, and he compared the action of the Minister going to Washington on that occasion with the kind of action which will be expected of this Canadian Minister permanently resident at Washington. But what position did the Government of that day take in regard to the reciprocity agreement? Did they come and say to this Parliament. "We have made an agreement with the United States. It is signed, sealed and delivered; there is nothing for the Canadian people to do but to accept it, and vote whatever money is necessary to carry it out?" I think my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) will bear me out when I say that the ink on that agreement was not dry before he brought into Parliament the agreement itself and all the correspondence that related to it—laid before Parliament all the documents necessary for free discussion—and from Parliament the issue was carried to the people for their consideration, and was settled by the vote of the people themselves. That is parliamentary government, under the British system: recognizing the rights of Parliament and the rights of the people; and all that we ask in regard to this particular measure—which may have consequences more far reaching and serious than any that have taken place in connection with any of the measures referred to this evening—is that upon the present occasion a similar course shall be adopted. As it is, we are establishing a new precedent, and surely, in so doing, we should have all the information that we can possibly obtain. This is a question that relates to inter-Imperial and international relations, matters of foreign policy; and on such questions—even more than on matters of home policy—we should have the fullest information. We are entitled for example, to know the status of the Minister in regard to all of these questions that have been raised in the editorial of the Winnipeg Free Press to which I have referred. The people, being called upon to pay the expense of this new office and position, are entitled to know how much it is going to cost and to what it is going to lead. Finally, let me say, Mr. Speaker, that we are entitled at this stage, of all times in the history of the

world, in matters respecting our relations with other countries, to end secret diplomacy once and for all, and have our diplomacy open and above board or not have it at all.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Mr. Speaker, some time in the history, I believe, of every man it occurs that what seemed to him golden in the heated moment of discussion appears to him very much like lead when, an hour or two afterwards, he has cooled off. So, in the best of good spirit, I would suggest to my hon. friend who has just taken his seat, that when he reads his speech to-morrow, after he has cooled off, and looks at it coldly as it appears on the printed page, I doubt if he will be very proud of that speech. And I might also carry that suggestion a little bit further, and apply it to those hon. gentlemen who so valiantly applauded him—as to whether, reading the speech over in cold blood, they will think of it in exactly the same enthusiastic way in which they have applauded the speaker to-night.

An hon. MEMBER: We shall be more enthusiastic.

Mr. McMASTER: It will warm the blood.

An hon. MEMBER: Much more so.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I can quite see that, and I will say it is no disadvantage to my hon. friends opposite, who have been so lethargic for so long a time, that they should have some warm blood pulsing their veins to let the country know they are really alive.

Mr. CASGRAIN: What about yourself?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is just by the way. I am not going to enter very lengthily into discussion of this matter to-night, but I will take up a few points that my hon. friend has made and see how much there really is in them.

In the first place, he made much of the statement, repeated over and over again, that the Government was denying information to the House and to the representatives of the people. That is always a favourite chord to touch when you want to arouse your followers—either in the House or out of it—on any particular subject; but how far was my hon. friend right in demanding the information which he demanded on this particular subject and at this particular time? After all my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding)—who has probably had one of the longest experiences in public life of any Canadian now in Parliament—knows that in all governments there are certain negotiations that take place, and it is impossible to make public the stages of those negotiations and their various phases whilst they are in progress; and a great deal of information—sometimes a very great deal—never is made public at all during the time when publicity might be harmful in many ways with reference to living statesmen in different countries who have been carrying the negotiations on, or with reference to the countries themselves whose interests have been under discussion. That is one of the things that every statesman and every Cabinet Minister of experience knows; it is simply a demand which is absolutely without good foundation, that certain things shall be known while negotiations are going on, or shall be made public, and that there shall be nothing secret, nothing confidential, nothing kept away from the view of the legislature or of the people—that everything shall be open—open diplomacy as my hon. friend said. Now that position is nullified by actual fact and by actual practice in the experience of every statesman and every member of a government. In no case where Governments carry on international negotiations, even in these days when open diplomacy is in far greater vogue than it was in previus times, is the course of the negotiations step by step and from hour to hour made known to parliaments, legislatures and the public of the different countries concerned. The events which have taken place during the last five years; the events which have taken place even since the Armistice have been one great proof of the impossibility of successfully carrying on negotiations of a delicate and complex nature, involving the prejudices, the policies, the national aspirations, of different countries, if every day the reporter puts before the public just what has taken place, what has been said and what has been concluded with reference thereto. You must draw a line somewhere; there must be a point beyond which you cannot go in publicity. After all, the chief thing is the conclusion that has been arrived at; the arrangement that has been actually made. If I buy a watch, the purpose which I had in mind is carried out when that watch keeps the correct time and enables me to ascertain the hour of the day by referring to it. But if I am curious to know how that watch is made up and I dig into its springs and its cogs and its general interior, I shall make impossible of achievement the very purpose and idea of the

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thing itself. As I say, the thing that has been actually come at as a conclusion is the thing that matters, and it is the gist of that which has been given to Parliament and which Parliament has a perfect right to know.

My hon. friend would raise this matter into a controversy between the autocracy of a Cabinet and the supremacy of Parliament. Now, that is an exaggerated method of expressing what is happening to-night with reference to the demand of our friends on the other side and the information which is being given by the Government. It is not a case of the autocracy of the Government against the supremacy of Parliament; it is a case of the proper co-ordination of the functions of Government and the functions of Parliament. My hon. friend says that we should have come down with a resolution affirming the principle that a trade commissioner should be sent to Washington—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Not a trade commissioner; oh, no.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Or, if you want higher flights than that: a resolution that a Minister Plenipotentiary should be stationed at Washington. Then, he says, we should come down with another resolution stating that if it was considered best, that Minister Plenipotentiary sent to represent Canada at Washington should also be empowered to represent the British Government as its ambassador, if the British Government so desired. That was the way in which my hon. friend would approach the subject. Would he have got anywhere in approaching the subject in that way? Is it feasible? Is it practical? You must first proceed by way of negotiation, oral and otherwise, in order that the Governments concerned may test each other's views; in order to settle upon the modus operandi; what shall be the functions, what shall be the powers, what can be done in this respect and in that. Then, after you come to conclusions that are satisfactory to the two Governments you bring your conclusions to Parliament, and there it is that the supremacy of Parliament exerts itself. Parliament is then master of the situation. It can turn out the Government which has gone so far, if it considers it proper to do so. It can stop them at the point at which they give the information and not allow the proceeding to go further, if it considers it wise to do so. Parliament is, in the end, the supreme arbiter; nothing can be finally carried out without its approval. But my hon. friend would proceed in the way that he suggests. Did the party to which he belonged, and to which he still belongs, proceed in that way in respect to the reciprocity negotiations in 1911? Did they bring down to Parliament a resolution affirming that it would be a proper and right thing to send a delegation of ministers to Washington to undertake the negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity with the United States? I have no memory of a course like that having been adopted. And did they then come down with another resolution affirming that certain ministers should go down there as plenipotentiaries for the time being to work upon that principle, bring back an arrangement, and submit it to the House? Not at all. They did what was the practical thing; what was the customary thing, having regard to their prerogatives. They came to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have a reciprocity treaty with the United States. They therefore sent their ministers to Washington to negotiate a treaty. We in the House of Commons knew nothing about it at that time—did not know what the terms of the treaty were; did not know how much they would give up; did not know how much they would get. The whole thing was done entirely behind our backs. While we were in perfect ignorance of what they were doing from hour to hour and day to day, they were proceeding to negotiate a binding commercial arrangement, a reciprocity treaty, which they would bring back and, if they could, put through the House; if they could not put it through the House they would, of course, take the responsibility and meet the fate which would attach to that responsibility. They went without the voice of Parliament or of the country behind them. They did their work; they brought back the result; and as soon as they asked the voice of Parliament and the voice of the country, they got their answer, as every Government will get theirs if their action is not in accordance with the wishes of the people.

When my hon. friend asserts that we should have proceeded as he suggests with reference to this negotiation, he did not back up what he said by pointing to like things that had been done by his own party. I do not find fault with his party for doing what they did in the case of the reciprocity negotiations. It was their prerogative; it was their right; they acted in a perfectly constitutional way. So in this matter, this Government have exercised their prerogative; they have proceeded with these negotiations; they have brought them to a point where finality has been reached in certain respects; they bring that arrangement back, and they submit it to Parliament. Parliament is supreme in this

matter; Parliament is the arbiter of the whole thing.

The hon. gentleman stated that our position on this side of the House was: "When we demand information, you take the position that the representatives of the people in the House of Commons shall not see one whit of what passes, shall not know a thing of the negotiations that have taken place, shall not have all the papers or any of the papers placed before them for their information." That is not, as I stated, the main thing. The main thing is that the arrangement which has been up to this time concluded shall be in its essence and effect made known to the House of Commons, to the Parliament of Canada; and that is what has been done. My hon. friend had rather a grievance that I had stated that all available papers would be brought down. That is always the answer when demands are made for negotiable instruments of that kind. After negotiations have been carried on, when the papers are called for, you bring down the papers that it is in the public interest to bring down, and you are not obliged to bring down, neither is it understood that you shall bring down papers, the publicity of which would not be useful, which might, in fact, be disadvantageous to the general public interest, the international interest, the interest of the people of the countries involved. My hon. friend supported his demand by reading an extract from the Winnipeg Free Press, an organ of great power and intelligence, not by any means an organ of this Government, but an organ of public opinion which I, for my part, like to read and follow in so far as its suggestions are good. My hon. friend also read extracts from other papers. When he analyses really what these extracts from papers show as to the demand that is made and which is expressed in the extracts, it amounts to nothing more than this, that if an arrangement is made, before it is put into effect, Parliament and the country should know exactly what it is. But that is not at all a demand from the press or from those papers that every step of the negotiations, oral as well as written, shall be placed in print or in essence before Parliament. Any one knows that with delicate negotiations of this kind such a course would be neither advantageous or useful. Some one has made the statement—I think it was made in one of the extracts read by my hon. friend—that if we were to have under this arrangement nothing more at Washington than a glorified trade commissioner or a camouflaged chief clerk, the House and the country ought to know that. The House knows that, and the country knows it and will know it. It is not a glorified trade commissioner nor a camouflaged chief clerk who goes to Washington under this arrangement; it is a minister plenipotentiary, and the term itself designates the position and the power of the person who has that appointment. Therefore, the anxiety of my hon. friend that we shall have at Washington something more than a glorified trade commissioner or a camouflaged chief clerk may be set at rest entirely in respect to that.

He has read also expressions of opinion voiced by contributors to newspapers in the old country and in or on the part of Australia, and he has raised many doubts and fears as to what will happen in all this. His counsel would have been that nothing should be done in respect to this matter until all had got together at a general conference in the old country and the matter had been talked over and conclusions reached. He also asks the question: What will happen in Washington when the minister plenipotentiary goes there in his dual capacity of representatives of the interests of Canada and possibly of representative of the British Government in the absence of the British Ambassador? He also asks the question: What will happen and who will be responsible for him, for instance, when the minister plenipotentiary is carrying out his duties with reference to Canada and Canadian affairs, which, in so far as they relate to the two countries, will be within his power? The Dominion of Canada is responsible for him in that capacity; he receives his instructions from the Dominion Government, and he acts in conformity with those instructions. That is plain and evident from the premises. Then the hon. gentleman asks: When the British Ambassador is absent and the minister plenipotentiary is acting as British Ambassador and in his place, who will be responsible for what he does then—will it be Canada or will it be Great Britain? Equally in that case, if he is standing in the place of the ambassador in the absence of the regular incumbent, he is acting under instructions from the British Government, and he is responsnble under those instructions to the British Government.

Mr. McMASTER: Supposing the Prime Minister and the Government of this country gave him instructions diametrically opposed to the instructions given him by the Imperial or Home Government, what would happen?

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Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There is not much necessity of asking what will happen then, because that never could happen.

Mr. McMASTER: Such a thing is possible.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: In so far as he is the plenipotentiary for Canada and acting for Canada, he takes his instructions from the Canadian Government alone. In so far as he is acting as an ambassador for the British Government in the absence of the regular ambassador, he takes his instructions from the British Government, and he is responsible to that Government for the way in which he carries them out. That is as plain as it can be, so that what my hon. friend conjures up in his mind is an impossibility, a thing which cannot happen. But the alternative which was hinted at by my hon. friend has something appalling in it from another point of view. My hon. friend said: Let Canada manage her affairs with reference to the United States, and let Great Britain manage her affairs alone with reference to the United States, in so far as they touch the interests of Great Britain. If that is pushed to its extremity, is that co-operation? Does it not, when pressed to its logical conclusion, have in it the elements of danger in the future as to co-operation and continued unity and the solidarity of the Empire? It seems to me, and I think it will commend itself to my hon. friend, that if that is his alternative to the principle which has been adopted in the arrangement which has been made and laid before this Parliament, there are greater dangers to be apprehended in the future along that line than along the present line where in co-operation the two countries work together in unity, each having its special work to do under its special instructions from its own government, and co-operating, as they can co-operate, in a spirit of unity and of good fellowship.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend will recall that I coupled what I said in that connection with the remark that there should always be co-operation and conference and discussion.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There is that exactly. There is first, a clear definition of the powers. In matters of purely Canadian concern the plenipotentiary takes his instructions from Canada, and he works under those instructions and is not instructed by the British Ambassador. Co-operation, counsels of wisdom and of experience, should, and I suppose always will be perfectly common between the two, but the British Ambassador does not interfere in respect to matters purely Canadian, and the Canadian plenipotentiary does not interfere in matters purely of Imperial concern. At the same time, there may be the closest intimacy and unity of thought and of effort between the two. So I think there is no more danger in an arrangement based on conditions as they have been outlined to Parliament than there would be in following out my hon. friend's line.

My hon. friend made a very fine appeal to the sympathies of his friends on the other side of the House, when he made the rather unwarranted assertion that the Government of Canada, the present Government particularly, never came down to the House except when it wanted money, and that then it came. My hon. friend knows that that is an exaggerated statement. He also knows that there are few things which can be carried out in the way of public policy or public enterprise, initiated or aided by a government, which do not require for their carrying out to have money placed at the disposal of the Government. That is the privilege which Parliament holds. It holds the power of the money vote; and of course it is always necessary to come to Parliament for money in order to carry out the policies and the enterprises initiated through the Government and by the Government. But does not my hon. friend think that he made rather a catch-penny argument when he so strongly and so enthusiastically put it as a point of disadvantage to the Government that they never came to Parliament unless they wanted money? As Parliament holds the purse-strings it is absolutely impossible for any government in connection with any governmental policy, or any governmental enterprise, begun, initiated and brought to a certain point by the Government as the committee of Parliament, not to come ultimately to Parliament and the House of Commons for the wherewithal to carry those policies and those enterprises through. My hon. friend need only look at the history and the experience of his own party to know that governments do act in that way, and to take that responsibility. Take the project of the Grand Trunk Pacific railway, for instance. Read its history, let your memory stray over the initiatory processes of that undertaking, the effects of which still remain with us, and will for many a generation. I suppose any one might have made the same statement with regard to the government of that day, that

they only came to Parliament in respect to this great transaction, involving almost unlimited expenditure, after they had negotiated, signed, and practically sealed the arrangement with the companies with whom they made the bargain. Governments do act that way. They take that responsibility, and they carry out their measures through that medium. They must in the end always come to Parliament for its sanction before any of these enterprises can be carried through to completion.

My hon. friend in the end, as an argument often addressed and an appeal often made, says that in this age we should have no more secret diplomacy. Now what does he really mean by that? When he as the leader of a government carries on the affairs of this country, will he undertake to live by that rule of policy, that there shall be nothing undertaken by the Government in its transactions with Japan, in its transactions with China, in its transactions with France, in its transactions with any other country in the world with which it comes into contact daily, and where delicate questions arise involving negotiation and careful and wise counsels—will he abide by his rule that before he undertakes to write a communication to a foreign government he will come down to Parliament and make plain to Parliament and the country just what he is going to write and get the approval of Parliament and the country before he undertakes to do it? Will everything be open, no secrecy, nothing kept back, but from the very start every transaction made public to the legislature of the country and to the people of the country and to the world? I venture to say that my hon. friend will never lead a government along those lines, or if he attempts it, he will never lead a government successfully. Under the constitution of things as they are in the world, that cannot be done, and it will never be possible for it to be done so long as there are conflicting and opposing interests between different countries of the world.

My hon. friend, I hope, will not be altogether too unquiet with reference to this matter. Has he not conjured up possibilities which have very little foundation in fact? You could, with reference to any policy, at any time within the last eighty years, and with reference to every advance that has taken place in the constitutional development of Great Britain and of her Overseas Dominions and dependencies—you could have conjured up the same difficulties, made the same suppositions in order to prejudice or to oppose or to baulk, the development along certain lines of progress. You could have always done that, and it has always been done. But the supreme fact in the constitutional progress and growth of the British Empire and of its outlying parts has been that these successive steps have been taken, each one adding liberty, power and importance to the outlying portions, each step also adding strength, unity and solidarity to the Empire fabric as a whole, and that the fears of the timid fortunately did not outweigh the strong inspiration and hope of the courageous ones who took the part that progress seemed to indicate and trusted to the good sense, the strength and the capacity of the people of the Empire to guide in ways that would be advantageous and to avoid results that would be hurtful. And so the whole history of British diplomacy and of British constitutional development has passed on from step to step. I for one can see that in any new arrangement bearing within it responsibilities such as this arrangement bears, there may be about it eventualities that may well give us pause, but it is for the good sense, the wise counsel, the steady and cool judgment of the British people—qualities which have been such distinctive features of their progress in the past—to maintain their sway in the future and to guide along proper and safe lines for every one of these opening developments towards greater power, greater importance, greater liberty and consequently greater happiness for the Empire as a whole and for its constituent parts.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve): I have felt a great deal of interest in the official explanation given by the right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Borden) and by his colleagues on the treasury benches, Mr. Speaker, as regards the appointment of a Minister at Washington, but it seems to me that this question is a very simple one. We have discussed this evening the merits of the case, while the whole point is a question of procedure. And I believe, Sir, that the amendment which has been offered by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) asserts the only principle which ought to be adhered to by both parties in this House,—because long ago the battle for responsible government was won in this country. After carefully reading the amendment, whose words are well weighed, I wondered why there should be any division of opinion in this House as regards its merits. Because, I repeat, it asserts a principle which em-

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bodies a golden rule for the government of Canada.

I do not understand the objections which have been made by my right hon. friend, the last speaker (Sir George Foster), to this amendment, unless the right hon. gentleman has still the notions of fifty years ago. Those of us who are students of Canadian history—and we are all students of the history of our country—know that in the early forties and before as the fight was carried on by the friends of responsible government, they were denounced at every turn by the members of the Family Compact. The members of the Family Compast in those days spoke against Baldwin and William Lyon Mackenzie, as my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce spoke this evening against the grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie (Mr. Mackenzie King) and against the member for Shelburne and Queen's. In those days, as to-night, the friends of responsible government wanted to exact from the government of the day the correspondence, the information, the whys and the wherefores of the policies of the Government, but the governor of the day, who in himself constituted the whole government, Sir Francis Bond Head, speaking of his critics said, "They think they are the friends of responsible government, whilst at heart they are only disloyal." But he lived long enough to see responsible government firmly rooted in Canadian soil, and I am somewhat surprised that seventy-five years afterward we find a Canadian minister and a Canadian government reviving the same old reactionary policy as was advocated by Sir Francis Bond Head in those far-off days.

The Government, Sir, do not seem to be very free with information; on the contrary, they seem to be very secretive indeed. But they live in a fool's paradise, if they think, because during the five strenuous years of the war the people of Canada and the Parliament of this Dominion in a very generous, yes, in a chivalrous way, gave them a mandate to carry on, that they can continue the war system now that the glamour of war has gone. I repeat, they are living in a fool's paradise, because if there is one principle which has triumphed as a result of the great world conflict, it is that a people must be represented by its elected representatives, and that the people should be trusted.

My friend, who is fond of a little story at times, will remember that in the old days of the kingdom of Poland there was a king named Auguste. He had, as my hon. friend had some years ago, his "moments of weakness"—his being different from those of my hon. friend in that they resulted from a fondness for spirits. King Auguste, when he was particularly drunk, would say, "All Poland is now intoxicated." Well, when my hon. friend has the information served to him in council by the Prime Minister as to the whys and wherefores of the appointment of a semi-ambassador at Washington, he thinks that all Canada is informed and ought to be satisfied.

The right hon. gentleman told us that he had many very serious conversations with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London regarding impending changes in our national status. I accept his word, Sir; I do not doubt that he had many very serious conversations with Lord Milner. But let me say, with all due respect to Lord Milner's great ability as an Imperial statesman, that if the status of Canada was altered as a result of the conversations of our Prime Minister with Lord Milner, that status was not altered on the maximum line but on the minimum.

Indeed the ministers of the Crown during the last five years have so often been away from Canada, have so often approached the round table clubs, and the Imperial conferences, have kept so near Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour and the great Imperial statesmen that they have come to believe that they are no more responsible to that little country, to that little dominion, to that little colony, Canada, but that they are only responsible to the Imperialistic party over in England.

My hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) said that he had given all the information last year and that we on this side of the House had been perfectly satisfied with his answers. As regards my humble self, let me correct my hon. friend. When the item for a representative at Washington came up for discussion before the House, speaking of Sir Charles Gordon who, is a respected citizen of Montreal and one of the great captains of industry, I said that he had been during the war an excellent trade commissioner for Canada, had advertised our country, had built up financial and other friendships with the United States and that if a trade commissioner were to be appointed in Washington I would like to see him continue in the performance of these functions. But I spoke of a trade commissioner, not of a semi-ambassador—a semi-ready ambassador—or a minister plenipotentiary. My hon. friend stated that he had accepted

his explanation. My hon. friend who sits at my right (Mr. McKenzie) expressed then, the views of His Majesty's loyal Opposition. He said:

> Is the establishment of new relations between this country and a foreign country, although that foreign country is a neighbour, not of such importance that it should be dealt with by Parliament, and that the will of the people as represented by Parliament should be ascertained upon such a question?

Further,

> These relations are of such an important character that the whole policy of the Government should be embodied in concrete legislation and thoroughly threshed out before being put into force.

In these wise words my hon. friend put the gist of the amendment which is being offered to the House this evening by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's. But we are told that this is not merely a trade commissioner, that we are not going to appoint at Washington a High Commissioner such as we have in London, and such as we have in a modified form in Paris, but that we will have in the future a Minister Plenipotentiary. I have nothing to teach my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) in international law; I cannot give him any lesson in the English language because he is a perfect master of language, but will he tell me in all seriousness that Canada, as a Dominion, has the right to appoint in a foreign country a minister plenipotentiary, and does he not know that in international law only independent people and independent countries can appoint ministers plenipotentiary and ambassadors? You cannot appoint a consul. I dare say that the British consul in Washington will have more power and influence than the Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary. Why, Sir, I have been in Europe of late and heaven knows what troubles we have with passports in moving from one country to another. Could I get my passport vised by the High Commissioner in London? Could I get my passport vised by the Canadian Agent in Paris? No, Mr. Speaker, I had to go to the British consul and so it will be at Washington; we will have to go to the British consul.

What is the use of camouflaging this whole question before the Canadian people? The full import of this is that hon. gentlemen during five years of war have carried on in the name, and on behalf, of the Canadian people. The name of Canada has loomed great on the horizon. The name of Canada was never greater than it is to-day as a result of the war but the status of Canada was not changed on account of the war. These hon. gentlemen, in order to justify the extravagance of the Government during these five years, are preparing another balloon for the Canadian people: "We have secured recognition as an international power; we have got a new status; we have a Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington; hail, hail, the people of Canada, come ye brave electors unto the polls and vote one more for the progressive Tory party!" That is the full import of this question; nothing else.

True,—and I make the statement in perfect good faith—there are already forebodings, there are tidings which are teaching my hon. friends that it is not wise to play with fire and you are only playing with fire on this issue. You are not sincere, you are not serious, but the people of Canada, who are sincere, who realize what their status is, who apprehend the dangers they are running in playing at diplomacy—the people of Canada are already telling you that you are doing wrong in this matter.

When I was in London the other day we had what I believe is the opinion of the people of Ontario, at least of the great city of Toronto. It was in the form of a long letter written, no doubt, by Sir John Willison criticising bitterly his friends of the present Government for playing at diplomacy because, as the Londn Times said through its correspondent, this whole question has been treated very mysteriously. The status of Canada has not changed. We maintain the best of relations with the United States. What the people of Canada are in need of to-day in Washington is a keen trade commissioner, looking for wider markets in the United States. We are anxious to do business with the United States and we want an alert commissioner to stir up business between the two countries and to open new channels

The Times of London, printed that in substance, and I can send the warning to my hon. friend, if he wishes to read it. No, Mr. Speaker, the Government is not sincere, and it ought to know—at least the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who has had a long and honourable career in the Canadian ministry ought to know—that by the appointment of that semi-ambassador, of that so-called Minister Plenipotentiary, Canada sooner or later may be involved in grave international problems.

Mr. BURNHAM: May I ask the hon. gentleman—

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Mr. LEMIEUX: No, you may not ask. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to be discourteous to my hon. friend, but he will please put his question a little later on when I am through with this part of my argument. My hon. friend thinks that everything will be very smooth; the British Ambassador will look after Great Britain's affairs, and the Canadian minister will look after Canadian affairs and will receive instructions from Ottawa, and Ottawa only; but at times during the absence of Sir Auckland Geddes, the Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary may sit at the desk of Sir Auckland, and may then carry on the affairs of Great Britain. Sir, is it not possible, does it not strike my hon. friend's mind, that conflicts of interests are likely to happen and to arise between even the Mother Country and Canada? Have they not arisen in the past, Mr. Speaker? I have here the life of Sir John A. Macdonald but I will not weary the House by reading the chapter concerning the Fisheries Treaty. My hon. friend probably knows by heart that famous despatch of Sir John A. Macdonald, when he told the Canadian people about his impressions of the British representatives who sat with him at the conference at Washington who were so anxious to sign a treaty even though the interests of Canada were discarded. My hon. friend should remember the gloom that one morning descended over the halls of the Canadian Parliament when the Alaskan boundary award was known. On that commission the Canadian representatives were associated with a British representative appointed by the British Government. Do you remember, Mr. Speaker, that morning when the award was made known to Parliament? If we ever regretted an occasion and an association to discuss interests which were dear to the heart of Canada, it was that occasion and that association. We all know that Lord Alverston, who at first committed himself in favour of Canada, soon took another course and joined the American majority. No, Mr. Speaker, if you read the history of our difficulties, of our interests—as between Canada and the United States—you come to this conclusion that the best way to settle them is to settle them ourselves and not be associated with others.

Mr. BURNHAM: I rise to a point of order.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is the point at issue?

[Mr. Burnham.]

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. gentleman has risen to a point of order, will he please state the point?

Mr. BURNHAM: My point of order is that no debate can take place or no amendment be moved on an item in the Estimates.

Mr. SPEAKER: I know there is a rule of the House to the effect that there can be no debate upon an item in the Estimates, but I do not think the present amendment can properly be brought within the sphere of that rule. The debate, it is true, involves the principle of representation at Washington, in a measure; but the amendment calls for the production of papers and generally asks for delay. It is possible that there may be a certain amount of discussion which would infringe the rule referred to, but it does not seem to me that the substance and in the main, the purport of the amendment comes within the rule that the hon. gentleman has in mind.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Mr. Speaker, this is not an amendment to an item in the Estimates, it is an amendment before going into Committee of Supply.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Mr. Speaker, I think that Canada is liable to be involved in this game of diplomacy, of pseudo-diplomacy. What will happen? My hon. friend says that the Canadian representative and the British representative, living possibly under the same roof in the same Embassy, will replace each other at different times. My hon. friend very well knows that cases like the one which occurred in the eighties are liable to happen at any time. My hon. friend will remember that the British Ambassador to the United States in the eighties, when Mr. Cleveland was a candidate in the presidential election, expressed his views about that election in a letter written to a friend. It created quite a hubbub in the United States. The incident occurred on the eve of a presidential election when, as my hon. friend knows, some Americans are very fond of twisting the Lion's tail. The British Ambassador was recalled, and had to retire to Great Britain, and there was a state of excitement for a while. In such a case as that would the Canadian minister be also told to go back to his own country? My hon. friend can see that living together—the one acting for the other as he described this evening—Canada is liable to come to grief

on many and many questions, some indifferent, some insignificant by themselves. My hon. friend asks what are we doing otherwise than the hon. gentleman himself—the mover of the amendment—did, when he went to Washington in 1911 and discussed not a treaty but a pact which was liable to be recalled at any time by the notice of either of the parties to it.

My hon. friend said, speaking of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's, "You went to Washington." Yes, the hon. gentleman went to Washington, and ten years afterwards my hon. friend can smile over the campaign which took place over that visit. You remember, Mr. Speaker, how the hon. gentleman, with his late colleague, Mr. Paterson, was represented as being an old and feeble minister, who had lost all strength and could not carry the burden, the immense burden he had on his shoulders on that occasion. Well, ten years have elapsed and, judging from the speech which he delivered here this evening, the member for Shelburne and Queen's is still there, Mr. Speaker. And what is most interesting is that those who made these foolish appeals against "truck and trade" with the United States; those who for a while played with fire, have since practically adopted that very policy. The policies advocated by my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) under the head of reciprocity have been carried out by the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. LEMIEUX: You were not in the Chair, Mr. Speaker, when reciprocity was first mentioned in this debate. Had you been in the Chair, I am sure that, knowing as you do by long experience that a word is sometimes as magic and may give rise to a long debate, you would have stopped my hon. friend who sits opposite. We have, my right hon. friend says, by secret correspondence and secret pour parlers settled the status of Canada. We have appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary, but we have no information to give to the House; the people's representatives are not entitled to full information. Then, turning to the mover of the amendment, he says: You did the same with the reciprocity treaty—which, Mr. Speaker, was not a treaty. I say to my hon. friend—

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no objection to referring to the manner in which the reciprocity agreement was negotiated. That is one thing, but it is quite a different thing to discuss the merits of reciprocity itself and its effect.

Mr. LEMIEUX: To be sure, Mr. Speaker, I will avoid that rock; I will not resurrect the issue of 1911. But my hon. friend says that all was secret in the proceedings with regard to reciprocity. If I remember well, we discussed it openly in the House of Commons. The agreement was laid on the Table; the House was dissolved in the old Liberal fashion and the people were called upon to pass upon the proposal. Moreover, the question was not a new one; it was as old as Confederation. My right hon. friend was not in the House in 1879, but he knows that Sir John A. Macdonald inserted in his famous tariff resolutions of 1879 a standing offer in the name of the Canadian people to the United States respecting reciprocity—an offer, you will note, made by the Tory party. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will leave reciprocity alone.

With regard to any item of expenditure, whether it be for a thousand dollars or a million dollars, the humblest member of this House has the right to move for a return asking that the correspondence, the statistics, the information, be laid on the table of the House. It can be made the subject of debate and under our Parliamentary procedure the ministers responsible are obliged to lay on the Table a return giving the whole of that information. But apparently the hon. gentleman has been so much accustomed during the last five years to govern in the old Tory fashion, at his own sweet will, without any regard for the people, that he thinks that the appointment of an ambassador to Washington, a change in the status of Canada, can be made without regard to the representatives of the Canadian people. Mr. Speaker, we hear so much about our relations with the Mother Country having been so greatly changed during the war; about a new status having been given to Canada, when still ringing in our ears we have the words of that master of the English tongue, that master mind, perhaps the most marvellous student of parliamentary government, Mr. Asquith, who, answering the Prime Minister of New Zealand in 1911, stated in his own blunt English way that as regards foreign affairs the responsibilities of Great Britain could not be shared with the dominions. Why, that is the A B C of international law. And, Mr. Speaker, lest my language should appear severe; lest my language should appear, perhaps, disloyal, let me once more read to my hon. friend

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the advice which was tendered to the Canadian people by one of the greatest men Canada ever produced; by that old statesman who during his last election uttered those remarkable words which carried him through to succcess: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die" —Sir John A. Macdonald. Speaking one day of all those imperialist apostles; of all those framers of new constitutions for Canada, he said in his own cynical and witty way:

> I am, so far as that question goes, up to the handle a home-ruler. We will govern our own country. We will put on the taxes ourselves. If we choose to misgovern ourselves—
>
> As we do now, unfortunately.
>
> —we will do so, and we do not desire England, Ireland or Scotland to tell us we are fools. We will say: If we are fools we will keep our folly to ourselves; you will not be the worse for it and we will not be the worse for any folly of yours.

Mr. Speaker, those words bristle with wisdom and with common sense. Do not meddle in the affairs of the Mother Country, and the Mother Country will let us govern ourselves. We have governed ourselves during the last seventy-five years according to British traditions; according to the best constitutional usages. Do not accustom the people to unwise words. Do not accustom the people to think that the ministers of the Canadian Government are viewing with a light heart the loosening of the moorings which bind us to the Mother Country. Speaking for myself, Sir, and for my electors in the old province of Quebec, I am satisfied with my lot; I do not care for any change brought about by the policy of Lord Milner and by a Tory Government. Let Providence shape our destiny; let us not get into entanglements for the pleasure of having, supposedly, a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary, but which, as that Unionist paper, the Winnipeg Free Press, so well said, will be nothing more or less than a camouflaged chief clerk.

Rt. Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, I do not rise to take part in this debate, I frankly admit, because it seems to me that at this stage nothing further need be said to make quite clear the futility of the proposed amendment and to make not only the members of this House but the people of Canada realize how hon. gentlemen opposite, failing entirely to find a basis for this amendment in any matter of fact, have been reduced one after another to struggling with their imagination in an endeavour to conjure up untold evils that we are to apprehend, because there has been laid before the House in full the result of what this Government has done in co-operation with the Government of the United Kingdom and with the acceptance of the Government of the United States. In this competition of imaginative powers I am sure the speakers opposite who have preceded me will find no fault nor complaint that I am doing them an injustice, great as their achievements in the exercise of their imaginative powers have been when I award the palm to my very good friend the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux). To lay the foundation of this edifice of terror which he has been at such pains to build up, the hon. gentleman had to carry us back—he is very fond of carrying us back—to the time in 1847—or 1848, was it?—when we had in this country a struggle for responsible government. That struggle for responsible government seems to haunt the hon. member's waking hours, and I often wonder whether it breaks in even upon his slumbers. He is so constantly in a state of terror, beholding this country on the brink of an abyss to which nothing is comparable but the condition and the danger to which it was exposed in 1847. He is living still away back in 1847, surrounded with the dangers of 1847, living in the Canada of 1847, the Canada that must have been so horrible a place to live in since it was perpetually haunted by that most awful of spooks, the Family Compact. The hon. gentleman is still in dread and terror of the Family Compact that went to its rest so very many years ago and that has long ceased to trouble the waking thoughts or the sleeping dreams of ordinary, sane Canadians who have grown up with their country and who have been conscious of their country's growth. The hon. gentleman says: Responsible Government is in peril. Why? Because thé responsible Government of Canada, having advised His Majesty, as it is the proper function of responsible ministers to do, that the time had come when Canada might very properly transact her business with her next-door neighbour, and having found that His Majesty's Government said: "Why, certainly that is perfectly obvious; everybody recognizes that;" and that the Government of the United States said: "Why, certainly, your representative will be most welcome" —the Government, as I say, having given that advice and having met with that reception, has come back to this Parliament and told this Parliament the totality of what it has done. Therefore, he says, the

constitution is in danger. Why, here is this responsible Government right before this Parliament, the representatives of the people. If, in doing that, this Government has done anything which the people's representatives do not approve, let the hon. gentleman calm his fears, we are here in the hands of Parliament which the people of Canada elected, and if the people's representatives do not approve this thing, clear and plain as it is on its face, of which they have been fully informed, let them exercise their constitutional authority, and neither the Parliament nor the people of Canada will be for one moment bound by anything that has been done. Where is the danger to constitutional Government?

The leader of the Opposition Mr. Mackenzie King) said that the great question involved was the supremacy of Parliament on the one hand or the autocracy of the Cabinet on the other. In that expression he ran the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) a very close second in evidence of powers of imagination. The autocracy of the Cabinet that stands here before Parliament to accept its judgment! Where is the supremacy? To-night the supremacy is in the hands of this Parliament to which we have told what we have done. If this Parliament thinks we have done right, well and good. If this Parliament thinks we have done wrong, it is in its hands to correct the wrong. Let me point this out. Hon. gentlemen have told us that they keep for another occasion their objectoins to what we have done; they will not to-night even question the wisdom of what we have done; they are satisfied to question the amount of information that they have received. It is a fair inference that on the information they have received they find no ground to question the wisdom of what we have done. It is true that while they have professed not to be questioning the wisdom of what we have done, they have wandered away—I think my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux) was a particularly great sinner in that regard—from the subject of this sparsity of information and have indulged in some condemnation of the action itself. But the amendment—they are quite right in that regard—does not raise the question of the wisdom of the action itself; it does not attack it; it does not question it; and I do not think it will be unfair if I suggest that they do not question the wisdom of that action, because they, like us, are absolutely satisfied that it will meet with the approval of the Canadian people. The hon. gentleman is worried about the whys and the wherefores. If the hon. gentleman does not know the whys and the wherefores which justify Canada attending to her own business, the people of Canada know all about them, and do not need to be told them over again. There are some things so obvious, there are some things so much a matter of common knowledge, that they do not call for repetition, and I am telling no secrets if I say that in the correspondence that did take place there is no discussion of why and wherefores. The thing itself in principle nobody disputes, and the Canadian people will not dispute it.

Now the hon. gentleman—and I should like to relieve his mind in this regard, because I would be sorry that he should lose his sleep to-night—is much perturbed by a ghost that walks often in his imagination, the ghost of somebody's mysterious efforts to create a system of imperialism that in some way or other is going to deprive us of our Canadian autonomy. He is so subject to the visits of that troublesome ghost that it comes between him and every step that goes to confirm and extend the outonomous powers of this country. Every time a step of that kind is taken, this ghost passes across the line of vision that intervenes between my hon. friend and his advancing country, and he sees imperialism; he sees something that is going to deprive us of our right to uphold our own self-government, something that is going to involve us in frightful responsibilities, and then he winds it all up by seeing in the very same thing something that is going to loosen the bonds that bind this country to the Mother Country and hold together the great commonwealth of nations that we call the British Empire. Now I would, if I could, do something to allay his apprehensions in this regard. I would ask him if he were not making a speech, if he did not feel called upon to find words of condemnation of some action of this Government, but were engaged in the ordinary application of his common sense—I would ask him how he sees in the fact that Canada is going to provide a Canadian appointed by His Majesty upon the advice of the Canadian Government to be the channel of communication between Canada and the United States, a danger to Canada's autonomy?

He has told us that this proposal is all camouflage, that Canada could not appoint a minister plenipotentiary, that none but an independent country could appoint a minister plenipotentiary. Well, now, Canada is not going to appoint a minister plenipotentiary, but His Majesty the King,

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who is the King of Canada just as much as he is the King of the United Kingdom, upon the advice of his constitutional Canadian advisers is going to appoint a minister plenipotentiary to be his representative at Washington, his delegate to the United States, so far as Canadian matters are concerned; and with all respect to the hon. gentleman's profound knowledge of international law, and the readiness with which he tells us that upon this side of the House we do not know the A. B. C. of international law I venture to say to him that he will find no competent international lawyer who will question the power of His Majesty the King to appoint a minister plenipotentiary in the right of his Dominion of Canada. May I also tell him, since he seems to be singularly oblivious of the things that have been happening under all our eyes, that at the Peace Conference His Majesty exercised that power and did the thing that the hon. gentleman says that anybody who knows the A. B. C. of international law would know he could not do. He did it, and those Canadian plenipotentiaries, in that quality of minister plenipotentiary, walked into the gathering of ministers plenipotentiary representing the states of the civilized world and were received and seated there on a footing of equality with His Majesty's ministers plenipotentiary representing the United Kingdom, with the ministers plenipotentiary representing the United States, with the ministers plenipotentiary representing France, Belgium, and all the nations of the earth. Yet the hon. gentleman says that if he knew the A. B. C. of international law we would know that Canada could not have a minister plenipotentiary. Now Canada has had ministers plenipotentiary. His Majesty named them upon the advice of his Canadian ministers, and His Majesty will name a minister plenipotentiary to go to Washington to be his representative there for the direction of purely Canadian affairs, and that minister plenipotentiary will be Canada's minister plenipotentiary, the hon. gentleman's profound knowledge of international law to the contrary notwithstanding. The A. B. C. of international law is away back in that past in which the hon. gentleman lives. It is prior to 1847, where dwell the spooks that trouble his days and his nights. It is very far back. Might I suggest to the hon. gentleman that he cast his eye on what I might describe as the X. Y. Z. of international law, on the latest developments, and then he will find to his great gratification that his country stands to-day in a position in which it is quite possible for her to have a minister plenipotentiary standing side by side with other ministers plenipotentiary on a footing of equality. I might say to my hon. friend, as he talks to us about the A. B. C. of international law, that this is not the only known case. When the German Empire was at the height of its power, Bulgaria and several other countries had their distinct ministers. It is not at all an impossible thing that within one state, within one great international empire, you may have a number of nations, all capable of figuring in the society of nations.

The hon. gentleman is very apprehensive of what is going to happen, when there comes to be a conflict of interests, as he says there may be, and he imagines it may come at a time when the British Ambassador has gone home to England. During his absence there comes to be a conflict of interest between Canada and the Mother Country or some other portion of the Empire, and the hon. gentleman is appalled as to what is going to happen.

Why, I think he would give the Canadian representative, or the British Ambassador if he should be acting alone, credit for a little common sense; and most assuredly, if the hon. gentleman himself were representing Canada under those circumstances, I would have the most implicit trust in him that he would realize that in a conflict of interests it would be the duty of both ambassadors to refer the matter to their respective Governments. Then it would be for the Governments of the self-governing nations of the Empire to get together and give instructions to their respective representatives, and above all to give to the representative of the British Empire, the instructions that rest upon the conclusions coming from the consultation of all the nations of the British Empire. The hon. gentleman need not be anxious, I think, upon that ground.

Now, the hon. gentleman gave us grave warning about playing with fire. He is so anxious that we should attend to our own affairs and do our own governing, and he has a horror of the old Tory days of the Family Compact and, I suppose of government from Downing Street. But what does he quote as a warning? What the London Times says.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The Canadian correspondent.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, the Canadian correspondent of the London Times. He thought that we were playing with fire and that there were grave dangers—I do not remember the

exact words—involved in playing at diplomacy. With all respect to Sir John Willison, we are not playing with diplomacy; and with all respect to the hon. gentleman who is now evidently so devout a follower of Sir John Willison—seeing that he hangs on the words of wisdom dropping from the knight's mouth—we are not playing at diplomacy at all; we are getting back to the very simple position that I mentioned at the outset where Canadian business with the American people, our next-door neighbours, will be transacted—in all the forms of diplomacy if you will, as it must be—through a Canadian appointed by His Majesty upon the advice of the Canadian Government. If that can be anything else than a rounding out of our powers of self-government, I am at a loss to imagine what it can be.

The hon. gentleman sees us involved in grave international troubles. There once was a British Ambassador at Washington who wrote a letter about their elections that the American people did not like, and the British Government recalled him. Now, on the hon. gentleman's advice, because we run that frightful risk, we should drop this project at once, because perhaps at some time our Canadian representative may write a letter that the American people may not like! And notwithstanding, if I accept his own view, that he was at such pains to point out to us the different occasions upon which our interests suffered because they were in the hands of exclusively British representatives, we must be on our guard not to have any representative of our own. The hon. gentleman was at pains to recall the Alaskan arbitration board, and pointed out the change made by the British member on that board. To what end? To warn us to have no representative of our own. After pointing out that if we had not had two representatives of our own upon that tribunal we would have had no one to support our view, he says: You see, the British representative turned against Canada; the conclusion is, be careful never to be represented by any Canadian, always be represented by exclusively British representatives, because there have been British representatives who have abandoned Canada's interests. I am not going to discuss whether there have been such British representatives, but out of the hon. gentleman's own mouth, if his statement be correct, comes the most conclusive argument why we ought to see to it that we have representatives of our own.

The hon. gentleman made a great contrast between what happened on the reciprocity treaty and on this matter, how openly they acted upon that treaty—just as openly as we are here to-night discussing this agreement—after it was made they brought it in and submitted it to Parliament.

Mr. LEMIEUX: And the correspondence.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, they brought in the correspondence, and if there had been correspondence here of a nature to be useful in connection with this discussion, it might very well have been produced. But there is the question: How is the correspondence going to affect the question whether what has been done was the right thing to do or the wrong thing to do. That is the thing we did, that is the thing which is here for the fullest and freest discussion by hon. members and the people of Canada, and that is the thing for which we are responsible and for which we are proud to be responsible, and for which we fear neither the verdict of this House nor the veridct of the people of this Dominion.

Now, the hon. gentleman is very much excited about what he calls the "hollow farce" of our status. No one has claimed that this particular arrangement has changed our status; it is the evidence of a change of status that has come as the result of a gradual growth. With regard to what happened during the war, I would say this—that the magnificent achievements of our soldiers, and the magnificent achievements of the Canadian people, did not change our status, but made manifest to the world, and commanded on the part of the world recognition of the fact, that we had attained a real national status. That is what has come: that recognition and the responsibility which accompanies it. This arrangement is another evidence of it. And yet the hon gentleman talks about it as a hollow farce!

Why is it that hon. gentlemen are so frightened that the country should ever leave the national apron-strings? I presume they must be glad to see her growth, yet they do not want her to have the privileges and the responsibilities that come from growth; they are in a corner frightened at shadows, seeing on every side impending dangers, and shrinking back from the manhood—if I may change the sex of our country for the moment—that has come to this Canada at last.

What would any man think of his son who, having reached the status of manhood, would say: "It is true I am a man, with the developed force and reasoning power of a man, with the right of being consulted about common matters that belong to the status

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of a man; but no, Mother, please let me keep a good strong hold of your apron-strings; because, you see, if I acknowledge manhood I might have to carry the responsibilities of manhood; there might even come a day when I might be responsible for some foolish letter that somebody wrote!" The hon. gentleman knows his country too well and loves her better than to believe that. He did not hesitate to tell us that we were not serious, that we were not sincere. He may from his point of view think that we are neither serious nor sincere, but I for my part will not throw that back at him. I do not doubt his sincerity, nor do I doubt his seriousness; but, knowing as I do the intelligence and the capacity of the hon. gentleman, it is a puzzle to me how he justifies that cowering attitude on the part of his country, that he is so frightened at her assuming the responsibilities of nationhood, that he is so frightened of it that he is even willing to forego the status and the privileges of nationhood for fear that we might be called upon to carry the proper responsibilities associated with that nationhood. What he fears is that somebody is plotting to carry this country into something he calls Imperialism. Upon this side of the House there is no less desire and no less firm purpose that there is on the part of my hon. friend that there shall be preserved to Canada for all time the untrammeled rights that she enjoys to-day and to ensure that she shall continue to be entitled to the recognition of her status as an equal nation within this Empire. That determination is as strong on this side of the House as it can be in his breast and nothing is being done here, or by this Government, otherwise than that which is in the direction of consolidating and confirming that autonomous status of our country. We have gone further because we are advancing farther than those who have preceded us. I do not say that they were not looking in the same direction but there is just as earnest determination to hold together this aggregation of nations, or which Canada is one—not an inferior one, not a dependency, but a nation standing on that footing of equality that she can just as well furnish the British Ambassador as representing the entire Empire as the United Kingdom can. The United Kingdom is not herself and alone the Empire. There is nothing incongrous in a Canadian minister being the representative from time to time, if not permanently for the matter of that, of the British Empire, if it be thought wise by the other component parts of the British

Empire. It is only an additional evidence of the recognition of the equality of our status within the Empire but here we are as determined to stand by Canada's rights to her position as an autonomous nation within the Empire as the hon. gentleman can be and that she shall maintain and hold her place in the great aggregation, the great commonwealth, of equal nations that go to make up the British Empire. My hon. friend need have no fear that we are wandering away from the example of that great statesman Sir John Macdonald whose words he read to us.

Hon. H. S. BELAND (Beauce): Before the minister sits down may I ask him a question? I see by the declaration that was made by the right hon. the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) that the Minister Plenipotentiary is going to be appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of the Canadian Government. Do I understand that this recommendation will go direct to His Majesty without first being submitted to the British Government. In other words, is the appointment to be made by His Majesty the King on the recommendation of the Canadian Government without the question being referred at all to the English, or Imperial Government?

Mr. DOHERTY: We have no doubt that His Majesty will not withhold from his British ministers his action in connection with the matter, but the statement is perfectly clear that the person to be appointed is to be appointed on the advice of his Canadian minister just as the Ministers Plenipotentiary at the Peace Conference were. I am not suggesting, and I do not know that there is occasion to suggest, that it is impossible, that, if the ministers of the United Kingdom see some reason why they should offer an objection, or possibly the ministers of other dominions see some reason for opposition, they can suggest it. I am not going into that. The proposed channel by which the advice gets to His Majesty does not alter the fact that it will be the advice of His Majesty's Canadian ministers.

Mr. BELAND: In other words according to the Government's understanding of the appointment of the minister at Washington the Canadian Government is not supreme as the adviser of His Majesty?

Mr. DOHERTY: As far as I understand it the Canadian Government is supreme as the adviser of His Majesty:

Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on advice of his Canadian ministers, shall appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government.

I can see no room for suggesting even a doubt that the advice of the Canadian ministers is to be supreme as to who shall be the Canadian minister or Plenipotentiary.

Mr. BELAND: So that the recommendation will go direct to His Majesty?

Mr. DOHERTY: Whatever is the regular channel by which communications reach His Majesty.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Hear, hear; that is very diplomatic.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): Mr. Speaker, like my hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) I did not intend to speak on this amendment and I would not have risen were it not for the fact that the hon. the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) referred to Hansard of last year. I have found a few lines which my hon. friend has not read, to which he has not referred, and which might be of great interest to the House. When my hon. friend stated that the matter of the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington was fully discussed and approved by the Opposition last year he did not state really what happened. I am sure he did not wish to deceive the House, but if he did not wish to deceive what has become of his power of observation?

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend has not quoted what I said to-night.. I said to-night that the question of the Canadian representative at Washington had been discussed in the House on the occasions I mentioned and that there had been no objection to the principle of that appointment.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Exactly. At page 2077 of Hansard of May 5, 1919—and if I remember well my hon. friend cited May 5—I find the following:

Mr. E. Lapointe: Has the Government brought down any legislation as regards this representation at Washington? I suppose the order in Council business is going to be closed up.

Mr. Rowell: The voting of the Estimate by the House would be all that would be necessary to appoint a representative at Washington. Next session, when the matter is more fully understood, and we know exactly the relations, it may be considered desirable to introduce legislation.

Do I understand that my hon. friend by legislation means Orders in Council? Or a resolution? What kind of legislation has been introduced in the House this session? Is it not a fact that it was an Order in Council, and that my hon. friend made an announcement to the House stating that an ambassador, a minister plenipotentiary, was going to be appointed at Washington. Is that the kind of "legislation" my hon. friend referred to last year? But let me resume the quotation:

Mr. Archambault: Have we as a nation the right to appoint a diplomatic agent at Washington?

Mr. Rowell: We have no right, except with the concurrence of the Imperial Government, to appoint a diplomatic agent, but the question of the status of this representative is now a matter of conference between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Imperial Government.

Mr. Archambault: We should not pass this Estimate before having power from the Imperial Government.

Mr. Rowell: My hon. friend need not worry. We shall have an understanding with the Imperial Government, and we shall have a Canadian representative at Washington.

A question by Mr. McMaster and a reply by the President of the Privy Council follow. Then comes another question from myself:

Mr. Archambault: Have the Imperial authorities agreed to that?

Mr. Rowell: They are agreed that we should have representation at Washington.

Mr. Archambault: Is there any correspondence to that effect?

Mr. Rowell: There are certain confidential communications between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Imperial Government. Negotiations are not yet closed. As soon as they are closed I am sure the Prime Minister will lay the whole matter before the House, but he is conducting negotiations personally in Great Britain.

I was under the impression that negotiations were closed. If they are closed, what becomes of the statement made by my hon. friend last year that when the subject would be closed the Prime Minister would lay the whole matter before the House? The Prime Minister spoke to-night, and he stated emphatically that he would not lay anything before the House, that no publication would be allowed. May I ask what are the reasons for not divulging the communications which have been exchanged? Are my hon. friends opposite afraid that these negotiations will bring criticism from this side of the House? If they are not, why not disclose the facts? However, it is not the first time that we have been refused information here. When

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I asked very reasonable questions about the expense of the Canadian National railways we met with a point-blank refusal from the minister. I believe, Sir, that in pursuing this course we are departing from responsible government, and in my opinion the amendment of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's should be adopted.

Amendment of Mr. Fielding negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messrs.

Archambault,
Béland,
Boivin,
Bourassa,
Bureau,
Cahill,
Cannon,
Cardin,
Casgrain,
Chisholm,
d'Anjou,
Déchêne,
Delisle,
Demers,
Denis,
Desaulniers,
Deslauriers,
Duff,
Ethier,
Euler,
Fafard,
Fielding,
Fontaine,
Fortier,
Fournier,
Gauthier,
Gauvreau,
Gervais,
Hunt,
Johnston,
Kennedy (Essex N.),
Kennedy (Glengarry and Stormont),
King,
Knox,
Lanctôt,
Leduc,
Leger,
Lemieux,
Lesage,
MacNutt,
McGibbon (Argenteuil),
McMaster,
Marcile (Bagot),
Mayrand,
Murphy,
Papineau,
Pardee,
Parent,
Pedlow,
Pelletier,
Power,
Prevost,
Proulx,
Reid (Mackenzie),
Ross,
Savard,
Seguin,
Sinclair (Antigonish and Guysborough),
Stein,
Thomson (Qu'Appelle),
Trahan,
Verville,
White (Victoria).—63.

NAYS.

Messrs.

Argue,
Armstrong (Lambton),
Arthurs,
Ballantyne,
Blair,
Blake,
Bonnell,
Boyce,
Boys,
Bristol,
Burnham,
Burrell,
Butts,
Calder,
Casselman,
Chaplin,
Charters,
Clark (Bruce),
Clements,
Cooper,
Cowan,
Cronyn,
Crothers,
Crowe,
Drayton (Sir Henry),
Edwards,
Finley,
Foster (Sir George),
Fraser,
Green,
Griesbach,
Guthrie,
Halladay,
Harrison,
Hay,
Henders,
Hughes (Sir Sam),
Keefer,
Mackie (Edmonton),
Mackie (Renfrew),
McCurdy,
McIntosh,
McIsaac,
McQuarrie,
Manion,
Martin,
Morphy,
Mowat,
Munson,
Nicholson (Queens, P.E.I.),
Peck,
Reid (Grenville),
Richardson,
Rowell,
Sexsmith,
Shaw,
Sheard,
Simpson,
Stacey,
Stevens,
Stewart (Lanark),
Sutherland,
Thompson (Yukon),
Tolmie,
Tremain,
Tweedie,
Wigmore,
Wilson (Saskatoon).
68.

PAIRS.

(The list of Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

Messrs.

Doherty,
Borden, Sir Robert,
Davidson,
Ball,
Brien,
Loggie,
White, Sir Thomas,
Middlebro,
Fulton,
Chabot,
Wright,
Wilson (Wentworth),
Whidden,
Wallace,
Charlton,
Tudhope,
Thompson (Weyburn),
Thompson (Hastings),
Stewart (Hamilton),
Meighen,
Spinney,
Steele,
Sifton,
Allan,
Marcil (Bonaventure),
Devlin,
McKenzie,
Turgeon,
Sinclair (Queens, P.E.I.),
Vien,
Jacobs,
Robb,
Pacaud,
Lapointe,
Michaud,
Boyer,
Lafortune,
Brouillard,
McCoig,
Truax,
Rinfret,
Molloy,
McCrea,
Lavigueur,
Du Tremblay,
Tobin,
Copp,
Crerar.

Main motion agreed to, and the House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

SUPPLY.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police—Amount to be voted, $4,674,066.40.

Mr. FIELDING: May I suggest to my right hon. friend who is leading the Government that he will require time to reflect on the situation and that we might now adjourn?

Progress reported.

On motion of Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster for the adjournment of the House:

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What business to-morrow?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Ways and Means; the Budget Speech.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 12.20 a.m.

OTTAWA: Printed by J. DE L. TACHÉ, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1920.

A grant has been made for many years for this purpose.

Mr. McMASTER: I wish again to register my protest against this expenditure of public funds. It has been stated that the Government has no control over the Press, that the Press is quite at liberty to transmit what it desires through this agency. But my hon. friend in charge of this Estimate will not deny that throughout the war the newspapers of this country were dependent in large measure upon legislation passed by this Government to get their raw material, that is, the paper on which they print their news, from the manufacturers at very much less than the commercial rates. Now, cannot my hon. friend see, cannot the House see, the inadvisability of the sources of public information, receiving grants-in-aid from the Government of the day? It seems to me to be unwholesome. It may amuse the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), he may think it a joke; but there are a lot of people in this country who do not think it a joke. Let us restore to the press of Canada its prestige and the confidence which people had in it years ago. I believe that can only be done if the Press dissociate itself from the slightest possibility of being under obligation to the Government of the day. I had some experience lately in appreciating the attitude of a number of newspapers in this country towards the Government. Their attitude was that it was the Government's business to see that they got the paper for their newspapers. They thought that was the business of the Government, not their own business; so accustomed had they become, apparently, to rely upon the Government. And we know that such an appetite grows on what it feeds on. I protest against this legislation. I know gentlemen are anxious to get home, but if anything I can say will influence them—one of the members from British Columbia shakes his head. No doubt anxiety to get home is the overmastering passion in his mind at the present time. I say that this whole business is vicious and unwholesome and the sooner it is done away with the better. I trust that the President of the Privy Council whom I congratulate on having reduced the item from $20,000 to $8,000, will do even better and wipe it out altogether.

Canadian representation at Washington, $80,000.

Mr. ROWELL: I beg to move to amend that item by substituting for the words "at Washington" the words "in the United States". I do that because the Auditor General thinks that under the present designation the vote might be limited to Washington whereas it includes both the New York and Washington offices.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. FIELDING: Has the minister any further information to give us concerning this item?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not know just what my hon. friend has in view.

Mr. FIELDING: I believe that many hon. members of this House, who are more willing perhaps than I am—although I am not always unwilling to support the measures which the Government bring down, will joint with me in a protest—it may be in silence—against the action of the Government in again endeavouring to commit this Parliament to the very grave and important step which is introduced by this proposal in the absence of any information dealing with the subject. I think it is an amazing situation that the Government should ask Parliament to vote this money in face of the fact that we have not been able to get any information concerning the purpose for which it is asked. I take exception to it from various standpoints. I quite realize that in the carrying on of public affairs it is sometimes necessary to withhold documents from Parliament, I know we have occasions in connection with our public affairs when that is so. But I am afraid this Government is overplaying the part of custodian of confidential documents. We had here last night a long discussion on the Board of Commerce arising out of the fact that the Government had suppressed public documents which really should have been given to Parliament long ago.

Two years ago the ministers returned from the Imperial conference. I have no doubt conferences are useful in a general way, but the only particular feature of that conference that the Government reported to this House, and dwelt upon, was an arrangement whereby a channel of communication was to be opened between the Canadian and Imperial Governments. In times past it has been customary to have the transactions put through the Colonial Office. We were told, and it was represented to be a matter of grave importance, that in future the Prime Minister of Canada was to have the right to communicate direct with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. This was represented to Parliament as be-

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ing a very grave and important step. After the lapse of two years I thought it might be desirable to find out how far this new privilege had been found useful. Therefore I obtained an Order of the House asking if we might receive copies of whatever correspondence had taken place under this new arrangement, and the return came down that in that time certain correspondence had taken place but it was confidential and no scrap of it could be laid before Parliament.

Now we have this Washington business. It is a very grave step. On a previous occasion I pointed out that it is nearer to a constitutional change than anything else that has recently occurred, and yet we are asked to commit ourselves to that project without a line of correspondence dealing with the subject. I am strong in my doubt as to the wisdom of the course that is proposed, and whether I agree or not as to the desirability of having representation at Washington I think that almost all hon. gentlemen who listen to me will feel, as I do, that Parliament should long ago have been taken into the confidence of the Government and given to know what all this means. It is on that ground therefore that I protest what has taken place.

But on the merits of the question—I speak for myself alone—I have grave doubts as to the wisdom or value of the proposition. I have had some experience of official transactions between Ottawa and Washington and I have had considerable opportunity, like other hon. members and irrespective of my own official connection with matters of this kind of observing what has occurred. I might point out that if any reason exists why there should be a chance in the existing system Parliament has never been informed of it. No hon. member can point to a single case that has been presented to us by the Government to indicate that there is any need for a change at all. I think that is a consideration of importance. If difficulties have arisen between the Canadian Government and the American Government, or between the Canadian Government and the Imperial Government, out of the existing order of things, I think it is only fair and reasonable that we should know what these difficulties are in order to justify the steps which it is proposed to take.

There is no intelligent public opinion on this question. In the previous discussion —although I can only be permitted a passing reference to it—it was alleged that many newspapers of the Dominion had viewed this proposal with favour. To some extent that is true, but how could there be any intelligent public opinion on the subject when no information has been given to the House of Commons to show what the object of it is? It cannot be said that there is any intelligent and well-informed public opinion upon the subject-I have never heard any general reason given calling for this change. We read occasionally in the press that we need something of this sort because of the difficulties of our present system and we are told that if we have any transaction with the Government at Washington we must first send our communication across the water to the Imperial Government. We will send it to the Colonial Office, the Colonial Office will send it to the Foreign Office, the Foreign Office will send it to the Government at Washington and gradually, after the lapse of a long time, our wishes will be made known at Washington. That is the story that is told. That is the only reason that I have ever heard given in the public press or in Parliament for making the change. Is that reason well founded? Does it represent the facts? I say it does not. I say it is a pure dream as to the condition of affairs existing between this Government and Washington. There was a time, no doubt, in the olden days, when things were different, when this circumlocution office could be busily employed in the way indicated. But that time, if it existed at all, was long ago. For many years Canadian foreign affairs have not been dealt with in that way. We have had experience with relations between various governments and as far as my own observation has gone we have never found the slightest difficulty in obtaining communication with a foreign government through the agency of the British Government. The great complaint has been that the Imperial Government has stood in the way of bringing the communications of Canada to the attention of other nations, but it is not within my knowledge or belief that any such cause of complaint exists.

For a number of years we have had the British ambassadors at Washington coming to Canada for consultation. That has been the practice of British ambassadors. Lord Bryce, in a particular degree, carried out that policy. He came to Ottawa once or twice a pear and put himself in touch not only with the Government of the day but with public men whom he had an opportunity of meeting, and the result was that Lord Bryce was very well informed on all

Canadian affairs. There was no difficulty whatever in the way of having Canadian affairs administered through the assistance of Lord Bryce or the British ambassador at Washington. That was equally true of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice who succeeded him and who, sad to say, died here in Ottawa. It will be true in lesser degree of other ambassadors. I am not sure whether Lord Reading came to Ottawa; Lord Grey did not but these gentlemen were only temporary appointments and they were only at Washington a short time. But it is fair to assume that every British ambassador hereafter to be appointed at Washington will in the future deem it his duty to visit Ottawa and put himself in communication with the ministers of the Crown, showing that there is absolutely no need for any new system in order to have Canada properly represented.

Then there is another thought in connection with this matter. It is proposed to have a gentleman at Washington who is to be the representative of Canada, and we are told that when the ambassador is away he will be the representative of Great Britain. Well, I am afraid, Sir, that makes the situation worse rather than better, because while he is representing Canada entirely he will have the responsibility to the Canadian Government and possibly to the Canadian Parliament—though Parliament does not seem to count in these matters I regret to say—but if he is to become, for the time being, British Ambassador then he no longer is responsible to the Government and Parliament of Canada—he must be responsible to the Imperial Government. It seems to me that is a fantastic arrangement, and there will be difficulty in connection with it.

There is another thought that I venture to express. I believe that when any question of real importance arises between Canada and the United States you will have far better representation of Canada's interests if you do not rely upon some gentleman who—I am quoting the words of an eminent Conservative of Montreal in a letter in the press a short time ago describing this arrangement—will be given a desk in the office of the ambassador. I believe that when any real business arises which requires consideration from the Canadian viewpoint it is a very much better arrangement to have a minister of the Crown, fresh from consultation with his colleagues and fully informed of the Canadian position leaving Ottawa in the evening, being at Washington by the next afternoon, and then being in a position to represent the interests of Canada. I am sure he would represent them much more intelligently and much more effectively than any gentleman who has been spending his time around Washington wondering what in the world he was going to do next. The whole tendency of this arrangement must be to give Canada a representative at Washington who holds a nominal position. The tendency will be that he will fall into a rut, and the rut of officialism we know very often leads to idleness. If there is anything really important to do the Government will—even now, I am sure, send a minister down from Ottawa to do it, and the gentleman who is supposed to represent Canada at Washington will really come to be a person of only nominal power. I do not think, Sir, there is any need of this arrangement at all. I do not think any good can come of it. Canada stands so well now with the British Empire generally, and particularly with the Government in England,—by reason of the splendid service she has given in the Great War—that I can understand the tendency of the British Government to assent to almost anything within, and even beyond, the bounds of reason that the Canadian Government may ask. It is flattering for us to know that that appreciation exists; but I am persuaded in my own mind that if the seasoned officers of the Colonial Office and of the Foreign Office could give us their private thought they would tell us they find in this arrangement a very dangerous experiment indeed.

There is one other thought which is worthy of consideration, and it is the financial one. I do not present that as the main consideration, but it is a consideration to which we should give some weight. At this moment we are on the eve of separating, and members will go home to explain in many instances to their people why they were unable to obtain some particular grant which they desired and to which their constituents attached importance—in one case a public work; in another case a breakwater to protect the fishermen's gear, in another case, dredging, either in the lakes or on the St. Lawrence, to open some harbour; a post office here, a public building there—a score of things which we all would like to have. We have got to go back to our constituencies and explain that although these things cost a few hundred or even a few thousand dollars we cannot afford them now; we have not got the money. It will be more difficult for hon. gentlemen to give that explanation to

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their constituents when they can be met with the statement that we are spending a large sum of money in creating this kindergarden school of diplomacy at Washington.

I have no objection to the extension of our relations with the United States. I have given many evidences in my public life that I attach the utmost importance to friendly relations with the great republic. I yield to no hon. member in this House my desire to establish such relation; and particularly am I anxious that we establish commercial relations. But I cannot see the necessity or the wisdom of our engaging in this expenditure. Last year $50,000 was proposed for this purpose, this year it is to be $80,000; depend upon it next year will be a great deal more. Washington, I believe, is, for persons in official life, the most expensive city in the world; and if we mean to establish at Washington anything which will compare with what we are pleased to call now our increasing status and our greater dignity, it is going to be a very expensive luxury. I do not feel that we need it. We have no information to justify us in doing this. I know there are some members of the House who are of the opinion that it is a great thing to have representation in the foreign courts. I am afraid I am lacking in the enthusiasm which some of them manifest in that way. At all events I strongly represent to you that this is an unnecessary expenditure, it is not a wise expenditure, it is an expenditure which is more likely to get us into trouble than to be of any substantial good.

There is still one further thought that I would like to express. Considering, Sir, that we have no information on the subject, considering that we are going into a blind alley—these are not phrases that are too strong; hon. gentlemen know that they are just as much in the dark on the subject as I am—how far are we going to be obligated by this thing in the future? I am bound to say that in the absence of any information, no Government that arises in the future can be expected to feel bound by any action that this Parliament now takes; and any gentleman who, under these circumstances and in the absence of any knowledge of what we are doing accepts a position at Washington under this arrangement will be obliged to feel that he is taking very great risks. In all earnestness and in all sincerity I represent that I believe this is not only an unwise expenditure from the point of view of the public interest but I believe it is unwise in other respects. No good can come of it but much harm may result.

Mr. ROWELL: One or two observations in answer to my hon. friend. The hon. member who opened his remarks by intimating that after the Imperial Conference of 1918 the only important information given this House was in reference to improved channels of communication. I judge my hon. friend could not have been in the House at the first session of last year when the work of the Imperial Conference of 1918 was reviewed. I have Hansard for that year before me, and no less than forty pages are taken up with a discussion of the work of the Imperial Conference of 1918. Many questions came before that conference touching problems affecting Canada and the Empire as a whole. The resolutions of the conference on these matters were reported to the House and were discussed by hon. members for a period covering some hours. Five sixth of those resolutions were laid on the table together with a printed report of the proceedings of the conference. So much for my hon. friend's reference to the Imperial Conference.

My hon. friend's references to Canadian representation at Washington are as lacking in solid foundation as that respecting the Imperial Conference. My hon. friend says that the House has no information. He declares that no papers are laid on the table. One would think it is not possible to obtain information except from documents. Let us suppose that the whole matter had been one of conference and negotiation between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of Great Britain what documents would there be to lay upon the table? The statement would be that statement which the Prime Minister would make to the House, and in doing so he would impart full information to the House. When my right hon. friend, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, presented the statement to the House he gave the substance and the really important features of the understanding and arrangement arrived at. That statement was agreed upon by both Governments. Does my hon. friend think that the details are a matter of contract and of bargain? That has not been the principle upon which the British constitution has been worked out. There was an understanding, as was stated when the announcement was made to the House—and understanding which was repeated when the matter came up for dis-

cussion—that hereafter Canada should be represented at Washington by a minister plenipotentiary appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of his Canadian ministers; that that minister should report to and take instructions from the Canadian Government; and that he should carry on his work there in co-operation with the British Ambassador and be a part of the British Embassy. Once you have a definition of the position and status of the Canadian representative, the rest follows as a natural and logical consequence. It would not be possible to define the precise limits of the duties and responsibilities of the Canadian minister. From the very nature of the case the arrangements and the procedure must be flexible. There must be room for development in these relations just as our constitution has developed to meet changing conditions as they arise from time to time. And, further, the arrangement can be modified if necessary to meet new conditions. If the present arrangement does not prove entirely satisfactory, it can be modified. That is clearly understood. My hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce, in the official statement he made to the House, gave the House the terms of the arrangement arrived at, and everything follows as a natural consequence.

Now, my hon. friend says that there is no occasion for such representation. Take the very matter that we have been considering in this House in the last few days—the coal situation—I merely use it as an illustration, sowing how closely the two countries must be asociated together in matters of trade where their vital interests are concerned. That is a case where we get supplies from the United States. Take another matter, the export of pulp and paper; that is a case where the United States get their supplies from us. Both of those questions are exciting very great interest in the two countries, and they are questions concerning which it is important that there should be no misunderstanding. Both of these questions can be dealt with better by men who understand them, who know all the conditions and who can talk them over as man with man; that is the best means of arriving at a satisfactory solution. I merely mention those two matters to illustrate the class of cases that are constantly arising. Unquestionably it is in the interests of Canada to be represented at Washington by one of her own citizens, who knows Canadian conditions, who is in close touch with the Canadian Government, and who is constantly watching over Canadian interests in order that they may be safeguarded. I submit that this House could not more wisely expend this amount of public money than by voting this item for Canadian representation at Washington.

Mr. McMASTER: Many years ago an English king endeavoured to promote the marriage of his son with a daughter of the king of Scotland by invading the northern kingdom, and a Scotch nobleman of the time said, that he was not opposed to the match, but he did object to the manner of wooing. Now, that is very much my position in regard to this matter. I have no objection to Canadian national interests being represented at Washington by a Canadian; au contraire, I am very much in favour of it; but I am extremely doubtful of "the manner of wooing"—I am extremely opposed to the manner in which this matter has been introduced.

Some time ago the matter was before the House, and we asked for information, for the papers to be brought down. We were told by the Prime Minister, if I remember aright, that he had examined the documents, and had caused them to be examined by some one else, and that they had both decided that it was not necessary that Parliament should see the documents. Those were very doleful auspices under which to introduce this matter. It has been noticed in the British Liberal press, and the Manchester Guardian has stated, that it is too bad that this move has been attended by such unfortunate circumstances. That is the first objection I have to this Estimate. I wish also to protest emphatically against the wrong done to hon. members in bringing down an Estimate of this importance a few hours before we are supposed to finish the work of the session: It is not fair to hon members, and it should not be done. There is no objection in my mind to our having a representative at Washington if we can afford it, and that is a question with which I do not propose to take up the time of the House to-night—but I say this: that the man who goes to Washington must be our representative and in the absence of the British Ambassador must not be his locum tenens. I say that is the most dangerous proposal that could be made in connection with this matter.

Let us suppose this case,—and it is not an improbable one; it has happened in the past and may happen in the future—let us suppose, there is a divergence of opinion between Great Britain and Canada on some

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fisheries question, that the British Ambassador is away and the Canadian Ambassador is locum tenens for him. From whom is the locum tenens to take his instructions? Is he to take them from the British Government and go against the views of the Canadian Government? Or is he to take his instructions from the Canadian Government and go against the views of the British Government whom he is supposed to represent? I protest against this as an unwise provision, and I would think that this matter involving as it does $8,000, might well remain over until next session. Although I wish to state very frankly that any movement by this or any other government towards a full realization of Canadian nationality will always have my warm and enthusiastic support.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Mr. Chairman, the Estimate appeared last year, and my hon. friend has had something like fifteen months to consider it. Therefore I hardly appreciate his injured feeling in respect to lack of particulars.

Mr. McMASTER: My right hon. friend will admit that this is the first occasion when we have been asked to vote for money. Is it not?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No. It was voted last year.

Mr. McMASTER: Was the money spent?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No. My hon. friend has evidently given no more consideration to the Estimate than he has to this question. He has propounded what seems in his opinion to be a very difficult conundrum to answer. He says: Suppose the British Government has one point of view with respect to a particular matter and the Canadian Government has another point of view? I will answer his question by asking another. Suppose that condition arises when there is a British Ambassador and no one else at Washington, what is the British Ambassador to do?

Mr. McMASTER: The British Ambassador of course will take his instructions from the British Government. But if the British Ambassador is away, and under the proposed legislation our man is there as locum tenens, he will have to follow either the instructions of the British Government or our instructions.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend, I think, is under a complete misapprehension. If he pretends to say that the British Ambassador at Washington ought to follow the instructions of the British Government in respect to a matter of purely Canadian interest when the Canadian Government entertains precisely the opposite view, he takes a position which I am not prepared to accept and which this Government never has accepted. The Canadian representative at Washington, if he were acting in the stead of the British Ambassador, would occupy exactly the same position as the British Ambassador has occupied in the past. In matters of purely Imperial concern he would act under the directions of the Imperial Government; in matters of purely Canadian concern he would consult with and act according to the views of this Government. That is the whole situation.

Mr. McMASTER: May I put a question to my right hon. friend?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly, as many as you like.

Mr. McMASTER: Is it not possible that a question may come up which is of both Imperial and Canadian concern?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly, but the position will be exactly the same whether the British Ambassador is there or whether the Canadian representative is acting in his place. My hon. friend has lost his usual logical sense of the fitness of things if he does not see that at once. Now, so far as the observations made by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) are concerned, I should like to tell him that this is not so new a departure in point of principle as he imagines. How is it different in point of principle from the action of the late administration, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government, of which he was a member, in establishing an International Joint Commission which for ten years has dealt with many matters that formely were settled through diplomatic channels? Has any disadvantage thereby come to this country? Has that occasioned any detriment to the good relations between Canada and the United States? On the contrary, I venture to think that the International Joint Commission has been of the greatest possible advantage to the two countries and has aided in maintaining good relations in respect of matters that might otherwise have led to serious dispute. Moreover, the Government of which my hon. friend was a member gave a somewhat new status to our representative in Paris, and we have acted upon that status.

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The only thing to which we objected when we came into power was this. We found Mr. Roy, a very able and capable man, acting in Paris for the Government of Canada and also for the Government of the province of Quebec, and having his salary partly paid by the Dominion and partly by the province. We did not consider that a desirable condition of affairs, so we asked Mr. Roy to resign as representative of the province of Quebec and made good to him the difference in salary. I am bound to say that I believe his service in Paris has been of the greatest possible advantage to this country. He is in very close touch with the British Embasey there, he has established excellent relations with them and he carries on, in some sense, diplomatic arrangements of a minor character, to the great advantage, I believe, of this country and the maintenance of good relations between Canada and France.

There is another thing that we might take into account. We have had in London for many years an officer called High Commissioner for Canada. He carries on very important negotiations between the Government of this country and the Government of the United Kingdom, being sometimes brought through his instructions into direct communication and relation with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and with the British Cabinet. I do not know that any disadvantage has resulted to any one from that condition of affairs. I think that the service both of the Hight Commissioner in London and the Commissaire-Général in Paris have been of advantage to this country. I believe, notwithstanding all that has been said, that the presence at Washington of a Canadian representative will equally be of good service and will promote good relations between the two countries.

I would like to tell my hon. friend that, much as I respect the very able officers in the Foreign Office, in the Colonial Office, and elsewhere in the British service, I should not be prepared to accept their view as to the desirability or otherwise of an arrangement of this kind. In a matter of that kind we ought to be able to judge for ourselves; so far as I am concerned I do propose to judge for myself. I should add, however, that so far as I am aware of the opinion of the higher officials of the Foreign Office, they see no objection whatever to this proposed arrangement. I think it perfectly manifest that at some time we must have representation at Washington. About two-thirds or three-quarters of the business of the Embassy relates to Canadian interests. When we have ten, fifteen or twenty millions of people in this country, are we, in respect of their interests, in respect of their representation at Washington, to say that all these things can be better attended to by other people than by ourselves? Are we to relegate ourselves to a position in the background? I for one do not appreciate that point of view.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend is hardly correct when he says that Parliament voted last year the appropriation which the Government have asked for this year. Last year we voted $50,000; this year the Government are asking for $80,000, a difference of $30,000. I think my right hon. friend will admit that that is quite correct.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I thought my hon. friend would understand that I was referring to the principle of the vote, not to the exact amount of it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend attaches little importance to the exact amount. For my part every dollar is significant and I propose to move that we strike out the $30,000 which is being asked this year in excess of what was voted last year. If when this matter was discussed in Parliament last year $50,000 was sufficient for the purpose of starting this representation at Washington and the money was not used, it ought to be equally sufficient now, particularly in view of the fact that apart from the statement by the Acting Prime Minister we have had practically no information as to what is intended. The principle at stake in this matter is whether or not Parliament is to have a say in regard to our inter-Imperial and international relations. Apparently the Government's policy in these matters is one of secret diplomacy. We were told by the Prime Minister, as the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) and the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) have pointed out, that the Prime Minister had read over the correspondence, that some other person had read over the correspondence, and that as a result of that reading Parliament was not to be informed one way or the other of what the correspondence contained. That is not, I am sure, a method of carrying on the business of the country which will meet with the approval of the people. Matters of ordinary business as between partners are not carried on simply by understandings;

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statements and records are kept in which is clearly set forth the exact position of the parties. If rumour be correct, my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) may not hold the position of Prime Minister very long; he may be succeeded by one of his colleagues or by some other person who will not have precisely the same views on these matters as he has or I will suggest another possibility. The Government of which my right hon. friend is the head may not be in office very long; it may be succeeded by a ministry that has views of its own on these questions. Should there not be somewhere in the records of this country, documents which will put beyond question exactly what has been agreed to between the different countries, between Great Britain and Canada or between the United States and Canada, on matters affecting inter-Imperial and international relations? Assume that some future British ministry should dispute the word of a minister in this House or of this Parliament, and the Canadian ministry—not the same ministry which is now in office—were unable to support our present position other than by the statements made in the House. What position would we be in? In these matters, particularly where they are in the nature of departures, or advances, if you wish to call them so along lines of constitutional or other development, there is the strongest of reasons why we should have in the records of our country documents which will become in time part of the archives of Canada and which may be referred to as bona fide records of what has taken place. This evening we were informed by my right hon. friend in regard to another very important matter, the taking over by Canada of five ships from the Government of Great Britain, that all of that correspondence was secret; that no member of this Parliament could see it; yet we are expected to vote a couple of million dollars to maintain the ships once they are taken over. That is the method of secret diplomacy. It is in accord with the proceedings of the bureaucratic administration; it is not the method of a ministry responsible to Parliament, and unless the ministry is prepared to be responsible to Parliament, I fail to see why Parliament should support the ministry. For this reason I move that the present item be reduced by $50,000. I think the time has come when there should be an end to monopoly of control of the affairs of Canada by a Cabinet carrying on the country business in secret councils. The business of the country should be carried on in the open on the floor of this Parliament in such a manner that the Government will be obliged to take into their confidence not only the members of Parliament but the people of the country whose money they are voting to expend.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am very glad my hon. friend has made this motion because, in dong so, he acknowledges the principle and objects only to the amount. He leaves the matter therefore, just where it was last year even if his motion should pass, that is to say, with a vote of $50,000 for a particular purpose which has the endorsation of this House in voting the Estimates. The hon. gentleman has not given a great deal of consideration to the statement which was made in this House. It was announced at the time, I believe, that the statement was to be made concurrently in Great Britain and Canada that it had been agreed upon by, and represented the views of, the two governments. Under those circumstances I do not know why my hon. friend should put forward the contention which he has, that it might transpire at some future time that the British Government held a different view. The statement which was made was a statement submitted to the British Government, modified to some extent by them, I believe, and put out with the full concurrence of the British Government and of this Government, both in Great Britain and in this country. Moreover, as regards records, my hon. friend, I hope, does not intend to suggest that I purpose running away with the records, if at any time in the future I should cease to be Prime Minister. He says, "There ought to be records in the country." Well, whatever records there are, will be for any future Government. I do not propose taking them away. They will be there for the inspection of any Government in the future, and that Government will be fully at liberty to bring them down if they obtain the proper consent, or to take such other course as may to them seem fit.

Mr. FIELDING: I put to the Government a question which I thought was a fair and reasonable one. I asked them to state what circumstances had arisen to show that the interests of Canada were suffering at Washington for lack of a representative such as is now proposed. My right hon. friend spoke at great length, but he did not answer that question. I am not surprised that he did not, because I am satisfied no such condition has arisen. My right hon. friend says: "We have a representative at

London and a representative at Paris." True, but they are both 3,000 miles away from Ottawa, and if they were only a few hours' journey away from Ottawa, we probably would have no representative at either London or Paris. It is no argument to say that because we have a representative at Paris so far away, therefore, we must have one at Washington which is virtually next door to us. I notice that the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) is making a change in the wording of this item. He says that the Auditor General suggested it. I shall not ask my hon. friend to confess, but I shall not be surprised if he got the suggestion from some other quarter, that it might not be the wisest policy to fix the representative at Washington.

Mr. ROWELL: I am very glad to answer my hon. friend. I got no suggestion from any quarter that is was desirable to make a change. When I moved the change, I explained that this item covered the New York office as well as Washington, and the Auditor General thought that if we put in the item "at Washington" that would be open to some question. The New York office is under Washington and, therefore, it is desirable to say, "in the United States" instead of specifically mentioning Washington.

Mr. FIELDING: The hon. gentleman and the Prime Minister both referred to the extensive trade relations we have with the United States. It is quite true that we have extensive trade relations with that country, and it has been part of my mission in life to make those trade relations more extensive. I am not sure that the right hon. gentleman who is now Prime Minister has laboured in that direction. But when my hon. friends speak of the commercial reasons as having any great bearing on this question, I fail to see the force of the argument. I have not seen so much of Washington as has my hon. friend; but to my knowledge and belief Washington is not a great commercial centre, and if we want commercial agents in New York, Boston, Chicago, in any part of the United States where great business interests are centralized, I should very heartily support my hon. friend in saying that we should have additional representatives in those quarters. He said, "Why, have we not the International High Joint Commission"? Yes, having that, and as it is running smoothly, what more do we want in the same direction? "Oh, but," the right hon. gentleman said,—and I took down his words—"we are proposing to adopt that same proposition that there are certain things in our international relations which can be better done by other people than by ourselves." That was my right hon. friend's statement.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not say that.

Mr. FIELDING: Yes, my right hon. friend did say that.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not.

Mr. FIELDING: Well, Hansard will tell.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend misunderstood me. I have a right under the rules of the House to state in what sense my words are to be understood, and I did not intend them to be understood in any such sense.

Mr. FIELDING: My right hon. friend has a right to speak of his intentions, but Hansard has a right to speak of his words. We have not been having the affairs of Canada attended to by other people than ourselves in international affairs for many years. We did not have them attended to by other people when Sir John A. Macdonald went as Commissioner to Washington to deal with the fisheries question. We did not have them attended to by other people when Sir Charles Tupper went again and again to Washington. We did not have them attended to by other people when we appointed representatives on the High Joint Commission of which my right hon. friend speaks. We did not have them attended to by other people when two members of the Canadian Government went down to Washington and endeavoured to conduct negotiations there to extend trade with that country at a time when my right hon. friend and his friends did everything they could to strangle that trade.

I do not purpose having any lectures from my right hon. friend as to the extension of trade relations between Canada and the United States. We have no evidence before us that a single thing has arisen to call for this movement. Again I challenge the right hon. gentleman to show that any difficulty has arisen at Washington in our relations with the American Government. This is an entirely unnecesary and wasteful thing. It may be a serious matter. Or it may be that the
9 p.m. most that can happen from it is that the Government will send some gentleman to Washington who will discover that there is nothing for him to do but to occupy a desk in a corner of the

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office of the British Ambassador, and when there is any business to be done, the Government will send a man down from Ottawa. My right hon. friend speaks of the coal question and the pulp question which have been before us in the last day or two. I take his illustration of the coal question which is a very serious question to-day. Does my right hon. friend suppose, if we had any chief clerk, or whatever you may choose to call him, sitting at a desk in Washington, the Government would entrust the matter to him, living in Washington and getting the Washington atmosphere for years past? No, the right hon. gentleman would go himself to Washington or would send one of his colleagues—as he is doing now—full of the knowledge of the Canadian policy, full of the knowledge of the Canadian Government, fresh from a consideration of the whole matter. Such a representative would have force and weight at Washington. That is the way the thing has been done in the past, and that is the way in which I want it to be done in the future.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend is under a serious misapprehension when he refers to me as having alluded to commercial relations. I said nothing at all about them. I take the illustration which he has given just now. I can tell him that within the past three and four weeks this country has had very considerable advantage from the fact that there is still at Washington one member of the Canadian War Mission for the purpose of closing up the affairs of that mision at Washington—Mr. Mahoney, with whom we have been in constant touch and communication, and who has rendered us the very greatest possible service, but less service than he could have rendered to this country in that regard if he had been vested with the powers which it is proposed to confer upon a Canadian representative at Washington in the true sense. My hon. friend speaks as if it were the easiest possible thing in the world for ministers during the session of Parliament to leave their place to go to Washington to deal with matters of that kind. His experience as minister for fifteen years in this country should have taught him the precise reverse.

I take another illustration he gave. He says our affairs with the United States have been carried on and negotiated by Sir John Macdonald, by Sir Charles Tupper, by himself and Mr. Paterson. If these go in particular cases of importance what is the difference in principle if you have at Washington a duly authorized Canadian representative to deal with all matters of importance that come up from time to time? What is the supposed detriment to public interest? It is all right, says my hon. friend, to do this in particular cases of importance. Is there any reason why it should not be done in all matters of importance, but perhaps of less importance? That is all that is proposed, and I venture to think, notwithstanding the views of my hon. friend, that this proposal will be of real advantage to the people of this country, and that that fact will be recognized more and more after this representation has been established.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: One expression used by my right hon. friend at this moment will, I think, help to make clear what it is that we so strongly object to in the new proposal. If I understood my hon. friend aright, he intimated that the Canadian representative at Washington would have to take charge of the smaller affairs of Canada as well as the larger affairs. That was about the difference between the representation that is now proposed and the representation we have had in the past. In other words, the Canadian representative under this proposal will have to look after all affairs in a general way. My hon. friend said nothing whatever about the proposal that the representative of Canada at Washington shall act for the British Ambassador for the time being whenever the British Ambassador is absent from Washington. He said nothing about that in his last allusion, although he referred to it in his earlier remarks.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not think it worth while to repeat what I said before.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Quite so, but I feel it worth while to repeat that, so far as this Parliament is concerned, I believe the majority of its members are strongly opposed to any representative of Canada acting as British Ambassador at Washington. I think my right hon. friend has reason to believe that on his own side of the House there are many members who are strongly opposed to any innovation of that kind and certainly every member on this side of the House is unalterably opposed to it.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I hear some hon. members saying "Question." If they cannot give the public business the attention to which it is entitled, they will just have to wait, that is all. This is one of

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the most important pubilc matters we have had to consider in this Parliament for some time, and the people of this country are entitled before a new venture of this kind is launched to understand fully just how far they are being committed. I think my right hon. friend holds to a considerable extent the view that on these international affairs there ought to be agreement as far as possible between both sides of the House, and I think particularly on the question of a Canadian representative at Washington acting as Ambassador for the British Government in the British Ambassador's absence, there ought to have been on the part of the Government some effort to find out whether Parliament was likely to be united on such a project. Parliament is not united. We on this side of the House are unalterably opposed to the proposal. We believe it will lead to difficulties between the Mother Country and this Dominion, and lead to trouble between the United States and Canada. I hope my right hon. friend will construe our desire to cut down this appropriation by $30,000 as a protest primarily against having the Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary act at any time as British Ambassador in the absence of the British Minister.

Amendment (Mr. Fielding) negatived; yeas 32, nays 57

Information Service, Department of External Affairs, $15,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is this item for?

Mr. LAPOINTE: Is this the spy service?

Mr. ROWELL: It is the Information Service in the Department of External Affairs which keeps in touch with London, New York, and Washington, and provides through those offices articles for publication in American and British newspapers relating to Canada and her resources, and the conditions existing here. It also cooperates in furnishing news available in the office in New York and London.

Mr. McMASTER: Is this a sort of propaganda scheme after the war is over?

Mr. ROWELL: No.

Mr. LAPOINTE: If this has to do with Trade and Commerce, why is it under the Department of External Affairs?

Mr. ROWELL: Because the offices in Washington and New York are under the Department of External Affairs. The High Commissioner's office is under the Prime Minister, as is External Affairs. This is the Canadian end that keeps in touch with hese other offices.

Salaries and Expenses, Passport Office, $65,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is not this something new?

Mr. KEEFER: Fortunately I am able to report that there is a surplus in the passpost office. We receive more than we pay out. We had a surplus last year of $9,000.

To provide for Canada's contribution towards the maintenance of the permanent secretariat of the League of Nations, for the year 1920-21, $200,000.

Mr. FIELDING: Upon what basis is that amount fixed?

Mr. ROWELL: It is based on the estimated cost for the year, or on the Budget which the financial director of the Secretariat of the League of Nations has submitted to and which has been approved by the Council of the League. The estimate was £35,000 for nine months. We put in a lump sum of $200,000 for the year thinking that with the difference in exchange $200,000 would cover our full contributions.

Information service, Department of External Affairs—further amount required, $15,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is this not a repetition of what the minister has already suggested?

Mr. ROWELL: At the time the original Estimate was brought down it was overlooked that the contract which had been entered into by the Government for the establishment of the Canadian National Pictorial for Canada extended into the present fiscal year, and this is to make provision for the unexpired portion of the contract to the 15th July.

Mr. LAPOINTE: How many moving picture plants is the Government operating at the present time? We voted an amount for the Department of Trade and Commerce for moving pictures the other day.

Mr. ROWELL: The moving pictures for which the House has already voted an appropriation, was no doubt explained by my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), are of great advantage to Canada. This is equally to the advantage of Canada but in a different line. My hon. friend is undoubtedly aware that in all the moving picture theatres of Canada for years the pictures used were those depicting American scenes and American national interests. The Government

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received a number of strong recommendations that an effort should be made to substitute, for the information of our people, Canadian and British scenes. An arrangement was made whereby these have been secured and from one end of Canada to the other the Government has received expressions from public and patriotic organizations of the strongest approval of the change which has been brought about. The effect of this contract which expires in a few days has been that the American companies whose films now come into Canada have introduced Canadian scenes into their films. Instead of having our young people taught their patriotism from American scenes they are being taught from Canadian scenes. These films are going into the schools in the western provinces and other parts of Canada.

Mr. LAPOINTE: What are the names of the leading moving picture stars who are employed by Canada?

Mr. ROWELL: Canada does not employ any moving picture stars.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Do these films show moving pictures of our ministers?

Mr. ROWELL: No.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Are these films the property of the Dominion Government?

Mr. ROWELL: The films, when produced, are the property of the Dominion Government.

Mr. JACOBS: We have gone into the moving picture business, have we?

Mr. ROWELL: We have been in it for a long time with great advantage.

Mr. JACOBS: They do not show the Government moving fast enough to suit us on this side. If the Americans have now introduced Canadian scenes in order to compete with the Government why should we continue the subsidy any further?

Mr. ROWELL: It is not intended to continue it. This is to provide for the balance of this fiscal year. The contract only extends till the middle of July.

Mr. JACOBS: Then we will be satisfied with the American films?

Mr. ROWELL: No; I hope that after this experience we shall be able to get Canadian moving picture scenes without the assistance of any Government subsidy.

Contribution towards fighting the typhus epidemic in Europe, $200,000.

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does that come under the League of Nations?

Mr. ROWELL: This is our contribution toward a campaign which the League of Nations is organizing, as stated by the hon. member for St. Antoine (Sir Herbert Ames) when he was here the other evening. It is a campaign which is essential for the protection and preservation of the health of western nations. Poland and Central Europe are not in a position to combat this disease without governmental assistance.

Mr. FIELDING: To whom do we pay this sum?

Mr. ROWELL: The League of Nations.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not see why it should not be put under the one heading of the League of Nations instead of distributing the payments in this way.

Mr. ROWELL: One vote is a contribution to the expense of carrying on the work of the League of Nations which according to the covenant of the League we are under obligation to make. We are not under any obligation to make this particular contribution. The League of Nations has no right to assess us for it but the League has decided upon a campaign and they propose to put a protecting barrier against this typhus epidemic from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They have asked the nations that are members of the League to contribute. The hon. member for St. Antoine stated that upon looking at the whole matter and considering the relative ability of the nations that are members of the League, this would be about our fair share of the total amount which the League requires to raise. It is purely voluntary and we are under no obligation.

Mr. FIELDING: I have not suggested any objection but I do say that we ought to have all these items voted together, so that the wayfaring man when he reads them may know what the League of Nations is going to cost us. This is going to be an ever swelling item.

Mr. JACOBS: I am in sympathy with this appropriation and I think this Government ought to do even more than it proposes to do by this vote. I rise more particularly to suggest that a part of the appropriation should be turned over to the committee which is at present organized in Canada for this very purpose. Hon. gentlemen are probably aware that a couple of weeks ago the Jewish community of Canada organized a campaign to raise $1,500,000. In the United States societies and committees of a similar

kind have engaged in the same work and the amount which the United States up to the present has raised is $35,000,000. I have received a telegram from New York to this effect:

Cable just received indicates English Government London adopted pound for pound rule regarding Jewish war relief and paid to Jewish Relief Committee this week seventy five thousand pounds.

Now, as our Jewish Committee has been formed, and is in touch with the organization in Poland, Ukrainia, and other countries in Central Europe, I think it would be only right and just that a portion of this sum should be turned over to us so that we could send it forward on our own account, and in that way the money would be doing the most effective work. I do not know what the League of Nations has done in the matter of getting in touch with organizations in Central Europe who are handling this work, but what I do know is, that during the entire period of the war, and ever since, our committees appointed in various parts of the country have co-operated and have kept the channels open, so to speak, in order that relief might be sent as quickly as possible. I have in my hand a copy of the London Times of Tuesday, May 25, 1920, in which a strong appeal is made to the English public to support these committees, organized for the purpose of sending help to the afflicted in that region. I will read a few sentences from that appeal in order to show the unparalleled situation:

Report from a death centre in the famine area of Europe. "News is just to hand that only those children between three and five can be helped; the mites under three must be abandoned to starvation, for there will not be enough food to go round if these are included."

A terrible problem has been presented to the Relief Commissioners in the Famine Area of Europe. Millions of poor, helpless children are in daily, hourly danger of a cruel death from starvation and disease. There is not enough food to go round. It has been necessary deliberately to select which children shall be saved and which must be left to die.

In all the long history of the human race there has never been so poignant—so truly awful a situation.

The piteous cries and moans of innocent little sufferers are sounding in all directions. Frantic mothers whose emanciated condition precludes the possiblity of feeding their infant children stretch forth appealing arms for food and succour to save their loved ones.

2s. will provide a daily dinner for one child for one week.

£1 will feed and clothe a naked starving child.

£2 10s. will take an ailing child to Switzerland, where kindly Foster-Parents and ready to give it Three months' good food and nurse it back to health.

£100 will feed 1,000 children for one week.

That is the appeal which is made to the civilized world. Now, as I have said before, inasmuch as we have our committees working, and have had them working for the last six or seven years, and seeing that we can reach these very much more promptly, perhaps, than the League of Nations can, I make the appeal that a portion of this money be turned over to our committees. I may say that the chairman of the committee is Sir Mortimer Davis of Montreal and on the committee are men like Mr. Mark Workman,, Mr. Lyon Cohen, Mr. David S. Friedman, Mr. M. Markus, Mr. A. J. Freiman and others. They have devoted a very large part of their time to see that contributions shall be made in as large a measure as possible for this very work. Therefore, I submit, Mr. Chairman, that something ought to be done by this Government in the matter of helping in it. The Government of the province of Ontario has contributed, I believe, $10,000, the city of Toronto $5,000, and other cities have also contributed various sums. I trust that the appeal that I am making on behalf of these committees will not go unheeded.

Mr. ROWELL: Just one word in answer to my hon. friend. I admit the exceedingly fine work which the committee is doing and the very able and efficient manner in which it is undertaking that work. I t is an admirable committee and the work it is doing in the interest of humanity. I should hope that a more extended appeal for relief than has yet taken place shall be made for the people suffering from hunger and disease in Central Europe, and that there may be a much larger response from the public than has hitherto been the case. I am afraid this vote can not be applied in the way my hon. friend has asked, although the Government will take his representations into consideration in connection with the matter. This vote is a contribution toward the fund which the League of Nations is raising for combatting the plague in Europe.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I wish to support the appeal made by my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs). I have found that in all our appeals to the public for our various institutions, and in cases of emergency, our Jewish fellow-citizens have always been exceedingly generous. Not longer than two or three weeks ago the city of Ottawa was called upon to subscribe to a Catholic institution which is of great service to the young ladies of Ottawa and the surrounding terri-

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tory. I have noticed with pleasure that Mrs. Freiman, of Ottawa, was at the head of the movement and she succeeded by her endeavours and her appeals to the public in obtaining a very large sum indeed. The same thing is witnessed in Montreal. We never appeal in vain to Jewish associations; and I say that in the present instance, where they are doing efficient work in Central Europe, in order to try and stop the plague with which the children of these families are threatened, that certainly we could afford to take a part of this amount and give it to the association referred to by my hon. friend. As to the vote itself, my hon. friend the minister knows that I am in full sympathy with it. Certainly the world is threatened with a very serious plague, and I notice that in the United States the press is acquainting the public with the seriousness of the danger. I do not know, however, if this sum should not be applied by officers of the Immigration Department. We are threatened at our various ports with the coming of infected people, and the Government must take very serious precautions in order to prevent Canada from being affected by any of the plagues which are at present devastating Europe.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I heartily endorse what my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) has said on this matter and I hope the minister will give as favourable consideration as possible to the request.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Without adding anything to the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) I wish also to say that I strongly support his appeal and I hope the minister will see his way clear to accept his suggestion.

To provide for increases in salaries due to the application of the reclassification of the Civil Service, $6,000,000.

Mr. ROWELL: This is the amount which it is estimated will be required to provide for the increases of salaries in the Civil Service, both Inside and Outside, for the years 1919-20 and 1920-21. My hon. friends will recall that under the Act passed this session the application of the classification is to date back to the 1st of April, 1919. In the Post Office Department alone they will require a very substantial percentage of this vote amounting approximately to $2,850,000. That will cover amounts due to postal clerks and letter carriers throughout the country as to which we have already had a certain amount of discussion in this House.

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not wish to take any exception to the item; at the same time I do not wish it to pass without protesting against the circumstance that the Government asks us at this very late hour of the session to vote $6,000,000 and placed before us the classification to which it refers only within the last two or three days. I think the Administration should have had its business further under way so that we could have had the necessary information to intelligently discuss this item.

Mr. ROWELL: We cannot proceed faster than the Civil Service Commission. We have been urging the commission to get the classification down as quick as possible.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: What portion of this amount is applicable to the letter carriers?

Mr. ROWELL: The Rural Mail carriers are working under contract. This applies only to the officials who are in the permanent employment of the Government. I do not know if my hon. friend was in the House this afternon, but we then discussed the question of the letter carriers on the Post Office Estimates.

Mr. EULER: I would like to bring to the attention of the minister what I consider is a most absurd provision in the regulations. I have before me a communication from a civil servant who finds that his bonus was reduced from $31 a month—

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend will permit me, this does not deal with the bonus. The Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) will be dealing with the matter later in the evening on the balance of the vote which was before the House some two or three months ago.

Mr. EULER: I understood the minister to say that the letter carriers were included in this item. That would include the bonus, would it not?

Mr. ROWELL: No. This deals with the increases that come to the letter carriers through re-classification, which is quite apart from the bonus.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Does this item apply to the new salaries under the reclassification of the staff of the House of Commons?

Mr. ROWELL: It does.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: If it does apply in that way, I would like to draw the attention of the minister to the case of the secretary of the Private Bills Committee and the Banking and Commerce Committee. I understood that his salary has been fixed at $600 less than the salary of similar officers in the House. As chairman of the Banking and Commerce Committee I have found the secretary a very efficient man—I refer to Mr. Todd. I think he should get the same as other men who occupy somewhat similar positions in the House. I would therefore make application on his behalf that his salary be fixed at $4,000.

Mr. ROWELL: The matter my hon. friend mentions will come up on the House of Commons Estimates. I must ask that this item stand for a moment as a slight amendment is required in the wording of it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not think the minister has laid on the Table of the House the reclassification regarding the House of Commons.

Mr. ROWELL: That is a matter which the Civil Service Commission has taken up with the Speaker. I have not seen the reclassification myself. I will make enquiries and see if it is completed.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: I would like an answer to my question. I understood the Speaker was deputed to consult with the Civil Service Commission, but I believe that has not been done. Mr. Todd is a glaring case of inequality, and I should very much like to see his salary raised to the amount other officers filling similar positions are getting, that is, $4,000.

Mr. ROWELL: My answer was that that particular matter would come up on the House of Commons Estimates. We are not now voting any particular salary, but out of this sum will be paid all increases that are covered by the re-classification.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): As I was out of the House earlier in the evening, I would like to inquire what increases are being made to postmasters in towns and villages?

Mr. ROWELL: I answered that question this afternoon. My hon. friend will find it on Hansard in connection with the Post Office Estimates.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police—$5,850.

Mr. BELAND: What is that?

Mr. ROWELL: I find that in answer to the question put by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) in reference to the Mounted Police Civil Government Estimates, I inadvertently conveyed to him a wrong impression. I had in view this particular item when I told him it was to provide for certain clerks of the dominion police who had been formerly in the Department of Justice and were now transferred to the mounted police. The item this afternoon was to cover three particular appointments—one being a constable of the force, who has been in the office here working as a civil servant, and having passed the qualifying examinations he is now transferred to the Civil Government; the others being two temporary clerks who have passed their examinations and whose appointments have been approved.

Militia and Defence—pay of Staff, $345,600.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I notice that that is the same figure as for last year. Was any money used from the demobilization fund for the purpose of paying the permanent staff last year?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No; I am instructed that it was all paid out of this vote last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I suppose that as long as the work of demobilization is not completed there will be need for the same permanent staff as we have had in the last couple of years?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This is the permanent staff irrespective of demobilization. We have at headquarters here some officers who are especially charged with demobilization work and who are still paid out of the demobilization vote. This is the regular staff of the permanent force, and does not include those officers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who are doing demobilization work exclusively.

Permanent Force—$6,500,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a very large item, and I would like to draw the attention of the committee to the statistics given in the Estimates. In the year 1913-14, the year before the war, the total for the permanent force was $2,180,000. This year the item is $6,500,000. That is a tremendous increase. No doubt the permanent force increased considerably during the war, but now that the war is over, unless we are to have a standing army, it is time that we reduced the permanent force. Does the minister not think that it would be possible to cut this item down by at least $1,000,000?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No, I do not think it would be safe to cut it down, at the present time at all events. The permanent force, as I explained on a former occasion, has not been materially increased. Before the

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war it was approximately 3,000; I believe that 2,960 was about the average strength. It is now, including officers and men of all ranks, 3,555, so that the increase in all ranks is 555. But there has been a very substantial increase in pay and also in the cost of maintenance. I have been informed by the proper official of the Department that the cost of maintenance of a private soldier in the year preceding the war was $1.53 per day, and that the cost now is $3.28, a little more than double the pre-war cost. The increase in the pay of the men accounts for a considerable portion of that increase. Prior to the war the pay of a private was 75 cents a day, with certain allowances which brought it up to 90 cents. It was increased upon the outbreak of war to the Canadian Expeditionary Force rate, which was $1.10 a day. Since the war new regulations have been introduced and approved by the House increasing the privates pay to $1.70 a day. This increase, and the increase of 555 men, accounts for the total increase in the vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not wish to go over the ground that was gone over on a previous occasion, but when we are discussing these Estimates and taking account of what we are to spend on the permanent force. we must also have regard to what we are paying out on account of the Mounted Police, which are really in the nature of an additional permanent force, and on acount of naval defence. Expenditure under this head is all part of military and naval expenditure. It is proposed in the estimates the minister has brought down to spend the following amounts: Militia, Main Estimates, $12,498,506; barracks for permanent force, $100,000; Air Force, military section, $800,000; Mounted Police, $4,674,066; mounted police, supplementary, $5,850; Mounted Police building, $500,000; Naval Service, one vote of $300,000, another of $1,760,000 and a further supplementary vote of $600,000, a total of $20,000,000. These expenditure do not relate to the war at all; there is a further expenditure of over $170,000,000 on war account, apart altogether from interest on the debt. In addition to that enormous sum the Government propose that we spend this additional amount, of over $20,000,000. In order that the committee may appreciate what that means, I may point out that the ordinary expenditure of this country out of Consolidated Revenue Fund in the last year of the Liberal Administration, 1910-11, was $87,770,000 and the total charge upon capital expenditure was $30,862,000, a grand total of $118,626,000.

[Mr. Guthrie.]

In other words, we are asked at this time to vote for military and naval purposes one-sixth of what it cost in the last year of the Liberal administration for all the Civil Government of Canada, the Administration of Justice, penitentiaries, Legislation, Arts, Agriculture, Immigration and Colonization, Pensions, Superannuation, Militia and Defence, Railways and Canals, Public Works,—chargeable to capital and income—chargeable to Mail subsidies and Steamship Subventions, Naval Service, Ocean and River Service, Public Works, Lighthouse and Coast Services, Scientific Institutions, Steamboat Inspection, Fisheries, Subsidies to the Provinces, Mines and Geological Survey, Labour Department, Department of Indian Affairs, Mounted Police, Government of the Northwest Territories, Government of the Yukon Territory, Dominion Lands and Parks, Miscellaneous, Customs Department, Excise Department, Post Office, Trade and Commerce, Weights and Measures. All the vast expenditures of the whole of the Dominion—the civil service at Ottawa and throughout the country; public works; everything—in the last year of the Liberal Administration was only six times the amount which the Government are asking this year for military and naval purposes alone. Sir, I think this expenditure is not justified at a time when the Government are resorting to various measures of taxation to raise enough to meet the ordinary running expenses of the country. The time has come when the Government should diminish rather than increase its expenditure on military lines. I move, therefore, that this item be reduce by $1,000,000.

Amendment negatived; yeas, 25, nays,49.

Militia and Defence—printing and stationery, $70,000.

Mr. McMASTER: I suggest that it is unnecessary to send in the trunks of stationery that are furnished to members of the House the very fine ladies' stationery which is always included. A saving could be effected in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN: Order. This item has reference only to stationery in connection with the Militia Department.

Mr. McMASTER: I withdraw my remarks, Mr. Chairman, but my intentions were good.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item includes pay of caretakers, barrack labourers, messengers for the crews at Halifax, engineers and firemen in the drill halls, and all other civil employees in the district not provided for elsewhere. In 1919-20, this appropriation

was $260,000, and in 1913-14, before the war it was $198,000. I have all the details, but I shall not give them unless the committee so desires.

Training areas, $30,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister told us the other day that he had between three and four million dollars worth of areas and land he did not know what to do with. Could he not use some of those properties for training purposes?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is put into the Estimates annually for the purpose of acquiring or renting small pieces of property for extending our ground around our barracks, and more particularly for extensions to rifle ranges. In some years it is not expended at all, but from time to time small pieces of property are acquired at convenient points for drill at local headquarters or for the extension of rifle ranges.

Transport and freight, $300,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a large increase of $275,000. Is this increase necessary over the expenditure of last year?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The reason for that is that last year there were no camps. I am satisfied that the expenditure will be considerably under the Estimate this year because our camps are going to be very small. This Estimate is put in on the basis of having the old established military camps, but we are not going to have them this year, so I estimate there will be a considerable saving in this item.

Warlike stores, $400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is an increase in this item of $400,000. What is the necessity of that this year?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The reason is that last year everything under this head was charged to Demobilization Vote. As a matter of fact, the pre-war vote was some $300,000 greater than this year's vote. Last year a considerable amount was spent on the same item, but the whole of last year's amount was spent out of Demobilization Vote. The items which make up the amount are: Artillery stores, $163,500; engineers' stores, $50,000; medical stores, $20,000; general, $456,825; total, $690,325. But that has been reduced by reason of the fact that we are not going to have a full establishment either in the militia or in the permanent force. Therefore, we have reduced this item by $290,325, leaving it at $400,000, or $300,000 less than the pre-war vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In view of what the minister has just said, these Estimates are thoroughly misleading. In some cases there is a comparison between this year and last year, and the minister says that the comparison is correct because both items have been paid out of the same appropriation. Now we come to another item and the minister says that last year the amount was paid out of the Demobilization Vote. There should have been something in the Estimates to indicate that the money had been taken from another source; otherwise the House and the country are being completely misled as to the expenditure on military account last year. The same thing was done in the case of the Naval Estimates,—where we found by comparison that apparently there was to be a saving over what had been spent last year. Then, to our surprise we learned that out of the Demobilization Vote other hundreds of thousands of dollars had been paid. which were not shown on the face of the statement brought down to Parliament. That is no way to treat either Parliament or the country in the matter of its public accounts.

Mr. GUTHRIE: As regards the Militia Department I may say that it has given such full and complete reports that it might be expected that nobody who had time to peruse the reports could make any complaint on the subject. As my hon. friend knows, throughout the war special volumes have been issued from time to time showing the total expenditure and the itemized expenditure in regard to war and showing all the moneys which have been taken by the Militia Department from the Demobilization Vote. The last memorandum on the subject was laid on the table of the House about a month ago. In addition to that there is the annual report report of the Militia Council which shows the agregate vote, but the de-

10 p.m. tailed statement of all our expenditures chargeable to demobilization is fuly set forth in most complete form, so that any one who desires to examine it will have the fullest opportunity of doing so, and it is interesting reading as well. I do not think, as regards the Militia Department, there can be much objection to the way in which the account has been kept. Last year was treated for the purpose of demobilization as a war year, and expenditure which took place under this head was treated as a war expenditure and was charged to demobilization. This year it has been thought better to charge

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it to the Militia Department appropriation.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does my hon. friend not honestly believe that these Estimates, as prepared and presented to Parliament, are misleading to one who is not familiar with the method of bookkeeping the department has adopted? Here is a statement giving details for the year 1913-14; then there is a statement for the year, 1920-21; then there is a statement for the year 1919-20, and at the end there is shown an increase or a decrease. Any one looking at the statement would think it means what is purports to mean. If there has been this other method of accounting, there should be something to indicate that.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not want to condemn the form in which the Estimates have been placed before the House because I am not responsible for the form, neither is my department. I do not think it is misleading. It would not be misleading with an explanation that it had been spent last year out of Demobilization Appropriation. No hon. member has been misled. Before the Militia Estimates were discussed at all, I took particular occasion to point out to the House apparent discrepancies in order that there might be no misleading, and I specially mentioned the various subjects in which there was no expenditure last year and gave information to the House where any special expenditures was charged last year.

Demobilization, $38,463,400.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is an enormous vote for demobilization purposes this year. I think I drew the attention of the Government early in the session to the circumstance that we would like to have a very detailed statement of this particular vote. I hope the minister has it and that he will give it to the House.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Of Demobilization Vote as proposed by these Estimates the following are the items: Pay and allowances, $1,686,360; dependents' allowances, $459,540; adjustments pay and allowances and working pay $4,000,000; adjustments, separation allowances, $250,000; war service gratuities, $8,500,000; food and subsistence, $210,000; drugs and surgical instruments, $50,000; engineer services, $550,000; civilian employees, $1,800,000; transport and travelling, land, $500,000; transport and travelling, ocean, $9,00,000; sundries, $2,000,000. The total of the items I have just read would be $29,505,900. It was considered, however, that we would get through with $1,000,000 less, so we have deducted that amount. In addition, there is the amount of $9,745,000 for overseas demobilization or services overseas. The details of that expenditure are as follows: Overseas pay and allowances, $62,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Pay and allowances for whom?

Mr. GUTHRIE: For those men yet overseas, who have not yet been demobilized. I gave the exact figures to the House at a former meeting of the committee, but I can give them again in a few minutes. We have still overseas a small number of men, daily becoming less.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Are they in hospital?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No, We have also a detachment of men who were on the Overseas Air Force, which has now been transferred to the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and is now under the control of the Overseas Department.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Would the minister explain this item of $2,000,000 for sundries?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, in a moment. It should be $1,000,000 for sundries, as we have deducted $1,000,000. When we were making up the amount we estimated $29,505,900 as the total of the items I read a moment ago, but my hon. friend will see the amount is placed in the Estimates as $28,505,900. We deducted $1,000,000 from the items for sundries.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is covered by sundries?

Mr. GUTHRIE: May I continue to give the details of the Overseas Demobilization vote? They are as follows: Pay and allowances, $62,000; separation allowances, $8,000; food and subsistence, billeting and rations, $25,000; rent, water, fuel and light, $15,000; ordnance services, $1,000,000; drugs and surgical instruments, $30,000; engineer services, $200,000; printing and stationery, $1,000,000; transport and travelling, by land, $250,000; telegrams, telephones, postage and sundries, $155,000; War Office general account, $7,000,000, making a total of $9,745,000. That is for overseas, and is properly accountable for by Overseas Minister, who we all regret is absent from the House owing to a serious illness.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister mentioned $8,000,000 for war service gratuity. Just what does he mean by that?

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Mr. GUTHRIE: It is to provide for the payment of the war service gratuity to Canadians who served in the Imperial army, as authorized by Order in Council 2389, dated December 1, 1919. It is estimated that there was on the 1st April, 1920, unpaid on this account about $8,000,000. There is a further $500,000 which is explained by the fact that there will also be many adjustments of the war service gratuity chiefly in respect to officers and men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who were discharged prior to December 11, 1919, and from whom applications have not yet been received. Applications are still coming in, not very rapidly, but every day we have some from men who were discharged prior to the Armistice, and who, under the terms of the Order in Council, may be entitled to the gratuity. Some of them are not, but many of them are. As nearly as we can estimate, it will take $500,000 to pay the gratuity to these men.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Can the minister set a date when these expenditures on demobilization are likely to cease?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is hoped by the close of the present year that all demobilization expenditure, so far as the Militia Department is concerned, will cease. We have not a great deal of expenditure other than what is estimated at the present moment. We have only two hospitals in existence, the Orthopædic Hospital at Toronto, where special treatment is given to very difficult cases, and one in Winnipeg. It is hoped that within a reasonable time, probably three or four months, both of these hospitals will be completely closed. Then there is a small class of expenditure that has been going on for some time, particularly in regard to the Records Branch. It may be interesting to the House to know that even at this long distance of time since the armistice, the department is daily receiving an average of 3,500 letters. These communications require answers that involve a great deal of research work, chiefly among the records. They are in regard to innumerable subjects; for instance, pay and allowance, gratuities, graves, decorations, medals and the like. It will be necessary, I imagine, for some considerable time to come, to maintain a much greater civil staff in connection with the Militia Department than we ever dreamt of in pre-war years. But the demobilization vote, as purely and simply a demobilization vote, will, I think, finish during the present year.

Mr. BELAND: I can understand that large amounts should still be spent on demobilization in Canada, but I fail to understand why one year and five months after the armistice has been signed Canada should expend $9,000,000 for services overseas. Are there any Canadian troops on the Continent in the occupied regions, or are all these Canadian troops confined to Great Britain? And may I ask what they are doing?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I gave the committee at an earlier stage the exact number of men we still have overseas. I think it is only 200 or 300 men now. We are cutting down the number just as rapidly as we can, and in the near future our establishment of soldiers overseas will be completely demobilized, probably within six weeks' time. It must be remembered that the present item represents our settlement with the War Office in regard to a great many outstanding accounts, especially the per capita charge of nine shillings per man for the maintenance of troops. The amount now asked for overseas demobilization includes all these outstanding items. I regret that I have not the fullest personal knowledge of the transactions. They were conducted entirely by the overseas minister. I have the details of the expenditure if the committee should desire them but I have not a personal knowledge of the transactions. I assume that probably to-day, if we adjourn to-morrow, the Overseas Ministry will come to an end.

Mr. FIELDING: The hon. gentleman has made mention of the Overseas Minister. Have we still such an official? Does Sir Edward Kemp still hold the office of Overseas Minister?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, under the statute the office was created for the war and was to come to an end at the close of the session after the war. I assume that, to-day being the last day of the session, to-morrow he will no longer be Overseas Minister. I may say however that Sir Edward Kemp has written to me from his sick bed that he and his assistants have been engaged in preparing a full and complete report in connection with that ministry which he hopes to submit in the course of a few weeks.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Can my hon. friend undertake to say that the moneys which we are voting now for demobilization purposes will be confined to the particular classes that he has mentioned and that no

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part will be used to supplement appropriations that have already been voted in connection with other items in the Estimates?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I can assure my hon. friend that the money will be expended strictly in accordance with the items which I have given. The Auditor General will see to that. All the expenditure for demobilization is made under Order in Council; it is not within the power of any minister to make it. The details of all such expenditure have first to be approved by the deputy minister, then submitted to council, authorized by Order in Council and finally passed by the Auditor General.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In connection with other expenditures my hon. friend has stated that certain items were not included in last year's expenditure because they had been paid out of the demobilization vote. I hope he will not come before the House and say that something has been paid out of the demobilization vote that does not appear in this item.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The distinction is that the expenditures to which my hon. friend refers **were expenditures** which directly affected the expeditionary force as distinct from the militia. Now the Canadian Expeditionary Force is almost entirely demobilized and within a few months it will be entirely demobilized so that the vote will naturally be chargeable to militia. Last year we had a very considerable Canadian Expeditionary Force and a great many consequential charges. We had a tremendous amount of repairs to do on buildings which we had changed and more or less injured. All of these had to be restored before they were handed back. This expenditure had to be charged to demobilization.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a point that I do not press on the ministers so much as on the ministry, but I must again protest against bringing down this particular item at this hour and asking Parliament to vote $38,000,000 after about fifteen minutes' discussion. It is not fair to the country or Parliament that the Government should so arrange its business that no opportunity shall be given for the careful consideration of these very large expenditures.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is really made up of fixed charges and I think it is pretty nearly all authorized by special Acts of this House.

[Mr. Macknzie King.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Which of these expenditures are especially authorized by an Act of this House?

Mr. GUTHRIE: That item respecting gratuities, for instance, was all incorporated in an Act of this House last session after receiving the report of the Pension Commissioners. Bill No. 10 of last year authorized an expenditure of $8,500,000 and this is to provide for the expenditure this year. There was $2,500,000 provided for in the Bill which passed this House with respect to gratuities and pensions as a result of the report of the Committee on Pensions. When this Estimate was made up we did not know what action the committee would take. But we did know that there were certain questions regarding pension and gratuity which would be brought to the attention of the House and in this item of demobilization there is approximately $2,500,000, or, to be precise, $2,100,000. It has been deducted from the amount which was recommended by the Pension Committee in this session and which the Minister of Finance would have appropriated for that purpose. His vote in regard to pensions, on the findings, would have been $2,100,000 greater had it not been for the demobilization vote.

Militia and Defence—Civil Pensions—

Life pension to Robert A. Allen, from April 16, 1919 to March 31, 1920, at $269.52 per annum, and the difference between that rate and $120.12 per annum from April 16, 1918 to April 15, 1919..	$407 87
Life pension to Ronald Morrison..	330 00
Life pension to Walter Pettipas.. ..	515 90

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is the explanation of these pensions?

Mr. GUTHRIE: These are pensions granted for injuries received and the amount in each case is based upon what the individual would have received under the Workmen's Compensation law in force in each province.

Air Service, $250,000.

Mr. DENIS: What is this item for?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is a part of the proposed expenditure for the present year and the supplementary item show really the Main Estimates for that purpose; they had not been thoroughly discussed or prepared when the first Estimates were brought down. If the committee will turn to the Supplementary Estimates, page 13. they will see a summary of the proposed expenditure in regard to the Air Board.

Perhaps I might be permitted, in a few words, to point out what the scope of the proposed operations of the board will be for the current year.

As the committee is aware, last year we passed an Act to establish an Air Board. It so happens that we have in Canada about twelve thousand of the most highly trained military air men, of whom we know that are to be found in the world. It is not proposed to begin by providing for anything like that number. A paper establishment has been authorized up to 5,000 men including all ranks. The proposal is briefly to recruit, as far as possible, the trained air men that are to be found in Canada to-day for the purpose of retaining their interest in, and sympathy with the work in case in the future it may develop for commercial, scientific or other purposes as well as for military operations. I may say in the first place that we have received from Great Britain a very extensive aeroplane outfit—consisting of aeroplanes, seaplanes and the necessary additional craft—the value of which, I think, amounts to between five and six million dollars. All that equipment is now at Borden which, as the committee knows, is a military training ground. The equipment has been assembled and set up there. In addition to that we are acquiring—as a matter of fact we have acquired or set apart—certain of our own property at Vancouver, British Columbia, as an air station; another property at a place called Morley in the province of Alberta; and another place somewhere in the province of Quebec at or near Lake St. John. These are the only stations which, at the present time, we propose to establish, and in addition a small experimental station at Rockliffe in the city of Ottawa. All we need is to give a limited training to a limited number of air men in Canada to keep their hands and their eyes in. We propose doing this by means of provincial associations. In each province of the Dominion the Lieutenant Governor has undertaken to form a provincial association and to enlist as many air men as he can in the service. We propose to give these men a limited training each year, taking them to one of our training stations there to give them one month's flying amounting to, I think, two hours a day per man. The cost of flying is considerable, I understand it is about $6 an hour per man, so it is only proposed to give each man one month's training of two hours flying per day, and for the present year we propose to limit that to about seventeen hundred men. The objects to be attained by the Air Board are not by any means all military. The expenditure in this item would be about $800,000 for scientific, for exploration, and for commercial purposes. We think the expenditure justified. We are seeking to make arrangements with the various provinces of Canada, upon some basis satisfactory to both parties, in order to carry out our operations in the more remote parts of the Dominion. We have succeeded so far in making an agreement with only one province—the progressive province of Quebec I am glad to say. The Government of that province has entered into an arrangement with us—on the basis of fifty-fifty so far as expense is concerned—for the establishment of a station in some part of Northern Quebec, near Lake St. John, for the purpose of exploration and scientific work in that province. We hope for great results from this undertaking. As yet it is in its infancy, we do not know what it may produce, but it is believed that the service will be exceedingly valuable for these purposes. We do not propose to enter into commercial flying as a Government undertaking, but we do propose to supervise all flying of that kind and all air routes. We propose to license pilots, to license aircraft, to lay out routes, and to provide the rules and regulations. At the present time we are laying out an air route between North Bay and Winnipeg. The only thing that is necessary in regard to that, I am informed, is to see that we get suitable landing stations, and we are locating these upon Crown lands which will involve no expense. Between Winnipeg and Calgary it is not necessary to have any landing place as one can practically land almost anywhere throughout that flight; but from Calgary on to Vancouver it will be necessary to provide landing places, and I believe suitable sites are being located throughout the mountains. Then from Ottawa eastward to the sea, it is also proposed to lay out flying routes. This is a modern development and we intend to keep up with other nations, and particularly with the United States and with Great Britain. We must do something for the air service, and more particularly as we have in Canada perhaps the highest trained body of air men that exists anywhere in the world to-day.

Mr. DENIS: Under what conditions was the equipment, said by the minister to be worth five to six million dollars, acquired from Great Britain?

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Mr. GUTHRIE: There were no conditions. It was a free gift to Canada for the purpose of encouraging us in the pursuit of operations in the air.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: At this point I would like to emphasize what was said with regard to the naval expenditures, that if the Government was even considering these large outlays they ought to have been submitted in the Main and not in the Supplementary Estimates. It is not treating Parliament or the country fairly to put an item in the Main Estimates of something like $250,000 for the Air Service and then in the last two or three days of the session to bring down a Supplementary item of $1,650,000. It is not a matter of chance with the Government, it is a matter of habit—of deliberate design. It has been done in regard to the Air Service, it has been done in regard to the Militia Service, it has been done in regard to the Naval Service. It is a course of proceeding that is highly objectionable and detrimental to the public interest. I think the Government is to be very severely censured for treating Parliament and the country in this way.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I can plead an excuse for the Air Service. We did not know until the first week in May what would be necessary, and it was only about that time that I had the honour of becoming Chairman of the Air Board. It was originally thought that we could do this year's preliminary work with $250,000. Then the airships were forwarded, and when they reached Canada they had to be set up, a staff employed, and operations begun. So far as we are able to see, the programme in the Suplementary Estimates will be the programme for the year. But it would have been impossible before April to have settled upon this plan or to have brought down the Estimates in the House. Consequently I do not think the Air Board can be blamed in this respect.

Mr. McMASTER: Had the Government no idea when these airships would arrive?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I think some department of the Government must have had information when they would arrive because on their arrival they were forwarded to Borden and set up. The arrangements were all made ahead of the receipt of the airships.

Mr. McMASTER: When was it decided to accept these airships? Apparently their acceptance is going to impose upon this country a very substantial expenditure.

Mr. BUTTS: And get you up in the air?

[Mr. Denis.]

Mr. McMASTER: May I say that there is no necessity to get this Government or its supporters up in the air; they are there at present. If they would only come down to earth, stand on the basis of real facts, and look the circumstances in the face, we would not find them in the last days of the session bringing down Estimates running into millions of dollars. But that is by the way. I would respectfully submit to this committee that the acceptance of a gift may entail very heavy responsibilities on the donee, I am very much afraid that the Government has accepted these airships without, so far as I know, taking the Canadian people into its confidence, and now it finds itself at this late hour of the session obliged to come before the House to meet very heavy obligations indeed. It was a splendid thing to have the young manhood of Canada so distinguish themselves in the air at the front, but it would be a sad thing if, in order to keep these young men in the condition of skill which they attained at the front, we should be obliged to incur expenses which the country is really unable to bear. It is not a question, to my mind, for this Government to decide what is desirable. A great number of things may be desirable, if we can afford them. But I do protest against incurring expenditures of millions of dollars and then bringing the matter before us only at this late date.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I assume that when the Bill passed the House last year to establish the Air Board, not only for civil but for military flying, that the House must have considered that we would have some operation under that Act. In answer to my hon. friend's question, I do not think it was determined until the early part of this year to accept this gift from the British Government. But I do know that from the beginning of April until the middle of June these air craft have been arriving in Canada, and we have to take care of them.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It appears that the British Government has adopted the policy of getting rid of its surplus war material by presenting it to some of the Overseas Dominions in order to reduce the cost of maintenance. Has the Government adopted any policy of that kind? Has there been any attemps to get rid of our surplus equipment? Or is the policy simply reversed and even in this time of peace we take over and maintain gifts of surplus equipment?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This, I understand, is all first-class equipment and up-to-date in every respect. I assume that the motives of the British Government in making this gift to Canada were absolutely proper. Our war material which we could not utilize has been disposed of to the best advantage by public tender and competition, and we have realized six or seven million dollars up to the present time.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I agree with my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) that all these gifts of war ships and air craft should be accepted by the Parliament of Canada and by nobody else. As my hon. friend said, it means a very heavy expenditure to the country. And it may mean more, especially before this Imperial conference of which so much is said. Among other things this conference next year is going to consider the defence of the various parts of the Empire, on sea, on land and in the air, and the fact that Canada or any other Dominion has accepted gifts from the United Kingdom means that we may be placed in a delicate position to refuse concurrence in plans which will be submitted to the conference by the statemen of the United Kingdom. The representatives from Canada and the other Dominions should go absolutely untrammelled by the acceptance of gifts or in any other way.

Mr. BELAND: I also concur in the views expressed by my hon. friends from Brome and Quebec East. This is a large expenditure—in round figures two million dollars—for an entirely new experiment in aviation. The hon. minister claims that it will be useful as far as science is concerned. It is very doubtful whether we will derive any benefit from this expenditure, so far as scientific purposes are concerned. As to exploration, it is also doubtful whether we will reap any benefit from the expenditure. The only thing for which I can see it would be of any use to this country would be the protection of our forest against fire. It seems to me that it would require a very small number of aviators to survey the northern regions of this country. Now, as far as military purposes are concerned, the hon. minister claims that some service will be rendered to the country thereby. We have already gone very far at this session after the war is over, both on military expenditure proper and on naval expenditure. Now, are we going to launch the country on an expenditure for air preparation?

An Hon. MEMBER: No.

Mr. BELAND: I agree with my hon. friend that we should not do it.

Mr. LAPOINTE: He is going to vote for it, though.

Mr. BELAND: For all I know at the next session of Parliament the Government may bring down an Estimate of millions of dollars for underground preparations! The war is over, and the Government should put a stop to these expenditures. If we expend this year two million dollars, what will be asked from Parliament next year? Because these expenditures will not be reduced, they will keep on increasing year after year. That is not practising economy as the Government is asked by the country to do or as the Government is claiming that it is doing. I seriously object to granting this amount of almost $2,000,000 for aviation in Canada, and if any motion is made to reduce the vote to the extent of two-thirds I shall support it with pleasure.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What my hon. friend (Mr. Béland) has said will, I am sure, appeal to every one as being entirely reasonable. So far as this air service can be used for comercial, scientific, and exploration purposes it should be fostered, but to enter this year, before the work of demobilization is completed, upon an air service for military purposes is the height of absurdity, and I think that these Estimates ought to be reduced by the amount suggested. The amount first brought down in the Main Estimates for air service was $250,000. Having granted that, it seems to me that we are giving the Government a pretty good sum with which to make experiments, and if we supplement it by voting $850,000 for civil aviation, that is giving the Government all that it should ask for at this time. But now we have item 536, a military appropriation for $800,000—nearly another million for this purpose. We can well afford to dispense with the military end of it this year, and I think that we should reduce the total vote for air service by $800,000. Possibly we can best express our view in that regard by simply voting against the item of $800,000.

The Air Board—military appropriation—grant to Provincial Air Force Associations, etc., $800,000.

Item agreed to on division: Yeas, 46; nays, 26.

Demobilization—Department of Justice, $57,500.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister explain this item?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is to complete expenses in connection with carrying on the

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internment operations, carrying on the Military Service Act, and other incidental things.

Demobilization—Department of Trade and Commerce, $105,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May we hear from the Minister of Trade and Commerce?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The amount is required to cover the following: Sale of pig iron which still remains on hand, and expenses, $100,000; one substitute for an enlisted man, $1,200; unforseen expenses, $3,800. If there are no unforeseen expenses, of course, this amount will not be spent.

Demobilization—Department of Secretary of State, $50,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is the explanation, please?

Mr. SIFTON: Expenses of censorship.

Mr. DENIS: Although we are soon to prorogue, it would be helpful if one could hear what the minister says. What is this item for?

Mr. SIFTON: For censorship.

Mr. McMASTER: I did not catch that.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. DENIS: I am not ready to submit so soon. I want to know what this item is for.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister has explained the item.

Mr. DENIS: I did not hear what he said.

Demobilization—Department of Immigration and Colonization—to provide for the repatriation of soldiers' dependents, $250,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister explain?

Mr. CALDER: This vote is required to pay the cost of repatriating dependents who are still in the British Isles. Last year the number of dependents returned was in the neighbourhood of 50,000, including the wives of soldiers and their children. The total cost to date has been $2,215,000. There are still some dependents in Great Britain; just what their number is it would be very difficult to ascertain. This Estimate is to cover the amount required for the return of dependents who still remain there.

Item agreed to.

Demobilization—Public Archives—to provide for the cleaning, repairing, transporting and distributing of war trophies throughout the Dominion, including $2,000 gratuity to Dr. A. G. Doughty, for services in connection with war trophies, $27,000.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Is the distribution of war trophies made entirely by Dr. Doughty? What course should be pursued by the municipalities that wish to obtain their share of the war trophies that come to Canada. Applications have been put in from time to time, and some muncipalities have received none while others are receiving some. I believe that there should be a fair distribution of the war trophies throughout the whole country; any municipality that desires them should have them to show to their citizens. That seems to me to be a fair proposition.

Mr. SIFTON: They are being distributed by a committee consisting of Dr. Doughty, Colonel Cruikshanks and Sir Edmund Walker.

Mr. ARTHURS: I should like to say a few words with regard to these war trophies. In my constituency we had an unfortunate accident in connection with an exhibition of war trophies when a man was killed by a premature explosion, and I have been endeavouring to secure from the Government some gratuity or acknowledgement or compensation for his family. I should like to know if anything has been done in this connection. I understand Mr. Doughty has made some representations in favour of such a gratuity being granted.

Mr. SIFTON: The matter mentioned by the hon. member is still under the consideration of the Government.

Civil Government—Department of Immigration and Colonization, salaries, $142,567.50; contingencies, $35,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Are there any additions to the staff?

Mr. CALDER: There are certain decreases and certain additions. As a matter of fact, there is, on the whole, an addition of ten to the staff. Those ten are minor clerks, and those clerkships are necessary owing to increased work in the department. While the number of immigrants coming to Canada has not been as great as in pre-war years, there has been thrown upon the department work that we did not have in pre-war days. That is particularly true of work that is now required to be done under the new Naturalization Act. Before a naturalization certificate goes through, the necessary application is made to the department to ascertain just when and where the applicant arrived in Canada, and that also necessitates our keeping a very strict record of all applicants who enter Canada. In addition to that, a very large volume of work has been thrown upon the department, as a result of the war, necessitating a huge correspondence between the department and overseas on account of people residing here whose relatives are in foreign countries. This volume of correspondence has increased very considerably in the last year.

Immigration and colonization—salaries of agents and emplpoyees (outside service), $550,000.

Mr. DENIS: May we have some explanation about this expenditure?

Mr. CALDER: This covers salaries of our staffs in Canada, Great Britain, the European continent and the United States. We are asking for a smaller expenditure this year than last year, because we think we can get along with it. We did not expend the whole amount provided last session. Our expenditures in Canada are roughly divided into two classes. We have what are called our inland agencies, such as at Montreal, Winnipeg, Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria and other inland points where the administration of the immigration law is carried on. In addition to that, we have our boundary inspectors all along the border checking immigration coming in from the United States. If the hon. member wishes particulars as to those items, I can give them to him. The total salary list in Great Britain and Europe is $93,000, and in the United States, $67,000. This is an item which, I presume, has been discussed in this House every session.

Mr. LAPOINTE: How many immigrants came into Canada during the last fiscal year?

Mr. CALDER: The number is 117,336, including 59,603 from Great Britain, 49,656 from the United States and 8,077 from all other countries. I will give a few statistics to the committee to show the trend of immigration during the last ten years. During the five years prior to the war our average immigration was 332,285 per annum. Of

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that immigration 36.96 per cent was from Great Britain, 36.44 per cent from the United States, and 26.60 per cent from other countries. Taking the five war years, the total immigration was 405,476, or an average of 81,000 during each of those five years, as compared with 332,285 for each of the five years prior to the war. During the war period our British immigration was only 18 per cent of the total, our United States immigration 66 per cent and our immigration from other countries 15 per cent. One would readily realize conditions which brought about that state of affairs. It is interesting to note that last year, the first year after the war, our immigration has increased from 81,000 to 117,000 and of our immigration last year 50.80 per cent was British, as compared with only 18 per cent during the period of the war. Last year 42 per cent of our immigration was from the United States and only 6.88 per cent from other countries. Therefore, the great bulk of our immigration during last year came from Great Britain and the United States, and I am inclined to think that is a condition that is likely to prevail for another year or so.

Contingencies in Canadian, British and Foreign Agencies and general immigration expenses, $770,000.

Mr. DENIS: I understand that this item and No. 55, salaries of agents, represents the expenditures we make to bring immigrants to Canada. Am I right?

Mr. CALDER: Yes

Exhibitions, $80,000.

Mr. DENIS: What has Canada been getting for these expenditures on exhibitions for the last three or four years? I am not aware that Canada has participated in any exhibition in that time.

Mr. CALDER: That scarcely represents the situation. Previously, fairly large items were voted by Parliament for some of the larger expositions held throughout the world, at Paris, for instance, Brussels, and San Francisco. These cost very large sums of money, running in some cases into hundreds of thousands of dollars. The class of exhibition work carried on under this vote is more in the nature of small exhibits in Great Britain and in the United States. For instance, we have three small exhibits at three of the most important centres in the United States. We have one small one at he stock yards in Chicago, another in St. Paul, and the third is being established at Kansas city. These three, while they are good exhibits, well located so that a very large number of people see them, are very small and comparatively inexpensive, because the officials of the department are very expert in this work and have succeeded in making a very good exhibit, from the standpoint of immigration, at a comparatively small expenditure. In addition, we showed exhibits last year at

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state and county fairs in the United States at no less than twenty-seven points. These exhibits are usually shown in a tent or in one of the county fair buildings. Considering the volume of work done and the very good results we get, I consider the cost is very reasonable. In Great Britain, where they have no state and county fares as we have on this continent, we have travelling exhibits that attend daily fairs over there. These exhibits are shown in tents provided for the purpose. Our experts who have been engaged on this work for a good many years have gathered together some very splendid material for these small exhibits, and I think we are securing very good results.

Mr. DENIS: Who is the present Canadian Commissioner

Mr. CALDER: Mr. Tolmie.

Mr. DENIS: To what influence or recommendation is his appointment due?

Mr. CALDER: He was appointed by the Civil Service Commission. There were two officials in the department who looked for the appointment when Mr. Hutchinson died, Mr. Tolmie and Girardot, I believe. The matter was referred to the Civil Service Commission, and they decided. Whether there was any influence brought to bear or not, I certainly do not know. The matter was left entirely to the Civil Service Commission, who after going into the matter decided that Mr. Tolmie should receive the appointment, and I am inclined to believe myself that they made no mistake. Mr. Tolmie is a young man, vigorous, well qualified, and doing splendid work. I think he is just the right man for the job.

Mr. DENIS: I am not criticising his appointment, but at the same time I do not believe that the Civil Service Commission are making these appointments. My information is that these appointments are made, perhaps through the commission, but on a system of patronage, and that the commission only names or appoints whoever has been recommended to them by the department—by the Department of Colonization in this particular case.

Mr. CALDER: I must take very serious objection to the statement my hon. friend has just made. If he wishes to leave the impression upon the committee that it was through favoritism or through any influence I exercised on the commission that Mr. Tolmie secured his appointment, if that is his idea, I want to tell him most emphatically he is very much mistaken. If he has any charge to make against any official of the department in so far as using undue influence with the commission is concerned in reference to the appointment of Mr. Tolmie, I think he should state so before the committee.

Mr. DENIS: My charge—and I shall make it next session if I do not now, because I do not want to delay the House unduly at this stage—it that many appointments are being made through the commission which is only acting as a registry office, upon the recommendations of different departments. On the recommendation so made the commission makes the appointment. I am not saying this is so in the particular case of Mr. Tolmie, and I am not criticizing his appointment, but I submit that the commission has nothing to do with these appointments, especially to the higher positions, and that patronage is still rampant.

Relief of distressed Canadians, $6,000.

Mr. PEDLOW: It would be interesting for the committee to know just how this amount, though small in comparison with other items passed this evening, is administered. I see a similar item was passed last year.

Mr. CALDER: This is an item that has been carried in the Estimates for a great many years. Sometimes Canadians abroad become stranded, and an appeal is made to the Government to do some thing for them. We have had Canadians stranded, for instance, down in the Argentine, as well as some cases in Italy and quite a number in Great Britain. This vote is for the purpose of providing relief to Canadians who are stranded abroad. It is very seldom that the expenditure reaches the amount asked for here. The last time I looked into it we expended something like $1,000.

Mr. PEDLOW: How much was spent for this purpose last year?

Mr. CALDER: I have not the details with me, but I would imagine it was a small amount.

Expenses under the Canada Temperance Act, $500,000.

Mr. DENIS: This item calls for some explanation. There was only $1,000 voted last year.

Mr. SIFTON: This item, and another in the Supplementary Estimates of $400,000, is for the taking of the vote this fall in connection with the Canada Temperance Act. Applications have been received from Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Nova Scotia and the Yukon. It is practically a general election that is to be held in connection with it. The whole amount is $900,000.

To provide for purchase of 650 copies of the Parliamentary Guide, $1,950?

Mr. DENIS: Amongst whom are these 650 copies of the Parliamentary Guide distributed?

Mr. SIFTON: There is quite a large distribution amongst offices as well as to the Senate and the House of Commons.

Mr. DENIS: The Senate and the House of Commons represent hardly more than 300 copies. Where did the other copies go?

Mr. SIFTON: To libraries, departments and ministers.

To provide for the expenses under the Canada Temperance Act; further amount required $456,000.

Mr. SIFTON: That is the additional item I referred to.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is it for the purpose of getting an expression of opinion from the public in some of the provinces as to whether they are for or against the prohibition, of the manufacture, importation, and consumption of intoxicating liquors?

Mr. SIFTON: It is to carry out whatever the Act that was passed last year calls for.

The Editorial Committee—to provide for the cost of printing, etc., $1,000.

Mr. LEMIEUX: This relates to a matter upon which I spoke earlier in the day. I asked the Prime Minister that a French member should be added to the committtee. The administration of that branch of the service, I understand, is under the direction of my hon. friend and I would ask him whether he concurs in the Prime Minister's statement upon this question?

Mr. SIFTON: I will do the best I can to carry out whatever promise the Prime Minister made.

To provide for the establishment of an Experimental Station at Swift Current, Sask., $15,000.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I would like some explanation with regard to this item.

Mr. TOLMIE: I may say there is a large territory in the neighbourhood of Swift Current were farming has been carried on under semi-arid conditions. This runs for a number of miles, east and west of Swift Current, down to the boundary line.

Mr. LEMIEUX: To the American desert?

Mr. TOLMIE: It is on the Canadian side, and it is most important that we establish an experimental station at that point so as to assist the farmers, and to fully inform them as to the best methods of farming under the conditions prevailing in that particular district.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is not that territory known as the prolongation of the American desert?

Mr. TOLMIE: Yes.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In connection with this item I would like, for a moment, or two to draw the attention of the committee to the fact that on April 7th I had a notice of motion placed on the Order Paper which is still there. The debate on the motion was adjourned, and I did not have an opportunity of replying to the statements that were made by the minister and others in that occasion in connection with the matter. I would like now for a few minutes to direct the attention of the committee to a statement which was then made in regard to expenditure for experimental farms, to the effect that the outlay for this purpose in the province of Ontario was greater, in proportion to its population, than in any other province. I want to point out that in the province of Ontario, outside of the Central Experimental Farm, there are but two small stations one at Kapuskasing up in the woods in the North country, and a small tobacco station of 48 acres at Harrow, so that the province does this work, itself and pays for it, while the Dominion Government are providing for all the other provinces. That is an absolutely unfair and unjust policy to pursue towards Ontario. Now, there is this item in the Supplementary Estimates for another experimental station in the province of Saskatchewan although there are more experimental farms in that province to-day than there are in the province of Ontario. The statement was made that $409,979 was expended for experimental farms in Ontario.

Mr. LAPOINTE: What about Ottawa?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: The Central Farm at Ottawa serves the whole of Canada.

Mr. LAPOINTE: But it is in Ontario.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: It serves the province of Quebec just as much as it does the

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province of Ontario. Its location shows that it is of more service to Quebec than it is to Ontario. However, the operations of that farm are not directed towards serving any particular province but are intended to serve the whole Dominion. When first established it served the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. To-day a very large proportion of that expenditure is similar to the expenditure that is annually voted for the beautification of the Capital which amounts to about $160,000 a year. The Central Farm is one of the beauty spots of Ottawa to which people are taken when they visit the Capital. There are twenty four experimental farms in the Dominion. Three of these are located in the province of Saskatchewan, in which there are also fourteen demonstration farms, whereas there is not one demonstration farm in the province of Ontario, and we are now asked to vote this sum to establish another. There are also thirteen located in the province of Quebec, and yet we have not one in Ontario.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Another case of Quebec domination.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: The total amount expended on experimental farms in Ontario, outside of the Central Farm, last year according to the report of the Auditor General was $47,968 whereas the expenditure for that purpose in the province of Quebec was $177,624. Yet hon. gentlemen opposite who come from Quebec are continually bemoaning the injustice that is done to their province. Notwithstanding that expenditure the revenue derived from the farms in province of Quebec only amounts to $11,271. And this came from the $2,397 acres in the system in that province.

I placed some questions on the Order Paper last April, and I would take this opportunity of referring to them; they were in connection with these experimental farms. I asked what amount was paid for farm labour and what revenue was received from the Central Farm at Ottawa. That question was answered on April 19, as follows: that the expenditure for labour on this farm of 467 acres amounted to $106,753, and the revenue was $109,610. I have taken the trouble to look the matter up in the Public Accounts and instead of the figures contained in Hansard of that date I find that the expenditure for labour was $120,525, and the revenue was $26,006 and not $120,-525. During the years of the war when labour was so scare that it could not be obtained elsewhere there was apparently

[Mr. Sutherland.]

an abundance of labour on this farm in order to have a beautiful park adjacent to the city of Ottawa. And yet the minister gets up in the House and states that there is a larger expenditure per head for experimental farms in Ontario than in any other province. Well, we have only this small tobacco farm of 49 acres in the county of Essex, 487 miles west of Ottawa; we have also the farm at Kapuskasing, 542 miles to the north, but all of Western and Central Ontario is absolutely neglected in respect to experimental farm work. And now we propose under the Supplementary Estimates, to establish another farm for Saskatchewan but nothing for Ontario. After the debate on my motion was shut off—I will not say by smart practice, but it certainly was by an unusual method and one not often experienced in Parliament, and that motion has remained on the Order Paper until this day. This is the first and only opportunity I have had of referring to the unfair attitude displayed towards Ontario on that occasion. The Provincial Government of Ontario have been compelled to do this work for themselves and now have five provincial experimental farms in that province. But I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the manner in which our Dominion experimental farms have been carried on in the past has been absolutely unfair. Justice has not been shown towards Ontario, while in the province of Quebec there are large numbers of these farms maintained by the Dominion much closer to the central farm than those outlying farms in Ontario where you have an expenditure of $177,624. The revenues derived from those farms are absolute proof that the methods pursued there do not accomplish the desired results, because it is not all experimental work. I do not suppose for a moment that you could expect to conduct experimental work at a profit without having a heavy expense, but when you have 12,000 acres of land farmed by what are supposed to be our experts, you would suppose there would be a farm somewhere where they could demonstrate that they are able to put their teaching into practice.

I do not wish to take up the time of the House—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: My hon. friends are very clever in applauding when it suits their purpose, and some of them were just as clever in trying to shut off debate on this question when my motion was before

the House on a previous occasion. Some of the same hon. gentlemen are now trying to create a diversion and prevent me making any further reference to this matter. I contend that it was unusual and unfair to permit the statement made regarding Ontario to go unchallenged upon that occasion, and now I want to point out that Ontario has been used unfairly. We contribute one half of the revenue of this Dominion. We have never yet taken exception to expenditure upon experimental farms in any other province, nor do I take exception to-night; and if it is necessary to have experimental farms in that district of Saskatchewan. I am in accord with that policy. But I take exception to the statements on Hansard, and I say again that the policy that has been pursued would have justified cutting out all expenditures of this nature and letting the Provincial Governments conduct this work for themselves where they have control of their own lands. It is a different matter where the Dominion Government controls the natural resources of the province. But there is no justification in the old provinces, where conditions are almost identical, that one province should be discriminated against and another province should be shown favours, as has been the case in the past.

I have in my hand a publication issued by the Department of Agriculture, which will be found in nearly every bank in the rural districts, and in which the location of these farms is shown with an invitation to apply to the director of the nearest experimental farm for any information desired. You will find in the offices of the agents in the Old Land any quantity of literature that the prospective immigrant is anxious to secure, and it is largely compiled from information obtained from the experimental farms. Yet there is practically no information of that kind available regarding the major part of Ontario, except the eastern part. The effect of this on immigration is much greater than most people realize, and I say that this circular which is being distributed in this way containing information regarding the experimental farms is not fair to Ontario now that immigration is begining again. As this map showing the location of all these farms, will bear out, there is a group of eight or nine of these farms to the east of Ottawa at about the same distance from Ottawa as the little tobacco farm we have in the county of Essex. You would almost think from this phamplet that Ontario was devoted to growing tobacco and nothing else. In the past we have had to submit to a good deal of discrimination against Ontario by the immigration authorities, and it looks to me as though that policy was going to be continued in view of the circulars that are being distributed all over the country to-day.

I feel that I should apologize to the House for taking up time at this late day—and now—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: —but if it was not for the methods that have been adopted I would not have done so.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Will the hon. gentleman help us to defeat a government that is so unfair to Ontario?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I have no doubt that if my hon. friend had another opportunity he would do Ontario an even greater injustice than past Governments have done.

Mr. LAPOINTE: It could not be worse.

Mr. BELAND: I think my hon. friend is misjudging the hon. member for Quebec East. Ontario has no better friend than the hon. member for Quebec East, with the possible exception of myself.

Mr. TOLMIE: We will take item 463 next.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Steele): That item has been passed.

Mr. DENIS: These items pass so quickly that the minister himself does not know that they are passed. He has just been made aware by the chairman that an item of $350,000 for his department has been passed, and he did not know about it. That is a demonstration to the committee and to the country of what kind of work we are doing here.

Miscellaneous—grant to national Dairy Council, $3,000.

Mr. LANCTOT: Has anything been decided with regard to the capacity of the potato bag, concerning which representations have been made to the minister? I understand that many requests have come to Ottawa during the last few years that the standard potato bag be made to contain eighty pounds instead of niney pounds. The present 90-pound bag is not one of convenient size. Ninety pounds cannot be put in a flour bag, and as bags are expensive it is desired that the weight should be reduced to eighty pounds.

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Mr. TOLMIE: A delegation of men interested in the potato business, farmers and dealers, from Montreal, waited on me a short time ago. This matter was discussed and it was decided that we should examine into the advisability of having potatoes sold by weight and that legislation to that effect would probably be brought down at the next session.

Civil Government—Department of Marine, salaries, etc., $290,810.

Mr. FIELDING: Has the attention of the Minister of Marine been directed to the position of the young gentlemen who have been sent out from our naval colleges and are now serving in Europe? It has been represented to me that the pay of these young gentlemen is very small indeed. It may be said that the pay of the English young men is even lower than that of the Canadians. But we have this to remember that, in most cases, the young Englishmen who go into the navy are sons of wealthy people and the pay they receeive is not a very serious consideration, while the young Canadians who enter that service are, as a rule, sons of men who are not wealthy, and if they do not get a reasonable rate of pay, they cannot remain in the service. It has been represented to me, not by the young gentlemen themselves, but by some friends of theirs, that the pay is inadequate, and that some of these young gentlemen have great difficulty in remaining in the service. I only desire to draw the attention of the minister to this matter to see if anything can be done.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The hon. gentleman is quite correct. The rate of pay for young naval officers and other ratings has been too low; but we have recently revised the scale, and at the present time they are drawing a good deal higher rate of pay than they formerly did. I might also state that Canadian officers who are in the British Navy are on the Canadian naval strength and paid by the Canadian Government.

Civil government—Office of the Conservation Commission, salaries, $43,450.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Who is chairman of the commission now?

Mr. ROWELL: Senator Edwards is acting chairman.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But who is going to be chairman?

Mr. ROWELL: No decision has yet been reached as regards that.

[Mr. Lanctôt.]

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would suggest that Senator Edwards be made permanent chairman.

Legislation—House of Commons, $477,516.25.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Has the report of the classification of the employees of the House of Commons been tabled? We want to know what salaries we are voting for the various officials and employees of the House of Commons.

Mr. SPEAKER: In the absence of the report from the Civil Service Commission, the only thing which could be done was to prepare the Estimate on the basis of last year with the statutory increases. The hon. gentleman has asked if the classification has been sent up from the Civil Service Commission. It has not, and I rather gather from a communication which I received from the Civil Service Commission yesterday that it would be impossible to get it ready to-day.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I know His Honour the Speaker is doing his best to have this matter properly adjusted. On the other hand I do not think it is fair to ask us to vote this appropriation for the salaries of the whole staff of the House of Commons without knowing what the various salaries are.

Mr. BUREAU: As my hon. friend has said, we know the Speaker has done his best and has worked hard to see that those who approached him about the classification of officers of the House of Commons should be satisfied. The report was to be tabled. This is an important matter, because this is the only item wherein there are duplicate offices with an equal standing. The interest I take in this is to know what classification the Civil Service Commission have made, and if the Civil Service Commission are there to do the work and cannot do it, we shall make a mistake if we pass the item now. We have heard it said in the corridors here by parties who are not civil servants, but who are supposed to know, that there were certain, not classifications, but apportionments made of salaries where the deputy chief or the under-employee was getting more than his chief. The Civil Service Commission ought not to do that sort of thing. If you want a chief to have authority, he must have the salary which goes with the position, because positions after all are appreciated according to the salary which is paid to the man who occupies the position. I want it distinctly

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understood that I do not wish to blame the Speaker at all. I know he has put forth every effort; but if the Civil Service Commission cannot do their duties and cannot answer to Parliament, I for one am ready to censure the Civil Service Commission or to vote it out of business.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): Let us all vote it out of business.

Mr. BELAND: Is it to be understood that this House is of opinion that two officials of this House who, under the new classification, enjoy the same status, will receive the same salary?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know whether the hon. gentleman is directing his question to me or not.

Mr. BELAND: To anybody. To the party who should answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is only necessary to put the question to have it answered properly. There can be only one answer to it: There ought to be equal pay for equal service. Perhaps I might say generally, with regard to this question of classification, that the Civil Service Commission must assume responsibility for such classification as they prepare for the officers of the House. After they have done so and presented it to the House, it is for the House to determine whether they will or will not agree to it. In the absence of the classification, there was no other alternative for the officers of the House in preparing the Estimate than to put it upon the basis of last year with the statutory increases. While I am on my feet, I should like to say just one word of tribute to the services of a most efficient officer of the House who took superannuation—

Mr. LEMIEUX: Before the Speaker leaves the subject: I understand the classification was sent to the Speaker by the Civil Service Commission and it was returned to the commission. Will it come back during the sitting, or is it abandoned?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I stated to the House on the Orders of the Day that a tentative scheme of classification was submitted to me. I have read it. I returned it to the Civil Service Commission with a letter explaining the view which I expressed to the House to-day. I have not a copy of the letter which I wrote to the commission, but it was in terms following the idea which I gave to the House to-day, namely that I could not and would not assume responsibility for the classification when the Civil Service Commission were charged with that duty.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Perhaps I am very dense, but the matter is not quite clear to me yet. I understand that the Civil Service Commission sent to His Honour the Speaker a report about the classification of the employees of the House of Commons.

Mr. SPEAKER: It was not a complete report. It only purported, according to the letter which accompanied it, to be a tentative classification.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is the reason for the commission sending a tentative classification to his Honour?

Mr. BUREAU: Because they do not understand their business.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am not saying that. They made a classification and sent it to his Honour the Speaker. Was his Honour asking the commission to review that classification before it was finally passed?

Mr. SPEAKER: The view I took was this: If there was any object in sending it to me at all, it was that I should pass upon it. I took the ground that if I was to pass upon it and assume responsibility for it, I should have the authority that went with that responsibility. Not having that authority, I refused to pass upon it. It is a matter now for the Civil Service Commission, and their work is to be reviewed by the House of Commons. I do not think in justice to myself and the duties of my office I could take any other stand.

Mr. BELAND: Under the present statute is it competent for the House to revise so far as salaries are concerned, a classification of the official of the House made by the commission?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, their classification is subject to review by the House of Commons. The House must concur in it.

Mr. BUREAU: Here is an extraordinary situation. There has been some parleying about these positions. It has been said that the organization has been submitted to the Civil Service Commission. Now I understand that by statute the Civil Service Commission is to classify these positions and determine the salaries that shall be attached thereto. Am I right?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: That is their duty under the statute. Now either they do not understand their duty or they refuse to per-

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form it. If it is their duty to make this classification, it ought to have been laid on the table of the House of Commons, so that if we are to ratify the classification we would know what we were ratifying. I have not read the statute recently, and I am not positive just what obligation in this respect is imposed upon the commission, but if they think it is not their duty to make this classification of their own responsibility, but merely to submit it to the Speaker for his approval and they want the responsibility to rest with him, I for one am quite willing to vote that it does rest with the Speaker. I do not think we ought to be the toys or playthings of the commission. I do not think it is fair for any body of intelligent men who have any respect for Parliament, to say "Gentlemen, trust us. Approve things we have not submitted to you. Approve of our classification and everything will be all right."

Mr. SPEAKER: It must be understood that in passing this vote we are not in anyway ratifying any classification by the commission, because, as already pointed out, these Estimates were prepared upon the basis of last year, plus the statutory increases. In no way do we commit ourselves, by passing this item, to any classification made by the commission.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Yes, but the commission sent its classification to his Honour, because they considered his Honour as the minister in charge of the department of the House of Commons. The House of Commons, so far as its employees are concerned, is considered as a department and the Speaker as the minister of that department. Now I understand that a report was sent by the commission to his Honour for his approval, just as the commission sends reports to the heads of other departments. That is where I differ perhaps from his Honour. I say that having received this report on classification from the commission, his Honour should have laid the report on the table for the House to concur in it or dissent.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the hon. gentleman is in error. What was submitted was an unsigned tentative copy of a proposed report. It was not such a document as could be submitted to the House at all. If the House is to be placed in the position of practically classifying the servants of the House, as it would be under that proposed arrangement, we might just as well make a job of it. But the law distinctly says that the Civil Service Commission shall classify the officers of the House of Commons, and I for one—perhaps I am mistaken—refuse to assume responsibility where I am not clothed with the authority which ought properly to go with responsibility. That is the position I take. I am not going to leave myself open to objections not only by hon. members of the House but by the servants of the House, when I have not the authority to remedy their grievances. I am not taking simply my own judgment on the matter. I took the precaution of consulting the Parliamentary Counsel. I was not afforded a great deal of time. The document was only placed in my hands at eight o'clock last night, and the House sat until three this morning, and I was in the Chamber almost continuously from eight until three. During the course of the evening, in such time as he had available, the Parliamentary Counsel took the matter under consideration, and he concurred in the view which I expressed to him at the time, and which I have given to the House.

Mr. BELAND: This is a clear intimation from the Civil Service Commission that they wish us to settle this question of classification so far as the officials of the House are concerned. That is evident from the fact that they have sent this tentative report and have sought the approval of the House. If the session was not going to end to-morow, or even to-night, I think it would be competent for us to pass immediately legislation in order to take this classification into our own hands. Be that as it may, what is now the position of the officials of the House of Commons? How are they going to be paid during this fiscal year? That is the question. Are they going to be paid the salary they received last year plus their statutory increase, or will they receive the salary which is going to be fixed in the new classification which should be before the House, but which is not?

Mr. SPEAKER: They will be paid, as a minimum, the old salary plus the statutory increase, and if the reclassification increases the pay of some officers of the staff, as I have no doubt it will, those affected will be paid the increase due. The Act provides that if the classification is not ready in time to be ratified by the House of Commons, it may be ratified by the Governor in Council and it must be brought down to the House at the opening of the next session of Parliament.

Mr. MORPHY: It seems quite clear to me that the Speaker takes ground that is absolutely correct in every respect. I do not know whether this matter was intended to be dealt with by the House. If it was intended that the matter should be dealt with by the House, it does seem to me peculiar that the commission would send something out, have it returned to them, and fail to return it here so that it could be dealt with. I think there is a good deal in the remarks one gentleman opposite made, that the Civil Service Commission may have in their mind the idea of making the members of this House appear ridiculous before the public. It is not a very flattering position for the members of the House to be placed in, and I certainly want to add my protest against the attitude assumed by the commission in refusing or failing to send to the House something that should have been sent.

Mr. BUREAU: Aux grandes maux, les grands remèdes." A desperate situation calls for a desperate remedy. Here is what I feel about this: Either the Civil Service know the law or they do not. If they know the law, they must carry it out. If they do not know the law, they have no business to be there; let them get out. I feel like moving that it be referred back to the appropriation for the Civil Service Commission and that we hold it up till the commission see fit to respect members of Parliament and deposit their classification. If these gentlemen think they can play with this House we should do something to show them that they cannot. Let them understand once and for all that they cannot fool the members of Parliament in the same way that they think they can fool others, and therefore I move that we revert to the Civil Service Commission item.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. gentleman could only revert to item 31 by unanimous consent and he cannot move that the item be rescinded because it is impossible for the House to vote twice on the same item.

Mr. NESBITT: It appears from what the Speaker has said that next session the matter will be taken up and gone into. In the meantime we are voting these men the salaries that they have had before and I see no reason why the vote should not go through. On the condition that the Speaker has mentioned to-night that we are not accepting or establishing any report but that we are only voting the salaries and that the question will be taken up next session and dealt with properly, I think the item should be allowed to pass.

Mr. BUREAU: How can we discuss it without having their report?

Mr. NESBITT: We are voting the salaries and they will be paid. Otherwise they cannot be paid, I suppose.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hour is late but perhaps I may be permitted to say a word; I feel that not to do so would be an injustice to a venerable member of the staff of this House who has retired and is receiving his superannuation. I refer to Mr. E. P. Hartney who for forty-eight years has been in the public service. A more efficient officer it would be impossible to find. He is known to the older members of the House and those who know him I am sure will join with me in expressing appreciation of his many years of valuable service to this country, and also in expressing the hope that he may be spared to live for many years in health and happiness to enjoy his superannuation allowance.

Mr. FIELDING: I join very heartily with his honour, the Speaker, in his appreciation of the services of this excellent officer. The older members of the House know him very well. In the very many years in which I was associated in a ministerial capacity with the work of the House I found Mr. Hartney a most highly qualified officer in every way. I am glad that the Speaker has paid this tribute to his good service and that in the name of the House of Commons he has extended our best wishes for his future happiness.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Was he given leave of absence?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: For how many months?

Mr. SPEAKER: Six months.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I join in the praise bestowed upon Mr. Hartney. I have known him for twenty-five years and he has prepared many a Bill for me, as he has done for other members. Yet, I must say that we have not followed the same course with another old employee of this Parliament. I refer to Mr. DeCelles, C.M.G., one of the Librarians. While Mr. Griffin was given six months' leave of absence, Mr. DeCelles was granted three months' leave. He was in a perfect state of health and quite willing and able to do his work but he was forced to leave and give his position to a younger man. Mr. DeCelles has published

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one or two books every year during the last five or six years. He was quite hale and hearty, and I do not know why he should have been superannuated, but, being superannuated, it seems to me that after forty-eight years service he should have been given the same leave of absence that was given to his colleague, Mr. Griffin, and to Mr. Hartney.

Mr. SPEAKER: Appointment and superannuation are matters with which the Speaker has nothing to do.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I know, but I am simply calling the attention of the Government to this matter.

Mr. HAY: I would like to ask whether any of these items cover the salaries or wages received by the messengers and members' stenographers.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, they do.

Mr. HAY: They have been complaining bitterly against the wage which they are receiving, which, I understand, is $4 per day. Many of them come from a great distance to attend the session and they have to pay their board.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is an item in the Supplementary Estimates specifically for the stenographers and perhaps the hon. gentleman would direct his remarks to that item.

Mr. HAY: And for the messengers?

Mr. SPEAKER: Not for the messengers but for the stenographers

Mr. HAY: I referred to them particularly.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Before this item passes we must understand where we are and what the position of the employees of the House of Commons will be. We are voting this item on the basis of the old salary. We have voted in the Supplementary Estimates an item of $6,000,000 to cover increases in salaries due to the application of the reclassificatoin of the Civil Service. I was told that this item included the salaries of the employees of the House of Commons under the new reclassification and that all that will be required will be the concurrence of the Governor in Council if the report is not tabled before the session is concluded. His Honour the Speaker thinks that this concurrence will be given after the session. In that case I have nothing else to say except that I agree with the members of this House who have protested against the manner in which the House of Commons has been treated by the Civil Service Commission. We have asked, for weeks and weeks, that the report be tabled. They have waited until the last day of the session, and when they have sent in their tentative report it has been sent back to them. The House will prorogue without the members being acquainted with what the report contains. We are voting these salaries without knowing what they are but the work will be done by the Governor in Council instead of by the House of Commons. We have been treated by the Civil Service Commision not only with scant courtesy but with downright contempt, and we must tell that to these gentlemen.

Mr. BELAND: When, in the opinion of His Honour the Speaker, can we expect that the report will be laid before the Governor in Council?

Mr. SPEAKER: Any statement I might make would merely be a guess.

Mr. LEMIEUX: As soon as the House prorogues.

Mr. BELAND: In the meantime the employees are paid their present salaries, and if the Civil Service Commission choose to submit this report for the approval of the Governor in Council in six months from now there is no remedy whatever.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the reclassification dates back to the first of April last year. In any case, it must be submitted to the Governor in Council and it must be brought down at the next session of Parliament.

Mr. FIELDING: In the meantime it will take effect?

Mr. ROWELL: Just one word. I have reached one of the officials of the commission and he said that at six o'clock the Speaker's message had not arrived. Apparently the letter did not reach the commission; it was mislaid in some way. I do not know how the letter failed to reach the proper official but we shall try to get in touch with the commission to-morrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: The letter was signed late this afternoon and in the natural course of things would go down very late. I cannot give any further details, other than that the matter was attended to by my secretary.

Mr. BUREAU: The commission ought to be brought to the bar of the House.

Harbours and Rivers, $4,400,000.

Mr. J. D. REID: This is the item the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) wished to speak on.

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Mr. LEMIEUX: Since the beginning of the session I have had on the Order Paper a question in connection with the construction of a dry dock at St. John, but I have been unable to get an answer to it. A day or so ago I interjected a remark whilst questions were being called, and I understood that the minister would make a statement when the Estimates for these works came before the House.

Mr. J. D. REID: May I say to the hon. member that I obtained the answer to his question this afternoon.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is fortunate. Will my hon. friend be good enough to read it?

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes. The question was only put on the Order Paper seven or eight days ago.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The first question is: Has the Government granted a subsidy to the St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co., Ltd.?

Mr. J. D. REID: The answer to that question is: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The next question is: If so, when was such subsidy granted?

Mr. J. D. REID: By agreement entered into on the 11th of July, 1918, authorized by Order in Council of 22nd of June, 1918.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The third question is: What is the total amount of said subsidy?

Mr. J. D. REID: Subsidy is to be paid half yearly at the rate of 4½ per cent on $5,500,000 for a period of 35 years.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The fourth question is: What is the estimated cost of the St. John graving dock alone?

Mr. J. D. REID: The company's estimate is $6,402,000; the estimate of the Chief Engineer of Public Works is $5,904,000.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Now I would like answers to the following questions:

5. Is the Government aware that bonds are presently being offered for sale to the public with the following paragraph appearing on the back of each bond:

"The Minister of Public Works of Canada has consented to the issue of the First Series of the within bonds totalling $884,276.50, bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum, of which this bond is one, and has agreed to pay to Montreal Trust Company, Trustee, for the benefit of the holders of the said Bonds the sum of $28,599.43 half-yearly on each of the First days of January and July for a period of thirty-five years hereafter making in all seventy payments as a subsidy payable to St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, Limited, for work heretofore completed on its Dry Dock at Courtenay Bay, N.B., in respect to which this First Series of Bonds is issued."?

6. Is it true that the subsidy granted to the St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co., Ltd., is sufficient to meet the principal and interest on the total issue of bonds, amounting to $3,826,272.34 with interest at 5½ per cent?

Mr. J. D. REID: These are the answers to the main questions:

5. The endorsement on bond was approved by Justice Department and is in accordance with subsidy under the Act of Parliament.

6. A present loan of $3,826,272.34 bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum, payable half-yearly, could be liquidated in thirty-five years by a semi-annual payment of $123,750; so much of the balance of the said semi-annual payment as would not be needed for payment of the interest on the outstanding indebtedness being immediately applied to reduce the amount of loan outstanding.

I want to add a few further words. The company sent a form of bond to the Public Works Department, with the endorsement and other requirements, as they wanted it issued to the public. It was sent to the Department of Justice and they reported to the Public Works Department that it was in proper form and there was no objection to it. The bond allowed to be issued will only be to the extent that the Government subsidies payable semi-annually, will, at the end of thirty-five years, have paid off the interest and the principal.

Mr. LEMIEUX: In round figures what will the total amount be?

Mr. J. D. REID: The dry dock will cost in round figures $6,000,000. The Government will only allow $3,826,272 of bonds to be issued on which the subsidy will be paid.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That refers to one dry dock. How many dry docks are to be undertaken by the Government under the same subsidy? I see that a dry dock is to be built at Vancouver and another one at Esquimalt. In this connection a question was put on the Order Paper by my hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair) to the following effect:

1. Has the Government reached a conclusion on the proposal to build a dry dock at or near the city of Victoria, B.C.?
2. When will the work be commenced?
3. What is the estimated cost?
4. Is it the intention of the Government to build this proposed dry dock as a Government work?

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To this the following answer was returned:

1. Yes.
2. As soon as conditions will justify.
3. Between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000.
4. Yes.

So it is apparent that as soon as the conditions will justify there will be another expenditure of between five and six millions.

Mr. J. D. REID: About six millions.

Mr. LEMIEUX: When will the construction of that dock be commenced?

Mr. J. D. REID: I have not yet called for tenders for that work, but it is intended to do so within a reasonable time. The work will probably be started within a few months.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I see that an agreement was also made with Coughlan & Sons to build a dry dock in Vancouver under the provisions of the statutes relating to dry docks. Does the Government intend to build a dry dock in Vancouver under the dry dock at Vancouver. If so, what is the estimated cost of the dock to be constructed at Vancouver?

Mr. J. D. REID: The one at Vancouver is a second-class dry dock and will cost about $3,500,000. The subsidy allowed on that will be about $2,500,000. In every case the subsidy granted must be paid off in the same way as in the case of the St. John dock.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I do not wish to delay the committee. If it is the settled policy of the Government to build these dry docks I have nothing more to say, but it seems to me that under present conditions the Government ought to be a little more prudent. Because this involves a very large expenditure—$5,000,000 or $6,000,000 for the Courtenay Bay works, $5,000,000 or $6,000,000 at Victoria, and right opposite at Vancouver another $3,000,000 or $4,000,000. Does not my hon. friend think that there is some little exaggeration in this policy of dry dock construction under present circumstance? The financial commitments of the country are very heavy, and it seems to me that the Government ought to pause before embarking on such a wild orgie expenditure. At first I understand it was agreed that there would be only one dry dock—that at Victoria.

Mr. J. D. REID: We are not building one at Vancouver.

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Mr. LEMIEUX: But you have just promised it.

Mr. J. D. REID: At Vancouver we are subsidizing a private dock; we are paying only the interest.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am perhaps using an inapt expression. At all events it means so much money from the public exchequer whether the Government build the dock itself or whether it is built by a private firm. So it makes no difference,—the money comes from the taxpayers. As regards this latest addition to dry dock building, while I have the highest regard for my genial friend the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Tolmie), I may tell him that in my judgment it was very fortunate for his electors that he was selected as Minister of Agriculture, because he had to appear before them to get re-elected, and, as he did not care to come empty handed, he made some promises, and possibly his re-election was the direct result of those promises. I read from the Victoria Times of Oct. 21st, page 12, an open letter to the electors of Victoria, signed by him.

Late in 1917, shortly after my election, I immediately in conjunction with Mr. McIntosh and Mr. Green began an agitation for the construction of the Esquimalt Dry-dock. At that time, if you will remember, there was considerable talk of reconstruction, and it was considered an appropriate time to begin to apply pressure for the completion of the Esquimalt dry-dock which would not only give employment to a large number of men during the reconstruction period, but would provide and centralize an important industry at Victoria. We were met with a great deal of opposition and soon learned that Vancouver was a strong competitor in the field for the construction of the dock.

My hon. friend knew local divisions. He stood by his old constituency of Victoria, and I do not blame him for that. Surveying the ground around him he saw that Vancouver was a strong competitor and that the hon. member (Mr. Stevens) who is so mad when he has to face the Farmers' party in the House was a very keen competitor. So my hon. friend said to his electors that he thought Vancouver wanted to get the dry dock. He continues in this open letter:

After persistent work, carried on continuously at all hours and at all angles,—

I wonder what were the angles.

—from 1917 to the early summer of 1919 we were able to secure an undertaking from the Government for the construction of this dock. A sum of money was placed in the Estimates for the commencement of the work at the earliest possible moment. This occurred about the end of June, and we immediately began an agitation for the commencement of borings and the preparation of plans and specifications. Shortly after this, Mr. Daly, engineer of the Public Works Department at Ottawa came to Victoria and commenced operation in Lang's Cove. These borings occupied some time and when they were completed it was found that the construction of the drydock in Lang's Cove would be an exceedingly expensive proposition and that, also, on account of the construction of the Yarrow Wharf, that it would be necessary to remove a large portion of the latter before big ships could enter the proposed dock. With this evidence at hand the Public Works Department did not cease operations, but immediately looked over other available sites in Esquimalt.

I am now in a position to say that subsequent explorations has practically assured a satisfactory site, and have the assurance of the Government that the work of construction will be prosecuted without delay.

This great public work which is a national necessity will provide employment for a large number of men and will prove a great commercial asset to the community.

Yours faithfully,

S. F. TOLMIE.

On the 24th of October, 1919, the minister spoke and he is reported in the Victoria Times of October 25th as follows:

The minister again told of what he had done to secure the building of the outer dock pier, the beginning here of steel ship building, etc.

Speaking of the drydock, he said:

Just before I left Ottawa I went to the Council and said that I wanted to know where I stood on this (drydock) question and the reply was that the Government was going right ahead with the work. If I can't believe that I can't believe anybody.

Well, my hon. friend was right, for the figures in the Estimates show conclusively that he had a strong hand and a strong will, and that he handled his colleagues perfectly well the drydock will go to Victoria. But why should there be such competition between Vancouver and Victoria at the expense of the country? Why two drydocks in that province? One should be sufficient at the present time. Later on, when the national finances are in better shape, I quite understand that Vancouver should receive the favours of the Government.

Mr. J. D REID: At this later hour of course, I can only briefly mention one or two points. With reference to the question of the drydock at Esquimalt, the hon. member knows that the building of it was settled in 1912. He knows that the item was in the Estimates, that the money was voted, that the site was purchased, and that it was only by reason of the war intervening that the work did not proceed. Its construction was not undertaken merely on account of that byelection. Now, the reason for subsidizing these docks or engaging in their construction is simply this: we believe that there is a great future for traffic on the Pacific Coast, and that what they should have out there is exactly what the hon. member himself advocated in this House, when he supported the construction of two docks, one at the city of Montreal and one at the city of Quebec. He believed that it would be in the interests of the country to have drydocks at those points, and he was willing to agree to the necessary expenditure for their construction. The Government believe the same thing so far as Vancouver and Victoria are concerned. At present many of the larger vessels do not go there because they think they cannot get the necessary drydock accommodation. The Government believe that the city of St. John has a great future and that it should have a drydock as well as Halifax or Montreal or Quebec. We believe it is in the interests of the country that these facilities should be provided at the earliest possible day.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I agree that the more dry docks we have the more we can develop the shipbuilding industry and the iron and steel industry, and the better it is for the country in general, but expenditure for these dry docks should be made at the proper time, not when the country is—I was going to say, facing financial disaster, but I will not say that—not at a time when we have such heavy commitments. It was quite right and proper for the country to vote a subsidy for a floating dry dock at Montreal at a time when the treasury was overflowing with money; at a time when we had surplus after surplus. But in view of the tremendous figure that the national debt has reached I say it is time to call a halt in expenditure of this kind. I am not seeking to antagonize Victoria or Vancouver, or St. John, or any other port; but I do say that the finances of the country will not permit such a large expenditure as this at the present time.

Mr. FIELDING: In one form or another this dry dock question has been before the country for a long time. I suppose there has been some variation of policy in regard to it, but we have settled down in recent years to a policy of subsidies under the general Act. It is some time since I had occasion to read the general Act, but I know that the Government are empowered to pay certain subsidies for a period of years. My hon. friend has spoken of endorsement. I know that the Act authorizes the payment of subsidies, but does it allow the endorsement of bonds?

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Mr. J. D. REID: I have not myself read it lately, but my deputy informs me that an amendment to the Act allows endorsement.

Mr. FIELDING: That is a novelty to me. Of course, if the Act authorizes the endorsement of bonds, there is no use in complaining.

Mr. J. D. REID: The Government does not sign an endorsement; it simply consents to the issue. In this case the form of the bond, the form of agreement, and so on, were sent to the Department of Public Works and then to the Justice Department. The report came from the deputy minister. I looked into the matter when the question was raised by the hon. member.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But is there any clause in the statute which authorizes a minister of the Crown to endorse the bonds in the name of the Dominion Government?

Mr. ROWELL: The bonds are not endorsed.

Mr. J. D. REID: As I understand it, there is a clause in the Act which authorizes the Minister of Public Works to give his consent to the issue of a certain number of bonds. The Justice Department say that having got the consent of the Minister of Public Works they have the right to print on the bond a statement that the consent has been given.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend may be quite right in saying that the Act authorizes the minister to endorse these bonds.

Mr. J. D. REID: No; to give his consent to the issue of the bonds.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well, I have here a circular which has been distributed by a firm of brokers, W. A. Mackenzie & Company, 42 King street West, Toronto. It reads:

Principal and interest paid by Dominion of Canada, by semi-annual Subsidy.

We own and offer $884,276.50 First Mortgages 5½ Serial Gold Bonds, St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, Limited.

And so on. And further on it says:

The subsidy paid by the Government of Canada is irrevocable and assigned absolutely to the trustee, The Montreal Trust Company, to meet the interest and principal on these bonds, and this subsidy cannot be diverted, reduced, changed, or in any way dealt with, but is absolutely the property of the holders of these bonds.

Then, as an invitation to the public to buy these bonds, they say:

In addition, the bonds when issued are a first and only mortgage on all the works, plant and equipment of the company. The following paragraph appears on the back of each bond:

"The Minister of Public Works of Canada has consented to the issue of the first series of the within bonds totalling $884,276.50, bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum, of which this bond is one, and has agreed to pay to Montreal Trust Company, Trustee, for the benefit of the holders of the said bonds the sum of $28,599.43 half-yearly on each of the first days of January and July for a period of thirty-five years hereafter making in all seventy payments as a subsidy payable to St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, Limited, for work heretofore completed on its Dry Dock at Courtenay Bay, N.B., in respect to which this first series of bonds is issued."

This is signed, in the present case, by the Acting Minister of Public Works, N. W. Rowell. My hon. friend does not deny that?

Mr. ROWELL: As Acting Minister of Public Works I signed the agreement and any other documents in connection with it that were reported upon and submitted to me by the Department of Justice as setting out what the parties were entitled to under their contract.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But the name of my hon. friend appears on the back of each bond, I understand.

Mr. ROWELL: No, certainly not. I did not sign any bonds; I signed the agreement which the Department of Justice reported upon and submitted for signature.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well, so much the better. I am pleased to hear that my hon. friend did not sign on the back of each bond. From the way this circular reads one would believe that each bond was endorsed by the then Acting Minister of Public Works.

Mr. J. D. REID: Oh, no.

Mr. LEMIEUX: In my judgment it is very much out of place for any firm to issue a circular like this; the name of the Dominion of Canada should not serve as an advertisement for any enterprise. The contract is there; the Statute is public law, and it ought to be known by those who subscribe to any of those bonds. I remember some years ago an issue of the bonds of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company was endorsed by the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), he at that time being Minister of Finance. The bonds were issued; some of them were sold in London, and after a while, after certain revelations had been made as to the standing of the company and the standing of the gentlemen behind the company, the Government of Canada compelled the then Minister of Finance to withdraw his endorsement. It was advertised in Europe that those bonds that had been endorsed by the Hon. Sir Geoerge Foster, then Minister of Finance, were not to be considered as having been endorsed. I remember the case very well. Therefore, it seems to me that the Government should not allow any concern to use the name of the Dominion Government to advertise any issue of bonds.

Mr. FIELDING: It is rather difficult to proceed to discuss this matter without having the provisions of the Act before one. I was at one time very familiar with the Act because I had on more than one occasion to attend to revisions of the Act to meet local conditions. I know the rate was increased, but I have no recollection in my day of any provision as regards actual endorsement, and my opinion is that the word "endorsement" is not the right word to use. If the arrangement is that you state on the back of the bond exactly what the Act provides, I do not think there is any complaint; but the advertisement which my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux) read a moment ago, for which I suppose the minister will say he is not responsible, contains a statement which I cannot think is in conformity with the Act. It states that the principal and interest of this loan—

Mr. LEMIEUX: Are paid by the Government of Canada.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not think there is any agreement to pay the interest except that a sinking fund may be so applied. My recollection is that we simply made an agreement to pay so many dollars per annum, telling the company they could work that out in any way they liked. If the Act provides for the application of the money in that form, there is no use complaining about the matter. I have no doubt when the Department of Justice are asked to state whether or not this is the form provided by the Statute, they will naturally say: "Yes." But as regards the Government doing these things by way of endorsement, I have always regarded that as a great mistake.

The St. John dry dock is to be built under the terms of the Subsidies Act; the Vancouver dry dock is to be built under the terms of the Subsidies Act. What reason is given for not building the Victoria dry dock under the same Act. Why is Vancouver left at the mercy of a commercial proposition which must have some merit outside of the Government's financing, and why do the Government undertake to build a Government dry dock at Victoria? We have had all sorts of systems of dry dock construction in bygone days; but it seems to me that, having settled down to a policy of subsidizing dry docks under the general Act, it is difficult to give any good reason why we say to Vancouver: "You shall have your subsidy under the Act if you can construct the dry dock in that way," and say as regards Victoria: "We will construct this as a Government dry dock." Why does the Government apply to Victoria a different method from the one they apply to Vancouver?

1 a.m.

Mr. J. D. REID: The policy as regards the construction of the dry dock at Victoria was settled some years ago when we purchased the site. The other dry dock is at Esquimalt where it is used for naval purposes as well, so that the case is a little different. After the Government had decided on constructing the one dry dock on the Pacific coast, a private company came along and they are building a second-class dock, not a first-class dock, at Vancouver, and they asked for a subsidy and it was given. I believe it is in the interest of the country to have the two dry docks, one at Vancouver and the other at Victoria, as vessels pass by Victoria.

Mr. FIELDING: Is there not a dry dock further north at Prince Rupert?

Mr. J. D. REID: That is several hundred miles away.

Mr. FIELDING: But Victoria and Vancouver are not very many hundred miles apart. What I am afraid of is this, the Vancouver dry dock had to be taken up as a commercial proposition with some commercial merit, which would induce people to support it, in addition to the Government aid. In the case of Victoria you are not asked to consider any commercial proposition; the Government are to step in and construct the dock at that point. My hon. friend (Mr. J. D. Reid) says that this will be used for naval purposes. Every drydock that is built is to be used for naval purposes. You never had a drydock promoter coming for assistance without setting forth that his drydock was going to serve the British Navy. I am not objecting to the construction of drydocks generally, but I have not seen any reason—except that suggested by my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux), which I hope is not well founded—why Victoria was not allowed to get her dry dock on the same basis as St. John got

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hers. The dry dock question in St. John is a very old one. The hon. member for St. John (Mr. Wigmore), who is at present in the House, will remember very well that the late Mr. George Robertson, a very eminent citizen of St. John, spent half his life trying to get a dry dock there. The Government said to him: "You will have to establish a commercial proposition and have your dock built under the Subsidy Act". But they do not do that as regards Victoria. Why is the Government saying to St. John: "You must do this as a commercial proposition", and to Vancouver: "You must do this as a commercial proposition"; but when come to Victoria, and an election is on they say: "Oh, that is a different proposition; we will build the dock for you".

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member is hardly fair when he says that this is an election proposition. There has always been a dry dock at Esquimalt for naval purposes, and that dock is of no use now on account of the large size of naval vessels. Therefore, this matter was decided in 1912; the dry dock would have been built had it not been for the war, and to leave our naval vessels at Esquimalt without a dry dock would have been most inadvisable.

Mr. FIELDING: St. John has been seeking a dry dock for twenty years, but it has always been met with the answer: "We will give you a subsidy; there it is; that is all we can do for you". I should like to have those docks built wherever they are needed and would be of value in the development of the country. But my hon. friend has shown no reason in the world why he would say to St. John: "There is the Act; you will get the benefit of it", and then say to Victoria: "Never mind the Act; we will build the dock for you anyway".

Public Works—chargeable to income—Royal Canadian Mounted Police buildings, $500,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does the minister not think he could dispense with this building at Ottawa. There seems to be a pretty strong sentiment throughout the Dominion that this is not the right place to have the headquarters of the Mounted Police, and that it is a mistake to build barracks costing half a million dollars for the Mounted Police in Ottawa. Will the minister say whether he thinks this item should stand?

Mr. ROWELL: I explained when the matter came up on my Estimates that this includes not only the buildings here, but

[Mr. Fielding.]

the completion of the building at Vancouver. The buildings at Vancouver will cost approximately $100,000, and the buildings at Ottawa, in round figures, $400,000. If we can secure other suitable accommodation here we shall not proceed with the building this year, but it may be that we cannot. Therefore, the item should appear in the estimates. I cannot agree with my hon. friend that this is not a suitable place for the headquarters of the Mounted Police. It is the headquarters of the military forces, and is the chief administrative centre of the country for all purposes. I therefore think it is a suitable place.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have just been looking at the statute and I want to ask the Minister of Public Works a question. The Dry Docks Subsidies Act 1910, 7-8 George V Chap. 27, section 3 provides:

No bonds debentures, or other securities, shall be issued with respect to and as a charge upon any dock until it has been established to the satisfaction of the minister that not less than one million dollars have been spent on the work and the material upon or for such dock.

Has it been established in the case of the St. John dry dock and the Vancouver dry dock that the amount of $1,000,000 has been expended?

Mr. J. D. REID: It has been established that $1,600,000 has been expended on the St. John dry dock. As for the Vancouver dry dock, the agreement, if I remember right, has not yet been signed, so of course no bonds can have been issued in that case, and no bonds will be issued until the prescribed amount has been expended.

Mr. WIGMORE: It was not my intention to take up the time of the committee tonight in connection with the St. John dry dock, but I feel I must say a word or two. I have in my possession here a copy of the agreement. There is nothing wrong. This company simply took advantage of the Act that was passed by this House. As the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's said, the people of St. John had been urging the construction of this work in St. John for a number of years. They have gone on with the work of the harbour construction themselves. They have expended an amount on the harbour of St. John that no other city and no other port in the Dominion has expended. Every cent of money that has been expended in every other port of the Dominion of Canada has been expended by the Dominion Government, but the people of St. John had enough faith in the development and the future of their port to dig down in their own pockets to the tune of

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about $3,000,000. I resent very strongly the statements made by the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) on two occasions in this House when criticising the expenditure of money by this Government on the harbour of St. John. He said on one occasion that it was putting money down a sink hole, that a lot of money had been dumped in the Bay of Fundy. So far as I know, there has been no money expended by this Government in the Bay of Fundy for any purpose except the establishment of buoys and aids to navigation. From the 26th of February, when the House met this year, until to-day I have not missed a sitting except for two weeks recently when I was home sick. I have urged on the Government the absolute necessity of spending a certain amount of money for the extension of the breakwater at St. John. That expenditure is absolutely necessary in order to protect the harbour of St. John.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is that at Courtenay Bay?

Mr. WIGMORE: No, that is another part altogether. I have urged upon the Government the wisdom of making this expenditure. They have seen the necessity for it, and sent down their engineers to make surveys; plans and specifications have been drawn, and tenders were ready to be called for. I was therefore very much surprised recently to find no provision in the Estimates for this extension. In 1917 the Government saw the necessity of making an extension to this breakwater and tenders were called for it that year, but on account of war conditions the project was abandoned. I believe it is one of the most necessary works in the whole Dominion. When you consider that St. John on account of its geographical position,—and I say this advisedly—is the only winter freight port in the Dominion, when you consider its short rail haul, and the growth of St. John, that its exports increased from less than $7,000,000 in 1900 to $200,000,000 last year, and that during the last winter season for twelve days from eight to twelve steamers were lying in the stream waiting for a berth, and that the Dominion Government are spending millions of dollars on their merchant marine, it is no wonder that the people of St. John have faith in the future of their city.

How are we going to accommodate the trade that is going to come to our ports unless we provide facilities? We are spending millions every year on our railways but we are not developing the ports of Canada as they should be developed. Millions are being expended every year in the harbour of Quebec and in the harbour of Montreal; millions are being expended in dredging the St. Lawrence, and millions more will have to be expended every year if the harbour and river are going to take care of the coming traffic. But no provision has been made for winter traffic. The people of St. John have shown their faith in the future by spending their own money, but they cannot go any further. Parliament last year passed an Act enabling the citizens of St. John to place the harbour of St. John under commission. It is necessary to take a plebiscite on that question, and I expect it will be taken in the very near future. I would urge upon the Government to-night as a last resort and especially on the Minister of Public Works, to provide an item of $300,000 in the estimates this year so that at least a start can be made on the breakwater extention.

There is one thing more I will point out. The St. John Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company have a contract from the Government for the construction of a dry dock in order to take their dredge material out. The Government are paying to them the amount of three cents a yard for a distance of over two and a half miles, or a sum of $90,000. If this breakwater were extended to-day, the dump for this dredge material from Courtenay Bay would then be within the two and a half miles limit, and the Government would save on that transaction alone $90,000, which would help to pay the interest on the construction of the dry dock. The reason I am urging this on the Government at this time is not because it would be of benefit to the City of St. John, but because it is a national work that would be of benefit to the whole Dominion. I would urge that an item for $300,000 at least be passed at this session so that contracts may be called for and the work started at once. Not more than that amount could be spent during the balance of this year. I would ask the Minister of Public Works to kindly consider this matter and see that the required amount is placed in the Supplementary Estimates. I had the assurance that this amount would be placed in the Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend's word is of course without any question to be accepted. He knows the conditions better than I do. I accept my hon. friend's word about the possibilities of St. John Harbour.

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But there are some papers published in New Brunswick which are supposed to be informed on conditions in New Brunswick. I read one the other day, the Daily Gleaner, published in the city of Fredericton by James H. Crocket. I think he is a brother of the gentleman of that name who was a member of this House some years ago and who belonged to the same party as my hon. friend. I read in this paper under date of June 17:

> If St. John is satisfied with the Courtney Bay exploitation, it need not expect to have the support or countenance of the other sections of the province, who have some respect for the fitness of things. St. John West has been practically beggared in harbour facilities because of reckless waste of public moneys on the east side. The difficulties of to-day are of its own making. The west side has a practical scheme, but naturally the public men of Canada of either party, and of all political parties are disposed to dump the revenue of the whole country into the harbours of one town.

When I used the expression "sinking money" I used it in company with a good New Brunswicker, Mr. Crocket, who uses an expression much stronger than mine.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Did I understand my hon. friend to state that part of this item was for a Royal Canadian Mounted Police building and for a barracks at Ottawa?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: How much of it is to be expended at Ottawa?

Mr. ROWELL: The amount is $400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I move that the item be reduced by $400,000. I think it is folly to build a barracks for the Mounted Police at Ottawa at the present time. I cannot understand why the Government should be increasing the Mounted Police, bringing the force East and entering into the construction of these barracks when the tendency should be in the other direction. I move that the item be reduced by $400,000.

Mr. BUREAU: Why bring the Northwest Mounted Police to Ottawa? Their very name indicates what their duties are. They are a mounted police force whose duty it is to patrol the country where settlement is so sparse that it requires this extra protection. The Mounted Police stand as a corps by themselves. We have always been proud of them, they have done honour to Canada but I do not see why we should maintain the Mounted Police in the East where they are not needed and where the provinces have all the necessary equipment to see that the laws are observed. I do not believe we are improving the corps by keeping them in Ottawa where they can do nothing to serve the purpose for which they were created. The men of the force themselves do not like it. They feel that they are not being treated justly by being brought down here standing and parading around Ottawa when they could be usefully employed in the West.

Amendment negatived, yeas 16, nays 19.

Mr. FIELDING: I would like to offer a suggestion. I appreciate the difficulty of the Government in dealing with this police question. At the time the Northwest Territories were organized into provinces the need for the police seemed to have disappeared and the Government apparently for that reason brought them East. I agree that they are not fitted for eastern work and I do not think they like it. But in any case it seems to me that they ought to be employed somewhere usefully. My suggestion would be that the Government open negotiations with the western provinces and see if some arrangement cannot be made whereby this very valuable force shall be still employed in the West, the Dominion paying a share—and a liberal share—of the expenditure. I feel so much pride in the record of that splendid body of men that I do not want to see the force destroyed and I would be willing to pay some money to secure that result. I do not think the Government can go on keeping them in the East and I would hope that the minister would be able to make some arrangement with the western provincial governments to share the expense. If the provinces will not take the force it had better be disbanded altogether but I would not like to see that happen and I think the suggestion is worthy of consideration.

Mr. ROWELL: I quite agree that the suggestion is well worthy of consideration. While I think there is scope and work for the force in the East, there is no doubt that the force could do a substantial amount of work of the character to which my hon. friend refers with advantage and with a saving to the Exchequer of Canada. Therefore, I think the suggestion is well worthy of consideration, and it will receive the consideration of the Government. The matter has been discussed on various occasions but no conclusion has been reached. The view of the Government is that the force should not be disbanded. I do not say that it should be continuously

maintained up to the present strength but that the force should be preserved to Canada at reasonable strength. The conclusion that the Government arrived at was that should the time come when it is not necessary to maintain it as a mounted police force, it should be converted into a cavalry regiment and form one of the units of the Permanent Force of Canada. At the present time the Government does not consider that desirable, and as the situation now stands if you take the Permanent Force and the Mounted Police combined you only have in Canada a force of approximately 5,000 men. If you subtract the Dominion Police, that is the maximum strength of the present force in Canada, both Mounted Police and Permanent Force. Now, Sir, if you have a Permanent Force, whether it be the Police or Militia, you must have them stationed somewhere. The Minister of Militia has pointed out that we have no barracks for the Permanent Force, therefore we have got to provide accommodation for them somewhere in Canada. The present view of the Government is that one of those barracks might well be established in Ottawa, and that we might well have at the capital of the country a section of either the Mounted Police or of the Permanent Force. If the barracks are erected and it is decided not to keep the Mounted Police here it would be available for a squadron or a regiment of the Permanent Force as the case might be, therefore the item is in the Estimates. As I intimated before, if we can get suitable accommodation this year to carry us through, we will not proceed with the building because we do not want to make any expenditure, if it can be avoided, during the year. But the item, I think, should go through. It is based on sound principles, and it may be necessary to incur the expenditure for the proper caring of the squadron during the present year.

Telegraph and telephone lines—Nova Scotia—$5,000.

Mr. LEGER: I see no appropriation in the Estimates for the construction of telephone and telegraph lines in the province of New Brunswick, particularly in the county of Kent, and I would like the Government to offer some explanation for the omission. In the Estimates of 1917 there was an appropriation of $3,000 for the purpose of extending a telephone line from Pointe Sapin to Kouchibouguac in the county of Kent, New Brunswick, which county I have the honour to represent, the distance between the two places being in the vicinity of twenty miles. A telephone line was constructed in the early part of the summer of 1919 from Pointe Sapin to the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river instead of to Kouchibouguac village, the business place for that part of the county and the general public expected that the proposed line would connect with the telephone system at that place. I find in the Auditor General's reports the following item with reference to the expenditures for that purpose:

> Chatham-Escuminac-Sapin Line, extension to Kouchibouguac ($991.80)—Lachute Shuttle Co., brackets, $39; W. S. Loggie & Co., 470 cedar poles, $940; $979; advertising, $12.80.

In order to show the committee the great necessity of having a telephone line from Pointe Sapin to Kouchibouguac to connect with the telephone line at that place I will state that Pointe Sapin is on the seashore in the northern part of Kent county about twenty miles from Kouchibouguac, which is the first village to the south and about thirty miles from the town of Richibucto where Pointe Sapin people have to go for a medical man or to transact any other important business. There is a great deal of business transacted there during the summer season and it is the headquarters of the great fishing district. Four or five lobster canning factories, which employ a large number of people, are also located there. Instead of building a line to connect at Kouchibouguac, as it was understood would be done, the Government simply built the said line to the mouth of the river. No connection was established at that place, it merely connected with Mr. Loggie's canning factory. When it was publicly announced that the Government intended to build a telephone line from Pointe Sapin to Kouchibougouac I can assure you that the project was approved of by the general public. I for one was under the impression that the Government would do this, otherwise I would have opposed it. In order to show where I stood in the matter I would like to read some correspondence which took place between the Minister of Public Works and myself. I am sorry to take up the time of the committee at this early hour of the morning but am doing so because it is imperatively necessary. On June 4, 1919, I wrote to the minister as follows:

> Hon. F. B. CARVELL,
> Minister of Public Works, Ottawa.
>
> Dear Sir,—Would you be good enough to inform me if it is the intention of the Government to put up this summer a telephone between Pointe Sapin and Kouchibougnac. I un-

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derstand that Mr. W. S. Loggie had the contract for the hauling of all the necessary poles for the said line and I am now informed that all the poles are on the spot at the present time and I hope that the said line will be completed during the season.

Yours truly,

A. T. Leger.

In reply to the foregoing letter I received this communication:

Ottawa, 5th June, 1919.

Dear Mr. LEGER:

In reply to yours of the 4th inst., it is the intention of the Department to construct the line referred to between Pointe Sapin and Kouchibouguac. The poles were procured during the winter and, I am informed, are now on the ground ready for setting.

Sincerely yours,

F. B. Carvel.

A. T. Leger, Esq., M.P.

This letter did not satisfy me exactly from what I had gathered from the people in that part of the country, so on the 6th of June I wrote again to Mr. Carvell, as follows:

Yours of yesterday regarding telephone line between Kouchibouguac and Pointe Sapin to hand and contents noted. I am pleased to know that this telephone line will be built up this summer.

Now, I would like further information in this matter. Would you be good enough to let me know who has the contract for the procuring or hauling of all the poles for the said telephone line? Were tenders called for, and what prices were paid per piece or per hundred poles?

Sincerely yours,

A. T. LEGER.

In reply I got a letter, dated June 10, from the department, signed by Mr. D. H. Keeley, General Superintendent, in which he stated:

By direction of the hon. the Minister of Public Works I beg to state in reply to your letter of the 6th instant that an advertisement was issued in March 1918, for tenders for the required quantity of poles 640 more or less of cedar 25 feet long and 5 inches across the top; but there was only one tender received (from Mr. L. J. Loggie at $2.50 per pole), which was considered too high, because there had been previously received an offer of supply from Mr. P. A. Robichaud at $2 per pole.

Inquiries were made along the route of the line for poles distributed at the price of $2 each, and in October, 1918, Mr. J. A. Manzerolle of Lower Sapin was arranged with at that price. Later on however, Mr. Manzerolle, in November, 1918, withdrew his offer, whereupon a similar offer was made by Mr. L. J. Loggie and accepted. The poles have now all been delivered along the route at the price of $2 each and the work of construction was started on the 2nd inst., under the foremanship of the general repairer for the district, Mr. M. Ramsay, of Chatham, who is to engage hands temporarily along the line as it progresses. The work will likely be completed before the end of July.

Yours faithfully,

D. H. KEELY,
General Superintendent.

Now, it will be noticed that the first tender of L. J. Loggie was for $2.50 per pole, and the next tender was by P. A. Robichaud for $2 per pole. Later on the department tried to get the poles distributed for $2 apiece, and a man by the name of Mr. J. A. Manzerolle offered to haul for $2. But he withdrew his offer. I would like to know why the offer of L. J. Loggie was accepted when Robichaud had previously offered to do the work at $2 per pole as against the offer of L. J. Loggie of $2.50.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is the Mr. Loggie my hon. friend is referring to the hon. member for Northumberland?.

Mr. LEGER: No, it is not. The member for Northumberland is W. S. Loggie, to whom I will refer later on. I was a little surprised that Robichaud did not get the contract,and it is still a mystery to me why he did not. Now, Mr. Chairman, you will note that the hon. minister did not mention in his letter that this line was to end at the mouth of the river. He always said it was to go to Kouchibouguac. That is the only place where the business of that district is done. The post office bears the name of Kouchibouguac.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. LEGER: Hon. gentleman will have to learn that name. Many of them I expect cannot write it or spell it, but if they will come to me I shall be happy to do it for them. Now, the minister never mentioned that this line was going to end at mouth of the river, he always said Kouchibouguac, and I believed at the time that he intended to connect with that telephone line. O my return home last July after the end of the session I was informed that the line was built from Pointe Sapin, not to Kouchibouguac, as was expected, but to the mouth of the river, direct to the W. S. Logie Lobster Canning Factory—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. LEGER: I am sorry that I have to mention the name of an hon. member, but I cannot do anything else in the matter.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The hon. member for Northumberland?

Mr. LEGER: Mr. Chairman, my hon. friend from Northumberland Mr. Loggie—

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Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. LEGER: —has a lobster canning factory at Pointe Sapin, and another factory at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river, and this line of telephone connects the two factories, and there is no other office along the new line; it does not accommodate anyone else. I will read to the House an extract from a letter which will corroborate what I have just said. The writer states: —beg to say that the Government telephone (so called ends at W. S. Logie's factory and as far as I know is not in any other place on the route. It is nothing more than a private line for W. S. Loggie—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. LEGER: (reading)

—it should come up and connect at the post office here.

That corroborates what I have just said. In April last I received the following letter:

KOUCHIBOUGUAC, N.B.
April 12, 1920.

AUGUSTUS LEGER, M.P.,
OTTAWA, CAN.,

SIR,—Knowing your interest in all that pertains to the welfare of your electors, I write to ask you to use your influence to obtain a telephone line for the north side of Kouchibouguac River. The distance between the telephone line from Kouchibouguac village to the line from Loggie's factory is only about three miles. The line from Pointe Sapin to Loggie's factory is of no use to us. "Of course, we understand what it means to Loggie." Could we not have a line connecting these two lines mentioned? We are at a very serious disadvantage by having no telephone and we assure you we will highly appreciate every effort you will make in our behalf to obtain one. I would like to have a telephone in my own house and I am quite willing to do my share of work, such as getting some posts for this line.

Trusting that you will continue to take an active interest in our welfare, I am,

Yours respectfully,

CHAS. WILLIAMS.

After I received this letter I wrote to the minister as follows:

OTTAWA, April 21st 1920.

Honourable J. D. REID,
Acting Minister of Public Works,
Ottawa.

Honourable and Dear Sir,—I have an application from one Mr. Charles Williams, of Kouchibouguac, in the County of Kent, N.B., for an extension of the telephone line from the line now already built by the Government, from Pointe Sapin to the Loggie Company Lobster Canning Factory, at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river, to the Kouchibouguac village, a distance of about three miles, which extension of line would accommodate a great many people in that district, and also all the people of Pointe Sapin.

Mr. Williams offers to give all the assistance possible by procuring some material for said line, which application I would ask for your most earnest consideration.

An early reply would oblige,

Yours truly.

I will not charge hon. gentleman who was then Acting Minister of Public Works with any deliberate delay; my letter must have miscarried in some way, because I have always found the minister to be very prompt in replying to correspondence. So you will see, Mr. Chairman, that this telephone line was built for the sole purpose of accommodating my hon. friend from Northumberland (Mr. Loggie) at the public expense, and no one else. I am sorry that I have to make such a declaration, but I feel that it is my duty to do so. When the people's money is expended for such a purpose the country should know about it, and I wish also to show to the country that I have been no party to the deal. The Government must take full responsiblity for the whole matter. I have asked the Government on different occasions for small grants for river dredging, repairing of wharfs, the buoying of channels, accommodation to fishermen and farmers and the handling of mud fertilizer for their land, but the Government has not responded by meeting the needs of the people. I may say right here that I am informed by a reliable source that it has been reported by the Government inspector for the Chatham district that dredging will be carried on this summer at or near the Loggie lobster factory at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river,—which would accommodate my hon. friend from Northumberland. But, Sir, the Government seem to have plenty money with which to build telephone lines for private concerns. As I have said, not a word was mentioned in letters received from the minister of his intention to end that telephone line at the Loggie factory at the month of the river. Now we understand why the whole matter was not made public before; and this is a course which I condemn. If the Government had built a line to Kouchibouguac and then a short line to the W. S. Loggie Company's canning factory it would not be so bad, but no; they give this private company full accommodation and the general public none. I therefore want some explanation from the Government why this line was built for a private concern, at a cost to the country of thousands of dollars. Why should this line have been built for a rich concern at the expense

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of the poor people of the country? I would like to know what was the cost of putting up this telephone line. The amount does not appear in the public accounts. I make this matter public because the people of my county are not satisfied with regard to it. The needs set forth by the letter from Mr. Williams, which I read a few moments ago, have met with no response, and I hope that the Government will give some attention to this matter and state why this work was done at the expense of the public to assist a private concern.

Mr. LOGGIE: I want to say first of all that I do not know of any lobster factory in Kouchibouguac county whatever. There is nothing in the construction of that line that I know of that is not perfectly regular. Kouchibouguac village has a public telephone and has had such for many years. The district at the mouth of the river that connects Kouchibouguac village with Pointe Sapin did not have any and as it is a very important part of Kent county as regards the shipping of fresh fish, it was in the public interest that telephone connection should be had with the other portion of the Government line, namely, Escuminac point. There has been a telegraph line between Chatham and Escuminac point for the last thirty or forty years. Recently it has been changed to a telephone line, and it was that line that was connected up with Chatham.

2 a.m.

To provide for the purchase of the Lotbinière and the Megantic Railway under authority of Chapter 22, Statutes of Canada, 1916, together with interest at 5 per cent from 1st, April, 1920, $336,875.

Mr. PARENT: Has this amount been paid to the railway company?

Mr. J. D. REID: We could not possibly pay it until the money is voted.

Mr. FIELDING: Would the minister give us some particulars as to how this sum was reached?

Hr. J. D. REID: The deputy will be here in a few moments. We can let this item stand and come back to it later.

Item stands.

Canadian Government Railways—To provide for payment of expenses in connection with acquisition of the Grand Trunk and associated railway systems—additional amount required, $400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: When is the arbitration likely to proceed?

Mr. J. D. REID: The officials are getting all the evidence together. They have been at work for some time. The arbitrators will be appointed within a few days.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Not until Parliament has prorogued.

Mr. J. D. REID: That has nothing to do with it.

Loan to Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, not exceeding $25,000,000.

Mr. J. D. REID: I beg to move to amend this item by adding after the word "made" in the eighteenth line the words "for any of the foregoing purposes". The officials tell me that this will make the purpose of the item more clear.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why did the minister leave this item of $25,000,000 to the very last moment? Why was it not brought down in the Main Estimates?

Mr. J. D. REID: We have had auditors at work investigating the Grand Trunk's books to find out just what the situation was, and what money would be required. We could not proceed until the Bill was passed.

Public Works—Generally—Barracks for Permanent Force, $100,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is another extravagance. What is this for?

Mr. J. D. REID: The amount is towards the construction of barracks for the Permanent Force. The Department of Militia and Defence in a letter dated July 19, requested that barracks be provided as follows: "Military District No. 2, construction of a two barrack building at Toronto for two squadrons." Then follows a comprehensive scheme for barracks at a total cost of $2,202,500. We are not proceeding with all of that, but are just asking for $100,000 at the present time. That goes to show hat they have cut the Esimate down from $2,202,500 to $100,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It also goes to show that the criticism of the leader of the Opposition has had some effect. The Minister of Militia announced in committee the other day that the Government intended to bring down a Supplementary Estimate for $2,202,500, but now they are asking for $100,000. I congratulate the Government on having come to its senses in reducing this item by over $2,000,000, and I would congratulate them still further if they would cut the item out altogether..

Harbours and Rivers—Nova Scotia, $54,185.

Mr. SPINNEY: I wish to call the minister's attention to a petition that has been forwarded by the residents of Port Maitland and surrounding district asking for the construction of a breakwater there, which is essential in the prosecution of their fishing. I do not wish to take up time at this late hour in going more fully into the requirements but I would urge that this petition be favourably considered by the Public Works Department. The resident engineer endorsed the action of the residents of that place in making an effort to procure this assistance in order that they may be able to carry on their industry and bring it to its fullest development. I would like to hear some expression from the minister in regard to the carrying out of the work required at that place.

Mr. J. D. REID: We had a petition from the residents of the locality for a new breakwater at Port Maitland. We have one there now but it is not suitable. Owing to heavy expenditures we have decided that we would ask the people to wait for another year for a new breakwater. We are repairing the old one during the present year. The department intend looking into the whole matter and getting an estimate with a view to taking the matter up at the next session of the House.

Lighthouse and coast service—to provide a further amount to pay Government pension to pilot Joseph Eugene Lachance, $300.

Mr. PARENT: What is the policy of the Government with regard to the payment of pensions to pilots? I understand that a pilot at the age of sixty-five is bound to get out of the service and that he then receives a pension. Has that policy been followed by the Government?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The Quebec pilotage district is the only one in Canada where pilots get any pension whatsoever. It is an old arrangement that was entered into when Mr. Brodeur was Minister of Marine.

Mr. PARENT: I am aware that in certain cases the department has decided that at the age of sixty-five pilots have to get out of the service, and that in some instances it has given pensions to men of sixty-nine and seventy years of age. I would like to know if there is any definite policy or whether the department can put a man on pension at any age?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The age at which a man is supposed to be pensioned is sixty-five.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I., (Mr. Sinclair) asked me when this item came up if I would request the minister to be kind enough to send him a copy of all petitions, correspondence, telegrams and recommendations by the officails of the Government or any other persons with regard to the building of a lighthouse at Little Sands, P.E.I., this year. He also asks that the minister shall send him the name and salary of the lighthouse keeper at Little Sands, P.E.I., the date of his appointment the names of other applicants for the position and the name or names of persons recommending the appointment of the present incumbent.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Yes, I will be very glad to see that this information is immediately sent.

Purchasing Commission—salaries and contingencies, $90,000.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: What is that Purchasing Commission?

Mr. J. D. REID: There is the Purchasing Commission, Sir Hormisdas Laporte is chairman and there are two or three members of the commission.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is it a Purchasing Commission for all the departments?

Mr. J. D. REID: It is a Purchasing Commission to purchase for all the departments. It was organized during the war. Originally Sir Edward Kemp was chairman and there were also on the board Mr. Gault, and Sir Hormisdas Laporte. Now Sir Edward Kemp and Mr. Gault have ceased to be members and there are two other gentlemen in their places.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: This is a War Purchasing Commission?

Mr. J. D. REID: It was the War Purchasing Commission. We do not call it that now, but simply the Purchasing Commission.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Government introduced a Bill to provide for a Purchasing Commission and the Prime Minister said that he never felt that a Bill was more necessary than this one. Could the hon. gentleman inform us why they did not proceed with the Bill?

Mr. J. D. REID: Hon. gentlemen opposite gave us so much opposition, we did not want to keep the session any longer and we are going to work with the present commission until next session.

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Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This commission has no authority under any Act of this Parliament?

Mr. J. D. REID: The commission can go on by Order in Council and do the same work that it has been doing in the past. Every expenditure made goes through this commission.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is it not time to get back to the position where commissions will proceed under Act of Parliament instead of by Order in Council? When the Government found it necessary to withdraw the Bill and not proceed with it they ought to stop paying out further money or commissions under the authority of an Order in Council.

Mr. J. D. REID: The commission has so far worked well and proved a success. The matter will be taken up again next session. No harm will be done in the meantime.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: But $90,000 will be spent.

Mr. J. D. REID: Even under the Bill we would have spent that money.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is quite apparent that the Bill would have never passed this Parliament and the Government ought to take note of the attitude of Parliament towards a measure of this kind. It was perfectly obvious that hon. gentlemen on the Government side were just as strongly opposed to the Purchasing Commission as hon. gentlemen on this side. It was made apparent that Parliament was against this policy, so much so that the Government did not dare to proceed with the legislation. It is therefore going beyond the bounds of decency for the Government to propose to perpetuate this commission by Order in Council. I protest very strongly against any further expense under Order in Council for any Purchasing Commission. If the Government wishes to have a Purchasing Commission let it get authority from Parliament. If it cannot get that authority it should stop proceeding under Order in Council. I take very strong exception to expending a single five cent piece for the perpetuation of this body.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The Bill seeking to accomplish this purpose has been before the House for three sessions and at none of them has it made any progress. Despite that fact the Government persists in retaining the services of these gentlemen, who act if they were a department of the Government although they have no Parliamentary authority for doing so. This is playing fast and loose with the traditions of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly it is.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have the highest regard for Sir Hormisdas Laporte but he, like the rest of us, is bound by the authority of Parliament. Parliament refuses to grant that authority, and the sentiment is pretty general on both sides of the House that whilst this commission, during the war, was in a position to render some service to the State, now that the war is over and normal conditions prevail it has ceased to be of any use. I am therefore surprised to find an item in the Estimates for the purpose of perpetuating the commission. I was not here when this question came up during the present session but I was present when it was discussed last session and the session before. The President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) fathered the Bill and seemed most anxious to have it passed; but he found that the opposition on the Government side was, if anything, more strenuous than on this side. When the President of the Privy Council saw that the Bill was attacked from the right and from the left, from the north and from the south, he allowed it to drop. Nevertheless he is so accustomed to ignore the authority of Paraliament that he has inserted an item in the Estimates in order to continue this body in existence. I want to know from the minister how many officers are employed by the commission and what are its functions? How does the commission operate now that the war is over? Where are the offices of the commission, how much do we pay for those offices, what staff is employed by the commission and to whom do they report their activities? We are entitled to know these facts. Are we to vote a large sum of money every session to this commission without having any report of its operations? That is simply flaunting the authority of Parliament.

Mr. J. D. REID: I could not, just at the moment, give the hon. member a list of the officers and staff connected with the commission but their names appear every year in the report of the Auditor General, so they can be easily procured. They are practically the same from year to year, although a few changes may take place from time to time as some officials resign and others take their place. The work of the commission has been many times explained; I think the hon. member himself

was present when the Prime Minister spoke very strongly of the work of the commission and explained its operations in detail.

Mr. LEMIEUX: He spoke for the Bill.

Mr. J. D. REID: No, when the resolution was up, and explained the operations of the commission. In a word, the commission operates in this way: All the departments must make their requisitions for supplies to the commission which calls for tenders and purchases the needed supplies independently of any department. The sum in the Estimates is for the carrying on of the commission's work. If the amount for salaries and other purposes is not required, it will not be expended. The Prime Minister in his explanation expressed the view—and that is the view of the Government—that the commission affected a very great saving during the war and is still continuing to do good work. It is true there was opposition on both sides of the House when the resolution was introduced, but the Government feel they could not cut it off without having a little time to see whether the good work that the commission has done in the past, and is still doing, should not be continued. Under the circumstances I would ask that the item stand as it is and let the matter come up again at the next sitting and be fully discussed.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have no doubt that during the war the commission rendered valuable service. The work it performed was in connection with war contracts and every such contract was submitted to its judgment. But the war is long since over; and the Government must have found there was no necessity of maintaining such a war excrescence. Are we going to ignore the authority of Parliament to the extent proposed? Parliament has refused, and rightly refused, to create such a department. The Government wanted not only to create a new department but to place a minister in charge and have the commission under his authority. Both parties in Parliament considered it was an unnecessary expenditure now that the war is over. In spite of the expressions of opinion that came from both sides the Government now proposes by a round about way to perpetuate the commission which it was the desire of Parliament to abolish. I do not see how we can possibly do that.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: May I ask the minister when the name of this body was changed? If I understand correctly the commission was created by Order in Council during the war and in that Order in Council the title of "War Purchasing Commission" was applied. Now we find in the Estimates an item of $90,000, not for the "War Purchasing Commission" but simply for the "Purchasing Commission." I ask the minister if the old War Purchasing Commission has ben abolished and a new one created

Mr. J. D. REID: The Order in Council appointing the War Purchasing Commission is the authority under which it is now operating. The omission of the word "War" in the Estimates does not effect the commission or its powers. There is no doubt at all that the commission did excellent work during the war and in the opinion of the Government is still continuing to do so.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: But the opinion of Parliament is against it.

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member may think that the proposal would not have carried in the House. My opinion is that it would have. However we were busy with other matters and did not press it. No harm can result from the commission continuing as it is until next session. If the Government had been of the opinion that the non-passage of the Bill would have abolished the commission, it would have put that Bill through. At least it would have submitted it to the House and I am satisfied it would have passed.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Was it not specially provided that this commission was only to be in operation during the war?

Mr. J. D. REID: No.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Not created only for the war?

Mr. J. D. REID: No.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is my hon. friend sure of that?

Mr. LEMIEUX: It was created only for the war, because when the Bill was introduced it was stated by the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), and especially by the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), that the work of that commission had been so efficient during the war that it should be maintained now as a department of the Government. We objected to that because we said that while during the war there were so many very large contracts that it required the special attention of men of their ability and experience to see if this or that contract should be awarded, for normal conditions there was an officer in

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each department who looked after the purchases of his department. I instanced the Post Office Department, the Public Works Department—in fact every department, and I said it was simply surplusage of employees and spending money uselessly to appoint a purchasing commission; and the opposition was so strong from both sides of the House that the Bill was dropped in three different sessions.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think there is a misapprehension on the part of hon. gentlemen who are criticising this item. It is true that the War Purchasing Commission was created by an Order in Council and had in view of special conditions in connection with war purchasing. It is likewise true that a Bill was introduced to constitute a statutory body, to be known as a Purchasing Commission. It is also true that that Bill has not been passed. But the purchasing of supplies for the public service is part of the function of the Government. There is no statutory provision, for instance, for a purchasing agent in each department; he is not created by statute. There is no statutory provision determining through what agencies the purchasing of the Government shall be carried on, and how it shall be supervised. Though there be no such statute, Parliament has voted, together with other salaries, the salaries of the agents departmentally employed to attend to the purchasing. The Government required no statutory authorization for that purpose; and if the Government should in its judgment deem it wise that the whole of the purchasing should be generally supervised, it requires no statutory authorization to provide officers to attend to that supervision. The Government does require to come to this House to have voted the salaries and the expenses of those officers, just as they require to have voted the salaries and expenses of any other officers who, in its judgment, it may consider useful for carrying on that part of its business which consists in purchasing those things required to be purchased for the public services. It is purely a matter of administration how you will carry on the purchasing.

An hon. MEMBER: Do not obstruct your own Estimates.

Mr. DOHERTY: It was thought that it might be desirable to create a body to whom special statutory powers would be given to control the purchasing. That plan, for the time being at all events, is not being proceeded with. But that does not withdraw from the Government its responsibility for the purchasing of supplies and its right therefore to take such methods as may seem in its judgment wisest to secure that that purchasing may be most prudently done.

Now, this Houe is asked to vote the necessary money for a body that shall see that the purchasing operations of all of the departments are so made to fit in with each other as to rebound to the greatest public advantage. It is for the expenses necessary to provide that additional protection and precaution that this House is now asked to pass this vote. It is just as simple as that. This House is not asked for a dollar for any statutory body—for the body which it was in contemplation to create by the bill that was presented to this House.

Mr. BUREAU: I think the reasoning of the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) is absolutely false. This commission was created as a war measure. My hon. friend says that the Government is responsible for the commissions it creates. We have had a very good example of what commissions will do and how the Government will shoulder its responsibility. In anticipation of a report on the classification we were called upon to vote moneys over which Parliament has absolute control, and we are told that the Civil Service Commission was to make that report which would be deposited on the table of the House. It was not deposited, but still we had to vote the money. The proof of the fact that the War Purchasing Commission was a matter of administration is the circumstance that for three successive sessions we have had on the Order Paper a resolution to create, not a war purchasing commission but a purchasing commission. If it is a matter absolutely in the jurisdiction of the Government, why do they come to Parliament for authority?

Mr. DOHERTY: Because it was proposed to create what would be a statutory body. We do not pretend that this purchasing commission to perform the functions that are indicated is going to be endowed with any statutory powers.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The hon. Minister of Railways (Mr. Reid) did.

Mr. DOHERTY: I did not have the advanthge of being in the House when the Minister of Railways stated his understanding of the position, and I am not called upon to discuss what he said. It has been necessary for me to look into the question of whether the body that we have in mind to employ for the purpose I have pointed out, could be lawfully employed by the

Government in the performance of that administrative duty of making purchases. If having fallen to me to look into it I reached the conclusion—and I may say that that view is shared by the law officers of the Crown—that it is quite within the general powers of the Government to take every reasonable precaution to see that the purchasing is properly carried out. The purchasing commission which will carry on in virtue of this vote will not be a body with any statutory powers; it will be in the same position as any other employées who might be charged by the Government with the performance of certain duties at a certain remuneration, and for the expenses of whose operations it is natural and proper that the Government should provide.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not think that the minister's argument is good. The Government is hiding behind the Purchasing Commission just as it is hiding behind the Civil Service Commission, and if we come forward with any criticism we are told that a commission was appointed to protect the public. The members of this commission are not under any department, and the Government say: we are not responsible. Heretofore there has been a purchasing agent in every department. There is no use in voting $90,000 for the purpose of protecting the Government in whatever misdeeds may be committed in connection with the purchase of supplies.

To provide, by way of advances to Victoria (B.C.) Shipowners Limited, for the construction of four vessels at an estimated cost of $250,000 for each vessel, not less than 60 per cent of the workmen employed in such construction to be returned soldiers; advances to be made on progress certificates under the supervision of an engineer of the Department of Marine and not to exceed $175,000 on each vessel. Such advances to be secured by first mortgage on the vessels and to be repayable with interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, such interest to be a first charge on the aggregate net operating revenue from the vessels. Also to provide salary of a Government inspector at a rate not exceeding $250.00 per month, $703,000.

Mr FIELDING: Surely somebody will give us an explanation of this rather unusual item.

Mr. TOLMIE: When the soldiers came back, 12,000 more returned men located in British Columbia than went away from that province. During 1919 a contract was completed at Victoria for the construction of twenty ships for the French Government. Accordingly a large number of men were released from employment; about 5,000 men, 4,000 of whom were returned soldiers, were out of employment in Victoria city alone. A proposal came from some Victorians that the Government advance $700,000 for the construction of four ships, lumber carriers of the brigantine type, on condition that the company put up $75,000 on each ship. The money was to be loaned at the rate of six per cent. The proposal was brought to Ottawa in December, and after very careful consideration, and having particular regard to the fact that there were a large number of unemployed soldiers in that district, it was decided to make the loan. As I have said, the ships are now under construction and it is agreed that at least 250 men will be given employment on each ship. As you are all aware, there is a very great demand for lumber carriers out there, and the freight rate is high—around $54 a thousand feet, I believe. In 1915 out of fifty-two cargoes of lumber that left the Pacific coast for British ports only two were loaded on the Canadian side, simply because the Americans controlled all the available bottoms. I think, therefore, that these lumber carriers will pay their way very well; and at present the reestablishment of a large number of returned soldiers is being assisted by their construction.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: On what date did the Government decide upon this loan?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The contract was arranged under Order in Council,—a copy of which I shall be pleased to table, if my hon. friend so desires—passed on the 24th of December, 1919. That was the time when unemployment was, perhaps, at its peak, and when there was a great deal of apprehension with regard to conditions in that part of the country. The hon. member (Mr. Fielding) says that this is an extraordinary item. Well, it is.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What was the date of the by-election in Vancouver?

Mr. TOLMIE: October 27th.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I do not think that the election had anything to do with it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Were any promises made at election time?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There were a great many hungry people out there and a great many people out of work. It was an extraordinary act, but an extraordinary situation was being dealt with. The contract was charged against the Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919, which provided that the money appropriated under it might be used, among other things, for the pro-

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motion of trade, industry and transportation facilities, and for the carrying out of any measures deemed necessary or advisable by the Governor in Council in consequence of war. The non-employment of these returned soldiers was certainly one of the results of the war, and certainly the adoption of this course tended to promote trade and industry.

Mr. TOLMIE: Two or three suggestions have been made from the other side tonight which I have been rather sorry to hear. They have been strong hints to the effect that I was elected by some means that were not exactly straight. I want to say that I have lived in that country; I am known out there, and I think I have a very fair reputation, even if I say so myself. I want to say quite clearly that I am not here because I cannot be anywhere else. I am not here to make a living. Any time I cannot come here without doing something that is not straight I will stay on the Pacific coast.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister must not take any comments too much to heart; every one has implicit faith in his integrity. But the minister surely knows some of his colleagues well enough to understand that they have an appreciation of elections and their significance which, perhaps, he in his innocence has not gained as yet.

Demobilization—Department of Public Works —completion of construction, rents, etc., $1,250,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This item, I notice, comes under the head of "Demobilization."

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes, it is in connection with military buildings, military hospitals, soldiers' civil re-establishment hospitals, and so on.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We have already voted sums for soldier settlement, hospitals, and so on; why do the items which the minister has mentioned come under this particular heading?

Mr. J. D. REID: I could not say why. The amount is to settle up contracts for buildings that have been under construction; it is not for new buildings.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: To include expenses for construction in the demobilization vote would seem to be a contradiction of terms.

Public Works chargeable to income—harbours and rivers—British Columbia—Sunnyside—restoration of float, $3,000.

[Sir Henry Drayton.]

Mr. J. D. REID: My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) asked me a few moments ago how we arrived at the valuation of the Lotbinière and Megantic railway. I have now the Act before me. The hon. member will remember that in that Act we agreed to take over three railways, and the Act stated that the value as determined by the Exchequer Court of Canada was to be:

The actual cost of said railway less subsidies and less depreciation, but not to exceed $4,349,000, exclusive of outstanding bonded indebtedness, which is to be assumed by the Government, but not to exceed in all $2,500,000.

The way that was made up was this. We were to take over the Quebec and Saguenay, that is, after the judgment of the Exchequer Court had been given, at the maximum value of $4,019,000, the Lotbinière and Magantic at $330,000, and then the bonds amounting to $2,500,000 represented the Quebec and Montmorency railway. We did not take over the Quebec and Montmorency railway, that is, the electric railway, and therefore, that cancelled the $2,500,000. We took over the Quebec and Saguenay and settled that. That left the Lotbinière and Megantic, and the price we had fixed for that at the time was $330,000, which is the actual cost to the parties. There were no subsidies granted by the Dominion Government to that railway.

Mr. FIELDING: My question related entirely to the Lotbinière and Megantic railway. The minister says that $330,000 was the actual cost. Was that fixed by the Exchequer Court?

Mr. J. D. REID: No, it was only by our officials.

Mr. FIELDING: Then there has been no judgment by the Exchequer Court. The minister ought to be able to give us some testimony that this road is worth that money. My information is that it is not worth the money, and that an excessive price has been paid. I should like the minister to give us some information as to this company. Who are the directors, shareholders and officers of the company?

Mr. J. D. REID: We sent out Intercolonial engineers and staff over the work and had them make a valuation.

Mr. FIELDING: Has the minister any report of that?

Mr. J. D. REID: I presume we have a report in the department. I know the officials were ordered to go over the road and check up the valuation. The money, however, has not been paid yet, and as the hon. member has drawn my attention to the matter, I will see that there is a report as to the valuation before the money is expended.

Mr. FIELDING: Does the minister know who are the gentlemen chiefly connected with this enterprise?

Mr. J. D. REID: The Quebec Light, Heat and Power Company owned the three railways.

Mr. FIELDING: If the information that has reached me is reliable, the minister is paying an extravagant price for the road, and he ought to look well into the values of the road and also into the history of recent transactions in connection with it. When the Government are taking over a property, they might well look into the question of who were the former owners and what price they sold it for.

Mr. J. D. REID: I will do that.

Resolution reported

FISH INSPECTION ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. C. C. Ballantyne (Minister of the Naval Service), for the House to go into committee on Bill No. 50, to amend the Fish Inspection Act.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a pretty late hour in the day's sitting to bring up further business.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: This Bill was before the House some weeks ago and was referred to the Select Standing Committee on Marine and Fisheries. The Government are anxious to get the Bill through, and the committee have reported favourably on it. It is merely a Bill providing for compulsory inspection of fish.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Were the committee unanimous on the Bill?

Mr. FIELDING: I have a rather divided opinion about this Bill. As I remarked at an earlier stage, I know the object of this Bill is a good one in providing inspection, especially in relation to our foreign trade. I have some doubt whether the Bill is satisfactory to the fishermen generally, and that is also a matter of divided opinion. I know that the Bill was the subject of very keen discussion in the committee on Marine and Fisheries at the session of which I was not present; considerable feeling was manifested concerning it, and I think the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) was its principal antagonist. He has gone away, I believe, under the impression that the matter was laid aside, and I am rather sorry if we have to have a division on this now. Although I recognize the object of the Bill is a good one, I think we need some more education amongst our fishermen before they will be prepared to accept it. If the minister wishes to press the matter to-night, I can only press my objection to it on that ground.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—inspection of fish:

Mr. LEMIEUX: In connection with the inspection of fish, I have received several petitions from the Magdalen islands where the inspection of fish is made by gentlemen from Prince Edward Island. As my hon. friend knows, the mackerel of Magdalen islands is a very valuable fish and comes there in large shoals. The people on the islands are anxious that this inspection should be made by one of their own men on the islands, and it seems to me that they are entitled to their own inspector. I do not see why an inspector should be brought from another province for the inspection of fish in the Magdalen islands, and I think the request of those islanders should be granted. I know this matter does not come under this Bill, but I brought it up because we are speaking about fish inspection.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I shall be glad to bear in mind what my hon. friend says.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

SUPPLY—CONCURRENCE.

The House proceeded to consider resolutions reported from Committee of Supply.

Mr. FIELDING: Is the Minister going to go on with concurrence at this hour of the morning?

Mr. J. D. REID: It will only take five minutes.

Mr. FIELDING: Concurrence takes a good deal more than five minutes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I think we have done a good day's work. Let us adjourn.

Mr. DOHERTY: Gentlemen should not be weary in well doing.

Mr. FIELDING: If the minister wants to go on he can, but I am bound to say

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that a scandal which has too often occured —there was a good deal of discussion yesterday about scandal—if there is a scandal in connection with our Parliamentary affairs it is the manner in which during the last few hours of a session a great amount of important public business is rushed through the House and millions of dollars are voted. We ought not to be kept here at his hour doing this business. It is not fair to the House or country. There is only a handful of members present and we might have counted out the House two or three time's during the evening. There is no particular reason why the House should prorogue to-day, or to-morrow, or this week. We may be anxious to bring the business to a close, but our first business is to attend to business in an orderly and business like way. When the proceedings of the last few days go out to the people of Canada they will think that though we are getting more indemnity we are not earning it by attending to our business.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This seems an opportune moment for me to say a few words following the remarks of my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's, protesting against this bringing down of Estimates at the last moment and leaving the discussion of them to the very last hours of the session. This year we twice met the Government in the matter of agreeing to votes on account of the Estimates. If by any accident the Government should be in office next year, I would like them to understand that, so far as the Opposition is concerned, if we are here as an Opposition, we will refuse absolutely to give any votes on account, and the Government must me prepared to have its business ready for Parliament to consider early in the session.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE SUPPLY BILL.

On motion of Sir Henry Drayton, the House went into Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON moved:

Resolved that towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty on account of certain expenses of the public service for the financial year ending 31st March 1920 the sum of $15,875,999.03 be granted out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON moved:

Resolved that towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty on account of certain expenses of the public service for the financial year ending 31st March 1921 the sum of $321,980,760.61 be granted out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

Resolutions reported and concurred in.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 221 for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for the public service for the fiscal years ending respectively March 31st, 1920, and March 31st, 1921.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first and second time, considered in committee, reported, read the third time and passed.

On the motion of Right Hon. Mr. Doherty for the adjournment of the House

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I ask my right hon. friend if there is any business left?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not aware that there is any business left for us to discharge and therefore His Majesty's representative will to-day prorogue the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: At what hour?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is expected, at half past two.

Motion agreed to and House adjourned at 3.35 a.m. (Thursday).

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(7) House of Commons Debate on proposal,
Amendment by Mr. Fielding, ... May 17, 1929

House of Commons Debate in Committee of
Supply ..... Jne 30, 1920

House of Commons Debate in Committee of
Supply ..... April 21, 1921

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Mr. BROUILLARD:

1. What are the names of the lawyers for the Government in the Grand Trunk Railway arbitration?
2. What is the rate of remuneration of each?
3. Is any allowance made for the lawyers acting for the Government for expenses, travelling or otherwise? If so, how much in each case?
4. How much has been paid to each of the lawyers for the Government in the said arbitration to date?
5. What is the estimated amount required to cover fees and expenses of lawyers acting for the Government in the said arbitration?
6. What is the highest remuneration paid by the Government for an accountant in connection with this arbitration?
7. What is the name of the engineer receiving the highest remuneration from the Government in connection with this arbitration and what is the amount of his remuneration?
8. What is the highest daily rate of remuneration received by any engineer acting for the Government in this arbitration?
9. What is the highest daily rate of remuneration received by any accountant acting for the Government in this arbitration?
10. What is the highest daily rate of remuneration received by any lawyer acting for the Government in this arbitration?
11. What is the average daily pay of the Deputy Minister of Justice?
12. Were any members of the Quebec Bar employed on the Canadian Northern Railway arbitration at Toronto?
13. What was the total remuneration paid to lawyers for the Government in connection with the C.N.R. arbitration?
14. What is the total amount received by Mr. W. N. Tilley, K.C., for legal services to the Government since January 1, 1919?

THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY ARBITRATION BILL

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with, Mr. Speaker, I ask your permission to offer a suggestion to, and to make a request of, my right hon. friend the Prime Minister. I was not in the House last night, but I believe he intimated his intention to go on to-day with the Grand Trunk Arbitration Bill. I want to suggest to him that, in view of the great importance of this measure and the fact that it was introduced somewhat informally only two days ago and distributed only yesterday, and as many questions are being raised regarding our existing obligations, he might consider whether he is acting wisely in pressing the Bill at the present time. We might reasonably ask that it be xed for, say, next Tuesday; that would t be unreasonable notice for such an im- tant measure.

ht Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Prime ter): The important feature of the rovides that the arbitration tribunal e reopened if the provisions of the Bill are accepted by the Grand Trunk before May 16. Now, a certain notice is required for the Grand Trunk shareholders to hold a meeting legally, and my hon. friend will see at once that it is important that it shall appear just as soon as possible what the judgment of Parliament is upon the measure. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, that is of very considerable importance. I do not want to rush the Bill unduly, and for that reason I did not press to have it proceeded with yesterday; but I should like to have it taken up to-day. However, we can arrange the proceedings of the House so that I may not request to go on with it until this evening.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): With regard to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, may I ask my right hon. friend whether in the opinion of the Government the Grand Trunk Railway Company and the Government are still bound by the agreement of March 8, 1920? If this is a matter of legal opinion, perhaps the Prime Minister will state whether the Government has obtained legal advice from the Department of Justice or from other legal authority, and, if so, he might communicate such advice to the House.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not know that I fully comprehend the question, but, as I understand it, it is, whether we are bound by the agreement of March 8, 1920. I should say, generally speaking, that we are bound by the agreement because it was entered into legally on both sides. If there is any special phase of the obligations which the hon. gentleman desires to have information upon, I would suggest that he write to me, and I will have his communication submitted to the Justice Department and have an answer prepared at the earliest possible date.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I desired to know whether in view of the circumstance that certain proceedings had been discontinued in regard to the arbitration, the Government were of opinion that that discontinuance in any way released them from their obligations under the agreement.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Surely the hon. gentleman can see that it would not be in the public interest that the Government's opinion of its own legal position should be disclosed to the other side. Our opinion may be wrong, our opinion may be right —whatever it may be I do not see how it would be to the public advantage that we should state the position that we take as

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regards our legal rights under the agreement, at all events until they are challenged.

Mr. FIELDING: I may be permitted to state to the right hon. gentleman that the postponement of this Bill until this evening will serve no good end. If the adjournment which I have suggested is not to be granted, my right hon. friend may just as well go on this afternoon as this evening, for I think either course is objectionable. There is nothing to be gained by waiting until this evening if my hon. friend wishes to go on with the Bill now.

Mr. MEIGHEN: In further answer to the suggestion of my hon. friend, I may say that at his request the Government is prepared to defer the motion for the second reading of the Bill until to-morrow.

DR. GRAHAM BELL'S SECRETARY

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. W. F. COCKSHUTT (Brantford): May I ask the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) if his attention has been called to a despatch in the morning paper headed:

U. S. bars Secretary of Dr. Graham Bell. Miss Catherine Mackenzie Temporarily held up.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. It is not competent for the hon. member to bring up such a matter at this stage.

OIL LEASES

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. MEIGHEN: Some days ago the hon. member for Edmonton West (Mr. Griesbach) asked me a question on the orders of the day with regard to delay in the issuing of oil leases. I was not ready to answer the question at that moment, but I stated that I would do so at the earliest opportunity. It was alleged that there has been delay in the issue of leases applied for in the Fort Norman and Great Slave districts. The reason is this. The regulations provide that an applicant must stake his claim himself and within thirty days make application for a lease. If the claim is distant more than a hundred miles from the office of the recorder or sub-recorder at which he must make application, then he is allowed an additional day for each ten miles, or fraction thereof, that the location is distant. The Fort Norman district is distant about 1,300 miles from the city of Edmonton, the nearest office that has been created until now or until very recently. That involves the expiration of about five months before a lease could be finally issued, because otherwise there might be danger of a prior applicant having staked the ground. As regards the Great Slave Lake district, it would take four or five months for leases to be granted in order to be sure that there was no prior applicant. On account of the great distance from the recorder's office, however, a new office is being created in the northern district, and sub-offices, so that the difficulty as to time will be obviated in the future.

There has been some delay, as well, because it has been contended by certain lessees that the terms of their lease do not give them the rights that the regulations intended should be granted. That has been referred to the Department of Justice; I am not sure whether a decision has been come to on the point or not. That caused some little delay, but my opinion is that there are very few that have had to stand beyond the time which was necessary by reason of the distance of the locations from the recorder's office. It will be recalled also that the rent dates from the time of the issue of the lease, not from the time of location, so that applicants lose nothing in that respect.

SUPPLY

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES

House again in Committee of Supply—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Miscellaneous—Canadian Representation in the United States, $60,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: An appropriation was voted for this purpose last year. At that time the Government intimated that the matter was very urgent. May I ask my right hon. friend (Mr. Meighen) if any appointment at Washington has been made up to the present time?

Mr. MEIGHEN: There is some urgency in regard to the matter. I do not recall what was said in the House during the debate last year, but it is important that the office be filled. The reason the office has not been filled up to now, is merely that the Government has not decided on the best person to fill this very importan position.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then the C ernment has not made up its mind a who is to receive the appointment?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No.

Mr. CAHILL: Is the Government open for suggestions?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes, especially from the hon. member.

Mr. CAHILL: Then I would suggest that the Prime Minister go himself.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like to say a few words in regard to this subject, especially as it was considered in the House last year and perhaps not as fully debated at the time as its importance demanded. The progress of constitutional development in this country since Confederation has been as marked as the development of our natural resources; and perhaps few of us realize that within the lifetime of men who are members of this chamber, a British statesman of great eminence, occupying a very responsible position, reached, and announced in the Imperial House of Commons, the conclusion that responsible government in the sense in which we now understand it was inconsistent with the colonial status. Perhaps it might not be out of place to trace briefly, but I hope fairly and accurately, the progress of thought in Canada with regard to this particular question, and in connection with it the progress of thought respecting the negotiation by Canadian representatives of commercial treaties affecting this country.

As far back as 1870, on March 16, Mr. Huntingdon, then a member of this House, moved a resolution in the discussion of which the negotiation of commercial treaties was more or less confused and involved with trade questions. And indeed in looking over the debates—there have been quite a number—respecting the right of Canada to negotiate her own commercial treaties, I find that in most instances the constitutional aspect of the question has been more or less overshadowed by fiscal controversy. Mr. Huntingdon's resolution laid down certain principles of fiscal policy and looked towards the establishment of continental free trade in this country. Five days afterwards, on March 21, Sir Alexander Galt moved an amendment, which omitted some of the affirmations of trade policy but preserved the terms of the original resolution in the operative paragraphs so far as the question I am now considering is concerned. Those paragraphs are as follows:

That it is expedient to obtain from the Imperial Government all necessary powers to enable the Government of the Dominion to enter into direct communication for such purpose with each British Possession and Foreign State.

That in all cases such proposed commercial arrangements should be subject to the approval of Her Majesty.

Sir Alexander Galt supported the resolution in a strong speech, in which he pointed out that already representatives of the colonies in negotiating treaties had acted in a practically independent capacity. Sir John Macdonald opposed the resolution, largely on the ground that it was unnecessary and, further, because he thought that it would tend to weaken the ties between Canada and the Mother Country. He moved this further amendment, which will be found in Hansard of 1870 at page 583:

That all after the word "resolved" in the main resolution be struck out, and the following substituted: "That this House, while desirous of obtaining for the Dominion the freest access to the markets of the world, and thus augmenting and extending its prosperity, is satisfied that this object can be best obtained by the concurrent action of the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and that any attempt to enter into a treaty with a foreign power, without the strong and direct support of the Mother Country, as the principal party, must fail, and that a Customs Union with the United States, now so heavily taxed, would be unfair to the Empire and injurious to the Dominion, and weaken the ties now so happily existing between them.

The concluding portion of Sir John Macdonald's amendment emphasizes what I said a moment ago, that the constitutional question was more or less involved and overshadowed by the question of fiscal policy.

In 1871, the following year, Sir John Macdonald, with much misgiving and no small reluctance, became one of the British Commissioners at the conference which resulted in the Treaty of Washington He felt that his position as a commissioner acting under instructions from the British Government was somewhat inconsistent at times with his duty as Prime Minister of Canada. However, he stoutly maintained Canadian interests and one one occasion at least had a rather notable victory over his colleagues upon appeal to the Home Government.

In 1874, the Hon. George Brown, at the instance of the Canadian Government, was officially associated with the British ambassador at Washington in negotiating a treaty of commerce between Canada and the United States. If I remember correctly, the treaty was signed, but it was not ratified by the Senate of the United States. And as far back as 1869 Sir John Rose, acting for the Canadian Government, had

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The Treaty of Washington was followed by the Halifax Fisheries arbitration in 1877, in which the interests of Canada were represented by Sir Alexander Galt as the British commissioner. The case on behalf of this country was entrusted on that occasion to Canadian counsel; I do not think any British counsel were engaged.

In 1878, Sir Alexander Galt was commissioned to undertake negotiations with Spain, and afterwards with France, for better commercial relations. Lord Salisbury on that occasion was careful to say that "the negotiations must be conducted by the British ambassador in each instance." That position was, however, abandoned by the British Government before many years had elapsed.

In 1879, the Canadian Government, having appointed Sir Alexander Galt High Commissioner for Canada in London, applied to the British Government to have him appointed a commissioner when treaties were being negotiated in which Canada was interested. In reply, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, said:

> In reply, I have to inform you that it is not thought desirable to appoint a Canadian commissioner to take part in the negotiations of any treaty, but if your Government desire to send a person enjoying their confidence to advise with Her Majesty's Government, or with the British ambassador, on any questions that may arise during the negotiations, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to give attention to his representations.

Before many years there was a very marked advance from the view thus laid down by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

On April 2f, 1882, the Hon. Edward Blake in a notable speech moved an important resolution. The discussion which took place upon that resolution merits, I think, some attention. Mr. Blake's resolution was somewhat lengthy and I shall not present the whole of it to the House, but only the important feature. It began as follows:

> That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved, that Canada no longer occupies the position of an ordinary dependency of the Crown; she numbers four million of free men, trained in the principles of constitutional government; she comprises one-half of the North America Continent, including seven Provinces federally united under an Imperial Charter, which recites that her constitution is to be similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom; and that she possesses executive and legislative authority over vast areas in the North-West, out of which one Province has already been created, and in time others will be formed.

The resolution then proceeded to refer to the enormous resources of Canada, and to the necessity of careful attention to our own trade interests in the negotiations of commercial treaties. It emphasized the differences in fiscal policy between Canada and the Mother Country, it alluded to the very great complications and delays involved in the reference of certain questions to departments in the United Kingdom, and it concluded as follows:

> That it is expedient to obtain all necessary powers to enable Her Majesty, through her representative, the Governor General of Canada, acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council of Canada, to enter by an agent or representative of Canada, into direct communication with any British possession or Foreign State, for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements, tending to the advantage of Canada, subject to the prior consent, or the subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada signified by Act.

In speaking on this motion he used this language:

> But, Sir, objections are made to this.

That is, to his proposal.

> What are these objections? The first that occurs to me is the statement that our Envoy would not be treated with respect. I repudiate that suggestion. The Queen is the Queen of Canada as well the the Queen of England, and an Envoy sent by the Queen, through her representative in Canada, is the Queen's Envoy as much as if he would have been sent from the Court of St. James, and we need only ask that it should be so looked at, and that is the true constitutional view in which it is to be looked at.
>
> The authority is vested in Her Majesty; it is exercised by Her representative here in her name, upon the advice of the Queen's Privy Council in Canada, and obtaining his power our Envoy would be received with all the respect due to the Queen's Envoy.

Further on he affirmed:

> By proceeding in this direction . . . we shall be doing matters of business in a business way. I believe that we shall be acting on these same principles of growth and development to which I referred a while ago—that we shall be evolving those principles of vitality and development upon which the continuous growth and expansion of the Empire really depend; that we shall be proceeding in the direction of accomplishing that on which the maintenance of the Empire really does depend—such an organisation of its internal parts, such an arrangement of external regulations, such a system—unsymmetrical and full of anomalies, if you please, but partaking of the federative character—as will be calculated to make it continue and exist more and more, not indeed as the arrogant dominator over any power, but as the mighty moral force—proving, as well by its internal organisation as by its external relations, the truth by precept and example of those principles of freedom, justice, and liberality, which should sway the modern Christian world.

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An interesting debate took place. Sir John Macdonald, then Prime Minister, opposed the motion, principally upon the grounds. He urged that Canada had already in this respect all necessary liberty and full co-operation from the Government of the United Kingdom, and further he thought that the resolution would weaken the ties which united this Dominion to the Mother Country. In effect, he declared that it pointed to the eventual separation of this country from the British Empire.

Sir Charles Tupper, who succeeded Sir Alexander Galt as High Commissioner, was the Canadian representative and took a very independent position at the International Congress for the protection of submarine cables in 1883. Hon. gentlemen will observe that I am endeavouring to give the facts in chronological order. I am not following the association of subjects but rather the sequence of relevant events as they occurred from time to time.

In 1884 Sir Charles Tupper, still High Commissioner, obtained a fuller recognition of Canada's right to negotiate treaties with foreign countries. This right was recognized in a letter to the Foreign Office dated July 25, 1884, from which the following is an extract:

> If The Spanish Government are favourably disposed the full power for these negotiations will be given to Sir Robert Morier and Sir Charles Tupper jointly. The actual negotiations would probably be conducted by Sir Charles Tupper, but the Convention, if concluded, must be signed by both plenipotentiaries.

Hon. gentlemen will observe that a very great advance was thus effected upon the position taken by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who had declared in very emphatic terms that there could be no Canadian plenipotentiary in the negotiation of treaties.

In correspondence between the Hon. T. F. Bayard, Secretary of State for the United States, and Sir Charles Tupper in 1887, Mr. Bayard, in dealing with the difficulties which had arisen over the treaty of 1818, used the following language:

> In the very short interview afforded by your visit I referred to the embarrassment arising out of the gradual practical emancipation of Canada from the control of the Mother Country and the consequent assumption by that Community of attributes of autonomous and separate sovereignty, not, however, distinct from the Empire of Great Britain. The awkwardness of this imperfectly developed sovereignty is felt most strongly by the United States, which can not have formal relations with Canada, except directly and as a colonial dependency of the British Crown, and nothing could better illustrate the embarrassment arising from this amorphous condition of things than the volumes of correspondence published severally this year relating to the fisheries by the United States, Great Britain and the Government of the Dominion. The time lost in this circumlocution, although often regrettable, was the least part of the difficulty, and the indirectness of appeal and reply was the most serious feature, ending, as it did, very unsatisfactorily.

In the same letter Mr. Bayard expressed the expectation that Sir Charles Tupper would be appointed plenipotentiary of Great Britain in the negotiations with the United States, and deplored the delay occasioned by the roundabout manner in which the correspondence on the fisheries had been necessarily conducted. In reply, Sir Charles Tupper agreed that direct personal communication would save valuable time and render each side able to comprehend the needs and position of the other.

In 1888 Sir Charles Tupper was appointed plenipotentiary with the right hon. Sir Joseph Chamberlain in negotiating a treaty between Great Britain and the United States for the settlement of the fishery question on the Atlantic coast of North America. This treaty, however, was not ratified.

In 1889, on February 18, Sir Richard Cartwright moved a resolution which he supported by an important speech. I propose to make a brief reference to the resolution and to the debate which ensued thereupon. The resolution of Sir Richard Cartwright was as follows:

> 1. That it has become a matter of extreme importance to the well-being of the people of this Dominion that the Government and Parliament of Canada should acquire the power of negotiating commercial treaties with foreign states.
>
> 2. That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will empower her representative, the Governor General of Canada, acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, to enter, by an agent or representative of Canada, into direct communication with any foreign state for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements tending to the advantage of Canada, subject to the prior consent or subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada, signified by Act.

Sir Richard Cartwright's speech was very lengthy and the speech of my right hon. friend the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) in reply was also somewhat elaborate. The debate was not altogether free from considerable liveliness on both sides. Those of use who were fellow-members with Sir Richard Cartwright and the present Minister of Trade and Commerce in the days gone by have very vivid recollections of some exchanges of repartee in which they often indulged in those days. Sir Richard took the ground

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CORRECTION

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Mr. BROUILLARD:

1. What are the names of the lawyers for the Government in the Grand Trunk Railway arbitration?
2. What is the rate of remuneration of each?
3. Is any allowance made for the lawyers acting for the Government for expenses, travelling or otherwise? If so, how much in each case?
4. How much has been paid to each of the lawyers for the Government in the said arbitration to date?
5. What is the estimated amount required to cover fees and expenses of lawyers acting for the Government in the said arbitration?
6. What is the highest remuneration paid by the Government for an accountant in connection with this arbitration?
7. What is the name of the engineer receiving the highest remuneration from the Government in connection with this arbitration and what is the amount of his remuneration?
8. What is the highest daily rate of remuneration received by any engineer acting for the Government in this arbitration?
9. What is the highest daily rate of remuneration received by any accountant acting for the Government in this arbitration?
10. What is the highest daily rate of remuneration received by any lawyer acting for the Government in this arbitration?
11. What is the average daily pay of the Deputy Minister of Justice?
12. Were any members of the Quebec Bar employed on the Canadian Northern Railway arbitration at Toronto?
13. What was the total remuneration paid to lawyers for the Government in connection with the C.N.R. arbitration?
14. What is the total amount received by Mr. W. N. Tilley, K.C., for legal services to the Government since January 1, 1919?

THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY ARBITRATION BILL

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with, Mr. Speaker, I ask your permission to offer a suggestion to, and to make a request of, my right hon. friend the Prime Minister. I was not in the House last night, but I believe he intimated his intention to go on to-day with the Grand Trunk Arbitration Bill. I want to suggest to him that, in view of the great importance of this measure and the fact that it was introduced somewhat informally only two days ago and distributed only yesterday, and as many questions are being raised regarding our existing obligations, he might consider whether he is acting wisely in pressing the Bill at the present time. We might reasonably ask that it be fixed for, say, next Tuesday; that would not be unreasonable notice for such an important measure.

Right Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Prime Minister): The important feature of the Bill provides that the arbitration tribunal may be reopened if the provisions of the Bill are accepted by the Grand Trunk before May 16. Now, a certain notice is required for the Grand Trunk shareholders to hold a meeting legally, and my hon. friend will see at once that it is important that it shall appear just as soon as possible what the judgment of Parliament is upon the measure. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, that is of very considerable importance. I do not want to rush the Bill unduly, and for that reason I did not press to have it proceeded with yesterday; but I should like to have it taken up to-day. However, we can arrange the proceedings of the House so that I may not request to go on with it until this evening.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): With regard to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, may I ask my right hon. friend whether in the opinion of the Government the Grand Trunk Railway Company and the Government are still bound by the agreement of March 8, 1920? If this is a matter of legal opinion, perhaps the Prime Minister will state whether the Government has obtained legal advice from the Department of Justice or from other legal authority, and, if so, he might communicate such advice to the House.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not know that I fully comprehend the question, but, as I understand it, it is, whether we are bound by the agreement of March 8, 1920. I should say, generally speaking, that we are bound by the agreement because it was entered into legally on both sides. If there is any special phase of the obligations which the hon. gentleman desires to have information upon, I would suggest that he write to me, and I will have his communication submitted to the Justice Department and have an answer prepared at the earliest possible date.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I desired to know whether in view of the circumstance that certain proceedings had been discontinued in regard to the arbitration, the Government were of opinion that that discontinuance in any way released them from their obligations under the agreement.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Surely the hon. gentleman can see that it would not be in the public interest that the Government's opinion of its own legal position should be disclosed to the other side. Our opinion may be wrong, our opinion may be right —whatever it may be I do not see how it would be to the public advantage that we should state the position that we take as

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regards our legal rights under the agreement, at all events until they are challenged.

Mr. FIELDING: I may be permitted to state to the right hon. gentleman that the postponement of this Bill until this evening will serve no good end. If the adjournment which I have suggested is not to be granted, my right hon. friend may just as well go on this afternoon as this evening, for I think either course is objectionable. There is nothing to be gained by waiting until this evening if my hon. friend wishes to go on with the Bill now.

Mr. MEIGHEN: In further answer to the suggestion of my hon. friend, I may say that at his request the Government is prepared to defer the motion for the second reading of the Bill until to-morrow.

DR. GRAHAM BELL'S SECRETARY

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. W. F. COCKSHUTT (Brantford): May I ask the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) if his attention has been called to a despatch in the morning paper headed:

U. S. bars Secretary of Dr. Graham Bell. Miss Catherine Mackenzie Temporarily held up.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. It is not competent for the hon. member to bring up such a matter at this stage.

OIL LEASES

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. MEIGHEN: Some days ago the hon. member for Edmonton West (Mr. Griesbach) asked me a question on the orders of the day with regard to delay in the issuing of oil leases. I was not ready to answer the question at that moment, but I stated that I would do so at the earliest opportunity. It was alleged that there has been delay in the issue of leases applied for in the Fort Norman and Great Slave districts. The reason is this. The regulations provide that an applicant must stake his claim himself and within thirty days make application for a lease. If the claim is distant more than a hundred miles from the office of the recorder or sub-recorder at which he must make application, then he is allowed an additional day for each ten miles, or fraction thereof, that the location is distant. The Fort Norman district is distant about 1,300 miles from the city of Edmonton, the nearest office that has been created until now or until very recently. That involves the expiration of about five months before a lease could be finally issued, because otherwise there might be danger of a prior applicant having staked the ground. As regards the Great Slave Lake district, it would take four or five months for leases to be granted in order to be sure that there was no prior applicant. On account of the great distance from the recorder's office, however, a new office is being created in the northern district, and sub-offices, so that the difficulty as to time will be obviated in the future.

There has been some delay, as well, because it has been contended by certain lessees that the terms of their lease do not give them the rights that the regulations intended should be granted. That has been referred to the Department of Justice; I am not sure whether a decision has been come to on the point or not. That caused some little delay, but my opinion is that there are very few that have had to stand beyond the time which was necessary by reason of the distance of the locations from the recorder's office. It will be recalled also that the rent dates from the time of the issue of the lease, not from the time of location, so that applicants lose nothing in that respect.

[Mr. Meighen.]

SUPPLY

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES

House again in Committee of Supply—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Miscellaneous—Canadian Representation in the United States, $60,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: An appropriation was voted for this purpose last year. At that time the Government intimated that the matter was very urgent. May I ask my right hon. friend (Mr. Meighen) if any appointment at Washington has been made up to the present time?

Mr. MEIGHEN: There is some urgency in regard to the matter. I do not recall what was said in the House during the debate last year, but it is important that the office be filled. The reason the office has not been filled up to now, is merely that the Government has not decided on the best person to fill this very important position.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then the Government has not made up its mind as to who is to receive the appointment?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No.

Mr. CAHILL: Is the Government open for suggestions?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes, especially from the hon. member.

Mr. CAHILL: Then I would suggest that the Prime Minister go himself.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like to say a few words in regard to this subject, especially as it was considered in the House last year and perhaps not as fully debated at the time as its importance demanded. The progress of constitutional development in this country since Confederation has been as marked as the development of our natural resources; and perhaps few of us realize that within the lifetime of men who are members of this chamber, a British statesman of great eminence, occupying a very responsible position, reached, and announced in the Imperial House of Commons, the conclusion that responsible government in the sense in which we now understand it was inconsistent with the colonial status. Perhaps it might not be out of place to trace briefly, but I hope fairly and accurately, the progress of thought in Canada with regard to this particular question, and in connection with it the progress of thought respecting the negotiation by Canadian representatives of commercial treaties affecting this country.

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[Sir Robert Borden.]

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In correspondence between the Hon. T. F. Bayard, Secretary of State for the United States, and Sir Charles Tupper in 1887, Mr. Bayard, in dealing with the difficulties which had arisen over the treaty of 1818, used the following language:

> In the very short interview afforded by your visit I referred to the embarrassment arising out of the gradual practical emancipation of Canada from the control of the Mother Country and the consequent assumption by that Community of attributes of autonomous and separate sovereignty, not, however, distinct from the Empire of Great Britain. The awkwardness of this imperfectly developed sovereignty is felt most strongly by the United States, which can not have formal relations with Canada, except directly and as a colonial dependency of the British Crown, and nothing could better illustrate the embarrassment arising from this amorphous condition of things than the volumes of correspondence published severally this year relating to the fisheries by the United States, Great Britain and the Government of the Dominion. The time lost in this circumlocution, although often regrettable, was the least part of the difficulty, and the indirectness of appeal and reply was the most serious feature, ending, as it did, very unsatisfactorily.

In the same letter Mr. Bayard expressed the expectation that Sir Charles Tupper would be appointed plenipotentiary of Great Britain in the negotiations with the United States, and deplored the delay occasioned by the roundabout manner in which the correspondence on the fisheries had been necessarily conducted. In reply, Sir Charles Tupper agreed that direct personal communication would save valuable time and render each side able to comprehend the needs and position of the other.

In 1888 Sir Charles Tupper was appointed plenipotentiary with the right hon. Sir Joseph Chamberlain in negotiating a treaty between Great Britain and the United States for the settlement of the fishery question on the Atlantic coast of North America. This treaty, however, was not ratified.

In 1889, on February 18, Sir Richard Cartwright moved a resolution which he supported by an important speech. I propose to make a brief reference to the resolution and to the debate which ensued thereupon. The resolution of Sir Richard Cartwright was as follows:

> 1. That it has become a matter of extreme importance to the well-being of the people of this Dominion that the Government and Parliament of Canada should acquire the power of negotiating commercial treaties with foreign states.
>
> 2. That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will empower her representative, the Governor General of Canada, acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, to enter, by an agent or representative of Canada, into direct communication with any foreign state for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements tending to the advantage of Canada, subject to the prior consent or subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada, signified by Act.

Sir Richard Cartwright's speech was very lengthy and the speech of my right hon. friend the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) in reply was also somewhat elaborate. The debate was not altogether free from considerable liveliness on both sides. Those of use who were fellow-members with Sir Richard Cartwright and the present Minister of Trade and Commerce in the days gone by have very vivid recollections of some exchanges of repartee in which they often indulged in those days. Sir Richard took the ground

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that in North American affairs it was desirable that the interests of Canada should be dealt with by Canadian representatives. I quote from his speech as follows:

More than that I say, what is known to every member here, what is known to every man of common sense in Canada, that it is utterly impossible that an English ambassador, notwithstanding the fact that he may have enjoyed many years of experience, can possibly know as well as one appointed by ourselves either the wants and necessities of the people of Canada, or the particular feelings and prejudices which actuate the people of the United States.

Further on he said:

We need to have agents or representatives of our own at such a point at any rate as Washington, not to speak of other places with which we have important relations. That is becoming a necessity to us in the most ordinary times. Such is the magnitude of the interests between Canada and the United States that if there be one point on the earth's surface where it is important to Canada to have an agent who shall keep our Government well advised, who shall be responsible to the Government and people of Canada, who shall take his orders from us, and who shall know that it is his business to look after the interests of Canada and nothing else, it is there.

Again he said:

What, after all, do we ask for? We ask that Her Majesty the Queen of Canada, acting by and through the Parliament and Privy Council of Canada, should use her prerogative to appoint agents, as she most undoubtedly has the power to do, to deal with foreign states on our behalf.

The present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) replied at very considerable length to the arguments of Sir Richard Cartwright, and he based his non-acceptance of the resolution principally upon the following grounds: He did not think it was worth while that Canadian representatives should go roaming around the world trying to negotiate commercial treaties, and he urged that the progress made in having the interests of Canada in commercial treaties realized and considered by the Mother Country, had been very great. He noted and enumerated the occasions on which Canadian representatives had acted. Further, he urged the point very strongly that if Canadian representatives went alone to negotiate treaties with foreign countries, they would lack the support and backing which they otherwise would have if the methods pursued in the past were still continued.

In 1892, there were two notable debates, one initiated by Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Conservative member for one of the ridings of Simcoe, and the other initiated by the Hon. David Mills. Mr. Mills' resolution was very much along the lines of the resolution of Mr. Blake in 1882, and that of Sir Richard Cartwright in 1889. I think some reference to it would not be out of place, as Mr. Mills made a very important and comprehensive speech and the considerations in opposition to his resolution were put forward with much skill and force. The resolution which Mr. Mills moved, and which was an amendment to a motion to go into Commiteee of Supply, was this:

That all the words after the word "That" be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof: "it is expedient to obtain the necessary powers to enable Her Majesty the Queen through Her representative the Governor General of Canada, upon the advice of his ministers, to appoint an agent to negotiate commercial treaties with other British possessions or with foreign states, subject to the prior consent or subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada."

He explained that he used the word "agents" in the resolution because he desired to employ as broad and comprehensive a term as possible; that this

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word would cover every species of government representative abroad, whether he were a commercial or political agent, whether he were a person holding the rank of a permanent official or ambassador, or whether he were a plenipotentiary extraordinary, specially appointed for a specific purpose and the accomplishment of a particular end. In speaking on the motion, he made certain observations, which I should like to present to the committee if I am not unduly wearying them. He said:

I am about to ask the House to declare that the time has come when commercial treaties, in the interest of Canada, should be negotiated by persons who are responsible to the Government of Canada and for whose act the advisors of the Crown in Canada should be held responsible to the House of Commons.

Further on, he said:

The attributes which go to make a people into a nation cannot be assumed at will. The sovereignty of States is not a matter of legislation, or of official determination. States grow up by slow degrees from the condition of dependency to that of sovereignty.

And further:

They enter the society of nations whenever the time comes that they feel the want, and are prepared to undertake the responsibility which international obligations impose.

And further on:

But, Sir, we are met at this point by the objection that the external relations of all parts of the Empire must ever remain in the hands of Her Majesty's advisers at Westminster; that no other rule can be reconciled with the unity and stability of the Empire. This, Sir, it seems to me, is simply begging the question in dispute. I deny it. Were the contention well founded, it would only prove this, that the destiny of the British Empire is that its colonies shall reach a period of maturity, and that the Empire shall then fall to pieces.

Further on he made this observation as to the development which had taken place in the past:

When, Sir, we first set out to give practical effect to our claim to self-government, we confined our demands to our domestic affairs; we limited those demands by our local interests. We did so because these were sufficient at that time to meet all our governmental wants. They are not such, however, as to meet the wants of a community such as we have now become.

Later in his address he explained:

All I ask by the motion which I am about to place in your hands, Mr. Speaker, is that we shall give full play to those vital forces in our constitution which on account of our material growth and the increasing complexity of society, will impose on us the necessity of a larger power of self-government than we have, up to this moment, seen proper to demand.

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There are many other portions of Mr. Mills' speech which I have before me, and which are of especial interest indeed in view of the rather remarkable foresight which he displayed as to the path of future constitutional development; but I have already quoted pretty largely from his speech, and I leave further perusal of it to any other hon. gentleman who may be interested in the subject.

The attitude of the Government in reply to the motion of Mr. Mills was expressed in a very forcible speech by the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster). He entirely admitted that full representation of Canadian interests was necesary in the negotiation of commercial treaties, and, indeed, other treaties. He pointed out that Great Britain binds no self-governing colony to any treaty except by the consent of its Government. He argued that there must be but one seat of sovereign and absolute power as to treaties, and that seat must be in the United Kingdom itself. He further pointed out that representatives of Canada had gone to Washington, Madrid, Paris, the West Indies and Brazil, and in conjunction with the British Minister or Ambassador had carried on negotiations.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a very notable speech in this debate, a speech which has often been quoted. He regarded the proposal advanced by Mr. Mills as merely a step in a natural evolution; it was a step towards complete citizenship. He said that it might create alarm, but he pointed out that alarm had been created in the minds of many people not only in the Mother Country but in Canada at the institution of responsible Government, and he thought that there was no more cause for alarm in the one case than in the other.

Another debate which took place in that year, on a motion of Mr. Dalton McCarthy, is both interesting and important because it relates directly to the question now under discussion. On May 2, 1892, Mr. Dalton McCarthy moved the following resolution:

That, in the opinion of this House, in view of the vast commercial interests existing between the United States of America and Canada, and of the political questions from time to time requiring adjustment between the Dominion and the neighbouring Republic, it would tend to the advancement of those interests and the promotion of a better understanding between the two countries were a representative appointed by the Government of the Dominion, subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Imperial Advisers, and attached to the staff of Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, especially charged to watch, guard and represent the interests of Canada.

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be consistent with the proper relations which should exist between Great Britain and Canada.

The resolution moved by Mr. Dalton McCarthy is to be found on column 1,950 of Volume 1 of Hansard of 1892, and the amendment moved by Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper at column 2,467 of volume 2 of Hansard of the same year. Mr. McCarthy in support of his motion spoke of the enormous interests of Canada at Washington, interests larger than Canada had with any other power except the Imperial authorities at London. At column 1,951, he used the following language:

Although I realize the practical impossibility of the country making treaties irrespective of the Imperial power and of the Imperial authority, I do not see why we should not have a representative, not in any sense independent of, but acting in conjunction with the representative of the Crown at Washington, who would be specially charged to watch over and guard Canadian interests. That appears to me as a practical step, a matter which should meet with the concurrence, and I hope will meet with the concurrence of members on both sides of the House.

Sir George Foster, speaking next in the debate, sympathized very strongly with any desire to carry on, so far as it could be legitimately and properly done, the extension of Canada's power in regard to the management of her own affairs. He was not very strongly sympathetic with the resolution in the terms in which it was framed, and he pointed out the practical difficulties of our having an attaché of our own at Washington. For this reason, he favoured the appointment of a commercial agent.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier warmly supported Mr. McCarthy's resolution. He said, Column 1957;

For my part, I hail with great pleasure the motion of the hon. member for Simcoe. It seems to me that his proposition, though it does not go so far as I would wish, would still be of great advantage to the people of Canada at large, and a great improvement on the present state of things. It is manifest, and it must become more and more obvious, that the interests of Canada and the interests of Great Britain are of necessity on account of their respective positions distinct and separate upon many things.

Further on, in the same column, he used these words:

As I have said the proposition of the hon. gentleman is not perhaps as broad as I would desire, but I recognize the great difficulty which stands in the way. We are a colony of Great Britain, and it is impossible for us to have anything better than what is proposed. . . .

The hon. gentleman suggests that there should be a Canadian attaché to the British Embassy. The experiment is worth trying. I do not know how far it will work, but for my part I say that a great many of the difficulties which marked our relations in the past with the United States would be obviously overcome if we had such an agent.

Further on in his speech, he observed that the attaché should communicate through the ambassador to the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Canada. At column 1959, he spoke as follows:

I agree with the hon. gentleman that the question is one of very great difficulty. I am sure that this arrangement would not work as satisfactorily as I would wish it possible for it to work, but, as long as Canada continues to be a dependency of the British Crown I can think of no better method than that which is suggested here of Canada conducting her affairs in regard to our relations with the American people. Situated as we are, the remedy the hon. gentleman proposes will certainly have my support, and I think my friends on this side are prepared to give it their cordial support.

Mr. Weldon, of St. John, warmly supported the resolution, which also received the approval of Mr. Casey. Mr. Cockburn of Toronto also approved the proposal, as did Mr. Mills who expressed the following opinion:

It does not seem to me that there are the difficulties in the way of working out this question that have been suggested by some hon. gentlemen in the discussion that took place earlier in the session. I have pointed out before that the tendency at the present time, the evolution, if I may be allowed the expression, of our constitutional system shows that the exercise of executive authority with reference to external relations cannot always be continued in the hands of those who reside at Westminster and when the interests of any important colony are paramount, when it is the colony which is chiefly concerned, then it is the responsible government of the colony, and not that of the United Kingdom, which should control the negotiations for the settlement of the question. Now, it is because that is the case with Canada that I favour the proposition of the hon. gentleman. I do not say that, as worded, it is in all respects such as would occur to my mind; but I accept it generally as a first step necessary for the establishment of our control for the securing of a substantial voice in the management of our external affairs.

Mr. McNeil, a Conservative member, and one who was most strong in his support of the imperial tie, favoured the proposal and expressed the view that it would tend to the benefit not only of Canada but of the Empire as a whole.

Sir John Thompson spoke—column 1970—in favour of the appointment of an agent at Washington, but not a diplomatic agent. He considered that the practice of arranging that some person recommended by the Government of Canada should act with the plenipotentiary on behalf of Her Majesty had been satisfactory in the negotiation of treaties of late years. At column 1972 he spoke as follows:

I think the time is approaching when it may be desirable for us to have an agent at Washington as well as at other points in the United States, an agent appointed with the consent of the British Government, not clothed with plenipotentiary powers, but with such powers as a commercial agent is clothed with, and that, with the sanction of the British ministry, he should be at liberty to communicate to us any difficulties he may apprehend, any emergencies he may foresee, which an attache of the British minister could not do under the seal of secrecy which would be attached to the position he would hold on that staff:

And again, in the following column, he used this language:

I urge upon the House again that if we are to take the very important step of having a representative there, or in any other foreign country, we ought to insist that so far as confidence is concerned, he should be independent of the British minister, having a right to approach him daily and to receive communications from him, and the minister should be charged with the duty of giving him such information as can be properly given in the interest of Canada; but that we should not have him in such close relations that he must obtain the assent of the minister himself before he can make any communication to this Government.

It will be observed that neither Sir John Thompson, nor any one else went so far as to express the view that we should have at Washington a representative clothed with such powers as would enable him in respect of Canadian affairs, to approach directly the Government of the United States. Sir John Thompson thought also that the attaché would not be at liberty to communicate fully to the Government of Canada on account of the secret or confidential character of the information which would come to him. Sir Louis Davies, who spoke in the same debate, emphasized the great delay that occurred in connection with communications between the Government of Canada and that of the United States, and which in one case had extended to seven months before a reply was received. He argued very strongly that the step proposed was one of natural evolution, and he thought that a special attaché appointed by the Canadian Government, would necessarily be permitted to make representations on behalf of his Government. Sir Wilfrid Laurier later on in the debate expressed regret that Sir John Thompson had moved the adjournment, and he spoke as follows, at column 976:

The hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) has suggested the very best plan under the circumstances; that we should have, so far as we are able to acquire it under present circumstances, an embassy of our own at Washington in the manner he has suggested, an attache to the British embassy, reporting not only to the British Government, but to the Canadian Government as well. But what does the Minister of Justice propose? He proposes that Canada should have an agent at Washington. Of course, he would not be an accredited agent who could be recognized by the American Government. They could not treat with him; he could not approach the Secretary of State and have official relations with him. Of course, he could have confidential relations, he could communicate confidentially with the Secretary of State, if the Secretary of State chose to see him.

And Mr. McCarthy, who also spoke on the adjournment, urged once more that the proposal which he had put forward was a reasonable one. He said:

Granted now that no attache of the British Government could report except on the authority of the British minister, granted that everything he knows and acquires he is bound to hold under the seal of secrecy, of course that leaves matters as they are to-day. But if this proposition which I venture to present to the House is acceded to, a way and a means must be found by which the minister will permit, not in a hostile spirit, but will permit communications between the Governor General here, who is the head of our executive, and the representative we send to Washington. Now, I do not know where this may lead, but I have the greatest confidence that it will not lead in any way which will be injurious to the interest which binds us now so happily to the mother land.

Resuming the adjourned debate, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper urged the necessity of consultation with the British Government before any final action was taken. That was the proposal expressed in his amendment. He spoke as follows, column 2466-7:

I said that no hon. gentleman seemed to desire that there should be a direct diplomatic representative of Canada at Washington, but I may correct that, because, towards the end of the debate, the leader of the Opposition, if I understood him aright, proposed that there should be a minister appointed at Washington who should report direct to the Canadian Government.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier: Concurrently to the two Governments.

Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper: I think he will see that, if we were to demand that at the outset, the difficulty would be greater than if we simply proceeded to ask for the appointment of an agent as is now proposed.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in speaking on the amendment, at columns 2469-70, dealt with the difficulties of diplomatic representation as distinguished from those attending the appointment of a mere agent. Mr. Mills, of Bothwell, (col. 2471), made the following important declaration with regard to international usage.

There is no rule better settled in international law than this, that every Sovereign State shall speak to every other Sovereign State through whatever agency it may itself determine upon. It is not for the United States

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to dictate to us or to the Government of the United Kingdom whether it shall communicate to the Government at Washington through one or through two diplomatic servants. The Government of the United Kingdom may communicate through one or through two such officers. If an Ambassador Extraordinary is appointed you have two agents, both of whom are authorized to speak, one of whom will speak generally, the other, who is authorized to speak on a particular subject, will speak on that particular matter.

And further on he said:

But on questions relating to the sovereignty of Her Majesty on this continent, we are far more interested than the United Kingdom, and why should not the determination of that question be in the hands of the responsible advisers of the Crown here, just as the other question is in the hands of the responsible advisers in the United Kingdom?

There are other interesting observations in Mr. Mills' speech, but I shall not quote further from him. Sir John Thompson, speaking to the amendment, at page 2478, said:

I argued at the moment in reply that while we asked for an attaché, we might find that the powers which this House desired to clothe him with were quite inconsistent with the status of an attaché, and that therefore it was unwise to commit ourselves to the particular name and designation of the officer; and when the honourable gentleman asks me now what we are to communicate with the British Government about, I tell him that it is precisely to make that arrangement which he suggested in answer to me in that debate might be made with Her Majesty's Government, and the only impediment to which was the mention of "an officer attached to the staff of Her Majesty's Ministry."

Further on in the same column he said:

But the point on which we differ is this: We are not all sure, on the contrary, we are very doubtful, that the particular kind of officer we are willing to appoint shall be heard as representing Canada. If we are not able to get an officer who can be heard, we do not want any officer at all. We would not have sent as High Commissioner to England, one who was to be an officer in the Civil Service of Great Britain, in the position of a clerk in the Department of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Nor are we prepared to accept as our representative at Washington any person who is to be a mere servant in the British legation there.

Mr. McMASTER: We hardly hear you, Sir, you are dropping your voice.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: He said:

Nor are we prepared to accept as our representative at Washington any person who is to be a mere servant in the British legation there.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: At column 2479 he made the following declaration:

It is for the purpose of avoiding any expression which would limit the powers of this officer and narrow our expression of opinion by a name, that we desire that the House should not be committed to any particular terms describing him; but that we should ask Her Majesty's permission to have a representative, with the right of introduction to and communication with the Government of the United States, and the right to speak for us, subordinate, of course, to the minister there. Canada desires all these powers, and probably would not be satisfied with anything less if the country sends a representative there at all.

Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper's amendment was declared carried on division, Mr. McCarthy having expressed satisfaction therewith.

The arrangement in respect of which this appropriation is proposed was announced to the House of Commons on May 10, 1920, by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, acting as Prime Minister, in the following terms which had been agreed upon between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada:

As a result of recent discussions an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian Governments to provide more complete representation at Washington of Canadian interests than has hitherto existed. Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on advice of his Canadian ministers, shall appoint a minister plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the ambassador the Canadian minister will take charge of the whole embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by His Majesty to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose.

This new arrangement will not denote any departure either on the part of the British Government or of the Canadian Government from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the British Empire.

The need for this important step has been fully realized by both governments for some time. For a good many years there has been direct communication between Washington and Ottawa, but the constantly increasing importance of Canadian interests in the United States has made it apparent that Canada should be represented there in some distinctive manner, for this would doubtless tend to expedite negotiations, and naturally first-hand acquaintance with Canadian conditions would promote good understanding. In view of the peculiarly close relations that have always existed between the people of Canada and those of the United States, it is confidently expected as well that this new step will have the very desirable result of maintaining and strengthening the friendly relations and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States.

I venture to submit to this committee that the arrangement set forth in the statement which I have just read to the House meets all the difficulties which were raised

in the debate of 29 years ago. In the first place the Canadian representative is to be an envoy of the King. Mr. Blake, Mr. Mills, and Sir Richard Cartwright emphasized the view that an envoy of the Queen appointed upon the recommendation of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada would be received with respect in any country of the world. That view was not controverted nor could it be. In the next place, it is perfectly apparent from the statement I have read that the King's Minister, appointed on the recommendation of the Government of Canada is to be in confidential communication and in direct touch with the United States Government; that he shall report directly to the Government of Canada, and that every function which is ordinarily discharged by the British ambassador at Washington under present conditions in relation to Canadian affairs will be discharged in respect to those affairs by this minister acting in harmony and in co-operation with the British ambassador, but possessing a perfectly independent status so far as the affairs of Canada are concerned. He will not have any subordinate position such as an attaché would have even under the proposition of Mr. Dalton McCarthy—he will be the King's envoy to represent especially Canadian interests. This is not a step towards the disintegration of the Empire; it is merely carrying into effect the principle laid down in many of the speeches which I have quoted—the principle that where the interest lies there must be the responsibility and there also must be the action. So I venture to think that the proposal outlined in the statement that I have read to the House is one eminently in the interests of the Canadian people.

Mr. VIEN: Will the right hon gentleman allow me to ask him whether this implies that the Canadian minister will be attached to the British Embassy in Washington, or whether there would be a separate office for Canada at Washington?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: There will be, in connection and in co-operation with the British Embassy at Washington, a Canadian minister who will be specially charged with the duty of representing Canada and safeguarding Canadian interests. The statement which I have read speaks for itself; I should not think there would be any misapprehension as to its effect.

Mr. VIEN: Does it mean that the Canadian minister at Washington would have separate quarters and be quite independent of the British ambassador?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Those are only matters of detail with which I am not concerned at the moment.

Mr. VIEN: Would the Canadian minister be subordinate to the British ambassador at Washington in respect of Canadian affairs?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Not at all. He would be the King's envoy in respect to Canadian affairs. It is not expected that there would be conflict or difficulty between them, and in respect of Canadian affairs it might naturally be anticipated that the judgment of the Canadian envoy would be respected by the British ambassador.

Mr. VIEN: Did I understand rightly last year when, if I remember well, it was stated that the Canadian minister would be considered as an assistant ambassador at the office of the British ambassador?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I hope my hon. friend will be good enough to restrain his curiosity until I have finished my speech. I shall then be prepared to give him what information I can.

I have spoken of the debate in 1892. I shall go on step by step and show the various events of later date which bear upon this question. In 1892 Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, concluded in conjunction with Sir Julian Pauncefote, the negotiations which resulted in the Behring sea treaty. He also acted as the British agent, in the arbitration at Paris, in 1893. In 1893 Sir Charles Tupper negotiated an arrangement respecting commercial relations between France and Canada. At the Colonial Conference of 1894, the following resolutions were passed:

That provision should be made by Imperial legislation enabling the dependencies of the Empire to enter into agreements of commercial reciprocity, including power of making differential tariffs, with Great Britain or with one another.

That any provision in existing treaties between Great Britain and any foreign Power which prevent the self-governing dependencies of the Empire from entering into agreements of commercial reciprocity with each other or with Great Britain should be removed.

This apparently led to an important despatch of June 28, 1895, from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Ripon, to Canada and to the Australian colonies. Lord Ripon expressed the view that the power of negotiating treaties by colonies without reference to the British Government would give them

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an international status as separate and sovereign states, and would result in breaking up the Empire. Therefore such negotiations must be conducted by Her Majesty's representatives at the court of the foreign power. He agreed that such representative should have the assistance of a colonial representative either as a second plenipotentiary or in a subordinate capacity. He declared, inter alia: that any tariff concessions by a colony to a foreign country must be extended to Great Britain and the rest of the Empire.

In 1898 Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright and Sir Louis Davies were members of a Joint High Commission with Lord Herschell to negotiate a treaty or treaties covering several questions between the British Empire and the United States, many of which specially related to Canadian interests.

In 1903 the Alaska Boundary Treaty was negotiated under the direction of Canada, although the British ambassador at Washington acted as plenipotentiary. Sir Clifford Sifton, then Minister of the Interior, was appointed British agent in the subsequent arbitration.

In 1907 Mr. Fielding and Mr. Brodeur negotiated a commercial convention between Canada and France, and in 1909 a supplementary convention. There is a rather interesting phase in connection with that to which I might allude. Sir Edward Grey, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on July 4, 1907, addressed a letter to His Majesty's charge d'affaires at Paris. He spoke of the desire of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to open negotiations for a new commercial convention with the French Government and requested the charge d'affaires to endeavour to assist Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the attainment of his object. Then he used this language:

> You are doubtless cognizant of the Marquis of Ripon's despatch of June 28, 1895, to the Governors of the principal British colonies, in which it was laid down that commercial negotiations of this nature being between His Majesty and the Sovereign of the foreign State should be conducted by His Majesty's Representative at the Court of the foreign Power. A copy of this despatch is enclosed herewith.
>
> I do not, however, think it necessary to adhere in the present case to the strict letter of this regulation, the object of which was to secure that negotiations should not be entered into and carried through by a Colony unknown to and independently of His Majesty's Government.
>
> The selection of the negotiator is principally a matter of convenience, and, in the present circumstances, it will obviously be more practical that the negotiations should be left to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and to the Canadian Minister of Finance, who will doubtless keep you informed of their progress.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

I may say that subsequent events showed that the particular feature of Lord Ripon's despatch of 1895 has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. My hon. friend at my left (Mr. Rowell) tells me he is under the impression that it was modified by a subsequent despatch. I have made inquiry as to that, but up to the present time I have not been able to trace any such despatch.

In the same year, 1907, Mr. Lemieux, then Minister of Labour, if I remember correctly, went on a mission to Japan with respect to immigration from that country to Canada.

In 1909 there was a rather notable paragraph in the Speech from the Throne delivered by His Majesty the King to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It reads as follows:

> Satisfactory progress has been made in the negotiating of outstanding questions with the United States of America. A treaty to regulate the use of the waterways adjacent to the international boundary between Canada and the United States has been arranged. The question being one of special Canadian interest the advice of the Dominion Government was sought and followed upon it.

As a matter of fact the negotiations were carried on, if I am correctly informed, through the British ambassador at Washington it may be, but also directly by Sir George Gibbons, who acted under the instructions of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then Prime Minister.

I pause to say that I think the negotiating of that treaty and the establishment of the International Joint Commission was a very notable achievement of the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and I am not at all sure that either the people of this country or the members of this House realize adequately the immense advantages which have resulted from the establishment of that commission.

Now, I have under my hand a number of very apt and cogent and pregnant utterances of Sir Wilfrid Laurier with regard to the development of the powers of self-govesnment in respect to external affairs. I shall not quote more than one or two of them. Speaking on March 4, 1909, on the proposal to create a department of External Affairs, he said:

> We have now reached a standard as a nation which necessitates the establishment of a department of External Affairs. * * * Why have another department? I have simply to answer that such experience of Government as I have had leads me to believe that we have attained such development as a nation that in order to deal with these matters, we must have a department for the purpose.

He also spoke in 1910 of the important part taken by consuls of foreign countries resident at Ottawa in matters which ordinarily would be transacted through diplomatic channels. He regarded this as a natural development, and thought that it did not in any way operate to the prejudice of the unity of the Empire, but that it was of great advantage to the Government and to the people of this country.

Continuing the chronological survey, I might say that the North Atlantic Fisheries treaty of 1910, the Behring Sea International Convention of 1911, and the Sockeye Salmon treaty of 1920 were all negotiated by representatives of the Canadian Government in conjunction with the British ambassador at Washington, although in some cases he himself may have signed as plenipotentiary.

During the war, and particularly after the United States had entered the war, it became apparent that Canadian interests at Washington required special attention and consideration. Accordingly, in January, 1918, a Canadian War Mission was established under the chairmanship of Mr. Lloyd Harris. The organization has only recently been discontinued, although during the past two years the personnel has been greatly reduced. The mission had access to the departments of the United States Government so far as our interests were immediately concerned. It was not a formal diplomatic mission. It was created by Order in Council, and I may say that the terms of the Order in Council indicated a somewhat advanced status on the part of this country. I shall trouble the committee with some extracts from the Order in Council, as it is worth having of record with the other events and utterances to which I have referred.

It set out, in the first place, that many important matters affecting Canada's participation in the war were directly and continuously concerned with conditions and the course of events in the United States. It went on to assert:

> That out of such considerations there has arisen the inevitable necessity for frequent and prompt communication and negotiation between the authorities of the Canadian and the United States Governments. In view however of the extent and complexity of the war organization which has necessarily been developed by both, such negotiations are subject to serious delay if conducted through the usual diplomatic channel; for His Majesty's Embassy in Washington are obliged in the prevailing conditions to deal with an ever increasing multitude of important affairs not directly concerning Canada, and indeed the negotiations in question are not diplomatic in their nature but rather are largely of a business and commercial character requiring different, more direct and prompt treatment. As a consequence the custom, which had already arisen before the war, of arranging conferences from time to time between Canadian and United States officials for specific purposes of common concern, has since been greatly developed with marked benefit.
>
> The Prime Minister further observes that the development in all these respects, however, has been such that some more direct, less casual, less transient arrangement for securing the object indicated should be devised.

Then it recommended the appointment of a Canadian representative at Washington and expressed the opinion that the ends in view might be attained by the institution of a Canadian War Mission in the United States under the chairmanship of a man of high business qualifications and wide knowledge, experience and energy who should be directly responsible to the Cabinet. The Order in Council goes on to declare:

> 2. The chairman shall be empowered to represent the Cabinet and the heads of the various departments and other administrative branches of the Government of Canada in respect to negotiations relating to purely Canadian affairs which it may be necessary to conduct—
>
> (a) With the heads of the departments or other administrative branches, committees or commissions, or other officials, of the Government of the United States; or
>
> (b) With the other British or Allied Missions operating in the United States in connection with the war.

It further provided that the commission should endeavour to act in the closest conjunction with the British War Mission at Washington and avoid duplication of effort; further, that the chairman should keep His Majesty's High Commissioner and Special Ambassador at Washington generally informed of the main lines of his actions and should request the ambassador's advice or assistance whenever these might be required. The Order in Council also provided that the chairman should be entitled to be informed on all negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States in so far as they affected Canada. The mission was obviously, as I have said, not a formal diplomatic mission, but in fact its duties did extend even to questions usually classed under that head. There can be no doubt whatever that the mission, the members of which acted without remuneration, was of the highest possible advantage to both countries.

Then, Mr. Chairman, I shall refer to the resolution of the Imperial War Conference in 1917 in order that its terms may be before the members of this committee; per-

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haps we may occasionally be inclined to forget them. The relations between the British Dominions and the Mother Country were under consideration at that conference. After much informal discussion between the representatives of the dominions they finally agreed upon the resolution which I am about to read. That resolution was submitted to the Government of the United Kingdom and was finally passed unanimously by the Imperial War Conference in these terms:

> The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the re-adjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.
>
> They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such re-adjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing power of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.

Now, coming more particularly to the practical side of the question I venture to believe that the appointment of a minister with the power that I have mentioned will be attended with the greatest possible benefit to this country and will assist the supreme purpose of maintaining good relations between the British commonwealth and the commonwealth of the United States. Before the war Lord Bryce said that between two-thirds and three-quarters of the work of the British Embassy in the United States was taken up with Canadian affairs. It is possible that the proportion may not hold good to-day; nevertheless it must still be very large. Among the questions dealt with in recent years between Canada and the United States there have been the following:

The Chicago drainage canal.

Supplies of coal for Canada.

Levels of the Lake of the Woods.

The United States Merchant Marine Act.

Levels of Lake Memphremagog.

Exportation of pulpwood from Canadian Crown Lands.

Interchange and intercourse between Canadian and American railways, especially between the Canadian national system of railways and the railways of the United States.

Panama canal tolls.

Fishery questions on both seaboards and on the Great Lakes.

I cannot help believing that the presence of a Canadian minister at Washington armed with the powers foreshadowed in the statement made by Sir George Foster last year—a Canadian minister thoroughly familiar with the conditions of this country and its needs—would be of the greatest possible assistance, not only in settling difficulties and differences if they should arise, but in preventing the occurrence of any such difficulties. That is one of the main features of diplomatic action: by constant conference and association and also by the help of the personal touch which conference and consultation bring about, to have explanations made, to have points of view accepted, and to bring about amicable arrangements which otherwise would not be possible. I feel that it is highly important, as has been said by the right hon. Prime Minister, that the appointment should be made at as early a day as possible. Such representation will be thoroughly justified by and entirely consistent with the status of Canada under the resolution of the Imperial War Conference, but which she has acquired chiefly from the part she has taken in the war and at the Peace Conference. General Smuts, some months ago, spoke of the British Empire as an inner league within the League of Nations. That very well expresses the status of the nations of the British Empire at the Peace Conference upon that status that we rest our right of distinctive representation at the Capital of the great neighbouring nation with which our own affairs are so constantly and urgently associated from time to time.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My purpose is not to comment on the very able address of the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden) to which we have just listened. My right hon. friend has gone very fully into all the discussions that have taken place in this Parliament with reference to representation at Washington. I should like to ask him if he is aware of this Parliament having anywhere at any time considered the wisdom of having a Canadian minister at the British Embassy at Washington to act with respect to Imperial affairs in the absence of the British ambassador. I might refer concretely to this statement made by the then

acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) in this House on May 10 of last year:

> In the absence of the Ambassador, the Canadian minister will take charge of the whole embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests.

Is my right hon. friend aware of any consideration having been given to so wide a power being accorded a Canadian minister?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am not aware that the subject has been discussed in any of the debates to which I have alluded.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend mentioned that, in an appointment of a minister extraordinary, the responsibility should always lie where there was interest. I took his words down. He said: "Where interest lies, there will be the responsibility." Might I ask my right hon. friend this question: In the event of the Canadian minister acting for the British Government in the absence of the Brtish ambassador, to whom would he be responsible,—to the British Government or to the Canadian Government?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The language to which my hon friend alludes was used by the Hon. David Mills, although I adopted it later in my address. I remember distinctly that Mr. Mills made use of that expression. I cannot appreciate very well the difficulty which my hon. friend has. Supposing a Canadian were British ambassador at Washington; he would be responsible to the British Government; he would be responsible in a sense also to the governments of all the Dominions by reason of the consultation which takes place in respect of the interest of the whole Empire from time to time. The Canadian minister at Washington, in the absence of the British ambassador, would stand in the British ambassador's place, and he would have precisely the same responsibilities as those which would be imposed upon the British ambassador while acting in the same manner.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Would he be subject to recall by the British Government in the event of his taking a step which the British Government did not approve?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Such matters, I think, are not dealt with in that way. He would not be subject to recall by the British Government. If there was any difficulty of the kind which my hon. friend conjures up, I have no doubt such questions would be settled as all questions are, by conference between the two governments.

Mr. FIELDING: The right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden), besides giving us his impressions as to the usefulness of having an ambassador at Washington, has given us a very interesting review of the development of what might be called the self-government of Canada, especially in relation to commercial treaties. I am quite sure the labour that my right hon. friend has put into the study of this matter has given us a document which will be very useful by way of reference to those students who are interested in that class of subjects. He has shown very clearly the progress that has been made. That progress has been even greater than my right hon. friend has told us. To-day Canada is under the operation of treaties, and treaties of commerce too, in the making of which she had no voice whatever. They still apply and govern Canada. It was under those conditions, in view of the fact that treaties of that kind were governing Canada, that there grew up a very natural and proper feeling that Canada should have a larger voice in the making of treaties concerning her own affairs. It was out of that condition that there grew the development to which the right hon. gentleman has called attention. But that was a condition of the olden time. We outgrew that many years ago; we have outgrown it so fully that, speaking for myself, I am of opinion that we have got as far as we need to go to-day. We are right at the very verge of independence. There are some who wish to go further, and while I do not quarrel with them for holding that view, I do not agree with them; and I do not believe the majority of the people of Canada do.

5 p.m.

We have made great progress in the negotiation of treaties. My right hon. friend said that the principle laid down by some of the statesmen whom he quoted was that negotiations in regard to questions concerning Canada should be conducted by Canadians responsible to the Canadian Parliament. I entirely subscribe to that. That is the condition we have to-day; that is the condition we have had for many years. The statements of my right hon. friend, pointing out the many occasions on which Canada has been represented by her own statesmen, prove the truth of what I now say. For a long time —I could not at the moment fix the date, but it is certainly within the whole period of which I have any personal knowledge

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of the public affairs of Canada,—Canada has been recognized to have this right to govern her own affairs in the conduct of Canadian trade. If she has not had the right technically, she has had that right substantially for a very long time, and that right is so fully recognized to-day that I confess I cannot see what more she requires in that direction. Quite a number of cases come to my mind, but my right hon. friend has cited most of them, in which the right of Canada was recognized, even before we were entrusted with the representation of Canadian affairs by the public men of Canada. The principle has been accepted by the British Government for many years that the British Government would make no treaty having any direct reference to Canadian affairs, without putting into it a proviso that it should not apply to Canada unless the Canadian Parliament should see fit to accept it. There are treaties so broad in their character relating to Imperial affairs, that perhaps you cannot distinguish between the affairs of the Mother Country and those of the Dominion; but wherever there is a distinct and sufficient interest of Canada in any treaty which the British Government are making, the practice has been for many years to insert a clause to the effect that "this treaty shall not apply to Canada unless the Canadian Government and Parliament see fit to accept it". That was a tremendous forward step that was taken many years ago. In addition to that we have the direct representation of Canada in these negotiations, beginning many years ago, in the cases cited by my right hon. friend and coming down to to-day. There has been a great development along those lines and, as I said a moment ago, I do not see how we can go a step further without breaking the tie.

But in one sense there is no development. My right hon. friend does not quite appreciate the fact that to-day, in one respect, we are exactly where we were fifty years ago. We have the right to be consulted. We have the right to send our own representatives, the ministers of the Government of Canada, to participate in the negotiations. We have these ministers made plenipotentiaries under the sign manual of the sovereign. All that we have to-day, but when we want to make a treaty we are just where we were fifty years ago in all other respects. The treaty is made by His Majesty and is signed by His Majesty's Ambassador.

This week my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) brought forward a treaty that had been made with France. When you examined it, you found it was of no value whatever unless signed by His Majesty's ambassador. That is, we are just where we were fifty years ago as respects our relations with the Empire. There is no progress whatever in that respect. Speaking for myself, I do not want any progress in that respect; I do not want any treaty made with any foreign nation except through the instrumentality of His Majesty the King, acting, however, through the minister responsible to the Parliament of Canada.

There is another thought. Most of what my right hon. friend has quoted from the speeches of public men of former days, especially in relation to the United States, was all based upon an objective. What was it? Better trade relations with the United States. That is what we wanted in those days, and it was in order that we might accomplish better trade relations with the United States that these various speeches were made. Is that our condition to-day? The Canadian people have declared—I am not questioning their wisdom at all—that they do not want "any truck or trade" with the United States, and this House has practically put a seal on a document which says that we do not want "any truck or trade" with the United States. That is the fact. This House has resolved that it does not want any closer trade relations with the United States; the Canadian people have said so. So conditions have changed. If there were times when we needed our public men to go to Washington and discuss all these matters, it seems to me that that time has passed. We cannot go to-day and say to our American friends: We want to make a trade arrangement with you. They would say: No, we are very glad to see you, you are very nice fellows, but you did not want any truck or trade with us, and we now do not want anything to do with you. That is what they are going to say to us in the enactment of the Young Bill at Washington now.

Coming to the more immediate question of the ambassador at Washington, I have expressed myself on that subject on a former occasion, and I do not want to repeat at length what I then said. My view is that this proposal of an ambassador at Washington is not a useful one. My belief is that the interests of Canada can be served by a Minister of the Crown, after consulting with his colleagues at a Council meeting maybe, taking the afternoon train down to Washington and meeting the authorities in the United States, far better than by any official stationed at Washington who loafs around a great part of his time—and I do not say that offensively, because he will have lots of time in which he will have nothing to do. An ambassador of this country who goes to Washington must go there as a subordinate to the British ambassador. There is no help for it. We are a part of the British Empire. So grave a gentleman as my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) the other day made the preposterous statement that we are now a nation on even terms with the Mother Country. What a ridiculous thing to say! The word "colony" some of us do not like, but practically speaking we are a colony to-day, dependent on the Empire, and we cannot be anything else so long as the Empire exists. I am quite sure that any ambassador that we appoint to Washington, call him what you will, will of necessity have to be subordinate to the British ambassador. I do not think that is a desirable situation. I believe that to-day, if any one of these questions that my right hon. friend from King's has referred to should arise, the Prime Minister or one of his colleagues, after discussing the matter in Council, and ascertaining all that can be learned about the matter, and then taking the afternoon train to Washington to meet the President of the United States to-morrow, is in a far better position to represent the interests of Canada intelligently than any man living outside of Canada and who has very often little to do, because there would be very little for him to do. I press that strongly in the light of my own experience. I am satisfied that this experiment is not going to work out well. It is bound to cause friction between the Dominion and Great Britain. It is utterly impossible to have these two officials there, having due regard to our Imperial relations, without trouble arising between the two. As a mere matter of theory, it is a mistake; and when you come to the practical view, I say that the Prime Minister of Canada could go down to Washington fresh from a consultation with his colleagues, perhaps fresh from Parliament, and deal with the question directly in a far more efficient manner than could any gentleman whom we might appoint, and who would remain at Washington constantly. He would of necessity be a subordinate to the British ambassador, and I do not think that is going to work out well.

There is another view. It is a minor one, but I think it is worth mentioning. Washington, I think, is the most expensive city in the world for men in official life, and if we are going to have an ambassador there and want him to be able to hold up his head on even terms with the other ambassadors, we shall have to pay smartly for it. This will only be a drop in the bucket. He is bound to be an expensive luxury.

For all these reasons, and for the reasons I gave when I spoke on this subject on a former occasion, and which I do not wish to repeat now, I am persuaded that experience will show that this is a mistake.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I rise, not for the purpose of replying to the hon. gentleman, but merely to correct an omission in the chronological statement I was endeavouring to give of the development along this line. I suggest that the negotiations at Washington in 1911 to which my hon. friend has just alluded, illustrate rather an important development. In the speech from the Throne at the commencement of the session of 1911, reference was made to the desirability of more equitable tariff arrangements between the United States and Canada. Then followed in the Governor General's speech this significant passage:

> Following the negotiations which took place some months ago between the President of the United States and my Government the results of which were at the time communicated to Parliament, a further conference between representatives of the two countries has been held at Ottawa.

In the first place, the hon. gentleman will notice that allusion is made to negotiations between "the President of the United States and my Government." That certainly is a very remarkable advance in the development from the position set forth on some of the other occasions to which I have alluded.

Then further on, it is stated that there has been a further conference between representatives of the two countries at Ottawa—not a conference between the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States, but between the representatives of Canada and of the United States. I would like to say that I think my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's and his colleague, Mr. Paterson, were in effect plenipotentiaries at that time, although there was no formal treaty negotiated. The reason for that, I suppose, was that the arrangement had to be carried

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out by reciprocal legislation, but I am quite sure that I am within the limits of the truth when I venture to assert that the negotiations on that occasion took place exclusively between the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's and Mr. Paterson, on the one hand, and the representatives of the United States on the other hand, and that the British Ambassador at Washington took no part in it. I am mentioning this, not by way of argument, but merely as an incident of constitutional development which I should have introduced in its proper place in the summary I was endeavouring to give.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend's explanation is substantially correct. Mr. Paterson and I went to Washington feeling that we were going to deal with a tariff matter which was clearly within the right of Parliament. When any official from any part of the world comes to Ottawa to discuss any trade arrangement, he naturally comes to the Government of the day, and it would be our right to make an arrangement with him not in the form of a treaty, but in the form of a general understanding. As a matter of courtesy and as a matter of right we called on the British ambassador at once. He understood the matter thoroughly, gave us his blessing, took us to the President and introduced us, and from that time forward we were absolutely free to conduct negotiations, but always with the full knowledge on our part that if those negotiations should eventuate in a treaty, then unquestionably that treaty would have to be made by the British ambassador, acting in conjunction, as he no doubt would, with the Canadian representative. That is exactly the case with regard to negotiations in Paris. The British ambassador said to us: "Gentlemen, this is Canadian business, and I know you understand it better than I do. Whenever you want my help I am here to assist you; but it is your own business". And, as a matter of fact, he took little or no part in the negotiations. Of course, we took care to see, as a matter of courtesy, that he was kept informed. But after all, practically speaking, the whole thing amounts to this, that we cannot make a treaty without the ambassador of Great Britain. We cannot be in the Empire and not accept the responsibilities which that involves. I am not saying anything in a controversial sense, but my view is that we have to-day, in the making of commercial treaties, all the power that we ought to have or that is any good to us. The only thing is that we have no voice in

Imperial affairs, but that is nothing for us to complain of; we can have that voice if we want it; we can have representation in the Imperial Parliament if we desire to be represented there, for no one in England is raising any objection. But, so far, it has not suited our purpose to seek such representation, and I do not think that this House wants it. Anything that we are short of in the way of representation imperially is not due to any action on the part of the Imperial authorities; it is because we have no desire to have that representation. But I do not see that there is anything which we can have in relation to negotiations of treaties which we have not to-day.

Mr. ROWELL: I have had the pleasure of discussing this particular matter on two previous occasions in the House, and of making some observations in answer to my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding); and perhaps I may request the privilege of taking a further opportunity of dealing with the subject. At the same time, I rise to urge upon the Government the very great importance of making this appointment, and making it without delay in the interests of Canada, and of the Empire. I can conceive of no matter of more immediate and urgent importance to us than the question of our relations with our great neighbour to the south, touching a great many questions of common concern at the present time. And I believe that an occasional visit by a Canadian minister to Washington, important and valuable as that may be, will not at all take the place of permanent representation there by a Canadian representative qualified for the post, and constantly protecting our interests and keeping us fully informed of the current of sentiment there. I have said that this is important, and I believe it is urgent.

Turning aside for the moment from the theories and constitutional aspect of the question, and looking at it from the practical standpoint, what is the situation we face to-day? Let me remind you of the actual situation. Here we are, a country stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and touching the United States for the whole distance across the continent, with a common boundary of approximately 3,900 miles. And on the west, we have a common boundary, between Alaska and Canada, of approximately 1,500 miles. So that, as between ourselves and our great neighbour to the south of us, we have a common boundary of 5,400 miles. Our citizens are constantly crossing that boundary into the

United States, and American citizens are coming into Canada, in order to do business and communicate with one another along all the various lines of intercourse that exist between two friendly nations. Not only is there this common boundary and close contact, but the fact is that we do the largest part of our trade with the United States, we do a larger trade with her than with any other country in the world. I do not wish, in the discussion of this matter, which is one not only of great constitutional but also of supreme practical importance, to enter upon any consideration of questions of trade, tariffs, and so on, I think my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's hardly did himself justice when he said that this House had declared against any trade with our neighbours to the south.

Mr. FIELDING: "Truck or trade".

Mr. ROWELL: Well "truck or trade". I shared the views of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's in 1911, in regard to that agreement.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: But, at the same time, this House has never declared itself as opposed to any trade with the United States. There was a difference on a great question of public policy; I took one view and other hon. members of this House took the other. But we are dealing, not with the theory of trade, not with any particular policy, but with the facts of trade; and the outstanding fact of trade to-day is that we do a larger business with the United States than with any other country in the world. As has already been pointed out in this House, the United States does a larger business with Canada than she does with all the Central and South American Republics.

Mr. JACOBS:—put together.

Mr. ROWELL:—put together. The United States trade with us a year ago was second only to her trade with Great Britain. I do not know what the figures disclose this year, but I have heard it suggested that they reveal the fact that Canada has a larger trade with the United States than even Great Britain. I am not aware of the precise facts, but, whatever they may be, there is the great fact of this enormous trade, which is bound to go on, no matter what tariff walls may be erected on either side of the line. Two great peoples, of common stock and common ideals, will trade with each other to a large extent, no matter what tariff policies may be adopted on either side. That is a fact; let us recognize facts and get away, for the time being, from theories. You have, therefore, a common boundary, and a mutual trade, and also naturally and inevitably by reason of our proximity one to the other, a large number of questions which constantly arise between us and which require consideration by the respective Governments.

Let me say at this juncture, in passing, that I feel that all members of the House are deeply indebted to the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden), for the exhaustive research he has made into this question, and the opportunity he has given us to study it in the record he has put upon Hansard, covering the whole situation. As I have said, these important questions are constantly arising, and in a moment or two I shall touch upon some of them.

Then there is this fact, which I venture to think few serious students of international affairs will deny, that during the remainder of this century—perhaps not within the next decade, but, at any rate, before very long—the centre of the political and commercial activity of the world will pass to a great extent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Many of the most important and significant political events of the next half century, at least, will be enacted on the Pacific. Now, who are the powers on the Pacific? Canada is more vitally interested in the North Pacific problem than is any other portion of the British Empire. She is more vitally interested in the problems of the North Pacific than is either Great Britain, or Australia, or New Zealand. Australia and New Zealand have a vital interest in questions affecting the South Pacific, but, so far as the North Pacific is concerned, Canada has a tremendous interest. Canada and the United States lie on one side, and Russia, China and Japan on the other; and in all the problems that arise affecting the Pacific the people on this continent will find that they have largely common interests. It may be that we shall find that men of common race, language, and ideals are largely interested in the same things; but, whether we are or not, it will be of tremendous importance to us to know what are the ideals and views and policies of our great neighbour to the south of us on questions of international concern.

Now what is the situation? According to my hon. friend from Shelburne and

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Queen's we have no constitutional right to speak with the people to the south unless we do it by cable across the ocean and through the Government sitting in London.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend is not correct, I said nothing of the kind. I do not want to interrupt my hon. friend—

Mr. ROWELL: I quite agree, my hon. friend did not express it in those words—

Mr. FIELDING: No.

Mr. ROWELL: But I think that is the logical deduction—

Mr. FIELDING: No.

Mr. ROWELL: —from my hon. friend's argument. If we are only a colony, if we are only a dependency, we have no right to speak except through London.

Mr. FIELDING: Will my hon. friend permit me a question? Could not the Parliament at Westminister write the Constitution of Canada of the statute book almost by a single stroke of the pen?

Mr. McMASTER: Then we shall make another for ourselves.

Mr. ROWELL: I say without any hesitation, no. I say it is clear as any constitutional principle in British Constitutional practice that while the authority for legislation is still in the Imperial Parliament, they have no constitutional right to repeal the British North America Act. They have no more right to pass, for instance, a Customs law for Canada than we have to pass a law regulating the running of tramways on the streets of London—absolutely none.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not dispute that for a moment. But it is not a question of the legal right, we are talking of the power of Parliament, and the Parliament at Westminister can wipe this Constitution off the slate if it chooses.

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend has followed constitutional development at all, I do not think he will dispute the proposition that legal power is controlled by constitutional right. My hon. friend may say that His Majesty the King has the power to veto every piece of legislation passed by the Imperial Parliament. He has the legal authority to do that, but not the constitutional right. If he undertook to veto all the legislation passed by the British Parliament, to set at defiance the will of that Parliament, I am afraid, with all respect, he would suffer the same fate as one of the sovereigns of England did many

years ago. In other words, you cannot settle these questions on the basis of legal power, you must consider the constitutional rights. In that respect our constitution differs from the American constitution. It is the great virtue of our constitution that it is flexible, and that it grows, and develops. It is therefore suitable to meet the needs of a growing, developing country, not only in the Mother Land but throughout all the dominions of the Empire.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Might I ask the hon. gentleman a question? Speaking of our interests in the northern Pacific, I understood my hon. friend to say that those interests were akin to those of the United States of America. Now in case of a conflict of interests and ideas between the United States and Great Britain, the latter being an ally of Japan, how would Canada stand in the matter?

Mr. ROWELL: I did not say our interests were akin, I said they probably would be akin, to those of the United States. If my hon. friend has followed the recent discussion in Great Britain and in Japan, he will recall that not only the British Government, but the Japanese ambassador in London, Baron Hayashi, has made the declaration that even under the existing treaty the alliance has no application to a difference, if one should arise, between Japan and the United States—that such a contingency is not one in which the British Empire would be involved. I think this is a sufficient answer to my hon. friend.

Now, on the question of our status which the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's has raised and on which he has stated his opinion so emphatically, let me quote you the opinion of one of the most distinguished British jurists, Sir Frederick Pollock—and this is not a recent opinion, it is nearly ten years old,—He said:

> Leave the conventions alone and look at the facts, and we find the self-governing colonies are, in fact, separate kingdoms, having the same King as the parent group, but choosing to abrogate that part of their full autonomy which relates to foreign affairs. The House of Commons could no more venture to pass a Bill altering the Australian Marriage laws, or the Canadian tariff, than the Dominion Parliament could legislate on London tramways.

Mr. FIELDING: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: There is the opinion of a distinguished British jurist.

Mr. FIELDING: They would not, not that they could not.

Mr. ROWELL: Just let me repeat. He says:

> The House of Commons could no more venture—

An hon. MEMBER: "Venture."

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, "venture." Do not let anybody misunderstand. The Imperial Parliament has the residuary power of legislation, so to speak—

Mr. FIELDING: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: It has the residuary power, so to speak. But the use of that power is limited by constitutional convention, constitutional custom, and constitutional right. The Imperial Parliament has no right to use that power except in accordance with the well-settled and well-developed principles of our constitution.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Does Pollock speak of "the Kingdom of Canada"?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, he does.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well, that is the Ewart doctrine.

Mr. ROWELL: I do not think it is. However, I do not want to enter into any discussion in this House of Mr. Ewart's views; we are sufficiently concerned in settling our own immediate problems. That was Mr. Mills' view.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I do not object to that.

Mr. ROWELL: That was also Sir John Macdonald's view. He wanted Canada called "The Kingdom of Canada."

Mr. LEMIEUX: Hear, hear. I do not object to that.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Will my hon. friend read again that part of Sir Frederick Pollock's opinion which had any relation to external affairs.

Mr. ROWELL: He says:

> Leave the conventions alone and look at the facts, and we find the self-governing colonies are, in fact, separate kingdoms, having the same King as the parent group, but choosing—

That is voluntarily, I draw attention to the use of the word.

> —but choosing to abrogate that part of their full autonomy which relates to foreign affairs.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Does my hon. friend propose to choose differently now?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

Mr. ROWELL: Let me finish the sentence.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I am sorry to interrupt.

Mr. ROWELL: I want to answer my hon. friend's question but I would like first to finish reading the quotation, I want to make it complete. (Reading)

> The House of Commons could no more venture to pass a Bill altering the Australian marriage laws, or the Canadian tariff, than the Dominion Parliament could legislate on London tramways. The sovereignty is a figment. The states of the Empire—

Mr. LEMIEUX: The sovereignty is what?

Mr. ROWELL: He says:

> The sovereignty is a figment.

I quoted this in answer to my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's. He says that we do not stand on an equal footing, this eminent British jurist says we do stand on an equal footing. He goes on to say:

> The states of the Empire stand on an equal footing, except that the Government of one of them represents all the rest of the community of nations, and is gracefully permitted, in consequence, to undertake and to pay for maritime defence.

Referring to the point raised by the hon. member for Red Deer—I want to answer it, although it is a little out of the line of my present argument—my submission is this. That just as the needs of the Dominions require that they should exercise more authority in connection with foreign affairs than they have hitherto exercised, then they should choose to exercise it on their own account, in co-operation always with the Mother Country. That is exactly the line of our constitutional development. As we have required to exercise a larger measure of power we have exercised it with the full concurrence of the Mother Country; and that is the spirit of the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1917.

Now, coming back to the practical aspect of the question which I was discussing, I pointed out that according to the theory of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's, as I understood it, we had no right to speak with this neighbour—with whom we must continue to deal in ever-increasing measure—on all matters of common concern except through the authority of the Mother Country. Frankly, that is an impossible situation. The fact that we have been steadily dealing with these matters in an indirect and spasmodic manner, as outlined by the right hon. member for King's, N.S., shows that it is an impossible situation. My hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's recognized it was impossible by stating that the thing to do was for a member of this Government to take train to Washington and

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settle any question that might arise. Now, if it is a good thing to have a Canadian representative in Washington for five days in the year to look after Canadian business, and if the British constitution will not be wrecked by that visit, I cannot see how it is going to be wrecked by our Canadian representative being there 365 days in the year. If it is a good thing in the interests of Canada for him to be there five days, certainly I think it is going to be an equally good thing in our interests for him to be there 365 days in the year. I would like to commend to my hon. friend some advice given very long ago by François de Callieries, a distinguished French diplomat, in a book originally published in 1716, and republished in 1919. This question of permanent representation is thus discussed by him:

> Now, if a monarch should wait, before sending his envoys to countries near and far, until important events occur, it will be found that the negotiators sent thus at the eleventh hour on urgent occasions, have no time to explore the terrain or to study the habits of mind of the foreign court or to create the necessary liaisons or to change the course of events already in flood.

I submit that those words have direct application to the situation before us to-day. If we are to do our business with our neighbours we must be in constant touch with them, to understand their point of view and to give them the benefit of our point of view, rather than send down an envoy from time to time to settle disputes. Our object should be to so conduct our relations that acute difficulties would not arise. In other words, we should endeavour to preserve a good understanding rather than seek to preserve the peace after real difficulties have arisen.

The very facts of the case show the present situation is impossible; and our own experience proves it. This proposal is to put the conduct of our relations on a much more regular and permanent basis, by having a Canadian representative constantly at Washington. Let me give an illustration. I am afraid it will not appeal to the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's, because he thinks in this respect Canada is in error. The question of our voting rights in the League of Nations is of very great moment to us. That question has been under discussion by the Senate and the Congress of the United States for months, but Canada has never been in a position to make any representation to the American Government, except through the British ambassador. Yet it is of the greatest importance that we should get our point of view clearly before the members of the American Government. What is the object of a permanent representative? It is to maintain good relations and so avoid the danger of questions developing to an acute stage. In my humble judgment it is a misfortune that we have not had a representative at Washington before this question arose. Take the important question of trade that is coming up now in connection with the American tariff. Of course, it is a question for the American people to settle for themselves. But all these questions affect us, and we should have our representative at Washington just as other countries have their representatives there, to keep us advised, in order that our views may be made known to the American Government through the usual channels.

My hon. friend speaks of the expense. With a trade of a billion dollars a year, what is $50,000, $60,000, $100,000 or $200,000? If this country is going to grow and be worth while we must spend more money than we are spending now on our relations with other countries. The department of External Affairs created by Sir Wilfrid Laurier must grow and expand for the protection and conservation of Canadian interests.

Let me mention another matter. We have to-day certain questions—

Mr. LEMIEUX: I do not wish to interrupt my hon. friend, but as I am interested in that portion of his argument which he is just leaving, I would like to put a question to him before he passes on to his next point.

Mr. ROWELL: Certainly.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The hon. gentleman says that we should have at Washington a representative to watch our interests and come to some understanding on any vexed questions that may arise between the American Government and our own Government. I suppose that he refers chiefly to commercial questions. Now, suppose our Canadian representative is appointed, and that in dealing with those commercial questions the interests of Canada are in conflict with the interests of the Mother Country, in what position would our representative be if he shares with the British ambassador the responsibilities of the embassy?—because I understand that he will be acting for both Great Britain and Canada. Does not my hon. friend see that a series of conflicts and embarrassments might arise between ourselves and the Mother Land?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not apprehend the troubles to which my hon. friend referred. The Canadian representative would have no authority to enter into a controversy with the British Ambassador, and I think that the converse also would be true. If any question or difference did arise, that would naturally, properly, inevitably, come back to the Government of Canada and the Government of Great Britain and would be settled between them just as all questions are settled from time to time, by conference and negotiation. Trouble would not arise, therefore, in the way my hon. friend has mentioned.

What are the functions of such a minister? He would take part in the negotiation of specific questions arising between the two governments—the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States—acting upon instructions from the Government of Canada, in the same way as a minister would who went down to deal with a specific matter. But in addition, he watches events; when necessary he makes representations to his own government as to the trend or course of events in order that they may anticipate difficulties; and by removing misunderstanding at the outset he may often prevent what would otherwise become a protracted point of difference. Then, he transmits to his government from time to time reports of legislation and executive acts. He keeps the Government here fully advised as to what is being done by the Government at Washington—that is a proper function of a diplomatic representative. He also furnishes such general reports as a diplomatic agent sends home with regard to social, industrial and economic questions that may be of interest to his government. He may negotiate treaties if he is instructed by his government to do so, either alone or assisted by a representative sent by his government to co-operate with him.

May I point out that one of the grave difficulties in connection with our present arrangement is the lack of continuity. Every business man knows that if you have important negotiations to carry on, if you have important relations to maintain, continuity of touch, of interest and of sympathy is of the utmost importance; and to bring this about a permanent representative is necessary. And then, there is the bearing that the personal touch, personal association, has upon the maintaining of good relations. May one draw a lesson from our experience at Geneva? The position at the close of the Assembly was entirely different from that which prevailed at the opening. We did not know each other at the first meeting; we had not sized each other up, so to speak; we had not learned to appreciate each other's point of view. It was only when we got really acquainted with each other, so far as we could in that brief space of time, that business proceeded smoothly and satisfactorily. So that the establishment of personal relation, of personal contact, is of the greatest possible advantage.

The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has suggested that this arrangement might imperil our relations with the Mother Country. One can only give an opinion, but from my reading of our constitutional history and from the facts of our own experience I would come to an entirely different conclusion. My judgment is that it would not impair but would rather tend to improve the relations not only between Canada and the Mother Country, but also between Canada and the United States. That is the last point that I want to emphasize. One of the most important problems in the world to-day, having regard not only to the relations between the different Anglo-Saxon peoples, but to the peace of the world, is the maintaining of good understanding between the peoples of the British Empire and the United States. Providence has made us, so to speak, a liason nation. Providence has placed us side by side with the great American Republic. In the course of our political development we have retained our connection with the Mother Country, and that enables us to understand their view, their attitude, their ideals and their policies on international questions as the people of the United States, I venture to say, do not understand them. We are able to appreciate the point of view of the Mother Country in a way that the people of the United States do not. On the other hand, our close contact and constant intercourse with the American people enables us to understand them and their ideals in a way, I have no hesitation whatever in saying, that the people of the Mother Country do not understand them. One has only to come in contact with the public men of both nations to appreciate the tremendous importance of each trying to understand the other and to appreciate the other's point of view. Canada has a unique, a providential opportunity; if we fail to take advan-

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tage of it we shall lose one of the greatest opportunities that has ever come to us or ever will come to us to assist in maintaining a good understanding between the British Empire and the United States, not only for the benefit of Canada and the British Empire, but for the peace and progress of the world.

I believe that a Canadian minister at Washington, in touch with the American Government, in constant touch with the British ambassador and in continuous communication with his own Government, would be a means of interpreting one nation to the other so that we may march together, rather than work at cross purposes, toward the attainment of the high ideals which, after all, we do hold in common. Many things do arise which tend to irritate us and to disturb our relations, but fundamentally our ideals are common ideals and it should be our God-given privilege to help bring about whole-hearted co-operation among all branches of the Anglo-Saxon world.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Could my hon. friend give us one or two concrete examples of questions arising specifically between the United States and Canada which would be better handled under the arrangement which he contemplates than they are being handled at the present time?

Mr. ROWELL: I will give one. The supply of Canadian pulp and paper to the American press became a very difficult and acute question. In my humble judgment, this possible difficulty might have been wholly avoided if we had a Canadian representative at Washington all the time, watching the situation and keeping the American Government fully informed as to our views and the reasons for our policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is it the intention to proceed with this discussion at eight o'clock?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes. I had hoped to proceed with the next item if possible.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess

The committee resumed at Eight o'clock.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I am sure everybody will agree with me that the committee is indebted to the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden) and the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell), for the very excellent and instructive addresses which they gave us this afternoon. I agree with most of what those two hon. gentlemen said; but unfortunately they are, to a certain extent, men of the past in spite of the very eminent position which they occupy in this country, and I should like to know whether my right hon. friend (Mr. Meighen), who is Minister of External Affairs and who speaks now for the Government and for Canada, agrees with the position taken by both the hon. member for King's and the hon. member for Durham. We have not been fortunate enough to have a statement from the Prime Minister as to this appointment at Washington. Why is it that the appointment has not been made, and why is it that the item which was formerly $80,000 has been reduced to $60,000? Perhaps next year it will be $40,000, and by a slow process of suicide, to use the expression of the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark), the Government is going to kill its own child.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I was not able to be in the House during all the address of the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden). I am not quite certain, but I think I was present during all the address of the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell). I did not hear anything in either address with which I did not agree. I did not hear any sentiments uttered that were at all at variance with my views. There may have been something which I did not altogether catch.

As regards the explanation of the reduction, I am always glad, not only to note, but to explain reductions. This year the War Mission at Washington, which was appointed for the purpose stated by the right hon. member for King's, has been discontinued; it has been wound up. Such purposes as remained after the main purpose was gone, did not seem to me sufficient to warrant the continuance of the office and, consequently, there will not be any office until an appointment is made to this post. That, however, does not explain the difference in the Estimate, because it is intended to make the appointment. What explains the difference is that there was created—I cannot recall just when, but before the last Estimate was passed a year ago—a press bureau in the city of New York. That has been discontinued as a press bureau. It has been transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce. As time went on, its work developed more along trade channels than any other; its usefulness was manifestly along those lines. I had an investigation made as to its work and a report made to me verbally

by Col. Cooper who was in charge, and as a result, I took the recommendation of each and had that bureau transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce. Twenty thousand dollars is deducted on that account.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Will my right hon. friend give the reason why the appointment has not been made?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I forgot that. I gave it this afternoon to the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King). There is one reason and one only, namely that the Government has not been able to decide as to the best man and when I speak of that, I mean available to occupy this very important post.

Mr. LAPOINTE: There are so many ex-ministers.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is where hon. gentlemen opposite are wrong. They seem to think that ex-ministers of the Government were standing by with eager eye and open mouth waiting for this plum, but that was a wholly wrong impression. It is because that impression is wrong that—

Mr. LAPOINTE: I mean that there are many good men who could be appointed.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That may be, but they may not be ready to accept this responsibility.

Mr. BELAND: The impression that prevailed this afternoon amongst the members of the House was that, however interesting the two addresses were, that of the ex-Prime Minister and that of the ex-President of the Privy Council, one of the objects of the addresses was to qualify for this important post. May I ask, coming back to this item, whether the $80,000 which was voted last year has been expended, and on what?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I should have the deputy minister in front of me. I cannot give the exact figures; I will give them before very long. There would not be more than about half of it expended last year. I do not think there would be that.

Mr. BELAND: For the purpose of sustaining the War Mission?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The press bureau in New York and the War Mission in Washington, under Mr. Mahoney.

Mr. LAPOINTE: This minister, or ambassador, or plenipotentiary, or whatever he may be, shall be appointed by the Crown upon the advice of the Government of Canada, if I correctly understand the statement which was issued last year. It is the Government of Canada that is going to recommend the appointment?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes.

Mr. LAPOINTE: The gentleman shall not be appointed upon the recommendation of the Imperial Government?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No.

Mr. LAPOINTE: It is stated that in the absence of the British ambassador our Canadian representative will take charge of the British Embassy and will deal with British affairs. Do I understand my right hon. friend to say that the British Government will trust the administration and direction of their foreign affairs in the United States to a Canadian, in the absence of the British ambassador, without having a word to say in his appointment?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I think so. They have agreed to the proposal as to the appointment on terms, and one of the terms is that. I do not regard that myself as of first importance. I do not know that there would be any probability of difficulty arising due to that, but if it did, there would be no difficulty in making modifications in that regard. I do not anticipate that there would be difficulty myself, because the British Government would be quite certain that any one recommended by the Government of Canada for a post of that kind would be a man of high responsibility and intimate knowledge of the affairs connected with the embassy. They having assented, I see no reason at all why we might anticipate trouble along that line.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I rise to make my position quite clear in that respect. Any questions I ask are more by way of constructive criticism, because I do not object to the principle. Anything which is a step in the road to nationhood has my full approval. I would like to know whether the people of Canada will be responsible for the actions of their own appointee when he acts as British ambassador, transacting purely British affairs as distinct from Canadian affairs.

Mr. MEIGHEN: In as much as he is named on the advice of the Canadian people he would be responsible, I think, in the same way as any other ambassador to his own country. I do not know what his responsibility to Canada would be in respect to matters purely British. It would appear to me that he would owe direct

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responsibility in that regard more to Great Britain. He is our direct appointee, and for his general conduct he is responsible to us, but if there are matters which he may be called upon to discharge in this contingency which may never arise, matters in which Canada has no interest but which are purely British, it would appear to me that he would be responsible more directly to the people of Great Britain. They are ready to accept that.

Mr. LAPOINTE: What purpose is served by this arrangement? Why should it have been agreed that the Canadian representative will act for the British ambassador in his absence?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The idea is to give him rank such as he should have. He is in the position second in authority there, and naturally would be first in authority in the absence of the first in authority. The contingency does not look to me to be one that would probably arise, or arise very often, at all events, and if the British Government is ready to accept it, I cannot see what we have to risk in that regard. For that matter, I do not see what they have; but if there should be any question in the matter, it would be from their point of view rather than from ours.

Mr. LAPOINTE: There is another matter I wish to refer to. There are certain constitutional authorities, Mr. Curtiss, for instance, who are advocates of Imperial federation, who contend that the Dominion cannot have diplomatic representatives in foreign countries unless there is an Imperial Parliament to which those representatives are responsible, or unless there is complete independence. I do not say that Mr. Curtiss is right in that contention, but it may be that those who believe as Mr. Curtiss does will use this appointment of a Canadian representative as an argument for the creation of an Imperial Parliament. The question of constitutional relations between the various parts of the Empire will be discussed at a conference which it has been decided to hold, but which I believe has been postponed again until next year, and there sooner or later this question will be fully discussed. Can my right hon. friend give us the assurance that this appointment of a Canadian representative at Washington will not at all serve as an argument to strengthen the position of Mr. Curtiss and those who believe as he does?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I saw in the newspaper this afternoon some comment on what was described as a tall order, but its tallness did not begin to compare with what my hon. friend puts up to me now. I cannot give him any assurance that the appointment of this ambassador will not be used as an argument for an Imperial Parliament or for anything else on earth.

Mr. LAPOINTE: But would my right hon. friend himself consider it as an argument for an Imperial Parliament?

Mr. MEIGHEN: My experience of controversy is, although I am not addicted to the habit myself, that controversialists will use almost anything as an argument for almost anything. I answer my hon. friend frankly; I do not think it would be an argument. Wonderful are the constitutional evolutions of the British Empire, and things that great authorities thought would be utterly impossible have turned out to be quite possible, and quite beneficent.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: It appears to me that this proposal constitutes one of the gravest departures in constitutional affairs that we have seen in Canada within a generation. Although I allowed the vote to pass last year without saying a word upon it, I have thought over it a great deal during the year, and I have been condemning myself that I did not on that occasion raise my voice in protest against the proposal. I am here to-night to say that I agree almost entirely with the remarks of my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) this afternoon as to the appointment of an ambassador to Washington. I dissociate myself, however from that part of his address that referred to the recently proposed reciprocity agreement, which had no place whatever in the discussion so far as the constitutional question was concerned, and was simply introduced to show that Canada had exercised the rights of a free man to take up trade questions at Washington without let or hindrance from the British Government. Therefore, we have at present in our possession all the legitimate powers that a great overseas dominion could hope to have as a constituent part of the Empire. I consider that this is a very grave constitutional departure, and before it is embarked upon I think it should be debated on every hustings in every county in every province of Canada, so that the people of this country may be informed just what this step means and where it is going to lead.

I have listened with very careful attention to the addresses of hon. gentlemen

who spoke this afternoon, but to my mind they avoided all the important constitutional issues that are bound up in this question. In the first place, Mr. Chairman, what right has the Dominion of Canada to appoint an ambassador that is not vested in every other overseas dominion of the Empire? Has Canada any constitutional right to appoint an ambassador that we do not allow South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and all the other parts of the Empire to be partakers in? They have just as much right to apoint ambassadors to the United States or other countries as we have. Furthermore, to appoint an ambasador is to exercise the right of a sovereign power, and it is beggaring the question to say that the man whom it is intended to appoint will be a trade representative. The word used is "ambassador," and an ambassador to a foreign country can be sent only by a sovereign power, so far as we understand the constitutional prerogative. Never has the Dominion of Canada up to this date appointed an ambassador to the United States or any other country. Never has that right been exercised up to this time, and I have not heard that we have received any particular authority from Great Britain to embark upon so important a departure as this. As I view this question, it is another offshoot of that evil genius, the League of Nations, which we had under discussion last night, and this whole thing has been forced upon us largely by that body. We have chosen to call ourselves a first class power, but we are not a first class power measured by the standards of the world. We may be a first class power insofar possibly as our resources and extent of territory are concerned; but no man can contend that Canada, in the essential sense of the word, is a first class nation; she is a first class power only as part of the British Empire.

The British Empire is a first class Empire, and it is quite good enough for us to remain in, retaining the contitutional status we have now. But to say that Canada is a first class power is to make a declaration that is not borne out by the facts. A first class power must have very large and strong elements in its constitution, if it is to take its place on an equal footing among the great nations of the world; and we have not the great essentials. A first class power must have a great army and navy, as well as population and resources. We have the resources, but we have not the population, nor the army nor the navy; nor can it be contended for a moment that we are in a position to take up the full share of the white man's burden which must be shouldered by a first class power. I was hoping that the Prime Minister (Mr. Meighen), had wilfully delayed the appointment of this ambassador for a year; but I am sorry to say to-night that he has rather indicated that such is not the case, but that he is disposed to name a man as soon as one properly qualified comes to light. Well, I think that there are plenty of proper men available, so far as that is concerned; but I doubt very much the wisdom of Canada embarking on such an enterprise as is proposed in the resolution. The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), has properly said that $60,000 is quite an amount, but it is nothing to what we shall have to pay.

Further, I want to make this other point, that we have no more right to appoint an ambassador to the United States than we have the right to appoint one to France, or Germany, or Belgium, or Spain, or Russia, or any other country in the world. The same power is requisite to appoint an ambassador to the United States as to any of these countries. To say that there is more business carried on with the United States is immaterial. It is not a matter of business, or extent of business; it is a question whether or not sovereign rights are vested in Canada today to make the appointment. I contend that they are not, unless there is evidence to the contrary in the possession of the Government which they have not submitted to the House. I do sincerely hope that the Government will not embark on an enterprise that is going to get us into great difficulties. If we have an ambassador at Washington with equal powers with the British Ambassador, it is not far distant for any one to see that these two officials will come into conflict on certain questions. That is inevitable; it is as sure as the sun shines, that there will be questions on which they will not see eye to eye, because no two men can agree absolutely on every point. If that is the case, what will be the situation if all the Dominions overseas appoint ambassadors to the United States and to all the other nations of the world? I say that this is only the beginning, because if we can exercise the power of appointing one ambassador we can appoint ten or twenty. But, Mr. Chairman, we must have all the constituent qualities of a great nation in order to be able to do that. It is a very unwise step to do anything of the kind and I trust it will not be under-

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taken without the most serious consideration on the part of the Prime Minister and the cabinet surrounding him.

I have not the means of knowing whether the Cabinet is unanimous on this question, but I for one, from the moment it was mooted, have been absolutely against it. As a rule, I cannot agree with the member for Shelburne and Queen's, but I must say that he has interpreted my view on this question perfectly. To my mind, this is so important a question, and the consequences to which it will lead are of so far-reaching a character, that the people of Canada should be taken into the confidence of the House, and of the Government, and the whole subject should be thoroughly debated in the country so that we may see clearly the significance, that we are at the parting of the ways. I interpret this proposal as a distinct announcement to the world that Canada is going to embark upon nationhood herself, regardless of the old motherland. I cannot interpret it in any other way, and the idle suggestion that there is nothing to fear, that all is plain sailing, does not commend itself to my judgment at all. I say it is the most serious question that could be considered, and it should be taken into earnest consideration by every member of the House and by every citizen who desires to have permenent British connection such as we have always had.

Now, what has arisen that has caused us to be dissatisfied with prevailing conditions? Are there any outstanding and burning questions between the United States and Canada to-day that cannot be settled through the ordinary diplomatic channels as provided by the British Government? I cannot see where there are. If it is a matter of appointing trade agents, then let us have trade agents; I am in favour of that, and I should like to have not only one but twenty or thirty trade agents appointed to the United States in all the principal cities. I have never used the phrase "no truck nor trade with the Yankees." I do not use it now, and I think that we ought to have consular agents over there. But a consular agent is a very different person from an ambassador who stands in the other country clothed with the right to speak for all of the people whom he represents, and in whose hands are the issues of peace and war. Surely it cannot be contended for a moment that Canada possesses the right at the present time to appoint an official vested with this authority. It cannot be contended that this is our right merely because we signed a document in the League of Nations dissociating ourselves from the other members of the British Empire. The signing of that document does not constitute us a first-class power, and make us a great nation ready to take upon ourselves the full responsibilities of a first-class power. To be a first-class nation we must be ready to spend hundreds of millions of dollars and to show that we can bear our share of the white man's burden in this and in every other part of the world. Canada's position in the League of Nations does not warrant her in separating herself from the Empire as an individual entity, a power with the right to appoint ambassadors in every country. If Canada can do this, then all the overseas dominions can do the same; because it cannot be successfully contended that their rights are not exactly the same as ours. The only thing that can be said is that they do not transact as much business with the United States as we do, but that is not the question at all. The question is a constitutional one: Have we, as part of the British Empire, the right to step out regardless of what the views of the Empire are? I cannot see for a moment that that position can be justified.

Furthermore, if we appoint an ambassador to the United States, the question arises: are they going to appoint an ambassador to Canada? The one, of course, follows as a natural consequence of the other. We have only American consuls in the Dominion of Canada to-day. Surely we are not going to appoint an ambassador to the United States and have them reciprocate merely with consular agents. And every other country to which we might send an ambassador should be under the obligation to have an ambassador in Ottawa. Now, Mr. Chairman, I cannot contemplate that the Government intends to embark on so vast a scheme. Every argument that can be used in connection with this one appointment could with equal force be advanced as regards any other similar appointment that might be proposed for an ambassador in France or any other country in the world. I cannot possibly conceive how the Government can stand up and justify an appointment that will have such far-reaching consequences, without practically taking a plebiscite of the people of Canada on the question whether or not they are dissatisfied with British connection and desire to embark upon a policy that will, with absolute certainty, lead us away from the Motherland, and land us

goodness knows where in a display which we cannot back up by a delivery of the goods. We have not got the goods to deliver. I have great respect for the resources and capacity of the Dominion of Canada, but if our railways have been built fifty years too early, it does not follow that we should appoint ambassadors fifty or a hundred years ahead of time, and that is practically what this amounts to. We are in no position to-day to say that we are a first-class power with the rights and liberties to appoint ambassadors. If the appointment of a Canadian ambassador has been agreed to, where is the document from the Home Government authorizing it? We have not heard a word on that head up to date. We have not heard a single word showing that the British Government have expressed their consent to the appointment of an ambassador of this kind, which evidently is the thin end of the wedge of separation. If such a document is in the possession of this Government I think it is time to produce it so that we may have all the facts before us. If we have decided to embark on a policy that is going to lead ultimately to separation, why let us know that we may go into it with our eyes open; but do not let us embark upon a policy that is going to lead us into a vast amount of entanglement and difficulty when we have not the wherewithal to back that policy up and to show that we are able to maintain the position that we claim to occupy—that of a great and first-class nation in the world.

Mr. MORPHY: While I do not agree with everything the hon. member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) has said, I am strongly of the opinion that the item of $60,000 for Canadian representation in the United States is merely a subterfuge to hide something greater. I believe that the House is entitled to be taken into the confidence of the Government upon this item. In view of the fact that the House some time ago abolished titles, or attempted to as far as Canada could operate, this seems to be rather a high-sounding symbol of something similar in the upper strata of Canadian public life. It does not savour of the democratic very much. If the item to provide for the appointment of a Canadian ambassador it should be twice $60,000, because, if Canada were sending an ambassador to the great nation to the south, the money advanced to him would have to comport with the dignity of his office. He could not possibly maintain an establishment suitable to the magnitude and importance of this country at the capitol of the United States on any paltry $60,000; and he would have to pay his staff in addition to supporting himself and his household. On the other hand, if it is for the purpose of establishing a centre round which will gravitate and operate an organization which will be equal to the consular system of the United States for trade purposes I would hold up both hands for it. When the Estimates of the Minister of Trade and Commerce were before the House I took occasion to point out, in a very meagre way, the situation as it appeared to me with regard to the great need for Canada at the present time. The need is not to give some man a place for diplomatic purposes; the need is to appoint many men for the benefit of this country in order to enlarge the trade of Canada in every market of the world where it can be enlarged to good purpose and to good effect. We have a sort of system of trade agencies throughout the far off nations of the world, yet although we have 110,000,000 people adjacent to us, and have trade agents in every litle nation and at every little point throughout Europe and Asia, we have not a consular agent or a trade agent, or a trade representative in this 110,000,000 market at our door.

We sold something like $552,000,000 worth of products to the United States last year and we did so without trying. It is a mathematical proposition as to how much we could sell if we were to try. The United States sold us $2 worth of their products for every $1 worth we sold them. How do they do it? They have a most remarkable establishment in this country of consular agents. A people of 110,000,000 think enough of this country of 9,000,000 to send into Canada 92 consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents entirely for the purposes of trade. Upon that proportion of commercial activity, feeling that there is a field for United States trade in this country, they sent into Canada 92 active, trained, competent businesslike trade agents to pick up what trade they could get for themselves. We sent not one man to the United States or spent even a dollar for that purpose. These 92 agents that came to Canada did not come at the expense of the United States. They sit down here and do the business and they make it pay them. The fees they collected for the viséing of invoices overpays the cost of these 92 agents by very large sums.

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Let me explain to those who may not have looked into the matter just how they do it. The principle of viséing invoices is applied by many countries in the world who send out trade agents to other nations. Mexico and Equador charge 3 per cent upon all invoices upon their country; Peru, Bolivia and Guatemala, 2 per cent; France, $2.40 per invoice; Japan, $4; Italy, $3.89; Spain, $12; Norway, $2.70. On that principle the American consular service sits down in Canada and in the last eight years it collected $2,595,326.95 as against a total expenditure of $1,630,823.80. It is made to pay, as the figures show a profit of nearly a million dollars during the years 1913 to 1920 inclusive, out of the pockets of the Canadian people. Now let me put this proposition to the House: If Canada, without trying and without even one consular agent, has a natural trade with the United States running into $552,000,000 a year, what would her trade be if we placed in the United States sixty, seventy or a hundred consular agents? There is probably a false impression as to the kind of goods that pass between the two countries. I would like to lay before the House these facts—that in the twelve months ending March 31, 1920, Canada sold to the United States a considerable quantity of manufactured goods. The percentages, as compiled by the Dominion statistician, are as follows:

Raw Materials, 42.8 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN: I certainly do not want to interrupt the trend of the argument of my hon. friend and I think he should be allowed to complete that argument, but I must remind him, and remind the committee, that discussion of the point as to trade commissions, or trade agents, or consular agents in the United States, or any other country is certainly not in order under this item. We have already had a discussion on that subject under item 358 of the Estimates of the Trade and Commerce Department. As I said before, while I do not want to interrupt the hon. member in the middle of his argument, I hope it will not be extended.

Mr. MORPHY: I always like to bow to the ruling of the Chair, but I take up the Estimates at page 63 and find "Canadian Representation in the United States" without a definite classification of the representation, and when the Government has not really been too outspoken as to whether or not they ever would fill the ambassadorial post, I thought as a member I was entitled to object to the item, upon the ground that I did not think that was as good a kind of representation by itself as I would advocate. That is the purpose of my argument, and I think I ought to be allowed to follow it up.

The CHAIRMAN: The Chair cannot very well reverse the ruling. The hon. member should not consider it unfair when it was stated that he should be allowed to finish the argument which he had undertaken. His objection to the ruling would be perfectly well taken if there was no other item in the Estimates covering the particular object which the hon. member is now discussing; but that is specifically covered by the item "Trade Commissioners and Commercial agents." This applies to all countries.

Mr. MORPHY: That item has been passed, as I understand?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, it has been passed.

Mr. MORPHY: And there is no possibility of discussing it.

The CHAIRMAN: There is a well known rule that the same question cannot be debated twice.

Mr. MORPHY: I will follow the ruling of the Chair and take an opportunity on the Budget as my remarks will be somewhat prolonged to give my views on Canadian representation in the United States either alone or in connection with a Canadian ambassador.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Before I make the few remarks I intend to offer, may I ask my right hon. friend whether the Government has changed its mind in the matter of giving this House any correspondence which will throw light on the negotiations between the British Government, the Government of the United States and the Canadian Government with reference to the particular appointment which we have been discussing?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Government has not changed its mind. I have had the matter carefully looked into by the legal adviser of the External Affairs Department. Inasmuch as the negotiations, or whatever you may care to describe them, took place not only with the United States particularly but also with Great Britain, it was a tripartite correspondence, and it is not the practice of governments to make public correspondence leading to an agreement or to a covenant; nor have we the right to make it public, because it affects

the United States. And it would be just the same if they made it public, which they have not done. I have had the advantage of discussing the subject with the gentleman to whom I refer, and he is very clear—and I am very clear after that discussion—that the Government would have no right to make the correspondence public. Furthermore, there would be nothing gained by doing so as everything is disclosed in the conclusions arrived at and which constitute the consensus ad idem between the parties. They have been made public, but I think it would be better for me to read them anew. This is the statement made to the House on May 10, 1920, which embodies the arrangement:

As a result of recent discussions an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian Governments to provide more complete representation at Washington of Canadian interests than has hitherto existed Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on advice of his Canadian ministers, shall appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian minister will take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by His Majesty to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose.

This new arrangement will not denote any departure either on the part of the British Government or of the Canadian Government from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the British Empire.

The need for this important step has been fully realized by both Governments for some time. For a good many years there has been direct communication between Washington and Ottawa, but the constantly increasing importance of Canadian interests in the United States has made it apparent that Canada should be represented there in some distinctive manner, for this would doubtless tend to expedite negotiations, and naturally first-hand acquaintance with Canadian conditions would promote good understanding. In view of the peculiarly close relations that have always existed between the people of Canada and those of the United States, it is confidently expected as well that this new step will have the very desirable result of maintaining and strengthening the friendly relations and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am not sure that I caught my right hon. friend correctly. Did he say that I had discussed this matter with him?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No. I consulted the legal adviser of the External Affairs Department, Mr. Christie, with regard to the right of the Government to bring down the correspondence leading to the conclusions between the three governments. His advice is that it is never done, and certainly we could not do it in this instance.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Was not the correspondence betwen the United States Government and the Government of Canada?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It was a tripartite correspondence, and for that reason the United States Government had to be consulted. We do sometimes bring down correspondence between the Home Government and ourselves; but Mr. Christie has looked through this correspondence, and his conclusion is that there is nothing that we have a right to bring down, and, further, that there would be no advantage in doing so because the conclusions arrived at are all set out in this statement.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I certainly would not like to pit my own opinion against that of the legal expert of the Department of External Affairs, especially as my right hon. friend is prepared to accept that opinion, but I do think it is an extraordinary thing when this country is about to take a departure in the way of appointing a minister plenipotentiary to another country that not a single document of record is placed upon the table of the House which will establish for all time, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding, the exact terms of the arrangement between, first, the Government of Canada and the Government of Great Britain; second, the Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States, and third, the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The statement which I have just read is an exact statement of the understanding.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend gives us a statement which he says is the exact statement of the understanding. Of course, we will accept his word for that. On the other hand, it is quite possible we may find later on that either the Government of the United States or the British Government might not wholly agree with my right hon. friend's view as to this being an exact statement.

Mr. MEIGHEN: My right hon. friend on my left (Mr. Rowell) advises me that this precise statement was also read in the British House on the same day that it was read here.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Has it been read in Congress?

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Mr. MEIGHEN: I could not say as to that. The United States was simply consulted as to the arrangement.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think unless we have some assurance from the United States that this statement is satisfactory to them, we are proceeding in the dark, at least to that extent. I certainly think this Parliament should have before it in the form of some permanent record communications from the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States that this statement does represent what they are agreed upon as the arrangement to be entered into. But apart from that, taking this statement on its face value, it throws very little light upon the subject, for it tells us very little of what the real powers and functions of this new particular plenipotentiary are to be. We have had him described in this House to-day as an ambassador. I think the term used in the statement is "Minister Plenipotentiary," which is comprehensive enough. At least we ought to have something which will set forth in precise detail what are the rights, duties and functions of this particular appointee.

I do not ask my right hon. friend to take simply my own expression of opinion as to this being the correct attitude. I think it is the public opinion of this country. The press, so far as it has given expression to its views on this important subject, has rather strongly supported the position which we on this side of the House took last year, that more detailed and accurate information should be furnished before Parliament went ahead and sanctioned this appointment. It is interesting to-night to observe that hon. members on the other side of the House are concurring entirely with the view which we of the Opposition took last year when the statement which my right hon. friend has just read was presented to the House. My hon. friend from Perth will recall that at that time we on this side moved the following resolution which, had it been carried, might have avoided a good deal of the discussion which we are havinag to-night:

The House desires to record its opinion that before any arrangement respecting the permanent representation of Canada at Washington is consummated, the House should be fully informed concerning the negotiations between the Canadian, Imperial and United States Governments, and all correspondence and Orders in Council on the subject should be submitted to the House.

Now that is precisely what my hon. friend from Perth has been saying to-night we should have, and is precisely what the hon. member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) has been saying we should have. Yet when I look at the division list I find that at the last session my hon. friend from Perth voted against that resolution.

Mr. MORPHY: I was not permitted to finish my remarks; therefore you do not know exactly where I am.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, we shall be glad to hear my hon. friend's further explanation. However, our position to-night is exactly what it was at that time in regard to an understanding of the authority and rights of this particular official.

I said a moment ago that I thought I was expresing the views of the press of this country. I would like to give just one quotation, one that my right hon. friend will recognize as deserving of careful consideration on the part of this committee. No Canadian journal that I am aware of has given more thoughtful consideration to this mather of the appointment of a minister to Washington than the Winnipeg Free Press. The Free Press has published several articles on this subject. I shall read only one, but I think it will be sufficient to show that every question raised in committee this afternoon is, in the opinion of this journal, a proper and correct question to raise. Moreover, while some exception was taken to the views expressed by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's, I find that exactly the same questions raised by him are mentioned by this journal as being those on which Parliament should be more fully informed before we finally determine what should be done; among those questions was included that of whether this minister would have the right to sign his own name or whether the British ambassador would still have to sign. The editorial from which I shall quote will be found in the Winnipeg Free Press of May 12, 1920, when this subject was up last year. It reads:

The appointment of a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington is an interesting innovation about which it will be possible to comment intelligently when more information is available than was supplied in the very guarded statement read in the House of Commons on Monday by Sir George Foster.

This is the same statement that my right hon. friend has read to the House to-night. I shall skip the paragraph that follows and go on:

It is intimated that our Canadian minister will deal with all matters arising between Canada and the United States which are exclusive-

ly Canadian in character; the Imperial ambassador will participate in the negotiations only when Imperial interests are involved. Very well; but what happens if a disagreement should arise—which might easily happen—between the Canadian minister and the British ambassador as to whether a question is, or is not, exclusively Canadian? Even in the exclusively Canadian matters about which there is no dispute, will the Canadian minister carry negotiations through to the end; or will it be necessary, in the final resort, to call in the British minister to do the actual signing?

Now, that is the point which was raised by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's this afternoon. My hon. friend from Durham took exception to his remarks. He said the member for Shelburne and Queen's took the position that we could do nothing except through the British Foreign Office; that we had to have action by the British Foreign Office. That is what the hon. member said in representing the view expressed by the member for Shelburne and Queen's.

9 p.m.

Mr. ROWELL: I did not say he said that exactly; he did not say that exactly. I said I took that to be the logical deduction from the argument he presented.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, if that is the logical deduction it is evidently a question that is very much in the mind of a journal which takes an independent attitude in regard to this subject and wants to get the light which this Parliament ought to get upon it. The question that the Winnipeg Free Press puts is:

Will it be necessary, in the final resort, to call in the British Minister to do the actual signing? Our representative is to be known as a minister. Will he be accepted as a minister by the State Department at Washington?

We have had no assurance upon that point. We ought to know whether he will or will not.

Will he be a member of the diplomatic corps, having all the rights, powers, immunities and privileges enjoyed by the ministers of all other countries represented at Washington? Will he be the equal in diplomatic status of, let us say, the minister from Venezuela? Or will his position at Washington be actually undefined with a mere courtesy status? Parliament and the country will need conclusive answer to these and similar questions; and not until this information is supplied will it be possible to say whether this is a step forward or backward.

Now, if my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's had used that language this afternoon, the member for Durham would have called him antiquated and referred to him as still holding to the point of view that we have but a colonial status. I put the question to my hon. friend as coming from one of the thoughtful journals of this country and as evidence of the need for precisely the kind of information that is requested from this side to-day. The article continues:

It is asserted in certain quarters that this marks an enlargement of Canadian powers and that it is another step forward on the road to nationhood. The Government at Ottawa no doubt believes that this will be the effect of the innovation. But we regard with some trepidation formal arrangements entered into three years after the adoption of a declared policy of equality of status between all the British nations by which it is possible that Canada may accept, ratify, and confirm a status of admitted diplomatic inferiority, formally putting her name to documents that confirm this subordination. If the Canadian minister at Washington is only a camouflaged chief clerk or a commissionor it would be better to have no minister there.

If his position there is by courtesy, if Canada cannot endow her representative with all the powers which other ministers enjoy, then Canada should send no one to Washington until she can vest him with the true prerogatives of office.

Information upon these extremely important points is lacking; until it is forthcoming any conclusive judgment upon the wisdom or otherwise of the Government's action is not possible. But the matter is of great importance and Parliament should regard it as one of its prime duties to see that the matter is fully discussed from all angles and in the light of full knowledge.

I ask the pardon of the committee for taking up so much time in the reading of a long extract, but every point raised in that editorial is pertinent to the discussion, and I think the ministry should answer the questions here raised before they ask us to vote, without this knowledge, some $60,000 to establish a position whereby the country will incur vast obligations as a beginning and incur still greater obligations as time goes on.

I should also point out that this is the first departure, or one of the first, that this country has made in what we may call its permanent representation in the matter of external diplomatic relations. To begin our foreign diplomacy by secrecy with respect to the precise nature of understandings arrived at is unfortunate, to say the least, in so far-reaching a departure.

A considerable part of the discussion this afternoon turned on the question of Canada's status. In view of some remarks made from this side it might be inferred without reflection that we held the view that Canada's status had not changed in many years; that Canada was still in the position which she occupied quite a number of years ago. Well, the whole question of Canada's status in matters of this kind turns upon whether we are thinking and

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speaking of the spirit or of the letter of the constitution. If we are speaking of the letter of the constitution, or, as my hon. friend for Durham has put it, the legal rights that we have under the constitution, there can be no doubt whatever of the correctness of the view expressed by the member for Shelburne and Queen's this afternoon, that Canada is not a nation in the sense in which that term is used when the full rights of nationhood or, in other words, the rights of a sovereign nation are implied. On the other hand, if it is to the spirit of the constitution that we are looking, or, as my hon. friend for Durham said this afternoon, if we approach the matter from the standpoint of constitutional authority, then I agree entirely with him that we have the status of a nation. It is not a status that we have acquired recently; it is a status that we have had for a number of years, but which has become more clearly defined in recent years, especially during the period of the war. It was mentioned to-day that inasmuch as we could not amend the constitution of Canada without the British Parliament amending it, it was a sign of inferiority. In this connection may I say that New Zealand and Australia have each the right to amend their constitutions without any appeal to the British Government, they are self-governing Dominions. I have no doubt that if we asked the British Government to give us the same right to amend our constitution without referring the matter to Great Britain, we would be given that right. It is a matter, so far as I can see, simply of constitutional development as to whether we take a further step which, to outward appearances without prejudicing the unity of the Empire as a whole may give us still more in the way of the status of a nation.

There is a matter which, perhaps, the committee will pardon me referring to. I mention it simply because I think it has some value in a discussion of this kind relative to Canada's status and the right of Canada's ministers to act in the name of the Sovereign. I gathered from the remarks of the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell) that he contended that the King of England was also King of Canada, and that a Canadian minister should have the same right and authority to make a treaty in the name of the King as any minister of the British Government. Let me say that I agree entirely with the point of view he has expressed, and my purpose in mentioning the incident to which I shall refer is to indicate that the British Government has, to my certain knowledge, held that view for some time past. In 1908, I had the privilege of being appointed one of the delegates, the representative of this country, to the International Conference on the opium traffic which met at Shanghai, China. Before I left for that conference, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was Prime Minister at that time, asked me to proceed to China by way of England and, while in England, to see the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and ascertain whether it would be agreeable to the Government of Great Britain as it was the wish of our Government to have a treaty entered into between the Chinese Government and the Government of Canada with respect to immigration to this country from China, to have an arrangement made with China similar to the arrangement which we had with Japan. The view which Sir Wilfrid Laurier held at that time was that the question of immigration could be better regulated by means of a treaty arrangement between the two countries than by the form which it both then and still takes of a head tax upon the Chinese. Sir Wilfrid Laurier asked me to ascertain from the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain what view Great Britain would take as regards a treaty on that subject being made with the Chinese Government. The then Secretary Sir Edward Grey, at present Lord Grey, took the position at the time that a minister of the Crown in Canada had as much right to act in the name of the Sovereign as any minister of the Crown in Great Britain, and that a minister of the Crown in Canada might receive from the King in England the same authority to act in the negotiating and the signing of a treaty as could be given to any British minister. I mention this, because I think it is important that the committee should know the view held at a period as early as 1908 by the then Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain.

As to the question of the wisdom of having a representative of Canada at Washington, I for one feel that it is wholly in the interest of this country to have someone represent us in an official position at Washington, so that it may be possible for the Government of Canada to be informed from day to day from an authoritative source in regard to matters of concern to the two countries, and ministers of the Crown in Canada may acquaint Secretaries

of State in the United States with and learn from them their views on matters, of mutual concern. We have many questions of trade, immigration, industrial relations, international relations, on which we have much in common, and as regards which there are many considerations which both governments should take into account. While some years ago, perhaps, a step of the kind was unnecessary, I think that to-day, as our population grows, as the problems of the British Empire grow, as British ministers have more and more to attend to in connection with their own affairs, it is wholly in the interest of our country to have its own representation.

There is such a thing however as going from one extreme to the other. At the one extreme you have the thought that we should have no representative, but be represented exclusively by the British Embassy. At the other extreme is the idea put forward in the statement which my right hon. friend has just read, that a Canadian minister should take over the Embassy and be in charge of Imperial policy when the British ambassador is not present. I think the last proposal is a great mistake, and I do not think this Parliament should authorise any representative from Canada to assume complete control of the British Embassy at Washington. Once a step of that kind is taken, it may lead to all kinds of complications, embarrassments, and misunderstandings. The best way to preserve friendship and unity between all parts of the British Empire is to avoid, as far as possible, any possibility of complications and misunderstandings. I cannot but fear that if a Canadian minister should, while in charge of the British Embassy, perform any act which might be displeasing to the British authorities one way or another, relations between Canada and Great Bratain might become very strained as a consequence. Moreover, there are questions in regard to which British interests may be one thing and Canadian interests another. In such a circumstance, it is putting a representative of Canada in a most unfair position to have him given charge of the British Embassy as well as charge of Canadian affairs. Moreover, I think it is a fatal position from the point of view of responsibility. No man can serve two masters. If a minister is representing Canada and representing Great Britain, he must be responsible to the two. It is useless to say that the possibility may never arise; it is almost inevitable that sooner or later it will arise. I hope my hon. friends, in attempting to carry out this policy of appointing a minister to Washington, will, at least, reconsider that particular aspect, and let us begin in a modest and natural way. Let us follow the line of evolution and for the time being put our minister in charge only of Canadian affairs. Later on, after he has had considerable experience and we see how the first step works out, we can consider the further step.

In conclusion, I wish to say to my right hon. friend that I was somewhat amused at the reason he gave for no appointment being made to this high office, that there was not a good man available. That is surely very uncomplimentary to the hundred and fifty odd gentlemen whom my right hon. friend has as followers behind him. I think my right hon. friend will find that they are all available if he asks them. It is for him to say whether they are good or not.

Mr. TWEEDIE: I listened with a great deal of interest to the remarks made by the hon. member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt). Once or twice during his remarks, I was almost persuaded that we had severed ourselves from the British Empire. The conclusions at which he arrives would, perhaps, be correct if they had been well founded, but the difficulty with his whole argument was that it was based absolutely on false premises. I see nothing about an appointment by the Dominion of Canada of an ambassador to the United States, nor have I heard it suggested anywhere that an ambassador be appointed by this country, nor does the item in the appropriation in the least degree suggest that. I agree thoroughly with the utterances of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) in so far as he suggests that we should have a higher standard of representation by this country in the United States than merely trade agents. We will assume, for the sake of argument, that some serious question other than one of mere trade arises between these two countries and we have only men appointed as trade agents in the city of New York and other cities in that great Republic. Would they have any authority to deal concerning that question with the Government of the United States? One must realise at once that a man who is appointed simply in the capacity of a trade agent has the duties merely of a trade agent, to look after the commercial interest of our country. The great difficulty in my hon. friend's mind seems to

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be that if we appoint a representative in this official capacity, we are, by so doing, difting from the Motherland and weakening the ties which exist between Great Britain and the Dominion of Canada. We, however, have that offset by the argument of the hon. leader of the Opposition. His argument is that this arrangement will draw us closer to the British Empire, while the argument of my hon. friend is that it will drive us away from the British Empire. Which of these two arguments is correct? I believe that the argument which has been submitted by the hon. leader of the Opposition is the correct one. I believe that instead of having a tendency to separate ourselves from the British Empire by the appointment of such an official, under the arrangement which has been arrived at between the United States, Great Britain and Canada, we shall be drawing ourselves closer to Great Britain than we are at the present time. We must arrive at this conclusion from the mere fact of the memorandum which has been read to the House by the Prime Minister to-night. If this step were a move towards separation, does my hon. friend for one moment suppose that this House could convince itself that Great Britain would appoint our ambassador to take over the duties of the British ambassador in his absence? I say that this step will simply draw us closer to the British Empire, and if my hon. friend has any doubts along that line he should remove them and retract his words, and support the appropriation which is asked for to-night.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Not very much.

Mr. TWEEDIE: My hon. friend says, "not very much." Would the hon. gentleman severe his relationship with any individual and then expect to have that individual appointed to a position of trust and responsibility on his behalf? This official is being appointed to a position of responsibility because Great Britain realizes the closeness of the ties between the Dominion of Canada and herself. She reposes such confidence in this country, that she has seen fit to extend it to the point where she would allow the Dominion of Canada by reason of closer relationship to participate with the embassy in Washington in the administration of her foreign affairs in the United States. I have no doubt that my hon. friend from Perth and my hon. friend from Brantford are the very gentlemen who in times past have protested against the injustices which this country has suffered by reason of the manner in which matters affecting Canada have been handled by the British ambassador at Washington. We have had our disputes about the boundary line between the United States and Canada from the East right straight through to the West, and complaints have repeatedly been made that the British ambassador in Washington has sacrificed the interests of Canada to the United States. If we have a representative at Washington in close touch with the British ambassador, as is proposed, we will have the opportunity of presenting our case directly through the British ambassador at the time the negotiations are being carried on, or of having our own representative carry on the negotiations on behalf of the Dominion. I believe that if that system had prevailed in the past, this country would have been the gainer by many hundreds of thousands of acres, if not square miles, of territory which have been lost to us as the result of the negotiations being carried on simply by the British ambassador without Canada having a representative at Washington.

So far from the performance of these acts being an indication of separation from the Mother Land, surely my hon. friend (Mr. Cockshutt) realizes that the constitutional development of this country, like the constitutional development of Great Britain or any other country has been a matter of slow progress. In the early years of the Dominion of Canada, it was unthought of that any minister in this country should even negotiate trade treaties much less have any participation whatever in their execution. Great Britain, however, has seen fit to delegate additional power to this country so that now our ministers are able to negotiate these treaties and execute them along with the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain. Can it be argued that because that power has been granted to us, there is any separation by the Dominion of Canada from the Empire? No, it means that our status has changed, and as the leader of the Opposition says, we must look at this matter not in a strict technical sense, but in the spirit of the constitution. We are becoming a greater country, we are becoming more independent, but we are not separating ourselves from the Mother Land. I would be the last man in this House to support the Government in doing anything which would in the slightest degree lessen the close relations which we have with the Mother Land, and this I understand to be the view of the

[Mr. Tweedie.]

Prime Minister. I have very great pleasure in supporting this appropriation as set forth in the Estimates, for the reasons I have given and I believe it is the duty of every man in this House to support it.

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Marquette): Mr. Chairman, we have had a very interesting discussion extending now for some hours, and I doubt if there is anything new by way of argument that I can add to the debate. I want at once to express my personal appreciation of the statement given to the House this afternoon by my right hon. friend from King's (Sir Robert Borden). This question of Canada's position in the world and of our taking on new responsibilities is one that is receiving a great deal of attention to-day throughout the country. Many are studying it who a few years ago gave no attention to it whatever, and I am very certain that the statements submitted to the House this afternoon by my right hon. friend from King's will be of very great assistance to students of this question in familiarizing themselves with our development along constitutional lines.

Let me say at once that I find myself in very general agreement indeed, not only with the sentiments expressed by my right hon. friend from King's, but with the argument made by my right hon. friend from Durham and with much that was said by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. I cannot take the gloomy view of this step by which it is proposed to send a minister to Washington that my hon. friend from Brantford does. I think if we study the history of this country we shall find this one fact outstanding, that every time we have had an extension of the powers of self-government in Canada, every time we have had an addition to our autonomy as a people, the result has been a closer and a better understanding with the Mother Country. That has invariably been the case. I know that in 1840, when the Act of Union was passed, whereby a large measure of self-government was given to the provinces of Canada, there were those at that time who saw in that step a breaking of the links that bound the inhabitants of this country to the Mother Land. Again, in 1867, when the great confederation of the provinces took place and when our powers of self-government were greatly enlarged, there were also those who saw in that another snapping of the ties that bound us to Great Britain. But has that been the result? I believe that if my hon. friend from Brantford had been living and had been in active political life in those days, he would have taken the position then in respect to the enlargement of Canadian autonomy that he has taken to-day in respect to the proposal we are now considering. I say that in all sincerity, because I wish to bear this testimony to my hon. friend's sincerity, that in my judgment, there is not a member of this House who speaks with greater honesty of conviction than does my hon. friend from Brantford.

The vote we have under consideration at the present time is an important one, and I am glad to support it. I shall not traverse the ground that has already been covered by those who have preceded me in this debate, but I might emphasize this: our close relationship with the United States, the immense volume of business we do with that country, the great extent of our boundary line contiguous to that country, the fact that we speak a common language, the fact that we are daily mingling with each other—these considerations, Mr. Speaker, place our relationship with that country on a different plane from the relationship with other countries in the world. It is quite conceivable that the interests of Canada, touching so closely and intimately as they do the life of the United States, not from any lack of goodwill, but from pressure of other business may not receive that careful consideration from the British ambassador at Washington, which they should receive. I think my right hon. friend from King's (Sir Robert Borden), this afternoon stated that Lord Bryce had on one occasion borne testimony to the fact that more than half of the business he had to do with the Government at Washington was Canadian business; and I feel certain that this business can be much better looked after if we have our own minister plenipotentiary at Washington. My hon. friend from Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt), in his remarks this evening, said that the British Government had given no warrant for this appointment. I think the statement made a little earlier in this debate by the Prime Minister—I sent for it in order that I might read it myself—covers that point very well. The arrangements leading up to the appointment of a Canadian minister plenipotentiary were taken up with the British Government, and the present position in the matter is in entire accord with the views of the British Government and has their approval.

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I desire to refer to another point raised by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King), in respect of which I am inclined to agree with him. The matter was brought up in the House at the last session, that exchanges of communications which had taken place, leading up to the announcement made by the Minister of Trdae and Commerce on May 10, 1920, should be placed before this Parliament and this country. Now, I have no use for secret diplomacy, but at the same time I recognize that it is quite possible that our Government would be acting improperly if they divulged these communications without the consent, of the British Government and the Government at Washington or at any rate without first acquainting these governments of their intention to do so. However, I would offer the suggestion to my right hon. friend who leads the Government, that he might very well inquire of the British Government, and of the Government at Washington, whether or not there is any objection to making public any communications that have been exchanged leading up to this understanding; and if the way is clear for giving this information to the Canadian people, if there is no good and valid reason why it should not be disclosed, then I am entirely in accord with the leader of the Opposition in his view that it should be submitted to Parliament and to the country.

I am convinced, Mr. Chairman, that the step which is about to be taken will lead to good results, but I am inclined to criticise the Government for their failure, so far, to make this appointment. I am bound to say that in my opinion the Prime Minister did not advance a very good reason this evening when he said that no one competent for the position had so far been found. I would suggest to him that he look about him. There are plenty of able men in Canada who can fill the position, and I am sure my right hon. friend, with his ability and his knowledge of men, can quickly and readily find some one capable of taking the appointment, if he sets himself seriously to the task. I should like some information from the Government as to how soon they expect this appointment to be made, and whether they are working assiduously in an effort to have the position filled. I know that this is a matter of importance to this country, especially at this time. Now that we are in a period of reconstruction after war, when international business is being largely rearranged, the time has certainly arrived when this matter

[Mr. Crerar.]

should receive prompt consideration at the hands of the Government, and this appointment should be made without further delay.

Mr. R. J. MANION (Fort William and Rainy River): As one of the representatives from the middle-western part of Canada, I should like to say a few words on this very interesting question which is now before the House. I think that the hon. member who has just concluded (Mr. Crerar) has expressed the views of Western Canada on this question, and I believe also that the House owes a debt of gratitude to the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden) who to-day gave us a chronological history of the development of the question in Canada.

I desire to refer briefly to the speech of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) and I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that I do so very hesitatingly, because I hold that hon. gentleman in very high esteem and appreciate the difficulty that confronts a younger member who attempts to criticise the remarks of one who has had such a wide experience in the political life of this country as the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's. I usually listen to him with very great interest and deep respect, but there is one question upon which I have heard him speak on several occasions in this House in regard to which, it seems to me, he does not show that elasticity of mind and that progressiveness of thought which he generally displays on public questions. I refer now to the question of Canada's status, a question which more or less comes within the scope of the subject now before the House. For example, in his speech this afternoon he expressed himself in a manner that rather suggested to my mind that he was almost proud of the fact that Canadian representatives to-day cannot complete treaties on behalf of Canada. He also went on to say that practically we are a colony, and he finished a few moments later by saying that so far as he was concerned he wanted no change in our present condition. I do not think I am misquoting the hon. gentleman; certainly, if I do so it is altogether unintentional. That was my conclusion, at any rate, from the remarks he made, and I think I am stating his position fairly.

Well, Sir, I do not believe that if Canada were really a colony to-day her people would be satisfied that she should remain in that position. Personally, I do not agree

that we are, to all intents and purposes, only a colony. I believe that we have progressed probably fifty years beyond the colonial stage. The hon. gentleman proceeded to say that we should be better represented by a minister in Ottawa who could travel from Ottawa to Washington on various occasions, than we should be if we had a representative, who kept in touch with Canadian affairs, residing at Washington. I have been wondering why it would be easier for a minister to travel from Ottawa to Washington and back again, than it would be for a representative at Washington to travel there to Ottawa, to consult with the ministers here, and then back to Washington. I happened to-day to run across a message sent in 1907 by the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, when that colony assumed the status of a Dominion. He said:

> To-day your island home attains the prouder title of "Dominion."

I believe that the Prime Minister of Great Britain, in sending that message virtually admitted that we also had gone a long distance past the colonial stage and, Sir, I noticed in this morning's Citizen a quotation from Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, than whom, I think, no one will claim to be a more loyal British subject, and he does not agree with the view of my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's, or of those who take the position that we are practically in the status we previously held, and that we must remain so. Mr. Hughes, in this morning's Citizen, is quoted at some length, and among other things he says:

> We in the Australian Commonwealth now call ourselves a nation. So we are. But in the same breath we declare ourselves part of the British Empire. These apparently inconsistent declarations combine at once our history and our circumstance.

I believe, Sir, that that shows that the Prime Minister of Australia, a loyal Britisher, a man who was born in the British isles, realizes the fact that we have passed the stage of colonialism and that we have reached the stage, which has been sneered at at times by certain hon. members in this House, of nationhood within the Empire. I believe, Sir, that I could quote very many hon. gentlemen who have used the same expression. One very notable example is the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I have read some of his speeches wherein he made the statement that we have become a nation within the Empire. Mr. Smuts, the Premier of South Africa, has used the same expression. I cannot help but think sometimes when I hear the speeches of some hon. gentlemen that they seem to desire that we should remain in a backward state. At such times I cannot help recalling an expression used by the present Prime Minister of Canada, I think it was about three years ago, which expression struck me very strongly at the time. It was the expression that such speeches are a strange mixture of colonialism and imperialism run mad. That was the thought that ran through my head to-day when I listened to one or two speeches that were made by hon. gentlemen on the other side of this question.

Mr. Chairman, the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition made one observation which struck me as worth mentioning, although I do not pretend to have any particular knowledge of international affairs. He criticised very severely the idea that at times the Canadian representative at Washington, if he were appointed, should take over the duties of the British ambassador. I do not see that there is anything more strange in that than in what happens continually in international affairs. For example: suppose that a war broke out between the United States and Spain. Then the Spanish ambassador would leave the United States and he would hand over his affairs to, we will say, the British ambassador, or to the German ambassador, or to the Dutch ambassador. It certainly would be no more strange, it seems to me, for such a representative of Canada in Washington, for a very short time—it would only be for a short time on any occasion—to handle the affairs of Britain, to represent the British ambassador, as that ambassador on many occasions, and the representatives of other nations, handle the affairs of nations with which they really have no connection such as we have with the British Empire.

Sir, I believe that the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) expressed the opinion of Western Canada when he said that this was a question in which we are interested, and when he further said that this was an idea which he thought would benefit Canada if caried out in a proper manner.

Sir, the Canadian people took such a proud position in this war as to prove that they are the equals in war of every other people. I do not think that the Canadian people are willing to admit that in peace they are inferior to other people.

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If we are not to gradually progress along the lines upon which we are advancing, along lines I am bound to confess piloted by the right hon. gentleman who recently resigned from the leadership of this Government, then we would remain in a colonial state which to most Canadians is an unsatisfactory state. We would remain in the position which, even when I was a young boy, was one of humiliation to me. For example, at international conferences when Canadian representatives would take an inferior position as compared with the representatives of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria, or Siam, or perhaps some of the South American or Central republics, I used to feel humiliated. To-day thanks to the efforts of our representatives at the Peace Conference, Canadian representatives have been given a status which is enjoyed by representatives of other nations of the world, and we no longer occupy the inferior position which we did occupy up to very recently at international conferences or gatherings of any kind.

Sir, I do not wish to take any more of of the time of the House except to say in closing, that I believe very sincerely in the idea of having a Canadian representative at Washington—always with the point in view that he is not to tear us away from the ties which bind us to the British Empire; because I do not think that anybody will accuse any of the hon. gentlemen who are piloting this Bill, or who have supported the measure, of any desire to separate Canada from the British Empire. Always keeping that in view, I believe that a Canadian representative at Washington will have infinitely more interest in Canadian affairs. The right hon. member from King's (Sir Robert Borden) said to-day that Mr. Bryce had stated that from two-thirds to three-quarters of the affairs handled by the British Embassy at Washington were Canadian affairs. Why should Canadians hand over their affairs to any appointee of Great Britain rather than have them handled to a Canadian representative always acting in close co-operation with the British representative? Mr. Chairman, I have very great pleasure, so far as I am concerned, as a humble representative of the middle west of Canada, in supporting this proposition to have a Canadian representative handle the affairs of Canada in the United States capital.

Mr. McKENZIE: Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to take up much of the time of the committee but as previous speakers have deemed it necessary to express their personal opinions in regard to the subject before us I feel that I should state what my own views are. I need not tell hon. gentlemen that I am very proud of being a British subject and a Canadian, and I am old fashioned enough to be prouder of being a British subject than being a Canadian. Although born on Canadian soil and proud of Canadian institutions I was taught from my youth to be prouder of the British flag and all it stood for than anything else that I could claim as my own. Consequently I do not feel any humiliation whatever when I require assistance as a Britisher in the United States, if I call upon the British consul. I do not think that that is in any way belittling my position.

But before proceeding any further with the subject, let me offer my congratulations to the right hon. member for King's County, N.S. (Sir Robert Borden), for the very able and excellent presentation of the case which he made this afternoon. I have known the right hon. gentleman for a long time and I know that he will present any subject he touches at all in good shape and as strongly as it can be done before any tribunal that he is addressing. But while congratulating him in that respect I must also congratulate him more upon the tremendous strides he has made in regard to what we can do in Canada and what our status is. Both of us were young men at one time in this House, he of course occupying a higher and more prominent position than I do, but I remember his speeches very well for the last seventeen years. It is not more than half of that period since I heard the right hon. gentleman saying in this House that we could not build ships in Canada—we had not the men, nor the material, nor the brains, nor the capacity to do anything of the kind. If we could attempt such a thing it would take fifty years for us to get into the position of being able to do it, and by that time those of us in the House would be dead and resting in our graves. That was the opinion of my right hon. friend at that time, and he told us that if we wanted to do anything that would attract attention in the great Empire to which we belong the right thing to do was to send thirty-five or forty millions of money across to the Old Country where we could buy ships, and get the British Government to man them and send them up to the North Sea where they were most needed. My right hon. friend is to be congratulated upon the change of heart he has since experienced—such a change of heart that he

is now satisfied that not only can we build ships and get the men to man them, not only have we the material but we are so independent of the Mother Country that we can launch out on our own account, have our own army, have our own navy, have our own system of defence, and have our own plenipotentiary at Washington. Perhaps in such a short space of time there never was a greater change in the life history and practice of any hon. gentleman than that which is found in the case of my right hon. friend, and I claim with pride that we both come from the same province.

Now, as to the necessity of this new departure, I do not myself, Sir, see any necessity for it. I submit that every interest of Canada is well looked after at Washington by the British ambassador, and that we avoid a great deal of responsibility and worry as a result. As a dominion at our best we have no power to declare war or peace. If we do declare war upon any country, we cannot back it up, for we have not got the army or the navy requisite for the purpose. I am not belittling our country because we have not the men and the equipment for warlike undertakings—we are not looking for trouble, and we see no necessity for war. But if war conditions should arise, or if we are implicated in a matter which must be settled by war, that war must be declared by the Mother Country, and the British navy and the British army will be behind us. If that condition arose, for instance, with the United States, we would know that it had been brought about through the agency of the British ambassador, that he knew what was developing and was making representations to his Government. But if we are going to cut loose from the wisdom and experience of British diplomacy, and our own inexperienced diplomat gets us into trouble, what assurance have we got that we are immediately going to have the British army and navy behind us? Are not those things worth preserving? Is it not worth while to continue the old practice under which we have prospered and are so happy and contented? I feel that there is not the slightest necessity for this departure at all. Being represented in the United States to-day by the British ambassador, we have behind us all the prestige and power of the British Empire. Are we going to improve our position by severing ourselves from that association and sending a representative of our own to Washington? What will be behind the representative of Canada? We are proud of ourselves, but surely we cannot for one moment say that we can put behind our solitary lone ambassador the strength, force and dignity which we now share as part of the British Empire whose ambassador is our representative.

That is the stand I take, Mr. Chairman. The Canadian people are happy and contented in governing themselves to their heart's content. Why, Sir, we have such freedom of government that to-day we have a Government which we on this side of the House believe is absolutely incapable of governing us at all, but we can revel in a luxury of that kind! Holding these views, old-fashioned if you please, but such views as have stood the test of ages, I would be slow to depart from them and to launch upon any new experiment which in my judgment is absolutely unnecessary.

I yield to no man in my desire for the most absolute liberty for every Canadian consistent with our obligations as citizens of the Empire, but I do not feel that the ties which bind us to the Mother Country chafe us in any way. We are perfectly happy and contented under the machinery created by the British Crown. That being the case, if a vote was to be cast upon this question, I would feel obliged to say that I would vote against it. I may differ slightly with my leader in this matter and with other gentlemen in this House, but this is an occasion when I claim to exercise my own judgment and to express my own views.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Mr. Chairman, there has been such a wide divergence of opinion on this subject that for once I feel quite at liberty to follow the example of my hon. friend who has just resumed his seat (Mr. McKenzie) and differ somewhat from my leader. I agree with my hon. friend from Marquette (Mr. Crerar) and I wish to associate myself with him in offering to my right hon. friend, the member for King's, N.S., the ex-Prime Minister of this country, hearty congratulations—in which I am sure the committee will join—on his ability to give evidence of a complete restoration to health by an hour and a half's speech in this House. That speech was a valuable historic survey of many debates of previous years, which I have no doubt will be referred to by future generations in connection with the debate of to-day.

I noted particularly a phrase in the speech which, perhaps, I may be permitted to commend to the consideration of my

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hon. friend from Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt). There were many quotations of the greatest interest. I was very much struck with the prescience and the farsightedness of men like Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. Mills and others of the political fathers who begat us, as to the gradual evolution which was to take place in the institutions of this country. The phrase from Sir John A. Macdonald to which I should like to call the attention of my hon. friend from Brantford was one in which that famous statesman referred to the necessity of Canada gaining an access to the markets of the world and so promoting the extension of her prosperity. We gain access to the markets of the world, I need not tell my hon. friend from Brantford, sometimes to buy and sometimes to sell; and I am glad to quote to him an authority that he would be the last to question in support of views which I never lose a reasonable opportunity of commending to the intelligence of the House of Commons of Canada.

I was very much pleased at another of the infrequent incursions of my hon. friend from Durham (Mr. Rowell) into the debate. I see rumours in the papers that my hon. friend contemplates retiring from public life. If he had been present I would have advised him to go slowly in that matter, for I think his retirement from the public life of this country would be a very great loss. We are in times of upheaval, and there may be very great changes in the personnel of the next House of Commons. Though I have had my differences and disagreements with my hon. friend from Durham, I should like to be permitted to say across the floor of this House that I do not think Canada can easily dispense with a man who has his record, his fearless courage in support of his convictions, his ability as a debator, and his other splendid qualities calculated to do the highest service in the public life of this country.

Now, may I be permitted to say that we are in a somewhat curious position in debating this subject inasmuch as the proposal which is viewed with so much suspicion by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) emanates, in the first instance anyhow, from those who cannot be suspected of any weak adherence to the Imperial tie, whereas some of the strongest resistance to the proposal has come from those who are supposed to be suspected in this matter. I do not wish to press the point further than to say that I trust in our approaches to this question and to all the questions that will engage Canada and her representatives in the future so full of anxiety—and I think also so full of hope—that lies immediately in front of us, we shall not cast aspersions upon any sections of political thought in this connection. I am quite sure we all want to take the step that is in the best interests of our common country and that we are all proud of the record of our soldiers, proud of the flag which floats over us and floats wherever the sun shines.

Now, up to the present, Mr. Chairman, I have not been convinced that evidence has been afforded that the change proposed is going to make for practical benefit along the line on which I directed a question to my hon. friend from Durham at the end of his speech. I asked him for illustrations of questions which would be settled better in the interests of Canada under this new arrangement that is proposed than they are settled at the present time. He gave me one illustration, the question about pulp last year. Well, I never heard that our Government was lax in its duty in regard to that situation. I thought they were active in the matter and that everything that could be done by governmental interference and helpfulness was done to remedy that pulp situation. I cannot share the view so airily expressed by my hon. friend that if we had had a representative of this nature at Washington, the pulp difficulty would have disappeared with any greater rapidity than it did disappear—if, indeed, it has disappeared up to the present moment. I do not find that the illustration carries me very far in this matter, and I cannot myself think of matters in connection with the relationships of Canada and the United States in which we should be immediately helped by the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary.

It is a common enough practice, and I think a somewhat useless one, to speculate upon the ultimate political destiny of this country. Three things are possible. We might unite with the United States. Personally, I feel on very safe ground when I say that that is the least likely destiny for Canada politically. I feel very much inclined for once, in a way, to become a prophet and to say that will not happen, anyhow. We may possibly in the long course of years become an independent country, a sovereign state. That is quite a possibility, but if it does happen it will be, as my right hon. friend indicated this afternoon, by a process of evolution. For my part, Mr. Chairman, I am content for the

moment that Canada should remain pretty much where she is. I think the worst foes of the British Empire are those who imitate the little girl who has planted a flower and is always pulling it up to see how its roots are doing. The British Empire is all right; it is in a very healthy condition—and it showed it in the recent events of the world—if people will only leave it alone. It is doing very well, and I think that for an immediate destiny that is sufficient. That is my view; I would leave this process of evolution largely in the hands of the gods for the moment. We have enough to do in the process of reconstruction; enough to do as statesmen; enough to do as members of Parliament; enough to do as individual citizens of Canada, in devoting our fullest attention patriotically to the building up of our own country, the restoration of our national finances and the repairing of the damage which we inevitably suffered by our participation in the great war.

Now, coming to the question under immediate discussion, I recur to the fact that it is by a process of evolution that these changes are to be brought about. Well,

10 p.m.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say that if we do take this step we are certainly taking an important step in the direction of a very considerable evolution, according to my view. I listened very carefully to my hon. friend from West Calgary (Mr. Tweedie) endeavouring to reply to my hon. friend from Brantford—I say endeavouring, because I think he failed to reply to the very considered and firm position which my hon. friend from Brantford took. I think the appointment of a plenipotentiary to a foreign court is a mark of a foreign state. That was the position of my hon. friend from Brantford, and I agree with him absolutely and fully upon that question. I am not, aware, Sir, that it has been done in the history of the world except by a sovereign state; therefore, my hon. friend was upon extremely strong ground, historically and constitutionally, when he took that position. If that be so, while it is very well to talk about evolution, am I not right in claiming that if we take this step we are not following the process of evolution, but we are getting very near to revolution. I throw that out for the consideration of my hon. friend and his Government. I would say that it is a question which they should put very carefully and seriously to themselves and discuss with very great caution and thoroughness before they go any further in this matter. If we appoint a plenipotentiary to Washington, and our good friends from Quebec come here in strength some day and say: "It is all very well to appoint a plenipotentiary to Washington; we feel that we might do a much bigger business with France, and we have blood relationship with France; we admire old France; let us have a plenipotentiary to France."

An hon. MEMBER: Why should we not?

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Logically, why should we not? How can that claim be resisted if Quebec comes to this House and presents it, if any other section of the community or of the House of Commons says: "We are a Sovereign state; we have a plenipotentiary at Washington?" My hon. friend from Fort William and Rainy River (Mr. Manion) would still be in the humiliating position when he compares Canada as a Sovereign state, with other countries, that his boys would be pointing out to him that while other countries had their plenipotentiaries at Berlin, at Washington and at Paris, we, little Canada, only have a plenipotentiary at Washington, nowhere else; we are still a little country.

May I point out in this connection that this status is a costly affair or it may become a very costly commodity? I have not heard any one except the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), call attention to that point which, perhaps, is the most crucial of all at this particular moment of our history. The entourage of an embassy is one of the finest ways for a nation to spend money that I know of, and if you get ten of them, my hon. friend from Marquette (Mr. Crerar) will need to preach economy more strongly than he has ever done in the history of this country. I should like to impress these thoughts very strongly upon the Administration before they go any further with this business, and I should like to impress them upon my hon. friends opposite who pay income tax. Is that burden sitting lightly upon the shoulders of hon. gentlemen opposite? I know the farmers are paying income tax, and while in the West they do not begrudge it and prefer direct taxation to indirect, nevertheless they feel the burden of it, and they do not want to incur any of it which is not necessary, especially at this period.

If I talked all night, I do not think I could say any more to make my point of view clearer. The Government should not hurry in this business; they have not the money. I should be glad to be contradicted

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in that by the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton). As the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie) says, we are doing very well; we are going on very well as a nation. Let evolution have its own course in this matter. Evolution is a very slow thing; it goes on step by step. Do not let us do this by way of a kick or a jump. Let evolution go slowly; do not be in a hurry about this business. We have enough to do, in the face of the coming Budget, to cover the expenses of the nation that are absolutely necessary at the present time, without taking a step which may lead to eight or ten other steps and hurry us into expenditures which would be very serious for the fortunes of this country, or which many of us might regret. There is no hurry. Let that be the last word I drop on the ears of the Administration. There is no hurry in this matter.

Mr. DENIS: Perhaps I might be excused for rising to speak on this question when I say that I have only a word or two to add to what has already been said. My object in rising is to endeavour to elucidate a certain point, or, at least, to request the Prime Minister (Mr. Meighen), who will no doubt speak at the end of the debate, to make clear a question which is far from being clear to my mind at the present time. The item now under discussion reads:

Canadian representation in the United States.

It will seem obvious to all who have listened to this debate that there is a considerable divergence of opinion as to the character of the personage who will be sent to Washington to represent Canada. I have heard as many as six designations given of this gentleman. Perhaps there are more, but the notes I have taken give me these. Some have called him a trade agent; others, trade commissioner, others, consular agent, others, consul; others have gone to the length of calling him ambassador and finally some have called him plenipotentiary. It is evident that some of these words have more or less the same meaning; but on the other hand, there is a fundamental difference between a trade agent and an ambassador or a plenipotentiary, and if the discussion has been so wide on the subject now before the committee, that is because, to a certain extent, the Government did not see fit at the outset to disclose, exactly and in concrete form, the status and exact functions of the gentleman to be appointed.

[Mr. M. Clark.]

I have listened with great pleasure to the addresses made before the committee this afternoon by the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden) and the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell). These hon. members, and in particular the hon. member for Durham, have given a clear definition of the functions which will be fulfilled by the person to be appointed at Washington. Unfortunately, these hon. gentlemen are no longer members of the Government, and therefore, their declarations cannot be taken as an official declaration of the Government. I would humbly request the Prime Minister, when he rises to close the debate, to give a clear definition of the functions of the representative of Canada who will be sent to Washington.

Speaking for myself alone, I am in sympathy with the project of sending a representative to Washington. We cannot ignore the fact that our destinies are not independent of those of the United States. If they be independent politically, they are not independent commercially. No one can deny that our destinies are tied up with the destinies of the United States commercially. This assertion is strongly borne out by the fact that we are doing at the present time more trade with the United States than with any other country in the world, and it would be correct to say that our trade with the United States is nearly equal to our trade with all the other nations of the world. The figures are not absolutely exact, but they are sufficiently accurate to render clear my idea. Consequently, taking into consideration the fact, which no one can deny, that we have this powerful neighbour on which we are unfortunately to a certain extent commercially dependent, not a fact which we are willing to assume, but a condition which is being imposed on us, we have to cope with this situation , and in order to cope with this situation, which is unique in the case of Canada as regards all other countries, we should be justified in adopting a unique procedure to meet this unique exigency. Perhaps hon. members are too pat to forget that we are actually losing $100,000,000 on exchange with the United States alone each year. We are buying from the United States at the present time about one billion dollars' worth of goods each year. Now if you take into consideration the fact that in the past year the exchange between Canada and the United States has varied from eight and a fraction, the lowest, to nineteen and one quarter per cent, the highest, say an average of thirteen or fourteen per cent on our money, it means that on that one billion dollars' worth of goods that we have bought in twelve months we have made a present of $130,000,000 to the United States. How is it that we are making this present? The answer is very simple. We have to give the United States $113 for every $100 worth of goods that we buy from them. Therefore, unless we admit that our dollar is not worth 100 cents, we are giving a present of $13 to the United States on every $100 worth of goods that we buy from them. These dollars that we pay to the United States will have to be redeemed. Our currency will have to be placed on a par, if it is not on a par now; and the day that our dollar is worth 100 cents in the United States, it will appear that we have given this present to the United States. I am not saying this in the way of criticism. It has many times been said that the Government should see that the exchange should be rectified or equalized, and of course, if that object could be secured it would be a very great thing for Canada, but it is a fact that all countries that took part in the war are placed in a similar position, and Canada along with the others has suffered a depreciation in her currency. Therefore, since the conditions as between this country and the United States are exceptional, since we cannot change those conditions, and since we have to trade with the United States, and give them this enormous present, it is worth while making some sacrifice to have a representative in Washington who will look after Canadian interests and see to it that we get the best possible conditions obtainable with respect to our goods, and perhaps also with respect to our money. I am not saying that if we had a representative at Washington he could equalize the exchange between the two countries, or even reduce the adverse exchange against us, but there is one thing certain, and that is that we have everything to gain from having a direct relationship with the United States through a representative of this kind, and we have a lot to lose if we do not have such a representative.

The right hon. the Prime Minister said in the course of his remarks, in a rather jocular way, that he was looking for a good man to send to Washington. I would not presume to offer him advice, but with the consent of the hon. member for Durham, I might say that I had the advantage of seeing the work that he did at the Labour Conference at Washington in the month of November 1919. I was in Washington myself during the conference, I had the privilege of assisting at its sittings, and I must do my hon. friend from Durham the justice of saying that he represented Canada in a most creditable manner and with distinction to himself and our country. Therefore, if the Prime Minister is looking for a representative—of course, I do not know whether the hon. member for Durham would accept—but if, for the sake of his country, he would accept, I would recommend him to the Prime Minister.

Before resuming my seat, Mr. Chairman, I will sum up in a sentence, my conclusion: in view of the clear definition that the Prime Minister has given of our status, and of the work to be accomplished by this representative, and of the conditions under which he will act, I think the House should be satisfied to vote for this Estimate.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like, Mr. Chairman, to say just one word in reply to some observations that have fallen from my hon. friend from Red Deer, because it is just possible that he may be under a misapprehension as to what this proposal really amounts to. The minister who is to be sent to Washington will be appointed by a sovereign power. That sovereign power is the King, who represents the whole Empire. Perhaps I could make my meaning in that regard a little plainer if I should point out to my hon. friend from Red Deer this: We made a treaty between Canada and the United States with respect to the control of boundary waters and the arrangements in connection with them. There are commissioners appointed under the provisions of that treaty. They represent Canada as distinctly as if they were appointed by Order in Council, but they are appointed by a sovereign power, the King, who appoints them upon the nomination of the King's Privy Council of Canada. The members of the Joint High Commission do not in one sense exercise diplomatic functions, but they exercise certain functions which are very closely allied to those, and I for one cannot see, and I do not think my hon. friend the member for Red Deer will be able to see, any distinction between the principle upon which the British Empire acts in the one case and in the other. The King, being the King of Canada as well as of the United Kingdom, will see fit to appoint a minister who, under the instructions of the King, will be especially charged to concern himself with and to safeguard the interests of

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Canada in respect of her relations with the United States. Therefore, I cannot see that any principle of sovereignty is interfered with more in this case than it has already been interfered with in the case of the appointment of the Canadian members of the Joint High Commission.

I should like to emphasize what has been said by the hon. member for Marquette, that every advanced step in extending the rights of self-government of the provinces of Canada and of the Dominion has led to more or less apprehension. I ventured some years ago to endeavour to trace those steps in a speech which I delivered on the subject, and I pointed out what is absolutely true, that in every case the enlargement of the sphere of self-government of this Dominion and of the other Dominions has led to closer ties than those which existed before. I am quite sure that the confidence of the Government of the United Kingdom in entering into this arrangement, a confidence reposed in the good sense and capacity of the people of Canada to conduct their own affairs, will strengthen, instead of weakening, the ties that bind us to the Mother Country, and the rest of the Empire; and I venture the hope that in the outcome my hon. friend the member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark), whom I thank very heartily for his kind reference to myself, will reach the conclusion that this further stage in advance is one that will be attended with advantages to those close ties and not with any disadvantage to the unity of the Empire.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve—Gaspé): I shall not attempt to prolong the debate at any length. We have listened to-day to one of the most interesting discussions that have ever taken place in this House. I am the more pleased at what I have heard this afternoon and evening because this is probably the first time that members in this House have spoken their mind freely on the question of the future of this Dominion. Mr. Chairman, before I discuss the point which was so ably taken a moment ago by my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark), let me say a word about the item under discussion. I shall vote in favour of that item. Some years ago I was probably one of the first to state that the time had come for Canada to appoint, not an ambassador or a semi-ambassador, but a representative in Washington, the capital of the great republic. Our interests are so intermingled, our trade with that country is so large, and, besides, there are so many connections in various ways, that nature and sentiment alike compel both countries to seek the closest possible relations. When the question came up a few years ago I said that in my recollection the late leader of the Liberal party (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), to my certain knowledge, had in mind the appointment of a high commissioner in Washington. I do not say that the question was ever broached in Council, but it is a matter of common knowledge that he favoured the appointment of a very distinguished Canadian to that high commission. He thought that Canada should be well represented in London, in Paris, and in Washington. Events so transpired that we could not realize what he had had in mind, but I say again, with a sense of responsibility, that he had on various occasions expressed the desire that some day Canada should be represented by a high commissioner in Washington.

Mr. Chairman, I do believe that a high commissoner would be more useful than an ambassador at Washington, unless, as stated a moment ago by my hon. friend from Red Deer, we choose to cut the painter at once and declare ourselves an independent nation; because you cannot have an ambassador in any foreign country unless you exercise that essential power of sovereignty which Canada does not possess. This is the A. B. C. of international law, and it is merely deluding ourselves, it seems to me, to pretend that Canada can under present conditions appoint an ambassador or a minister plenipotentiary to a foreign country. I think that neither the right hon. gentleman from King's (Sir Robert Borden), nor the Prime Minister (Mr. Meighen), who is Minister for External Affairs, will for one moment contend that Canada can of her own initiative, under the powers that belong to her and which are contained in the Canadian constitution, appoint an ambassador to any foreign country, or a minister plenipotentiary. Now, let us not delude ourselves; let us face realities and not shams. Can we or can we not appoint that ambassador? Can we or can we not appoint that minister plenipotentiary? Can we or can we not negotiate and sign a treaty without the rightful interference of the Foreign Office in London, or of the British ambassador or Minister—it depends on the status of the country—with which we are engaged in negotiating such a treaty? In spite of the boast of my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), that Canada had reached the

[Sir Robert Borden.]

status of nationhood and could, as soon as she pleased, appoint an ambassador or appoint consuls, the other day the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) laid upon the table of the House a Treaty with France, whereon we saw the signature of the British ambassador in Paris. I read the correspondence of the right hon. gentleman and of the Minister of Justice with the British authorities regarding the signature to be appended to that treaty.

Now, what is the use of playing at nationhood, when, as a matter of fact, we have none of the powers that belong to a nation unless we solemnly declare that we are a nation and live up to that declaration. This is putting the facts plainly and squarely before the House.

But to come back to the question under consideration, I will support by my vote this evening the appointment of a Canadian representative in Washington, Mr. Chairman, we cannot legislate against geopraphy. We have too much business in the United States and our trade operations are too immense to be ignored, and I believe that we can foster a broader spirit, and a closer friendship between the two countries if we are represented there by a man who, as was said this afternoon by my hon. friend from Durham (Mr. Rowell), could explain to the American authorities what is our point of view, our sentiments, and even our exigencies in relation to certain questions affecting both countries. Now, my hon. friend from Red Deer spoke of the possibilities of the future. Shall it be the statu quo? Shall it be union with the American Republic? Or shall it be the independence of Canada?

Mr. Chairman, I am speaking for myself. I do not believe that any man in this House dreams of a permanent statu quo; there is a stage of evolution for a nation as for an individual. The fruit must ripen and when the fruit has ripened it falls from the parent tree. I will do nothing to revolutionize, but I am quite willing to evolutionize—to await the destiny of Canada, leaving it in the hands of Divine Providence that shapes the destinies of men and nations alike. But let we say this to the Government: when the time comes for Canada to take the decisive step which shall lead her to nationhood, I for one shall stand for Canada as a kingdom. The desire was expressed by Sir John A. Macdonald, the greatest of the Fathers of Confederation, that Canada should be a kingdom and that a member of the Royal Family in England should be the King of Canada. I stand by the views of Sir John A. Macdonald on that question. But, Sir, I warn the Government that if Canada is to avoid the other alternative, that of annexation with the United States, we must, as Canadians, be very careful about the economic situation. To-day the Americans have peacefully invaded our prairies. I do not object to them—they are excellent farmers in the West; indeed I believe they are the best farmers in the West together with our own Canadian native-born. They also have invaded our cities in the province of Ontario and in the province of Quebec, with their capital, which is flowing in all directions. Therefore, economically speaking, American capital controls, to a large degree the financial future of this country. And besides—and now I speak as a Canadian of French descent—English speaking Canada—that is to say eight provinces out of nine, have practically the same laws as they have across the border—eight provinces out of nine speak the same language, have the same uniform system of schools, have the same laws and—if I read aright in the press and if I judge by theatres, cinema pictures and other productions much the same ideas, the same frame of mind, the same accent and—even Mr. Chairman, the same twang. English speaking Canada is becoming Americanized in spite of all.

While we are racially divided—and there are some fools in this country always ready to kindle the fires of race hatred—if my English-speaking fellowmen are anxious to keep this country British, my advice to them is: treat the French-Canadian minority gently and generously. Sir John A. Macdonald followed that course and his friends at the time of Confederation did likewise. Mr. Pope, the father of Senator Pope, also understood it. He was one of the best men that ever sat in this House, although he was not much given to public speaking, and his effort in the form of a certain phrase is well known. After an eloquent speech in which the late Edward Blake charged Mr. Pope with something I do not remember what, in the administration of the Railway Department, Mr. Pope simply rose from his seat and, in his quaint way, said, "Mr. Speaker, there ain't nothin' to it." That was his style of eloquence. Mr. Pope—the Minister of Trade and Commerce knew him well; he was probably in the same Government with him—was a man of judgment, he was one of those David

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Harums of the Eastern Townships who had common sense, and native ability, and industry. Mr. Pope never failed to say to his English-speaking friends, "You wish to keep this country British? Very well, plant French-Canadian colonies here and there and treat them generously." That is what he himself did in his own county of Compton. All along the border he favoured the establishment of French-Canadian parishes and the parishes grew, because population grows where you have French-Canadians and there you have to-day a strong and healthy Canadian sentiment. Now this advice is given free of charge to my hon. friends. I tell them—it is a wholesome truth I am preaching—if Canada is to remain British, be tolerant with the French-Canadians, treat them generously, not only in their so-called preserve in Quebce, but all over Canada, for they are your equals. Do not bully them. It is the fashion of some of my English-speaking friends, because they are in the majority, because they are the conquering race to lord it over the minority. My English-speaking friends are not all of the same frame of mind but there are some imbued with that idea. If you want to make this country a country worthy to live in, get the two races united on a basis of equality, grant them their rights and their privileges and you will have a Canada to be proud of.

Mr. LAPOINTE: And we must have good government too.

Mr. LEMIEUX: There is the other alternative, the Imperial Federation scheme, which would bring about, I suppose, a centralized government. Splendid idea! Full of grandeur! But very difficult of realization. Then you would have a voice in the affairs of the Empire, but your voice would be proportionate to your strength in the representation of that federated parliament of the Empire; and it would mean in the long run that your defence—the army and the navy of the Empire—would be controlled by a central parliament in London where you would have but a few votes or a few representatives to give effect to your views. Then what would happen? A conflict would arise, because Britishers the world over are first of all liberty-lovers, and out of such conflict might come the breakup of the whole Imperial fabric. My hon. friends know their history, they know how the independence of the United States was brought about: it was a case of conflict between the Mother Country and the Thirteen Colonies. The same thing would happen in the event of a conflict of interests in that central parliament. As I said a moment ago, the evolution will come slowly and every year Canada will get a broader vision. If you are anxious to maintain that happy state of things, let well enough alone, have a keen respect for the autonomy of the Dominions. Because it is one of the merits of the British system of government that the antonomy of the component parts is absolute and complete, and Britishers grow very sensitive when that autonomy is in question. Make haste slowly, but above all respect the traditions of all your fellow citizens, be moderate in your views, do not bully the minority, have regard to the failings of the minorities—their prejudices, and thus you will have peace in the Dominion.

The evolution is coming step by step. You cannot arest it; it is a law of nature. The time comes for a nation, as for an individual, to shape its own destiny. When a young man has lived with his parents until the age of twenty-one, he has to cut the home moorings and start a home for himself. After all, would it not be the pride and the glory of the Mother Country to see the Dominions which sprang form her loins gradually increasing their activities and enlarging their potentialities and having rooted in their respective soils the standards and the ideals of life that have made the Mother Country herself the great nation she is, steer their own course.

Mr. KEEFER: Mr. Chairman, I would apologise at this late hour on taking up the time of the committee on this question but for one consideration. The problem we have been discussing is of such intense interest to every Canadian, that it is almost the duty of every hon. member to give it some thought and, if possible, some expression of that thought for the benefit of his fellow men.

I did not intend to rise until I heard the last eloquent speaker, the hon. member from Maisonneuve. As a brother lawyer I want to differ with him on a principle that he laid down. He said that Canada could not appoint an ambassador. Had he listened to the most able speech by the former Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, he would have heard that such was not involved in the proposition. Canada will never think of appointing and could not appoint an ambassador as long as she is part of the British Empire. But the King of Great Britain is the King of

our country, and he can at our request, if he sees fit, appoint an ambassador for Canadian affairs at Washington or at any other embassy. That is what is involved in this proposition as I understand it. It is not that Canada will appoint an ambassador; but whether you call the appointee an ambassador, plenipotentiary or a high commissioner, is it not advisable in the furtherance of better relations between the two countries to have a representative of Canada at Washington? The power of appointment, if the office is to be of an ambassadorial nature, is not in Canada, but in the King of Canada, through his responsible Canadian Privy Council. So we can in that sense appoint an ambassador.

The other point that brought me to my feet was the frequent reference to the destiny of Canada. That thought of destiny is not new. Shakespeare has given it to us in those old lines:

> There is a divinity that shapes our ends
> Rough-hew them how we will.

And the question has been asked in two or three ways by the hon. member for Red Deer. What is the destiny of Canada? I put it wider. What is the destiny of the English-speaking peoples? Because we are a company of nations. Now let us look at this point for a moment: what has the last five or six years enrolled on the scroll of destiny or history because history is destiny? Beginning with China, she has changed recently from an empire to a republic. We come west to the great empire of Russia; the Czar of all the Russias is no longer. We come to Germany: the mighty Hohenzollern emperor, the Kaiser, who kept the world awake at nights with the rattling of his sabre, is an exile, almost fulfilling the words of one of the great prophets:

> How are the mighty fallen. Oh Lucifer son of the morning? For thou hast said in thine heart I will be the Most High.

We find that the same thing happened with the great Hapsburg dynasty—the Emperor an exile from his country. And what has happened in the case of the British people? We have suffered loss; there are vacant chairs in many homes; our public debts are largely increased. But is the world not better to-day because of the work and influence of the British peoples? The world is indebted to us. It is true that we owe the United States money. It was natural that we should borrow heavily from them, because they are our kith and kin. We borrowed not a dollar from any non-English-speaking people. Great Britain is indebted to the United States only, but the world at large owes Great Britain three dollars for every one that she owes the United States; so the world is financial debtor to our people. If you pass on to the question of indebtedness for men and the part played by the British peoples in that regard, I need say no more—count Britain's dead. Now, what is our destiny, the destiny of the English-speaking peoples who are members of the British Empire, as it is called—I prefer the term British Commonwealth. It is that they shall be one great company of nations—John Bull and Company; and I see nothing wrong or nothing detrimental to that principle in our asking for a representative of our branch of the company at Washington. I agree somewhat with what the member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) said, that perhaps on account of our financial condition it may not be necessary just now. But I think we are all agreed upon the principle that it is advisable to have some representation down there. Canada's destiny, then, is to continue to be British. I was born a Canadian. My father was born a Canadian; his father came to this country as a United Empire Loyalist. I am glad to be a Canadian, but I prefer even above that to be a British subject and I think we should let the world at large know that that is the view of every Canadian, whether he be a French-Canadian or an English-Canadian. We are Canadians and we are British subjects, and surely if we deem it advisable to have a representative in Washington it can never be considered that the taking of such a step is inconsistent with our attitude in that regard. I think, therefore, it is not a bad time to let it go forth from this House that the Canadian people stand united upon this question. May I also quote the lines of a French-Canadian writer which are apropos:

> Britain bore us in her flank
> Britain nursed us at our birth;
> Britain raised us to our rank
> Mid the nations of the earth.
> Stand Canadian, firmly stand
> Round the flag of fatherland.

In reference to the previous speaker's remarks about having a member of the royal family as our king, I may point out that we cannot have two kings; we cannot have a branch of the royal family as king in Canada. But we are bound by a common tie, the sovereign of all the kingdoms, and the sooner we let the world know that we are a company of nations

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bound together by a common tie, the Throne, the better for the English-speaking peoples. Only by following the principle dictated by this policy shall we bring about a stronger union with that other branch of the English-speaking peoples to the south of us and completely fulfil our destiny.

Mr. H. S. BELAND (Beauce): Mr. Chairman, this question is undoubtedly one of the largest and most involved that has been discussed in the Canadian Parliament since I first became a member of it, and at the outset I should like to congratulate the committee for discussing it in such a dispassionate way. We have witnessed to-day an admirable spectacle, that of hon. members discussing a problem not only of Canadian, but of international importance, in a spirit of brotherhood and with a calmness which is highly to be commended.

For a number of years Canada has had a High Commissioner in Paris, but to-day Canada is represented in no foreign country other than France. It may strike one as surprising that Canada, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the greatest republic in the world and having with that republic almost boundless trade relations, never before last year thought of being represented in Washington. At the last session a departure in our political life was announced in the House—that Canada should appoint to Washington a minister plenipotentiary whose duty it would be to attend exclusively to matters arising between Canada and the United States. Our representative or our ambassador or our plenipotentiary should, if I understand rightly the declarations that have been made from official quarters, confine himself to Canadian business. What would be the procedure in the matter of the appointment of this plenipotentiary? I have listened with the closest attention to the speeches delivered on this subject from both sides of the House. I have listened carefully to the declaration made by the last speaker (Mr. Keefer), in his very eloquent address, that this appointment would be made not by Canada but by His Majesty the King. He even pointed out that His Majesty the King of England could appoint a representative of Canada to Washington without even consulting us.

Mr. KEEFER: I did not mean that; perhaps I misstated my position. The King can only act in Canada, of course, on the advice of his responsible Canadian minister, just as he can only act in the United Kingdom on the advice of his responsible British ministers. Why? The King can do no wrong. It is the ministers only who can do wrong, by their wrong advice as his advisers.

Mr. BELAND: That the King can do no wrong is an obsolete proposition. It is admitted now by men who are conversant with parliamentary life and institutions, that the King can commit some wrongs. I am sorry if I have misunderstood my hon. friend. I certainly construed his words as conveying the idea that the King, even without the recommendation of the Canadian authorities, could appoint a representative at Washington. Be this as my hon. friend says, I stand corrected in this regard, but how is this appointment going to made? We have listened to different speeches, the purport of which was that the Dominions of the British Empire were on an equal footing with the Mother Country. It has been repeatedly said in this House by hon. gentlemen who sit on the treasury benches, that the nations of the British Empire are now equal in status. I beg to differ from this view. There are in the British Empire certain nations that are on an equal footing, and they are the four Dominions, and above and beyond those four nations there is one supreme and sovereign nation, and that is the United Kingdom. Who will contend for one moment that you can appoint a plenipotentiary to Washington by recommending to His Majesty the King that a man be appointed, without that recommendation passing through the channel of the Foreign Office or the British Government? Nobody will contend that. If my right hon. friend who leads the Government (Mr. Meighen) will say to the committee to-day: "We will recommend to His Majesty the King the appointment of a certain gentleman to fill the important post of plenipotentiary at Washington and this recommendation will go direct to His Majesty without remaining for a day or a week or a month in the office of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs or the Secretary for the Colonies in England," then we will accept his statement, and we will say that Canada has really progressed in her political status. But my right hon. friend will never say that, because it will not be the case. His recommendation, however worthy it may be, will have to pass through the hands of the British Government. I do not say that I object to that; but I strongly and firmly object to the contention that the Dominions and the United Kingdom are politically on an equal footing, because they

[Mr. Lemieux.]

are not, and it is ridiculous to contend that they are, as my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) pointed out this afternoon.

I am not against appointing a representative at Washington; I favour the proposition most heartily. Why should Canada not be represented at Washington? Canada should be represented at Washington as Canada is represented in France. Such representation carries with it a number of advantages which were presented in a most creditable and instructive manner this afternoon by the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell). It carries with it the advantage of being on the spot, the advantage of being in contact with the British Ambassador in Washington every day, the advantage of being in contact with the political personages of the great Capital of the country to the south of us. There are many other advantages which I will not take up the time of the committee to relate; but coupled with those advantages, especially if we appoint a minister plenipotentiary, are many dangers. What dangers? The danger that, even if this representation be confined to purely Canadian affairs, conflicts are bound to arise, perhaps secretly between British interests and Canadian interests. Let us go a few years back in the history of Canada. Who amongst us does not know the fact and incident that, on a certain occasion, Sir John Macdonald, who had been sitting in Washington, returned to Canada and his home disgusted, as he expressed it, at the proceedings there because the Canadian interests had been sacrificed by the British authorities in presence of the Americans? Let us come a little later to the administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier when the Alaskan boundary question was under discussion. The hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) said a moment ago—and he was supported in that contention, I think, by the hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden)—that every step towards antonomy on the part of Canada, though it first had created alarm, had developed into closer and better arrangements and understandings between the Mother Country and ourselves. These steps that were taken at the time that Sir John Macdonald sat in Washington, these steps that were taken later at the time of the settlement of the Alaskan boundary question, were at a time when Canada was passing gradually from the stage of colonialism of the stage of autonomy. What was the result? I do not want to bring to the attention of the committee the painful spectacle which was offered in Canada at the time of the Alaskan boundary question, when the representative of Canada, sitting in Washington with the British representative and the American representative, was voted down by the two, the American and the British, when he came back to Canada and held, as I think it was called then, a demonstration of protest in the city of Toronto. I do not say that that will be repeated; but when you say that every step towards greater autonomy for Canada makes only for better understandings between the Mother Country and ourselves I say that this is bound to arise and certainly it will arise if my right hon. friend who leads the Government (Mr. Meighen) carries out his idea that this appointment will be of such a nature that the Canadian plenipotentiary will assume the duties of the British ambassador in the case of the British ambassador being absent. I agree with the proposition of appointing a representative at Washington; I may go so far as to agree that a discussion of purely Canadian affairs be confined as between him and the American authorities; but I want to register my opposition against the Canadian plenipotentiary acting at any time, even for one hour, as the representative of the whole British Empire. I object to that because I see in it many dangers.

The hon. member for Fort William and Rainy River (Mr. Manion) who always speaks eloquently and whom I was delighted to listen to this afternoon, was saying that it was customary between nations that the ambassador of one nation should take over the interests of another nation. That we know very well. During my visit in the city of Berlin some years ago the interests of the British Empire were entrusted to the American Embassy up to the time the United States entered the war, but does my hon. friend think for a moment that the American ambassador in Berlin would subordinate the interests of his country to the interests of the British Empire? Not for one moment. Then, in this concrete case, the British interests were subordinate to the American interests, and had the British interests come into conflict with the American interests, what would have been the immediate step of the American ambassador? He would have subordinated the British interests to the American interests.

Let us suppose a case. Let us suppose that my right hon. friend's ambassador in Washington assume the duties of the British ambassador. Let us go one step further, and suppose a case of purely

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Canadian interests coming into conflict with British interests. Think for a moment of the disastrous situation that would result if our ambassador should subordinate the British interests to the Canadian interests! If these two cases are parallel, if they are to be assimilated, as my hon. friend so ably this afternoon, then it would be the duty of our plenipotentiary to subordinate the interests of Great Britain to the interests of Canada. What a situation! No, let us go slowly. My hon. friend from Red Deer closed his remarks with that admonition: Do not hurry, go slowly. He is quite right, but he need not have any apprehensions. The appointment will not be made very soon, and there is a good reason for that, Mr. Chairman. My right hon. friend the Prime Minister is in the position of a certain man who had two sisters and did not want to make a choice between them. The poet of Montmartre has said—I know if I quoted him in French my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce would understand me, but perhaps I had better translate—"Between the two sisters my trouble is great. It is not to know to which of the two my heart should address its vows. Both of the sisters are worthy that I should love them, and my trouble comes when I consider which of the two I shall not like." That is the position of my right hon. friend the Prime Minister. He has two pretenders to the position, both very worthy, eminent statesmen. They have this afternoon delivered themselves in such a creditable manner that I realize fully—

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: If my hon. friend is alluding to me, I desire to state that he is stating something absolutely without warrant. There is not one word of truth in what he has uttered as regards myself.

Mr. FIELDING: Order. I think my hon. friend was hasty when he declared there was not one word of truth in what another member has said.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Concerning myself.

Mr. FIELDING: My right hon. friend ought to withdraw that remark.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I will not withdraw it.

Mr. FIELDING: I ask for the ruling of the Chair. The right hon. gentleman has said that there is not one word of truth in what my hon. friend from Beauce has said.

[Mr. Keefer.]

Mr. MEIGHEN: On the point of order, it has been held time and again that there must be an allegation of deliberation before it is decided on the rules.

Mr. LEMIEUX: On the question of being a sister, my right hon. friend is quite right. There is not one word of truth in that.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend the member who has just spoken, and with less than his customary courtesy—

Mr. BELAND: I am sorry.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN:—has stated or insinuated that I am an applicant to the Government of my right hon. friend for the position of Canadian Minister at Washington. I repeat again, there is not one word of truth in that.

Mr. BELAND: I accept the statement made by the right hon. gentleman. I am extremely sorry if I hurt the feelings of such an eminent gentleman as the ex-Prime Minister. Did I say that he was an applicant? I do not remember having used the word, but if I did, it was not by intention. I repeat, he is a worthy Canadian, even if he does not wish to be a candidate. In 1917, I was elected without my consent ever being given to being a candidate. That may be the case this time with my right hon. friend. He does not want to be the representative of Canada at Washington, but in spite of himself he may have to accept the position, for the sake of Canada, and not to displease his own political friends. Be that as it may, the position of the right hon. the Prime Minister is difficult; we all realize that, and he will postpone the appointment for a very, very long time.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I think it is only just to the hon. member for Durham to say that the hon. member for Beauce is entirely wrong as to him also.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Then nobody will be appointed.

Mr. BELAND: I am sure I am quite right in saying that my right hon. friend the Prime Minister is in a very difficult position when he has such good material to select from. What I want to point out is that outside of these two hon. gentlemen my right hon. friend has many others from whom he could make a good selection. but my hon. friend from Red Deer need have no apprehension; the appointment will not be made very soon.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): If nobody will take the job, it will never be filled.

Mr. BELAND: I confess that I cannot absolutely agree with my hon. friend from Red Deer. I think that Canada should be represented at Washington. During the war Canada had a worthy representative in Paris in the person of the Hon. Mr. Roy. I understand that in its communications with the French Government the Caadian Government used the services of the Hon. Mr. Roy, very properly, not in a purely political sense, but for looking after many matters in connection with the successful carrying on of the war. Let us have a representative at Washington, but do not clothe the gentleman with these wonderful powers that have been enumerated to-day, and which the hon. member for Durham in particular outlined. Let him be a representative of Canada, just as Mr. Roy was the representative of Canada in Paris, and then I think the people will be satisfied.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am sorry to delay the committee, but I would be doing a little injustice if I did not explain one or two matters. When I was on my feet and under cross examination at eight o'clock by hon. gentlemen opposite, I made a statement with regard to the tri-partite nature of the negotiations leading up to the arrangement, and I read at the close a statement of the precise position the minister plenipotentiary would be in. I refer my hon. friend from Joliette to that. He will find it in Hansard, and it clearly and fully answers the question which he put to me in that regard. In my remarks I used the word "correspondence," and from that it might be deduced that there had been what is ordinarily known as correspondence with the United States. I understand from a closer reading of the memorandum, which I had in mind in making the statement, that there is nothing in the way of formal correspondence. There was, however, informal communication with the United States Government as regards the matter, in order that their mind might be known as to the reception of the minister plenipotentiary when appointed. The correspondence such as there is refers to that, and as it does, the principle is involved of disclosing the nature of these communications, which we have no right to do.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: These informal communications which the Prime Minister speaks of were doubtless had with the previous administration. Has he any assurance that the administration which has succeeded will accept the statement that he now puts before the House as representing the situation?

Mr. MEIGHEN: There has been no communication at all, so far as I know, with regard to the subject occurred when but there would be no difference whatever regarding a matter of that sort. The Secretary of State in the United States Department would not, on any account, as I understand foreign policy, change his attitude in that regard without at least advising us.

Mr. LEMIEUX: This is the third or fourth time I have voted for this matter; I think it is the third time. Now, I do not wish to ask my hon. friend whether he is going to make the appointment within two weeks or a month. I would ask him, however, in all sincerity, whether it is the intention of the Government to appoint this representative within this fiscal year?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is not only the intention, but the sincere hope. The reason why this has not been done so far is the reason that has been given—the only reason. To return to the subject with which I was dealing before, the correspondence is fragmentary, in that much of the conversations, as they are described, that took place with regard to the subject occurred when the Prime Minister of the day was overseas and in personal conference. What took place with the United States was much of the same character. There were some telegrams, and I am not sure whether there were letters or not. On careful examination of the telegrams by the legal adviser of the Department of External Affairs, to see whether there were some which we could be justified in bringing down, he decided that there were not. He discusses for a time whether there were two telegrams that might be brought down, but portions of them were confidential, and he closes his memorandum thus:

> To publish a part of the first two telegrams without the rest would be incongruous; the confidential matter is inseparable; the result would be fragmentary and rather meaningless. Accordingly it is submitted that all should be withheld. The public announcement contains the arrangement as reached in the negotiations;—

I would draw attention to the next sentence, because it is expressive of what is a practice applicable not only to this case, but also, apparently, applicable universally to matters of this kind:

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—even President Wilson's famous point about "open covenants" did not, according to his own interpretation, require the details of the negotiations of the "covenants" to be published.

So that no country, and not even the late President of the United States, who has pressed the matter of open covenants probably further than it has ever been carried before, has ventured to say that the negotiations leading up to the final result should be published.

Mr. LAPOINTE: What statement is the Prime Minister quoting?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am reading from a memorandum prepared by the legal adviser of the Department of External Affairs, after carefully investigating whether there was anything which the Government had a right to bring down in the way of correspondence leading to the arrangement. There could be nothing in the world of advantage to the committee in the negotiations; the important question is: what was the final result? The proposal and counter-proposal could not be interesting in this case, and could not be of any value to us in deciding whether or not the arrangement, as finally agreed upon, was a proper one. In these matters we must be governed by the practice of governments and by the best advice of those who have given careful and, indeed, lifelong study to the subject.

I have nothing to add to the general debate. It has been taken care of on both sides of the House by those who have given probably more time to the general question than I have. I only want to say that while I do not follow the arguments of hon. gentlemen who oppose the vote, I have not heard any speech on the part of any one who opposes it that does not disclose a sentiment with which I am in full harmony and accord. Indeed, if I may say so, I feel myself in point of sentiment in accord with those who oppose the vote, but, in point of reason, in sympathy with those who support it. If I thought that the step which this vote contemplates was a step towards withdrawal from the Empire, or a loosening of the bonds that bind us to the Empire, I could be relied upon to be among the first of those who would oppose it and would consistently do so at all costs. I do not so regard it. Indeed, the reasoning of the member for Calgary (Mr. Tweedie), seems to me to be very impressive indeed. This step is one that should make even better the relations between the countries, because it is a step in the direction of fuller autonomy; it is a step in the evolution of our status as a nation; and each step in the past has been accompanied by progress in strength of the real bond that binds the Empire together.

I cannot follow the reasoning which leads to the conclusion that we must maintain colonial status or else march towards the disintegration of the Imperial structure. That does not appeal to me in any degree. Indeed, the Imperial structure has multiplied in strnegth as the different Dominions of the Empire have elevated themselves step by step beyond the colonial status. Nor do I think that this will be the end of the evolution of the Dominion into nationhood. I cannot conceive that even the relationship that this establishes would be adequately expressive of what the position of this Dominion should be in relation to the rest of the Empire when, say, we have a population here equal to the population of the United Kingdom. All this will take care of itself with the passage of time. What we are doing now is to take a step in relation to permanent representation at Washington, parallel to that which we took in relation to the treaty making power, having representatives of this country really negotiate treaties and advise His Majesty in relation thereto; and paralel to the step we have taken in respect of the International Joint Commission, where Canada virtually negotiates with the United States but where the representatives are representatives of the sovereign power, its head being the King, named on the advice of his ministers for this country. We are simply taking another step akin to those already taken, and this time in regard to our permanent representation at Washington, the capital of the great republic to the south. Nor does it follow, because we take this step in relation to the United States, that it would be even natural for us to take it in relation to other countries. It may be so, in the course of the long years, we know not when; but our position with regard to the United States differs most substantially from our position in relation to any other country in the world. We are alongside of them; we necessarily have more intimate relations with them, and we have a far vaster intercourse with them of every kind, commercial, diplomatic and all the rest, than we do with any other country. There is no reason at all from which you can argue that because we take this tep in relation to that country we must go on and incur the expense of having diplomatic representatives in the various capitals of Europe or other countries of the world. It has been urged very strongly on the part of one hon. gentleman, the hon. member for Perth (Mr. Morphy) that what we should be doing is to create consular agencies, trade agencies, in the United States instead. Well, something can be said against that particularly from the standpoint of—

Mr. MORPHY: I did not say "instead."

Mr. MEIGHEN: Perhaps that is not necessary to the argument I am trying to make.

Mr. MORPHY: I said "in conjunction with" in order to make it useful.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I have very much sympathy with that idea myself.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What idea?

Mr. MEIGHEN: With the idea of having, when it can be thoroughly worked out, consular representation there; that is to say for the purposes that we have heard about to-night. But something can be argued against that from a standpoint that cannot be taken against this proposition, in that it may be said that if we have representatives there whose duty it is to do what the United States representatives do here in relation to trade, charging fees for so doing and thereby becoming to an extent an impediment, when we do that we should do it for other countries; otherwise it can be said it would be discrimination against Europe. As regards this proposition, that cannot be argued at all. There is nothing that leads us into any further step at all because we take this step in relation to the United States. We do it there because of our close kinship, commercially, diplomatically and every other way with that great country, differing wholly in our relationship with other countries in the world.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): How does my right hon. friend reconcile that argument with the argument we have heard previously to the effect that we are doing it because of our national status? Does not national status relate to every country in the world?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not say we are doing it because of our national status.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): But others have said so.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not know that they have but at any rate it is a matter of expression. We are doing it because we need it, because it is going to be of service to us.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): For trade?

Mr. MEIGHEN: We need it for several reasons; it is not trade alone.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): The Minister of Finance said the other day that we had plenty of trade with the United States.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not think he said that we had plenty of trade with the United States, but do not divert me from my subject. I am ready to discuss trade with the hon. gentleman, I have done so before. We are doing this because we believe we need it. We believe we need this representative in Washington for purposes that are Canadian; and a better example could scarcely have been offered the hon. member for Red Deer than that proposed to him by the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell). If he had to do with the matter referred to as I had to do with it, he would have seen the value of having a permanent representative there. The difficulty in that regard, and it applies to similar difficulties in the future, might well have been avoided had we had a representative at Washington at that time fully conversant with the situation in Canada and with the real reasons that influenced the Government of Canada in relation to that matter. But I do not want to wander from the subject. We take this step not because we are a nation and merely to express our nationhood. We take it for the service it is going to be to us. We take it because it will be a help to us, but it does illustrate the growing nationhood of the country.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Hear, hear.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It does illustrate the development of this country as an integral portion of the Empire; it illustrates the evolution of this Empire as an Empire. But it is not merely for the purpose of so illustrating it that we take the step. If it has no purpose and utility it should not have been done. That is all I desire to say.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Have we any constitutional right to make an appointment to the United States that is not of equal force with regard to any nation in Europe? Have we any inherent right as a people, or any power, to make that appointment, that we do not possess in the case of other nations?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Not at all. The United States as a foreign country is in just the same position as regards Canada as any

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other country; and if the need arises to do likewise with any other country—if the need arises equally great and equally pressing—why then, of course, we will have the same right to do it in the same way.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not wish at this late hour to detain the committee at any length, but there are two or three views to which I would like to give expression, particularly as reference has been made by several speakers to my own remarks in the matter. In the first place I may be permitted for a moment to emphasize again the rather remarkable situation in which we find ourselves when—in a matter of vast importance, a matter of exceptional importance involving as some say a material change in the status of the country—we are without a scrap of information as to the correspondence that has passed. I do not know any previous transaction that has ever been presented to this House, at all approaching it in importance, without the history of the negotiations being submitted to us. If the right hon. gentleman cannot give us that correspondence, all I can say is that it is a great misfortune, and it is a very strange way to inaugurate a great change in our relations both Imperial and domestic. It is a misfortune that my right hon. friend has to say, "It is a great change, but we cannot tell you how it came about."

There is another curious fact in connection with this matter. The information given us to-day in the very interesting presentation contributed by the right hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden), showed that for many years there has been talk of this. There has been for a long period talk of negotiating our own treaties and incidentally, in many cases, reference has been made and the proposal has been advanced that we should have a Canadian representative at Washington, but in every case the proposal has been turned down. For thirty years or more this has been talked about, but the judgment of the governments of both sides, and of all parties, and of all the statesmen of the country, after full consideration, has been to turn down the proposition. During those thirty years or more we have at all times been struggling—perhaps I should not say that—but we have been making an effort to bring about closer trade relations with the United States. There have been during this period perhaps some reasons stronger than exist to-day for having somebody to represent Canada at Washington. During all these thirty years the leading purpose of every government has been to try to bring about closer trade relations with the United States, but during all that time every government has turned this proposition down. Now we are taking it up at a time when, to put it mildly, we have less desire to trade with the United States than we ever had during the last half century.

Now I would like to say a word to my much respected friend, the hon. member for Fort William and Rainy River (Mr. Manion). He represented me as saying that I was content with the present situation—I think that is a correct quotation. I do not dissent from that idea, but when my hon. friend implies that to be content with the present situation is somewhat humiliating, and that is the real inference from his remarks, I am going to put a question to him. I am content with the present situation, I plead guilty to that, but will my hon. friend be good enough to tell me what changes he wants?

Mr. MANION: I will answer the question. Before I made that statement I pointed out that the hon. gentleman had described us as a colony—he said we were practically a colony.

Mr. FIELDING: Correct.

Mr. MANION: A few moments later he said, "I am satisfied with the present situation." That is what I was criticising—not our present situation, but the fact that the hon. gentleman had described us as being a colony, and then his going on to assert that he was satisfied with our present situation as being a colony. I went on to say further that if the people of Canada thought we were still a colony they would not be satisfied with that situation.

Mr. FIELDING: I am satisfied with the present situation—that is correct. But the present situation—call it what you like—has not been changed. The constitution of Canada is the British North America Act, and amid all this talk of nationality and change of status we have not changed one letter in the British North America Act. There is no change of status for Canada. I grant that in trade, in importance, and in population Canada stands higher than ever before in the eyes of the world, but from the national point of view and from the constituional point of view there has been no change whatever. Now, my hon. friend for Red Deer took the ground, in his usual forceful way, that nationhood and the appointment of an ambassador necessarily implied the existence of sovereign power. He made that statement very strongly. The right hon. member for King's, N.S., I understood, practically admitted that as correct. "Yes," he said, "you can only appoint an ambassador through sovereign power." But if I correctly understood his argument, he said, "If the King, as advised by the Privy Council of Canada, recommends the appointment of an ambassador, that makes us a sovereign power. I think I did not misunderstand the hon. gentleman.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not put it that way.

Mr. FIELDING: Not in those words. The hon. member for Red Deer said that the appointment of an ambassador was the evidence of sovereign power. My hon. friend for King's, N.S., met that by saying, "Yes, I admit that in effect, but if the King be advised by the Privy Council of Canada to make that appointment, that constitutes us a sovereign power." If he did not mean that, then my hon. friend did not meet the argument at all. Why, every day of our lives we do things in the name of the King. Here is a volume of the statutes of Canada, on every page of which you will find, "His Majesty by and with the advice of the Parliament of Canada," does so and so. Does that make us a sovereign power? The King is present in all our acts; in every official action we use the name of the King. But surely that does not make us a sovereign power. The argument of the hon. member for Red Deer that an ambassador can receive his appointment only from a sovereign power is absolutely sound, and it has not been met by my hon. friend from King's.

The hon. member for Maisonneuve made one or two remarks on which I should like to comment. Speaking of the future, he said, that the time will come when the ripened fruit will fall off. That illustration was given fifty years ago or more by a party in England, sometimes called the Little England party, who held that it was the natural development of these colonies that they should drop off with the ripening of the fruit. But strange to say, with the process of time, though the fruit ripens better than ever before, it does not drop off. Indeed, I think nearly every one will agree with me that the more the fruit ripens the more strongly it is attached to the stem than at any time in our history. I remember a good many years ago in my boyhood days—I am afraid to tell you how long ago it was—when the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward, came to Canada, a local bard in my town welcomed the Prince in three or four verses, only one of which I can recall. I am not so sure that it is to my credit to be able to quote it, but one thing which has been flitting through my mind is the verse in which he was thinking of the possibility of the future. The hon. member for Maisonneuve said, "We do not know what is going to happen in the future." That is true. It is the present and that portion of the future which is easily visible that we should deal with to-day, and we can only legislate and devise measures for it. This local bard evidently had that thought in his mind when he wrote these lines:

> The changes time may bring
> Far from our thoughts we fling.
> Join we this day to sing,
> God Save the King.

That is the true position. That is our position to-day. Changes may come, the world moves on, and which one of us can say what will happen in the future? But we say as to the things of to-day and as to the things of the early future which are within our vision, that we ought to be content with our present situation as a portion of the British Empire, with all the local self-government we desire, and with, I think nothing to complain of.

I am sorry my hon. friend from Durham has gone, because I would like to have him present while I comment on his speech. I was surprised that so able a lawyer should endeavour to attach qualifications to the power of the British Parliament. My right hon. friend the Minister of Justice on a previous occasion had said, as quoted to-day by the hon. member for Beauce, that we are now in a position of equality with Great Britain. I was referring to that, and I asked the hon. member for Durham, "As to the Parliament at Westminster in which we are not represented, has it not the power to wipe out the constitution of Canada—the British North America Act?" My hon. friend from Durham proceeded to argue that, strictly speaking, he did not propose to deny the power, but he said the British Parliament had not the right to do it. He talked a good deal about constitutional right. Well, right and power are not necessarily the same thing. We are constantly called upon to do things in this House which some of us think are not right, and power has to be exercised. In the discussion of our public affairs we on this side of the House,

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possibly erroneously, at all events in the exercise of our right of independent thought, have advanced certain propositions against the Government. We say that the Government has no right to do certain things. The answer is that the thing is done. They may have power to do it; we may have the right to declare they are wrong. But when the hon. member for Durham fails to recognize the distinction between right and power I think he is begging the question. I do not need to be a lawyer to say,—any one who has knowledge of the British system of Government must admit it—that there is absolutely no limitation to the power of the British Parliament. As one of our constitutional writers has said, "the only thing that Parliament cannot do is to make a man a woman." But in so far as any human effort can be made, the Parliament of Great Britain is supreme.

Now, all this talk of nationhood, of equality with Great Britain is absolutely unwarranted, and it is an impossible condition. I am only going to detain the committee two or three minutes longer while I quote one or two authorities. The hon. member for Durham cited Sir Frederick Pollock, arguing practically that it was in the power of the British Parliament to do certain things, but that it would not do them. I am going to read one or two authorities as a contribution to the literature of this discussion. I do not think this time is wasted. I think the discussion to-day as dealing with a very important question has been an illuminating discussion and I think we ought to be pleased, although we differ in some respects, that it has taken place. But in answer to this story of the equality of Canada with other nations. I am going to give a quotation from no less authority than Lord Macaulay. I am not quoting from the History itself, but I have no doubt that this extract is correct:

> The doctrine that the parent state has supreme power over the colonies is not only borne out by authority and by precedent, but will aear,pp cmfwy vbgkq cmfwy shrdl cv will appear, when examined, to be in entire accordance with justice and with policy. During the feeble infancy of colonies, independence would be pernicious, or rather fatal to them. Undoubtedly, as they grow stronger and stronger, it will be wise in the Home Government to be more and more indulgent. No sensible parent deals with a son of twenty in the same way as with a son of ten. Nor will any Government not infatuated treat such a province as Canada in the way in which it might be proper to treat a little band of emigrants who have just begun to build their huts on a barbarous shore and to whom the protection of the flag of a great nation is indispensably necessary. Nevertheless, there cannot really be more than one supreme power in a society. If, therefore, a time comes at which the Mother county finds it expedient altogether to abdicate her paramount authority over a colony, one of two courses ought to be taken. There ought to be complete incorporation, if such incorporation be possible. If not, there ought to be a complete separation. Very few propositions in politics can be so perfectly demonstrated as this—that parliamentary Government can not be carried on by two really equal and independent Parliaments in one Empire.

Macaulay wrote some years ago, and, as some hon. gentlemen say, the world has moved since. But it has not moved in that respect, and the position to-day is exactly what it was when Macaulay wrote. But if you want a more modern writer I will quote Dr. Oppenheim, professor of International Law at the University of London, who in a work published as late as 1906, says:

> Colonial states have no international position whatever, they are, from the standpoint of the law of nations, nothing else than colonial portions of the Mother country, although they enjoy perfect self-government and may therefore in a sense be called states. The deciding factor is that their governor, who has a veto is appointed by the Mother Country, and that the Parliament of the Mother Country could withdraw self-government from its colonial states and legislate for them.

That is exactly the position which I stated to-day in my conversation with the hon. member for Durham. Now, we have other illustrations which come closer home. The power of the Imperial authorities—the Government and Parliament and the King—over the legislation of Canada is a large power. They can disallow every act of this Parliament. They would not do it and they do not do it, but who can say they have not the power? They have the same power with respect to our legislation that the Government of Canada has with respect to provincial legislation. The Government of Canada could disallow very Act of a provincial legislature if it wanted to do so, but of course it would not exercise that power. In days gone by the power was exercised in large measure. We have come to more modern conditions now under which the principles regulating disallowance are better understood. We would not disallow for some of the reasons which were put forward for disallowance many years ago. But the power of the Dominion Government to disallow an Act of the legislature of a province is unlimited. The power of His Majesty the King, through his representative, the Governor General, to veto every Act of this Parliament remains. There is no change in the power; the only change is that we have grown larger, more wealthy, more important and command greater respect in the eyes of the world; consequently some of the things that might have been done in former times would not be done now. But I repeat that there is no change in the constitution of Canada; there is no real change in Canada's status.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like to say one or two words in reply to one or two of the arguments which my hon. friend has addressed to the committee. I join with him and with other members in appreciation of the spirit in which this debate has been carred on. My hon. friend might well have added one further illustration to those which he gave in the concluding portion of his speech; he might have added that His Majesty the King has absolute power to veto every Act passed by the Imperial Parliament. So far as the power is concerned, it is there; if the King does not assent to an Act of the Imperial Parliament it has no effect. The Act is brought into being, into effective operation, by the consent of the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons. If the King sees fit to veto or to withhold his assent, then the Act has no operation. Mr. Asquith said some years ago that the exercise of that power to veto had not been known since the time of Queen Anne, and that the power itself was as dead as Queen Anne. The Parliament of the United Kingdom has legal power to make a tariff for this country. It had power during the war through which we have just passed to pass an Act for compulsory military service in Canada. It had absolutely no constitutional right to do either of these things. If my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's will look at the work, recent and otherwise of Lord Bryce, of President Lowell of Harvard, of Mr. Dicey, of Mr. Anson, and of half a dozen other constitutional writers whom I could name and from whom I could quote if it were worth while, he would find that that legal power in the constitution of the British Empire is absolutely limited by constitutional right; therefore when he makes the suggestion that he has put forward here he is quite at sea so far as the opinion of great constitutional writers and of the leading statesmen of the country is concerned. Further than that, when my hon. friend suggests that because there is no change in the British North America Act this Dominion has precisely the same status that it had on the first day of July, 1867, he is absolutely beside the mark. The British North America Act has had its meaning and its scope and its effect modified during all these years, by that very constitutional usage to which I have just now alluded and which has so profoundly moulded the methods of government in the United Kingdom. All these things are the mere commonplaces of constitutional history and constitutional law, and I am rather surprised that my hon. friend should have put forward in seriousness some of the suggestions which he has addressed to this committee.

12 m.

Now, the hon. gentleman has endeavoured to involve me in some dilemma in regard to the answer which I made to the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark). I said in reply to the hon. member for Red Deer that the appointment of the proposed minister was to be an appointment made by the King, who is as much the King of Canada as he is of the British Isles and who acts within this Dominion of Canada upon the advice of the King's Privy Council for Canada. I pointed out further that no one, I suppose, who has given any consideration to the question will deny, that what is called the Canadian section of the International Joint Commission is really a Canadian section. It is called the Canadian section, and it is the Canadian section. That is an international commission and the United States in dealing under that treaty are dealing internationally and we are dealing internationally. Does any hon. gentleman in this House suggest the contrary of that? And how are these commissioners appointed? Precisely in the same way in which it is proposed to appoint this minister—by His Majesty the King, acting upon the nomination made by the King's Privy Council for Canada. Is there any distinction between the two cases? Have I made myself clear to hon. gentlemen in this committee? That is the answer which I intended to give to my hon. friend from Red Deer and that is the answer which I now give to my hon. friend the member for Shelburne and Queen's. So far as sovereign power is concerned, my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's, has quoted from Oppenheim, whose authority I recognize. I have quotations under my hand from Oppenheim which show that in foreign affairs that is true which is obviously true in domestic affairs, that

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has proved it to-day by his own lips when he pointed out that the same King acts by the advice of his Parliament in Great Britain, by the advice of his Parliament in Canada and by the advice of his legislature in every province of Canada. Then is not sovereignty divisible so far as domestic relations are concerned? I should like to tell the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's that there is good ground in the opinion of some constitutional writers, to say that sovereignty in respect of foreign relations is also divisible in somewhat the same sense. Whether that be true or not there is no question about it in this case, because the minister who is to be charged specially with the interests of Canada in relation to the United States will be appointed by His Majesty the King of the whole Empire and therefore the King of Canada, upon the nomination and recommendation of the King's privy Council for Canada.

Mr. FIELDING: There is just one illustration that my right hon. friend gave, to which I wish to call attention, because it is one that we can all readily understand. He said that the Parliament of Great Britain cannot make a tariff for Canada. The Parliament of Great Britain, he said, could not authorise conscription in Canada. My right hon. friend was wrong. The Parliament of Great Britain could do both. Why is it that they did not do both? Because they had, in the exercise of their power, delegated, through the British North America Act, all these powers to the people of Canada. It is an illustration of the power which exists in the Imperial Parliament delegated to this Parliament through the British North America Act.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Hy right hon. friend is wrong again.

Mr. FIELDING: No, he is not.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Every constitutional lawyer who has given any consideration to the question knows at once that any such Act, if passed by the Imperial Parliament, would be a repeal pro tanto of the British North America Act and would, therefore, have no effect.

Mr. FIELDNG: Surely.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: But the reason that that could not be done is the reason that I gave a moment ago, that, in this respect as in other respects which have governed the development and growth of

[Sir Robert Borden.]

government within the British Empire, legal power is absolutely controlled by constitutional right.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I have no desire to prolong this discussion; but I just want to say that I am utterly unconvinced by my right hon. friend's comparison between the appointment of an ambassador or a plenipotentiary to a foreign court and the case of an international commission, as it is called. In its application to Canada, it is a domestic affair; it is looking after the interests of Canada in her domestic affairs, and the term "international" is applied to that commission simply because both nations have an interest in the matter that is going on. But when you appoint an ambassador to a foreign court, you take the position of a sovereign state, and I ask my right hon. friend to contradict me if I am wrong when I say that no plenipotentiary or ambassador to a foreign power has ever been appointed except by a sovereign state. He knows very well what the meaning of the term sovereign state is.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not know that I can make myself any plainer to the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) than I have already done. It is apparent, I should think, that a section of the commission, appointed under a treaty made between two countries foreign to each other, must have another relation than that which he described as purely domestic. Their action is not limited to this country; it operates in Canada; it operates in the United States, and its operation can only be carried out by the commission as a whole, consisting of two sections, one of them appointed by the United States and the other appointed by Canada through the medium of His Majesty the King acting upon the advice of the King's Privy Council for Canada. Therefore, I venture to repeat, with all respect to my hon. friend, that so far as my opinion, at least, goes, the two cases depend precisely upon the same principle and that if you admit, as you must admit, that principle is properly applied in the one case, you must, of necessity, also admit that it can be equally applied in the other case.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I am going to ask my right hon. friend—he knows very well—the question: Is Canada a sovereign state? That is the first question. He can answer that question. The second one I want him to answer is this: In case Canada is not a sovereign state, am I right in

saying that this is a totally new departure inasmuch as a plenipotentiary or ambassador has never been appointed except by a sovereign state?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend has put a question which I shall be very glad to answer. Canada, as one of the nations of the Empire, owes allegiance to His Majesty the King who unquestionably is sovereign in respect of the whole Empire and sovereign therefore in each Dominion of the Empire. In each Dominion he acts only upon the advice of his ministers for that Dominion. Thus, the King is sovereign in Canada, and Canada in respect of its allegiance to the King and in respect of its status as a nation in the British Empire, is sovereign in this essential respect that the King, having regard to the special interest of Canada, has an absolute and perfect right to appoint a plenipotentiary to concern himself specially with the affairs of Canada in relation to any foreign country.

Item agreed to.

Salaries and expenses, passport office, $40,000.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I move to reduce this item by $10,000. It has already been reduced by $25,000, so that this will make a $35,000 reduction. The passport business has kept up very well, but the indications are such that we believe $30,000 will be sufficient.

Motion agreed to.

Item as amended, agreed to.

Amount required to pay consular officers abroad for services, $300.

Mr. POWER: Who gets this?

Mr. MEIGHEN: This is to pay telegrams and incidental expenses in case there is trouble abroad regarding Canadian citizens, and we have to have the service of a consul.

Item agreed to.

Salaries and expenses of the Paris agency, $42,500.

Mr. BELAND: What is the salary of Mr. Roy?

Mr. MEIGHEN: $12,000 and $2,500 living allowance.

Item agreed to.

Allowance to Mr. W. J. Stewart, chief hydrographer for services performed under Order in Council of the 19th October, 1912, in relation to questions under consideration by the International Joint Commission during the year 1921-22, $1,000.

Mr. CAHILL: Does this gentleman get a salary from any other department of the Government, and how much?

Mr. MEIGHEN: He gets $4,000 as chief hydrographer in the Naval Service Department.

Mr. CAHILL: Has he only the two positions? Would it not be possible for the Government to get these gentlemen all under one salary so that we would not be paying them in different sums from different departments from time to time?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I think it would be better myself. In fact, we have had several put in that position. This one has not been as yet.

Item agreed to.

Miscellaneous—Amount required to meet expenses of the Lake of the Woods Control Board, $4,500.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Last year the amount was $10,000. This is the board that has been acting all along under Order in Council of the Ontario Government and of this Government. Hereafter, if the Bill passes that is now before Parliament for its third reading, and the Ontario Bill passes, the Board will operate under statute.

Item agreed to.

Civil government—External affairs—salaries $64,625; contingencies, $46,000.

Mr. POWER: Who is the legal adviser?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Mr. L. C. Christie.

Mr. POWER: Judging by the memorandum he submitted to the Prime Minister with reference to the correspondence exchanged between the Imperial Government and the American Government, and his reference to President Wilson of the United States, I should imagine him to have a very keen sense of sarcasm.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I did not observe that. I think I must have a dull sense of perspicuity. I admit that he has a very keen sense of humour.

Mr. BELAND: Who is the assistant deputy head?

Mr. MEIGHEN: W. H. Walker.

Mr. POWER: I see "allowances for private secretaries, $1,200." By whom are these secretaries employed?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am the only one in the department that has a private secretary that I know of.

Item agreed to.

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Civil Government — High Commissioner's Office—salaries, $24,930; contingencies, $69,586.

Mr. POWER: Why should we pay the income tax on the salary of the High Commissioner?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is the income tax he pays in Great Britain.

Mr. POWER: Do we pay the income tax on all our officials who reside abroad?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I think a special case is made of this, for the reason that the High Commissioner's salary is really absurdly low. I do not think it covers one-half of his outlay.

Mr. POWER: He has been making a profit on it recently by reason of the exchange.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I would like my hon. friend to have a talk with him.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I would like to ask one of those questions that are rather unpleasant. Two years ago I called the attention of the committee to the fact that when I was in London I went into the High Commissioner's office with two other men from the province of Quebec. We took the trouble to address ourselves in French to everybody there to see if French was understood by anybody in the office. Everywhere else in London we had heard French spoken, and the High Commissioner's office was the only place where nobody could speak or understand French. I thought that was a pity, and I still think so. When I brought this matter up before, the Minister of Trade and Commerce was leading the House and he admitted that this was certainly a grievance, and that it should be redressed. I desire to know whether it has been redressed.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I would be surprised if that was the case now. The High Commissioner himself can speak French, I understand. I was not here when my hon. friend brought the matter up before. The condition he complains of may have been redressed since. They would not have much occasion for French in London. I doubt if Mr. Roy's staff in Paris can speak English; there would not be very much need for them to know English.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Oh, yes, they can. Does my right hon. friend admit that this is a grievance, and that there should be somebody in the High Commissioner's office in London able to speak French, which is one of the official languages of this country?

[Mr. Meighen.]

Mr. MEIGHEN: I would not admit it is a grievance, because I am not sure that it exists. It may have been remedied since. I would think it would be much better to have one, or even more, employees who could speak French.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I will come back again next year with this question.

Mr. PECK: Is it not possible to have more Canadians on the staff of the High Commissioner's office? I went round there once or twice myself and I thought they looked upon me as an interloper. When I wanted to get in a man asked me, "Have you an engagement with the minister?" I said, "No, I have not." "Well," he said, "I do not think you will have much chance for a while." I said, "Won't I? You just take this card in," and I got in after a while. Why should a representative of a democratic country have to go hat in hand through a lot of flunkeyism to see our High Commissioner? This would not be the case if we had more Canadians on the staff.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am informed that the only reason is economy. The assistant, Mr. Griffith, is a Canadian. He is the chief executive officer there. Outside of him, they employ men who are right on the ground, because it would cost a great deal more to get them from Canada and change them every once in a while, as they do.

Mr. GUTHRIE There are some more or less non-contentious items in the Militia Estimates which it would be convenient to discuss.

Mr. CRERAR: May I suggest to my right hon. friend who leads the Government, and to the Minister of Militia, that for the last three evenings we have been here until 1 o'clock, and now, as we have had an excellent day with a splendid discussion free from those animosities that at times creep into debate, we might very well call it a day's work and go home so that we might come back refreshed for to-morrow's labours?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The suggestion is not unreasonable, but I understand that there is a desire on the part of some members on either side to have certain items discussed, and I do not think it would take very long.

Mr. CRERAR: I want to be as courteous as possible, but I do not know that one or two members on either side of the House should inconvenience the whole House for their satisfaction.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It would not take more than two minutes.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Would the hon. member object to five or ten minutes?

Mr. CRERAR: No.

Militia and Defence—Customs dues $40,000.

Mr. CRERAR: What does that cover?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is merely a cross entry. When we import goods from the United States or England for manufacturing purposes we pay the ordinary customs dues. This is really a cross entry from one department to the other.

Mr. CRERAR: What class of goods does it cover?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Highland uniforms and goods for the manufacture of munitions.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): Can these goods not be procured in Canada? My hon. friend is an advocate of the purchase of "made in Canada" goods. Why does he go outside of Canada to get these goods?

Mr. GUTHRIE: There are some of these things that cannot be procured in Canada, such as heavy ordnance, which is all obtained in Great Britain. That is the largest item. Then there are tartans, which we cannot procure here.

Mr. REID: Are they not made in Canada?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not believe they are.

Item agreed to.

Dominion Arsenal, Lindsay, $243,300.

Mr. CRERAR: What is the explanation of this?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is less than last year's, when it was $258,000. We have reduced it to $243,300 and the Dominion Arsenal at Quebec has been reduced by $100,000. Last year we closed both arsenals for from three to four months for purposes of economy, with a saving of about a quarter of a million dollars. Our stock is consequently considerably lower than it should be under ordinary circumstances and we should like to recover what we lost last year by closing down. At the same time, we have reduced the vote substantially in each case.

Mr. CRERAR: That is, for the manufacturing of munitions?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): How many men are employed in that arsenal?

Mr. GUTHRIE: There are 150 men employed at Quebec, and 110 at Lindsay.

Item agreed to.

Engineer Services, $600,000.

Mr. POWER: Will the minister explain where the ordinary repairs and works are carried on for which I see we have to pay the sum of $465,000?

Mr. GUTHRIE: That includes work done in eleven military districts in Canada, comprising repairs to armouries, barracks, rifle ranges, and all the works in connection with the Militia Department.

Mr. POWER: You have also another item for maintenance of drill halls.

Mr. GUTHRIE: That is for light, heat, water, telephone, etc.

Mr. POWER: What is the item of $50,000 for, in connection with the Quebec walls? Is this matter to be transferred to the National Battlefields Commission?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This is not the ancient wall of the city of Quebec; this is for repairs to the walls of the citadel itself. The Estimate for what are known as the ancient walls, which we propose to hand over to the commission, is between $25,000 and $30,000, but it does not appear in this vote.

Item agreed to.

Grants to Associations, $125,000.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Please explain this item?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is to provide grants to rifle associations, military institutes, service associations, and efficient bands of active militia. It is an increase of $20,000 over the Estimates of 1920-21, due partly to proposed increase in the rate per capita for local rifle associations, and partly to the fact that no deductions can be made, as were made in the Estimates of 1920-21, on the ground that rifle associations had not completed their organizations. This year they will have completed the organizations. In regard to bands, owing to the efficiency of these bands and the increased cost of instruments, music and equipment, it is proposed to pay a maximum of $180 to each battalion that has a band. To the Governor General's Foot Guards, there is a special annual grant of $548. The Estimate for this regiment's band was approved by the Militia Council on August 7, 1919, and is now asked for. This is an exceptionally efficient band and is frequently called out in connection with various func-

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tions in the capital. The total amounts for bands is $25,028, an increase of $2,028 over last year. The Estimate for military institutes is as follows: Canadian Military Institute, Toronto, $1,400; Western Military Institute, Winnipeg, $1,400; Cambridge Library at Halifax, $300; R.M.C. Club, Quebec, $200; additional institutes to be provided for, $1,700. This is the same amount as voted last year.

Mr. POWER: With reference to these military institutes, I do not know anything about the other provinces, but I have been around Quebec for years and I am not aware of the R.M.C. Club. I do not object to the $200, but I should like to know whether the other clubs are as famous as this one.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This is a club consisting of members of the Royal Military Colleges for purely educational purposes, not social purposes. It is made up of extra cadets. They meet periodically and they supply themselves with military literature They have their discussions and I think, in some cases, their lecturers. The grant is for purely educational work, and has, I believe, always existed. The one in Toronto and the one in Winnipeg are much the same institution. The one in Toronto has now been established for a very long time. While I am not familiar with the interior working or economy of it, I have been informed by very many people, who should know, that it is one of the most capable instructional schools that we have in the province, and my report of that in Winnipeg is the same. I know that a tremendous number of officers take advantage of the course in both these institutions.

Mr. POWER: To whom is instruction given?

Mr. GUTHRIE: To officers, and non-commissioned officers have the use of the library and of the lectures.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I would like to understand the difference between this item and No. 88: Allowance to active militia. We passed an item of $120,000 for allowance. There seems to be something of the same character here. How do these differ from one another?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The allowance to the active militia was a question discussed at great length the other night. That involves the item of command pay, drill instruction, care of arms and postage to each military organization or unit in Canada. These officers' institutes are technical education institutions established by officers who have taken their course and desire to maintain the highest standard of efficiency among the militia officers of Canada in general. There are only two or three of them in Canada in the larger centres. I think for twenty or twenty-five years past the Government has encouraged these by annual grants. Calgary and Edmonton also, I understand, have them—I did not know about these. They are looked upon as purely educational institutions.

Mr. PECK: Is there a grant for pipe bands?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I am informed they get precisely the same, $180,000.

Mr. CRERAR: In respect to the rifle associations to which the minister has referred, are any of them civilian organizations?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, prior to the war civilian associations were recognized and considered and grants made to them, but since the war the civilian associations have not yet been revived. I expect that a number of them will be revived during the course of the coming summer, and, of course, they are entitled to use, and do use, the military rifle ranges where they exist. The grants to the associations included in this vote are—Dominion Rifle Association, $35,000; the Provincial Rifle Associations, $13,600; University Rifle Association, $1,000; and local rifle associations, whether civilian or belonging to military units, $40,000.

Mr. POWER: May I ask the minister what conditions are required of these rifle associations, whether military or civilian, before they obtain a grant?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The civilian rifle association before it is entitled to a grant must have a membership of fifty. There is a membership of fifty required in the military unit too, I understand. In the military service the ammunition for rifle practice is issued free of charge; the civilian associations receive it at very much reduced charge.

Mr. POWER: Are there any regulations with regard to the place where the shooting is to be carried on, the season of the year, supervision and so on?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, there are established regulations which have been in force for a number of years—

Mr. POWER: What about supervision?

Mr. GUTHRIE:—and then the grant is paid on a report from an inspecting officer.

Mr. POWER: The inspecting officer of the district, I presume, in which the shooting is done?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is the local district officer where the association is that makes the report.

Item agreed to.

Maintenance, $200,000.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This is the maintenance of our military properties which are provided with fuel, light, water, telephone, rents and sanitary services in connection with the buildings. There are also armouries, store rooms, and rifle ranges owned or rented by the Government, except those of the Permanent Force. I think the item has been at this figure for a considerable time.

Mr. POWER: This has nothing to do with the salaries of caretakers, etc?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No.

Mr. POWER: Does the drill hall in Ottawa belong to the Permanent Force?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The buildings and barracks of the Permanent Force are not included in this vote.

Mr. POWER: Are there any drill halls, armouries, and rifle ranges which belong exclusively to the Permanent Force in Canada?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The buildings occupied by the Permanent Force are known as barracks, and the armouries and drill halls are for the use of the militia units.

Mr. POWER: Is there another item for that purpose? If so, where do we find it?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I am informed it is in the vote of six and a-quarter millions for the Permanent Force. Item No. 102, a little farther down, includes the upkeep of barracks.

Item agreed to.

Ordnance arms, lands, $75,000.

Mr. CRERAR: The ten minutes has now run into fifteen.

Mr. POWER: Too much is plenty.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Might I ask my hon. friends to consider this one item? It is desired that items 101 and 102 should stand over anyway, but I think we should pass the present item. It is $25,000 less than last year.

Mr. POWER: This is for ordnance arms, lands, etc. A little further down in the list appears an item for warlike stores. There may be some discussion and I think the minister should really let the item stand over.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Well, I have no objection. If my hon. friend desires to discuss this I will move that the committee rise and report progress and beg leave to sit again.

Item stands.

Progress reported.

On motion of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen for the adjournment of the House:

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will my right hon. friend say what business will be taken up when we reassemble in the afternoon?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Estimates of the Department of Immigration and Colonization and of the Department of Railways. But first of all we will take up the Grand Trunk Arbitration Bill, and we may not get much further than that.

Motion agreed to and the House adjourned at 12.50 a.m. Friday.

OTTAWA: Printed by THOMAS MULVEY, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1921

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C 45912

(8) Order in Council appointing Hon. Vincent Massey Canadian Minister to Washington, November 10, 1926.

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C 45913

Order-in-Council Appointing

Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington.

November 10, 1926
P.C. 1780.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a memorandum from the Honourable James A. Robb, Acting Prime Minister, submitting that following full consideration by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada and after consultation between the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, and the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of Great Britain, it has been considered desirable in view of the increasing range, importance and urgency of questions requiring adjustment between Canada and the United States, that the Dominion of Canada should be represented in Washington by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary appointed by His Majesty on the advice of His Canadian Ministers to have charge of Canadian affairs, serving as the ordinary channel of communication between the Canadian and United States Governments and acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and reporting to him.

The Acting Prime Minister further submits that it is not in contemplation to adopt the provision of the agreement effected in 1920 between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Canada whereby the Canadian Minister was to be a Member of the British Embassy and to have charge, in the absence of the Ambassador, of the Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as of Canadian interests.

The Acting Prime Minister accordingly recommends that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint the Honourable Vincent Massey as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington with the special object of representing in the United States of America the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letter of credence.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

(Sgd) E. J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 45914

(9). Copy of Letter of Credence of Honourable Vincent Massey,

as Canadian Minister to Washington

December 7, 1926

9.

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Appointment of Honourable Vincent Massey
as
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
to the United States.

GEORGE,
by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Ireland and of the
British Dominions beyond the Seas King,
Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India,
&c., &c., &c.

To the President of the United States of America, Sendeth Greeting!

Our Good Friend!

We have judged it expedient to confer the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary upon Our Trusty and Well-Beloved the Honourable Charles Vincent Massey, Member of Our Privy Council of Canada, with the especial object of representing in the United States of America the interests of our Dominion of Canada.

We request that You will give entire credence to all that Mr. Massey may represent to You in Our name, especially when he shall assure You of Our esteem and regard, and of Our hearty wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the United States of America.

And so We commend You to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at Our Court of Saint James, the Seventh day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-six, and in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.

Your Good Friend,

(Signed) George R. I.

December 7, 1926.

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C 45916

(10) Press Clippings re Mr. Massey's appointment

10.

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C 45917

P.M.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,

LONDON, ENG.

SUBJECT:—

CANADA'S MINISTER TO U.S.

Name and Date of Newspaper:—

The Scotsman, 26th Nov. 1926

Canada's Minister to U.S.

FOLLOWING on the Imperial Conference, the interesting announcement is now made of the appointment of the Hon. C. V. Massey to be His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington to represent the interests of the Dominion of Canada. The Irish Free State already has a diplomatic representative in the United States, but as far back as 1919 the Canadian Government was in negotiation with the British Government on the subject of such an appointment, and in the House of Commons on May 10, 1920, Mr Bonar Law announced that it had been agreed to, although it is only now that Canada is exercising the right. It is important from the constitutional point of view to note how the appointment has been made and what it involves. The agreement was, Mr Bonar Law said, that the King, "on "the advice of his Canadian Ministers, shall "appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary who will "have charge of Canadian affairs, and will "be at all times the ordinary channel of com- "munication with the United States Govern- "ment in matters of purely Canadian con- "cern, acting upon instructions from and re- "porting direct to the Canadian Govern- "ment." Mr Bonar Law added that in the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian Minister would take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests, and that he would be accredited to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose. But at that time, as has been said, the Irish Free State had no representative at Washington; indeed, it had not then come into existence. Now that there will be two Dominion diplomatic representatives at Washington, the latter part of the arrangement outlined by Mr Bonar Law will presumably not be given effect to. The Irish Free State might claim that, by seniority of appointment, its representative should be recognised as the official substitute of the Ambassador in the latter's absence. But, as the report of the Imperial Conference on Inter-Imperial relations remarked, it may be anticipated that fruitful results will follow from the co-operation of His Majesty's representatives in the United States. Canada, of course, by reasons of geography and commerce, has close relations with the United States. If there is any intention of seeking to revive a reciprocity agreement, it will fall to the Canadian Minister at Washington to conduct the negotiations, but, in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Imperial Conference report, it will be necessary to inform the other Governments of the Empire, so that they may have an opportunity of saying whether they are likely to be interested in any treaty that may be contemplated, and their interests would be represented by the British Ambassador. Such a treaty would be made in the name of the King on behalf of His Majesty's Government in Canada.

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C 45918

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,

LONDON, ENG.

SUBJECT:—

CANADIAN INTERESTS AT WASHINGTON.

Name and Date of Newspaper:—

Dublin Irish Times, 26th Nov. 1926

CANADIAN INTERESTS AT WASHINGTON.

HON. CHARLES MASSEY'S APPOINTMENT.

The King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of the Hon. Charles Vincent Massey as His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington to represent the interests of the Dominion of Canada.

Born at Toronto in 1887, Mr. Massey was educated at Toronto University, and later at Balliol, where he was in the honours list in Modern History, and for two years was lecturer in that subject at his *Alma Mater*. He was in 1918 appointed Associate Secretary of the War Committee of the Canadian Cabinet. Later in the year he became General Secretary, and subsequently Director of the Government Repatriation Committee. He was then approaching a directorship of the Great Massey Harris Company, manufacturers on a big scale of agricultural implements.

In 1921 Mr. Massey became President of this huge company, an office which he held until he entered the Dominion Cabinet in 1925 as Minister without portfolio.

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C 45919

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,

LONDON, ENG.

SUBJECT:—

Methodists And Government In Canada.

Name and Date of Newspaper:—

The Methodist Times, 2nd December, 1926.

Methodists and Government in Canada.

THERE was only one Methodist among the delegates to the Imperial Conference this year: Mr. Vincent Massey, of Toronto. He is the son of Mr. Chester Massey of the famous agricultural machine works in Canada. Mr. Mackenzie King's Canadian Ministry has no Methodists in it, but several Presbyterians. This is in singular contrast with Sir Wilfred Laurier's Government, which contained five Methodists. "It seems to show," writes a correspondent, "that whatever the new United Church of Canada may be in the religious life of the Dominion Methodism does not cut much ice politically." We shall see what the future has in store.

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C 45920

(11) Speech by Hon. Vincent Massey, on his appointment as Canadian Minister to Washington; delivered to the Toronto Canadian Club, January 24, 1927.

11.

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C 45921

SPEECH BY HONORABLE VINCENT MASSEY

to

TORONTO CANADIAN CLUB.

January 24th, 1927.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I deeply appreciate the honour of this invitation to address the Canadian Club before leaving to take up my new work. I am not altogether sure however that I have shown the part of discretion in succumbing to the beguiling approaches of your President, and I will tell you why. I am at present engaged in a self-prescribed course of study for new and unfamiliar duties (you will agree that this is the part of wisdom) and the other day when I was quite appropriately turning the pages of a work on diplomatic practice, I came across a letter written by Lord Malmesbury, the celebrated Georgian diplomatist, for the purpose of giving counsel to a friend's son who was about to enter the Diplomatic Service. The most significant passage read as follows: "The first and best advice I can give a young man on entering this career is to <u>listen not to talk.</u>"

However, gentlemen, even if modern conditions had not rendered such counsel as this difficult to follow, the unusual circumstances of this diplomatic enterprise on the part of Canada,

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with which I have the honour to be connected, will justify me in departing from the strict letter of such advice. And let me say that there is no more appropriate body to address on the subject I have been asked to speak about to-day than the Canadian Club. Canadian Clubs exist to stimulate Canadian sentiment, to foster without regard to creed, party, province or class all that is truly Canadian. This new departure in foreign policy which is the occasion of my appearance here to-day, is also intended to serve all Canada irrespective of this section or that section, one group or another.

In a few weeks by order of the Parliament of Canada an office will be opened in Washington which will be officially known as the Legation of the Dominion of Canada, or in short the Canadian Legation. "Legation" has been hitherto, of course, an unfamiliar word to us but we know that it simply means, like "embassy", (and the functions of the two are in essentials the same) - that it means, primarily, a permanent office which one country maintains in the capital of another and in direct relations with its government.

It is nevertheless, a striking innovation. For the first time Canada is about to enter into full diplomatic relations with another nation. We have frequently negotiated treaties with foreign powers. More lately our own representatives have signed such

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treaties as His Majesty's sole plenipotentiaries. We have sent special missions to other countries for special purposes but not before now have we Canadians entered the sphere of permanent diplomacy.

Now diplomacy as a word has a romantic sound. In addition to its serious and useful aspect, it suggests gold braid, sealing wax and picturesque but exceedingly complicated designations. It of course sounds decorative and ornamental. Some people have honestly doubted whether as a young nation we ought to indulge in such a luxury. Of course if this new departure in foreign policy were simply due to a desire to assume the last trappings of nationality--the outcome of an ambition to "keep up with the Jones's" internationally--if it were because we only wanted to make a gesture to show our status--then this step might well be open to question or even disapproval. Not long ago after speaking to a little gathering on the subject of foreign affairs, I was asked "what purpose will be served by the establishment of a Canadian Legation at Washington?" The question was pointed, even searching, but perhaps wholesome. (It might perhaps be a salutory thing if every man were invited to defend the validity of his own job in open debate). My own view, now, is the same as it was, when, in 1920, I read that this project was agreed upon in our House of Commons--that direct and permanent representation of Canada in the United States is a

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matter of practical common sense. A Legation in Washington is for Canada a necessity not a luxury. We Canadians are far too British not to be a workmanlike people and we know it to be a matter of practical importance to have a first-hand and continuous contact with a great neighbour with whom we have a greater volume of foreign trade than with any other nation. And not only is there this great stream of commerce between us but it flows over a boundary which is longer than that which runs between any other two organized nations in the world, and which involves a full quota of intricate problems for friendly adjustment--connected with land and with water--and with certain liquids that are not water--and more recently with the air.

We have an excellent tradition in the amicable settlement of those international questions which have arisen from time to time between ourselves and our neighbours, but we must look to diplomacy not only to solve problems but to prevent them from happening. I believe that in certain eastern countries a doctor is paid to keep people well. When the patient falls ill his physician is in disgrace. In fact, if his patient is very exalted and happens to die, the doctor loses his head. I am not suggesting that the unhappy diplomat should be so drastically dealt with. But it is nevertheless true that his job is, through the processes of personal knowledge and understanding, to keep international relations

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on a friendly basis. Diplomacy is really the art of getting on with one's neighbours.

The importance even necessity of our new move has appealed to British Statesmen and British Officials, and when the matter was under discussion last autumn in London, they gave without exception their blessing to this new enterprise on the part of Canada. Their co-operation in this matter is but another evidence of the prevailing attitude in Great Britain which should, it seems to me, remove from the minds of all the last lingering suspicion that the Mother country is not in full sympathy with the reasonable desire for equality and for freedom of action on the part of the other nations of the British Empire.

The Department of State most closely concerned with our enterprise was, of course, the Foreign Office. I should like to say that from Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, and Sir William Tyrrell, the Permanent Under-Secretary, down through the entire organization, all with whom we came in touch had only one attitude toward our new venture, an unobtrusive desire to help and to place all their experience and knowledge at Canada's disposal.

The same I should say too, with gratitude, is true of the British Embassy in Washington. Canada has had reason to be grateful to the Embassy for its services over a long period of years. The work involved has been considerable. Various ambassadors have declared, from time to time, that one-half to three-quarters

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of the Embassy's business has been of Canadian origin. (This in itself is ample reason for the establishment of our representation in Washington, to look after those responsibilities which are peculiarly ours). These duties have been discharged conscientiously and the attitude of friendliness, courtesy and co-operation on the part of British Embassy has never been more finely shown than by the distinguished gentleman who, at present, occupies the great office of British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Esmè Howard, than whom Canada has no truer friend. Two and a half years ago, Sir Esme, in a speech at Ottawa, made a graceful reference to the possibility of the appointment of a Minister for Canada, at Washington, and gave a warm-hearted promise of co-operation. This attitude of genuine helpfulness which is now being practically and generously demonstrated by the Ambassador and his staff, is of the greatest value to Canada on the occasion of her entry into the diplomatic sphere.

Now I have heard it said that the entry of the Dominions into diplomacy will impair the diplomatic unity of the Empire and therefore may threaten Imperial unity itself. Perhaps at first blush such misgivings may seem forgiveable. When the proposal was first seriously made, seven years ago, it represented an entirely new conception--a new idea--and someone has said that "there is no pain like the pain of a new idea". But after all, gentlemen, the only thing that will threaten the unity of the British Empire is

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a desire to impair that unity. Such a desire is of course entirely contrary to the spirit of this country. There is, no true Canadian living who does not wish to see the Empire placed on an enduring basis and Canada's connection with it deepened and strengthened. The new machinery which we are setting up will not weaken this tie. I believe it will have the contrary effect. In a few weeks, there will be in Washington three envoys of His Majesty, the British Ambassador, the Minister of the Irish Free State, who was established some three years ago in the person of Professor Smiddy, and your own representative. But the presence in a great friendly capital of several representatives of the King, responsible to his different governments, should provide not obstacles to unity but, I believe, bridges to an even greater unity between the British nations which these envoys represent. It is, after all, the human motives behind mechanism that really matter. Canada believes in the Empire, and it is the wish of the Canadian people that nothing that exists to serve our national ends should operate to the detriment of the larger entity of which we are a part.

A generation has passed since the establishment of a Canadian representative in Washington was first discussed in our House of Commons. The idea was sympathetically treated by members of both parties, but after due consideration anything like full diplomatic representation, in view of the constitutional position which we then

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occupied, was apparently regarded, at that time, as hardly appropriate. Now, however, the proposal to send our own accredited representative to the Government of the United States has received full official sanction. What has happened in three or four decades to bring about such a striking change of view? A great deal has happened, but, it is difficult to say just how or even when. It is characteristic of British institutions that we shouldn't know how or when. Constitutional change with us is often imperceptible, because the Constitution of the Empire has wisely never been committed to paper, although formal statements of general principles have now and then been of great value. But no statement which could now be made of the principles governing the relations between the Dominions and Great Britain could fail to reveal a very different British Empire from that which existed say when the first Colonial Conference (now called the Imperial Conference) sat, just forty years ago. And the importance of these principles--as far as the subject of these remarks is concerned--is this, that the status now enjoyed by His Majesty's Dominions not only lends the fullest validity to this step in international affairs which Canada is now taking, but renders such a step highly appropriate.

In discussions about national status, it is, of course, of less importance to decide how we got the status or when we got the status, than it is to determine what we as a nation are going to do

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with the status which we now enjoy. The year 1927 is a most appropriate one in which to discuss the obligations as well as the privileges which are implied in our international position. It is just three-fifths of a century since we assumed the proportions of a nation although the word was used only rather timidly for some years after 1867. It is a wholesome thing, in this year of Jubilee, to get far enough from the bandstand to consider quietly and dispassionately to what extent we have acquired the full stature and proportions of nationhood. There is a familiar definition of nationality which runs something like this...It is"that principle compounded of past traditions, present interests and future aspirations which gives to a people a sense of organic unity." It is not a bad formula. But I don't wish to take any time with the first two ingredients in this national compound. May I say, however, that we might pay a great deal more attention in Canada to our past traditions than we do. We might be more careful of our ancient landmarks, and the records of our history. We might well emulate the example of our own Mother country as well as that of our neighbours to the south, in the way in which they both rightly safeguard and reverence their fine traditions. After all, a nation cannot do justice to the present unless her citizens are conscious of the past. We might certainly be more mindful of those national holidays which we have set apart to commemorate our origins. Perhaps, on July 1st, 1927, whether the ritual is expressed through firecrackers or drums, or--

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Mr. President, even speeches-- we can make this a day of genuine national remembrance and thus set an example for years to come. (But this is a digression).

I have still less to say about the second ingredient "present interests", because I believe, under the stern rigours of a few years of hard times, from which happily we have emerged, we have learnt that the interests of all parts of Canada are inter-dependent-- that Western Canada, Eastern Canada, French Canada, English-speaking Canada, Central Canada, Maritime Canada, are just Canada without a qualifying adjective. Our thinking under the stress of stern necessity has been given a national scope.

But the third ingredient is "<u>future aspirations</u>". May we consider it for a moment. Here we have greater uncertainty. What are our future aspirations? Some of them are obvious. <u>First the achievement of a real and enduring national unity;</u> the development of our natural resources--the subjugation of the earth, in which task we shall require more men and added money to help us, the maintenance of our proud position in the British Empire and full co-operation with our sister Dominions under the crown in its advancement.

But there is another aspiration.. It is naturally suggested by the subject I have been speaking of today, <u>the assumption of our rightful place in the world at large</u>, the establishment of our own relations with the rest of civilization. We were told, during the

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great war, that we had "swung out into the full current of the world's life." Have we really done so? Do our external relations show the self-reliance, the imagination, the resourcefulness that one would expect of a State acclaimed as a fully accredited member of the family of nations? We have built up a splendid national structure in Canada, with sound foundations, and I believe an individual form of construction, but have we yet provided the top storey with the windows that look out on the outside world? Through these will come the light and air that mean greater commerce and wider trade with the world abroad. Have we these windows to look through, and if we have them are we using them? Trade between nations, after all, only comes from the first-hand knowledge that each possesses of the other. There is no indirect method--no second-hand means by which we can establish our own contact with the world at large. Canada can only express herself through herself and by means of real confidence in herself. We cannot afford to be provincially minded. Great Britain's vast foreign commerce was based on first-hand knowledge of the world through direct and continuous touch with other nations. We have still I believe to grasp the great possibilities of our foreign trade. After all, we are twice a maritime state with great ocean ports open to the world on either flank. A country with the motto on its coat-of-arms "From ocean to ocean" ought to have a lively consciousness of the commerce which may pass to and from its shores. D'Arcy Magee once expressed

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the hope that we might recover a sense which we have lost-"the sense which comprehends the sea". The expansion of our trade will come from this deeper comprehension of the sea, and the nations on its shores and the knowledge of them and the understanding of them, and this, in my opinion, we must gain through our own direct contacts, both individual as well as official, with other nations. Such is the greatest function of diplomacy for us and the peaceful objective of our foreign policy.

But the external relations which concern us on this occasion, are those with our great neighbour to the south--our only near neighbour--those friendly relations of commerce and trade which can be carried on and developed and extended to our mutual advantage. The United States and Canada stand as an example to the whole world of what good relations between countries can be. We are neighbours, closely associated in Commercial intercourse but each is actuated by a genuine respect for each other's traditions and political institutions. I believe that increased knowledge and understanding of each other will lead to the extension of those trade and business relations from which we both ultimately will profit. On the other hand, increased trade will also lead to an even greater respect on the part of each country for the national life of the other. The Canadian Legation at Washington will stand as a tangible evidence of Canada's open-hearted friendship for the American people.

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It is to be set up to deal with no special problem or problems, but simply to represent Canada and all it stands for in the neighbouring State, and to promote, on an enduring basis, relations of neighbourliness and friendship and expanding trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America. This new enterprise was conceived in good faith in 1920; it is being established in good faith in 1927, and it will be conducted in good faith by those to whom it will be entrusted.

Your President, when I asked him what he wanted to talk about to-day, said, perhaps with just a touch of skepticism in his voice, "Tell us what you are going to do in Washington." Well, gentlemen, only the years can answer that. I can say no more than what I have said. I have suggested some of the functions which such an office can perform, in the promotion of trade, in the settlement of international questions and in other matters of public importance. There is, of course, another set of important activities quite different and separate from these--these duties connected with the business of private individuals. I want to state emphatically that the Canadian Legation in Washington will be a place where every Canadian will be always welcomed. And may I point out that the new office cannot be of the fullest usefulness to Canada unless individual Canadians make use of it. The Canadian offices in Washington, once they are established, are there to serve you, and everyone in Canada who has business in which the Legation may

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be able to be of assistance, is cordially invited to utilize the services of its staff.

As to personnel, I am not able as yet to announce any appointments to our little diplomatic service, but I think I may say that this new organization--which will doubtless expand as the years go on--will be staffed by men chosen for their training and personal qualifications, and that it will be organized on such a basis as to secure the services of men who can bring credit to Canada.

And now just one personal word in conclusion, I am sincerely grateful to my fellow-members of the Canadian Club for this opportunity to meet with them to-day to say how deeply conscious I am of the honour, the great privilege and the grave responsibility which the appointment, as your first Minister to the United States, involves. I can only say that I shall try to discharge the duty in the way in which I believe the people of Canada wish it to be discharged.

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C 45935

(12) Extract from Speech from the Throne,

December 10, 1926

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C 45936

Canadian Minister to the United States

Extract from the Speech from the Throne,

December 10, 1926

"The recent appointment of a minister plenipotentiary accredited by His Majesty to represent the interests of Canada in the United States marks an important stage in the development of the international relations of the Dominion."

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C 45937

(13) Extract from Prime Minister's speech on the Address, December 13, 1926

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C 45938

Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on the Address - Unrevised Hansard, pages 44-45
December 13, 1926

The Prime Minister:

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to my hon. friend's remarks on the Imperial conference. But before I touch on them there is one item in the Speech from the Throne to which he made no reference, but to which I should like to refer because in a way it relates itself to the period of the Imperial conference; that is the announcement therein contained of the appointment of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Washington. I take it that in the absence of any comment my hon. friend approves of the action of the government in that particular. If he does not, I should be happy if he would say so at the moment, because I have been under the impression that all parties in this House looked favourably on the appointment of a representative of Canada to Washington. I know there are individuals who hold opposite views. But I should like my hon. friend to say quite frankly whether the Conservative party in the House take an opposite view to the government's in the matter of that appointment. If he should say so, I would wish to draw his attention to the circumstance that in 1920 the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, then leading the House, made a long statement as to the reasons why Canada should be represented at Washington by a Canadian minister. The Hansard of that session contains the account then given of the negotiations which Sir Robert Borden's government had had with the government of Great Britain respecting the appointment of a minister at Washington from Canada. The matter was agreed to, and an understanding was reached which was acceptable both to the British government and to the Canadian government of the day, and also, I understand, to the American government.

Now, that arrangement, as I recall it, went further than what is proposed by the present government. The arrangement as made by Sir Robert Borden's government provided that the Canadian minister would, in the absence of the British ambassador, fill his position at Washington. Hon. members who were in the House at the time may recall that the Liberal opposition of the day took exception to that particular feature. We did not see how an appointee of this government could act as the representative of another government. In the event of any mistake arising it would be difficult to know which government would be expected to take the necessary action to bring about redress. We could not see wherein an arrangement of that kind would be of advantage either to the British government or to our own, and we have decided therefore that the representative of the government of Canada at Washington shall represent the affairs of this country only.

May I say that the appointment of our minister to Washington has been made in precisely the same way as the appointment of an ambassador from England to the United States would be made. It has been made upon the advice of the Canadian ministers to the crown, and the crown accepting their advice, the necessary letters of credence to be given from His Majesty the King to the President of the United States.

9 p.m.

Mr. BENNETT: Would that be by the crown in the right of Canada or of England?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The crown in the right of Canada.

Mr. BENNETT: The Governor General here signs the commission?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The king actually signs the formal document that accredits the minister to Washington, but on the advice of his Canadian ministers.

Mr. BENNETT: That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: But the appointment was made in the first instance by order in council of the Canadian government. His Majesty the King was informed of it and after Washington had been communicated with to ascertain whether the person appointed would be acceptable to the President, and a reply was received in the affirmative, His Majesty the King took the further necessary action properly to accredit the minister.

Mr. BENNETT: If it is not trespassing on the Prime Minister's speech, may I ask why the appointment should not be signed by the Governor General here rather than by the King? Why should not the appointment come from Canada rather than from England?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: He is the King's representative.

Mr. BENNETT: I know, but he is also Canada's minister.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The formal document appointing the minister in the first instance is signed by the Governor General. The appointment is made by order in council of the Canadian government, and the Governor General signs the order. That order having been communicated to His Majesty, His Majesty agrees to the appointment and accredits the minister.

Mr. BENNETT: If there is an equality of status, why the necessity for having the matter transmitted to England?

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Debate on Address, Hansard, Dec.13, 1926, pp.44-45

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: His Majesty has his deputy here in the person of the Governor General, it is true; but in the appointment of ministers to foreign countries I assume it will always be the desire not only of His Majesty but of this parliament that the formal letters of credence shall be signed by the King.

Mr. LAPOINTE: He is the king of Canada.

Mr. BENNETT: Quite so.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: With respect to this appointment it is, I think, desirable to direct attention to the fact that there are no two countries in the world between which there exists so extensive a boundary as that which separates Canada from the United States. Probably there are no two countries in the world in which the respective citizens have as much in the way of business transaction with one another as have the people of these two countries on the North American continent. Fortunately we have not inherited the military feuds of the Old World, nor have we racial hatreds to contend with. But there are many matters of immediate concern both to the United States and to Canada, and we believe that a minister from our own Dominion will be in a position to deal more expeditiously and effectively with such matters than has hitherto been possible. Let me say at once that we in Canada have reason to be profoundly grateful for and appreciative of the splendid services which up to the present time have been rendered this country by the British ambassador at Washington. Certainly no one could have been more solicitous of the interests of the Dominion than Sir Esme Howard, the present ambassador to the United States. Sir Esme Howard, as many members in this House have heard him say, himself welcomes the appointment of the Canadian minister to Washington. I think he feels that a colleague coming direct from our Dominion and dealing especially with those matters that immediately affect this country will prove in every way not only of advantage to the Dominion but, as well, of considerable assistance in the relations between the British Empire and the United States. I have only this to add: in my opinion the country is indeed fortunate in the person of the gentleman who has received the appointment of minister to Washington. The Hon. Vincent Massey is exceptionally well qualified to fill that high position. He has the advantage of having had a university training not only in Canada but at Oxford. He has had large business experience. He has held important administrative posts. He is still a young man, is possessed of a high public spirit and is so admirably qualified in other particulars that I doubt whether a better choice could possibly have been made.

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(14) Staff, personnel, etc., - Question by Mr. T. L. Church, M.P., and the Prime Minister's reply.

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C 45941

Canadian Minister to the United States

Re Staff, personnel, functions of Legation:

Questions by T. L. Church, M.P., - Unrevised Hansard, page 275
February 14, 1927

CANADIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON

Mr. CHURCH:

1. Has the government decided to open a separate Canadian embassy at Washington, separate from the British embassy, and when and at what estimated cost per annum for: (a) salaries; (b) maintenance; (c) capital or rent commitments?

2. What staff will be employed in this embassy?

3. Who is the ambassador appointed, for what term and salary and allowances and what is his title?

4. Will the embassy be opened before parliament has passed: (a) on the principle of such separate representation, or (b) funds voted in committee of supply for said office, and when will parliament have an opportunity of dealing with the matter?

5. What functions and duties will be performed by the said embassy and the British embassy re Canada?

6. Will the government lay on the table of the House all correspondence with the British and United States governments in the matter, or with other persons?

7. To what other foreign countries will ambassadors be appointed?

8. Will one be appointed to China to take care of Canadians and their property there in view of the trouble in the Far East?

Right Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE KING:

1. His Majesty has appointed a minister at Washington, with the special object of representing in the United States of America the interests of the Dominion of Canada. The minister will present his credentials to the President of the United States on February 18. Provision for the expenses of the legation was made in the Estimates of 1926-27, and further provision will be included in the Estimates for 1927-28, which will shortly be laid before parliament.

2. The staff will probably consist of two first secretaries, a commercial secretary, a private secretary, and four clerks and stenographers.

3. Hon. Vincent Massey has been appointed as minister, during His Majesty's pleasure. His salary will be $12,000 a year; house and representation allowance has not yet been definitely set. His title is "His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington to represent the interests of the Dominion of Canada," or briefly, "the Canadian minister to the United States."

4. No. Parliament has repeatedly considered the principle of special Canadian representation in the United States. On May 10, 1920, the Acting Prime Minister, Sir George Foster, announced in the House of Commons that "as a result of recent discussion an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian governments to provide more complete representation of Canadian interests than has hitherto existed." On April 21, 1921, in committee of Supply, during a discussion of an appropriation for Canadian representation in the United States, Sir Robert Borden gave a comprehensive survey of the development of opinion and policy on this question from 1870 to 1921. Provision for the expenses of such Canadian representation has been included in the estimates each year since and including 1919-20, and approved in all cases by parliament.

5. The minister will be charged with the duty of advancing the interests of Canada in the United States and will serve as the ordinary channel of communication with the United States government.

6. A notice of motion has already been given calling for a return of certain documents and correspondence in connection with the appointment of the minister.

7. No other appointments of ministers are under consideration at the present time.

8. Answered under No. 7.

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(15) C. H. Cahan, M.P., Request for correspondence re appointment of Minister to Washington, and the Prime Minister's reply thereto.

(b) Dr. Skelton's memorandum re history of appointment

(c) Further reply to Mr. Cahan by the Prime Minister.

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C 45943

Canadian Minister to the United States

Unrevised Hansard, February 14, 1927, pp. 276-77.

Request for correspondence:

CANADIAN MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AT WASHINGTON

MOTION FOR CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING APPOINTMENT

Mr. C. H. CAHAN (St. Lawrence-St. George) moved for:

1. A copy of the royal commission and instructions, if any, issued by His Majesty the King to Honourable Vincent Massey as Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the interests of Canada in the United States;
2. A copy of each and every order in council passed by His Majesty the King in Council or by the Privy Council of Canada, requesting, authorizing or approving of the said appointment of the Honourable Vincent Massey as such Minister Plenipotentiary;
3. A copy of all correspondence between the Prime Minister of Canada or any minister of the government of Canada, with the Prime Minister of Great Britain or any minister or department of the government of Great Britain relating to the said appointment of the Honourable Vincent Massey as such Minister Plenipotentiary;
4. A copy of any instructions issued by the government of Canada to the said Minister Plenipotentiary.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I can see no objection to the motion carrying provided it is understood that wherever reference is made either to His Majesty the King in Council or to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, or the minister of any department of the government of Great Britain, the consent of either His Majesty in Council or of the minister concerned will be had in the first instance.

Mr. CAHAN: That is quite satisfactory, Mr. Speaker, if in the meantime, in order to assist us in our subsequent discussions when we come to take up the report of the Imperial conference, we might have such documents produced as are within the possession and at the disposal of the government of the Prime Minister of this country.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall be very pleased to see that my hon. friend's wishes in that particular are met. I think so far as our government is concerned, we can bring down immediately all the papers and I shall try and have them placed on the table tomorrow.

I might mention that I doubt very much if there is any order in council passed by His Majesty in Council, and I doubt if there has been any correspondence with the ministers in Great Britain, so I presume the return asked for will be virtually complete when we bring down our return.

I might mention, too, if my hon. friend will allow me, as he has asked for a copy of the royal commission and instructions, if any, issued by His Majesty the King, that in the case of an appointment of a minister His Majesty issues letters of credence, in this case the letter of credence is from His Majesty to the President of the United States, Mr. Coolidge. There is no commission. With my hon. friend's consent I will bring down a copy of the letter of credence that has been issued.

Motion agreed to.

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C 45944

To the Prime Minister: March 8, 1927.

APPOINTMENT OF CANADIAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

Copies of the Order and telegrams exchanged as to publication are attached. The documents available for tabling are therefore:

(1) Order-in-Council of the King's Privy Council for Canada of 10th November, 1926.

(2) Letters of Credence issued by His Majesty on Dec. 7, 1926.

(3) Letter of Nov. 5, 1926, from the Prime Minister of Canada to Sir Austen Chamberlain.

If it is necessary to supplement tabling these documents by a statement later, it may be noted:

(1) No commission and instructions have been issued by His Majesty to the Minister, aside from the Letters of Credence.

(2) No Order-in-Council was passed by the British Cabinet. The King acted on the advice of his Canadian ministers transmitted to him formally through the Dominions Office and discussed directly in conversation between His Majesty and the Prime Minister of Canada.

(3) No correspondence took place between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. The discussion of the question was mainly verbal.

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(4) Any instructions issued by the Government of Canada to the Minister Plenipotentiary deal with specific issues. No general instructions have been sent.

Mr. Cahan will be disappointed to find that there is no British Order-in-Council implementing the Canadian Order-in-Council and forming the real basis for His Majesty's action. The following is a translation of a paragraph in a long interview with Mr. Cahan on the Imperial Conference in La Patrie of Feb. 5:

After referring to the procedure in connection with the appointment of plenipotentiaries to conclude treaties in respect of the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Cahan continues:

> "Further, the nomination very recently of Mr. Massey as our Minister at Washington was made in the same way. The Canadian Privy Council nominated Mr. Massey. Very good. But to whom was this nomination submitted for information? To the King directly? Not at all. To the British ministers, who by an Order-in-Council emanating from themselves in the capacity of responsible advisers of the King, authorized the issue of the Letters of Credence.
>
> "Note carefully that it was not the Governor-General of Canada who made the nomination. And yet he is the viceroy and it is to him alone that our ministers have direct access. But as the British ministers are the only ones who have direct access to the King himself, it was they who made the real recommendation. Should one draw the conclusion that the jurisdiction of the Governor-General is exclusively confined to Canada, and that

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everything which involves foreign relations must be dealt with by His Majesty, advised by the ministers at Westminster? At any rate, it is the King who has issued the Letters of Credence, and as our ministers have not direct access to His Majesty, one may draw one's own conclusions. The authority of London has been in no respect restricted."

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C 45947

Canadian Minister to United States

Unrevised Hansard, pp.1736-37, March 29, 1927.

CANADIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING APPOINTMENT

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. C. H. CAHAN (St. Lawrence-St. George): Yesterday I asked the leader of the House, in the absence of the Prime Minister, as to whether or not a return might be made which was called for by a resolution of the House passed over a month ago, including the letters of credence issued to Hon. Mr. Massey, as minister plenipotentiary to Washington, the order in council passed by the Canadian Privy Council with respect to his appointment, any correspondence between the Canadian government and the British government with respect to the execution of those letters of credence by His Majesty the King, and a copy of any orders in council passed by the Privy Council of Great Britain with regard to that appointment. Some time has elapsed since that order was passed, and I was hoping that those documents might be laid on the table of the House before the discussion to-day commenced.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I am sorry I was not present yesterday when my hon. friend raised the question, because I would then have directed his attention to the fact that the return was made a fortnight ago. I am afraid my hon. friend has overlooked that fact, but if he looks at the votes and proceedings of March 16, at page 292, he will find that the Secretary of State tabled a return of the papers asked for.

I might say that my hon. friend's motion asked for a number of documents which do not exist. It sought instructions from His Majesty the King to the present minister at Washington; there were no such instructions and therefore none could be brought down. The letter of credence from His Majesty the King to the President of the United States was tabled, and I will send to my hon. friend a copy which I have under my hand at the moment. Then my hon. friend asked for a copy of an order in council by the King in Council with reference to this matter; I notice that in some of his writings he has made the statement that an order was passed by the King in Council, or must have been passed, and my hon. friend has been looking for it ever since. As a matter of fact there was no order passed by His Majesty the King in Council in Great Britain; the only order in council recommending the appointment of Mr. Massey to Washington was the order in council of this government, which has been placed on the table. Then my hon. friend asked for any general instructions on behalf of the government to the Canadian minister. There are no general instructions; the minister is instructed specifically from time to time with reference to questions as they come up. There have of course been verbal instructions but no general instructions have been given in the form of a written document.

I will send to my hon. friend the three documents which it is possible to table in answer to his motion, and which were tabled some time ago.

Mr. CAHAN: I am sorry I overlooked it. Usually one receives a notice from the department concerned when papers are laid on the table of the House; I suppose I must have overlooked that notice, because I certainly am not accusing the department of negligence in the matter. In order to make it quite clear, however, I would ask how the order in council passed by this government was communicated to His Majesty in order to secure from him the issuance of the letters of credence, if there was no correspondence in the matter?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, acting upon the request of our government in the matter, would communicate the order in council through the proper channel in Great Britain.

Mr. CAHAN: How would it be communicated by this government to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: By cabled despatch.

Mr. CAHAN: By cabled despatch?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think so.

Mr. CAHAN: Will the correspondence be laid on the table whether it is by cable or by letter?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall be glad to lay any further correspondence on the table, but I do not think the particular correspondence for which my hon. friend is now asking was covered in his original motion.

Mr. CAHAN: I think so.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I may say to my hon. friend that I was in England at the time, and my recollection is that I had a word with Sir Austen Chamberlain in regard to the matter, and as to the method of having His Majesty approached. I may also say to my hon. friend that I had a personal interview with His Majesty. It was understood with the British government that the order in council of our government would be the one on which His Majesty would act in making the appointment.

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16.

(16) Expressions of Approval re policy,
voiced in House of Commons

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C 45943

Canadian Minister to the United States

Extract from Hansard, page 581. Debate on the Budget

February 23, 1927

Mr. McMILLAN: We have at all events completed the first milestone by the establishment of the position and the appointment of the Hon. Vincent Massey thereto, as representative of this government to the government of the United States. I believe I voice the sentiments of the great majority of the people of this country when I say that that was a wise appointment, like the appointment of the Hon. P. C. Larkin to the post of Canadian High Commissioner in London, and I believe the Hon. Vincent Massey will make a record for himself of which this country may well be proud. He has the opportunity, and more than that, he has a friendly government behind him to back him up in any efforts which he may make."

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C 45950

Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on the Budget, Hansard March 1, 1927, pp.816-9, Unrevised.

MR. S.W. JACOBS: - Approval of Appointment

We had some discussion in this House a little while ago about the appointment to Washington. The appointment has at last been made and the Hon. Mr. Massey is the first minister from Canada accredited to any country. I think this country is to be congratulated on the appointment of Mr. Massey to that high and honourable position. Mr. Massey fits the position admirably. He is a man of education, of culture, with the necessary resources to keep up a position of that kind, and he is bound to make good. It is only right that we should have a representative at Washington. After all $1,000,000,000 or one-half of the entire trade of this country is with the United States. We have 115,000,000 people on one side of the border and 10,000,000 people on the other side, with tens of thousands of people crossing this border every day. Every possible kind of trade is transacted daily between the two countries. We have questions to discuss as regards railway bonding privileges, smuggling, narcotic drug traffic, white slave traffic, and matters of all kinds, which are of the highest importance, and the surprise to me is that we have remained so long without a representative at Washington.

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C 45951

Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Miss MacPhail's motion for a Department for the Promotion of International Peace:

Unrevised Hansard, March 26, 1928, page 1793

Mr. Mackenzie King:

I might mention another direction in which we have endeavoured to promote peace and international understanding. We have undertaken to establish legations in different countries. Last year, as hon. members know, we opened a legation at Washington. We were opposed to a considerable degree in our endeavour to do this; we were told that we were making a mistake; it seemed to be the impression in some quarters that we were pursuing an unwise course. That fortunately was not the view of the House of Commons as a whole. The legation has been opened and has now been in existence for over a year. The house will agree, I think, that the decision to have a personal representative of this government and country at Washington, with a personal representative of the United States in Ottawa, has gone a long way towards furthering international good will between the two countries. In being about to take a similar step with regard to one of the countries of Europe and another country in the orient, we are but proceeding in an identical direction. We are endeavouring by personal contact to make more intelligible to the citizens of other countries on other continents the point of view of the Dominion of Canada respecting matters of concern to ourselves and to them. In this particular, I submit, the government is furthering the main objective of the resolution now under consideration.

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C 45952

Canadian Minister to United States

Debate on Miss MacPhail's motion for a Department for the Promotion of International Peace

Unrevised Hansard, March 28, 1928, page 1870

Mr. HOCKEN:

If I understood the Prime Minister correctly, he suggested that the appointment of an ambassador to Washington was one of the peaceful agencies. I do not believe that the appointment of Mr. Massey to Washington will produce war; I am not at all afraid of that. But we had one hundred years of peace before we had an ambassador at Washington. I do not think we can do much better than that, and I am rather disposed to put less value on the appointment of ambassadors than does the Prime Minister. What I think we should endeavour to avoid is to have our own representatives come in conflict, and create confusion, with the ambassadors of the Imperial government. Our affairs have been well looked after. They may be more intimately looked after now, and as to that time will tell. But I do not think our past history will prove that the appointment of an ambassador to Washington was necessary to maintain peace between the two countries.

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17.

(17) Disapproval, expressions of

Debate on Supply, House of Commons,
April 13, 1927

Honourable Hugh Guthrie,

Honourable R. B. Bennett,

Replied to by the Prime Minister

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp. 2594-2595, April 13, 1927.

To provide for representation at Washington, including salaries and allowances for minister plenipotentiary, secretaries and staff, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Civil Service Act or any of its amendments, $130,000.

Mr. GUTHRIE: "To provide for representation at Washington, including salaries and allowances for minister plenipotentiary, secretaries and staff," and again "notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Civil Service Act." May I ask what the salary of the Canadian minister is?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The government is giving to the Canadian minister at Washington the same salary that has been paid to our representative in Paris, Hon. Philippe Roy, $12,000 a year. The High Commissioner in London will have the same salary.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Are there any allowances in addition to the $12,000?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: An allowance for house and representation, for rent of building, entertainment the like. I may say to my hon. friend, by way of explanation at the outset, that when this estimate was originally prepared it was prepared on the assumption that the government would rent quarters at Washington for offices, and also rent a residence for the minister. We have gone very carefully into what this will involve in comparison with the owning of a building, which will provide offices for the legation combined with a residence as well, that being the customary method of housing a legation in Washington, and if later the committee adopt the item which appears in the supplementary estimate to enable us to purchase a building, I shall be glad to assure honourable members that we will be able to lessen by $30,000 a year the amount asked for under this vote for the legation at Washington.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item, Mr. Chairman, must be considered in connection with item No. 467 in the supplementary estimates for 1927-28, which is to provide $500,000 for the purchase of land, building, equipment and furnishings for the Canadian Legation at Washington. In order to express my views in regard to the matter as concisely as possible I propose to move that item No. 467 of the supplementary estimates of 1927-28 be reduced by the sum of $475,000. That would leave $25,000 in the vote, which amount in my estimation ought to be sufficient to provide office and house room for the gentleman who occupies the position of Canadian minister at Washington.

I believe that I am not going beyond the mark, Mr. Chairman, when I say that the announcement of the government that a sum of $500,000 would be appropriated for this purpose was a shock to the people of this country. I judge that from press notices which have appeared since this item became public. The question is this: Why does Canada need a property of this kind and of this cost in the city of Washington? Why should we expend half a million dollars of the hard-earned money of the taxpayers of this country to equip what will prove to be more or less of an ornamental establishment in a foreign capital? We realize that this embassy has been established at Washington, and I believe we are all in agreement that suitable quarters should be secured for our representative there, but why should not suitable quarters be secured at a rental of from $20,000 to $25,000 per annum? Our representative in London, Mr. Larkin, is in a position of as great importance as will be our minister at Washington. For our representative at the capital of our empire we provide the modest allowance of $5,000 for living expenses, and we give him—and we only gave it within the last year or year and a half—a suitable building. Until about a year and a half ago the High Commissioner for Canada in London was accommodated in the capital of the empire in very humble offices, but offices which were sufficient for the purpose and cost this country no very extravagant sum of money.

We know what conditions will exist in the city of Ottawa when the representative of the United States government comes here. So far as office accommodation is concerned he is to be housed, according to report, in the Metropolitan Life building, a very handsome building, and he will no doubt have a very handsome suite of offices. No one will object to that. Rumour also has it that he is here at his own expense, and that he will secure living quarters in the city. If that is the condition in this capital with regard to the representative of the richest power in the world, why should not a similar arrangement be made for the Canadian representative in the capital of the United States?

To my mind, Mr. Chairman, this proposal involves the grossest kind of extravagance on the part of this government, and I believe that that is how the members of this House and the people of this country view this proposal. I know that around the corridors of this building it is suggested that Washington is over-crowded, that everything is at a premium, that it is difficult to secure suitable quarters. These things may be so, but I will guarantee that if any of our large companies

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C 45955

Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2595-96, April 13, 1927.

Mr. Guthrie:

wanted to equip themselves with office and living accommodation in the city of Washington, they would be able to go down and rent it to-day, and have no very great difficulty in doing so. Why should we not follow the example which is going to be set to this country by the rich government of the United States in their treatment of their representative in the capital of Canada? To my mind this proposal to expend $500,000 of the money of the people of this country in a foreign capital, under the conditions that exist in Canada, is worse than extravagance; it is worse than folly. We heard the Minister of Finance tell this House two months ago that this very year, six months hence, we have to pay $100,000,000 of debt in this country, and we cannot pay it; we have to go to the markets of the world and borrow the money.

Mr. ROBB: I did not state that we could not pay it.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The minister said that such as he was able to pay, he would pay, and in the same speech he gave figures to the House which showed that he is going to have a deficit in his accounts for the present year. If he wants the figures I will give them to hom if the committee will allow me in this debate to refer to a previous debate of the same session. His figures speak for themselves. With his main estimates, his supplementary estimates, his railway estimates, with his expenditure as he states it, and with his revenue as he estimates it, he is coming out short this very year, when we have $100,000,000 of debt to pay next October and November. Under such conditions what can we think of ourselves if we vote this money? What will the people of this country think if we vote $500,000 unnecessarily at a time of financial stress in this country? The money will have to be borrowed; we have not got the money; we cannot pay our debts as they mature. We can renew our loans, it is true, because our credit is good, but that is no excuse for unnecessarily spending money.

I wanted to bring this matter definitely before the committee as early in the discussion as it was possible to do so, and that is why at this juncture, and not with any idea of closing the discussion at all, I give to the committee the views which we on this side of the House hold upon this question, namely, that this vote should be reduced to the sum of $25,000 which will allow us to rent appropriate office premises and appropriate living quarters for our representative in the city of Washington. I do not even know that he is entitled to any living quarters beyond the allowance which he gets. With the $25,000 left in this vote, there would be $5,000 for living quarters and $20,000 a year for the rent of an office. That is all we pay in London; that is all we were to pay in Washington according to the statement made here to-night. That is ample, sufficient in every way to maintain our representative in proper state in Washington, and as much as will be paid to the minister at Ottawa by the richest country in the world. I therefore beg to move, Mr. Chairman, that this item be reduced by the sum of $475,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The committee will recall that in speaking on the item making provision for the legislation I intimated that if the government were in possession of a property of its own in Washington I would be able to reduce that item, not by $25,000 but by $30,000, and that I am prepared to stand by.

May I present the position as I believe it will appear to anyone who resides in the United States—and it is to the United States that we are sending a minister—having regard to the custom of all other countries in the matter of legislation? There are at Washington at the present time between fifty or sixty embassies or legations. Canada has not been in that list until within the last few months. In fifty of these cases I am informed the countries having embassies or legations at Washington have their embassies or legations housed in buildings which are owned and known by the name of the respective countries. The British embassy has a large building in which are the offices of the embassy, the reception room of the ambassador, and his living quarters. France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other principle countries have similar buildings of their own. Even the South American republics adopt a like practice. I believe there are a few cases where a country owns the building its minister lives in and has separate quarters in another part of the city for offices. However, they are very much the exception. The practice at Washington in regard to the representation of foreign countries is for each country to own its own building, and in that building to have its offices and there to house its minister. There are two reasons for this;

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2596-2597, April 13, 1927

Mr. Mackenzie King:

one the note of permanency which pervades the institution, and another the readier accessibility on the part of the public to the legation at any hour of the day or night. We have to decide, having agreed that we are to have a minister at Washington, whether we will adopt a different practice from that followed by other countries, whether in the eyes of the Americans it is to our interest to appear as a people who are not prepared to do for the minister whom they have at Washington what other countries are prepared to do for their representatives.

By way of illustration, may I cite one or two cases that will appeal to the committee? The republic of Argentine in 1913 purchased a building which cost $300,000. With necessary alteration it cost $368,000. That was at pre-war prices, and without any furnishings whatever. The building provided by the Argentine republic for their minister and legation could not be obtained to-day for the amount we are asking the committee to approve for the building for the representative of the Dominion of Canada. There are two countries which border on the United States, one is our Dominion and the other is Mexico, In 1922 or 1923 Mexico purchased a building for a legation at a cost of $350,000. The addition and structural alterations which were required to make it suitable for the legation brought the amount, including land, up to $465,000, and the furniture cost over another $100,000. Mexico has spent over $565,000 for the building in which her minister is housed and her legation offices located. The question is whether we in Canada, starting out as we are with representation at Washington, are to have our representative housed in quarters inferior to those of other countries which certainly, from our point of view, have not the importance in relation to the United States which our country has. The question is, shall we do that, or shall we start out right at the outset? The government has gone very carefully into the wisdom of leasing or renting as against purchasing. We could, it is perfectly true, rent temporary quarters for offices and temporary quarters for the minister, and that was what we had in mind at the time the estimate of $130,000 was prepared in the first instance. However, we have asked our minister to make a survey of the situation in Washington. We have had others make a survey. My colleague, the Minister of Public Works, the deputy minister and the chief architect of the department have visited Washington; they have all reported to the administration upon the cost at which we could obtain a building which would be Canada's own, and we have come to the conclusion that it would be more economical to own a building outright than to lease premises. From a business point of view it would be more economical, and this quite apart from the advantage to be gained in the eyes of the people generally from adequate and suitable accommodation. In the eyes of the people of the United States, the building at Washington can perhaps best be described as a symbol of Canada.

Mr. BENNETT: It is a part of Canada in international law.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes. The building itself becomes a symbol of Canada. I believe that hon. members, on reflection, will feel that it is better we should have in Washington from the outset a building that will be dignified, not pretentious or ostentatious, but modest in appearance, substantial, suitable, in which Canadians can have some pride, rather than that we should have temporary quarters for our legation in one part of the city and a residence for our minister in another part of it, in marked contrast to the legations and embassies of other countries.

Mr. EDWARDS (Frontenac): Do such buildings come under local taxation?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is another feature; I am glad my hon. friend has mentioned it. If we lease premises we have to pay taxes on them, both on the residence for the minister and the office, the taxes appear in the account as rendered to us. Under the regulations at Washington, buildings owned in that city by other countries and other governments are tax free. By purchasing outright we are in a position to acquire property, that will be exempted from taxation and which having regard to its location in the city will prove an asset to the Dominion, increasing in value year by year.

The reason we have brought this item forward now rather than later is that in looking about we have discovered that there is a chance to secure immediately a building, now for sale, that is of exceptionally good value, a building erected shortly before the war and admirably adapted for a legation. We tried to secure a lease of it, but we could not get a lease of it. We were told it was for sale, not for lease or rent. We have had the building carefully appraised, the site and the building itself and an estimate made of the furnishings. To give us an opportunity to

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp. 2597 -2598, April 13, 1927

Mr. Mackenzie King:

purchase, if parliament approves, we have taken an option on it. We have made no purchase or promise of purchase up to the present time, but have simply taken an option in the hope that parliament will vote an appropriation which will enable us to negotiate a purchase. Should the building in question be purchased we will be acquiring an asset for the Dominion. It is located in a part of the city which is both near the business portion and near the residential section. Washington is changing a little in character, as all cities do. The residential portion of Washington is going further and further to the north. This particular property is very near where the Belgian embassy is at the present time.

Mr. BENNETT: The old Danish embassy?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No. A statement to that effect has appeared in the press, but it is quite wrong. I believe the gentleman who occupied the house was a member of the Danish Legation, but the house itself was never occupied as an embassy. It is on Massachusetts avenue, between 17th and 18th streets.

May I present this point of view to the committee? The United States have recently appointed a minister to Canada. They have chosen as the minister whom they are sending to Canada a gentleman who held the high office of ambassador to Belgium. A gentleman who has held the position of ambassador to Belgium is to hold the position of minister to Ottawa, implying as clearly as any words can imply that in the opinion of the United States government the post of minister in Canada is of more importance than that of ambassador in Belgium. Now I wish to ask the committee, in the light of that will we in Canada feel we are doing our part if we have in Washington a legation or a legation building of a character inferior to that which Belgium has? The building we have in mind at the moment is similar to the building in which the Belgian legation is housed. I submit that as to whether the style of building is right or not, that is about as fair a test as one can make.

My hon. friend has spoken of what the United States minister may receive and how he may be housed when he comes to Ottawa. May I point out that while the minister of the United States will be here, the consul general to this country will also be retained with his office and staff. In a word, the United States will have more than one representative in Ottawa. And may I draw the attention of the committee to this fact: the minister who comes to Ottawa is the one and only foreign minister in the capital of Canada. In Washington our minister has to hold his own with the representatives of fifty or sixty legations and embassies—a very different position altogether. Unless we support our minister to the United States with a proper staff and suitable accommodations, Canada instead of having its prestige raised by being represented at Washington will have it materially lowered.

I do not wish to take up too much of the time of the committee, but I do submit, Mr. Chairman, that from the point of view of economy, from the point of view of national dignity, from the point of view of what is appropriate in our representation at a capital like Washington, it is essential that we have a suitable building in which to house our legation and our minister under the one roof Anything else than that will not be satisfactory. To get anything at all satisfactory is extremely difficult, and I do not believe we can lease or rent with an advantage to the Dominion at all comparable to that which will result from an immediate purchase.

Mr. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, I disagree entirely with the payment of this money at this time. Our country with a debt of two and a half billion dollars is told that its position in the world is to be measured by the ostentation of its display. Shortly put, that is the story of the Prime Minister. Never mind the mortgage on the farm; all you have to do is to keep the front up and you are a great man. That is what this means. I do not think the people of Canada are prepared to believe that their position in the world is to measured by the ability with which they buy mortgaged premises in Washington. Let us look at the facts as they are. Up till the Great war and for some time after the United States of America, the richest country in the world, had in London no premises in which its ambassador lived.

Mr. SPENCE (Maple Creek): The ambassador complained about it, though.

Mr. BENNETT: And I am complaining about it now.

An hon. MEMBER: You are not the ambassador.

Mr. BENNETT: I hope not. And I never will be for the sake of the country that I live in. Let us go a step further. Mr. Page, one of the greatest ambassadors the United States ever had in Europe, lived at the Langham hotel in London. And what he could do Vincent Massey may not do!

Mr. CHAPLIN: His Excellency!

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C 45958

Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2598-99. April 13, 1927.

Mr. BENNETT: Mr. Page lived, as I say, at a hotel in London. I remember seeing him there. That was good enough for the United States, the richest country in the world. But Canada with nine million people and a debt of two and a half billion dollars is going to spend half a million dollars in Washington. Are the Canadian people anxious that that should be so? Do you believe they want it? Does any man in this House believe that the farmers of western Canada or the farmers of eastern Canada desire that at a time like this when we cannot spend money on pensions to our soldiers we will spend half a million dollars for the purpose of buying a building in Washington? Half a million dollars for an embassy in Washington, when the embassy of the United States in London is a building that the late J. P. Morgan gave to his country for that purpose. And the United States do not own an embassy in Paris today. As I say, they did not own a building in London until Mr. Morgan presented to them their present embassy. What is their position in relation to us? We have an embassador or minister coming from Washington to Ottawa, and the great rich United States are content to house him in rented premises. And we are told—if the logic of the Prime Minister is right—that the United States will suffer in prestige because they do not own an embassy here! Does any man think we are in our sane senses when we vote money as we have this session, which means a deficit if the figures are carried out?

Without gong, as my hon. friend has said, to past deficits, our railway deficit for the last fiscal year was ten million dollars—not less than 22 millions is the vote mentioned. But suppose it is less than that, suppose it is only ten million, with the main estimates and the supplementary estimates, with no provision made for old age pensions—and they must be paid because British Columbia is now going to introduce old age pensions—we are now told we must spend half a million dollars more —in Washington. The reason given is that we may put on a bold front and have the people of the United States respect our prestige! Well, if it comes to measuring our prestige in dollars, that is a kind of diplomacy I do not believe in. The worth of Canada is to be measured by the dollars we put into a building! Since when was it the policy of a Canadian government to say that our value in the eyes of foreign countries is to be measured by the kind of house we live in? And it is a mortgaged house. That is what it means. How many members in this House recall villages, towns and cities in which a great splash has been made by a man with a mortgage on his house, eventually he was lost sight of in the great silent, forgotten past. Is Canada's position to be that a mortgaged embassy —that is what it means—is essential in Washington that we may keep up a bold face, a fine front, a fictitious pride, and have people take off their hats at the embassy and not at what is in it? That is the story. That is what we want. We want people walking down Massachusetts avenue, at 17th and 18th streets, to doff their hats at the Canadian flag on the embassy and not at the brains in the building. I tell you, that is not the policy of the Canadian people.

I have nothing to say with respect to the incumbent of that office, but, Sir, I feel stronger in regard to this than to any other vote that I have ever had to give in parliament, and to the fullest extent of my ability I shall oppose it. This country apparently is entering on a great adventure, the last great advanture in our relation to the British Empire. I am wholly opposed to the establishment of this embassy at Washington. It is but the doctrine of separation, it is but the evidence in many minds of the end of our connection with the empire. For that is what it means. It means nothing else ultimately, because if we are a sovereign state we cannot belong to the British Empire. We have had so much talk in days gone by of the British commonwealth of nations—that we can never be a nation unless we are a sovereign power; that we are not a sovereign power unless we are an independent state; and that we cannot be an independent state and remain a part of the British Empire. This proposition does not require any argument. It has been stated frequently. Lord Parmoor put it clearly the other day. There is no doubt of the position. But we use words improperly and illogically, and then conclude that by establishing an embassy at Washington, at an expenditure of $500,000 we are going to demand the attention of all the world—to the building. Is it any wonder that the people of the United States laugh at the idea of our putting half a million dollars into an embassy in Washington? Talk with any first-rate business man in the United States and he wonders: What is the matter with the nine million people in this end of the North American continent whose pretensions are thoroughly out of keeping with their position in the world? Our debt is two and a half billion dollars and here we have an estimate of $130,000 for the legation in Washington with $500,000 for the building and furnishings. We are going to strike off $30,000 in connection with the new property, which leaves $100,000 for the legation plus $500,000 for the building and furnishings. We have also an embassy or

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply.

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2599-2601, April 13, 1927

Mr. R. B. Bennett:

legation in London and one in Paris, in the latter case the building being rented. In the city beautiful, one of the oldest cities in the civilized world, we have a rented building; yet no one doubts for a moment that Canada is held in high esteem in France. We are held in great respect there, notwithstanding the fact that our building is rented. How strange! And there are more than sixty other embassies in Paris. Why is Canada held in high respect in France and among the other nations of the world? Not for these outward and visible evidences of display, this ostentatious mortgaged wealth; not for these things, but because of the qualities of its citizenship and the manhood that constitutes the Canadian people. That is why we are held in such respect in France and in other countries as well; and it will be an evil day for this country when the doctrine is promulgated by the government of the day that the respect that is to be paid its citizens is to be measured by the ostentatious display which we are able to make in the capitals of the world. And that is just what we are doing now.

Mexico and the Argentine have been cited as examples for us to follow. These nations have had representation in Washington for fifty years—one of them at least—ever since they became organized communities, and they have only recently acquired buildings. Canada on the other hand, only just entering into the ambassadorial realm, is going to buy in the first year a $500,000 property. What will be the effect of this on the world at large? It will be this: the men who occupy that building will evidence pretensions in keeping with the front of the building, and instead of being concerned so mightily with the future of this country their great care will be to maintain the swank that goes with a building worth half a million. That is the trouble. Is there a man here who does not realize it? Everyone who has read any of the books recently published with respect to the last twenty-five years of civilization on the American continent understands the tendency of people to get away as far as they can from the modest building in the back street and to establish themselves in the brownstone front in the leading street. We know how the head of such a man expands, and how his self-importance increases. But what about the effect on his neighbours? The Prime Minister asks whether we want Canada to occupy a less dignified position than do other nations in Washington. Let me say this, that, until such time as the richest nation in the world is prepared to pay to the Canadian people the compliment of establishing a legation in a specially erected building in this city, we can afford to live in rented premises abroad. Why should the Canadian people spend half a million dollars to put up a building in Washington, ostensibly for the purpose of maintaining the dignity of this Dominion, when the richest country in the world treats Canada as it does, housing its representative in a rented flat with an office in the corner? Let us be fair about this matter and put on the statute books the provision that when other nations are prepared to set up their embassies in Ottawa in corresponding style, we will erect buildings in foreign cities for our representatives.

An hon. MEMBER: Reciprocity.

Mr. BENNETT: Yes, reciprocity in that sort of thing—reciprocity in respect. We have been told what a great compliment was being paid us in connection with the establishment of the ambassador from Belgium. Is it worth half a million dollars to have such a compliment paid us? Ask the farmers of the country their own opinion in that regard; ask the returned men whose pensions we cannot increase; ask the civil servants; ask any of these people whether they think it is worth half a million dollars to have a foreign representative live in a rented building in Ottawa while we build premises in Washington to accommodate our legation.

Now I put this proposition: First, this is a new venture; we are entering upon a great undertaking in setting up a separate diplomatic establishment in the capital of the richest country of the world. Cannot we pause and see how it works out before we commit ourselves to such vast expenditure? Secondly, they are reciprocating by sending a minister to Canada, and they are sending him without endeavouring at this moment to buy premises for his use. We do not own the premises in which our ambassador in London resides; Mr. Larkin owns 94 Lancaster Gate, which he bought at very great expense to himself, and fitted for his office; we do not own our building in Paris, nor do we own the buildings occupied by our trade commissioners in other parts of the world. This country has a debt of two and a half billion dollars; this year we would not be

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2602-2603, April 13, 1927.

Mr. R. B. Bennett:

able to meet our obligations, if we complied with the demands made upon us by our National railways, out of the estimated revenues of the country. Shall we, then, spend half a million dollars in putting up a pretentious residence, with fittings to match, in the capital of the richest country in the world, when they do not show any willingness to do the same with us? My submission is that there should be reciprocity; when they are prepared to open up their building here we should be prepared to do the same in Washington, but in our present impoverished condition this young state is not doing justice by its people in expending money for this purpose.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend made a rather amazing remark when he said that the establishment of a legation in Washington was part of a doctrine of separation.

Mr. BENNETT: That is my personal view.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not know whether my hon. friend and those who applauded him recall the fact that it was the government of Sir Robert Borden which first made the arrangements for the establishment of that legation.

Mr. BENNETT: I do.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: When I was seated where my hon. friend opposite is sitting I heard Sir George Foster announce with great pride that the government of which he was the then acting Prime Minister had arranged for the establishment of a legation in Washington.

Mr. McGIBBON: They never filled the appointment.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: They voted money for the purpose of filling it, and hon. members opposite who were in the House at that time voted for it.

Mr. CHAPLIN: Not half a million dollars.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: They were not in that vote purchasing a building, but they were taking the initial steps just as our government did. We did ask parliament to vote the funds necessary for a building until after our minister was appointed, but having appointed the minister and being prepared to commence business, we then proceeded as any responsible business institution in like circumstances would proceed. I wish the country would understand that until this

Mr. Mackenzie King:

moment, so far as I have been aware, both sides of the House have been as one with respect to the desirability of opening a legation at Washington, and in that connection I will refer hon. members to my remarks in this House on the address in December last, when I spoke of the appointment of a minister to Washington and asked pointedly if there was anyone in the House who took exception to that appointment. There was not a reply from any hon. gentleman opposite. I was going to say something which I do not believe, but which is in my mind. It may be that some hon. gentlemen opposite think this is the beginning of a separation, but I can hardly conceive that they really think that, when one recalls that they themselves initiated the policy. I would rather believe that all parties of the country are as one in their faith in the British Empire and in this Dominion as a part of it, in any undertaking upon which as a country we may venture.

In this connection may I ask my hon. friends opposite since when we in Canada have begun to take our lessons from the United States? We have heard a great deal from hon gentlemen opposite to the effect that the United States should not be our example but that the British Empire should be the guide for everything done in this country. Need I remind this committee that in respect to legations and embassies the attitude of Great Britain has been diametrically opposite to that of the United States? The United States have worked on the principle that because they happened to have within their boundaries a number of very wealthy men who are able personally to finance the positions they should fill these diplomatic posts; the United States has been prepared to give these diplomatic posts to wealthy men and to keep them more or less as a preserve for wealthy men. Great Britain on the contrary has never taken that position; she has taken the position that she should seek for her diplomatic posts the best brains she could command, and she has sought so to arrange her legations and embassies that when a minister or an ambassador was appointed he would be provided with his house and his officers, and that every other necessary provision would be made. I say, Mr. Chairman, that in opening a legation in the United States we are taking a sound and safe line when we follow the example of Britain rather than that of the United States.

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C 45961

Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2602 - 2603, April 13, 1927

Mr. Mackenzie King:

My hon. friend had something to say about what a business house would do. He is a director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which has constructed a great building in Ottawa. I wonder if my hon. friend opposed the idea of a United States company constructing a building in Canada which would stand for something, even as a building? Was it just a show of front of which my hon. friend was thinking?

Mr. BENNETT: Does my right hon. friend desire me to answer now or wait? I will wait until later; I will not interrupt.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am just pointing out that my hon. friend belongs to a company which has thought it to be serving its own interests by having in another country a building which of itself would be an expression of strength and power.

Mr. EDWARDS (Frontenac): And of prosperity.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, and of prosperity. May I go still further. My hon. friend referred to Mr. Walter Hines Page, the American ambassador to London, and said that Mr. Page lived at the Langham, and that if Mr. Page could get on in that way he thought our minister should be able to get along in the same manner. What did Mr. Page say of his accommodation? I have in my hand a copy of a letter written by Mr. Page to the President of the United States. It is dated London, June 5, 1914; in it Mr. Page did not hestitate to express his views pretty frankly. What was his conclusion? It was that unless the United States changed its policy, he wished the United States to accept his resignation, that under the conditions of living at the Langham, he would not stay in the position of American minister in Great Britain any longer. He spoke of the experiences of an ambassador in London, and after mentioning at some length what the obligations are, he proceeds as follows:

Now, such activities as these are not merely the fashion. They have become fixed by long use and habit. Things of mere fashion I have persistently omitted and disregarded. In other words, a man who is going to be the American ambassador in London has got to do these and such things, else he would not represent the United States to these people at all. He could be a clerk and transmit and carry messages to the foreign Secretary. But he could have no influence on public opinion—could not be a personage in any sense; he could not know the English people, he would not be highly regarded by them, nor could he ever hear or find out such things as I have sometimes written you in my letters.

Of course I have thought all this out. I have thought of omitting most of these things and of taking a small house on a side street and living within my salary. That's possible, and, seen from the United States, it seemed practicable. But it isn't practicable without utterly changing the nature of the task and omitting the most important parts of it. As it is, the United States government (God knows) is held in contempt enough for not providing its ambassador with a house. This omission has been flung in my face, I am sure, every day that I have been here. Even in official circles it is continually held against us. This British government has a house in Washington and it makes its ambassador an allowance for various expenses. It is regarded as a poor return compliment that our government has no home here and skimps our ambassador. They don't like it. Every other country that has an ambassador here (except the Turkish) owns a house or has a house on a long lease; it has furnished it well; it allows a fund for entertainment.

And then there is the concluding paragraph:

I pray you pardon all this, my dear Mr. President. It is an unpardonably long explanation of an unfortunate situation. I imagine after all that the best way out of it is for you to relieve me of further duties that I cannot pay for, find a man of fortune for this post, too, and let my resignation help, if it can be made to help, toward an understanding of the whole diplomatic problem. Perhaps that's the best service I can render, after all. But I shouldn't be candid if I didn't express a profound regret, for I am eager now, since I have begun to learn how, to serve you and to do what I can to building up a right understanding of us and of our government abroad. The first step in building up such a right understanding here must be a house for our ambassador. If I go away, however, because I can't afford it and my successor has to pay for his own house —that'll not be a flattering or helpful condition for him to begin his labour under. It's surely a bad predicament.

Yours most heartily,

WALTER H. PAGE.

Now what has been the result of that and similar representations? The result of that kind of protest has been that the United States government last year appropriated $10,000,000, for the purpose exclusively of erecting buildings for its ministers and ambassadors abroad. The sum of $10,000,000 last year was appropriated for that purpose on top of a very large appropriation that was made a few years before. I hold in my hand a volume reporting the hearings on this subject before the committee on foreign relations of the House of Representatives, and I would commend it to hon. members to read. It contains an expression of what the United States itself has come to regard as a fatal mistake made through not having proper accommodation for its embassies and legations and confining the positions merely to wealthy men. May I say we are anxious that these

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2603 and 2608, April 13, 1927

Mr. Mackenzie King:

positions abroad should not be made a monopoly or preserve for men of great means. We are anxious that they should be open to any men in our country who possess the ability and skill to fill them with honour and credit to themselves and their native land. If that is to be done, we must arrange to secure furniture and equip the proper premises both for offices and residence. My hon. friend spoke about Paris. May I say to him that I understand a part of the $10,000,000 that has been voted by the United States is to go towards erecting a building for the embassy in that city? So I repeat that whether we take the view of the United States as it has been borne in upon them through conviction, or whether we take, as I prefer to take, the example of Great Britain, we will be wise in following the course which experience has shown to be the best. And may I just make clear that what we will be allowing our minister—in connection with the salary, representation, residence, and everything else—will equal only one-quarter of what Great Britain allows the British ambassador? With that understanding of the outlay involved hon. members will surely have reason to feel that if we are to have a legation at all we are beginning in as modest a way as can be.

Just one further word, because I do not wish to take up too much of the time of the committee: I think this country has been particularly fortunate in the appointment of Hon. Mr. Massey as Minister Plenipotentiary to Washington. The press of this country, the press of the United States, and the press of Great Britain have been one in these expressions of appreciation of his exceptional qualifications for that high position. We have been more than fortunate in securing to fill this all important post one who is so eminently qualified, and I submit that we owe something to the minister whom we have appointed as well as to our country which he represents.

Mr. R. B. Bennett:

Mr. BENNETT: Mr. Chairman, three questions were asked me which I shall endeavour to answer. The first question submitted by the Prime Minister was whether or not in my capacity as a director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company I opposed the construction of the building yonder. I can assure him that I did not; I supported it to the extent of my ability. Nothing could more aptly illustrate the point I desire to make than the history of the enterprise in respect to that building. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has more insurance on Canadian lives than any other insurance company in Canada, and they found it desirable to invest in this building a portion of the premiums paid by those policyholders. But during the early days of its existence the company occupied those little premises down on Elign street that are so small that I suppose people would think it impossible for the business of the company to be there transacted. In other words, in its early days the company occupied a very insignificant structure, but as it developed and it became apparent that the magnitude of its business demanded better accommodation, the company built the present premises on Wellington street.

The point we have endeavoured to make is that in the early stage of our career among the nations in Washington we should be content to make our way as other nations have done—occupying premises in keeping with our condition and the effort we were making to establish ourselves. That is what is done in ordinary business by ordinary people. It is an exemplification of the old saying, that children creep before they walk. It is fitting that Canada should emulate the policy of great enterprises, namely, in the early days establish themselves in keeping with their ability financially, and then develop their premises as their resources increase. The building that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company spent over two millions on at the corner of Wellington and Bank represents the company to-day with assets of two billion dollars; the small property on Elgin street represented the company when its assets were something over a hundred million dollars. I mention that because it clearly illustrates the position of this country.

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

Unrevised Hansard, pp.2609-2611, April 13, 1927

Mr. R. B. Bennett:

The second question to which attention was directed was that I had said I did not favour an embassy. My views are well known. I do not believe Sir Robert Borden when he desired to establish a representative of Canada in Washington had in mind any such pretentious effort as is now being made. The desire arose out of the trade commissioners that we had in Washington during the war. I have always felt, and I still strongly believe, that Canada should have an active trade commissioner in Washington, a gentleman who, if you wish, should occupy a position similar to that which Mr. Larkin occupies in London. He is High Commissioner, and there might well be a high commissioner at Washington who would devote his attention to the development of our trade. At this moment we are the second best customer of the United States and our effort should be to induce them to buy more of our goods. I do not think it is consistent with the position we occupy financially and with the balance of trade as it now is—that is, our buying ever-increasing quantities from them and selling them correspondingly smaller quantities, except of raw material and partially fabricated goods—that we should establish an embassy there. What we ought to establish is a trade commissioner's office, a high commissioner's office, if you will. Just as we have in England various trade commissioners, with a high commissioner at the head, so we should establish in Washington, not an embassy but a trade commissioner's office. We do not need diplomats but trade commissioners. We require men who will extend our commerce and not men who will make us known as the occupants of fine premises. That I believe is the view which the major number of our business men in Canada will entertain in this regard. I have always believed that it was the duty of this country to have a trade commissioner in Washington; it seems to me that we have suffered a considerable loss because of that deficiency. But when we speak of an ambassador and a trade commissioner in the same breath we are confusing terms and making a great mistake.

It has been suggested that by reason of rentals we shall be able to own the premises outright after twenty years. Let me offer this comment on that suggestion. I directed the attention of the House last year, as I did many years ago, to the fact that in Ottawa from 1896 to 1911, and further from 1911 to 1917, a continuous effort was made to purchase a property on the other side of the Supreme court chambers. We have been content to pay rentals in this city aggregating several hundred thousands of dollars per annum, and we have never attempted to apply the principle expounded by the Minister of Railways to-night. In other words, during the last few years we have been renting buildings to provide post office accommodation in many communities instead of putting up new structures in Ontario and in other places, for the reason that we dared not undertake such construction. When the Minister of Railways in his glib manner passed over this matter as lightly as he did, he overlooked the fact that the doctrine he preaches we have declined to follow. No business man goes and borrows half a million dollars rather than pay rent if he finds himself burdened with fixed charges amounting to over $120,000,000 per annum. If he finds himself in that position he is content to make temporary arrangements until his condition improves, because he knows that he can make expenditures that will not involve any sacrifice.

Now is it desirable to have a new public building erected in Toronto or an embassy in Washington? Which is more desirable—to have post offices in Canada or a $500,000 building in a foreign country? If the principle were sound, that we should put up buildings rather than rent them, we should not be suffering to-day from any lack of accommodation in this regard. I recall the circumstances mentioned by an hon. member from Toronto with respect to the examining warehouse. I can recall that efforts were made during the war to obtain that building, but these efforts were unsuccessful. In this city hundreds of thousands of dollars are being paid out in rentals and we are not building, simply for the reason that we do not feel ourselves in a position to do so. We are hoping against hope that we may be able so to improve our condition as to be in a position to engage in construction. Tell the electors of the country, the taxpayers, that we cannot afford to put up new post offices where they are demanded—although, by the way, we are building a new one in Regina at a cost of $150,000—that we cannot supply the needed facilities in connection with the public service; that we cannot increase the salaries of the mail clerks and letter carriers: tell the electors this and then ask them whether in their opinion it is desirable to pay half a million dollars for a building in Washington as against renting premises for a temporary period. Put that case before the people and see what they will say. I believe that when the experiment has been made it will be found that the embassy as such will not satisfy the people. We want trade commissioners. It is not gold lace we want but a gold balance of trade in this

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Hon. R.B. Bennett:

country. We want increased exports and decreased imports in our trade relations with the United States. If they insist on our buying their manufactured goods, then they must be prepared to receive more of our wheat and cattle than they are now buying. The have shut us out of their market altogether and they want us to import goods from them. Their mass production is having an injurious effect on the industrial life of this country, and what we require is a trade commissioner to represent us in that country. But what are we doing? We are proposing to take half a million dollars, wrung from the taxpayers of the country, for the purpose of setting up an establishment of this description. We have no great accumulations of wealth in this country; we have no great resources to draw upon; and the debt of Canada is more staggering to us than the national debt is to any of the older countries. Every thoughtful man who analyses the situation knows it. I am not opposed to Canada maintaining a dignified position among the other nations, but let me impress upon hon. members the fact that dignity is never measured in terms of dollars and cents. You cannot measure the natural latent dignity of a man by his bank account; the value of citizenship has never yet been determined by any such means.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. BENNETT: Nor can you measure his worth by his arrogance and his manifestations of ignorance. You cannot do it either way. The importance of Canada in the eyes of foreign countries will not be gauged by the premises we occupy; and just as Mr. Page said in the letter read by the Prime Minister, that it was a poor compliment to England for the United States to occupy the premises it did in England, so I say it is a poor compliment to Canada that the American ambassador should be willing to maintain an office in yonder building, occupying a flat or a rented house. When Canada finds herself complimented in the manner suggested by Mr. Page, then we will be more ready to consider such an application as we have before us to-night.

I have endeavoured to answer the questions submittted to me. The answers I have given may not commend themselves to the committee, but at least they are answers, whether satisfactory or not. When we are asked to undertake something of this magnitude we should know first whether our circumstances and our resources will warrant it. Mexico has been referred to. I took the trouble to send for a reference book from which I learn that Mexico's debt is less than $300,000,000 while her population is 16,000,000. Yet Mexico, according to observations made in this House last year or the year before, acquired premises in Washington only recently. If the diplomatic relations of Mexico with the United States could continue under such conditions for so long a time why cannot Canada be content to rent a building in Washington? Why has the government not adopted the policy of erecting buildings in the city of Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada if that policy is considered so sound? During all the days of buoyant revenue that policy has been ignored. These are questions that demand an explanation.

There is one other question which was suggested and that was that the increase in the value of real estate would compensate the country for going into this business. If the Canadian people are going into the real estate business, I do not believe they will choose an embassy for an experiment with which to start. I can only ask the Minister of Agriculture, in view of certain observations which he has made, whether he thinks the farmers on the plains, the stock growers, will be better satisfied to have half a million dollars spent in Washington rather than to have that amount spent in endeavouring to improve the pure bred stock, which assistance has been cut off this year.

Mr. MOTHERWELL: We will attend to both of them.

Mr. BENNETT: I am pleased to hear the minister say that, but the Minister of Finance will probably have something to say about it. That is the real position; can we afford to do this? Would the Minister of Trade and Commerce do it? That successful manufacturer did not build his business in just that way; he did not suddenly blossom out into a great manufacturer but proceeded gradually to develop that business which is now one of the greatest in the country; may it long prosper. That has been the case with respect to every Canadian enterprise of which I know which has really made progress, and we must follow that practice in the United States if we are going to make the progress I hope to see. I will vote for the amendment and against the adoption of this item more gladly than I have voted against any contemplated expenditure in this parliament under any circumstance, because I am satisfied that the people of this country in their present condition, with the burden of taxation they have to carry and with the unamortized buildings in this city which are absorbing hundreds of thousands of dollars every year, are not anxious to have this experiment tried abroad. I do not think in the end it will be found that if Canada is to make progress at Washington we must develop there a great trade commission which will help increase our trade and change the balance as it exists between the United States and Canada. That is what we need, not gold lace, as I stated, but gold dollars flowing into this country under a proper balance of trade.

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C 45965

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Canadian Minister to the United States

Debate on Supply

FOREIGN RELATIONS: Unrevised Hansard, May 29, 1928, p.3618

Mr. Bourassa:

There is one feature which it is perhaps still more important to keep in mind. In this instance, we broke our relations with a foreign country because of some difficulty arising in London between the British government and the representatives of that foreign country. There is now a representative of the United States of America in Ottawa, and we have a representative of Canada at Washington. Supposing trouble arose to-morrow; supposing the American government found fault with Mr. Massey or whoever might succeed him, and asked us to recall our representative, as once the American government requested the recall of Sir Lionel Sackville-West for some indiscretion in political matters. Are we going to write to London and, for the sake of "unity of action," ask that the American ambassador be expelled from London? The Irish Free State is also represented in Washington, and the United States is represented in Dublin. Supposing trouble arises, as it may, since modern Irishmen take an equal interest in politics to that which they took in the olden days; supposing the representative of the Irish Free State in Washington should commit some indiscretion such as the representative of the English government committed forty years ago, and the American government asked Dublin to recall their indiscreet representative. Would Mr. Cosgrave, or his successor, write to the Prime Minitser here and ask us to expel the American representative from Ottawa, for the sake of "unity of action?" This is an aspect of the situation which should be studied immediately.

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"I had hoped in my younger days, and I have not entirely lost my hope yet, that in maintaining the unity and solidarity of this Commonwealth of Nations we call the British Empire, we might attach Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders to the embassies abroad of the Empire. It may come that some Canadian may be ambassador of the British Empire - just as much to be achieved by his ambition as if born within sound of Bow Bells.

"I see no reason why that hope should be disturbed to-day. I see no reason why we should have separate embassies and legations, but rather embassies and legations should be of the United Empire, and every part of the Empire might find representation there when the moment of peril came, and they could speak with one voice, without divided authority."

Mr. Bennett - Toronto Business Men's Conservative Club.

Toronto Mail and Empire, June 15, 1928.

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anonymous to W.L.M.K. E-6004

Confidential

C 45967

Vol 4

Can. Representative at Washington

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Sir John Tilley's Invitation to Keenleyside

Hadow called this morning and stated that he had had an inquiry from Tokyo as to whether Keenleyside had accepted Sir John Tilley's invitation to stay with him on reaching Tokyo, stating that no reply had been received. Hadow suggested that he should cable that the invitation had been received by Keenleyside just before he sailed and that there was no doubt that he would accept. I told him that he should not make any statement but leave it to Keenleyside to reply as he had probably done by wireless before this. I indicated that there might be difficulties in the way of acceptance, but did not inform Hadow that we had telegraphed Keenleyside following your instructions on Saturday, advising him to express warm appreciation of the offer but to decline on the ground that arrangements had already been made for accommodation at the Imperial Hotel and on such other grounds as he might wish to add. Hadow stated that he thought it would be very serious if Keenleyside declined as Sir John Tilley was very touchy.

Sir William Clark has just called up and stated that Hadow told

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told him of the position and that he would very much like to discuss the matter with you before Keenleyside definitely declined. I then informed him that I had discussed the matter with you and did not think that you would consider it advisable to instruct Keenleyside to accept. I added that we fully appreciated the kindness of Sir John in making the offer.

Sir William would like to speak to you on this matter and also regarding the notification in regard to appointments of Ministers this afternoon, or,if this is not possible, tomorrow.

Ottawa, 14th May, 1929.

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COPY(MJS).

C 45969 Legation Washington

Address to be made by Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador, before the Canadian Club of Ottawa at Luncheon on January 29th, 1930.

I felt that it was impossible for me after holding the post of British Ambassador at Washington for six years (which is, I may say in parenthesis, a longer period than I believe any previous Ambassadors except Lord Pauncefote and Lord Bryce), to leave this Continent without coming once more to Canada in order to say goodbye to my kind friends here, and to tell them how I shall cherish to the end of my life the happy memories which my wife and I will carry away of Canadian hospitality and courtesy during the all too fleeting visits which my duties have allowed me to pay to this pleasant land.

I am always glad to come back to Canada, to note and observe the signs of ever increasing prosperity, the growing sense that Canada is a great nation taking her place proudly and worthily beside the other nations of the world. All this gives me a thrill of satisfaction which I can with difficulty express. I feel as if in the presence of perfect youth, as portrayed in a Greek statue, conscious of its strength, of its manhood, of its capacity mental and physical, and of the magnificent future before it. Who knows what the next few years may not bring forth for this vast country which already we know to be richer in potential electric power, in mineral wealth, in agricultural possibilities than almost any other country in the world? Some think that the northern geographical situation of Canada is a drawback. I don't feel at all so sure about that because it ensures you for ever from the danger of the problem of mixed races which is a most serious one in southern countries and it ensures you also from the relaxation of mind and muscle which often is the result of too constant contact with the Sun God. You are endowed with thousands and thousands of square miles of fertile plains, with millions of horse power of electricity waiting to be harnessed, with lumber and wood pulp almost

incalculable./

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incalculable, and lastly with a wealth of mineral deposits which have yet only just been scratched. You have all this and you have besides the unspeakable blessing of political security without fear from attack from without. Who are your neighbours? On one side the North Pole, whose bears are not likely to prove a danger to this State, on the other side a great and friendly country, with whom you have had for over a century an arrangement by which armaments were laid aside and the frontier line was left almost as free from defences as those between one State and another of the United States itself.

Now, gentlemen, this is a very splendid state of things existing between the United States and Canada and one in which I, as an Englishman, can well also glory. For it was an Englishman, the representative of the then British Government, who in 1817, only a few years after the war of 1812, negotiated the Rush-Bagot agreement. That was the first naval disarmament Treaty every known. By it Canada and the United States were saved from maintaining flotillas of armed vessels on the Great Lakes, which had been built as a result of that war. That agreement was negotiated by Mr. Charles Bagot - a British diplomatist whose guile consisted in the art of making friends. It has stood the test of time. In that agreement we may I hope foresee a forerunner of the general agreement on naval limitation and reduction which is now being discussed in London. Which of us does not ardently desire the success of that Conference, the conclusions of which, as the President of the United States has truly said, must be such as to give a sense of security and satisfaction to each of the nations taking part in it? To quote his words: "Permanent peace is never based on either taking advantage of or accepting a position of prejudice." What fills me with hope regarding the London Conference is that all nations have gone into it with a fuller knowledge than ever before of the difficulties and complexities of the problem and with a more complete understanding of the requirements - the legitimate requirements - of the other Parties to it. That is already half

the battle/

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the battle. As long as a Conference is made up only of ardent patriots who can see nothing but the justice of their own cause and are therefore strong in the belief that all others who see things rather differently must be less honest and truthful than themselves, and say so, there is indeed little hope of agreement. But when all admit that there is much to be said for the case of the other fellow, then half the battle is already won, and this is the case in regard to the present Conference. The difficulties are indeed very great but they are not insurmountable. Once again let me quote from President Hoover's statement bidding Godspeed to the American delegation. "We should not", he says, "expect any hurried conclusions, it is the most important of international conferences of a great many years and probably the most important for many years to come. The progress of peace for the world rests in a great measure upon the shoulders of the five delegations. There is goodwill towards the Conference on the part of every nation." These weighty words of the President of the United States will, I am sure, find an echo in every heart that sincerely desires peace and security and contentment in the world. They are a true introduction for the incalculably important meeting of the five leading naval Powers in London.

Canada is perhaps not so immediately and directly interested in the outcome as the rest of us. In addition to the natural advantages which the Almighty has heaped on her with so liberal a hand she has the supreme requisite for a happy life - no fear of attack from without. There is perhaps no other nation so happily situated as Canada in this respect, and as to internal danger, where is there any sign of that? Canadians, like the rest of us, have occasionally, in order to five some zest to life, to quarrel among themselves a little and they may even sometimes indulge in strong language towards each other. But this is only of that kind which makes of politics an entertaining spectacle for retired Ambassadors and other futilitarians sitting over their fires and reading the headlines in the Press.

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the Press.

In spite of all her natural advantages, however, in spite of the fact that there is so much wealth lying to be developed at home, in spite of the fact that Canada, of all nations of the world has least reason to fear attack from without, she has always come nobly to the assistance of the Empire when in danger and has played an active and conspicuous part in all the movements for the promotion of permanent peace throughout the world. Canada's position among nations in the movement of peace was assured when Mr. Dandurand, one of her delegation to the League of Nations Assembly in 1925, was chosen to preside over that Assembly; - a most deserved compliment to the country and to her public men. Therefore, from every point of view, I share with you, members of the Canadian Club, the fullest belief in the high destiny which lies before this country. I feel convinced that, if anywhere in the world, we may here look forward to a prosperous, untroubled, and contented future in which Canadians if they live up to their past ideals will not sink into a condition of mere enjoyment of their material advantages but will also work, as heretofore, with their shoulders to the wheel of the old creaking stage coach of humanity, helping it upward to the goal of universal peace and friendship towards which it has been striving for so long.

Canada will, I feel sure, ever realise the truth of that saying that it profits a man little to gain the whole world of material wealth if he loses his own soul, and will teach her children the lesson that to accomplish much in this life we must live for others as well as ourselves not only individually but also nationally, because, if for no higher reason, our own prosperity depends on that of others.

I remember nearly six years ago, when you did me the honour of entertaining me here on my first arrival in Canada after I was appointed to Washington, I was asked what I thought about the

proposed/

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proposed appointment of a Canadian Minister in Washington. I told you exactly what I felt about it, that as long as the Canadian Government wished to leave me in charge of Canadian affairs at Washington, I should be proud to acquit myself of that duty to the best of my ability. But further whenever the Canadian Government thought that the country's interest required a separate Canadian representative in Washington I should be glad to welcome him, to assist him in every way I could and to cooperate with him in all matters of joint interest or concern.

Mr. Massey was appointed Canadian Minister not long after and I should like to tell you all how that from that day to this there has never been a shadow of any sort between us. We have discussed matters of common interest and matters of all kinds so freely that we have become friends and almost as brothers. So much for our personal relations. But I should also like to say this, that the establishment of the Canadian Legation in Washington, so far from creating difficulties for the conduct of the affairs of our British Commonwealth, as some persons supposed, has on the contrary been of real help and assistance in the conduct of those affairs in the United States. I venture to think that it has helped not a little, as I may say I always believed it would, in bringing about that better feeling between the two great English speaking communities, our Commonwealth and the United States. The existence of this better feeling we can all of us realise today since it was so clearly shown during the visit of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to the United States last autumn. Much of this improvement I am sure is due to the personal work of Mr. Massey and I am glad to be able to pay, before I leave, this public tribute to him as a close personal friend and a most helpful colleague, and also to the members of his staff, who started the Legation with Mr. Massey, I mean Mr. Beaudry, Mr. Hume Wrong, Mr. Merchant Mahoney, and Mr. Stone, who have shown from the first a wonderful spirit of cooperation with the

members/

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members of the British Embassy.

Now I may perhaps be allowed to branch off for a few minutes to a subject with which officially I have no connection but which personally interests me very closely. I may I hope be excused on the grounds that I am officially almost defunct and may therefore be considered as free to talk on any subject I have at heart.

The subject I have particularly at heart at the moment is also a general Empire one, namely the future of the British West Indian Islands. I have always from my youth up been interested in these Islands, partly no doubt because my Mother's family was closely connected with them from the time of the conquest of Jamaica. I have therefore felt in a curious atavistic way almost at home there. I was also for many years connected with a plantation in the most beautiful island of Tobago which, no doubt because of my own errors of judgment, never brought me any pecuniary profit but only many very happy memories. Happy memories and the absence of pecuniary profit do not always necessarily go together, but in this case they have marched triumphantly hand in hand and this in itself speaks volumes for the charm of those most fascinating islands.

The main object of this digression to the West Indies is however this. For years past owing to many reasons, which I need not dwell on here, many of the British West Indian Islands, but not all, have suffered from chronic depression. The result has been that they lost credit from without and confidence from within. There were but few strangers who would invest new capital there. Shipping lines gradually ceased to serve them as before and many of the islands instead of keeping pace with the general progress of civilization fell back in the race and were even less advanced and productive than they had been more than one hundred years ago.

It is clear that small island communities of this sort require, if they are to keep abreast of the times, firstly, good and regular communication by sea with the outer world, secondly, stable and

permanent/

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markets, thirdly, confidence and credit in the outside world which will supply the necessary capital for improvement and development of roads, public works and even plantations on a modern scientific scale. For nearly thirty years all these three necessities were almost completely lacking in the West Indies till Canada stepped into the breach in 1925, after some previous negotiations with the Canadian-West Indian Trade Agreement, by which West Indian Products and Canadian Products were reciprocally granted preferential treatment in each other's markets and Canada further promised to run two lines of ships regularly between Halifax, St. John, N. Brunswick and the West Indian Islands.

The Canadian Government have lived up to their promises in this respect in a most splendid manner and the results are already becoming evident in largely increased trade on both sides, and also in increased confidence in the future in the West Indies, and in general economic improvement. I dislike giving figures on an occasion of this sort, but these are interesting: The total exports from Canada into the British West Indies in 1912 before the war and before any Trade Agreement was made amounted to four million, eight hundred and sixty eight thousand dollars, or 8.6 per cent of the total imports of the British West Indies. According to the latest available statistics given by the Year Book of the British West Indies for 1929, which is published by the Associated Canadian Industries of 817 Castle Building, Montreal, the total exports from Canada to the British West Indies amounted to $20,875,233, nearly five times as much as for 1912, and to 20½ of the total imports of the West Indies. On the other hand the exports to Canada from the West Indies before the Trade Agreement were $8,845,736 or 21.9 per cent of their total exports while after the Agreement these exports amounted to $21,773,826 or 23.9 per cent of the total. These figures, in fact, show a steady rise whereas the figures of exports from the West Indies to their other two principal

markets/

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markets, the United Kingdom and the United States, show great variations according to tariff or preference arrangements or for other reasons.

But we may safely assume that Canada could practically absorb nearly all the 91 million dollars worth of tropical produce exported by the West Indies, and even more. If - always taking into account local conditions which must be taken into consideration - West Indian sugar could find a stable and permanent market here in Canada, you can easily understand what confidence that would inspire in the sugar growing islands - and the same is the case for cocoa, coffee, copra, vegetable fats, limes, oranges, bananas and every kind of tropical fruit. All these Canada needs - there is nothing grown on these islands which competes with anything produced on Canadian soil, and Canadian manufactures are all welcome in the West Indies. What better conditions can be imagined then for extending the preferences reciprocally until at last there might be complete free trade between these two parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations which appear from the very nature of things to be made to supply each other reciprocally with the goods they need?

Canada has already given to the West Indies an excellent first class passenger and freight service by sea. When she has combined this with the permanent and stable market which is essential for these small communities that have difficulty in competing with larger tropical countries, there is no doubt that confidence in them will reawaken and credit will be restored and new capital will pour in. That is what I should like to see; the closest economic relationship between these islands and Canada; it is indeed I believe their greatest hope of a return to their former prosperity.

I was down there only last October and travelled in one of the Canadian National Steamship Line's ships from Bermuda to Trindad. I may say that I never travelled on a better appointed or more comfortable ship. A finer holiday in winter than that trip I cannot

imagine/

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imagine. From Bermuda down to Trinidad you visit ten different islands in about nine days, staying often a whole day at one and sometimes at two in one day. They are all diversified but all have their special charm. Lovely bathing beaches - quaint old West Indian towns - in some there are mountains, streams, cascades and luxuriant tropical vegetation, and strange birds and fishes - in others volcanoes or coral beaches, sugar, cotton, cocoa, coffee and cocoanut plantations. In nearly all there are most interesting botanical gardens. In some such as Bermuda, Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica you find fine hotels with golf courses and lawn tennis and other amusements; in others like Dominica the traveller, if he wants to penetrate into the mountains and wild interior, must do so very much as any explorer would have done three hundred years ago, only that there is now no danger from savage Caribs. There is thus an almost unexampled variety of scenery totally different to anything that you can see on the north American continent and especially in Canada and this can be obtained by a journey in your own Canadian National Steamers which are as comfortable as any steamers in the world. I often wonder how many people realise this and why more has not been done to develop this travellers' paradise. No doubt that will all come; but I hope to see it come soon, and I hope also that the economic relations between the West Indian Islands and Canada may before long be so close and so firmly founded that nothing will every shake them loose again. I sincerely believe that this will be greatly for the benefit of both sides, and of the British Commonwealth of Nations generally.

Now I have perhaps taken up too much of your time with the West Indies and I must ask you to excuse me. I have done it because the matter is one which, as I have said, is very near my heart.

Before I close I want once more in my wife's name as well as my own to thank you and all Canadians whom I have met for the warm and friendly welcome which has always been given us on this side of the

border/

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I do not propose to say goodbye. There are many things in Canada and the United States which I hope I may still be able to see, and many lessons which I still want to learn. I therefore live in hopes of returning to these hospitable shores. Till then I will but say "so long", and many, many thanks.

—

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C 45979

Showed Dr Skelton

MAR 11 '30

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE H.L.

E-9001
2 of 2A

MEMORANDUM

Confidential

AIDE MEMOIRE

Mr. Rowell called here on Friday, the 7th, hoping to see the Prime Minister. He had a long talk with me, and indicated that he wished to let Mr. King know of a conversation which he had had with Sir Wm. Hearst recently in Washington, when Sir Wm. Hearst stated that Sir John Broderick had told him, and he, Sir Wm. Hurst had in turn told Mr. Rowell, that the present Canadian Minister was the most influential diplomatist in Washington, and that quite apart from his services to Canada, his services to the Government of Great Britain were of incalculable value, and that he occupied a unique position in Washington diplomatic circles, having an entree to high political circles, and a personal prestige which was unequalled by anyone in Washington.

I think Mr. Rowell was anxious that you should be made aware of this conversation.

O.K. Please thank Dr Skelton
Effie
10-3-30. Secretary

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P.C.535.

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 Administrator on the 7th March, 1931.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 7th March, 1931, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, stating that the post of Canadian Minister at Washington has been vacant since the retirement of the Honourable Vincent Massey.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint William Duncan Herridge, K.C., as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, with the special object of representing in the United States the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letters of credence, and that a Commission under the Great Seal of Canada do issue accordingly.

E. J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS JUNE 23, 1931.

CANADA

REMARKS OF
HIS MAJESTY'S NEWLY APPOINTED MINISTER FOR CANADA
MR. WILLIAM DUNCAN HERRIDGE
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF HIS
LETTERS OF CREDENCE
JUNE23, 1931.

Mr. President:

I have the honour to place in your hands the letters by which his Majesty the King accredits me as his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the Dominion of Canada in the United States, and also the royal letter which terminates the mission of my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Vincent Massey.

It is the earnest wish of His Majesty's Government in Canada that the harmonious relations which have long prevailed between the United States and Canada shall be maintained and strengthened. Mr. Massey, in presenting his credentials in 1927 as the first Canadian Minister in Washington, expressed the confident hope that the establishment of a Canadian Legation in Washington would serve to strengthen those cordial sentiments which exist between Canada and the United States as well as between the United States and the Empire of which Canada is part. I feel that I can say with conviction that this hope has been fulfilled during the four years which have passed since direct diplomatic relations were established between the United States and Canada. From today it becomes my duty and my privilege to contribute as best I may to the fulfillment of these high aims.

I enter upon my duties conscious both of the honour and of the responsibility which will be mine. I look forward, Mr. President, in my task to receiving your friendly support and that of your Administration.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY
TO THE REMARKS OF
HIS MAJESTY'S NEWLY APPOINTED MINISTER FOR CANADA
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UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF HIS
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Mr. Minister:

It gives me pleasure to receive from you the letters by which His Britannic Majesty accredits you as His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the Dominion of Canada in the United States. You have likewise delivered to me the letters of recall of your distinguished predecessor, The Honorable Vincent Massey, whose residence in this capital as the first Minister of the Dominion of Canada to this country

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is most happily remembered.

The harmonious relations which have so long subsisted between Canada and the United States will, I am confident, be augmented through your mission to Washington. I share your conviction that the establishment of direct diplomatic relations between Canada and the United States has served to strengthen the cordial sentiments which exist between our countries as well as between the United States and the Empire of which Canada is a part.

In welcoming you to Washington, I desire to assure you, Mr. Minister, that you may rely upon my hearty co-operation and that of the officials of this Government and to express the hope that your stay amongst us will be pleasant.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS JUNE 23, 1931.

CANADA

REMARKS OF
HIS MAJESTY'S NEWLY APPOINTED MINISTER FOR CANADA
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[This Document is the Property of His Britannic Majesty's Government.]

SUEZ CANAL. [March 13.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 2700/430/16] No. 1.

Sir Ian Malcolm to Foreign Office.—(*Received March* 13.)

(No. 12. Commercial. Confidential.)

Sir, *Paris, March* 12, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith important statistical tables of traffic through the Suez Canal, and of other matters connected therewith, for the year 1922.

I have, &c.
IAN MALCOLM.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Tableaux statistiques pour l'Année 1922.

1. Mouvement maritime et recettes mensuelles du transit.
2. Mouvement maritime divisé par pavillons.
3. Proportion pour cent du nombre des navires, du gross et du net tonnage, des divers pavillons ayant fréquenté le Canal.
4. Mouvement maritime divisé par catégories et pavillons.
5. Mouvement maritime et recettes du transit : tonnage net moyen.
6. Moyenne mensuelle de la durée du séjour total dans le Canal des navires ayant transité.
7. Décomposition du mouvement maritime par rapport au tirant d'eau des navires.
8. Passagers classés par catégories.
9. Tonnage net par pavillons.
10. Tonnage net des principales lignes de navigation dans le Canal.
11. Nombre de passagers ayant transité par le Canal de Suez.
12. Renseignements divers.

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1. *Mouvement maritime et Recettes mensuelles du Transit.*

Month.	Vessels.	Gross Tonnage.	Net Tonnage.	Transit Receipts.
Janvier	347	2,234,098	1,610,849	13,097,653
Février	326	2,109,971	1,531,362	12,840,315
Mars	385	2,562,313	1,852,110	15,007,272
Avril	369	2,388,257	1,732,989	13,993,283
Mai	387	2,516,921	1,832,355	14,622,229
Juin	316	2,116,752	1,527,721	12,178,620
Juillet	352	2,205,633	1,598,364	12,869,249
Août	357	2,347,713	1,708,188	13,654,627
Septembre	342	2,234,214	1,622.343	12,941,562
Octobre	373	2,513,781	1,824,442	14,660,485
Novembre .. .	380	2,603,223	1,876,761	14,907,790
Décembre	411	2,778,046	2,025,761	16,083,452
	4,345	28,610,922	20,743,245	166,856,537

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2. *Tonnage par pavillons.*

Flag.	Vessels.	Gross Tonnage.	Net Tonnage.
Allemand	149	1,031,424	735,129
Américain..	137	892,528	668,213
Britannique	2,736	18,423,942	13,382,710
Chinois	2	10,922	7,604
Danois	61	368,911	279,838
Égyptien	5	9,001	7,043
Espagnol	16	65,049	46,437
Français	215	1,466,121	996,875
Hellénique	10	42,458	31,929
Italien	225	1,189,359	858,011
Japonais	170	1,268,491	928,386
Néerlandais	455	2,984,013	2,161,471
Norvégien	79	410,458	308,711
Russe	12*	60,080	40,938
Suédois	55	325,566	242,413
Syrien	6	6,624	3,828
Yougoslave	12	55,975	43,709
	4,345	28,610,922	20,743,245

* Tous affrétés par la Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes.

3. *Proportion pour cent du Nombre des Navires, du gross et du net Tonnage.*

Flag.	Percentage Vessels.	Percentage Gross Tonnage.	Percentage Net Tonnage.
Allemand	3·4	3·6	3·6
Américain	3·2	3·1	3·2
Britannique	63·	64·4	64·5
Chinois	(0·05)	(0·04)	(0·04)
Danois	1·4	1·3	1·4
Égyptien	0·1	(0·03)	(0·03)
Espagnol	0·4	0·2	0·2
Français	4·9	5·1	4·8
Hellénique	0·2	0·2	0·2
Italien	5·2	4·2	4·1
Japonais	3·9	4·5	4·5
Néerlandais	10·5	10·4	10·4
Norvégien	1·8	1·5	1·5
Russe..	0·3	0·2	0·2
Suédois	1·3	1·1	1·2
Syrien	0·1	(0·02)	(0·02)
Yougoslave	0·3	0·2	0·2
	100·0	100·0	100·0

4. *Mouvement maritime par Catégories et Pavillons.*

Flag.	Merchant Vessels.		Mail Steamers.		Warships and Transports.		Government Chartered Vessels.		Merchant Vessels in Ballast.		Totals.	
	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.
Allemand	140	692,701	9	42,428	..	..	..	..	.. 8	.. 45,436	149	735,129
Américain	64	356,908	..	..	65	265,869	..	..	8	45,436	137	668,213
Britannique	2,009	9,729,963	207	1,360,444	241	1,097,218	56	292,153	223	902,632	2,736	13,382,710
Chinois	2	7,604	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	7,604
Danois	34	147,345	26	130,331	..	..	..	..	1	2,162	61	279,838
Egyptien	4	6,768	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	275	5	7,043
Espagnol	1	3,616	14	39,204	..	..	..	..	1	3,617	16	46,437
Français	97	455,035	99	500,341	12	18,702	..	..	7	22,797	215	996,875
Hellénique	6	22,313	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	9,616	10	31,929
Italien	65	245,013	84	308,707	17	56,048	48	215,287	11	32,956	225	858,011
Japonais	105	525,948	62	394,184	2	6,552	..	..	1	1,702	170	928,386
Néerlandais	313	1,475,483	120	626,111	1	1,793	..	..	21	58,084	455	2,161,471
Norvégien	76	299,239	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9,472	79	308,711
Russe	..	..	12*	40,938	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	40,938
Suédois	52	234,279	1	4,800	1	1,499	..	..	1	1,835	55	242,413
Syrien	3	1,914	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1,914	6	3,828
Yougoslave	12	43,709	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	43,709
	2,983	14,247,838	634	3,447,488	339	1,447,681	104	507,740	285	1,092,498	4,345	20,743,245

* Tous affrétés par la Compagnie des Messageries maritimes.

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5. *Mouvement maritime et Recettes du Transit : Tonnage net moyen.*

Nombre de Traversées.	Tonnage brut.	Tonnage net.	Droits de Transit (par tonne).	Recettes du Transit.	Tonnage net moyen par Navire.
4,345	28,610,922	20,743,245	Loaded vessels .. .. 8·00 fr. Vessels in ballast .. 5·50 fr.	166,856,537	4,774

6. *Durée du Séjour total dans le Canal.*

Month.	Mean Duration of Passage. For Vessels Navigating by Night as well as by Day. Number of Vessels.	Duration.	For Vessels Navigating by Day only. Number of Vessels.	Duration.	For all Vessels. Number of Vessels.	Duration.
		H. M.		H. M.		H. M.
Janvier	317	15 40	30	32 52	347	17 9
Février	307	15 20	19	22 42	326	15 46
Mars	367	15 10	18	26 19	385	15 41
Avril	339	15 57	30	22 28	369	16 29
Mai	341	14 54	46	18 9	387	15 17
Juin	289	14 32	27	19 19	316	14 56
Juillet	315	14 20	37	19 54	352	14 55
Août	328	14 9	29	22 15	357	14 49
Septembre	310	14 31	32	21 4	342	15 8
Octobre	343	14 53	30	27 18	373	15 53
Novembre	362	14 33	18	29 6	380	15 15
Décembre	381	14 54	30	27 58	411	15 51
Totaux et durées moyennes ..	3,999	14 55	346	23 35	4,345	15 36

7. *Tirant d'Eau.*

—	Nombre de Navires d'un Tirant d'Eau. Inférieur ou égal à 8m. 53 (28p.).	Supérieur à 8m. 53 (28p.). De 8m 54 à 8m. 84 (29p.).	De 8m. 85 à 9m. 14 (30p.).	De 9m 15 à 9m. 45 (31p.)*	Total.	Totaux.	Observations.
Répartition	4,232	84	24	5	113	4,345	
Proportion pour cent	97·4	1·9	0·6	0·1	2·6	..	

* Maximum autorisé, 9m. 45.

8. *État des Passagers par Catégories et Nationalités.*

Classification.	Outward Bound.	Homeward Bound.	Totals.
Militaires—			
Britanniques	29,237	37,513	66,750
Français	10,912	7,102	18,014
Italiens	5,069	6,920	11,989
Japonais	..	54	54
Néerlandais	475	471	946
Tchécoslovaques	..	847	847
Total des Militaires	45,693	52,907	98,600
Civils	91,416	78,568	169,984
Spéciaux	1,487	4,960	6,447
	138,596	136,435	275,031

C 45989

9. *Tonnage net par pavillons.*

	En milliers de tonnes.
Britannique	13,383
Néerlandais	2,161
Français	997
Japonais	928
Italien	858
Allemand	735
Américain	668
Divers	1,013
Total	20,743

10. *Tonnage net : Répartition par Armateurs principaux.*

Names of Shipping Lines.	Tons.	Tons.
Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company...	1,285,000	
British India Steam Navigation Company	689,000	
Edward Hain and Son and Mercantile Steamship Company	285,000	
Federal Steam Navigation Company	26,000	
Jas. Nourse (Limited)	24,000	
New Zealand Shipping Company	16,000	
Union Steamship Company of New Zealand ..	7,000	
		2,332,000
Ellerman Lines—		
Hall Line...	710,000	
City Line	451,000	
Bucknall Lines	231,000	
Wilson Line	59,000	
Graham Smith	5,000	
		1,456,000
Alfred Holt and Co. (Ocean Steamship Company, China Mutual Steam Navigation Company)		1,406,000
Gouvernement britannique		1,098,000
British Tanker Company		997,000
Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland		814,000
Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha...		668,000
Rotterdamsche Lloyd		624,000
Thos. and Jno. Brooklebank		616,000
Compagnie des Messageries maritimes		587,000
Clan Line		556,000
Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company		419,000
Bibby Bros. and Co.		379,000
Vereenigde Nederlandsche Scheepvaart Maatschappij ...		357,000
D.D.G. Hansa		332,000
Glen Line (Limited)		325,000
Orient Steam Navigation Company		306,000
P. Henderson and Co.		304,000
Gouvernement des États-Unis		266,000
Lloyd Triestino		224,000
T. and J. Harrison (Charente Steamship Company)		221,000
Est-Asiatique danois		203,000

11. *Nombre de Passagers ayant transité par le Canal de Suez.*

Militaires	98,600
Civils	169,984
Spéciaux	6,447
Total des passagers sur navires	275,031

12. *Renseignements divers.*

1. 23 traversées ont été effectuées par des navires d'un tirant d'eau supérieur à 8 mètres 53 (28 p.) et ayant plus de 150 mètres de longueur et plus de 18 mètres de largeur.

2. 339 navires ont transité pour la première fois, dont 58 navires d'État.

o

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SUEZ CANAL. [August 7.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 8024/430/16] No. 1.

Sir Ian Malcolm to Foreign Office.—(Received August 7.)

(No. 35. Confidential. Commercial.)

Sir, *Paris, August 6, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith the Suez Canal Traffic Statement for the month of June and for the first half-year of 1923, which I obtained this morning from the Administrator-Director.

I have, &c.
IAN MALCOLM.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Renseignements sur le Trafic, Juin et premier Semestre, 1923.—*Séance du 2 Août* 1923.

1. *Mois de Juin.*

UNE forte dépression du transit a caractérisé le mois de juin 1923 : pareil fait se produit, d'ailleurs, presque toujours à cette époque de l'année.

Le tonnage net (1,697,000 tonnes) est le plus faible enregistré depuis le début de l'exercice en cours : par rapport à mai 1923 il accuse un fléchissement de 369,000 tonnes, et bien qu'il soit supérieur de 169,000 tonnes au chiffre de juin 1922, il n'en reste pas moins de 31,000 tonnes au-dessous de la moyenne mensuelle de l'année dernière.

Comparativement à mai 1923, la diminution totale de 369,000 tonnes nettes porte pour 253,000 tonnes sur le transit des cargos chargés et pour 76,000 tonnes sur le passage des navires vides : la dépression est donc imputable, dans la proportion de 89 pour cent à un ralentissement momentané* des échanges commerciaux par la voie de Suez.

Le chiffre des marchandises (1,668,000 tonnes-poids) est—à l'instar du tonnage net—de beaucoup le plus bas que nous ayons eu à inscrire depuis le début de l'exercice : il est inférieur de 308,000 tonnes au résultat de mai, et s'il dépasse de 133,000 tonnes le total correspondant de juin 1922, du moins demeure-t-il, lui aussi, de 112,000 tonnes au-dessous de la moyenne mensuelle de 1922.

TRAFIC des Marchandises.

—	Mai 1923.	Juin 1923.
	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
Nord–Sud	633,000	544,000
Sud–Nord	1,343,000	1,124,000

Le trafic de sortie a été particulièrement pauvre ; le total de 544,000 tonnes est le moins élevé qui ait été réalisé, dans cette direction, depuis vingt-deux mois. La houille manque de plus en plus : 28,000 tonnes seulement, contre des moyennes mensuelles de 93,000 tonnes en 1921 et de 138,000 tonnes en 1922 ; les envois de métaux et matériel de chemin de fer se sont aussi beaucoup raréfiés : 137,000 tonnes, au lieu de 204,000 tonnes le mois précédent.

Au retour, le trafic a brusquement fléchi de 219,000 tonnes par rapport à mai.

* La première semaine de juillet 1923 donne, en effet, pour les marchandises un total supérieur de 52,000 tonnes à celui des sept premiers jours de juin.

SEP 19 Rec'd

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Le riz, dont la saison des grands passages tire à sa fin, a rétrogradé de 128,000 tonnes; les huiles minérales, le coprah, les fèves de soya ont diminué d'ensemble 93,000 tonnes. Par contre, le blé, avec un total de 201,000 tonnes, est en reprise de 89,000 tonnes sur le mois précédent, et, pour la première fois depuis la fin de la guerre, la contribution de l'Inde anglaise a été réellement importante : 143,000 tonnes de blé contre 55,000 tonnes en mai. Enfin, si les graines oléagineuses proprement dites n'accusent que 10,000 tonnes d'augmentation sur le mois précédent, du moins faut-il signaler qu'elles réalisent en juin leur record mensuel d'après-guerre : 135,000 tonnes.

Dans cette direction du retour, le resserrement global de 219,000 tonnes-poids dans les marchandises a porté sur toutes les principales régions exportatrices. Il faut, cependant, mentionner l'activité, sans précédent depuis l'armistice, du port de Kurrachee, qui a expédié vers le Canal 203,000 tonnes de marchandises (blé, colza, lin principalement), contre 108,000 tonnes en mai.

A signaler, en outre :

1. Le premier passage d'un chargement de sel (8,500 tonnes), originaire d'Eupatoria (Crimée), à bord d'un navire appartenant aux autorités soviétiques russes, et dirigé sur Vladivostok.

2. La réapparition au Canal de la compagnie allemande Deutsche Ost-Afrika, avec son service du tour d'Afrique, lequel n'utilise la route de Suez qu'au retour. Désormais, toutes les compagnies allemandes, clientes d'avant-guerre, se trouvent revenues au Canal.

2. *Premier Semestre*, 1923.

En augmentation de 1,402,000 tonnes nettes sur le résultat correspondant de l'année précédente, le mouvement maritime du Canal pendant le premier semestre, 1923, a totalisé 11,489,000 tonnes, soit près d'un million de tonnes de plus que pendant le premier semestre, 1912, record d'avant-guerre (10,512,000 tonnes).

Par rapport aux six premiers mois de 1922, on constate, au point de vue des opérations effectuées, les différences suivantes :

	Tonnes.
Navires sur lest	+ 681,000
Transports commerciaux chargés	+ 476,000
Services postaux	+ 334,000
Opérations militaires	— 89,000

Services postaux.—Pour une augmentation de 334,000 tonnes, on compte quarante traversées de plus que pendant la première moitié de 1922 :

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.		Premier Semestre, 1923.	
	Traversées.	Tonnes.	Traversées.	Tonnes.
Services anglais ..	110	742,000	117	851,000
„ hollandais ..	65	338,000	55	289,000
„ français ..	50	245,000	66	337,000
„ italiens ..	62	241,000	75	320,000
„ japonais ..	31	185,000	31	210,000
„ danois ..	12	57,000	12	53,000
„ espagnols ..	6	18,000	5	15,000
„ allemands ..	1	5,000	16	90,000
Ensemble ..	337	1,831,000	377	2,165,000

L'accroissement de 109,000 tonnes à l'actif des lignes anglaises est dû aux passages plus nombreux des paquebots de la Commonwealth Government Line (+ 76,000 tonnes) et de la P. and O. (+ 75,000 tonnes), tandis que l'Orient Line accuse une diminution de 38,000 tonnes.

En augmentation de 92,000 tonnes. les services français s'inscrivent cette année au deuxième rang : avec leurs propres unités, comme avec celles (françaises ou russes) affrétées par elles, les Messageries maritimes ont développé leurs relations postales avec Madagascar et Nouméa, et renoué celles qu'elles entretenaient jadis avec l'Indo-Chine :

SERVICES postaux français.

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.	Premier Semestre, 1923.
	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
Chine et Japon	148,000	155,000
Madagascar	87,000	122,000
Nouvelle-Calédonie	10,000	37,000
Indo-Chine	..	23,000
	245,000	337,000

Les lignes italiennes, en accroissement de 79,000 tonnes, ont progressé de la quatrième place à la troisième, alors que les services hollandais, en diminution de 49,000 tonnes, sont passés du deuxième rang en 1922 au quatrième cette année. Enfin, le trafic postal allemand, à peine réinstauré pendant le premier semestre, 1922, accuse une augmentation de 85,000 tonnes.

Navires sur Lest.—Le transit des navires vides, en augmentation de 681,000 tonnes, figure pour 48 pour cent dans l'accroissement total du mouvement maritime au Canal.

Dans sa composition ce transit spécial est très différent de celui de l'année dernière; à n'envisager que le transit sur lest du nord au sud (qui représente, d'ailleurs, la presque totalité du mouvement), on constate que l'an dernier les bateaux-citernes vides correspondaient à 82 pour cent de l'ensemble; cette année, bien qu'ayant largement progressé, ils ne représentent plus que 49 pour cent. C'est pour la catégorie des "cargos" ordinaires vides que l'on observe un accroissement de 512,000 tonnes, qui a eu pour résultat de faire passer leur pourcentage de 17 pour cent pendant le premier semestre, 1922, à 50 pour cent cette année :

TRANSIT sur Lest Nord–Sud.

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.	Premier Semestre, 1923.
	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
Bateaux-citernes	437,000	584,000
"Cargos" ordinaires	93,000	605,000
Petites unités non marchandes	3,000	3,000
Ensemble	533,000	1,192,000

Au point de vue des destinations de ces "cargos" ordinair s transités sur lest, les différences, cette année, sont les suivantes :

	Tonnes.
Inde anglaise	+ 290,000
Afrique est et sud...	+ 62,000
Indes néerlandaises	+ 44,000
Abou Zenima et Kosseïr	+ 36,000
Australie...	+ 11,000
Chine et Japon	+ 3,000
Autres, et ports à ordres	+ 66,000

Transports commerciaux chargés.—L'augmentation précitée de 512,000 tonnes dans les passages nord–sud de "cargos" vides s'explique, en partie, par le fait que les "cargos" chargés ont été, dans cette direction, très sensiblement moins nombreux que l'année dernière :

"CARGOS" chargés.

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.	Premier Semestre, 1923.	Différence.
	Tonnes.	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
Du nord au sud	3,373,000	3,040,000	— 333,000
Du sud au nord	4,091,000	4,900,000	+ 809,000
Ensemble	7,464,000	7,940,000	+ 476,000

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Ce tableau est le reflet de la situation du trafic des marchandises, qui sera étudié plus loin.

Navires nouveaux au Canal.—148 navires jaugeant 662,000 tonnes se sont présentés pour la première fois au Canal, contre 176 et 741,000 tonnes pendant la même période de 1922. Ci-après le relevé comparatif de ceux de ces navires qui jaugeaient plus de 8,000 tonnes nettes (ceux marqués d'une croix ne sont pas des clients réguliers):

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.	—	Premier Semestre, 1923.
	Tonnes.		Tonnes.
Empress of Canada†	14,803	Lacoma†	15,803
Larg's Bay	10,867	Samaria†	15,588
Hobson's Bay	10,644	Resolute†	13,306
Gelria†	9,667	Mongolia	12,746
City of Paris	8,216	Empr. of France† ..	11,546
Port Nicholson.. ..	8,136	Sarpedon	8,475
		Port-Kembla	8,242
		Port-Hunter	8,139
		Manhattan†	8,000

Mouvement total des Bateaux-citernes.—Dans leur ensemble, vides et chargés, les bateaux-citernes ont accompli 285 traversées correspondant à 1,274,000 tonnes nettes, ou 11 pour cent du mouvement total par le Canal, contre 241 traversées et 1,048,000 tonnes, ou 10 pour cent pendant le premier semestre, 1922.

Décomposition par Régions.—La décomposition du tonnage net par principales régions au delà de Suez est la suivante :

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.	Premier Semestre, 1923.	Différence.
	Tonnes.	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
Inde anglaise	3,939,000	4,261,000	+ 322 000
Chine et Japon	1,971,000	2,151,000	+ 180,000
Australasie	1,243,000	1,334,000	+ 91,000
Indes néerlandaises ..	1,106,000	1,130,000	+ 24,000
Golfe Persique ..	833,000	1,090,000	+ 257,000
Afrique orientale.. ..	399,000	535,000	+ 136,000
Mer Rouge	172,000	256,000	+ 84,000
Indo-Chine	103,000	222,000	+ 119,000

L'accroissement global des relations avec l'Inde anglaise est dû surtout aux mouvements par Kurrachee (+ 212,000 tonnes) et par les ports de Birmanie (+ 130,000 tonnes). Quant au golfe Persique, son développement est imputable au commerce des huiles minérales.

Trafic des Marchandises.—Par rapport aux six premiers mois de 1922, les échanges de marchandises ressortent en augmentation de 634,000 tonnes-poids, résultant d'un très gros accroissement sud-nord, atténué par une réduction très sensible des envois nord-sud :

—	Premier Semestre, 1922.	Premier Semestre, 1923.	Différence.
	Tonnes.	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
Du nord au sud	4,469,000	3,752,000	— 717,000
Du sud au nord	6,182,000	7,533,000	+1,351,000
Ensemble	10,651,000	11,285,000	+ 634,000

Par rapprochement avec le premier semestre, 1913, ces résultats accusent encore un retard de 1,683,000 tonnes ; le fait est dû à la faiblesse du trafic de sortie, car on remarquera que le mouvement de retour est sensiblement plus élevé qu'avant la guerre :

—	Nord-Sud.	Sud-Nord.	Total.
Premier semestre—	Tonnes.	Tonnes.	Tonnes.
1913	5,792,000	7,176,000	12,968,000
1914	5,725,000	7,162,000	12,887,000
1920	2,841,000	4,857,000	7,698,000
1921	2,817,000	5,069,000	7,886,000
1922	4,469,000	6,182,000	10,651,000
1923	3,752,000	7,533,000	11,285,000

A la sortie, le fait prédominant est la rareté des envois de houille (304,000 tonnes seulement), alors qu'ils avaient été, au contraire, exceptionnellement abondants pendant la première moitié de l'année dernière (1,070,000 tonnes):

PASSAGES de Houille Nord-Sud.

	Tonnes.
Premier semestre—	
1913	650,000
1914	643,000
1920	56,000
1921	296,000
1922	1,070,000
1923	304,000

La diminution du fait du charbon (— 766,000 tonnes) correspond à peu près au resserrement total du mouvement de sortie (— 717,000 tonnes); les autres marchandises ont donc peu varié dans leur ensemble : métaux et machinerie — 12,000 tonnes ; matériel de chemin de fer — 94,000 tonnes ; pétrole + 16,000 tonnes ; sel + 8,000 tonnes ; ciment + 55,000 tonnes ; tissus + 21,000 tonnes ; engrais manufacturés + 55,000 tonnes, &c.

Au retour, le groupe des céréales accuse une augmentation d'ensemble 586,000 tonnes.

Pour le riz (+ 270,000 tonnes), l'élément indien, bien qu'en reprise, est encore très loin des niveaux de jadis :

TRAFIC du Riz au Canal.

(Milliers de tonnes-poids.)

—	Indien.	Indochinois.	Siamois.	Divers.	Total.
Premier semestre—					
1913	1,019	122	107	51	1,299
1914	929	223	150	28	1,330
1920	149	67	4	12	232
1921	251	109	73	8	441
1922	360	94	1	4	459
1923	436	188	74	31	729

Pour le blé (+ 144,000 tonnes), les envois indiens, beaucoup plus abondants que précédemment, se rapprochent des chiffres de 1913 :

TRAFIC du Blé au Canal.

(Milliers de tonnes-poids.)

—	Indien.	Australien.	Divers.	Total.
Premier semestre—				
1913	562	109	14	685
1914	169	175	3	347
1920	..	456	3	459
1921	178	758	249	1,185
1922	5	638	20	663
1923	352	414	41	807

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C 45995

Le maïs et l'orge, de leur côté, apparaissent en augmentations respectives de 81,000 et 83,000 tonnes.

Le groupe des oléagineux ressort en progression globale de 267,000 tonnes; les niveaux d'avant-guerre sont presque rejoints :

TRAFIC des Oléagineux au Canal.

(Milliers de tonnes-poids.)

—	Graines.	Arachides.	Coprah.	Soya.	Total.
Premier semestre—					
1913	673	316	242	151	1,382
1914	796	363	267	151	1,577
1920	340	83	211	39	673
1921	127	115	161	29	432
1922	534	230	319	150	1,233
1923	654	275	299	272	1,500

En ce qui concerne les " graines " proprement dites, en augmentation de 124,000 tonnes, toutes les principales variétés sont en accroissement : colza + 30,000 tonnes ; sésame + 30,000 tonnes ; coton + 20,000 tonnes ; illipi et mowra + 12,000 tonnes ; lin + 11,000 tonnes.

La catégorie des minerais est en augmentation de 198,000 tonnes.

TRAFIC des Minerais au Canal.

(Milliers de tonnes-poids.)

—	Manganèse.	Autres.	Total.
Premier semestre—			
1913	435	332	767
1914	368	374	742
1920	321	128	449
1921	367	110	470
1922	401	218	619
1923	498	319	817

L'ensemble est supérieur aux chiffres d'avant-guerre.

En 1913 et 1914, il n'y avait pas de manganèse de la mer Rouge ; on en a compté 65,000 tonnes depuis le début de cette année.

Parmi les autres minerais, on relève pour l'exercice en cours 159,000 tonnes de zinc, contre 97,000 tonnes pendant le premier semestre, 1922.

Le groupe des textiles (669,000 tonnes) est en légère augmentation de 29,000 tonnes : jute — 91,000 tonnes ; coton + 87,000 tonnes ; chanvre + 33,000 tonnes.

Les huiles minérales totalisent 993,000 tonnes, en accroissement de 125,000 tonnes. Augmentation de 215,000 tonnes pour l'huile brute, resserrement de 26,000 tonnes pour la benzine, et diminution de 64,000 tonnes pour le mazout. A noter que, pour la première fois depuis bien longtemps, il n'est pas passé de mazout en juin.

Enfin, le sucre, avec un total de 212,000 tonnes, est déjà en progression de 118,000 tonnes, et la saison des grands passages n'est pas encore commencée.

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C 45996

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P.,

Minister of Marine and Fisheries

by

The Montreal Liberals, under

the auspices of the

REFORM CLUB.

MONTREAL, DECEMBER 3, 1924

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C 45997

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. CARDIN, M.P.,

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(signed by Mr. Cardin)

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C 45998

[redacted]

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P.,

(1) Programme

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C 45999

BANQUET IN HONOR OF

Hon. Mr. Cardin

Being given by Liberals of Montreal District under auspices of Reform Club. (About 1,200 expected to be present).

Date - Wednesday, December 3rd, 1924, at 7.30 P.M.

Place - Windsor Hotel.

Chairman:
Mr. Raoul Grothé,
President of Reform Club.

Toasts are being proposed by Young Liberals

To: Mr. Cardin by
Bernard Bourdon,
(President of Young Liberal Club)

Responded to by Hon. Mr. Cardin.

To: Liberal Party by
Philippe Brais,
(lawyer and former officer
(of Young Liberals) and
(3 others whose names are
(not yet available).

Responded to by:
Rt. Hon. Mr. King,
Hon. Mr. Taschereau.

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C 46000

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P..

(2) Biographical Notes

(prepared by Mr. Campney)

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C 46001

FACTS CONCERNING MR. CARDIN

(See Exhibit H)

Honourable Pierre Joseph Arthur Cardin.

Born - June 28, 1879, at Sorel, P. Q.

Son of Joseph Cardin and Virginie Ferron, both French Canadians.

Educated at Sorel Commercial College and by private teachers.

Studied Law at Laval University; received degree of "Licentiate Law" Laval.

Married - August 23, 1909, Rosa Casavant, of Sorel, P. Q.

First elected House of Commons - 1911;

Unseated and re-elected October 24, 1912, by-election;

Re-elected 1917 and 1921;

Sworn of Privy Council and appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries January 30, 1924; re-elected by acclamation after assuming portfolio.

Richelieu has elected a Liberal continuously since 1896.

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C 46002

1. Development of Canada and her Resources.

Laurier regime:

Laurier first to realize great possibilities of Canada - to see with appropriate vision need of aggressive efforts toward colonization and development. Initiated scheme - began peopling of vast expanses; utilization of infinite resources - a golden age of development.

Present Government:

Carrying on energetically this vital work; half million increase in population since last census (see clipping) - carefully selecting proper type of immigrant, and assisting them to make good.

Not only carrying on but meeting the new problems as they arise from the old; studying needs of newcomers, of agriculture and of labor, and assisting by every possible means to develop the highest type of prosperous citizenship. Thus carrying on the old and coping with the new.

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11. Development of Canadian Nationality.

Lauriers great work - to harmonize the pioneer races - of different bloods and creeds into a broad health nationality. His efforts glorious page in history.

Present Government: Seeking to continue this vital work - to substitute bonds of sympathy for the prejudice and hatreds some seek to stir up for selfish ends.

Here again the old problem has taken new forms. In Sir Wilfrid's day French and English. Now many nationalities and types to be harmonized and woven into the greater Canadian nationality that is developing.

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III. Development of Economic Prosperity.

Here a minor problem of Sir Wilfrid's day has become a major - perhaps the great problem of the day. In his time simply a case of directed development. Now an intricate, gigantic problem : the war, debt, loss of markets and of purchasing power, hatreds, deflation of currencies, disorganization of economic scheme, class movements, unemployment, - all new and pressing problems since those days.

Present Government giving its best energies to coping with this unprecedented state of affairs - trade treaties, tariff revision, cut expenditure, railroad rejuvenation.

With what result:

Marked upward trend of business;
Trade growing (Exhibit 2);
Employment situation improving;
(Exhibit 3)
Dollar at par.

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C 46004

IV. Development of Canadian Autonomy.

The great contribution of the Laurier Regime - pointed the way not only for Canada but for all Dominions - a development never before attempted in the world. Developed to point where internal economy complete and economic autonomy in external affairs begun.

Present Government developing same idea in remaining fields.

Autonomy re foreign trade complete - e.g. Halibut Treaty. Now engaged in working out with friendly sympathy of Great Britain and other Dominions completion of autonomy in foreign affairs.

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Conclusion:

Thus while problems disappear and lose their relative importance, and new ones arise or develop from the old - while Laurier's problems largely political and the present predominantly economic - still the same high courage, inspired zeal and unstinted devotion necessary to their solution, if Liberalism would remain true to the common people on whose behalf it has ever fought, and if Canada is to go forward to new era of prosperity, unity, and strength.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 46006

1

Subject.....

Date December 2 *Publication* Ottawa Citizen

POPULATION GAIN OF HALF MILLION

Every Canadian Province Except P. E. I. Shows Estimated Increases Over the 1921 Census.

Canada's population has increased nearly half a million since the last census was taken in 1921. Estimates made by the Bureau of Statistics show increases in every province except Prince Edward Island, where there has been a decline of 900. There has also been a fall of 600 in the population of the Yukon.

Estimates for the various provinces and territories, compared with the census population of 1921, follow:

	1924 Estimate	1921 Census
P. E. I.	87,700	88,615
Nova Scotia ..	533,000	523,837
New Brunswick	399,400	387,876
Ontario	3,062,000	2,933,662
Quebec	2,480,000	2,361,199
Manitoba	647,000	610,118
Saskatchewan .	815,000	757,510
Alberta	637,000	588,454
Brit. Columbia	553,000	524,582
Yukon	3,550	4,157
N. W. T.	8,490	7,988

Canada's total population for 1924 is estimated at 9,226,740. The population in 1921 as taken by census was 8,788,483. There is therefore an estimated increase of 438,257.

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POOR
COPY

C 46007

(2)

CANADIAN TRADE SITUATION ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1924.

At the conclusion of the first six months of the current fiscal year, (September 30), Canadian trade figures were showing a much more buoyant tendency than was the case a month earlier. The sharp decline that was the cause of much comment when the August figures were made public has given place to a substantial increment in the total value of goods entering and leaving the Dominion.

In Export trade we had the best September in four years. Shipments of Canadian products to other countries exceeded the shipments during September last year by nearly $13,000,000. September is nearly always a low month in Export trade and commonly shows a marked decline from August, but this year it showed an increase over August of $7,000,000. This showing was, in part at least, due to the effort made to get shipping channels cleared of old grain. The success achieved along this line presages an easy flow of the new crop to the Export markets this Autumn.

Foreign Exports in September also exceeded those of the corresponding month in the three preceding years.

Increased sales mean increased buying-power, and Import statistics give evidence of this result. The August slump was recovered to the extent of nearly $2,000,000 in total value of goods, with a corresponding betterment in the amount of Customs duties collected. While Imports were not as heavy as in September, 1923, they were substantially in excess of those for the same month in the two preceding years.

An examination of the figures for the half-year also discovers ground for optimism. Our Exports exceeded last year's record showing for the six months ended September by $28,000,000, so that, even if there is no further gain, this year's record will surpass all preceding high levels except those attained under the artificial conditions that prevailed during the later years of the war and those immediately following its conclusion. With the above a gain in the first half of the year and a strong tendency upward still in evidence, a further gain during the second six months may reasonably be expected. The enhanced price of grain will off-set, very largely if not entirely, the probable decline in the volume available for export.

The depression of the Import trade during the early part of the year has resulted in the accumulation of a heavy handicap on this year's figures up to date, as compared with last year's statistics, but with an upward movement now under way and an Export trade that guarantees our buying-power for some time to come, much of this handicap should be made up before the close of the fiscal year at the end of next March.

For some time past Canada has had a substantial trade balance in her favor, the value of Exports constantly exceeding the value of goods Imported from other countries. This balance for the month of September alone was $18,500,000; for the half-year it was more than $91,000,000, and for the twelve months ended September it was about $260,000,000. This is a gain of more than five millions for the month, eighteen millions for the six months and twenty-one millions for the twelve months, as compared with corresponding calculations made at the end of August.

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3

DEPARTMENT OF
TRADE AND COMMERCE

CANADA

ADDRESS ALL
COMMUNICATIONS TO
R. H. COATS
DOMINION STATISTICIAN
OTTAWA

DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS

C/M.

Ottawa, 1 December, 1924.

Dear Mr. Campney,

With regard to the comparative trend of employment in Canada and the United States, the following facts might be of interest to the Prime Minister:

We started out in January last somewhat below the prevailing level in the United States. From February on, however, employment steadily declined in the States, the decline becoming very steep after April 1st, until the end of August. In Canada on the contrary, employment continued to improve in February and very markedly in April and May. Though it declined after June 1st, the fall was not nearly so rapid as in the United States. The net result is that though we began the year below the States we are now considerably above.

In view of the greater seasonal fluctuations in Canada, comparisons based on the yearly statistics are perhaps more trustworthy than these monthly records. The drop in employment in the United States in the twelve months ended September last was 13 per cent. In Canada in the meantime the drop has been only to the extent of 6.9 per cent. In other words during the last year for which statistics are available the decline in employment in the United States has been nearly twice as severe as in Canada.

Yours very truly,

R. H. Coats.
Dominion Statistician.

Mr. Campney,
Office of the Prime
Minister,
Ottawa, Canada.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46009

19-1005-C

Subject.....

Date Oct 16/24 *Publication* Edmonton Bulletin

THE MINISTER OF MARINE.

Montreal Herald:

The Hon. P. J. A. Cardin appears to be quite a success in his position as Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Certainly since he has been appointed he has risen greatly in the popular estimation in the city of Montreal by the sincerity with which he has tackled the problems incidental to his office and also by the thorough understanding he has shown of requirements of the port and ship channel.

He was very energetic during the recent by-election in Montreal and was always a popular speaker at Alderman Hushion's meetings. That he has secured the good-will and loyalty of the members for the Montreal district was shown by the fact that when he appeared he was supported by most of the local members. In speaking to working men he is always very much at ease. This is, no doubt, due to the fact that his father was a carpenter and that after he left college he worked as a carpenter in his father's shop for a considerable time in order to help out the family budget.

As a speaker he is one of the ablest men of the Liberal party. His command of language, his imagination and his eloquence, combining the fire of youth with the power of moderation and restraint, have caused him to be termed "the Viviani of Canada." He proved of undoubted strength to the party during the recent by-election and greatly moved every audience to which he spoke by his eloquence. He was very much cheered on every occasion and the audiences always made it quite plain that they could not have enough of him.

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C 46010

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P..

(3) Menu and Toast List
(autographed by Mr. Cardin)

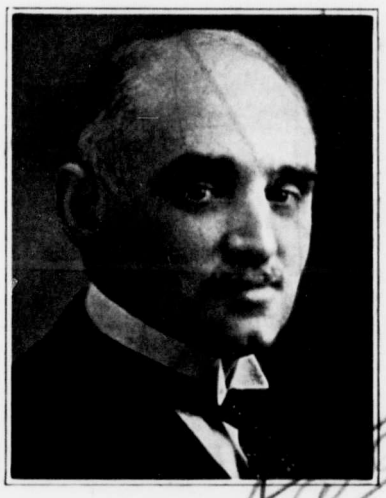
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C 46011

BANQUET

OFFERT A



l'Honorable P.-J.-A. Cardin

MINISTRE DE LA MARINE ET DES PECHERIES

PAR LES

LIBERAUX DE MONTREAL

SOUS LES AUSPICES DU

CLUB DE REFORME

LE 3 DECEMBRE 1924

A

l'HOTEL WINDSOR

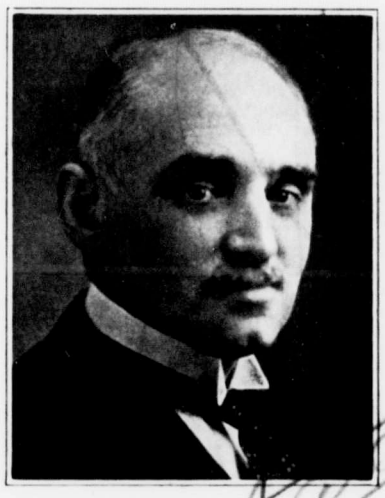
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C 46011

BANQUET

OFFERT A



l'Honorable P.-J.-A. Cardin

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LIBERAUX DE MONTREAL

SOUS LES AUSPICES DU

CLUB DE REFORME

LE 3 DECEMBRE 1924

A

l'HOTEL WINDSOR

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C 46012

. . SANTÉS . .

Le Roi

Notre Hote

Le Parti Libéral

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C 46013

. . MENU . .

Cocktail aux fruits

Consommé Julienne

Céleri Olives

Filet de Sole meunière

Jabot de poulet chasseur

Pommes de terre au persil

Petits pois

Salade Saison

Bombe glacée Royale

Friandises

Demi-tasse

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MONTREAL REFORM CLUB
J'AI BONNE CAUSE
1898

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C 46014

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P.,

(4) Mr. King's speech -

(typewritten carbon copy)

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C 46015

Banquet to Honourable Mr. Cardin,

Montreal, December 22, 1924

We are all, I am sure, delighted at the occasion which has brought us together, and at the opportunity it affords of reviewing the present position and future prospects of the Liberal Party in Canada. Particularly are we proud to do honour to one of our number whose inspiring and commanding influence has contributed so largely to keeping the torch of Liberalism high and brightly flaming in this community, with its reflection visible upon the skies in all parts of the Dominion.

Gentlemen present will recall the circumstances which at the close of last year occasioned a vacancy in the Federal Cabinet. Owing to an impairment of his health, which we all deeply deplored, Sir Lomer Gouin found it necessary, on the advice of his physician, to seek a respite from the onerous duties of a Minister of the Crown. It therefore became necessary to appoint a new Minister from the province of Quebec and to make the selection from the Montreal district or near vicinity. Whilst from the splendid representation in the House of Commons there was little difficulty in finding

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more than one well qualified to fill the post, I am happy to say that the choice itself was rendered easy, for by a general and unmistak able consensus of view our friend Cardin was singled out by his fellow-members as the one who, by length of membership in the House of Commons and by distinguished attainments on the public platform and in other ways, was most deserving of recognition. That the choice made at that time was the right one, that it was one which has brought strength to the Government, and added power and prestige to the Party, we are all assembled here to-night to declare.

I shall not attempt to recount the manner in which as a member of the Government Mr. Cardin has discharged his high and responsible duties both in the House of Commons and in the Cabinet Councils. That he has been faithful and efficient, cautious, prudent and resourceful, we all know. How industrious and indefatigable he has been in matching the wider political fortunes of the Party as well, perhaps he alone knows. For the part he has played in this particular, we wish especially to express to him our acknowledgments and thanks this evening.

ST. ANTOINE I believe I am right, gentlemen, when I say that the victory in the St. Antoine by-election set the seal of sure success upon the principles and policies of our Party. We were

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thrown a challenge. It was not of our occasioning. It was the more significant in that it came at the end of a long debate in the House of Commons and at the very moment at which the vote on the budget was to be recorded, the more significant in that it came most unexpectedly from our own side of the House. The issue was something more than that of deciding the support on which we might be able to count in Parliament. Fundamentally, it was whether as a party we were to be prepared to stand or fall by that which, everything considered, we believed to be right in itself, true to our professions, and in the national interest. No one saw this sooner, no one saw it more clearly, than our friend, the Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, and no one proclaimed this more loudly; and it is not detracting from the great part played by others, and most of all our candidate and newly-elected member, Mr. Hushion, to say that to Mr. Cardin's clear perception, firm determination, indefatigable efforts and wise generalship throughout, we owe the election itself and much of the rejoicing that we experienced at the result.

WEST HASTINGS Following St. Antoine we have had another by-election, not in the province of Quebec, but in the province of Ontario; also the outcome of a challenge, a challenge to test our policies in a popular appeal. As with St. Antoine, the by-election was

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not of our making; like St. Antoine it came from the voluntary action of a member of the House, happily one belonging to the ranks of the Opposition. We are told by the Right Honourable the Leader of the Opposition that he decided upon the contest, that it was he that made the issue and chose the place of battle. In a characteristically courageous manner he selected the one constituency, not in the province but in the Dominion, which it was believed could not do other than return an opposition candidate and register a Government defeat, and threw himself into the contest with all the insinuation and invective at his command. Here again it was a question whether the Party should be prepared to stand or fall, no matter what the odds, by all that it professed and believed to be right, or whether it should shirk a battle, fearing the possibility of defeat. Happily for the weaker brethren and the doubting Thomases -- every party has its quota of them -- there was the example of St. Antoine and the spirit of our guest of this evening in our midst; the torch of Liberalism had been held aloft in one citadel for long held by the enemy, and, as I have said, its flaming reflection was still visible in the political skies. We in Ontario followed the lead and the example of our friends in Montreal. As in St. Antoine, we secured as a candidate, in the person

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of Mr. Hanna, the man whom all were agreed was the right one to win; and, actuated by faith and belief in the right and justice of our cause, we effected an organization comparable to that in Montreal; we faced the issue squarely; we presented our record and policies without equivocation; and we won the day.

WEST PETERBOROUGH Gentlemen, there is one other by-election of which I wish to speak, for it falls into the category of the two I have just mentioned, and it illustrates the same fundamental and essential truths. I mean the by-election which took place in West Peterborough, when we were still a party in opposition, with a following of little more than a handful in the House of Commons. There, as you will recall, in 1920 the by-election was occasioned through the resignation of the sitting member, Mr. Hampden Burnham. Like St. Antoine and West Hastings, it was to give the people a chance to express their opinion in a popular appeal. I recall very well at the time, "the men of little faith", who doubted the wisdom of contesting the seat; who feared for the waste of money, energy and time involved; and who, above all else, feared the possibility of defeat. Fortunately better and more optimistic counsels prevailed. The challenge was accepted, the constituency was searched for the best of all candidates. He was found and fortunately secured, and

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with high purpose the contest was entered upon, fought and won, and the Party has held West Peterborough ever since. Not only did the Party gain an invaluable member in the person of Mr. Gordon, but the House of Commons gained a very distinguished deputy speaker.

OBVIOUS DEDUCTIONS It may not be inappropriate, even on such an occasion as this, to draw one or two very obvious deductions from the three by-elections to which I have just referred, and which I believe has done more than anything else, save the general results in 1921, to put new heart and life and hope into the Party.

NO PLACE FOR DOUBT OR DESPAIR -- OPTIMISM The first is that there is no place in the Liberal Party for those who have only counsels of despair to offer. We must be prepared to leave this particular role to Mr. Meighen and to those who think as he evidently thinks about the country and its future. Neither as respects the present position of the Party nor the country have we grounds for other than the most wholesome optimism.

POSITION OF PARTY, 1919 We have, I believe, as a political party, gone on steadily from strength to strength ever since the great Liberal Convention of 1919, and this in the face of

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difficulties such as have never hitherto confronted a political party in this country. Recall the condition of affairs in 1919. The country had come through the vicissitudes and trials, and the divisions and dissensions of a great war. The Liberal Party, like all other historic institutions, had suffered greatly. There were divisions within and defaultings without. There were the Liberal Unionists and the Liberals who were neither Unionist nor Conservative; there was a new party -- the Farmers or Progressive Party -- hewn out of and from the Liberal Party in large part. There was but a handful of Liberal members in the House of Commons, and what was the greatest tragedy of all, the greatest of all political leaders was forever gone.

Who foresaw or who could have foreseen at that time the return of the Liberal Party to power in less than two and a half years?

POSITION OF PARTY, 1921 Come down to 1921 itself and the return of the Party. What was the position that confronted this Government when it took office -- an opposition equal in numbers to the supporters of the Government, a divided opposition, a new experiment in group government, partly Tory partly Progressive, so that confusion was made more confounded by uncertainties

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from day to day and often from hour to hour. Unsettled conditions throughout the country and throughout the world -- the ocean still heaving and swelling after storm. No real majority in the Commons, and a hostile Senate; a Civil Service Commission controlling appointments to the public service, and composed in its personnel of the appointees of the preceding Government; and, last and most perplexing of all, a national public debt and public obligations on a scale unparalleled in the history of our country. Who in these circumstances could have foreseen the majorities on divisions of our latest sessim -- a majority of 113 on the Budget, a majority of 121 on the Address; the two largest majorities, I believe, on these important divisions in the Commons since Confederation.

SINCE LAST SESSION SIX BY-ELECTIONS But come beyond the last session. Come to what has transpired in the interval. We have had six by-elections: Rimouski, St. Antoine, Northumberland, Yale, West Hastings, Temiscouata. Of the number we held all the seats that were previously our own. In Yale, British Columbia, the one seat which our Conservative friends have held, we have reduced their majority, and, in addition to holding our own in a most significant battle in St. Antoine, we have carried the Tory stronghold of West Hastings. Who foresaw these victories when

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Parliament adjourned?

Again I say there is no place in the Liberal Party for those whose outlook is bedouded by fear and who lack some of the vision of faith.

APPRECIATION AT FULL VALUE -- ENTHUSIASM Nor should there be a mere acceptance of the results achieved; they should be appreciated at their full value; they should engender new life, new energy, new efforts; enthusiasm as well as optimism is needed to keep the Party and its progress to the fore. What would you think of the man who, when you explained to him the significance of the results of the three by-elections I have referred to, greeted you with some lukewarm acceptance of the situation, such for example that it was "very good". It would instantly call to mind the story of the little boy who was asked by his teacher to tell the class what twice thirteen came to and, having replied "twenty-six", was rewarded by the teacher telling him that was "very good". "Very good", said the boy with astonishment and indignation, thinking his achievement had not been appreciated at the full, "Why, Well, it's perfect".

ORGANIZATION CANDIDATE No, we need optimism. We need enthusiasm, but equally with these we need organization, and the first

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stroke in effective organization is to get the right candidate. It is perfect candidates and perfect organization that we need. That is the further lesson to be learned from West Peterborough, St. Antoine and West Hastings. To effect this organization, not in single constituencies only, nor in single provinces, but in all constituencies in all provinces from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific; that is the task to which from now on we must set our hearts and hands.

BE INSPIRED IN JUSTICE OF CAUSE -- WHAT IT MEANS FOR UNITY AND PROSPERITY OF CANADA In conclusion, gentlemen, let us in our endeavours to insure victories at the polls and to establish a strong and united party from ocean to ocean be encouraged and inspired in the task by the justice of our cause and our belief in all that its triumph means for a prosperous and united Canada. Let us rise above all that tends to separate race and race, creed and creed, class and class, interest and interest, and seek only the broad welfare of all races, creeds, classes, and interests in what is truly national in interest, aim and spirit, for along the path of national unity lies our national prosperity, and with prosperity the happiness, well-being and contentment of all the people of our beloved Dominion.

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C 46025

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. CARDIN, M.P.,

(5) Press reports of Banquet

C 46026

P. R. Du Tremblay

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46027

B-1005'C

Subject.....

Date Dec 4/24 *Publication* La Presse.....

C'est ce que proclame l'hon. M. Cardin, hier soir, au banquet du Windsor.—Nombreux ministres, députés fédéraux et provinciaux, et autres éminentes personnalités présents.

LES DISCOURS

Le superbe banquet offert, hier soir, à l'hon. P.-J.-A. Cardin, ministre de la marine, par les libéraux de Montréal sous les auspices du club de Réforme, fut plus qu'un grand succès. Il ne doit pas être considéré, croyons-nous, comme une simple et grandiose manifestation politique, mais aussi et beaucoup comme un événement social qui fera, certes, époque dans les annales pourtant si riches en souvenir de notre ville.

Environ douze cents convives, au bas mot, étaient venus saluer notre nouveau et distingué ministre de la marine et des pêcheries, représentant du district de Montréal dans le cabinet fédéral. Outre la présence nombreuse de ministres et députés fédéraux et provinciaux, on remarquait nombre de hautes personnalités.

Le banquet d'hier soir était présidé par M. Raoul Grothé, président du club de Réforme. Il avait à ses côtés les premiers ministres du Canada et de notre province, ainsi que plusieurs ministres et députés tant fédéraux que provinciaux. Voici, du reste, les noms de ceux qui avaient été invités à prendre place à la table d'honneur:

Outre M. Raoul-O. Grothé, président, l'hon. P.-J.-A. Cardin, l'hon. W.-Lyon MacKenzie King, l'hon. L.-A. Taschereau, on remarquait : l'hon. H.-E. Armstrong, premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Ecosse ; l'hon. Geo.-P. Graham, l'hon. Jacques Bureau, l'hon. Ernest Lapointe, l'hon. James-A. Robb, l'hon. E.-M. MacDonald, l'hon. A.-B. Copp, l'hon. Charles Stewart, l'hon. W.-R. Motherwell, l'hon. James Murdock, l'hon. R.-J. McMurray, l'hon. Thomas-A. Low, l'hon. Dr J.-H. King, l'hon. H.-B. McGiverin, les hon. sénateurs Raoul Dandurand, Jules Tessier, A.-A. Thibaudeau, J.-P.-B. Casgrain, J.-H. Legris, l'hon. J.-E. Caron, l'hon. J.-E. Perrault, l'hon. J.-L. Perron, l'hon. J. Nicol, l'hon. Martin Madden, l'hon. Lauréat Lapierre, l'hon. A. Galipeault, l'hon. L.-A. David, MM. Charles-E. Hanna, le docteur W.-L. McDougald, l'hon. R.-J. Paradis, l'hon. Hector Champagne, l'hon. J.-H. Kelly, l'hon. Frank Carrel, l'hon. Ernest Choquette.

Les députés fédéraux présents étaient: MM. Fernand Rinfret, H.-M. Marler, E.-W. Tobin, W.-J. Hushion, E.-C. Saint-Père, le docteur Arthur Denis, Clément Robitaille, S.-W. Jacobs, Théodule Rhéaume, Paul Mercier, J.-E. Prévost, le Dr H. Deslauriers, Jos. Archambault, J.-A.-C. Ethier, P.-A. Séguin, Roch Lanctôt, R. Ouimet, Jean-J. Denis, J.-F. Descoteaux, E. Desrochers, le Dr J.-E. Fontaine, le Dr Théo. Gervais, René Morin, W.-F. Kay, Thomas Vien, Georges Parent, sir Eugène Fiset, Siméon Délisle, A.-M. Déchêne, C.-G. Power, Lucien Cannon, Henri Lavigueur, Boutin Bourassa, le Dr E. Savard, Pierre-F. Casgrain, J.-C. Walsh.

On remarquait aussi les députés provinciaux suivants: MM. Alex. Thurber, S. Lafrenière, J.-E. Charbonneau, Dr C.-A. Bernard, J.-M. Richard, J.-A. Savoie, J.-E. Phaneuf, J.-F. Daniel, W.-S. Burlock, J.-R. Lafond, A.-E.-J. Bissonnette, Elisée Thériault, Louis Létourneau, A.-E. Guillemette, T.-D. Bouchard.

Il convient de souligner dans ce bref aperçu de la fête l'ovation enthousiaste qui fut faite à M. C.-E. Hanna, le nouveau député de Hasting-Ouest, qui a enlevé si brillamment ce comté conservateur depuis quarante-deux ans sans interruption.

La réception de l'hôte d'honneur a été faite par le président lui-même qui s'est délicatement acquitté de sa tâche. On a en même temps présenté des fleurs à Mme Cardin qui occupait le centre de la galerie entourée d'un grand nombre de dames dont on trouvera les noms plus bas. M. Philippe Brais a proposé sa santé, MM. Kirk Cameron et Bernard Bourdon ont ensuite

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présenté la santé du parti libéral dans des allocutions très applaudies.

Bref, la fête libérale d'hier soir a remporté un succès peut-être sans précédent depuis plusieurs années. Il faut féliciter tous ceux qui y ont contribué, le Club de Réforme et l'organisation libérale en particulier, ainsi que tous les autres clubs libéraux de la métropole qui n'y sont pas demeurés étrangers. M. Irénée Vautrin, organisateur en chef du parti libéral pour le district de Montréal, a droit à sa part de félicitations pour la façon dont se sont passées les choses.

M. RAOUL GROTHE

C'est au milieu d'un véritable tonnerre d'applaudissements que le président du club de Réforme s'est levé pour ouvrir la série des discours qui devaient se terminer aux petites heures, ce matin.

J'avais toujours considéré comme un grand honneur, débuta l'orateur, d'être le président du club de Réforme de Montréal, mais jamais cet honneur ne m'a paru plus grand que ce soir, puisqu'il me vaut l'agréable privilège d'être l'interprète de cette magnifique assemblée, pour vous souhaiter la bienvenue au milieu de nous.

Depuis longtemps déjà, M. Cardin, nous désirions vous offrir nos hommages et vous témoigner notre admiration. Nous ne saurions, cependant, nous plaindre de ce retard, puisque cet heureux événement au lieu de n'être qu'un lointain mais agréable souvenir, est encore sous nos yeux une heureuse et présente réalité.

Nous vous savons gré, M. le ministre, d'avoir répondu à notre invitation avec tant d'empressement, nous témoignant ainsi une sympathie dont nous apprécions tout le prix.

Plus d'un titre vous signale à notre admiration.

Nous saluons en vous, le citoyen honnête, courageux ; nous nous inclinons avec respect devant l'homme du peuple qui, par son travail, son énergie, sa probité, et son amour du devoir,a pu atteindre, étape par étape, le sommet de l'échelle sociale ; nous acclamons l'homme politique qui, par sa fidélité aux principes qui ont guidé sa vie,a su s'imposer à l'admiration de toute sa race, d'abord, puis de tout son pays.

Car, M. le ministre, il n'est pas possible de douter, les acclamations qui ont salué votre passage dans les provinces des prairies et de l'ouest, et, plus récemment encore, l'enthousiasme avec lequel les citoyens d'Halifax vous ont accueilli démontrent clairement que c'est le pays tout entier qui applaudit à vos succès, et qui se réjouit de votre nomination comme ministre de la marine et des pêcheries.

Vous êtes, M. le ministre, l'homme du devoir; vous êtes le libéral ardent, le libéral convaincu, le libéral dont la foi change des victoires que l'on croyait douteuses, en des triomphes éclatants.

Les libéraux de Montréal vous accueillent donc avec joie et gratitude. Vous avez devant vous, M. le ministre, la grande famille libérale. Je vous la présente. Ses membres ont tous tenu à se joindre à nous, pour vous présenter leurs hommages et vous dire leur admiration.

Ils sont ici par centaines, ces vaillants lutteurs qui, dans chaque comté, dans chaque division, entretiennent au jour le jour le feu sacré du libéralisme; je vous les présente tous: présidents et officiers de nos clubs libéraux; membres de tous ces clubs qui, toujours à la tâche, sont ceux sans qui les victoires seraient impossibles, ces artisans quelquefois trop modestes de nos triomphes. Je vous présente aussi la jeunesse libérale; notre chère jeunesse! notre espoir !

Et je sens que je serais incomplet, si je ne saluais pas au nom de cet auditoire, la présence de tous les députés fédéraux et provinciaux qui ont tenu à se joindre à nous pour vous acclamer; sénateurs, conseillers législatifs, ministres provinciaux, ministres fédéraux et premiers ministres, eux-mêmes ont tenu à se joindre à nous pour vous applaudir, vous acclamer et vous dire en même temps que la nôtre, toute leur admiration.

Qu'il me suffise d'ajouter que nous acclamons d'une manière toute spéciale, ce soir, le ministre fédéral du district de Montréal, notre ministre.

Soyez donc le bienvenu parmi nous et laissez-nous vous dire avec notre admiration, toute la gratitude que nous vous devons pour les bienfaits dont vous avez gratifié notre district. L'histoire de notre ville enregistrera, avec reconnaissance, que c'est sous votre direction qu'a été résolu l'important problème du pont de la rive sud.

Messieurs, je salue en votre nom et d'une façon toute spéciale, l'hon. M. Taschereau, premier ministre de

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notre province, dont la présence ici, de même que celle de ceux que je viens de nommer, indique bien l'unité de pensée et d'action qui unit dans un même sentiment tous les libéraux de la province de Québec.

M. Cardin, dans une fête comme celle-ci, il ne nous est pas possible de ne pas mentionner le nom de sir Lomer Gouin, votre illustre prédécesseur, et de dire combien les libéraux lui gardent leur attachement et se souviennent des précieux services qu'il a rendus à sa province et à son pays.

Tous souhaient ardemment que la Providence lui réserve une vie longue et heureuse.

Notre pensée va aussi vers ceux que la maladie retient loin de nous ce soir. Aussi à l'hon. sénateur Boyer et à M. N.-K. Laflamme, ces vaillants lutteurs du parti libéral, nous offrons nos voeux d'un prompt rétablissement.

Messieurs, en terminant, je soumets à vos applaudissements le nom du très Honorable MacKenzie King, le premier ministre de mon pays. Je lui souhaite, au nom de tous, la bienvenue la plus cordiale et lui donne l'assurance de notre profond attachement et de notre inaltérable dévouement.

Je termine. Laissez-moi ajouter, M. Cardin, que votre présence au milieu de nous, nous honore grandement et que la fête de ce soir sera marquée d'une pierre blanche et qu'elle constituera une époque remarquable de notre vie politique.

L'HON. M. CARDIN

Me Philippe Brais, au nom de la jeunesse libérale de Montréal, propose ensuite en termes rapides mais chaleureux la santé du parti libéral. "Je serai bref ,dit-il, car je sais votre impatience d'entendre notre hôte distingué de ce soir, l'hon. M. Cardin, ministre de la marine et des pêcheries".

Une ovation générale et on ne peut plus significative d'estime et d'admiration sincère salue ici l'hon. M. Cardin qui se lève, quelque peu nerveux tout d'abord et visiblement ému. "Je n'ai jamais réalisé autant que ce soir, confesse-t-il d'une voix chaude mais quelque peu inquiète, semble-t-il, mon manque de qualifications, la modestie de mes propres mérites personnels en songeant au poste important que j'occupe dans le cabinet. J'avais accepté d'être ministre de la marine, je ne vous le cache point, avec tout l'enthousiasme nécessaire, avec la

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L'INDUSTRIE DE MONTREAL

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et l'injonction divine : "Croissez et multipliez-vous !" Heureusement, de toutes les blagues que remuent les inventeurs, c'est encore la moins longtemps.

Je m'arrête un instant, pour adresser une prière à nos amis d'Ottawa, celle de diminuer les droits dont sont frappés les alcools. Ces droits sont exorbitants, et une des causes premières de la sentrebande qui se pratique et qui se sont ainsi un commerce profitable. Il ne parle pas des vins, sur lesquels les droits sont insignifiants. Mais, puisque notre population ne veut pas se passer entièrement d'alcool, pourquoi l'encourager à aller en chercher ailleurs que là où elle est sûr d'avoir du bon alcool. Il m'en coûte toujours de dire à nos gens qu'Ottawa est responsable du prix élevé de l'alcool. La seule excuse que l'on puisse invoquer, c'est que ces droits sont un héritage de l'ancien régime. Mais le temps n'est-il pas venu de changer cela ?

En mentionnant les œuvres dont nous avons sujet d'être fiers, j'aurais dû signaler ce que nous avons fait pour l'instruction publique, pour les sciences et les arts, et pour les institutions de bienfaisance.

Mais je ne veux ajouter qu'un mot touchant certaines caractéristiques de notre province.

Nous voulons vivre en paix avec tous nos concitoyens, leur donnant justice pleine et entière, et respecter ce qui leur tient à cœur. Mais, en retour, descendants de Français, nous voulons conserver à ce coin de terre du grand continent américain, où pendant longtemps on nous a cru perdus, sa physionomie française. Nous voulons garder notre langue intacte, nos lois intangibles, notre religion à l'école et nos traditions aux foyers.

Je m'empresse d'ajouter que cette légitime ambition nous est rendue facile dans Québec. Nos concitoyens d'autre origine et d'autre croyance ne nous chicanent pas là-dessus. Ils y voient plutôt un moyen d'assurer la survivance des institutions canadiennes auxquelles ils sont eux-mêmes attachés.

Puissent les oiseaux du ciel et les brises de l'est transporter cette bonne semence au-delà de nos frontières, pour y faire germer les éléments d'un Canada plus uni et plus heureux.

Peut-être certains frères éloignés, ou des frères qui se trouvent assez près de nous, persisteront-ils à nous demander : que voulez-vous au juste, gens de Québec ?

Ce que nous voulons, c'est de poursuivre paisiblement nos destinées comme membres de la grande famille canadienne. Nous voulons que les fils des découvreurs de notre pays, de ceux qui, après l'avoir colonisé et évangélisé, l'ont conservé à la couronne britannique, aident le Canada tout entier pour domaine et pour patrie, et que, partout, ils aient le droit de s'asseoir à la table familiale.

Leur apport à la Confédération, que je n'ai fait que résumer, constitue pour celle-ci un élément de force, de progrès et de grandeur. Etant donné les éléments divers qui la composent, notre Confédération ne vivra que si l'on sait respecter les droits de chacun avec cette mesure de concessions mutuelles qui anime les enfants d'une famille sincèrement unie.

L'HON. M. ARMSTRONG

L'hon. M. Armstrong, premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, succédant au premier ministre de notre province, dit son plaisir de se trouver au milieu des libéraux du Québec et il leur apporte les sincères souhaits de la province des bords de l'Atlantique. Il fait un bref mais vibrant éloge du héros du banquet se disant assuré que sa province recevra de l'hon. M. Cardin tout ce qu'elle mérite et croit mériter. Il est confiant que la Nouvelle-Ecosse verra ses principales industries, les pêcheries, dirigées par des lois et des règlements sages. Rappelant la part que la Nouvelle-Ecosse a su prendre dans la propagation de la doctrine libérale, il unit les deux noms de sir Wilfrid Laurier et de l'hon. W. Fielding pour refaire brièvement l'histoire des 15 années de prospérité du pays sous le régime libéral. Il dit en terminant, le rôle que les provinces de l'est ont joué dans l'histoire de la prospérité et des progrès du Canada.

L'HON. M. ROBB

Le ministre intérimaire des finances est l'orateur suivant. Il dit que si on lui permet de parler non en son nom, mais en celui du premier ministre et de ses collègues, il doit féliciter le comté de Richelieu de leur avoir donné M. Cardin. Il félicite aussi les clubs de Montréal, organisateurs de cette grandiose démonstration en l'honneur du ministre de la marine et des pêcheries. "Il y a quelques mois, ou plutôt quelques semaines, dit-il, M. Cardin était encore pour ainsi dire inconnu, mais il a grandi vite et ce n'est plus aujourd'hui un représentant de comté, mais un représentant national".

"On l'admire parce qu'il est modeste et travailleur, mais on le respecte parce qu'il est avant tout un lutteur".

Le ministre fait ensuite une revue des affaires financières du pays. Il explique comment le régime libéral continue courageusement la tâche qu'il s'est imposée, celle de réduire la dette du pays afin de diminuer le tardeau des taxes. Il explique aussi comment le gouvernement a su convertir des obligations portant un fort intérêt et ne payant pas de taxes en des valeurs meilleur marché en intérêt et acquittant des taxes. Ces conversions d'emprunts, en a-t-il conclu, ont permis le rachat de nombreuses obligations, ce qui a permis d'économiser trois millions et demi aux contribuables du pays. A son tour, il fait l'éloge de l'honorable M. Fielding dont il suit les principes pour administrer le trésor. Il termine en exprimant l'assurance que le peuple fera confiance au parti qui le mérite par ses actes, c'est-à-dire au parti libéral.

L'HON. M. LAPOINTE

Le trop bref discours qu'a prononcé ensuite le ministre de la justice fut comme un coup de clairon qui réveille et enthousiasme. Avec son verbe vibrant, l'hon. M. Lapointe déclare qu'il ne peut que répéter les éloges qui ont été adressés à M. Cardin. Tout le bien qu'on a dit de lui, il le mérite et encore davantage. Le peuple a su reconnaître chez lui les qualités maîtresses d'un homme public: le travail, l'intelligence et l'honneur. C'est un libéral de principes, d'idées et d'action. Il met en pratique ce qu'il prêche et sait aussi bien prêcher ce qu'il pratique.

Au moment de la lutte, M. Cardin n'a jamais trouvé de raison pour s'absenter, se tenant toujours au premier rang de la ligne de feu.

"Soldat courageux et sans peur, il devint général habile, car en politique comme à la guerre, le succès est à ceux qui luttent. Après avoir servi avec honneur et constance dans les rangs, il illustra son titre de général par la grande victoire de Saint-Antoine." (Applaudissements prolongés).

"Notre parti a gagné quelques victoires, inscrites aujourd'hui sur ses drapeaux: Saint-Antoine, Hastings-Ouest, Rimouski, Northumberland, Témiscouata. Voilà autant de noms glorieux pour nous, et la chefde l'opposition était mauvais prophète quand il annonçait, le jour même de la victoire de Témiscouata, que Québec revenait aux tories.

Le ministre exhorte les libéraux du Québec à demeurer unis, non seulement entre eux, mais avec les libéraux des autres provinces. Il ne s'agit pas de la province, mais du pays. Le gouvernement actuel est fidèle aux traditions de son noble et vénéré chef disparu, et ces traditions comprennent l'union, la concorde entre toutes les races, toutes les croyances et toutes les provinces. C'est là le moyen de créer un Canada uni, fort et respecté. Il appartient aux libéraux de combler ce fossé créé par les conservateurs entre les religions, les races et les régions. La justice, la modération et la tolérance constituent les trois grands facteurs nécessaires à l'union de tous les Canadiens entre eux.

L'HON. M. GRAHAM

Le ministre des chemins de fer et canaux agrémente sa brève allocution de l'esprit et de la jovialité dont il est coutumier, et pendant cinq minutes, suscite les rires de toute la salle. Il dit que le gouvernement a tellement de vigueur, qu'il excède en vitesse les plus rapides des convois et que, pour sa part, on aurait dû le nommer ministre des embranchements, même alors que le Sénat les a si fort combattus.

Il ne croit pas qu'on doive féliciter M. Cardin, mais plutôt remercier profondément la province et tout le pays d'avoir donné un Cardin au gouvernement. Il le respecte et l'admire, car sa modestie est vraie... qualité qu'il pourra peut-être perdre au contact de ses collègues. Il félicite le premier ministre d'avoir su confier un portefeuille au député de Richelieu. En agissant ainsi, a proclamé l'orateur, l'hon. M. King a de nouveau démontré la sagesse dont il fait preuve en choisissant ses ministres. (Rires et applaudissements).

Le ministre termine par un chaleureux appel à l'union et à la concorde de tous les Canadiens de toutes les provinces.

Les honorables Macdonald et Jacques Bureau ont été les derniers orateurs. Ils se sont déclarés heureux de se joindre aux orateurs précédents afin d'offrir leurs félicitations sincères à l'hon. ministre de la marine. Le succès de cette fête de la famille libérale a été immense, ont-ils ajouté, ses organisateurs méritent de vifs éloges.

LES CONVIVES

Les convives : Outre ceux dont les noms sont mentionnés plus haut, on remarquait, parmi les convives: MM. Léon Garneau, Alphonse Décary, H. Bienmans, Emilien Daoust, J.-B. Lapointe, Paul Turgeon, Geo.-A. Smart, Dr W.-L. MacDougall, irénée Vautrin, Roméo Poirier, J.-S.-A. Ashby, J.-W. Cook, Hector Perrier, Omer Legrand, Maurice Lalonde, Dr J.-P. Décarie, L.-M. Gouin, Paul Gouin, Léopold Tellier, Clément Munn, Arthur Gaboury, Max Murdock, Sam Ogulnik, Albert Pigeon, Dr François de Martigny, J.-Auguste Globensky, Cléophas Durocher, J.-Edmond Robert, Albert Théberge, René Théberge, Rosario Genest, Adjutor Savard, Edmond Montet, Abel Vineberg, James Walsh, Eddy Grange, de Toronto, colonel F. Massey, Emery Phaneuf, Donat Desrosiers, J.-D. Lafond, A. Laperle, P.-M. Bernard, J.-René de Cotret, Hervé Lapierre, Léopold Houlé, W. Maison, H. Girard, P. Piante, Léandre Piante, J.-A. Delage, Vincent Dupuis, L.-A. Riverl, Wm Power, R.-R. Wilson, Roméo Leclerc, Prés. de Tramway, Jos Proulx, Gauthier, Edgard Lacerte, échevin, L.-A. Savard, échevin, Alfred Legault, Dr E.-J. Daniels, Lucien Gigère, J.-O Asselin, L.-O. Lacombe, Alfred Paradis, le notaire Morin, Emile Desjardins, Alphonse-E. Décarie, G. D.-A. Sauvé, P.-H. Lavallée, M. Rolland, Arth. Laurin, A. Lefebvre, Joseph Elie, Nazaire Gauthier, Cléophas Dufresne, A. Bouthillette, Edmond Robert, A. Dubois, Jos Arbour, Francis Paquette, Jos. McLaughlin, Jos. Boyer, Emile Larose, Miguel Gauthier, M. Whiteside, l'échevin A.-E. Desjardins, Ernest Doyal, A. Farly, J.-L. Lavallée, M. Rolland, notaire, Desrochers, notaire, Frédéric Lemaire, les échevins Allard, Bélanger, Raoul Lebrance, de Verdun, M. Wignard, L. Lapresque, L. Gauthier, L.-H. Cordeau, P.-N. de Grandpré, Dr Gariépy, Octave Avila Farand, Cléophas Bastien, Aptor Perron, O.-S. Bernault, Ernest Richard, Jacques Bureau, Edouard H. Bédard, George Robert, Rodolphe Guy Ferron, George Pigeon, échevin W. Richardson, Langlois, C.-A. Gagnon, les échevins Bélanger, Lemire, J. Projet, W. Gadoury, V. Bédard, J. Riel, W. Lagnon, L. Brunelle, J.-A. Francoeur, A. Bastien, échevin H. Emond, C. Fabien, H.-A. Cyr, J.-H. Cayer, F. Légaré, H. Lapointe, Maire L. Desquette, P. Charlebois, E. Bélanger, E. Gendron, O. Emond, J. Payan, J.-A. Charbonneau, Ernest Lavoie, S. Doré, Aug. Lefebvre, J.-B. Dumours, J.-B. Lamoureux, Côme Lanctôt, A. Pinsonneault, M.-A. Jodoine, H.-F. Battalion, Thomas Picard, Jules Lagrenade, Moïse Picotte, J. Leblanc, Wilfrid Handfield.

La délégation de Richelieu comprait: Le Sorel — J.-B.-J. Lafrenière, M.P.P., Dr J.-W. Robidoux, maire, J.-C.-A. Turcotte, échevin; Raoul Lequin, échevin; Albert Isserres, échevin; H. H. Shepnard, prés. Chambre de commerce; Joseph Simard, Oscar Parradis, Alfred et Emile Trempe, Alcime Beaudet, J.-N. Martel, N.P., F.-N. Pontbriand, avocat, J.-B. Brousseau, avocat Georges Monarque, avocat, Arthur Brousseau, A.-L. Currie, Napoléon Poirier, L.-P. Tremblay, B.-A. Lapierre, Romuald Mineau, Arthur et Léon Perron, Alfred Lavallée, Ernest Larivière, Octavien Péloquin, Jean Bilodeau, Onésime Mongrain, L.-P. Fontaine, Albert Beauchemin, P.-A. Lavallée, Aimé Chartier, M.D., Ed. Barnard, J.-D. Poirier Edouard Clément, Zéphirin Leduc, Jos. Gigère, Alfred Antaya, M.D., H. M. Pontbriand, Léonce Beaudry, Art. Desmarais, Stanley Lunan, Donat Mongeau, Henri Guibault, Chas Bouchard, J.-P. Paul, Denis Lemoine, W.-F. Finlay, John Bélanger, Georges Beauchemin, Philippe Beaulac, Nap. Chevalier, Lucien Badeau, Octave Matte, Lucien Lussier, Archie Beauchemin, Lucien Lachapelle, François Marcotte, Jos. Beauchemin, René Beauchemin, Hector Beauchemin, J.-H. Hunter, J.-A. Thibaudeau, Michel Chalifoux, Albert Brault, D. Lemoine.

Saint-Joseph de Sorel: Maxime Péloquin, Safti Dumas, Narcisse Joly.

Sainte-Anne de Sorel: Etienne Provençal, Nap. Ethier, Azarias Provençal.

Saint-Ours: Ulric Girouard, Antonio Desorcy, N.P. J.-A. Péloquin, J.-P. Lachapelle, Prisme Péloquin, Rodrigue Potvin.

Saint-Robert: Félix Péloquin.

Saint-Louis: Jos. St-Martin.

Berthier: Dr J. Gervais, M.P., Pierre Beaudoin, Jules Caisse, P.-H.-L. Rattle, Le Milotte Henri Courchesne, A. Augor, Talbaska, Adolphe Allard, capt. St-Cyprien.

Joliette: Josaphat Casavant.

Au nombre des représentants de Chambly-Verchères, présents au banquet, et remarqué outre les députés fédéral et provincial, MM. J.-S. Archambault, Alexandre Thauvette, les échevins Aimé Daniel et Arthur Roy, de Longueuil, M. Henri Robineau, maire de St-Hilaire, M. Barré, maire de Chambly, MM. Lincoln, Marcel St-Mars, Charlesbois, Frank, le notaire L.-J.-E. Brais, Rosaire Saint-Germain, Thomas Lafrenière, H. Laurendeau, Ulric Mathieu, J.-B. Bélanger, Clément, Arthur Laurin, etc., de Longueuil.

Télégrammes d'excuses : Des télégrammes d'excuses ont été reçus des honorables J.-S. Spalding, J.-E. Sinclair, Hugues Lapointe, et de M. Jean-François Pouliot, M.P.

Des lettres d'excuses ont aussi été reçues des honorables Charles Marcil, H.-S. Béland, de Lamer Gouin, Théodore Robitaille, les honorables P.-E. Bégin, C.-O. Pavin, N.-A. Belcourt, J.-M. Wilson, H. Bostock, Gustave Boyer, Adélard Turgeon, Nérée Garneau, G.-E. Amyot, Géo. Hyndman, J.-P. Gosselin, W.-F. Vilas, Edouard Ouellette, Henry Miles, Paul Tourigny, E. Morean et de MM. A.-J. Benoit, M. P., J.-P.-A. Lemieux, M.P., R.-R.-M. Gordon, M.P.

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TRIBUNE LIBRE

LES MISERES DE LA FORET

Montréal, 28 novembre 1924.

Je vois assez souvent sur les journaux des rapports à l'égard de l'hygiène et de la société protectrice pour les animaux, mais ce que je crois qui est ignoré, c'est l'hygiène dans les camps, c'est-à-dire dans les chantiers dans la forêt.

J'ai eu occasion et même j'ai été obligé d'aller dans ces camps pour y trouver du travail comme beaucoup d'honnêtes gens et à mon grand regret, je dois dire tout de suite que j'ai toujours constaté une négligence coupable sur l'hygiène.

Existe-t-il une loi provinciale pour faire observer l'hygiène ? Je suis à peu près convaincu qu'il n'en existe pas et s'il y en a une, elle n'a jamais été observée nulle part dans la province de Québec.

Les compagnies qui font la coupe des billots construisent des camps à leur guise de manière que quand l'on entre dans ces camps, l'on croirait que l'on entre dans un souterrain, des camps d'une dimension de 20 pieds de front par 30 à 40 de profondeur et pour toute ouverture, deux petits châssis de douze pouces de haut par trente-six de long plus ou moins.

Dans un camp que j'ai visité il y avait deux tentes qui peuvent contenir de 35 à 40 hommes, érigées dans une boue noire jusqu'à mi-jambe au tout de ces tentes, le tout dans une malpropreté repoussante.

Dans ces tentes il y avait des gens couverts de vermine, et même de la maladie appelée gratelle, pas un linge propre pour se laver la figure ni s'essuyer les mains seulement qu'une bouilloire pour laver le linge, nous couchions sur un peu de foin, tous pressés comme des sardines et quand il pleuvait, la pluie passait à travers les tentes et tombait sur nous.

Je dois dire que je n'ai jamais vu de choses pareilles, je ne comprends pas le mutisme de nos gouvernants qui tolèrent un état de choses semblables.

J'ai eu l'occasion d'aller dans les camps de l'Ontario, c'est tout différent, il y a des camps de bonne grandeur puis éclairés par des châssis à chaque bout des dits camps, puis un ou deux grands puits de lumière sur le toit des dits camps.

L'on trouve à l'intérieur de petits lits de métal avec sommier pour chaque homme, le tout est tenu dans une stricte propreté tandis que dans la province de Québec, l'on serait porté à croire que les hommes qui vont dans les camps pour y faire la coupe du bois sont des espèces de bêtes qui n'ont nullement besoin de protection pour leur santé.

Tout ce que l'on exige d'eux, c'est de très longues heures de travail et beaucoup de travail, et peu importe dans quelle condition est leur santé et sont leurs repas.

Je me crois consciencieusement obligé de donner l'éveil au public ainsi qu'aux autorités compétentes pour le bien de tous ces pauvres malheureux qui sont obligés d'aller gagner quelques dollars avec beaucoup de peine et de misère.

J'espère, Messieurs, que les membres de nos gouvernements voudront bien voir à ce que de telles choses disparaissent et qu'ils interviendront afin d'améliorer le sort de ces milliers de pauvres malheureux qui souffrent en silence sans pouvoir remédier à leur souffrance, peut-être par ignorance.

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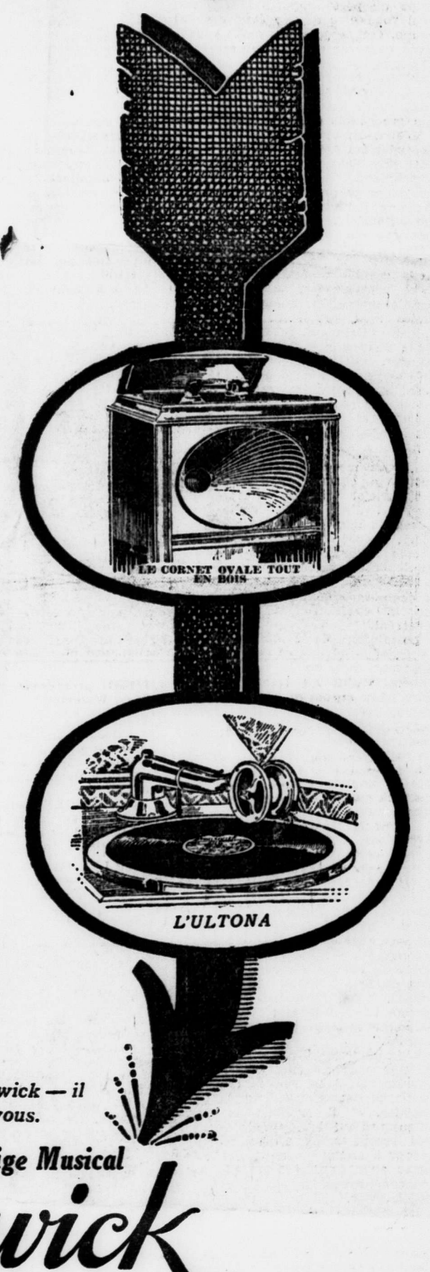
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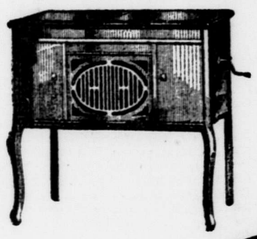
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Suite de la page 17

plus belle confiance en l'avenir. Je me suis aperçu, depuis, que la tâche est peut-être trop grande, le fardeau trop lourd pour mes faibles épaules.

Mais, comptant sur le généreux concours de mes éminents collègues du cabinet King, vous pouvez être assurés que je mettrai tout le dévouement dont je suis capable, toute mon âme à accomplir la si haute mission qu'on me fait l'inestimable honneur de me confier.

Je comprends que cette démonstration n'est pas faite uniquement à mon humble personnalité, mais bien au gouvernement auquel je suis fier d'appartenir. Je n'en conserverai pas moins, croyez-le, durant toute ma vie un souvenir ému et bien vivace. Le président a bien voulu joindre à mon nom celui de ma digne épouse. Je me dois de l'en remercier du fond du coeur.

Le ministre remercie aussi tous ceux qui ont contribué au succès de cette splendide manifestation libérale. Il remercie M. Philippe Brais qui, se faisant l'écho des jeunes libéraux de Montréal et de la province, a présenté sa santé. Il dit que les jeunes sont un actif précieux pour le parti libéral, et que le parti en a besoin pour assurer le succès de ses luttes de demain. "Mes jeunes amis libéraux de Montréal, dit-il, bien que j'occupe un poste important, laissez-moi vous dire que je suis encore jeune, et que je demeure de coeur avec vous. Je compte sur mes enthousiasmes de jeunesse qui ne sont pas encore éteints dans mon âme, pour accomplir la tâche délicate et lourde de responsabilités qui m'incombe désormais."

L'hon. M. Cardin remercie tout spécialement les libéraux de Montréal pour la sympathie qu'ils lui témoignent. Il gardera un impérissable souvenir de cette fête. Le ministre rappelle la manifestation qui lui fut faite lorsque, après son assermentation, il fut accueilli à Montréal avec un enthousiasme quasi-délirant. Toutes les classes de la société montréalaise étaient alors représentées, et M. Cardin signale surtout les noms des honorables sénateurs F.-L. Béique et P.-B. Casgrain, fidèles confidents du regretté chef sir Wilfrid Laurier, qui présidèrent l'assemblée organisée à cette occasion. Il appelle ce souvenir en associant à celui du sénateur Raoul Dandurand, aujourd'hui ministre dans le cabinet Mackenzie King.

"Ce soir, continue l'hon. M. Cardin, vous me sacrez d'une façon définitive comme votre représentant officiel dans le gouvernement du pays. J'essaierai de suivre les traces de mes distingués prédécesseurs, au poste important que l'on a bien voulu me confier. Je vais employer toutes mes énergies, toute la force de mon cerveau et toute la chaleur de mon âme pour mériter la confiance du peuple de Montréal."

Le ministre de la marine remercie aussi le dévoué et sympathique président du club de Réforme, ce "libéral entêté", qui fut l'un des principaux organisateurs de cette grande fête, dont le parti libéral aura maintenant le droit d'être orgueilleux. L'hon. M. Cardin remercie enfin tous les libéraux de Montréal qui par leur présence ont démontré que dans leurs rangs règnent la concorde et l'harmonie les plus complètes.

L'hon. M. Cardin salue d'une façon toute particulière la présence à ses côtés de l'hon. Mackenzie King, premier ministre du Canada. Il fait un bel éloge de son chef, digne successeur de sir Wilfrid Laurier, dont il fut d'ailleurs le brillant élève. "Jamais, proclame-t-il avec chaleur, citoyen ne fut plus déterminé à assurer le bien-être du Canada. Jamais personne ne s'est plus dépensé que lui. Restons-lui fidèles, nous, Canadiens-français, comme l'ont fait nos concitoyens de langue anglaise pour sir Wilfrid Laurier."

L'orateur rappelle, en effet, que le très regretté chef sir Wilfrid Laurier eut, sous son régime, la confiance des citoyens de langue anglaise, et il souligne le fait qu'aujourd'hui les Canadiens-français seront assez généreux pour donner à l'hon. Mackenzie King le même appui qui fut accordé par nos concitoyens anglais à sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Le ministre salue aussi la présence de l'hon. L.-A. Taschereau, premier ministre de la province de Québec, et de ses collègues, puis il étend ses salutations et ses remerciements à tous les autres travailleurs du parti libéral. Une véritable et très enthousiaste ovation accueille la présentation faite par l'hon. M. Cardin, de M. Hanna, le nouveau député libéral de West-Hastings.

Puis, entrant dans le domaine de la politique, l'hon. M. Cardin demande que l'on accorde aux hommes publics toute la sympathie et tout l'encouragement dont ils ont besoin pour mener à bien la tâche qui leur a été confiée. "Il ne faut pas toujours croire le mal que l'on dit d'eux, mais, au contraire, exagérer même tout le bien que l'on en dit. Il faut défendre nos hommes publics, et non les discréditer, car sans cela, les jeunes qui demain pourraient être utiles à leur pays s'abstiendront de participer aux choses politiques, par dégoût".

Le Canada a produit jusqu'ici des hommes politiques aussi brillants que n'importe quel autre pays du monde, et le parti libéral, sous ce rapport, s'est peut-être mieux affiché que tout autre parti politique en ce pays. Le parti libéral est bien vivant dans la province de Québec et dans tout le pays. Les dernières victoires remportées le prouvent d'une façon indéniable. "N'écoutons pas les sonneurs de funérailles, continue M. Cardin. N'écoutons pas ceux qui voient tout en noir. Ces gens-là ont fait faillite. Le parti libéral est le parti de la prospérité, et défendons-le jusqu'à la fin, envers et contre tous. Notre situation est de plus en plus rassurante et ceci est déjà un signe certain de prospérité. Dans quelques mois, oui, dans quelques mois, le parti libéral, grâce à sa sage administration, aura ramené la paix et la prospérité dans tous les foyers".

Malgré ses misères, le pays reprend sa marche vers la prospérité. Notre port, sous la direction habile du Dr MacDougall, est plus prospère que jamais. Le commerce est plus actif que jamais. Nous avons en notre faveur une balance de commerce de plus de 257 millions, c'est-à-dire que nous vendons plus à l'étranger que nous y achetons.

Notre commerce avec l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis s'est amélioré sous ce rapport, et nous achetons beaucoup moins dans ces deux pays, maintenant qu'autrefois". L'hon. M. Cardin souligne le fait que tout récemment, la Banque de Montréal, dans son rapport annuel, déclarait que la situation financière en Canada était des plus satisfaisantes.

Le Canada se relève lentement des conséquences désastreuses de la guerre, mais il se relève encore plus rapidement que tous les autres pays du monde. L'Angleterre, la France, la Belgique et même les Etats-Unis n'ont pas encore pu se relever ou améliorer leurs conditions économiques, par suite de la guerre. Est-il étonnant que le Canada subisse encore les effets de cette guerre? Nous participons aujourd'hui à la vie économique du monde entier, et nous en subissons les conséquences logiques.

Notre commerce est restreint et nos industries produisent pour deux ou trois fois notre population. Nous devons regarder au delà de nos frontières pour obtenir des marchés où nos produits font compétition aux produits étrangers. Or, à l'étranger, nos fabricants sont forcés d'accepter les prix qu'on leur impose.

"Nos adversaires, continue l'honorable M. Cardin, ont toujours un remède, et ils crient partout: "Augmentez le tarif". Mais le haut tarif n'a pas amélioré la situation de l'industrie textile aux Etats-Unis ni ailleurs. C'est encore au Canada que cette industrie a été la moins affectée durant la crise que nous traversons, et pourtant, nous n'avons pas le haut tarif. Aux Etats-Unis, dans 25 Etats agricoles, plus de 30 pour cent des cultivateurs sont acculés à la banqueroute. Le haut tarif n'a fait aucun bien aux Etats-Unis et ne peut rien faire non plus au Canada.

"Les adversaires du gouvernement veulent la stabilité, mais la stabilité ne veut pas dire immobilité. Avec les progrès qui se manifestent dans toutes les sphères, le gouvernement d'aujourd'hui ne peut pas copier la politique tarifaire des régimes d'autrefois. Il faut répondre aux besoins nouveaux de notre population. La politique libérale, sous ce rapport, a été approuvée par les électeurs de Saint-Antoine et partout ailleurs où des élections partielles ont été tenues. Les adversaires du gouvernement ont essayé de tromper l'électorat en prétendant que le gouvernement actuel est un gouvernement de libre-échangistes. C'est une fausseté. Le parti libéral ne veut pas du libre-échange pas plus que de la haute protection. Il veut une plus grande liberté d'échange de produits entre le Canada et les nations européennes". Le ministre ne croit pas qu'en protégeant plus le marché local, cela aiderait à l'industrie. Il cite le cas de ceux qui crient le plus fort en faveur de cette protection et qui cependant ne se gênent pas pour acheter eux-mêmes à l'étranger tout ce dont ils ont besoin. Bref, s'écrie le ministre, "l'industrie de Montréal, de la province de Québec, du Canada n'a pas à avoir peur du gouvernement libéral."

"Le parti libéral, continue l'orateur, est prêt à aider toutes les classes, mais il n'aidera aucune classe au détriment d'une autre classe. Nous voulons surtout alléger les consommateurs du fardeau de taxes qui les écrase. Nous voulons protéger le peuple qui peine et qui pale. Nous sommes anxieux de voir nos industries grandir et prospérer, mais nous voulons aussi protéger le peuple, le consommateur".

Parlant de l'émigration, le ministre souligne le fait que la période où cette émigration fut la plus active, fut celle écoulée sous le régime conservateur, avant 1896, ou encore, après 1911, et jusqu'en 1921. Ceux qui ont quitté le Canada durent le faire par suite des administrations désastreuses des torieis, mais dès que les libéraux assumèrent le pouvoir, ils revinrent, comme ils reviennent encore sur cette bonne terre canadienne qui peut encore, malgré les prophètes de malheur, nourrir ses enfants.

L'hon. M. Cardin attaque aussi le problème du chômage et souligne un autre fait intéressant: celui qu'en Angleterre, et même aux Etats-Unis, la crise du chômage est très aigue. Pourtant, en Canada, elle est moins critique que jamais, et nous devons nous rappeler que chaque année, à certaines périodes le chômage existe. Le Canada n'est pas le seul pays à souffrir du chômage et ceci ne doit pas être attribué à l'administration d'un gouvernement.

"Ayons donc confiance, conclut l'hon. M. Cardin, dans le parti libéral, n'ayons pas peur de dire que nous sommes des libéraux, et continuons à travailler pour le bien de notre pays, pour le bien-être de la race canadienne."

En terminant, le distingué ministre fait une très délicate et heureuse allusion "aux jolis yeux qui décorent la galerie."

L'hon. premier ministre du Canada est ensuite présenté par M. Kirk Cameron.

L'HON. M. KING

Une très longue, très enthousiaste ovation, qui dure plusieurs secondes, salue l'hon. MacKenzie King comme il se lève pour répondre à la santé du parti libéral.

Nous sommes tous heureux, dit-il, de pouvoir nous rencontrer dans une occasion comme celle-ci et au cours de laquelle il nous est permis de faire une brève revue des actes posés du parti libéral surtout depuis 1921. C'est d'abord un grand honneur pour nous de pouvoir honorer l'un des nôtres dont l'influence inspiratrice et généreusement contagieuse a si largement contribué à maintenir bien haut et brillant le flambeau du libéralisme dans ce district dont l'éclat se répand dans toutes les parties de notre dominion.

L'orateur rappelle les circonstances de la nomination de l'hon. M. Cardin comme ministre de la marine, l'un des plus importants portefeuilles du cabinet. Sir Lomer Gouin, sur l'avis de son médecin, contraint de prendre un repos, il fallait lui donner un successeur pour le district de Montréal. On pouvait en trouver plus d'un qualifié dans la députation libérale de la région concernée, mais tous les députés s'unirent pour fixer leur choix sur l'hon. M. Cardin qui comptait les plus longues années de service aux Communes. La réunion de ce soir prouve combien ce choix fut judicieux, combien il ajoute à la puissance du parti et à son prestige.

Je ne tenterai pas de refaire la carrière parlementaire de l'hon. M. Cardin. Nous savons tous comment il a été loyal, dévoué, prudent et plein de ressources. Peut-être est-il le seul à bien savoir combien il s'est intéressé à l'avenir du parti libéral, mais pour la part extérieure qu'il a prise nous voulons le remercier ce soir.

Je crois être juste en proclamant hautement que la victoire de Saint-Antoine a fixé le sceau du succès pour les principes et la politique du parti libéral. On nous avait défiés. Ce n'est pas nous qui avions provoqué cette lutte. Elle était d'autant plus significative que le défi venait après un long débat aux Communes et au moment où le vote sur le budget devait être pris. Le résultat obtenu est plus significatif encore que l'appui sur lequel nous pouvons compter en Chambre. Il indique d'abord que, en tant que parti, nous étions prêts à tomber ou à nous maintenir devant tout ce que nous croyons juste, conforme à notre idéal politique et dans l'intérêt national. Personne n'a vu cela plus vite ni plus clairement que notre ami l'hon. M. M. Cardin, et personne ne l'a proclamé plus hautement. Et ce n'est pas diminuer le mérite de ceux qui ont pris part à cette lutte ni de notre nouveau député, M. Hushion, que d'attribuer à la clairvoyance, aux efforts infatigables, à la direction sage de M. Cardin, la plus grande part de la victoire dans cette élection et toute la joie que nous en avons éprouvée.

HASTING-OUEST

A la suite de Saint-Antoine, nous avons eu une autre élection partielle, résultat d'un second défi qu'on nous lançait. C'était dans l'Ontario. L'élection fut provoquée par un membre appartenant à l'opposition. M. Meighen nous a dit que c'était lui qui avait provoqué cette élection et qu'il avait choisi le terrain sur lequel la livrer. Avec son courage caractéristique, il avait choisi pour cela le comté d'un opposition-niste, afin de mieux conduire le gouvernement à la défaite. Il se jeta dans la mêlée avec toute l'insinuation et l'invective dont il disposait. Ici encore, il s'agissait de savoir si le parti était prêt à se maintenir ou à tomber, quelles que fussent les chances de succès, devant les principes qu'il professe et qu'il croit justes, ou bien s'il refuserait la lutte, la croyant perdue d'avance. Mais nous avions l'exemple de Saint-Antoine et l'influence de notre hôte; le flambeau du libéralisme a été transporté dans une citadelle longtemps détenue par l'ennemi, et, comme je l'ai dit, son reflet flamboyant était toujours apparent dans le ciel politique. Nous, d'Ontario, avons suivi l'exemple de nos amis de Montréal. Comme dans Saint-Antoine, nous avons cherché un candidat dans la personne de M. Hanna, celui qu'on s'accordait à trouver le meilleur; et mus par la foi en la justice et le droit, nous avons établi une organisation comparable à celle de Montréal. Nous avons fait hardiment face à la situation, nous avons soumis le bilan de notre passé politique sans équivoque actuelle. Nous avons remporté la victoire que vous savez.

L'hon. M. King parle d'une autre élection partielle qui ressemble aux deux précédentes. C'est celle de Peterboro-Ouest. Cette élection fut causée par la démission du député M. Hampden Burnham. Comme pour Saint-Antoine et Hastings-Ouest, il s'agissait de donner au peuple une occasion de se prononcer. Je me souviens bien des hommes de peu de foi qui, à cette époque, redoutaient la lutte et craignaient la défaite. Heureusement, des conseils plus optimistes prévalurent. Le défi fut accepté. On chercha un candidat et on en trouva un. La bataille fut gagnée et le siège a été conservé depuis. Non seulement le parti s'est assuré les services d'un député précieux dans la personne de M. Gordon, mais la Chambre des Communes y a trouvé un très distingué assistant-Orateur.

Il n'est pas hors de propos, même dans une occasion comme celle-ci, continue l'orateur, de tirer quelques déductions de ces trois élections partielles qui ont, plus que n'importe quoi, sauf l'élection de 1921, contribué le plus largement à mettre dans le coeur du parti libéral une vie et un espoir nouveaux.

LES PESSIMISTES

La première est qu'il n'y a pas de place dans le parti libéral pour les pessimistes. Nous devons laisser cela à M. Meighen et à ses amis. Nous n'avons aujourd'hui aucune raison de ne pas être optimistes. Comme parti politique, nous avons conquis une force nouvelle depuis 1921, et cela en face de difficultés inconnues jusqu'ici par aucun parti politique. M. King rappelle la condition des affaires en 1919, les dissensions qui existaient au pays à la suite de la guerre et les problèmes économiques nouveaux et épineux.

Il y avait de la division au sein du parti libéral, et un troisième parti prenait naissance: celui des progressistes. Il n'y avait qu'une poignée de libéraux à la Chambre, et ce qui fut la plus grande tragédie politique de toutes, c'est que le plus grand de tous les chefs politiques avait disparu.

M. King montre ce que le parti libéral a fait depuis deux ans et demi qu'il est au pouvoir. Au moment de prendre les rênes de l'administration, le parti libéral s'est trouvé en face d'une opposition divisée, dont les nombre égalait ses propres partisans. Cependant, le gouvernement obtenait, au cours de la dernière session, des majorités de 115 à 121 voix, sur deux des plus importantes questions, majorités les plus fortes qui aient été enregistrées depuis la Confédération.

Plus que cela, depuis la dernière session, nous avons eu six élections partielles, et le gouvernement a conservé tous les sièges qu'il détenait, et dans le comté de Yale, le seul détenu par les conservateurs, nous avons réduit leur majorité. Je répète qu'il n'y a pas de place dans le parti libéral pour ceux qui voient tout en noir, et qui ne sont mûs par la confiance.

DE NOUVEAUX EFFORTS

Il ne faut pas se contenter des résultats obtenus; ils doivent être appréciés à leur pleine valeur et ils doivent engendrer une valeur nouvelle, une nouvelle énergie et de nouveaux efforts; l'enthousiasme aussi bien que l'optimisme sont nécessaires pour assurer le progrès et la marche en avant du parti. Que penseriez-vous de l'homme qui, après que vous lui auriez expliqué la signification du résultat de trois élections auxquelles j'ai fait allusion, vous répondrait simplement: "C'est très bien".

Ceci me rappelle l'histoire d'un jeune garçon à qui l'instituteur demandait combien deux fois treize donnaient comme produit, et le jeune homme répondit sans hésiter: "Vingt-six". "Très bien", avait dit l'instituteur, mais l'élève indigné, de répliquer: "Comment — très bien? — mais ce n'est pas très bien... c'est parfait!

Nous avons besoin d'optimisme. Nous avons besoin d'enthousiasme mais même avec ces deux choses, nous avons besoin d'organisation, et le premier pas à faire dans ce but, c'est de choisir le meilleur candidat. Ce sont de candidats parfaits et des organisations parfaites dont nous avons besoin. C'est la leçon que nous devons tirer des résultats obtenus dans Peterborough-West, Saint-Antoine et West Hastings. Pour obtenir cette organisation, non seulement dans quelques circonscriptions seulement, ou dans une seule province, mais dans tous les comtés, dans toutes les provinces, de l'Atlantique jusque sur les côtes du Pacifique, il faut accomplir une tâche, et c'est cette tâche que le parti espère que tous ses partisans accompliront.

Enfin, messieurs, afin d'établir des bases plus solides encore pour notre parti, d'un océan à l'autre, soyons confiants dans la justice de notre cause et toujours désireux de travailler pour le plus grand bien et la prospérité du Canada. Elevons-nous au-dessus de tous ceux qui veulent diviser les races, les classes et les groupes, et ne cherchons seulement que le bien-être de toutes les races, de toutes les classe, de tous les groupes. C'est sur cette base d'unité que reposent entièrement la prospérité, le bonheur et la joie de tous ceux qui croient en l'avenir de notre Dominion.

L'HON. M. TASCHEREAU

L'hon. M. Taschereau se lève pour parler à son tour. De même que les orateurs qui l'avaient précédé, il est très chaleureusement applaudi.

Voici le texte du discours du premier ministre:

Au nom de la Législature libérale de Québec, je suis venu ici, ce soir, offrir à l'honorable M. Cardin l'hommage très sincère de notre estime pour sa personne, de notre admiration pour ses talents, et de notre vive appréciation des succès qu'il a su remporter dès les débuts de sa carrière.

Nous ne passons pas, en général, pour être favorables à la conscription. Mais il est une forme de conscription qui, dans notre parti, rallie tous les suffrages. C'est celle qui appelle sous l'étendard libéral les vaillants lutteurs, les hommes d'oeuvres et d'action, les semeurs d'enthousiasme. Notre hôte est un de ces conscrits-là. Je ne sais trop à quelle classe il appartient, puisqu'il est à la fois jeune et ministre. Rappelons-nous qu'il aime à se considérer tout simplement un poilu, et qu'il me soit permis de lui adresser, à ce titre, le salut fraternel et confiant de ses nombreux amis de Québec qui font partie de la même légion.

Je joins à cette hommage le nom de l'honorable M. MacKenzie King.

De radieuses victoires viennent de couronner la tournée que notre chef a faite à travers tout le pays. Ces victoires ne sont que le préludes de des nouveaux succès qui l'attendent lorsque sonnera l'heure de la grande bataille. Québec, j'en ai la conviction, lui restera fidèle. L'oeuvre de Laurier est trop belle, trop durable et trop chère à notre population pour ne pas se continuer aux mains de son digne successeur. Le souvenir du grand disparu reste trop vivant dans le coeur de nos Canadiens pour le suivre au tombeau et s'y endormir avec lui. Il continuera de vivifier et d'inspirer notre politique.

La réunion de ce soir est une fête de la famille libérale. J'emploi à dessein ce mot, qui signifie bonne entente et amitié. Je connais des familles moins unies que la nôtre dans lesquelles, pour ne pas se quereller, l'on se tient à distance. Leurs chefs se témoignent leur amour à coup d'ultimatum télégraphiques, et leurs journaux vous coupent des têtes avec un brio souple et élégant qu'envieraient les vieux mandarins chinois. Toute famille divisée périra, dit le Bon Livre. Mais si ces gens-là croient aux enseignements de l'Evangile, ils ne les pratiquent guère. Nous, tout au moins, nous joignons la pratique à la croyance. Les libéraux de Québec, en s'unissant aux libéraux d'Ottawa, démontrent bien ce soir qu'ils ne forment qu'une seule et même famille.

Votre hôte d'honneur et le premier ministre du Canada vous ont dit, et l'honorable M. Lapointe vous dira les oeuvres qu'ils ont réalisées, et les espoirs qu'ils entretiennent dans l'administration de leur domaine.

Mais, dans notre Canada dont nous sommes fiers, dans ce vaste pays qui a maintenant sa place à la Société des nations et dont le trône, plein de sé-

Nos forêts nous assurent une suprématie facile dans le domaine de la pulpe et du papier, et nous serons bientôt les quartiers généraux où viendra s'alimenter tout le continent américain.

Reculons seulement de cinq ans en arrière, et voyons les progrès que nous avons réalisés.

En 1918, nous avions 42 usines de pulpe et de papier, nous en comptons aujourd'hui 48. Le capital alimentant ce domaine était alors de $100,000,000; il est maintenant de $155,000,000. Et notre seule province peut se vanter d'avoir chez elle plus de la moitié de tout le capital placé dans l'industrie de la pulpe et du papier au Canada.

Il y a cinq ans, la valeur de nos produits de pulpe et de papier se chiffrait à $53,000,000; elle s'élève aujourd'hui à $109,000,000. Et tous les jours, on nous demande de nouvelles concessions forestières.

Il faut de toute nécessité conserver et défendre la forêt. La hache du bûcheron, les insectes et les feux l'attaquent de toutes parts.

Nous prions nos amis d'Ottawa de collaborer avec nous pour protéger ce superbe actif national. J'espère que nous pourrons ensemble trouver le moyen de convaincre nos voisins qu'il est plus profitable pour eux de venir fabriquer leurs produits ici, sans entraver pour cela la liberté de nos gens, à laquelle ils tiennent tant.

Les richesses de Québec ne se bornent pas là.

Nous produisons 80% de l'amiante du monde entier. N'y a-t-il pas lieu, ici encore, pour les deux gouvernements de chercher un moyen d'activer la fabrication des produits de l'aimante dans notre province? Le problème est difficile, mais il n'est pas au-dessus du parti libéral.

Tous savent que, dans le domaine minier, notre région du Témiscamingue et particulièrement celle de l'Abitibi attirent en ce moment des milliers de mineurs. Ne pouvons-nous pas espérer que le jour n'est pas éloigné où les entrailles généreuses de la terre québecquoise nous livreront des trésors qui rivaliseront avec les meilleurs produits miniers du Canada.

Pour activer tout ce mouvement de progrès, nous avons d'excellentes finances.

Depuis vingt-sept ans, Québec entasse des surplus chaque année. Il y a deux ans, nous annoncions avec orgueil un excédent de cinq millions, et nous continuons depuis dans cette voie des surplus. Par contre notre grande soeur, la province voisine, accumulait l'an dernier un déficit de quinze millions, qu'elle est toute fière, cette année, d'avoir réduit à huit millions!

Ce sont nos belles finances qui nous ont permis d'avoir une voirie qui attire chez nous tant de touristes américains, ces touristes qui s'abreuvent d'air pur et d'autres bienfaits inappréciables auxquels nous pouvons et sur lesquels je n'ose insister. Car, toujours fidèle aux préceptes de l'Evangile, notre main droite ignore ce que fait notre main gauche.

Nos bonnes routes sont ouvertes à tous, même à ces braves gens qui, tout dernièrement, au cours d'une convention tenue à Montréal, sous la houlette d'un berger de New-York, condamnaient notre régie des alcools et des vins, et se séparaient sèchement au cri de "ON TO OTTAWA!". C'est la devise qui remplace pour eux le "DIEU LE VEUT" des antiques croisés.

Comme ces messieurs ne comprennent pas le français, je leur répondrai dans leur propre langue: "HANDS OFF QUEBEC!"

Qu'ils sachent que le régime en vigueur dans la province de Québec est celui que veut notre population, qu'elle en est satisfaite, et qu'elle n'entend pas s'en départir.

Non contents de vouloir faire disparaître nos vins, vins et bières, ils ont déclaré la guerre au tabac. Il ne leur reste plus qu'à décréter le "birth control". Le royaume de ces messieurs n'est décidément pas de ce monde; ils ignorent la saine gaieté que procure le bon vin de France, les profondes racines que le tabac a dans notre sol canadien.

A suivre sur la page 28

Perley

Achetez votre Manteau de Fourrure Maintenant à Prix Réduit

C'est le temps d'acheter votre manteau de fourrure et vous économiserez de l'argent si vous alez chez Perley. Toutes nos fourrures sont confectionnées dans notre propre fabrique et vendues au prix de la fabrique à l'occasion de cette offre spéciale des fêtes. Ne manquez pas de venir vendredi ou samedi.



Manteaux Mouton de Perse

Manteaux—peaux choisies, joli frisé égal, collet et poignets en Alaska. Valeur exceptionnelle

$195

Superbes manteaux, il n'y a rien de mieux comme beauté, style et qualité. Doublure de choix. Ces manteaux sont garnis d'alaska, d'écureuil, de vison, de castor ou Kolinsky. Occasion extraordinaire . . $295.00

Beaux manteaux en Seal Chapal, poignets et collet en bel alaska naturel, castor, écureuil, chinchillette—différents genres de collet et de poignets. Superbe valeur . . . $135.00

Manteaux en Seal d'Hudson, unis ou garnis d'Alaska. Valeurs régulières de $350.00 pour $245.00

Achat spécial de manteaux en seal français unis ou garnis — magnifiques doublures — valeur régulière de $150.00 pour $95.00

Manteaux en Rat Musqué, peaux fencées et naturelles, nouveau collet Chin-Chin — prix régulier $168.00 pour $89.50

Tours de Cou en Fourrure

POUR CADEAUX

Tours de cou en martre de roche, à partir de $25.00
Tours de cou en vison, à partir de $15.00
Tours de cou en martre de la Baie d'Hudson, à partir de $29.00
Tours de cou en renard, à partir de $25.00
Tours de cou en pékan canadien, à partir de $55.00
Tours de cou en renard argenté, à partir de $95.00

Réparations des fourrures Perley *Remodelage des fourrures*

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PATATES des MONTAGNES VERTES sac de 80 livres 89c

Sel de Table 2 Boites pour 21c

LE MEILLEUR BEURRE de Crémerie Pasteurisé 39c la lb.

Graisse Pure 2 lbs pour 39c

AVOINE ROBINHOOD le gros paquet . . 27c

CACAO A LA MESURE, 2 lbs. . 25c

ORANGES JUTEUSES de choix, la douzaine . . 27c, 33c et 39c

CUBES OXO, la boite . 11c et 27c

FLOCONS DE MAIS QUAKER, 3 paquets 29c

ANANAS SINGAPORE la boite 18c

Farine à pain Maple Leaf, 7 lbs	37c
Farine à pâtisserie Silver Moon, 7 lbs	33c
Poudre à pâte Magic, 16 onces	34c
Ecorces de limon et d'orange, lb	29c
Ecorces de citron, la lb	55c
Cerises glacées, boite de ½ lb	29c
Cerises au maraschin, bout.	15c
Crisco, boite de 1 lb	27c
Poudre à pâte D.S.L., 16 onces	23c
Sirop Crown, boite No 5	43c
Mélasse à pâtisserie, la boite	15c

FRAICHE AVOINE ROULEE 11 lbs pour 50c

Noix écalées, la lb.	55c
Amandes écalées, la lb.	49c
Raisins Valencia, 2 lbs.	25c
Raisin de table, le paq.	32c
Noix mélangées, la lb.	23c
Raisin Sunmaid, paq. de 15 onc.	16c
Mincemeat Perfection, la lb.	18c
Mincemeat sans graines, la lb.	15c
Ecorces coupées, ½ lb. 17c; 1 lb.	32c

RAISIN de CORINTHE Nouveau Nettoyé le Paquet 16c

MARMELADE SHERRIFF, boite de 4 lbs 69c

CONFITURES PURES DE STUART. Pot de 4 lbs. . . 79c

BISCUITS NATIONAL, 3 paquets 25c
Mis en boite dans une grande variété d'assortiments.

GOLD DUST, le gros paquet . . 29c

POIS FARROWS le petit sac 15c

Biscuits Soda 2 lbs pour 29c

LE MEILLEUR NOUVEAU FROMAGE CANADIEN 23c la lb.

RAISIN SANS PEPINS 2 lbs pour 25c

CATSUP HEINZ, la grosse bouteille . 31c

MARMELADE Little Chip, le pot 23c

CHOCOLAT Fry ou Baker pour le déjeuner, la boite de ½ lb. 23c

QUICK QUAKER OATS, le paquet 29c

LES MEILLEURES POMMES DE TABLE, la douzaine . . 40c

LE PLUS BEAU SUCRE GRANULE 10 lbs pour 79c

DATTES NOUVELLES EN MASSE 2 lbs pour 25c

Thé mélangé spécial, la lb.	65c
Thé mélangé Richmello, la lb.	79c
Café spécial, la lb	47c
Chocolat Windermere, la lb.	39c
Chocolat en barre Fry, . 5c et	10c
Café Reindeer, la boite	31c
Lait Eagle, la boite	20c
Pâte Cross & Blackwell, le pot	25c
Fèves au lard Clark, boite No 3	22c
Pêches tapées, la lb.	19c
Apricots tapés, la lb.	25c

LISTE DES MAGASINS A MONTREAL

542 rue St-Antoine.
5969 rue Sherbrooke ouest.
5035 rue Sherbrooke ouest.
5561 rue Sherbrooke ouest.
5282 rue Sherbrooke ouest.
211 rue Sherbrooke ouest.
821 avenue Laurier est.
854 rue Ste-Catherine ouest.
2627 rue Masson.
968 rue St-Denis.
368 avenue Victoria.
2973 rue Ste-Catherine.
643 rue Wellington.
1631 rue Notre-Dame.
1350 rue Wellington.
191 rue St-Viateur.
202 avenue Laurier ouest.
1346 avenue Van Horne.
251 avenue Beaumont.
1126 rue Wellington.
473 avenue Church, Verdun.
1221 avenue Greene.
1061 avenue Laurier.
108 avenue Bernard.
205 avenue Gauthier.
245 Boulevard Monk.
2540 rue Adam.
149A rue Mansfield.
606 rue Centre.
1699 rue Papineau.
6778 Sherbrooke ouest.
1313 Wellington.
1677 Wellington.

Cartierville, Qué.
St-Lambert, Qué.
Longueuil, Qué.
78a rue Notre-Dame, Lachine, Qué.
444 rue St-Joseph, Lachine, Qué.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46031

B-100'C

Subject.....

Date Dec 4/24 Publication The Ottawa Journal

LIBERALS DO HONOR TO HON. MR. CARDIN

Practically Whole Cabinet Attends Montreal Function.

MONTREAL, Dec. 3. — Liberal forces gathered here this evening under the auspices of the Montreal Reform Club to pay tribute to the Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

There were present, Premier Mackenzie King and practically the entire Cabinet, while the provincial government was headed by Premier L. A. Taschereau.

Premier King contented himself with pointing to the reasons why the Liberal party may confidently look forward to the future.

Hon. Mr. Cardin's speech dealt in optimistic tone with actual conditions. He scouted the pessimist, and defended the fiscal policy of the Government. There was no reason for despair, for funeral dirges, claimed Mr. Cardin. The balance of trade was favorable for Canada and the recently issued Bank of Montreal statement was an augury of better conditions. Canada was having some difficulty in re-establishing itself following the war, but it was worse in other countries. England with all its power, France with all its heart, Belgium with all its heroism, and the United States with all its gold, could not attain pre-war prosperity, and it was not astonishing that Canada with such a small population in a big territory could not recover as rapidly as desired.

Adversaries of the Liberal party blamed all woes to the tariff, and believed in the tariff as a remedy for all troubles. High tariff had not saved the manufacturers of New England or the farmers of the United States from bankruptcy.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 46032

B. 1015 C

Subject .....

Date Dec 4/24 Publication Toronto Globe.

LIBERALS CELEBRATE ELECTION VICTORIES AND BANQUET CARDIN

Hundreds Honor New Minister and By-Election Victors at Montreal

PREMIER KING'S MESSAGE

Kirk Cameron Urges National Program of Service to Country

(By F. C. MEARS.)
(Staff Correspondent of The Globe.)

Montreal, Dec. 3.—With the victories of West Hastings and St. Antoine still fresh in their memories, the Liberals of this Province, with both Federal and Provincial members and organizers, at a notable banquet in the Windsor Hotel tonight, gave tumultuous acclaim to Hon. Arthur Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Dominion Cabinet, who is credited with the triumph for W. J. Hushion in St. Antoine on Sept. 2 last, and also to Charles E. Hanna, the winner in West Hastings.

Over a thousand attended the banquet, at the head table of which sat all the members of the King Cabinet, excepting three, Premier L. A. Taschereau of Quebec and Premier E. H. Armstrong of Nova Scotia. Raoul Grothe, President of the Montreal Reform Club, under whose auspices the function was held, was Chairman. Both in attendance and in enthusiasm it was a remarkable demonstration of the vigor of Liberalism. Elation over recent by-election contests was continuously manifest, and the cheers for the chief guest, for the Prime Minister and for Charles E. Hanna were deafening.

This was the first favorable occasion for the new Minister of Marine and Fisheries to demonstrate his ability as an orator, and his effort tonight was regarded as one entitling him to a high place in the roll of Federal spokesmen.

Took Up Challenge, Says Premier.

Premier King, referring to the St. Antoine victory, declared that it had set the seal of sure success upon the principles and policies of our party. "We were thrown a challenge. It was not of our occasioning. It was the more significant in that it came at the end of a long debate in the House of Commons and at the very moment at which the vote on the Budget was to be recorded; the more significant in that it came most unexpectedly from our own side of the House." He paid a high tribute to Mr. Cardin for his work in that contest.

Mr. Cardin, in an eloquent speech in his native tongue, extolled the old Chieftain of Liberalism, Sir Wilfrid Laurier; the present Prime Minister and his colleagues, and, turning to the St. Antoine fight, in particular, reminded the audience of how The Montreal **Gazette** had magnified the issue of protection in that seat, called Conservatism to arms to defend its cause and then had to admit ignominious defeat.

Tribute to Deputy Speaker.

After referring to West Hastings and St. Antoine, Premier King turned to another by-election which was a test applied by the Conservatives to their own strength in most favorable ridings—that was West Peterboro'. "There, as you will recall, in 1920 the by-election was occasioned through the resignation of the sitting member, Mr. Hampden Burnham. Like St. Antoine and West Hastings, it was to give the people a chance to express their opinion in a popular appeal. I recall very well at the time the 'men of little faith' who doubted the wisdom of contesting the seat, who feared for the waste of money, energy and time involved, and who, above all else, feared the possibility of defeat. Fortunately, better and more optimistic counsels prevailed. The challenge was accepted, the constituency was searched for the best of all candidates. He was found and fortunately secured, and, with high purpose, the contest was entered upon, fought and won, and the party has held West Peterboro' ever since.

"Not only did the party gain an invaluable member in the person of Mr. Gordon, but the House of Commons gained a very distinguished Deputy Speaker. How much of the victory in West Hastings was due to the insistence of Mr. Gordon on a fight, to his generalship and that of the Hon. T. A. Low, Minister of Trade and Commerce, they will have to work out between themselves. I know that Mr. Hanna, and the devoted and loyal workers by whom he is surrounded, will be the first to say that to these two gentlemen, and those associated with them, the party owes a very special debt of gratitude for the proportions which the victory assumed.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46033

Subject.....

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

"It may not be inappropriate on such an occasion as this to draw one or two very obvious deductions from the three by-elections to which I have just referred, and which, I believe, have done more than anything else, save the general results in 1921, to put new heart and life and hope into the party.

Not to Invade Meighen Role.

"The first is that there is no place in the Liberal party for those who have only counsels of despair to offer. We must be prepared to leave this particular role to Mr. Meighen and to those who think as he evidently thinks about the country and its future. Neither as respects the present position of the party nor the country have we grounds for other than the most wholesome optimism. We have, I believe, as a political party gone on steadily from strength to strength ever since the great Liberal convention of 1919, and this in the face of difficulties such as have never hitherto confronted a political party in this country.

"It is perfect candidates and perfect organization that we need. That is the further lesson to be learned from West Peterboro', St. Antoine and West Hastings. To effect this organization, not in single constituencies only, or in single Provinces, but in all constituencies, in all Provinces from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific—that is the task to which from now on we must set our hearts and hands.

Unity; Prosperity; Happiness.

"In conclusion, gentlemen, let us, in our endeavors to ensure victories at the polls, and to establish a strong and united party from ocean to ocean, be encouraged and inspired in the task by the justice of our cause and our belief in all that its triumph means for a prosperous and united Canada.

"Let us rise above all that tends to separate race and race, creed and creed, class and class, interest and interest, and seek only the broad welfare of all races, creeds, classes and interests in what is truly national in interest, aim, spirit—for along the path of national unity lies our national prosperity, and with prosperity and happiness, well-being and contentment of all the people of our beloved Dominion."

"Kirk" Cameron Reads the Signs.

Reference to the recent by-elections in St. Antoine and West Hastings by A. Kirk Cameron, who proposed the toast to the Liberal party, was greeted by prolonged enthusiasm. Mr. Cameron believed Liberalism was experiencing consistent and steady growth. The votes of the electors emphasized "a further widening of the gap between Mr. Meighen and what he stands for and Canadian public sentiment." At the same time the speaker felt that important constructive national service confronted the Liberal party in office.

"The last Budget," he said, "was a first-class Budget, and gave needed relief to farmers without seriously hurting manufacturers, thereby removing from the agriculturists a sense of grievance of long standing. But the present Canadian tariff is full of inequalities and iniquities. A thorough revision is long overdue, but such revision must be made on broad lines and must recognize that the industries of this country will require the application of a tariff for years to come."

Should Aim to Redeem Debt.

Mr. Cameron recognized that the people were "weary of taxes," but he believed they would pay willingly "if a scheme for the redemption of the public debt were put forward and the Government to set its face steadily toward, first, paying our way year by year, and, second, reducing the debt by twenty-five to thirty millions a year."

Mr. Cameron advocated a definite immigration policy with a view to developing population of the best character and reducing the deficit in the National Railways. He thought the management of the two systems should be brought together and "wasteful duplication eliminated." He likewise counselled the early restoration of "penny postage," believing that "the revenue of the Government would not suffer seriously and the commercial activities of the country would be greatly stimulated and increased."

Representation at Washington.

A representative at Washington, **Mr. Cameron declared, "ought to be** worth millions a year to this country, always provided the right man is chosen—a man of wide business experience, not over 50 years of age, and energetic and ambitious to build up the business between the two countries." He urged the elimination of "pestiferous regulations and red tape in the administration of the Customs Department," a vigorous policy for the development of natural resources, particularly water powers, and an energetic and economical reorganization of "an overmanned Civil Service working on an average five hours per day."

"If the Government has the courage to put out such a program," concluded Mr. Cameron, "the national unity about which we are all so rightly anxious will take care of itself."

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46034

Subject.....

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

Prosperity Is Returning.

Brief addresses were also delivered by Premier L. A. Taschereau of Quebec, Premier E. H. Armstrong of Nova Scotia and Hon. James A. Robb, Acting Minister of Finance, who told of the financial improvement of the Dominion under the present Administration. From an adverse balance of trade of $29,000,000 about three years ago there had been steady and remarkable improvement until now there was a favorable balance of trade of $260,000,000. Again, when Mr. Meighen left office it required 112 Canadian cents to buy 100 United States cents. Today the Canadian dollar was as good as any other dollar in the world; it was at par.

Hon. Ernest Lapointe also spoke briefly.

Hon. George P. Graham, in felicitating Mr. Cardin, referred to the need of co-operation between the various interests in Canada as the only solution of the problem of national unity.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46035

B-1105-C

Subject.....

Date Dec 4/26 *Publication* Ottawa Citizen.

MONTREAL LIBERALS BANQUET MR. CARDIN

Premier King Optimistic on Future Prospects For His Followers.

(Canadian Press)

MONTREAL, Dec. 3. — Liberal forces gathered here this evening under the auspices of the Montreal Reform Club to pay tribute to the Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, minister of marine and fisheries.

There were present, Premier Mackenzie King, and practically the entire cabinet, while the provincial government was headed by Premier L. A. Taschereau.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 46036

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P.,

(6) Editorial comment

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46037

B-1005-C

Subject.....

Date Dec 5 1934 *Publication* La Presse.

L'HON. ARTHUR CARDIN

Exceptionnellement brillantes ont été les agapes libérales d'hier, et par le nombre des convives et par leur qualité, comme aussi par l'intérêt des discours prononcés et par l'enthousiasme de l'auditoire.

Le ministre de la Marine, l'honorable M. Cardin, en l'honneur de qui était organisée cette manifestation et à qui faisaient cortège le premier ministre du Canada, ses collègues dans le cabinet, la plupart des sénateurs et députés du district à Ottawa, de même qu'un nombre considérable de conseillers et de membres de la Législature, avec l'honorable Alex. Taschereau, a reçu là un hommage dont il peut être fier, dont il gardera toute sa vie un souvenir ému et qui lui doit être, en même temps qu'une récompense, un encouragement.

Jeune encore et tout vibrant d'activité et d'enthousiasme, le ministre de la Marine, qui a lui-même forgé sa destinée par le labeur mis au service du talent, a réussi à conquérir en quelques mois l'admiration et la confiance de tous ceux qui l'ont approché ou qui l'ont vu à l'œuvre.

La sincérité de ses convictions aussi bien que la chaleur de son dévouement à l'œuvre politique dont il a accepté la mission, son éloquence claire et persuasive lui ont acquis la sympathie de notre population et son respect.

Brillante est donc la destinée qui s'ouvre devant lui: il saura en remplir toutes les promesses.

La ville et le district de Montréal, dont il a charge des intérêts dans le conseil de la nation, envisagent avec confiance l'avenir, ayant le sentiment qu'ils sont entre bonnes mains.

L'œuvre à accomplir est grandiose, car nous sommes convaincu d'être à l'aube d'une nouvelle ère de développement économique, et pour réaliser ces espérances nous devons compter sur le concours de toutes les énergies et de toutes les initiatives de nos gouvernants.

L'honorable M. Cardin, ministre de la Marin, sera à la hauteur, si nous en jugeons par ses heureux débuts, de cette haute mission.

Telle est la signification véritable de la manifestation dont il a été hier l'objet de la part d'une importante partie de la population de Montréal.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46038

B-1005.C

Subject.....

Date Dec 14/24 *Publication* La Patrie.....

LE BANQUET CARDIN

La présence de trois premiers-ministres, celui du Canada, celui de Québec et celui de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, qu'entourait un état-major impressionnant de ministres, de sénateurs, de députés fédéraux et provinciaux, et "d'honorables" conseillers législatifs: la joie des victoires récentes, dont l'ampleur a galvanisé tout un parti, et l'apparition du vainqueur de West Hastings, monté sur une chaise comme sur un pavois: la foule des partisans, dont plusieurs étaient venus de la campagne, qui retrouvaient enfin un des leurs comme objet de leur enthousiasme et s'en donnèrent à coeur joie: et, pardessus tout, la popularité grandissante d'une personnalité qui s'impose, voilà ce qui fit du banquet d'hier soir, en l'honneur de l'honorable monsieur Cardin, ministre de la marine et des pêcheries, une démonstration remarquable, à laquelle le parti libéral même n'était plus accoutumé, et qu'il n'est pas donné à tous les hommes politiques de justifier.

Que le héros de la fête, objet d'un tel témoignage, ait profité de l'occasion unique pour réclamer la générosité et la bienveillance à l'égard des hommes publics, cela peut sembler assez curieux. Mais cela prouve aussi qu'il restait lucide, au milieu des acclamations flatteuses, et que la minute de triomphe compense à peine, pour le politicien, les heures de déboires et d'ennuis.

"Supposez le bien d'abord ! Vous n'en souffrirez pas !" s'écria avec éloquence le ministre au nom des jeunes, dont il veut être, et qui ont besoin de croire en des chefs et de s'inspirer d'exemples dignes de leur idéal, sans quoi ils se détourneraient de l'occupation essentielle de la chose publique. Au nom du pays, aussi, qui a besoin que des hommes se sacrifient pour son avenir. La malice et l'injustice rendent les hommes publics impuissants, tandis qu'une critique juste et honnête les aiguillonne dans le sentier du devoir

Fouettés par l'apostrophe, les nombreux auditeurs, s'élevant pour l'instant au-dessus de toute pensée de parti, comprirent que l'orateur touchait au vice de la démocratie, qui est la tendance au dénigrement, et se donnèrent la satisfaction d'applaudir à outrance.

L'honorable monsieur Cardin ne fut pas moins éloquent dans un éloge habile du premier-ministre, de qui il s'affirme comme l'un des meilleurs appuis.

Sa défense de la politique actuelle, surtout en matière de tarif, était adaptée à l'esprit et aux préoccupations de ses compatriotes et des habitants de l'est du Canada, avec leurs intérêts particuliers. Chacun pourra en juger par la substance de son argumentation que nous donnons ailleurs.

L'image était piquante d'esquisser la physionomie des partisans irréductibles de la protection en les habillant de tweeds anglais, et en leur mettant aussi des bottes anglaises.

Mais il est un point au moins sur lequel tous peuvent s'accorder avec le ministre, et c'est quand, avec la voix forte du passé et faisant miroiter les visions de l'avenir, il parle de défendre le Saint-Laurent.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46039

Subject.....

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

Le ton de son discours aussi, sinon la portée, ne peut qu'agréer à tous. Car l'honorable monsieur Cardin prêche l'optimisme. Et il en donne plusieurs raisons, dont le dernier rapport de la banque de Montréal. Partisans et adversaires peuvent s'accommoder de cette leçon d'optimisme raisonné. Et le pays n'a que faire, comme dit le ministre, de "sonneurs de funérailles".

Les libéraux ne peuvent qu'être réjouis du bel éloge qu'adressa à son jeune collègue le premier-ministre du Canada. La divergence d'opinion n'empêchera pas d'autres d'apprécier le compliment à l'un des nôtres dont la dignité, l'éloquence, le talent et la belle conviction en imposent.

Tous applaudiront aussi la suggestion du premier-ministre de la province de faire réduire les droits sur l'alcool, quittes à apprécier comme ils le voudront la prétention que le coût élevé des boissons entrées légitimement encourage le "bootlegging".

Les auditeurs d'hier soir apprécièrent, autant que la suggestion, le tour spirituel du discours de monsieur Taschereau et son allusion malicieuse à l'entente qui règne dans la famille libérale, par comparaison avec les relations télégraphiques de leurs adversaires.

Toutes les nuances du libéralisme étaient évidemment représentées au banquet, comme le prouve le hors-d'oeuvre assez inattendu de M. A. K. Cameron.

Mais il parut qu'il n'y avait qu'un sentiment à l'égard de l'honorable monsieur Cardin. C'est, sans doute, qu'il mérite cet honneur auquel, abstraction faite de toute considération politique et parce qu'il montre un sincère amour de son pays, plus fort que ses attaches de parti, nous n'avons aucune hésitation à nous associer.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46040

B-1005-C

Subject.....

Date Dec 11/24 Publication P. E. I. Patriot

LESSONS OF BY-ELECTIONS.

Liberal forces gathered last week at the Windsor Hotel, Montreal, under the auspices of the Montreal Reform Club, to pay tribute to the Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Hon. Mackenzie King, in his address said :

"When circumstances which all deplore had forced Sir Lomer Gouin to leave the Government he had been fortunate in being able to secure Mr. Cardin. Mr. Cardin in the St. Antoine by-election had set the seal of success on the Liberal cause. That by-election had come about, not because of the will of the Government, but because of a challenge thrown at the Government at the close of an arduous debate in Parliament, had served to show something more than an ordinary victory. It had been a question not merely of holding support in the House of Commons, but it had been a question of whether or not the Liberal party, having once taken a position in regard to what it believed to be correct, was going to stand or fall on that issue.

"Following St. Antoine another by-election, not in Quebec, but, I am happy to say, in Ontario. It was brought about to test public feeling in regard to the Government. We are told by Mr. Meighen that he himself was responsible for the issue, that he himself chose the constituency in which the issue was to be fought, and he went into the constituency himself with all his characteristic courage and all the powers of invective at his command. In no county in Canada were our adversaries more sure of victory than in West Hastings. There were those doubting Thomases, weak brethren, who wondered whether we should contest that particular constituency. We had before us the example of St. Antoine, and the Cardin spirit, and we decided to fight for Liberal principles no matter what the outcome might be. So we looked about for a candidate, and were fortunate in securing my friend, Mr. Hanna."

Mr. King said another by-election of interest was that of West Peterborough, this at a time when the Liberals were in opposition. From these three by-elections there were deductions to be drawn. One of these deductions was that there was no place in the Liberal party for those who have only counsels of despair to offer. Pessimism must be left to Mr. Meighen. Mr. King talked of the progress which the Liberal party had made since 1919, when the National Liberal Convention had been held. Those were dark days, especially because of the fact that the party had lost its great leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In 1921 the party went to power but not with a majority, and there was a hostile Senate, and a Civil Service Commission, the appointees of which had been named by the former government. Yet last session the government on the addresses from the Throne and the budget had secured huge majorities. Since prorogation there had been six by-elections, and the government had held its own throughout, securing to its ranks, among others, Sir Eugene Fiset, and then had come the victory of West Hastings. There was room for wholesome pride and for enthusiasm in the record of the past few years.

It was essential, went on the Prime Minister, that care be given to the task of organization, and it was also well to remember the lesson of the recent by-elections, and centre efforts around the best possible candidates.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46041

B-1028-C

Subject Optimism

Date Dec 12/21 Publication Border Cities Star

How to be Prosperous

"Have confidence in the Dominion!" is the slogan of Hon. Mr. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The latest addition to the Dominion Cabinet made this his watchword in an address at Montreal, where he told those of his own province that Canada is on the road to prosperity. Foreign financiers are confident of this country, and the least Canadians can do is to follow suit, he declared.

It is good reasoning. Prosperity is simply the outcome of confidence wisely placed. The amazing growth and popularity of modern clubs is a good example, because one of their first principles is to live and believe and talk club work. When all Canada sets its mind to this idea that it will be prosperous, then a white magic will help to bring that very desirable condition. Brains and faith are the oldest team in the world.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46042

B-1005-C

Subject.....

Date Dec 5/21 *Publication* Montreal Herald.

Mr. Cardin On Free Trade

AT the banquet to the Hon. Mr. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in Montreal this week, a highly significant announcement was made by the guest of the evening. Speaking in the presence of the Prime Minister and other members of the cabinet, including representatives of the Progressives, Mr. Cardin laid down one of the cardinal principles of the Liberal party to which none subscribe more wholeheartedly than the Liberals of Quebec. He said:

"The opponents of the present Government try to deceive the electorate by pretending that the Government is a Free Trade Government. That is not true. The Liberal party does not want Free Trade."

In making this declaration Mr. Cardin knew whereof he spoke, and the applause which greeted his emphatic declaration left no room for doubt that he had the endorsation of his audience.

As for the banquet itself, it has never been surpassed by any political banquet in Montreal in point of the size and representative character of the attendance and in enthusiasm for the guest of honor. Even the banquets to the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier constitute no exception to this statement. Mr. Cardin is a wonderfully eloquent speaker—he has been called the "Viviani of Canada"—and he is at the same time immensely popular. His speech displayed a remarkable combination of sound statesmanship and eloquent oratory, and the banquet was a striking testimony alike to the popularity of the guest and the vitality of Liberalism in Montreal.

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C 46043

Banquet to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P.,

(7) Cartoons

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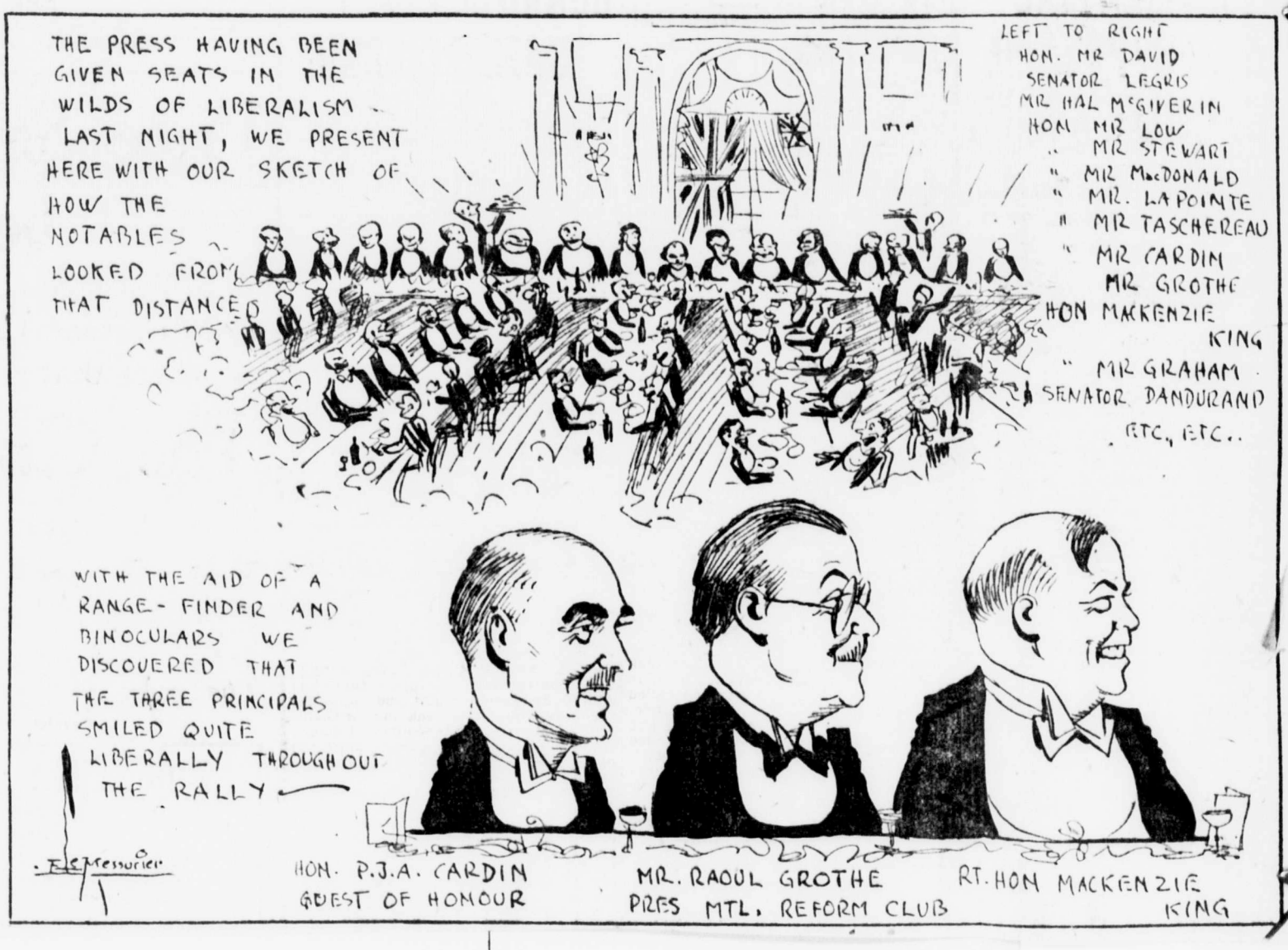
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Subject .....

Date Dec 4/24 Publication Montreal Daily Star.

Liberals do Honor to Minister of Marine and Fisheries —By LeMessurier



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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46044

Subject.....

.....Star.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR

WORKMEN FIND BONES; POSSIBLY OF WOLFE'S ARMY

Wolfe Cove Terminal the Scene of Interesting Discovery

QUEBEC EXCITED

Location May Have Been Cemetery Half Century Ago

From Last Night's Postscript Edition.

QUEBEC, Dec. 3. — (Canadian Press.) — A sufficient number of bones, including human skulls, forearms and other parts of the body, to form at least six complete skeletons; old coins dating back more than a century, cannon-balls, skeletons of animals, remains of kitchen utensils and many other relics of an almost forgotten past, were unearthed at Wolfe Cove Terminal by workers in the employ of the Quebec Harbor Commission engaged in excavation work in conection with the new harbor terminals.

This amazing conglomeration of human bones and other remains has caused a flurry of excitement throughout the city, as it is believed in some quarters that the skulls and bones may possibly be the relics of a portion of General Wolfe's army that took this city from the French after the historic battle of the Plains of Abraham in the year 1759. This is the theory advanced by many people, and as it has been brought to the attention of the Provincial Government, the question as to the exact spot in Quebec occupied by the English during their stay here, may be put at

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Discovery

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ley, in ...ion with the reported remark o. Sir Henry Thornton, at Halifax that "the question of carrying Canadian grain to Portland was a delicate one and involved international considerations" said:

The proper thing to do was to get rid of these lines by selling them to a United States railway company, "which I think it would be quite possible to do." The only way to put an end to the "delicate situation" referred to by Sir Henry is to strike at the root of the trouble and to devote the attention of the C. N. Railways to the carrying out of the object for which they were constructed, namely the development of Canada and the carrying of Canadian goods over Canadian channels and through Canadian ports.

"While I feel it is possible that much good may be accomplished by the Commission proposed by Sir Henry, neither the C.N.R. Board or the Government should be allowed to forget that the peoples of the Maritime Provinces are determined that the policy of developing trade for export through Canadian ports is absolutely essential to preserve Canadian unity and to satisfy the people of the Maritimes. If any other course is followed it will be impossible to avoid the feeling that a grave injustice is being done to a most important section of the Dominion."

ONTARIO CLEANS UP FLINT CORN CLASS

(From Last Night's Night Edition.)

CHICAGO, Dec. 3 — (Canadi...

began last week and when the last ship left Montreal Tuesday, the remainder were dispensed with. Simultaneously with the lay off the movement to winter ports began, 50 men leaving for St. John at the end of last week, while about the same number left for Portland, Maine.

The membership of the Syndicated

work.

The longshoremen are now in pos... session of a fine new building call... the Syndicate Longshoremen's buildi... which has, among other features, ... fine meeting hall with a capacity ... 3,000. Well lighted with hangi... clusters of electric lights, and posse... sing a polished wood floor, circul...

TELEPHONE EAST

"It Pays to Shop at...

Great Drive to Secur...
New Custom...

The Store of the Christ...

Great Sale of Slippers for Men, Wo...

for
Women
Misses
and



Slippers

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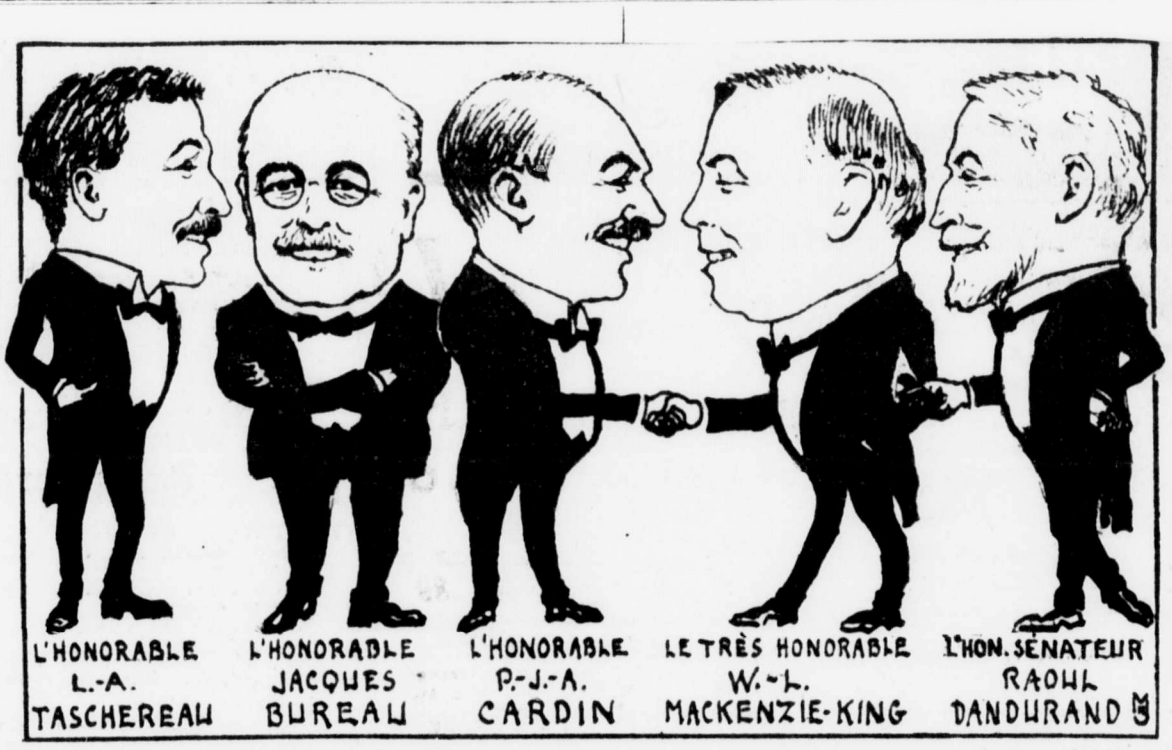
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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 46045

Subject.....

Date Dec 11/24 *Publication* La Presse.



Voici quelques-uns des personnages politiques éminents qui ont assisté, hier soir, au banquet offert à l'hon. M. Cardin, ministre de la marine, par les libéraux de Montréal sous les auspices du club de Réforme. (Croquis d'un dessinateur de la "Presse".)

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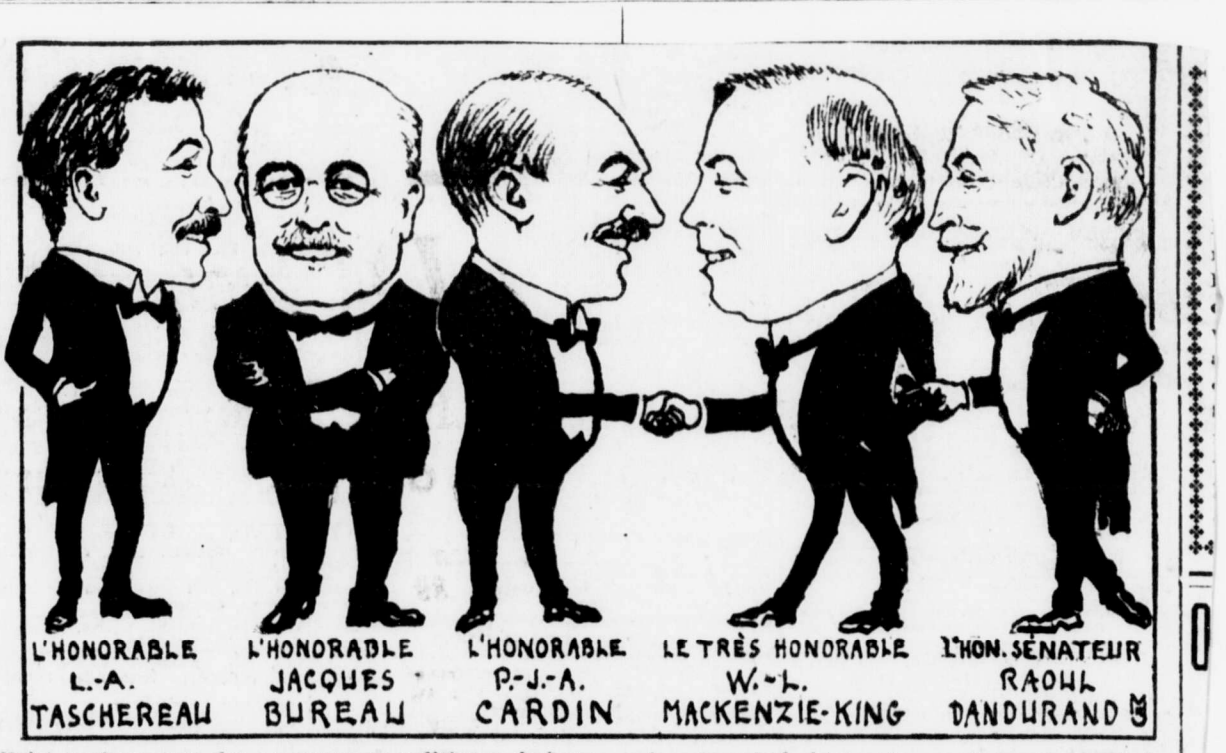
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 46045

B-1008-C

Subject.....

Date Dec 4/24 *Publication* La Presse.



Voici quelques-uns des personnages politiques éminents qui ont assisté, hier soir, au banquet offert à l'hon. M. Cardin, ministre de la marine, par les libéraux de Montréal sous les auspices du club de Réforme. (Croquis d'un dessinateur de la "Presse".)

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(W.L. McDOUGALD TO WLMK) Vol. 1705.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 46046

MEMORANDUM

9.30 pm.
Monday,
May 18,1925

MR. KING:

Dr. McDougald's Secretary called to-night and asked me to hand you, in confidence, the attached report and memoranda in connection with the proposed power development at Carillon.

LCM.

File re McDougald to WLMK.

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C 46047
May 12th, 1925.

386

Memorandum as to the proposal of
Carillon Industrial Corporation Limited
embodied in the draft lease submitted for
approval.

- - - - - - - - - - -

1. Present Works. At Carillon Falls, 72 miles east of Ottawa, on the Ottawa River, there is a small dam across the river and canal works permitting the passage of boats requiring not more than a nine foot channel. The water flowing over the dam is utilized for developing electric energy and produces approximately 250 horse power.

2. New Dam and Canal Works. The Company proposes the construction of a new concrete dam 80 feet in height and about 1/2 mile in length and improved canal works furnishing a fourteen foot channel from Carillon to Ottawa. With supplementary works at St. Ann's the same navigation facilities as now exist between Montreal and Toronto will be available between Montreal and Ottawa. The dam and canal works will be built in accordance with plans and specifications settled and approved by the Engineers of the Department of Railways and Canals. The work will be done under the supervision of the Chief Engineer and the dam and canal works will belong to the Crown but the dam will be leased to and maintained by the Company during the existence of the lease. The Company will provide the entire cost as part consideration for the lease of the dam and the incidental hydraulic power created by its construction.

3. Lands Required. Such lands not now belonging to the Crown as are required in connection with the new works will be acquired by the Crown and leased to the Company, and the Company will pay to the Crown as part consideration for the incidental hydraulic power created by the construction of the works, the cost to the Crown of the lands so acquired, as well as the cost of such lands as may be required for existing government structures on government lands utilized in connection with the new works. Any rights injuriously affected are to be compensated for on the same basis or replaced in kind by the Company if the Crown directs reinstatement.

4. Labor Supplies and Transportation. Canadian Labor, Canadian Supplies and Canadian National Railways' Transportation are to be used in the work in accordance with the provisions of the contract.

5. Rentals. During the term of the lease comprised in the first term of 20 years and a renewal of like length, the Company is to pay to the Crown, in addition to the expenditures mentioned above, rentals aggregating $5,450,000., and for the remaining renewals provided such rentals as may be then agreed on or in case of failure to agree, such rentals as may be fixed by the Exchequer Court of Canada. The further renewals provided are two periods of 21 years each and a further period of 40 years if the dam and power house are not taken over by the Crown at the end of the fourth renewal. When the lease terminates, whether through failure to renew, default in performance by the Company, or by expiry of the term, the dam, power house and lands remain the property of the Crown without obligation to the Company.

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6. **Consideration** to Company. The consideration to be received by the Company is the right to convert the hydraulic power created by the construction of the dam into electric power, and to own and dispose thereof during the term of the lease and renewals in accordance with the directions of the Crown contained in the lease.

7. Cost of Works. The works at Carillon, including the electric installation, are estimated to cost between forty and fifty million dollars.

8. Directions as to disposal of electric energy and provisions for supply of power to Canadian customers.

(a) In order to provide a certain market for the output of the plant during the growth of Canadian requirements the Company propose to instal transmission and transportation facilities sufficient to transmit 300,000 K.W. to the market outside Canada. These facilities are to be amortized over a period of thirty years ending on December 31st, 1958.

(b) From the completion of the works the Company is to make available to Canadian customers 100,000 H.P. at prices which if not agreed on are to be settled by the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada on the basis of fair rates at Carillon excluding any return to the Company on the facilities employed for the purposes of the outside market. The effect of this provision is to give Canadian consumers as low prices as if they were immediately able to take the whole output of the plant. The Company may, if it wishes to take the risk, supplement the power at Carillon from other sources now undeveloped but it is obliged to keep the price for the power to Canadian consumers at the rates above mentioned.

(c) If by 1939 Canadian requirements are more than 100,000 h.p. the Company is obliged to supply them on the same price basis if the supply does not entail a lessening of the load on the transmission lines and if it does lessen the load provision is made for allowing the Company a pro rata part of its line charges up to January 1st, 1959, at which time the transmission and transformation facilities are to be taken as amortized.

(d) The undeveloped power in the district reasonably tributary to Carillon is of such extent as to make it altogether improbable that any depletion of the load on the transmission lines will be necessary during the amortization period ending December 31st, 1958.

The available water power within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon represents a generating capacity of 24,000,000,000 K.W. hours per year, an amount sufficient for the power needs of a population of 46,000,000.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

(1) The yearly exports of coal from the United States to Canada (19,080,182 tons) are the equivalent of 9,540,000,000 K.W. hours of electric power.

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The yearly exports of coal and power from Canada to the United States equal 1,659,190,561 K.W. hours.

At present we import about 5¾ times more potential power from our neighbours than we export to them.

(2) There is approximately 38,000,000 h.p. in Canada running to waste which if developed at the rate of 500,000 h.p. per annum would represent an annual expenditure of $50,000,000 per year for a period of more than 70 years, without including transmission and distribution which would increase the annual expenditure to about $100,000,000.

(3) The State of Maine has tried out the dog-in-the-manger policy with its water powers with the net result that in four years the total increase has been less than 7% per annum. New England industries will not move to Maine for the sake of power which represents only 2 to 5 per cent of their costs and Maine has undeveloped water powers which if developed would produce over 3,750,000,000 K.W. hours per annum but which like ours are running into the sea.

(4) The cost of Canadian power in the New England States will be approximately the same as power produced from large steam units and substantially less than power produced from small steam units. The replacement of Canadian power in New England by large steam units as the power is required for Canadian purposes will entail no inconvenience or increase in price to New England consumers provided a reasonable time is allowed to instal the steam units required.

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[redacted] C460509

MEMORANDUM RE DEVELOPMENT AND EXPORT OF POWER

Canada has available in St. Lawrence basin potential continuous water power equal to..... 13,000,000 H.P.

which is equal to..... 85,000,000,000 K.W. Hrs.

Judicious use of storage for off peak periods would increase this to..... 100,000,000,000 K.W. Hrs.

Present development ..... 5,000,000,000 K.W. Hrs.

On account of heavy capital investment required per unit and because of limited market or comparatively slow growth of demand for power in Canada, it is not economical to develop the very large water powers for domestic use, the investment being from $125 to $175 per H.P. installed. We find it now and undoubtedly will continue for many years to find it economical to import coal both anthracite and bituminous from the United States.

Amount of coal imported annually about ..... 20,000,000 Tons

Ontario and Quebec are the two provinces requiring coal and possessing surplus water power.

New England States have developed 1922:

Water Power.....	2,546,480 H.P.
Steam.....	1,096,930 H.P.
TOTAL.....	3,643,410 H.P.

New England States have undeveloped water power ... 900,000 H.P.

New England States use annually coal for domestic and steam purposes ..... 25,000,000 Tons

New England brings in all its coal from Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia, the same as Quebec and Ontario. In times of fuel shortage, due to strikes or other causes, New England objects to Canada getting coal until domestic needs are 100% filled. Canada could to mutual advantage of both Canada and New England States export to New England for a reasonable period of years and subject to recall, a limited amount of H.P., say..... 500,000 H.P.

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which would be equivalent to from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 tons of coal annually.

Advantages to Canada

(1) Investment in Canada in Power Houses and equipment..... $ 75,000,000

and in transmission lines, etc..... 25,000,000

(2) This would give employment to large numbers of men and provide work for Canadian factories or duty to Dominion Government.

(3) Power for domestic requirements would by specific agreement be available in convenient blocks as required at equitable rates.

(4) Canada would be in better position to demand consideration in regard to coal requirements.

(5) Potential energy now going to waste would be doing useful work.

Advantages to New England

(1) Large block of energy in a very desirable form would be available.

(2) Imports of coal would be reduced.

(3) Considerable smoke nuisance would be avoided.

CARILLON AND ST. LAWRENCE

Combined development ..... 500,000 H.P.

Export right for term of years ..... 300,000 H.P.

Available for domestic use, but with annual export license until required for domestic use..... 200,000 H.P.

Combined project would involve an investment in Canada spread over a period of five to seven years of ..... $100,000,000 which would create a great deal of activity and assist the situation in Canada generally.

The 200,000 H.P. reserved for domestic use could, if the Government so desired be disposed of at reasonable rates in part to the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission for use in Eastern Ontario.

On account of distance involved, it is not economical to transmit to New England power in less quantity than 225,000 to 250,000 H.P.

The combined arrangement would be more flexible and more economical.

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R E P O R T

IN CONNECTION WITH

THE

PROPOSED POWER DEVELOPMENT

AT

CARILLON, P.Q.

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Montreal, April 8th, 1925.

Dear Sirs:-

I wish to furnish the Government and the Public with accurate answers to the questions hereafter stated, and I would be obliged if you would, after such investigation as may be necessary, furnish me with the information sought. Kindly avoid technical terms as much as possible, so that the information may be readily understood by all.

The questions are:-

FIRST:

What is the total power capable of being developed from Canadian water powers?

SECOND:

What is the estimated available water power in the Province of Quebec and the amount undeveloped within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon, P.Q., inclusive of powers in Ontario?

THIRD:

What are the total kilowatt hours at present consumed by the principal industrial countries of the World, and what population could be supplied by the total power available respectively in Canada, the Province of Quebec and the area within 250 miles radius of Carillon, P.Q?

FOURTH:

How does the cost of generating steam power at points in the New England States compare with the cost of hydro-electric power generated in Canada plus cost of transmission into this territory?

FIFTH:

What amount of money would be expended in Canada if its estimated water power resources were developed?

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SIXTH:

To what extent, if at all, would our refusal to avail ourselves of the American market for power cause the removal of American industries to Canada or the establishment of such industries in Canada.

SEVENTH:

Will the cost of our power and the price at which it will be available to the consumer with the same profit to the producer be higher or lower if the power is produced in large units sufficient for the market both Canadian and American within transmission distance of our plants?

EIGHTH:

How does the potential power represented by the coal imported into Canada from the United States compare with the export of power in the form of electrical energy from Canada to the United States over a given period of years.

Yours very truly,

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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EXPORT OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

Dear Sir:-

In compliance with your request we have made an analytical study of all available authentic data which effects the question of developing Canada's available water powers, the generation of electrical energy for home consumption and the export of the surplus to assist in carrying the fixed charges while the local demand grows. This for the purpose of answering the questions which you have submitted to us in your letter of April 8th, preceding.

We submit herewith the questions which have been asked with our answers to the same, and with a more detailed report and an appendix containing various data from which information has been obtained. Questions and answers are as follows:-

QUESTION NO. 1

What is the total power capable of being developed from Canadian Water Powers?

ANSWER:

The Water Power Branch, Department of the Interior, Dominion Government, estimates the available and developed water power of Canada to be as follows:-

Estimated eventual installation,	42,000,000 H.P.
Installed turbine capacity, (For details see Table No. 1)	3,227,414 "

42,000,000 H.P. at 50% load factor represents a generating capacity of 137,000,000,000 K.W. Hours per annum.

QUESTION NO. 2

What is the estimated available water power in the Province of Quebec, and the amount undeveloped within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon, P.Q., inclusive of powers in Ontario?

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QUESTION NO. 2

What is the estimated available water power in the Province of Quebec, and the amount undeveloped within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon, P.Q., inclusive of powers in Ontario?

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ANSWER:

For the Province of Quebec - Minimum,	6,915,000 H.P.
On a 50% load factor basis,	13,800,000 "
Within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon undeveloped (Exclusive of Carillon) -	
Minimum,	4,449,000 "
50% load factor,	7,462,000 "

7,462,000 H.P. represents a generating capacity of 24,000,000,000 K.W. Hours per annum.

QUESTION NO. 3

What are the total kilowatt hours at present consumed by the principal industrial countries of the World, and what population could be supplied by the total power available respectively in Canada, the Province of Quebec and the area within 250 miles radius of Carillon, P.Q.

ANSWER:

The total kilowatt hours consumed by all the principal countries of the World together for the year 1920 has been estimated as 99,456,000,000. Of this amount the United States consumed 49,802,000,000, and Canada 5,125,000,000, (See Table 3, Page 9). Note these figures are for consumed and not generated power, losses having been deducted.

In 1923 the power generated in the United States was at the rate of 518 K.W. Hours per capita and on this basis the total estimated water power available in Canada would supply a population of over 200,000,000, and the Province of Quebec over 80,000,000. The estimated undeveloped power within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon would supply a population of 46,000,000.

QUESTION NO. 4

How does the cost of generating steam power at points in the New England States compare with the cost of hydro-electric power generated in Canada plus cost of transmission into this territory.

ANSWER:

Modern steam plants are producing power in New England at a cost that would compare very favourably with the cost of Canadian hydro-electric power plus the cost of transmission, and recent improvements are tending to considerably decrease the present cost of generating power from coal.

QUESTION NO. 5

What amount of money would be expended in Canada if its estimated resources were developed.

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ANSWER:

Development at the rate of 500,000 H.P. per annum would mean approximately the expenditure of $50,000,000 yearly at the power sites.

QUESTION NO. 6

To what extent, if any, would our refusal to avail ourselves of the United States market for our hydro-power cause the removal of their industries to Canada or the establishment of such industries in Canada.

ANSWER:

While mechanical power is an essential factor in our manufacturing industries, it only constitutes a relatively small part of the cost - an average of less than 5% - of their finished product and while cheap power is always desirable it is not sufficient to appreciably influence the location of a manufacturing industry except ground wood pulp mills and electrical chemical industries.

QUESTION NO. 7

Will the cost of our power and the price at which it will be available to the consumer, assuming the same profit to the producer, be higher or lower, if the power is produced in large units sufficient for both the Canadian and American market within transmission distance of our plants.

ANSWER:

To justify the development of a large water power it is necessary to have a market for a large proportion of its generating capacity. In the case of an export market, transmission costs and operation would make this portion of the power relatively more expensive than power sold to a nearby home market.

QUESTION NO. 8

How does the potential power represented by the coal imported into Canada from the United States compare with the export of power in the form of electrical energy from Canada to the United States over a given period of years.

ANSWER:

During the six year period 1916-1921 Canada's average annual imports from the United States of potential power in the form of coal were over five times the amount that Canada exported to the United States in the form of electrical energy and coal.

Respectfully yours,

Montreal, P.Q.
April 18th, 1925.

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DETAILED REPORT

IN CONNECTION WITH

THE

PROPOSED POWER DEVELOPMENT

AT

CARILLON, P.Q.

Montreal, Canada,

April 18th, 1925.

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First Question:

The water Power Branch of the Dominion Government estimates the available and developed water power in Canada as follows, (See Appendix, Table No. 1, Page 7).

Available minimum twenty-four hour power 18,253,316 H.P. At flow dependable for six months 32,075,998 H.P., and with the ratio of six months power to actual installation at sites now developed indicates an eventual installation for Canada of 42,000,000 H.P.

Assuming that the estimated total eventual installation of 42,000,000 H.P. operated for 50% of the time, it would be capable of delivering 137,200,000,000 K.W. Hours in a year.

Second Question:

From a study of the records of the Water Power Branch of the Dominion Government we have compiled a list of the undeveloped water power available in Canada on the principal rivers within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon; this being recognized today as an economic distance for the transmission of power. The summary of this list is given in the Appendix, Table No. 3, Page 8. (See accompanying Map).

It will be noted by reference to this Table, the total estimated available twenty-four hour power at ordinary minimum flow is 4,449,000 H.P., without including the power available at Carillon on the Ottawa River, and that on a 50% load factor basis this would represent possible installation of turbine capacity of 7,500,000 H.P., or nearly twice the amount of the total present turbine installation in the whole of Canada.

In the last column of the same Table there is shown the present turbine installation within this district to be 1,219,000 H.P., and including plants now under construction the total installation to be 1,579,000 H.P.

7,462,000 H.P. at 50% load factor would represent a possible generating capacity of 24,000,000,000 K.W. Hours per annum.

Third Question:

The total kilowatt hours consumed in the principal countries of the world during 1920 as compiled by the Electrical

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WORLD, (See Appendix, Table No. 3, Page 9) were as follows:

Total for the World,	99,456,300,000
United States,	49,802,000,000
Canada,	5,125,000,000
United Kingdom and Ireland,	6,400,000,000
Germany,	8,600,000,000

Note the above figures are for consumed and not generated power, losses having been deducted.

In the United States during 1923 the recorded power generated was at the rate of 518 K.W. Hours per capita per annum. On the same basis of consumption the power capable of being supplied by the total estimated power available in Canada would supply a population of over 200,000,000, and the power available in the Province of Quebec a population of over 80,000,000. The undeveloped power within a radius of 250 miles of Carillon, would supply a population of 46,000,000.

In Canada during 1923 the power generated was at the rate of 738 K.W. Hours per capita. As a basis of estimating future requirements, it is of interest to note the records for 1923, showing generated power in certain highly industrialised sections of United States. Thus for this period the State of Massachusetts with a population of about 4,000,000 utilised a power generating capacity of both steam and water power plants to the extent of 525 K.W. Hours per capita; and the State of Rhode Island for the same period 826 K.W. Hours per capita; the State of Connecticut 574 K.W. Hours per capita; and the State of New York 805 K.W. Hours per capita. The average power generated for these four States was 682 K.W. Hours per capita.

Fourth Question:

The present cost of generating steam power at points along the Atlantic Sea-board in New England with large units, and modern efficiency methods, is tending to decrease rather than increase, and would compare very favourably with the cost of power transmitted from the St. Lawrence River, or from Carillon.

The Division of Power Resources, Geological Survey, United States Government, in a Report covering Annual

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Production of Electric Power and Consumption of Fuels by Public Utility Plants in the United States covering the years 1919-1924 inclusive, shows that the consumption of coal and its equivalent in other fuels in pounds required to produce one K.W. Hour of electrical energy has steadily decreased to a maximum of 31% in the above period.

While steam generated power is therefore tending to decrease in cost of production and has still a wide margin available for improvement, the cost of hydro-electric power generation has probably attained very nearly its highest efficiency, and can therefore not be counted upon to produce cheaper power in the future than with present modern plants.

The present tendency is to interconnect the various large power generating centers by transmission lines. This offers insurance against interruption of service and certain economies in operation, especially where hydro-electric power systems are interconnected with steam generating systems.

The tendency to reduce the cost of generating steam power is of interest in considering the possible substitution of steam power in the New England district without any serious interference with industries, for power imported from Canada if this power is required for future home consumption.

Fifth Question:

In 1923 the capital invested in Canada in water power development, transmission and distribution was $688,000,000 representing an installation of 3,227,000 H.P. turbine capacity, (See Paper by J. B. Challies, Director and Chief Engineer, Dominion Water Power and Reclamation Service; Engineering Journal, July 1924) or at the rate of approximately $200.00 per H.P.

Assuming that one-half of this capital cost is fairly chargeable for development at the site, the required capital expenditure for developing the remaining 38,000,000 H.P. in Canada on the same cost ratio would be $3,800,000,000 without including the cost of transmission, distribution, etc., or developed at the rate of 500,000 H.P. per annum, it would represent an annual expenditure of $50,000,000 for a period of more than 70 years.

SIXTH QUESTION:

In 1916 the State of Maine enacted a law

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prohibiting the export of power. Maine contains about 75% of the undeveloped water power of New England, and includes some important sites, where the cost of development would compare very favourably with development in Canada.

From records of the United States Geological Survey Division of Power Resources, power generated from water power plants in Maine for the years 1920-1923 inclusive was as follows:-

1920 - 343,719,000 K.W. Hours
1921 - 336,176,000 " "
1922 - 385,908,000 " "
1923 - 410,969,000 " "

These records show that the total increase within this period was 67,269,000 K.W. Hours or 19.6%, making an average of about 6½% per annum.

From the Report of the Power Investigating Committee of New England, April 1924, it is stated that the State of Maine has 665,120 H.P. capacity available 60% of the time, still undeveloped, and that the principal undeveloped water powers could produce 3,760,000,000 K.W. Hours per annum if developed.

It would seem therefore from the above records that industries of Massachusetts and other New England States have not been attracted by the opportunity of obtaining cheap power in Maine sufficiently to induce them to locate there.

A location in Maine would have available the same markets in the United States which they now possess, and it is hardly likely therefore that Canada with its much more limited market, would prove more attractive.

The prime reason why manufacturers have not been attracted to Maine by cheap power, is probably that in the average manufacturing industry the cost of power in proportion to the finished cost of the product is a relatively small factor. This is shown by the records of the United States Census for 1919, which found that the average power required for all industries in the United States was only 0.47 horse power for each $1000.00 value of finished product.

In other words cheapness of power where such a small percentage of power is required would not offset advantages of market, and other factors.

There are certain industries, of course, such as the pulp and paper and electro-chemical plants in which cheap

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power is an important factor, and would, perhaps, be the deciding factor in location.

The Power Investigating Committee, Associated Industries of Massachusetts, Charles T. Main, Chairman, in their Report of April, 1924 - Page 99, says:-

> "Many of the best water powers of Maine cannot be economically developed to serve the local demand alone, since this is not large enough to justify such development. If some of the power could be transmitted to distant points these water powers could probably be developed, as the distant market would help to carry the fixed charges, while the local demand grows."
>
> "Power will never be transmitted to distant points if there is a sufficient local demand, unless the more remote market can afford to pay considerably more for the power. Industries which are situated near the sources of power will always have the advantage of cheaper rates, but most industries will not move to the location of cheap power, because the cost of power is a relatively unimportant item in the total cost of industrial production in New England."

The fact that this potential hydro power is available has not caused power consuming industries to locate within the State although they would have the whole United States available as a market for their products.

Seventh Question:

In the development of a power site one of the first considerations is the market for the power. Unless a market is immediately available which offers sufficient return to pay the fixed charges on the capital cost plus the operating expense and depreciation, it would be found impossible to finance the proposed development.

In the case of the Carillon site, a considerable portion of the capital cost will have to be applied to the construction of a large dam across the Ottawa River, before any power can be produced. In the case of the power house turbines, generators, etc., however, units can be added as the market increases, and the capital expenditure is not required until this is done.

The first market available in this case is an export market, and the cost of this power must carry the expense of the dam, necessary for the entire development, as well as the expense for transmission to a distant market.

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It is therefore very apparent that power available for home consumption, which would have a lower capital cost could be sold on a much more favourable basis, with the same profit to the Power Company, than the power for export, which must carry the largest part of the fixed cost charged in order to make the project feasible.

Eighth Question:

From a Report of the Dominion Water Power Branch, Department of the Interior, "Export of Electricity and Import of Coal", February 15th, 1923, (See Appendix, Pages 10-14, incl.) we have the following information. Canada imported from the United States during the six year period 1916-1921 an average of 19,080,182 tons of coal per year and during the same period exported to the United States a yearly average of 1,218,307 tons.

Assuming that 4 pounds of coal burned in an efficient Steam Power Plant is capable of generating 1 K.W. Hour of electrical energy then this 19,080,182 tons of coal imported by Canada from the United States per annum may be taken as the equivalent of 9,540,091,000 K.W. Hours of electrical power per annum.

During the seven year period 1916-1922 Canada exported to the United States an average of 1,050,037,761 K.W. Hours of electrical power per annum plus 609,152,800 K.W. Hours in the form of coal making 1,659,190,561 K.W. Hours total power per annum exported.

9,540,091,000 K.W. Hours divided by 1,659,190,561 K.W. Hours = 5.75 = 17.4%. Canada thus imported from the United States 5¾ times the amount of potential power in the form of coal which we exported to the United States in the form of electrical energy and coal.

Respectfully yours,

Montreal, P.Q.

April 18th, 1925.

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TABLE NO. 1.

FROM PAPER BY J. B. CHALLIES, CHIEF ENGINEER, DOMINION WATER POWER AND RECLAMATION SERVICE, ENG. JOURNAL JULY 1924.

AVAILABLE AND DEVELOPED WATER POWER IN CANADA

Province	Available 24 hour power at 80% efficiency: At ordinary minimum flow h.p.	At flow depend. for 6 months. h.p.	Turbine Installation h.p.
Bt. Columbia	1,931,142	5,103,460	355,517
Alberta	475,281	1,137,505	33,067
Saskatchewan	513,481	1,087,756	.....
Manitoba	3,270,491	5,769,444	162,025
Ontario	4,950,300	6,808,190	1,445,480
Quebec	6,915,244	11,640,052	1,116,398
New Brunswick	50,406	120,807	44,539
Nova Scotia	20,751	128,264	54,950
Prince Edward	3,000	5,270	2,239
Yukon and N.W. Territories	125,220	275,250	13,199
	18,255,316	32,075,998	3,227,414

"The estimates of available power are based upon sites where the head is definitely known or well authenticated. They omit many falls, rapids or possible concentrations, regarding which information is not reasonably definite and reliable. They may be looked upon, therefore, as representing the minimum water power possibilities of the Dominion.

"All power estimates represent continuous twenty-four hour power at an efficiency of generation of eighty per cent. Minimum as used in this memorandum is based on "Ordinary Minimum Flow" which is the average over all the years for which records are available, of the mean flow for the two lowest consecutive seven-day periods in each year. Six month power is based on the "Ordinary Six-Month Flow" which is the average over all the years for which records are available, of the mean flow for the lowest seven consecutive days in the lowest of the six high months in each year".

"Six-month power has been adopted to give some reasonable general estimate of the total dependable power available, as distinguished from minimum figures. It is based upon the assumption that it is often good commercial practice to install turbines at a site up to the capacity of the six-month power, the deficiency during the low flow months being provided from storage or by the installation of fuel power plants as auxiliaries. The ratio of six-month power to actual installation at sites now developed indicates an eventual installation for Canada of 42,000,000 h. p."

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TABLE NO. 2.

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPED AND UNDEVELOPED WATER POWERS
IN CANADA WITHIN 250 MILES OF CARILLON, P.Q.

Names of Rivers and Districts Included	Undeveloped Power: Available 24 hour Power at ordinary Minimum Flow In h.p.	Undeveloped Power: At 50% Load Factor in h.p.	Developed Power: Present Turbine installation in h.p.
St. Lawrence (Canadian)	2,628,000	3,800,000	257,000
Ottawa	422,000	844,000	140,000
Ottawa Tributaries	270,000	540,000	33,000
Rivers North of St. Lawrence between Montreal & Saguenay	430,000	880,000	591,000
Saguenay & Tributaries	519,000	1,038,000	69,000
Lake St. John District	100,000	200,000	.....
Rivers South of St. Lawrence	80,000	160,000	129,000
	4,449,000	7,462,000	1,219,000

1. The Carillon Site on the Ottawa River is not included in the above list.

2. The estimated 24 hour power available at ordinary minimum flow was obtained from records of the Dominion Government Water Power Branch.

3. There is under construction on the Saguenay River an installation of 360,000 h.p. and not included in the above estimate of present turbine installation.

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TABLE NO. 2.

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPED AND UNDEVELOPED WATER POWERS
IN CANADA WITHIN 250 MILES OF CARILLON, P.Q.

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Rivers South of St. Lawrence	80,000	160,000	129,000
	4,449,000	7,462,000	1,219,000

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TABLE NO. 3.

FROM ELECTRICAL WORLD JANUARY 6, 1923.

CONSUMPTION OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY BY THE VARIOUS NATIONS OF THE WORLD

Country	Population	Electrical Energy Consumption: Total Electrical Energy Consumed Kw-Hr 1920	Electrical Energy Consumption: Kw-Hr Consumed per inhabitant
Totals for World	1,720,000,000	99,456,300,000	57.8
North America	145,000,000	55,312,800,000	382.2
South America	61,000,000	995,000,000	16.3
Africa	140,000,000	1,264,000,000	9.0
Europe	475,000,000	33,530,500,000	70.5
Asia	890,000,000	8,030,000,000	9.0
Oceania	9,000,000	324,000,000	36.0
United States	105,766,000	49,802,000,000	472,0
Canada	8,370,000	5,125,000,000	612.0
Sweden	5,885,000	2,143,700,000	364.0
Norway	2,700,000	1,330,800,000	493.0
Finland	3,330,000	104,000,000	31.0
Czechoslovakia	14,000,000	295,000,000	21.0
Italy	40,000,000	3,400,000,000	85.0
Switzerland	3,360,000	2,700,000,000	700.0
Germany	60,900,000	8,600,000,000	141.0
France	36,700,000	5,410,000,000	147.0
United Kingdom & Ireland	46,080,000	6,400,000,000	139.0
Belgium	7,600,000	740,000,000	97.0
Denmark	3,362,000	190,000,000	57.0
Netherlands	6,600,000	343,000,000	52.0
Portugal	6,000,000	19,000,000	3.1
Spain	20,500,000	1,000,000,000	49.0
Japan	77,000,000	6,925,000,000	90.0
Miscellaneous	217,483,000	855,000,000	3.9

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Ottawa, February 15th, 1923.

Department of the Interior
Water Power Branch

EXPORT OF ELECTRICITY AND IMPORT OF COAL.

A table and a diagram are attached hereto to illustrate the export of electric energy.

The table shows the amount exported by each province and the total amount per year from 1910 to 1922, as compiled from the Statutory Returns.

The diagram shows on a diagrammatic map the total load in central electric stations in each province and the proportion exported, over the same period.

It is desired to compare the amount of coal equivalent to the exported electric energy with the amount of coal imported.

The basic facts relating to each subject will be first briefly stated.

CENTRAL STATION ENERGY GENERATED IN CANADA
AND
AMOUNT EXPORTED.

	K.W.H. Generated		K.W.H.	
	Amount	Per cent increase	Exported	Per cent Exported
1916			1,021,780,359	
1917			1,224,711,338	
1918	4,787,366,000		1,129,577,345	
1919	5,497,204,000	14.8	1,143,277,969	20.8
1920	5,894,867,000 (1)	7.2	949,758,518	16.1
1921	6,319,000,000 (1)	7.2	1,019,564,011	16.1
1922	6,774,000,000	7.2	861,594,793	12.8
		Average . .	1,050,037,761	

(1) 1920 is the last year for which statistics of total K. W. H. generated are complete and the marked items are therefore estimated.

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In 1915 the export was 656,000,000 K.W.H. By 1916 it jumped to over 1,000,000,000, since that time it has been fairly constant and while below the normal for 1922 it is understood that it is again rising and that several companies not hitherto exporting are contemplating doing so on a considerable scale in the near future.

The average of the above 7 years, 1,050,000,000 K.W.H. may therefore be taken as a conservative figure for the annual export. This corresponds to about 160,000 H.P. years and 280,000 H.P. peak load.

COAL IMPORTS FROM U.S.A.
"ENTERED FOR CONSUMPTION". (1)

1916 - - - - - - - - - -	17,580,603	short tons
1917 - - - - - - - - - -	20,857,460	" "
1918 - - - - - - - - - -	21,678,587	" "
1919 - - - - - - - - - -	17,308.837	" "
1920 - - - - - - - - - -	18,753,542	" "
1921 - - - - - - - - - -	18,302,062	" "
Average	19,080,182	

The figure for 1922 for coal imported, irrespective of whether it cleared customs, is 14,255,619. This is 25% below the average shown above. The causes leading to this diminution are well known, and the shortage has probably been largely met by diminution of normal reserve stocks. It is considered therefore that it would not be legitimate to include 1922 for obtaining an average figure.

THE COAL EQUIVALENT OF ELECTRIC ENERGY EXPORTED.

A more accurate estimate of this can be made on the basis of K.W.H. actually generated than on that of H.P.

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(1) "Entered for consumption" represents only coal actually cleared from Customs each year for consumption in Canada.

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years since no assumption has to be made as to load factor.

As it is the coal equivalent of central station energy that is required, the average consumption of central stations only (and not factories) will be considered.

The latest and most complete figures for Canada are those furnished by the 1920 Census of Central Stations. These show that the average coal consumption for the whole of Canada is 5.67 lbs. per K.W.H. produced in central stations.

The similar figures for the United States show a considerably better result on account of the many very large fuel operated public utility plants. The average result in the U.S. for 1919 and 1920 was 3.09 lbs.

The average for Canada and the U.S. is 4.2 lbs. and it is thought that a fair and conservative figure to take for the coal equivalent of hydro-electric energy exported from Canada is 4 lbs. per K.W.H.

The average export over the last 6 years, as shown above, has been 1,050,000,000 K.W.H. which at 4 lbs. per K.W.H. is equivalent to 2,100,000 tons. Taking the present (1)
average cost of coal in large quantities at $10. per ton this is equal to $21,000,000. as the annual value of coal equivalent to the electric energy exported from Canada to the United States.

<u>The conclusions</u> to be drawn from the foregoing are:-

<u>Electricity exported.</u> Average per annum:-

K.W.H. - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1,050,000,000
Peak load in H.P. - - - - - - - -	280,000

Coal equivalent of exported electricity. Annual

Tons - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2,100,000
Value - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$21,000,000.

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(1) The average retail price of coal in 1921, at 9 points in Quebec and 11 points in Ontario, was, anthracite $16.89, bituminous $12.14, average for both $14.51. Per Coal Statistics for Canada, Bureau of Statistics, 1922.

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Total coal imports. Average annual.

Tons - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 19,080,000

Coal equivalent of exported electricity in per cent of total coal imports - - - 11%

In considering the above figures it should be borne in mind that the total coal imported into Canada from the United States is less than 3% of the total coal production of the U.S., which averages about 650,000,000 tons per annum.

CANADA'S EXPORT OF COAL TO THE UNITED STATES.

Canada exports coal to the U.S. as well as electric power and in the matter under discussion it is but fair that both these exports should be considered together.

The coal exports from Canada to the United States have been as follows:-

1916	- - - - - - - - - - -	1,460,582 tons
1917	- - - - - - - - - - -	1,303,125 "
1918	- - - - - - - - - - -	1,201,395 "
1919	- - - - - - - - - - -	1,070,197 "
1920	- - - - - - - - - - -	1,150,264 "
1921	- - - - - - - - - - -	1,124,277 "
Average		1,218,307 tons

The balance sheet therefore stands as follows, the figures being the average for 6 or 7 years in each case:-

Coal imported: All kinds - - - 19,080,182

Coal exported: " "
Actual coal - - - - 1,218,307
Coal equivalent of electric energy - 2,100,000 3,318,307

Exports in per cent of imports - 17.4%

Thus Canadian coal imports from the U.S.A. are less than 3% of the United States production and of what we do import over 17% is returned by the export of other coal or electric power.

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AOC

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.
WATER POWER BRANCH

STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNT OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY GENERATED FOR EXPORT FROM CANADA.

Year Ending March 31.	Province of Export								Total Export	
	British Columbia		New Brunswick		Ontario		Quebec			
	K.W.H.	H.P.Y.	K.W.H.	H.P.Y.	K.W.H.	H.P.Y.	K.W.H.	H.P.Y.	K.W.H.	H.P.Y.
1910	.....	.....	1,169,642	178.90	473,650,215	72,449.95	.....	.....	479,819,857	72,628.85
1911	.....	.....	1,798,591	275.00	536,532,834	82,103.00	.....	.....	538,331,425	82,378.00
1912	95,780	14.66	2,002,557	306.44	535,978,064	82,017.07	.....	.....	538,076,401	82,338.17
1913	3,542,076	542.01	2,371,446	362.89	656,330,142	100,518.62	.....	.....	662,243,664	101,423.52
1914	23,609,722	3,612.86	2,846,016	435.49	746,141,311	114,159.64	.....	.....	772,597,049	118,207.99
1915	18,616,945	2,848.82	3,054,393	467.39	605,496,492	92,644.08	28,913,000	4,424.35	656,080,830	100,384.64
1916	12,268,326	1,877.32	3,075,893	470.69	647,452,320	99,075.18	358,983,820	54,932.84	1,021,780,359	156,356.03
1917	13,989,010	2,140.00	3,459,825	543.00	778,599,003	119,143.00	428,663,500	65,595.00	1,224,711,338	187,421.00
1918	14,570,588	2,229.63	4,190,996	641.22	730,061,970	111,716.26	380,753,791	58,264.13	1,129,577,345	172,851.24
1919	10,965,430	1,678.59	4,954,661	758.46	731,126,500	111,920.84	396,231,378	60,655.10	1,143,277,969	175,012.99
1920	17,893,514	2,681.49	6,122,638	934.34	643,243,670	98,266.17	282,498,696	43,121.48	949,758,518	145,003.48
1921	27,776,314	4,251.97	7,877,398	1205.46	619,197,261	94,749.77	364,713,038	55,809.38	1,019,564,011	156,016.72
1922	27,329,892	3,976.00	8,460,291	1296.00	501,359,410	76,611.00	324,445,200	49,628.00	861,594,793	131,511.00

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46074

MEMORANDUM

Monday
February
14
1927

MR. MEASURES:

I attach copies of three Orders in Council relative to Carillon Power Development, which Mr. King wishes to have in his personal file at Laurier House.

V.C.M.

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C 46075

to be a true P. C. 1337

Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 26TH AUGUST 1926

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 23rd August, 1926, from the Acting Minister of Railways and Canals, with reference to Lease No 24414, between the Department of Railways and Canals and the National Hydro Electric Company Limited, authorized by Orders of the Governor General in Council, dated the 14th July, 1913 and the 1st December, 1921, which Lease provided for the furnishing by the Company, at no cost to the Government, of greatly improved canalization facilities past the Carillon Rapids in the Ottawa River, and the utilization by the Company of the water powers adjacent thereto.

The Minister observes as follows:

> That Lease No 24414 required that actual construction operations be commenced by December 1st, 1923, a minimum of 25,000 HP developed by December 1st, 1926, and certain rentals to commence within two years after the completion of the plant or by January 1st, 1928;
>
> That for financial and engineering reasons the Company has been unable to conform to the original time clauses of its lease and appropriate extensions have been authorized by Orders in Council, dated August 14, 1923, November 29, 1924, and October 28, 1925, and
>
> That the Company now represents that its investigations and negotiations are advanced to a stage where it will be able to start actual work during the year 1927, and have the navigation improvements and power development adjacent thereto completed by December 1st, 1931. Accordingly, it has requested that the arrangements provided in the original Lease for the starting of construction work, completion of the improvements and commencement of rentals be now definitely stipulated in a new supplementary agreement.

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The Minister therefore recommends that he be authorized to enter into a supplementary agreement with the National Hydro Electric Company Limited, to again amend the said Lease No.24414, by granting a further extension of time for the commencement of improvement works referred to by the 1st December, 1927, the completion of the works with a minimum of 25,000 H.P. developed by December 1st, 1930, and the commencement of payment of rentals on January 1st, 1932.

The Minister further recommends that should the Company secure the cooperation of either or both of the Governments of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in the power phase of the improvement project, and on a basis satisfactory to Your Excellency in Council, one-third of the total rentals shall become payable to each of such cooperating Governments, as a credit upon any rentals such Provincial Governments may exact.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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IH/5 P.C. 1477 C 46077

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General on the 28th September, 1926.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 28th September, 1926, from the Minister of Railways and Canals, representing that by an Order in Council of the 26th August, 1926 (P.C.1337) what purports to be authority has been given for entry into a supplementary agreement with the National Hydro Electric Company, Limited, covering an extension of time for the commencement of the improvement works to be carried out by the said Company under its lease No.24414, dated the 1st December, 1921, in respect of certain lands and land and surplus water, together with certain rights and privileges to construct a dam and to use the surplus waters of the Ottawa River; the time for the commencement of the works referred to to be fixed as by the 1st of December, 1927; completion of the works with a minimum of 25,000 H.P. developed to be fixed by the 1st of December, 1930, and the commencement of payment of rentals on the 1st January, 1932. The said Order in Council further purports to authorize payment of one-third of the total rentals to each of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as a credit upon any rentals such Provincial Governments may exact, in the event of the Company securing the co-operation of either or both of the said Provincial Governments in the

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power phase of the improvement project on a basis satisfactory to Your Excellency in Council.

The Minister further represents that it is expedient that the matter, as approved by the above mentioned Order in Council of the 26th of August, 1926, P.C. 1337, be given reconsideration.

The Minister, therefore, recommends that the said Order in Council of the 26th of August, 1926, P.C. 1337, be cancelled.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation and submit the same for approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 46079

5H P. C. 1939

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 24th November, 1926.

******:0:******

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 23rd November, 1926, from the Minister of Railways & Canals, representing:

1. - That a lease (No. 24414 in the records of the Department of Railways & Canals of Canada and hereinafter referred to as Lease No. 24414) dated the 1st day of December, 1921, was entered into between His Majesty the King represented therein by the Deputy Minister of Railways & Canals, as "the Lessor" of the first part and the National Hydro Electric Company Limited, of the City of Montreal, in the Province of Quebec, as "the Company" of the second part, whereby the Lessor leased to the Company, generally the following -

(a) Certain Carillon Canal Reserve lands and land and surplus water theretofore leased by His Majesty to the Company under and described in a lease No. 19053 in the records of the Department of Railways & Canals dated the 31st day of March, 1911;

(b) The right and privilege to construct and maintain a dam and renewals thereof across the Ottawa River at a point below the existing Carillon Dam together with the right to pen back the waters of the river so as to raise the waters to an elevation not exceeding one hundred and twenty feet at the dam based on the elevation datum used in the official report of the Board of Engineers upon the Georgian Bay Ship Canal bearing date the 25th day of January, 1909;

(c) The right and privilege to use all the waters of the Ottawa River flowing to the said dam not required for the purposes of navigation (including the development of power for the operation and lighting of Canals) of the present Canals or any Canals that may be hereafter constructed in addition to or in substitution for the present Canals.

(d) Certain lands to be acquired by His Majesty required for the purposes of the proposed works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414 or necessary to

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to maintain the waters of the Ottawa River at the said elevation at the dam to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414;

(e) Certain lands to be acquired by His Majesty as may be required to replace portions (to be flooded by the works of the Company) of lands utilized at the date of Lease No. 24414 for public and railway purposes.

2.- That the Lease No. 24414 was for the term or period commencing from the date thereof and ending the 1st day of January, 1943, renewable to the 31st day of December, 2005.

3. - That the Lease No. 24414 provided for rentals payable thereunder as follows:

(a) $50,000 per annum from January 1st, 1925, to January 1st, 1933;

(b) $100,000 per annum from January 1st, 1933, to January 1st, 1938;

(c) $150,000 per annum from January 1st, 1938, to January 1st, 1964;

(d) The rental per annum as may be agreed upon or settled by the Exchequer Court from January 1st, 1964 to January 1st, 1985;

(e) The rental per annum as may be agreed upon or settled by the Exchequer Court from January 1st, 1985 to December 31st, 2005;

4. - That the Lease No. 24414 provided that the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro electric works and buildings, to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, within two years from the 1st day of December, 1921, and must have completed and in operation a new hydro electric development of not less than 25,000 horse power capacity, and the works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414 within five years from the 1st day of December, 1921.

5. - That the time, as provided under Lease No. 24414, within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro electric works and buildings under Lease No. 24414, has been extended from time to time by agreements (between the parties to Lease No. 24414) supplemental to Lease No. 24414, as follows

(a)

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(a) By an agreement (pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 1555, dated August 14th, 1923), dated the 17th day of September, 1923, from the 1st day of December, 1923, to the 1st day of December, 1924;

(b) By an agreement (pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 2069, dated November 29th, 1924), dated the 18th day of September, 1925, from the 1st day of December, 1924, to the 1st day of December, 1925;

(c) By an agreement (pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 1937, dated October 28th, 1925), dated the 4th day of November, 1925, from the 1st day of December, 1925, to the 1st day of December, 1926;

(d) By an agreement (purported pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 1337, dated the 26th day of August, 1926), dated the 31st day of August, 1926, from the 1st day of December, 1926, to the 1st day of December, 1927.

6. - That the agreement dated the 31st day of August, 1926, (purported to have been entered into pursuant to the Authority of Order in Council P. C. 1337, dated August 26th, 1926), purported to contract matters, in terms, relative to Lease No. 24414, which were not authorised by the Governor in Council to be contracted and therefore the subject matter of further consideration and authority, if approved, by the Governor in Council and the said Order in Council (P. C. 1337) was cancelled by Order in Council (P. C. 1477) dated September 28th, 1926, accordingly.

7. - That the National Hydro-Electric Company, Limited, under a letter dated the 16th day of November, 1926, from the Solicitor for the Company to the Minister of Railways & Canals has applied for an extension of time within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro-electric works and buildings, to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, to the 1st day of December, 1927.

8. - That it is deemed expedient than an extension of the time within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro-electric works and buildings to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, be granted to the 1st day of May, 1927, and that an extension of the time within which the Company must have completed and in operation

a

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a new hydro-electric development of not less than 25,000 horse power capacity and the works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, be granted to the 1st day of December, 1930.

The Minister submits the above and, upon the advice of the Deputy Minister of Railways & Canals, recommends that the Minister of Railways & Canals be authorised to enter into an agreement supplemental to Lease No. 24414 with the National Hydro-Electric Company, Limited, to amend Lease No. 24414, as amended by the agreement supplemental thereto, to date, to the effect of granting to the Company a further extension of time under Lease No. 24414 within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro-electric works and buildings to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, to the 1st day of May, 1927, and to the effect of granting to the Company an extension of the time under Lease No. 24414 within which the Company must have completed and in operation a new hydro-electric development of not less than 25,000 horse power capacity and the works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, to the 1st day of December, 1930, and to embody terms to the effect of confirming between the parties thereto Lease No. 24414 in its entirety, and the covenants, provisoes, agreements, conditions and reservations therein contained and reserved at the date thereof, except as and subject only to the amending provisions granting the two extensions of the time last above referred to.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation, and submit the same for approval.

E. J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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IH/4 P.C. 1337 C 46083

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

to be a true
Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the **26th August, 1926.**

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 23rd August, 1926, from the Acting Minister of Railways and Canals, with reference to Lease No. 24414, between the Department of Railways and Canals and the National Hydro Electric Company Limited, authorized by Orders of the Governor General in Council, dated the 14th July, 1913 and the 1st December, 1921, which Lease provided for the furnishing by the Company, at no cost to the Government, of greatly improved canalization facilities past the Carillon Rapids in the Ottawa River, and the utilization by the Company of the water powers adjacent thereto.

The Minister observes as follows:

That Lease No. 24414 required that actual construction operations be commenced by December 1st, 1923, a minimum of 25,000 HP developed by December 1st, 1926, and certain rentals to commence within two years after the completion of the plant or by January 1st, 1928;

That for financial and engineering reasons the Company has been unable to conform to the original time clauses of its lease and appropriate extensions have been authorized by Orders in Council, dated August 14, 1923, November 29, 1924, and October 28, 1925, and

That the Company now represents that its investigations and negotiations are advanced to a stage where it will be able to start actual work during the year 1927, and have the navigation improvements and power development adjacent thereto completed by December 1st, 1931. Accordingly, it has requested that the arrangements provided in the original Lease for the starting of construction work, completion of the improvements and commencement

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of rentals be now definitely stipulated in a new supplementary agreement.

The Minister therefore recommends that he be authorized to enter into a supplementary agreement with the National Hydro Electric Company Limited, to again amend the said Lease No. 24414, by granting a further extension of time for the commencement of improvement works referred to by the 1st December, 1927, the completion of the works with a minimum of 25,000 H.P. developed by December 1st, 1930, and the commencement of payment of rentals on January 1st, 1932.

The Minister further recommends that should the Company secure the cooperation of either or both of the Governments of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in the power phase of the improvement project, and on a basis satisfactory to Your Excellency in Council, one-third of the total rentals shall become payable to each of such cooperating Governments, as a credit upon any rentals such Provincial Governments may exact.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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IH/S P.C. 1477 C 46085

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General on the 28th September, 1926.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 28th September, 1926, from the Minister of Railways and Canals, representing that by an Order in Council of the 26th August, 1926 (P.C.1337) what purports to be authority has been given for entry into a supplementary agreement with the National Hydro Electric Company, Limited, covering an extension of time for the commencement of the improvement works to be carried out by the said Company under its lease No.24414, dated the 1st December, 1921, in respect of certain lands and land and surplus water, together with certain rights and privileges to construct a dam and to use the surplus waters of the Ottawa River; the time for the commencement of the works referred to to be fixed as by the 1st of December, 1927; completion of the works with a minimum of 25,000 H.P. developed to be fixed by the 1st of December, 1930, and the commencement of payment of rentals on the 1st January, 1932. The said Order in Council further purports to authorize payment of one-third of the total rentals to each of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as a credit upon any rentals such Provincial Governments may exact, in the event of the Company securing the co-operation of either or both of the said Provincial Governments in the

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power phase of the improvement project on a basis satisfactory to Your Excellency in Council.

The Minister further represents that it is expedient that the matter, as approved by the above mentioned Order in Council of the 26th of August, 1926, P.C. 1337, be given reconsideration.

The Minister, therefore, recommends that the said Order in Council of the 26th of August, 1926, P.C. 1337, be cancelled.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation and submit the same for approval.

E. J. Lemaire
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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5M P. C. 1939 C 46087

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 24th November, 1926.

******:0:******

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 23rd November, 1926, from the Minister of Railways & Canals, representing:

1. - That a lease (No. 24414 in the records of the Department of Railways & Canals of Canada and hereinafter referred to as Lease No. 24414) dated the 1st day of December, 1921, was entered into between His Majesty the King represented therein by the Deputy Minister of Railways & Canals, as "the Lessor" of the first part and the National Hydro Electric Company Limited, of the City of Montreal, in the Province of Quebec, as "the Company" of the second part, whereby the Lessor leased to the Company, generally the following -

(a) Certain Carillon Canal Reserve lands and land and surplus water theretofore leased by His Majesty to the Company under and described in a lease No. 19053 in the records of the Department of Railways & Canals dated the 31st day of March, 1911;

(b) The right and privilege to construct and maintain a dam and renewals thereof across the Ottawa River at a point below the existing Carillon Dam together with the right to pen back the waters of the river so as to raise the waters to an elevation not exceeding one hundred and twenty feet at the dam based on the elevation datum used in the official report of the Board of Engineers upon the Georgian Bay Ship Canal bearing date the 25th day of January, 1909;

(c) The right and privilege to use all the waters of the Ottawa River flowing to the said dam not required for the purposes of navigation (including the development of power for the operation and lighting of Canals) of the present Canals or any Canals that may be hereafter constructed in addition to or in substitution for the present Canals.

(d) Certain lands to be acquired by His Majesty required for the purposes of the proposed works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414 or necessary to

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to maintain the waters of the Ottawa River at the said elevation at the dam to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414;

(e) Certain lands to be acquired by His Majesty as may be required to replace portions (to be flooded by the works of the Company) of lands utilized at the date of Lease No. 24414 for public and railway purposes.

2.- That the Lease No. 24414 was for the term or period commencing from the date thereof and ending the 1st day of January, 1943, renewable to the 31st day of December, 2005.

3. - That the Lease No. 24414 provided for rentals payable thereunder as follows:

(a) $50,000 per annum from January 1st, 1928, to January 1st, 1933;

(b) $100,000 per annum from January 1st, 1933, to January 1st, 1938;

(c) $150,000 per annum from January 1st, 1938, to January 1st, 1964;

(d) The rental per annum as may be agreed upon or settled by the Exchequer Court from January 1st, 1964 to January 1st, 1985;

(e) The rental per annum as may be agreed upon or settled by the Exchequer Court from January 1st, 1985 to December 31st, 2005;

4. - That the Lease No. 24414 provided that the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro electric works and buildings, to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, within two years from the 1st day of December, 1921, and must have completed and in operation a new hydro electric development of not less than 25,000 horse power capacity, and the works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414 within five years from the 1st day of December, 1921.

5. - That the time, as provided under Lease No. 24414, within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro electric works and buildings under Lease No. 24414, has been extended from time to time by agreements (between the parties to Lease No. 24414) supplemental to Lease No. 24414, as follows

(a)

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(a) By an agreement (pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 1555, dated August 14th, 1923), dated the 17th day of September, 1923, from the 1st day of December, 1923, to the 1st day of December, 1924;

(b) By an agreement (pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 2089, dated November 29th, 1924), dated the 18th day of September, 1925, from the 1st day of December, 1924, to the 1st day of December, 1925;

(c) By an agreement (pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 1937, dated October 28th, 1925), dated the 4th day of November, 1925, from the 1st day of December, 1925, to the 1st day of December, 1926;

(d) By an agreement (purported pursuant to Order in Council P. C. 1337, dated the 26th day of August, 1926), dated the 31st day of August, 1926, from the 1st day of December, 1926, to the 1st day of December, 1927.

6. - That the agreement dated the 31st day of August, 1926, (purported to have been entered into pursuant to the Authority of Order in Council P. C. 1337, dated August 26th, 1926), purported to contract matters, in terms, relative to Lease No. 24414, which were not authorized by the Governor in Council to be contracted and therefore the subject matter of further consideration and authority, if approved, by the Governor in Council and the said Order in Council (P. C. 1337) was cancelled by Order in Council (P. C. 1477) dated September 28th, 1926, accordingly.

7. - That the National Hydro-Electric Company, Limited, under a letter dated the 16th day of November, 1926, from the Solicitor for the Company to the Minister of Railways & Canals has applied for an extension of time within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro-electric works and buildings, to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, to the 1st day of December, 1927.

8. - That it is deemed expedient than an extension of the time within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro-electric works and buildings to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, be granted to the 1st day of May, 1927, and that an extension of the time within which the Company must have completed and in operation

a

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a new hydro-electric development of not less than 25,000 horse power capacity and the works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, be granted to the 1st day of December, 1930.

The Minister submits the above and, upon the advice of the Deputy Minister of Railways & Canals, recommends that the Minister of Railways & Canals be authorized to enter into an agreement supplemental to Lease No. 24414 with the National Hydro-Electric Company, Limited, to amend Lease No. 24414, as amended by the agreement supplemental thereto, to date, to the effect of granting to the Company a further extension of time under Lease No. 24414 within which the Company shall commence the construction and erection of the new hydro-electric works and buildings to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, to the 1st day of May, 1927, and to the effect of granting to the Company an extension of the time under Lease No. 24414 within which the Company must have completed and in operation a new hydro-electric development of not less than 25,000 horse power capacity and the works to be constructed by the Company under Lease No. 24414, to the 1st day of December, 1930, and to embody terms to the effect of confirming between the parties thereto Lease No. 24414 in its entirety, and the covenants, provisoes, agreements, conditions and reservations therein contained and reserved at the date thereof, except as and subject only to the amending provisions granting the two extensions of the time last above referred to.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation, and submit the same for approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 46091

Canterbury Divisional Liberal Association.

A

MEETING

of Liberal Supporters throughout the Canterbury Division,
will be held in

THE FORESTERS' HALL, High Street,
CANTERBURY,

ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20th, 1924, at 3-30 p.m.

An ADDRESS will be given by

COLONEL D. CARNEGIE, C.B.E.

who has been selected by the Executive Committee as the Prospective Liberal Candidate.

The attendance of all Liberals is earnestly invited.

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C 46092

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

E.T.

Memorandum for Mr.King.

In Mr.Pacaud's letter of March 11th, he refers to a letter sent by Colonel Carnegie last December to which he received no reply. The files do not contain any such letter or indicate its receipt.

O.D.

O.D. SKELTON

Ottawa, 20th April,1925

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C 46093

Memorial Service.

Mrs. David Carnegie, Senior,

Born
October 14th, 1839.

Entered into rest
March 20th, 1932.

Wednesday, March 23rd, 1932,

AT

People's Hall, Slade, Plumstead, S.E.

Conducted by
The Revd. JOHN WILSON, D.D.

"His servants shall serve Him, and they shall see His Face."—*Rev. 22, 3-4.*

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Hymns.

Tune—St. Stephen's.

O God of Bethel! by whose hand
Thy people still are fed:
Who through this weary pilgrimage
Hast all our fathers led:

Our vows, our prayers, we now present
Before Thy throne of grace:
God of our fathers, be the God
Of their succeeding race!

Through each perplexing path of life,
Our wandering footsteps guide:
Give us each day our daily bread,
And raiment fit provide.

Oh, spread Thy covering wings around,
Till all our wanderings cease,
And at our Father's loved abode
Our souls arrive in peace.

Such blessings from Thy gracious hand
Our humble prayers implore;
And Thou shalt be our chosen God
And portion evermore.

Tune—Redhead.

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee:
Let the water and the blood,
From Thy riven side which flowed,
Be of sin the double cure,
Save me from its guilt and power.

Not the labour of my hands,
Can fulfil Thy law's demands;
Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears for ever flow,
All for sin could not atone;
Thou must save, and Thou alone.

Nothing in my hand I bring;
Simply to Thy cross I cling!
Naked, come to Thee for dress;
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;
Foul, I to the fountain fly;
Wash me, Saviour, or I die.

While I draw this fleeting breath,
When mine eyes shall close in death,
When I soar to worlds unknown,
See Thee on Thy Judgment-throne:
Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee.

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Confidential

C 46096 A1008

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

Downing Street,

CANADA

4 December, 1922.

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch of the 3rd of November, I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, for the information of your Ministers, copies of the transcript of the Minutes of proceedings of the recent Conference on the admission of Canadian cattle into Great Britain.

Cattle Conference Proceedings.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant,

(SGD) DEVONSHIRE.

GOVERNOR GENERAL

HIS EXCELLENCY

GENERAL

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B.,G.C.M.G.,M.V.O.

&c., &c., &c.,

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Confidential

C 46096 A1008

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LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B.,G.C.M.G.,M.V.O.

&c., &c., &c.,

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C 46097 13/13

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE

on the

ADMISSION OF CANADIAN CATTLE INTO GREAT BRITAIN

held in the

Colonial Office, on the

14th.18th. and 20th. October 1922.

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C 46098 1414

First Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE
on the
ADMISSION OF CANADIAN CATTLE INTO GREAT BRITAIN
held in the

Secretary of State's Room, Colonial Office,
at 11 a.m., Saturday,
14th. October 1922.

Present:-

The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.
Secretary of State for the Colonies (in the Chair).

The Rt. Hon. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P.
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

The Hon. W. S. Fielding, LL.D., D.C.L.
Minister of Finance, Canada.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, LL.B., K.C.
Minister of Marine, Canada.

The Hon. P. C. Larkin.
High Commissioner for Canada in London.

There were also present:

Sir F. L. C. Floud, K.C.B.
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Sir S. Stockman, M.R.C.V.S.
Chief Veterinary Officer, Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. F. A. Jones, C.B.
Legal Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. R. J. Thompson, O.B.E.
Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. P. J. G. Rose.
Assistant Under Secretary for Scotland.

Sir R. B. Greig, M.C., LL.D.
Chairman, Scottish Board of Agriculture.

Dr. J. H. Grisdale,
Deputy Minister, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. Duncan Marshall,
Commissioner, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. W. L. Griffith,
Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for
Canada in London.

Sir J. S. Risley, K.C.M.G., K.C.
Legal Adviser, Colonial Office.

Mr. E. J. Harding, C.M.G.
Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.

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Mr. R. H. Franklin,
Ministry of Agriculture,
(Secretary),

and Private Secretaries to members of the Conference.

The Chairman (The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill):- We are at the first formal meeting of the Conference between representatives of the Dominion of Canada and the Imperial Government on this question which has so long baffled solution. I think it is quite clear from the papers which have been interchanged that a solution is possible between us on the points involved. We are anxious to do everything that is possible to meet the wishes of the Dominion of Canada. Parliament has pronounced in a certain sense very clearly and definitely, and the Minister of Agriculture lost no time in proclaiming, after those pronouncements of Parliament, that he intended to accept them as a mandate and to give sincere effect to them. At the same time it would be affectation not to recognise that certain safeguards are demanded by British agricultural interests - very important interests in this as in every other country - which are very much affected at the present time by economic conditions. Safeguards are considered of the utmost consequence by them, and I must remind you that they have a power and an influence of their own to safeguard their interests. It would be futile of us to ignore that fact. It does not rest with this Government, or with any Government, to settle this matter entirely apart from consideration of the views of the British agriculturist. The Government which exists at the present time does not command a majority in the House of Lords: on the contrary it has only a very small representation of peers on which it can certainly count. On the other hand, these interests - great, ancient, worthy, and legitimate interests - could undoubtedly, if they were really alarmed, exercise the enormous delaying power of the Second Chamber and prevent a speedy settlement of the question, and nothing that could be done by this Government, and nothing that could be done by a new Government after an election, could prevent the exercise of this delaying power.

On the other hand, as you know, the House of Lords has pronounced in favour of a good and friendly arrangement, and I believe that it is possible to arrive at an arrangement which will, in fact, secure that large and continuous importation of Canadian store cattle which is the object for which we are meeting, and will, at the same time, safeguard the particular interests about which the cattle breeders in this country are greatly concerned. I feel it is useless to look for a settlement of this question except on the basis of compromise and goodwill on both sides, and I am delighted to find from my conversations with representatives of Canada, and also in the telegraphic correspondence which has taken place with the Prime Minister of Canada, that there is every wish on their side to meet us in a similar spirit. It is no use on our part making a concession in one form and taking it away in another. It has got to be real. On the other hand, safeguards can only be introduced which will reassure British agriculture. That is the task which lies before us. I thought I ought to make these few general observations in order to open out formal discussion, and I should be very glad Mr. Fielding, if you wish to add anything to them as representing the Dominion of Canada.

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The Hon. W.S. Fielding: We have been very much gratified by the action of the House of Commons in settling, as it seemed, for the moment, this long standing controversy, and we are doubly gratified to have the assurance of the desire expressed by yourself and the Government that the Commons having taken that step, it is your wish to give effect to it in the fullest spirit. That naturally is pleasing to us. We appreciate, however, your difficulties, not only the agricultural interests, but even, if I may mention it, the political difficulty. I know from my own experience that it is one thing to get a resolution passed in Parliament, and another thing to get the details of a Bill, and even though the House of Commons has expressed itself in favour of the removal of the embargo (if the word is to be permitted) I can imagine in the House of Commons you may have difficulty, and still more in the House of Lords, where the agricultural interest is a very great and very powerful one. For this reason we are anxious to approach the matter in the spirit you yourself mentioned. We want to recognise your troubles, and as far as possible assist you. We want to get the Bill through and help you to get it through. The difficulty is - to use your own expression - you may give us something with one hand and take it away with the other; we appreciate you have the interests of agriculture to consider, and if the concession is nullified, well, there is no solution of the problem. It only leaves it as it was before. We can assure you of our desire to meet your wishes in everything that is reasonable. We want to approach the matter in the very spirit that you have expressed. We appreciate your difficulties; you must appreciate ours. It would not be good to accept arrangements in the form of conditions for the protection of cattle against disease which load us up with difficulties which make the concession of no good to us at all. I am pleased with the way in which you are approaching the question; I can assure you that we have the same desires, and I am very hopeful that there will be a solution found. You have sent us a draft Bill. We have taken the liberty of suggesting another draft Bill. I should be happy to learn how far our suggestions in the way of the draft Bill meet your own views.

The Chairman: I thank you very much for your remarks. I think the next step would be for the Minister of Agriculture to make a short statement and actually carry the topic nearer the detailed and concrete facts which we have to settle. I should like to say that a record is being taken of what is said, but that nothing will be published except by agreement. Therefore, it will be quite possible to talk quite freely at any point in the discussion, and we will agree between ourselves in what form any publication is to be given, or when it is given, or if it is ever to be given. As far as to-day is concerned I should propose that nothing should be given except the fact that a meeting has been held.

Mr. Fielding: I prefer that should be given by you so there may be no misunderstanding.

The Chairman: We will do it from here and will show it to you beforehand.

The Rt. Hon. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I think perhaps I had better say something which will bring us to the concrete matters over which there may be differences of opinion and where I hope there may be adjustments. Let me just say this on the general question; of course, as you know, the Government was neutral in the matter and we all spoke and voted as we liked.

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As you also know I took a strong line - as I was bound to do as Minister of Agriculture - against this proposal, but, as Mr. Churchill has told you, after the decision arrived at by the House of Commons and another decision by the House of Lords, not on quite the same lines but accepting the principle of admitting Canadian stores, I said at once I was prepared to accept the verdict and I advised my agricultural friends and supporters to do the same in their own interests, apart entirely from the great Imperial question involved. I am sure that to keep this agitation alive is not good either for Canada or for British agriculture.

Well, I would also like to make one other observation as far as I am concerned, and I think agricultural opinion will support me in this; we do not want to play a trick, i.e., it is not our desire at all or intention to take back with one hand what we have given with the other, and any restrictions or modifications that we suggest shall not have that object in view and shall not be such as would effect that object. I mean, we intend to play perfectly straight in the matter. Well, now, as I understand the position, there is practical agreement that Canadian stores are to be admitted. I do not think that there has been any verdict given, or that there is any agitation on this side, for the admission of breeding-animals, and, therefore, at the outset I wish to make those two questions distinct and separate. What has been asked for, as I understand the Bill from Canada, has been the admission of store cattle, and what some of our farmers want are Canadian stores for feeding purposes. There has been no suggestion of breeding-animals, and breeding-animals stand on quite a different footing. The thing I have always had in mind, and what I know has agitated British farmers very largely and has been the cause of a great deal of the opposition, has been the fear that unsuitable animals -- call them, if you like, scrub animals, at all events not desirable for breeding purposes -- should be brought over here. We have been taking in past years immense trouble and have been spending a lot of money in grading up and improving the commercial live-stock of the country, and I think that we have done that with some success on the whole. We have not done half as much as I should like to do, but it will come in time, That being so, we do not want to take the risk of importing animals which would be unsuitable for breeding.

Then again, we have just taken a step, by a new Act passed this session - a couple of months ago - for eliminating tuberculosis in cattle. There again I am not making a charge that Canadian cattle are particularly susceptible - I do not think they are - but it is admitted that you have got it. There again we have to take precautions and, I think you will admit, reasonable precautions. Nearly every country does it. Canada itself, for example, which buys from us only the higher class pedigree animals, imposes a period of 30 days quarantine and a tuberculin test which I believe is quite right. I am not complaining; I think it is a perfectly reasonable thing to do. Therefore, the first modification or qualification of the general system of importing Canadian animals that I think is necessary and will certainly be demanded by the agricultural community, is a limitation of the animals imported freely to non-breeding animals, and we suggested, therefore, steers which we define as castrated males. On that I think you will find agricultural opinion here is very clear, and I do not think you would get a Bill through the House of Commons easily -- I am sure you would not get it through the House of Lords - Unless something on these lines is put into it.

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The supporters of the agitation for removing the embargo would not have got anything like the majority which they got in the House of Commons, if it had been thought that what was being discussed was the question of breeding-animals as well as store cattle, and the House of Lords in their resolution definitely limited the importation to steers. That word was used. Well, that is the first point of importance, and in that, of course, there is a profound difference between the Bill submitted on behalf of the Canadian Government and the Bill I have suggested from the Ministry of Agriculture.

Then, of course, the other important question is that of the risk of disease. Now, I am not going to place that too high from the British agricultural point of view. I have always freely admitted and have said publicly over and over again that, so far from wishing to place any stigma on Canadian cattle, I recognise that Canadian cattle have been wonderfully free from disease, and that it was a most creditable thing to the Canadian veterinary administration. We all admit that, but at the same time our people are very nervous of taking any additional risk at all. They point to the fact that you have a 3,000 miles land frontier with the United States. You have guarded that very well in the past, but there is always the danger. Foot-and-mouth disease was very bad in the United States five or six years ago and was up to the Canadian border but did not get over it. You cannot say it never will. My Scotch friends used to say "we have never had foot-and-mouth in Scotland" for years, but unhappily they got it this Spring rather badly. Therefore, there is an additional risk which does not apply, for example, to Ireland, because Ireland enjoys an island isolation which, of course, Canada owing to its geographical position cannot do. Therefore, there is a very keen feeling and desire - a strong feeling - that some kind of precautions must be put in to prevent the danger of the importation of disease, all the more strongly just now because we have had a very bad go ourselves. Last February and March my veterinary staff and myself were almost at our wits ends. It seemed to be going through the country like a wave of influenza. We instituted a policy of slaughter which cost nearly a million pounds, and the people here were very frightened, and are less disposed to take any additional risk than they were. It mustnot be of such a character as to stop the trade, as that would not be playing fair.

What I suggest for discussion is that there should be 7 days quarantine or observation in Canada first of all.

Mr.Fielding: How many?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: 7 days. I have scaled it down very much. Some of my most ardent friends are talking of 21 days, and it will not be very easy for me to persuade them to take 7 days. I think I can persuade them to. I daresay a great many people will denounce me as having given away the thing. I have suggested 7 days, pointing out that on the top of that they have the voyage, which is 10 days, and my chief veterinary officer who is here would be contented with that. He thinks that is a sufficient safeguard, subject always to certain other safeguards as tagging the animal - marking it in the ear - which I do not think would be seriously objected to.

I think we shall have to propose a thing that I did not put in the telegram sent to Canada, or rather that was not in the telegram which was based upon certain proposals I made to you, Mr.Churchill, another restriction which, however, has come about in consequence of our recent attack here and which we are carrying out in the case of Irish animals. We have discovered that the

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most fruitful means of spreading foot-and-mouth is by store animals that come over more or less in bulk from overseas - Ireland of course in this case - being driven about from market to market. What happens is this. They come here in large numbers; they are exposed for sale at certain markets, but they are not all sold there. The remainder are driven to another market, and if not all sold they are taken to another. That is the most fruitful way - not of introducing the disease, but of spreading it, and our trouble last Spring was largely due to that. We have now got a regulation which is being enforced and which I propose to make permanent, that these animals though they may be exposed in any one market cannot be exposed in another market for six days. It is not a very serious restriction. It simply means this, that when they are sold in the first market in which they are exposed they have to be licensed to a farm or other premises and there kept for 6 days before they can be exposed a second time. Of course the farmer buys the animals and does not want to send them to another market in most cases, but it is a restriction against a practice which we are convinced was the principal cause of the spread of the disease. That restriction would be imposed not only on Canadian animals, but it would be a restriction that we are imposing on Irish animals, and which we propose to continue on Irish, and I do not think any very strong objection would be raised to it.

There are other points, of course, such as the one that there must be direct shipment from Canada. We could not accept stores if the vessel called at a United States port en route. There are also regulations about disinfecting the ships and precautions of that sort which are really of minor importance, but which I think are very reasonable.

Then I come to the question of breeding-animals. The House of Lords distinctly limited the importation to steers. I do not think we can go as far as that. I am quite prepared to admit breeding-animals so far as I am concerned, but they should be admitted subject to different regulations, regulations I mean as regards the imposition of a tuberculin test which would be carried out in Canada with a suitable time for isolation. This is a technical matter on which I do not propose to give any personal opinion. I am told that unless you have something like 30 days the tuberculin test may bo quite ineffective, because there are clever people who can dope animals before they go into quarantine and then when the test is applied no reaction takes place because the animal has been doped. Therefore, a considerable period of time is necessary. That is really a technical objection which I think technical experts should settle. As regards breeding-animals, I should go beyond the House of Lords recommendation and I should say "Admit them, but on a different basis to the stores".

The Chairman: When you said "steers" you were dealing only with castrated males?

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: I was.

The Chairman: Do you make any provision for sterilised females?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I have been asking about sterilised females. We have no objection in principle?

Sir S.Stockman: No. But with heifers you will kill a large number by the operation.

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Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: That is the answer. Then there is another point on which I think you would strongly support me. I think we should take the opportunity of making the Bill applicable not only to Canada but to the whole of the British Empire, but in the case of other Dominions we should have to have, so far as I know, much more stringent regulations. For example, I think it is quite possible that you would set up a trade in breeding-animals from South Africa. Not actually I believe in the Union of South Africa but in the hinterland, there is the danger of rinder pest and pleuro-pneumonia, and the quarantine in such case would have to be much more severe. The other day we admitted 100 Friesians from South Africa, but we imposed 4 months' quarantine which I was advised was the necessary period. The Bill would not be exclusively a Canadian Bill for removing the embargo; it would be for removing the embargo in principle, subject to suitable regulations in each case for live cattle from the whole British Empire. I do not know that I can add anything at this stage.

The Hon. P.C.Larkin: The South African cattle were breeding-animals?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Yes, they were high class pedigree Friesians.

The Chairman: The points taken by the Minister of Agriculture resolve themselves into four:- (1) the use of the word "steer" as defined; (2) the distinction between the regulations which admit steers and the different regulations which admit cattle for breeding purposes; (3) the 7 days' period of quarantine in the country of origin, and (4) the regulations about markets which it is proposed to enforce equally against Ireland and against all importation from overseas. Those are the four points. In addition you may say there is the question of the building of this Bill on an Imperial structure, not as a Bill between Britain and Canada, but as a carefully considered measure for fostering inter-Imperial trade. Those seem to me to be the five points which are before us. They ought to be looked at one by one, and they ought to be looked at together, because obviously it is the consensus which counts in the solution. I think we might have a discussion on those points one at a time, and when we become particularly technical I suggest that we should not carry the discussion on here but should remit certain general conclusions on each point to the experts, and let them hold a meeting in the afternoon so as to present us the next time we meet here with a detailed treatment of the general conclusions to which they have come. It is of no use for us here, who are not experts, to plunge into every detail. It is sufficient for us to arrive at the broad conclusions and then to allow the experts to give useful effect to them and to throw any light upon them which their professional knowledge enables them to supply. Have I carried you with us, Mr. Fielding, in that?

Mr. Fielding: I think that is quite reasonable. Every object and purpose which has been stated by Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen we sympathise with. The difference will arise as to the means employed. It will be by taking them one by one -- and I agree it is largely a matter for the experts, Is this too broad a question to ask? We have given our suggestions in an amendment of your first draft Bill. Taking these points as we have proposed them, what is the difficulty?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: In your second clause you say "Canadian cattle."

Mr. Fielding: And you prefer the word " steers"?

The Chairman: The castrated male.

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Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: There is nothing in your Bill about any kind of detention in Canada, which raises question 2.

Mr. Fielding: Take each of these in order. Even here we might have a discussion you will permit our experts to participate in. Take the question why you cannot accept the word "cattle" instead of "steers". Dr. Grisdale, why cannot we accept the word "steers"? Why do we propose for that the word "cattle"?

Dr. J.H. Grisdale: We have in the past, before the embargo was placed upon us, sent over a considerable number of females as well as steers, and there is always quite a percentage of females available to be shipped. There is over here a demand for that kind of stock.

Mr. Fielding: For breeding?

Dr. Grisdale: For the market. There are a great many females from Ireland. I know, as I have seen them here, and we do not see why we should not appear in that trade.

Mr. Larkin: Would it be a serious difficulty to the Canadian breeder to have the females blocked out?

Dr. Grisdale: It would be a disadvantage.

Mr. Fielding: We do not want to bring them in for breeding.

Dr. Grisdale: Of course, if they get over here you could not stop them breeding.

Mr. Duncan Marshall: You must leave the purchase of breeding-animals to the intelligence of the farmer. He should know what he wants. So far as "scrubs" are concerned, we cannot pay the freight on scrubs from our country, and I think it would be rather a difficult matter to try and sell scrub cattle. You people in this country are good judges of cattle. I do not think there need be any difficulty. I come from the Western Provinces. There a rancher markets one-third heifers and many of these are spayed heifers. I venture to say two-thirds of the heifers were spayed, and they will not keep many of them for breeding. I have seen as many as 800 spayed heifers on a range in the Western Provinces. Of course, every man who is running bulls ---

Mr. Larkin: I was asking what quantity of them tried and do not catch, and then they are of no service.

Mr. Marshall: Every man who runs cattle on a ranch with bulls misses a bunch of his heifers. Then it does not pay to keep feeding them and they are run off with the steers, so that nearly every man will sell in his cattle probably two-thirds steers and one-third heifers. If we have an export market for steers and none for heifers, the result will be very bad, because the cattle buyer will know there is no export for heifers and he will not get any price. If we from Canada agree to put in a condition - they can put in one if they like - but if we consent to the putting in of a condition that is going to ruin these men's cattle we will be in a bad way.

Sir S. Stockman: How do you spay your cattle, from the flank or the vagina? The flank?

Mr. Marshall: Yes.

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Sir S.Stockman: So there is a scar which we can detect. You do not do the vaginal operation?

Mr.Marshall: Veterinarians seldom do it; the cattle-man does not do it.

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: I should raise no objection to spays, provided that the operation was done in a way which we could detect on this side. That is a matter the experts should decide amongst themselves. I am on the principle. I am not asking for males qua males; I simply say they must be non-breeding animals. We could not have heifers here generally. Although sent bona fide for feeding, how can you stop the farmer using them for breeding.

Mr.Marshall: Do you want to interfere with the farmer's business, and say he cannot judge as to what heifer he should buy?

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: We are interfering in that connection. We are putting tremendous pressure on farmers to use only first-class animals.

Mr.Marshall: We will send some real good ones over.

Mr.Larkin: Why cannot a law be passed preventing animals being bred that are imported?

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: We could not carry it out. Administratively it would not be possible. We should have to have inspectors on very nearly every farm.

Dr.Grisdale: I believe if we discussed the question of quarantine and importation of steers first this matter of the different classes might be taken later.

The Chairman: There is not the least reason why the two questions should not be taken together. We need not keep them in watertight compartments.

Mr.Larkin: I think the Doctor means that the most important question is the 7 days' detention, which is literally impossible

Dr.Grisdale: The proposed 7 days' detention would absolutely preclude the possibility of importation of cattle.

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: That is the point I want to get at, of course, as I said, I do not want to impose any regulations which would stop the trade.

Mr.Marshall: They would come mostly from three Provinces, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. We sell, especially in the months of September and October, probably in the neighbourhood of 200,000 head of cattle for export in those three Provinces, - but that will comprise 80% or 90% of all the cattle that might be shipped. Ontario largely feed their own cattle, but we do not, and consequently they are the people who sell the feeder cattle. These 200,000, in order to reach the market here in anything like respectable time, would have to be moved in September and October. We do not want to start until September, because we want them to gain all the weight they can on the grass. If you move 200,000 from 5 or 6 points of shipment inside of 60 days, and try to hold them in quarantine, you just cannot do it.

Mr.Larkin: I think I might add here to what Mr.Marshall says the fact that Montreal closes up a little later, and as soon as the grass dries up they want to ship.

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Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: I have cut it down to 7 days purposely in order to make it as easy as possible.

Mr.Marshall: We considered that too. They could not be kept in detention for 3 or 4 days; unless you got tremendous yards you could not handle them at all.

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: What other means of observation would you have? I take it that the land journey from those Western Provinces would take some days.

Mr.Marshall: Yes. What was suggested by the members of our Government in this draft Bill was in effect that we have veterinary inspectors in different districts of every province, which is perhaps the reason why we have been able to keep disease out. The whole country is parcelled off into districts, and this inspector gives his whole time to the service of the Government in looking for disease, and mange was included in this, as that was the thing they were worried about, as we did have some years ago considerable mange in parts of Western Canada. In order to ship cattle to the Chicago market they had to be accompanied by a certificate from the veterinary inspector that no mange or other cattle disease existed in that district for 60 days before the shipment of these cattle. These cattle coming from Western Canada would be in a little different position to the eastern cattle, as it would probably take 7 or 8 days to travel from Calgary, Edmonton, and Moose Jaw. They are fed and watered at Moose Jaw, White River, and Winnipeg, and the town White River happens to be in a wilderness where there is no cattle; but an inspector could be placed there, and these cattle could be inspected, each train load as it comes, as it is unloaded, fed and watered.

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: They would be kept quite apart from other cattle.

Mr.Marshall: Absolutely, put in separate yards. In fact there are special feeding yards built by the railway company for the convenience of the cattle under the direction of the Railway Commission of Canada. These yards were ordered to be built and have been constructed. At the port of Montreal they could be inspected again, and we would be very glad if a veterinary surgeon from the British Board of Agriculture were sent to Montreal to make the inspection.

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: Would you have any objection to our having an inspector with a small staff in the Dominion who could, so to speak, clear these animals for shipment.

Dr.Grisdale: One or a staff?

Sir. A.Griffith Boscawen: I think one and such staff as he thought necessary.

Dr.Grisdale: At the port of export ?

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: I should think probably, but he would accept of course certificates given by your people.

Dr.Grisdale: There would be no objection to that.

Mr.Marshall: Not the slightest. We would welcome it, because we have no desire to ship disease here, and if any disease came in Canadian cattle it would ruin our business for good.

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Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I quite understand what you propose may be satisfactory -- I will not express a definite opinion now -- as regards the animals from the three Western Provinces which you say would represent 80% to 90% of the whole. Now, what about the animals from Ontario and parts of the Dominion where the journey would be quite a short one?

Mr. Marshall: It would be a matter of two or three days from Toronto by train. Of course, it would be very difficult for us to accept different conditions for one Province from that for another. Practically, it could not be done.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: The conditions are different; the journey is very much shorter; the period of observation, therefore, would be very much shorter, and the cattle-man in Ontario has this great advantage, that he has not got to pay for the long transit.

Mr. Marshall: He certainly has that, but still it is very difficult to impose different conditions on cattle from different Provinces. Then they have a journey of from 10 to 12 days, sometimes as many as 14 days, on the water.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Is it a different condition if we say what we require is seven days' observation, and it must be done in such a way as is satisfactory to our inspector? Surely, it is not a different condition. It only means that where the journey is shorter some other means would have to be taken to fill up the time of inspection.

Mr. Marshall: I see the force of your argument.

Mr. Larkin: Supposing you included both rail and steamer, and you made it 14 days for inspection, how would that suit?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: A minimum of 14.

Mr. Fielding: That would mean inspection in Canada?

Mr. Marshall: That is to include the ocean voyage.

The Chairman: It would mean a minimum of 14 days under inspection.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: What about the ocean voyage? Would you propose to have them under observation on the steamer? Could the veterinary officers travel with them.

Dr. Grisdale: That would be objectionable, of course.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: As regards their coming off, I put in my proposals some regulation that there must be some short period of detention.

Mr. Marshall: You proposed 24 hours. We have not objected to that.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: As a minimum. It might have to be longer. There might be so many to handle that you could not possibly do it.

Dr. Grisdale: You specifically suggested 24 hours from the moment of landing.

Mr. Marshall: And such other time as may be required.

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Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: May I just read the clause?:-

> "Animals landed under this section shall be landed at a landing place approved for this purpose by the Minister where they shall be detained and isolated from all other animals for a period of twenty-four hours commencing from the landing of the last animal of the cargo or such longer period as may be required for the examination of the animals....."

Mr. Marshall: That is not objectionable, because it would be required possibly when there was a great deal of work to do.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I think on reconsideration we would sooner put in no period of 24 hours, but simply such time as is necessary for the examination.

Mr. Marshall: They might be able to lead them off immediately. We will leave that to the Department here, as a great many of these things must be left to the Department and its officials.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: If you had a small consignment there is no object in keeping them the 24 hours.

Sir S. Stockman: Suppose a disease infected ship comes in -- we do not for a moment believe that Canada will ship diseased animals -- but there is the disease in incubation for five or ten days, and a man might easily ship such an animal. By the time it was half way over the water we might have foot-and-mouth disease on the ship. We are faced then with the trouble of taking them into our ports and landing gross infection, landing it in ports where there are perhaps many other animals belonging to Ireland or Canada, and that is really at the back of our heads in asking for the period of observation, in order to ensure that no such animal would be shipped. Now, I know you may reply "Turn the ship round, and do not take them in" but that is a very difficult business.

Mr. Larkin: Do you propose to put that on for Ireland now?

Sir S. Stockman: We do not at present, but can do it.

Dr. Grisdale: For what disease is the period of incubation seven days?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: If they are diseased we send them back.

Mr. Larkin: I presume your intention is to give us the same as Ireland, don't you, about the same?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: On all these points, yes, the same. They would be exposed in markets in the same way, and we want to have the same examination.

Mr. Larkin: And the same restrictions presumably.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: The only difference is the period of examination. I should like to say this about the examination question. It is true that the South of Ireland is now a dominion, but what the North of Ireland is I do not know.

The Chairman: Northern Ireland is a provincial Government of the United Kingdom.

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Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Obviously, for a purpose of this sort, you must treat Ireland as a whole, unless the North of Ireland is going to maintain a land frontier against the South of Ireland. You must remember this. It is quite true that the South of Ireland is now a dominion, but Irish herds and British herds have always been regarded as one. We have always treated the whole United Kingdom as a unit so far, and they are the same breeds practically; they are the same classes of animals, and it is perfectly true that the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction have taken very stringent measures to improve their cattle in recent years just as we have. I am not sure they have not done more than we have. It is impossible, therefore, to apply to Canada precisely the same regulations that we have with regard to Ireland. The position is really radically different.

Mr. Fielding: Because of our long frontier line?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Because of your long frontier line, and because this Irish trade has been going on for years, and we cannot suddenly upset it.

Mr.W.L.Griffith: The risk of disease from Irish cattle is much greater than from Canadian.

Sir A.Griffith Boscawen: I do not think there is much risk from either. It is quite true that we have had cases of foot-and-mouth in Ireland recently, but if you ask me I think we sent it to Ireland. I think the Irish cattle are wonderfully free of disease - I do not say more so than yours.

Dr. Grisdale: If not quite so much, why impose restrictions upon ours?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Because of your land frontier.

Dr. Grisdale: What disease has a seven days' period of incubation?

Sir S. Stockman: Foot-and-mouth disease has, and that is the one we principally fear.

Mr. Larkin: When have we had foot-and-mouth in Canada?

Dr. Grisdale: We have never had it except in quarantine cattle which came from England about 50 years ago.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: You had it very near your frontier in 1916.

Dr. Grisdale: You have had it in France, which is not very far away, and you managed to get it over, but we never have.

Mr. Marshall: You do not keep quarantine against the Scotch cattle for fear that they might get foot-and-mouth.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Yes.

Mr. Marshall: When they did not have it.

Dr. Grisdale: Sixty days after it clears up we let them come in again. You propose to shut us out before the accident.

Sir S. Stockman: No to let them come in on quarantine.

Dr. Grisdale: Seven days is just equivalent to absolute embargo.

Mr. Larkin: Not the way Sir Arthur was looking at it, that seven days to be taken into consideration on the ship and on the cars.

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Dr. Grisdale: Supposing the cattle came from a point only 10 or 25 miles from the port of Montreal; there is the whole period of quarantine imposed right there at Montreal, and many of these cattle will come from Ontario and Ontario is very keen on this trade. If we were to concede this 7 days in the case of Ontario and Quebec and include in it the shipping period, which would only mean a day or sometimes less -- at the most two days -- and at the same time concede 7 days quarantine on shipments from Calgary and Edmonton the period in transit to count, you can imagine the reception such an agreement or contract would meet with in Ontario.

Mr. Larkin: What is the shortest ocean voyage for a load of cattle?

Dr. Grisdale: About 10 days.

Mr. Larkin: What could you give plus that?

Dr. Grisdale: We would not object to 14 days including the trip from Toronto to Liverpool or Southampton.

Sir S. Stockman: Would it not be possible for your veterinary people to say the place from where Quebec cattle had come had been under inspection for 7 days?

Dr. Grisdale: We can say that for all.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I think the point was this. I do not accept 14 days - I do not reject it. I want to think it over. The point is this, that we should state a period during which the animal must be under observation.

Dr. Grisdale: Previous to shipping.

The Chairman: Previous to landing.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Previous to landing, that is the difficulty, because we cannot say what is the length of time occupied in the voyage. We can say 10 days, but it might be less. I want the period of observation after a certain period in Canada. Now, in the case of animals from the Far West you would get that by means of the train journey with such precautions as you suggest at all these stations where they are examined. We now come up against the difficulty of the animals coming from the Eastern Provinces. Now, I am not necessarily asking there that they should be put into a quarantine station if they could be isolated for a period on the farm and subject to isolation before they are sent for shipment.

Dr. Grisdale: That would be very difficult, because these shipments are gathered together at the stockyards. If you agree to accept a certificate instead of quarantine, and we agreed to furnish it, and if it were understood that only animals accompanied by certificates could go forward to Great Britain, then they would not be mixed up with other cattle.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: That is the point I had in mind. When I suggested the farm I did not mean necessarily on a farm. If you could have stockyards for animals for shipment - store cattle -- where they could be isolated for X period ---

Dr. Grisdale: That is the quarantine difficulty again.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Stockyards where these animals are separated from other animals.

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Dr. Grisdale: For 7 days?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: We will say X period.

Dr. Grisdale: More than 2 or 3 days would stop it.

Mr. Marshall: The difficulty in Ontario in having them inspected at the farm is that the man does not generally have more than 4 or 5, and the buyer has to go to several farms. It is different in our country where you might have 300 on one ranch.

Dr. Grisdale: They are shipped by the farmer to the stockyards and then the buyers who are exporting come in and buy up the ones they want. It is an easy matter to have certificates accompanying cattle to the stockyards and have such cattle sent to a certain area in the stockyard to be sold from there - such of them as are suitable for export, and the rest sent out. This would be done in the special section of the stockyard reserved for that purpose. It could be done as it is done at certain points now as, for example, Winnipeg and Moose Jaw.

Sir S. Stockman: They would be examined in the stockyard having come direct from the farm, and the inspector might examine them and find them all right to-day, yet they might have foot-and-mouth 2 or 3 days afterwards.

Dr. Grisdale: They would be accompanied by a certificate to the effect that there was no foot-and-mouth disease in the district.

Sir S. Stockman: Not before they left the farm ---

Mr. Larkin: A certificate as to the health of that district.

Dr. Grisdale: As to the health of that district and the farm.

Sir S. Stockman: They would be isolated at the stockyard?

Dr. Grisdale: For 2 or 3 days at the most until they were bought.

Sir S. Stockman: Would cattle from here, there, and everywhere be running through the stockyard?

Dr. Grisdale: Not through that part of the stockyards.

Mr. Marshall: We have been doing that for the American market for years.

Mr. Larkin: They accept this certificate.

Dr. Grisdale: There is no contact between the cattle coming into this particular part of the stockyard and the cattle coming in for local sale or slaughter. The loading slips also are quite separate.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I think possibly agreement might be arrived at somewhat on those lines, but I think that would have to be worked out by the experts. The principle I lay down is that there should be a certain period of observation I do not want to make it unnecessarily long - for all cattle in Canada. I do not see how we can differentiate as regards the period for your Western cattle. The differentiation will come in in the way it is done. In the case of the Western cattle you propose to do it in transit across the continent, but in Eastern Canada other arrangements would have to be made. On that I should like Sir Stewart Stockman to discuss it with you. I ought to state what my political difficulty is.

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The only chance of getting a Bill through quickly would be an agreed Bill. The power of the agricultural party in the House of Commons to delay a measure would be very great unless they agreed, and the House of Lords would undoubtedly act on the lines suggested by the agricultural committee in the House of Commons. Therefore, if it is desired to get a Bill through quickly we must get something which the agricultural party will accept. You will realise my difficulty with my agricultural friends, which is very considerable. I have to persuade them to an arrangement which I, as Minister of Agriculture, think reasonable. If you press me too hard I shall not carry them with me.

Mr. Larkin: It strikes me -- I am no expert -- that if you could arrange some period during which the cattle would be under observation on the train as well as on the ship, and let that suffice, it would simplify the whole matter.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: That does not meet the question of the Eastern cattle.

Mr. Larkin: It would if you made the period 14 days -- I think then it would meet them all.

Mr. Fielding: Could you translate that word "observation". What does it mean?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Kept apart from other animals and periodically examined.

Mr. Fielding: It is practically quarantine.

Dr. Grisdale: Absolutely quarantine as we understand it.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: What I suggest is -- I do not think it is possible to settle this to-day -- that we shall have to have another meeting, and I suggest that the experts of the Ministry of Agriculture should meet some of you gentlemen and try to arrive at a formula of some sort before our next meeting. I will consult some of the leaders of the agricultural industry interested in stock in this country and see whether I can get them to agree to it, the understanding all along being that I do not want (and I do not think they do, having accepted the principle) to make the trade impossible.

The Chairman: Yes, I think that is the best thing, that this question of how an effective period of observation of a suitable length can be instituted without wrecking the trade should be the first reference - the first point - on which the technical authorities should meet and confer. Do you agree to that?

Mr. Fielding: Quite so.

The Chairman: That can be taken up this afternoon and discussed and go forward, and we may have another meeting before you consult your agricultural friends.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I think it would help me if I could consult them first.

The Chairman: The other question which should be submitted to the technical conference should be the first point we have discussed, viz., to what extent the spaying of females can be made effective without hampering the trade.

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Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: I should like to say this. We have not quite decided the principle of limiting this importation to non-breeding animals, but on that I think those who support me would be adamant.

The Chairman: I thought under this branch of the subject we were dealing with store cattle and not breeding cattle.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: In the draft Bill put up by the Canadian Government they put that on one side.

The Chairman: I suggest the second question to be remitted to the experts should be as to how far it is practicable to introduce a system of spaying females.

Mr. Marshall: Nobody would undertake to spay anything but calves. These are 2-year old heifers.

The Chairman:- If you can frame a better reference than that or which will more meet the case, please do so.

Mr. Marshall: The situation could be overcome if the word "cattle" is changed back to "steers" to mean a castrated male animal or a spayed female.

The Chairman:- Point 2, how far it is practicable to substitute for the Canadian proposed word "cattle" the word "steer" to be defined as follows: a castrated male or spayed female. That is the reference. Does that meet the point? Those two very important questions are ripe for technical people. What was the next thing?

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen:- The next point was the conditions under which breeding animals should be admitted.

Mr. Fielding: As distinct from the commercial class.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: As distinct from the store. There I may say that in our Bill - in the Bill put forward by the Ministry - we did not propose to lay down those conditions at all in the Act of Parliament, but to make them the subject of regulations which had to be approved by both Houses of Parliament. That is the plan suggested in the Bill, but our intention there was to propose regulations that breeding-animals could only be admitted in the case of Canada -- in the case of other Dominions there would have to be different regulations -- which is getting the most favoured nation terms, so to speak, on account of your freedom from disease, we suggested 30 days quarantine and the imposition of the tuberculin test which I may say is actually on all fours with your practice which you carry out with our animals which we send to-day, and I think it is the same with the South Africa Government in respect of animals which we send from this country to South Africa. In that case we have precisely what we have suggested for you. We have put up a cattle-testing station at Birbright and all animals sent to South Africa have to undergo the tuberculin test before export.

Dr. Grisdale: These animals are expensive animals, anywhere from £50 to £5,000. The cattle coming from our parts would be worth anything from $25 to $75 in our country and we could not stand it. This would effectively close out any chance of shipping cattle.

The Chairman: We should be willing to admit high-class animals under regulations which would ensure that they were high class stock, but we do not want to have a large importation of $75 heifers - is that right? - or bulls for breeding purposes. Rightly or wrongly we wish to keep the characteristics of our own herds.

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Mr. Grisdale: We have the same breeds as you have.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: As to the period, I may say there is only one object, and that is a technical matter, and really again I cannot speak with authority, but Sir Stewart Stockman can. We must insist upon a tuberculin test.

Dr. Grisdale: There is no objection to that at all.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: Unless you have the period in the neighbourhood of 30 days the tuberculin test may be rendered ineffective.

Mr. Marshall: Not if you made use of the ophthalmic and subcutaneous tests.

Mr. Larkin: I was going to ask if it is a grievance of yours, the period which we keep cattle over there before they can come in?

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: No, we have not a grievance. The view of my technical advisers is that you are perfectly right to do so.

Mr. Larkin: I was going to make it easy for the Government to pass the Bill by giving you some quid pro quo.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: That you are suggesting is some reciprocity, but we do not think it is a subject in which you can have reciprocity. You have the minimum period now.

The Chairman: Point 3 clearly is the conditions which should regulate the importation of Canadian cattle for breeding purposes. They had better see what agreement they can reach on that and report the points of difference that are left over. There is one other point which I ought to mention which is point 4: the facilities which could be afforded by Canada for Imperial inspection in their territory. It was mentioned.

Dr. Grisdale: We have no objection. You can inspect all you choose or all you wish. If you want the inspector stationed at Montreal we have no objection to paying his salary.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: It would have to be paid for by us.

Dr. Grisdale: I do not think it need be discussed because it is readily agreed to.

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: There are two other points I should like discussed - one will come under the observation of the experts - and that is in this period of observation in transit, the question whether veterinary surgeons should not travel on the ships. That I think ought to come under point 1.

The Chairman: That would come under facilities for inspection.

Mr. Fielding: By Canadian officials or Imperial officers?

Sir. A. Griffith Boscawen: I do not think any objection will be raised. Of course all this will involve us in a certain amount of additional expense in the way of inspection, and you know the feelings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer about administrative staff. We propose to get over that by imposing a small fee - I think the sort of figure was 6d. an animal - on all animals landed either from Canada or Ireland.

Mr. Marshall: No objection.

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The Chairman: Just put that down as a point to be noted, the question of a small fee to cover the cost of inspection.

Mr. Marshall: Our people are accustomed to paying 10¢ for brand inspection.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: You have no objection to tagging?

Mr. Marshall: None whatever.

The Chairman: You had better mention that. I am hoping that the technical committee will present us with a far more detailed and definite structure.

Mr. Larkin: What is tagging?

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Marking them on the ear.

Mr. Larkin: Could you not pass a law stating it would be an offence to breed from an animal tagged.

Sir S. Steckman: They can take the tag out.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: You could not enforce it. It would be impracticable.

Mr. Lapointe: There is another question, to keep the animals 5 days in one market before exposing them for sale at another.

The Chairman: That you must put down to be examined.

Mr. Marshall: If all the cattle are going to be treated in the same way that is your business. While it will to some extent affect the market here, still if you are going to treat all the cattle in that way, we just cannot help it.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: We treat you exactly the same.

The Chairman: There will be no discrimination.

Mr. Larkin: It is that after having been offered in one market they cannot be offered in another for 5 days.

Mr. Marshall: That would be a local regulation here.

The Chairman: Those points remitted to the technical committee cover, I think, the whole of the ground between Great Britain and Canada, and I suggest we should confine the technical committee entirely to that. It is quite true at a later stage we must consider the other provisions which it is desirable to have for other parts of the British Empire.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I do not know that we need do that, because they will all be made by regulations. We shall for that purpose have to get into contact with the South Africans.

The Chairman: I think we ought to have in view their interests at the same time and not leave it until after the Bill is through. Therefore, I should like this policy to be presented as a whole, so that other questions connected with it by any Dominion will have been considered, and we shall have an answer in regard to it. I do not think we need complicate the present labours of the technical committee, which is half Canadian, by bringing those questions in there. I only indicate that these are the body of questions to be settled at a later stage.

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Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: It is only going to deal principally with the question of the admission of Canadian stores. The question of breeding cattle from other Dominions is another matter, and really there is no possibility of a store trade being built up from any Dominion except Canada.

The Chairman: Now, who will compose the technical committee on bohalf of Canada?

Mr. Fielding: Dr. Grisdale and Mr. Marshall.

The Chairman: Those will be your two representatives.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: I suggest Sir Stewart Stockman and Mr. Jones, our legal adviser.

Mr. Fielding: It is not a matter to be determined by vote.

The Chairman: I suggest they meet this afternoon if that is convenient. I must ask to have a representative of the Scottish Board of Agriculture there.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen: Sir Robert Greig.

The Chairman: We will place a room at your disposal, gentlemen, and at what time would you meet. Would 3 suit? Then the Conference Room at the Colonial Office at 3 p.m.

Mr. Larkin: You will not mind my suggesting that we are spoiling these gentlemen's afternoon.

The Chairman: I forgot it was Saturday. There is no reason why they should not meet on Monday. Very well, Monday morning. Mr. Franklin, you will be Secretary and draw up the report. Is that agreeable to everybody. (Agreed) It must be Monday at 10.30.

Mr. Fielding: The general meeting will be at your pleasure.

The Chairman: I should think myself about Wednesday or Thursday.

Mr. Fielding: That is a long time.

The Chairman: Tuesday, I am afraid I cannot be at your disposal. Wednesday morning or afternoon. We will have then the report before us. I hope we will have this report before us on Monday night, note the different pros and cons; then we can consider it ourselves, discuss it with our own experts, and meet on Wednesday, either in the morning or afternoon. This is what I propose to give to the public:-

"Following on the resolutions adopted by the House of Commons on the 24th. July and by the House of Lords on the 25th. July 1922, a Conference was held at the Colonial Office on Saturday, October 14th. between representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Canadian Government to discuss the admission of Canadian Cattle. The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies presided, and there were present the Rt. Hon. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P., Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, Canada, the Hon. E. Lapointe, Minister of Marine, Canada, the Hon. P. C. Larkin, High Commissioner

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for Canada in London, and representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Scottish Office, and the Scottish Board of Agriculture, and the Canadian Department of Agriculture."

I think we might add "A general discussion having taken place on principles, certain technical matters were referred to a sub-committee of experts. The next meeting of the Conference is fixed for Wednesday."

Mr. Fielding: "The experts of both countries in the meantime taking up the matter."

The Chairman: "The conclusion of these experts will be submitted at its next meeting on Wednesday next."

(The Proceedings then terminated).

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SECOND MEETING.

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE
on the
ADMISSION OF CANADIAN CATTLE INTO GREAT BRITAIN
held in the
Secretary of State's Room Colonial Office,
at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 18th. October 1922.

Present:-

The Rt, Hon. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P.
Minister of Agriculture & Fisheries (in the Chair).

The Hon. W. S. Fielding, LL.D., D.C.L.
Minister of Finance, Canada.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, LL.B., K.C.
Minister of Marine, Canada.

The Hon. P. C. Larkin,
High Commissioner for Canada in London.

There were also present:

Sir F.L.C. Floud, K.C.B.
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Sir S. Stockman, M.R.C.V.S.
Chief Veterinary Officer, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. F. A. Jones, C.B.
Legal Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. R. J. Thompson, O.B.E.
Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. P. J. G. Rose,
Assistant Under Secretary for Scotland.

Sir. R. B. Greig, M.C., LL.D.
Chairman, Scottish Board of Agriculture.

Dr. J. H. Grisdale,
Deputy Minister, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. Duncan Marshall,
Commissioner, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. W.L. Griffith,
Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London.

Mr. E. J. Harding C.M.G.
Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.

Mr. R. H. Franklin,
Ministry of Agriculture (Secretary).

and Private Secretaries to Members of the Conference.

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The Chairman (Sir A. Griffith Boscawen):- Mr. Fielding and Gentlemen, I am very sorry to have to announce that Mr. Churchill is not at all well. He had a sudden attack the other day and I hear this morning that it is appendicitis. We all hope that it may not be a serious form, but you will quite understand that it is impossible for him to be with us this morning. He sent me a message accordingly, asking me to take the Chair and to carry on with business, and so I think we had better proceed at once. I think possibly we should all wish to express our great regret.

The Hon. W.S. Fielding:- Indeed I wish you would.

The Chairman:- And hope for a speedy return to health.

Mr. Fielding:- Will you convey that on our behalf?

The Chairman:- I will do that on behalf of the Conference.

Since we met last Saturday certain questions have been referred to an expert Committee which was appointed, and they have met and have made a Report upon these questions. The Report takes the form of certain draft clauses which were provisionally put forward. Now there are several questions which were remitted to that expert Committee, and I think we had better take them in order. The first was "How an effective period of observation of a suitable length can be instituted without wrecking the trade". Well now it was always understood as the basis of our deliberations, that there must be no attempt on this side to set up regulations or restrictions which would wreck the trade. Having accepted the principle of admission of stores from Canada, we do not wish to obstruct it and make it impossible by those Regulations. At the same time there is very strong feeling in agricultural quarters that there should be a really effective period of observation, and I do not know how far the proposals which I have put forward, and which have been to some extent whittled down - how far I shall be able to carry agricultural opinion with me upon them. Therefore, I think we have got to go into this matter very carefully indeed, because unless we can get some kind of agreement, whether in this Parliament or the next, there will be very long opposition and the Bill will not go through easily, and of course the Upper House might put in, if there was not an agreement, restrictions which would be an absolute bar to the trade.

Well now, as I understand it, my original proposal was seven days in some kind of lairages or stations before the animals are embarked. That I understand from the Canadian representatives will wreck the trade altogether.

Am I quite right in assuming that?

Mr. Fielding:- That is your view Dr. Grisdale?

Dr. J.H. Grisdale:- Yes.

The Chairman:- May I ask a question. Is it the question of cost or because the numbers would be so great at certain periods of the year that it would be impracticable?

Dr. Grisdale:- The two combined, both the cost and the large numbers coming over at one time.

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The Chairman:- Would the cost be very great?

Dr. Grisdale:- It would not be very great.

The Chairman:- I want to work it out. What would it add to the cost of each animal?

Dr.Grisdale:- Seven days - five or six dollars.

The Chairman:- What do you reckon the cost of the transportation from the western provinces would be?

Dr. Grisdale:- It would be about ---

Mr. Fielding:- Say from Calgary to Montreal?

The Chairman:- Something like that.

Dr. Grisdale:- Seven to nine dollars a head.

Mr. Duncan Marshall:- It takes about forty dollars a head to ship from Alberta to Liverpool.

The Chairman:- Does that include food on board?

Mr. Marshall:- Yes.

The Chairman:- Keeping them in these lairages would add another seven or eight dollars?

Mr. Marshall:- Yes it would be about a dollar a head a day - it would not be very much less. You have to pay very high for hay and food of any kind in a stock-yard.

The Hon. P.C.Larkin:- Your transportation would be how much per head from Montreal to, say, Glasgow?

Mr. Marshall:- It was twenty-five dollars. It is fifty dollars now the other way. I inquired a few days ago and that is an extraordinary charge. It should in fact come down to about twenty dollars. We expect the Ministry of Marine and Fisheries to run a boat to break the prices.

Mr. Larkin:- It would add pretty nearly one third to the cost.

The Chairman:- I suppose these stations do not exist.

Mr. Marshall:- No. Unless you fence the whole country you could not hold them up. You would probably have 100,000 head of cattle in quarantine. The organisation to gather the food and build fences, and take care of them would be a tremendous affair.

The Chairman:- I do not want to prolong the discussion, but may I take it that in your view that proposal would wreck the trade altogether?

Mr. Marshall:- That is so.

Mr. Larkin:- That is so.

The Chairman:- If that is so, we must endeavour to deal with the matter in other ways. Now, as I understand, the proposal made last time and considered by the experts was that there should be observation for five days previous to

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their being placed on board ships. That observation would consist of their being taken out of the trains periodically and examined. Although it was perfectly practicable with the animals from the Western provinces it would be difficult to work in the case of animals from the Eastern provinces?

Mr. Marshall:- Yes.

The Chairman:- Do you see your way through that?

Dr. Grisdale:- Well we would rather have a number of days dating from the time they left Toronto or some railway shipping point, including the ocean voyage.

The Chairman:- Yes. Well if you say Toronto or something of that sort five days would be very difficult to work. Is that it?

Dr. Grisdale:- It would mean they would be hung up for a couple of days anyway.

The Chairman:- Would three days be practicable?

Dr. Grisdale:- It could be done. Supposing a number of cattle came to Toronto and were being sorted out for shipment and being put out into a certain part of the stockyards where they could be held under inspection, it would probably be a day or two before they got away from there. It would mean two days in transit and one or two in Montreal getting ready for inspection and embarkation, so it would take up the three days.

The Chairman:- There is one thing which we did not discuss the other day which is very important. That is that before embarkation there should be a thorough examination. You see we propose on this side on disembarkation to have a thorough examination. We have made provision for that, but what I think would go a long way to reassure the people over here would be if there was a similar provision with regard to a veterinary examination before shipment.

Mr. Marshall:- We are not only willing to agree to that, but if it were not one of your regulations we would do it for our own protection.

Dr. Grisdale:- We would certainly do it.

The Chairman:- You would not mind that being placed in the Bill?

Mr. Marshall:- No, we not only would agree to that, but we would do it in any event for our own protection. It is important.

Dr. Grisdale:- Each animal is carefully examined before it comes on board.

The Chairman:- That will be very helpful, but I think we shall have to make that clear in the Bill.

Mr. Marshall:- That will be perfectly satisfactory.

The Chairman:- Then another point - I am not raising this as an obstruction, but I want to arrive at something which

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will get agreement here - I think our people will attach a great deal of importance to having veterinary surgeons travelling on the ships. I will tell you why. I do not think our people here believe very much in this examination during transit across the continent. I do not myself think it is of very great value. If there is any disease in the neighbourhood these animals may be picking it up.

Dr.Grisdale: In transit?

The Chairman: Yes.

Dr.Grisdale: Absolutely impossible.

The Chairman: Well I am stating the fear of ----

Mr.Larkin: Dr.Grisdale, why impossible?

Dr.Grisdale: Because they would never be in contact with or near any other animals. They are in railway yards in a particular area set apart for them where no other cattle of any kind would be allowed.

Sir S.Stockman: I assume that they will be placed in railway docks. Take it that one lot comes in, followed by another. Suppose the first had a diseased animal - we have actually experienced this - and the second lot comes along and picks up infection. It is really not impossible.

The Chairman: There is another point. We found in our recent outbreak here that in many cases infection was carried in the trucks.

Mr.Marshall: We have a regulation in Canada which provides for the disinfection of every cattle car as we call them, after a car load of cattle is unloaded. It must be cleaned and disinfected with lime before anything is allowed to be loaded into it again, and this is done.

The Chairman: We have that but I am sure that some of the trucks escape notice and infection is carried.

Sir S.Stockman: That is so. But if the thing is not well done or only moderately well done it is a risk without a doubt. Although you do it well even it is a risk to the public here and they have all these risks in mind.

Dr.Grisdale: The point you raised was about cattle going through with an infected animal, and then another bunch coming along, with an animal which was infected with foot-and-mouth or any other disease.

Sir S.Stockman: Well the trouble with us was foot-and-mouth.

Dr.Grisdale: If it was at one of these yards where unloading occurs and it was not noticed at the first point because it was just in the preliminary stages of disease it would be noticed two days further on. It would mean that we might get it, but you would not be troubled.

Sir S.Stockman: It does not necessarily work out that way.

Dr.Grisdale: We would stop every animal from leaving Canada in those circumstances.

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Sir S.Stockman: I see what you mean, that is if it occurred in the far west, but supposing it occurred at the last stage?

Mr.Larkin: In Montreal.

Sir S.Stockman:- You have to think out all these things and these are the arguments we have to meet. It might be just one or two days before embarkation and they might be shipped.

Dr.Grisdale: The contingency of one animal having disease and going through seems to us to be absolutely remote, if not improbable.

Sir S.Stockman: It happened here.

Dr.Grisdale: It is the one animal that happened to be shipped.

Sir S.Stockman: No two or more animals might be shipped.

Dr.Grisdale: Supposing an animal got on to a ship and the disease was discovered in Canada just as it was leaving the mouth of the St.Lawrence, what is to prevent that ship being held up?

Sir S.Stockman: I agree as to the ship —— but I do not think the ship could be held up and we would be faced with dealing with the diseased cargo here.

Dr.Grisdale: That is all you are interested in.

Mr.Marshall: That is what the Chairman is coming to, I think.

The Chairman: I do not think our people would attach much importance to the examination prior to shipment, except the examination before they go on board. That is very important. I do not think they regard it as very important that they should be observed on the voyage, and that brings me to the question which we discussed slightly the other day, as to whether it is not possible that travelling inspectors could accompany the ships.

Dr.Grisdale: It is quite possible.

Chairman: I believe myself that would help to solve the questions better than anything else.

Dr.Grisdale: We could agree to that.

Chairman: You could.

Mr.Larkin: That means sending a veterinarian with every ship of cattle.

Chairman: It means this, examination before they go on board, a Veterinary Officer accompanying the animal on the voyage and the examination on this side.

Mr.Marshall: Because in that way you get careful and daily observation on the ship. If there is anything the matter with the cattle it will certainly be discovered before it goes over.

Dr.Grisdale: I think we have enough staff now for that purpose.

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Mr. Fielding: There would be no difficulty in getting men.

Dr. Grisdale: No, we have 300 men on our staff now and we could easily divert a few.

Mr. Fielding: These would be our own officials on the ships.

Dr. Grisdale: Yes.

Mr. Marshall: We agreed the other day that they should send a man to Montreal if they wished.

Mr. Fielding: Yes, there was some talk about that, and having an inspector of your own at Montreal.

Chairman: Yes. My idea there - I did not for a moment suggest, nor have I any idea of a large staff - but my idea was that I thought we should like to have certainly one chief inspector of ours with an administrative staff. That is to satisfy himself - I have no doubt it would be unnecessary - that everything was being done.

Mr. Fielding: The fact that he was your own officer would have great weight here.

Chairman: We may get an outbreak of foot-and-mouth and there would be an outcry that these Canadians had brought it. If our inspector can certify that so far as he knows there is no foot-and-mouth in Canada and this is a false alarm, that is a great help to you.

Dr. Grisdale: Foot-and-mouth cannot very well be kept quiet. You cannot keep it quiet here, and they could not in the States.

Chairman: Great difficulties arise. We had suspected foot-and-mouth in Ireland and they steadily denied it, but acting on the advice of Sir Stewart Stockman we stopped all importation from Ireland. I was denounced. It is rather curious that we found it, and it was in the spot where we told them we thought it was.

Mr. Larkin: Did it go from here over to Ireland.

Sir S. Stockman: I think so.

Mr. Larkin: That is settled. You will have an inspector at Montreal with a sufficient staff.

Chairman: If we could agree on those two points, viz., having our own inspector there just to supervise and reassure us, and if we could also have the inspector on the ship - a Veterinary Officer on the ship - then I think we should be able to meet you in the question of the five days.

Mr. Marshall: Well, those two are agreed to.

Chairman: I mean I think we have here in the draft clauses of the experts this:-

> "That the animals have for a period of five days immediately before shipment been kept separate from other animals and been examined periodically by a Veterinary Officer of the Dominion of Canada".

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I shall be quite willing to reduce 5 days to 3.

Mr. Marshall: That will be perfectly satisfactory.

Chairman: Of course, we should have to add words there as I say including the thorough examination immediately before shipment.

Dr. Grisdale: At the port. The three days' quarantine would include the period in transit.

Chairman: Yes, certainly.

Dr. Grisdale: That will be quite satisfactory.

Mr. Marshall: That means three days before loading on the ship. We use the word "shipment" in respect of railways. In our country they are shipped on the railway.

Chairman: It will be an English Act. We do not wish to deceive you in that. If we say embarkation on the ship or, put on board, that will make it clear.

Mr. Larkin: It is three days before going on board ship.

Chairman: Yes. There will have to be an alteration in the next clause to the effect that the animals during the voyage had been kept separate from other animals and had been examined by a Veterinary Officer of the Dominion of Canada. That is all done during the voyage. Well, I think we can come to agreement on that if you gentlemen are agreeable.

Mr. Larkin: It is perfectly satisfactory.

Chairman: Then we come to the next point as to how far it is practicable to substitute for the Canadian proposed word "cattle" the word "steers" defined as castrated males and spayed females. That, I understand, the Committee of experts were willing to agree to, and to that our people do attach a lot of importance, It has nothing to do with the disease question, but it is a question of breeding.

Mr. Fielding: It would shut out the heifers unless they were spayed.

Chairman: Unless spayed.

Dr. Grisdale: That question of breeding-stock is included under another heading.

Chairman: Yes, it comes under what conditions should regulate the importation of Canadian cattle for breeding purposes. You see the form in which we cast the Bill is this. We shall deal first of all with the admission of Canadian stores, and this is the definition of Canadian stores. With regard to the conditions under which breeding animals could be admitted we propose/that should be done by regulations, and I cannot at this moment say what precisely the regulations will be. In this matter Canada, of course, taken its chance with the rest of the British Empire, but the regulations would have to differ in the case of different Dominions. As I said the other day, in the case of Canada there is no suggestion of anything in the nature of pleuro-pneumonia or rinderpest, and therefore we should give Canada the highest possible terms, only a sufficient time to enable the tuberculin test to be carried out

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properly. With regard to the other parts of the Empire, for example, South Africa, where certainly in their hinterland these more serious diseases exist, we should have to have a longer period. All that will be done in the regulations. I can only say on behalf of the Ministry which I represent, that our present intention is to adopt, as regards Canada, the period which has been mentioned. That is what we should put into the regulations although they would be subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament, and I do not think either House would object to this. It is that we should give Canada the most favourable terms, which would be a period of 30 days and a tuberculin test. This is a technical question, and my technical experts advise me that 30 days is necessary. You could not have loss if the tuberculin test is to be properly applied - is to be effective. On that I personally express no opinion except that I must have a sufficiently long time for the tuberculin test to be rendered effectual.

Dr.Grisdale: We have no objection at all to the tuberculin test, but we do object to the 30 days. That would effectively preclude any possibilities of shipments of females to this country because these females are not animals of very great value, but they would be good animals as otherwise they could not stand the cost of transportation, which amounts to close on 50 dollars. You see the margin which exists between the price that we get in Canada and the price that we have to get here. That we think would guarantee their being fair animals. To pass that 30 days if it was done in the stockyards would mean an addition of 20 to 30 dollars to the cost of the animals in getting it over here. That is 40 dollars plus 20 dollars, so the very minimum would be 60 dollars; that would absolutely cut out any possibility of shipping females of that class over here at all. What we think would be a fair way of handling that trade would be to have the test conducted or carried out by our inspectors on the farms of the men who are shipping, or if a shipper were gathering shipments together at some point that he would fit up for carrying out this test, the test could be done under the triple test - the tests imposed being say, the subcutaneous and ophthalmic or the subcutaneous and intradermal. The chances of a diseased animal escaping when so tested are very small indeed. I would not say it could never happen, but there is no test, even with 100 days quarantine, that can be said to be absolutely certain.

The Chairman: I should like to hear Sir Stewart Stockman's views on this.

Sir S.Stockman: Well, I must advise that it cuts at the basis of our whole method of dealing with the introduction of breeding-stock into this country, and if we give way on that to Canada we give way on it for the whole world. I do think it is of so much value to this country that I could not advise the Minister to relax it on the professional question alone.

Dr.Grisdale: You say you are making special concessions in connection with stores as compared with other parts of the Empire. Why not with breeding-stock?

Sir S.Stockman: The breeding-stock is more important because it stays longer in the country. These stores will all be dead in a certain time.

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Dr.Grisdale: You refer to tuberculosis?

The Chairman: You see for the first time we have passed an Act of Parliament definitely dealing with tuberculosis in cattle in this country and it is really a ludicrous thing to do to take steps to stamp it out here when you are running the risk of importing it- I do not say from Canada particularly -- but from anywhere else.

Dr.Grisdale: Something like this might be done. Suppose it were agreed that they be tested previous to being shipped and undergo the same examination and the same supervision as the stores, and later be subject to a test in this country at any time after the date of shipment that you choose, the cost to be borne by the shipper.

Sir S.Stockman: We then come up against exactly the same thing. You do the test in Canada and you are subject to, or you are exposed to, probable infection and doping. Then you propose we do it here under exactly the same conditions, no precautions against doping being taken.

Dr.Grisdale: Say 60 days afterwards.

Sir S.Stockman: We are subject to the same conditions as you are. I do not think it is a very practicable or very satisfactory solution. Whether we do it here or you do it there. Moreover the same expense arises. Probably you could do it more cheaply.

Sir R.Greig: You are taking the risk.

Dr.Grisdale: That is what we have to do when we ship cattle to the United States. It is done 60 days afterwards. Of course, they detect some good cases there. I do not know what conditions they impose.

Mr.Marshall: For all that is being done even in Canada and Britain I think this is a pretty far-fetched demand. You know as well as I do how the thing is regarded, and I think that for shipping grade heifers a test for tuberculosis done in the ordinary way should be sufficient. When I come here, when I buy cattle, nobody will give me a retest. The chief buyer at Mr.Dutton's sale was a Canadian; the chief buyer at the sale at Collynie was a Canadian. The man bought more calves from these two sales than has been bought before by any one person. He could not get a retest.

Sir S.Stockham: I am sure he would get a retest if he refused to buy under any other conditions. The South African people have got it.

Mr.Marshall: They would not make it for him.

The Chairman: I do not know that we can carry this technical discussion very far. All the conditions under which breeding-animals come in have to be the subject of regulations. It is impossible for us to say at this moment what they would be. We have to draft them and they have to be submitted to both Houses of Parliament. In any case I have indicated that Canada will have preferential treatment over any other part of the Empire on account of your clean bill of health. I suggest we cannot settle it here now. I suggest we should say this -- we will give this undertaking in writing -- that supposing the Bill goes through, before the regulations are drafted, before we lay them on the Table of the two Houses, we will consult the Dominion Government as to the conditions under which Canadian breeding-animals can come in. We will not place regulations on the Table until we have consulted with you.

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Dr.Grisdale: You mean agree this clause "The Minister may by Order authorise the landing" and so on, as it is here.

The Chairman: Certainly, and we will give you an undertaking which will be honoured and observed that we will consult you as to the regulations.

Mr. Fielding: Consultation would be very much appreciated, but if it does not lead to agreement on this ---

The Chairman: I cannot say more.

Mr. Fielding: You see our difficulty. If the regulations shut out this class of animal from the beginning it places us at a very great disadvantage.

The Chairman: Well, if I were to put it into the Bill and definitely say the conditions under which Canadian breeding-animals could come in, I could only say, as at present advised, that there should be a tuberculin test and 30 days. I could not say any more, but it is quite possible when we get together later that some other arrangement might be made as to how this should be carried out which would be more favourable to you. I cannot say at this moment.

Mr. Larkin: Our trouble, I think, lies in the fact that all these breeding-animals will come from the Province of Ontario.

Dr. Grisdale: Not all of them.

Mr. Larkin: You are not very particular about the North West.

Dr. Grisdale: There will be a lot of females from the North West.

Mr. Larkin: But they would be spayed.

Mr. Marshall: No, not all of them. The Bill as it is now will shut out a lot of calves and heifers for feeding purposes. The breeding heifers would almost all come from Ontario. There is no demand for Shorthorn heifers for breeders. We have no good milking Shorthorn heifers, but we have superior grade Holstein heifers, and there is a demand for those here. I know a man who wants several hundreds of them now. They want to import them. They would all come from Ontario, and they would be practically Ontario's only export of cattle.

Mr. Larkin: That is what I wanted to tell Sir Arthur. We have no stores.

Mr. Marshall: Practically none.

Sir S.Stockman: Is there any outlet for turning these into stores.

Mr. Marshall: Nobody wants Holstein beef.

The Chairman: You mean they are a dairy strain.

Dr. Grisdale: We cannot sell any Holstein beef in Canada.

Sir.R.Greig: What would they obtain for grade heifers?

Dr. Grisdale: Anything from $50 to $90 or $100 for one and a half or two year old.

The Chairman: We should say we do not want that class of animal. That is what our agriculturists would say.

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Mr. Marshall: These cattle give more milk than the cattle you give £1200 for. I do not think there will be much shipment or demand for heifers except that. There will be no importation of Shorthorns. There might be a few grade Ayrshires. We have real Holsteins in Canada, and very high-class grade herds crossed with the very best of bulls.

The Chairman: With that class of animal I cannot see that the 30 days quarantine is going to be an important matter, as they would fetch a lot of money.

Dr. Grisdale: If it costs $30 a head it comes straight out of the farmer's pocket.

Mr. Marshall: It takes $30 out of the pocket of the man who produces anyhow.

The Chairman: I think that is probably true. I think that when we send pedigree animals to you the exporter has to pay. It reduces his profit by so much. I do not see that we can give way on this point.

Dr. Grisdale: I suggested on Monday the possibility of having a quarantine station out in the country on a farm where these cattle could be kept under observation and supervision and the testing guaranteed. That would very materially alter the cost.

The Chairman: We have the same with the animals we send to South Africa. We have had a station erected at very considerable cost at Pirbright.

Mr. Marshall: That is an elaborate affair where the animals are kept in separate stalls. Supposing a man had 50 heifers kept in a field away from other cattle and we tested, and three of them reacted, would you accept the rest?

Sir S.Stockman: No, that is a difficulty.

Mr. Marshall: There you are. We are up against that again.

Sir R.Greig: You have a fine system in Canada for tuberculosis, and would this regulation not extend that system?

Dr. Grisdale: That applies to pedigree stock only. If a man has 20 pure-bred animals and 10 grades we will certify his whole herd. I suppose you would accept animals from certified herds.

Sir S.Stockman: I suppose so. Our testing station is very expensive, and I daresay it puts £10 on each animal. At your station you would test them after giving them the 30 days. You will get some failures, but we could accept those few.

Dr. Grisdale: There is no test absolutely sure.

Mr. Marshall: I think after all that has been done about tuberculosis that this is going a great distance on heifers.

The Chairman: You see the whole of our discussion and the whole of the agitation in this country has always proceeded on the question of stores. As I understand, what is called the "pledge" dealt with stores, and in the House of Commons the whole debate went upon stores. Certain farmers in this country, especially the part of the country Sir Robert Greig represents,- want Canadian stores. Not a word was ever said about breeding-animals, and I never heard of any such demand at all. The House of Lords

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deliberately limited it to stores in terms - they said steers. Of course, steers obviously cannot be breeding-animals, and therefore so far as we included breeding-animals, which I have been very glad to do, it is a concession. Now, it cannot be done unless we are assured that there are adequate safeguards against tuberculosis. That I think is the essential condition.

Mr. Larkin: You alluded to the pledge given in 1917. That applied to Canadian Cattle. It did not discriminate between breeding and anything else.

The Chairman: It was always interpreted to mean stores, and all the discussions which proceeded in this country always ranged around the question of stores. It is quite true that the wording of the pledge might possibly have covered other animals, but it was never so understood. It must be subject to regulation. We must be satisfied -- we are not putting this up for any other reason -- that the tuberculin test is adequately applied and applied in such a way that we can be sure there is no fear of the introduction of tuberculosis. I cannot say at this stage what precisely will be necessary. My technical experts say 30 days with a test. Well, that is the advice I have got to take, but, as I said, we will consult you on the question, and if you would like it I will go a little bit further than what I said just now. I am quite prepared that the experts should meet again and not wait until we make the regulation, to see if they cannot come to some other method which will be more favourable from your point of view - that they should meet again before you leave this country. It is quite possible we might come to an agreement before you leave this country as to the method by which we should apply these tests which would be more favourable to you, but I cannot say more at the present time. It is impossible. I must leave it to regulations.

Dr. Grisdale: That clause must remain as it is?

The Chairman: I think so -- yes, I am sure it must. Sir Stewart Stockman and Sir Robert Greig and the others can meet you gentlemen and have a further talk about it if we can agree upon the formula.

Mr. Fielding: If there is to be an agreed Bill, and we agree the terms shut out from the beginning - to shut out heifers chiefly from Ontario - we shall be placed in a very embarrassing position. If we had an agreed Bill which did not shut them out, and later on, in the House of Lords for example, an amendment was introduced, that might be tolerated. If we agreed here I am afraid we should get into trouble when we arrived home.

The Chairman: Would it be possible to put in the Bill a clause dealing with the admission of Canadian breeding-animals, leaving them to regulations?

Mr. F.A. Jones: It would be possible to do it, but it seems to me that the regulations, amongst other things, must be governed by the development of veterinary knowledge. A perfectly new test might be discovered.

The Chairman: Might not we state the conditions under which we would at once admit Canadian animals, and allow variation by regulation later on.

Mr. Jones: It is feasible.

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Dr. Grisdale: Does this clause apply to Irish cattle at the present time?

Mr. Jones: There is a clause for Ireland but I have left it out in this thing, as these clauses were solely drawn for Canadian cattle.

Dr. Grisdale: If you are able to exempt Ireland why not Canada?

The Chairman: We have always treated Irish animals and our animals as one and the same, and they have been subject to the same regulations. We are putting words in the Irish clause to enable the Minister to stop importation of Irish if we are of opinion that these regulations have not been carried out properly in Ireland.

Sir S. Stockman: We might in the future apply it to Ireland.

The Chairman: It is very probable that we shall.

Mr. Marshall: As far as the question of tuberculosis is concerned in this country, if you are admitting Irish cattle without any test, surely you ought to get ours admitted with a test.

Mr. Larkin: There is another thing, Sir Arthur. If it would make it easier for you to get your Bill through, we would be willing, I think to shorten up our quarantine on pure-bred animals. Would we?

Mr. Fielding: If that would be helpful.

Mr. Larkin: It looks well.

Mr. Fielding: I do not think it is very important from your view point.

The Chairman: I am advised that 30 days is necessary. If that is so, I can only tell our breeders here that what Canada is doing is perfectly right and proper in having the 30 days.

Dr. Grisdale: We have really more than 30 days. We have the ocean voyage plus the 30 days.

The Chairman: You would have the same. There is the ocean voyage now.

Mr. Larkin: If we cut off 2 weeks of it, it would like look an arrangement. It could be an arrangement between us. It would be no good?

The Chairman: That is the whole thing.

Mr. Larkin: I am looking at it purely from a political point of view.

The Chairman: There are other points of view. There is the serious point of view of whether this test is to be effective or not. Now, if it is true that any rogue of a farmer either in this country or in Canada can dope the animals and thereby render the test ineffective, unless there is sufficient time ---

Mr. Larkin: We would have sufficient time. There would be the 2 weeks voyage and 2 weeks after their arrival, and we could shorten the detention on our side from 30 to 15 or 14 days. Is not that the suggestion?

The Chairman: Sir Stewart Stockman suggests that we might give you the benefit of the voyage by adopting the plan of doing the test this side and the quarantine this side. This would give you the benefit of the voyage. It would reduce it to about 20 days.

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Mr. Larkin: We would do the same.

The Chairman: We send our animals now and you put them into quarantine your side. We would do the same. We would assume they could not be doped on the voyage.

Mr. Marshall: If we wiped ours out entirely - which we should have done long ago - would you wipe yours out?

The Chairman: That depends upon the effectiveness of the test.

Mr. Marshall: It is a stupid thing. It never did any good and never will do any good.

Mr. Fielding: If it is no good to us, it is not a generous offer to waive it.

Dr. Grisdale: If we remove it for Shorthorns you will get us into trouble with the United States. You have to keep that in mind.

Sir R. Greig: 18 days could easily be done if they were of any value at all.

Mr. Marshall: Where would it have to be done - here?

Dr. Grisdale: What would it cost?

Sir S. Stockman: Probably it might cost less here, as your labour is very much higher.

Sir R. Greig: I would rather that you did the tuberculin test yourselves.

Mr. Marshall: Nobody would be silly enough to ship cattle across for a test without doing that.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, I think we must adhere to the clause as it stands and leave the regulations to be subject to the views of both Houses. At the same time, of course, we will consult you fully before the regulations are drafted and laid, as we call it, but on this agricultural opinion is much more firm - much more determined, than it is on the question of stores. It is not merely a question of whether we want a new source of supply or whether we do not. That is the case with stores: it is a question really of protecting breeding-cattle to which enormous importance is attached, and unless I keep control of both Houses I might not carry it.

Mr. Fielding: What do you think of the suggestion that we should waive that now and leave it, if it has to be brought in, for the House of Lords? It might be difficult to agree to what you suggest, but it might be another thing to submit to something put in later, if it is put in.

The Chairman: Unless there is really effective control such as is contained in the Bill now on the question of breeding-cattle, I do not think we can come to agreement on this side.

Mr. Fielding: That there must be regulations and that they cannot be dealt with in the Bill I agree, but if the regulations from the beginning will exclude these animals, that becomes a very serious obstacle from our point of view.

Sir F. Floud: Is it quite certain that would exclude these animals?

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Is not Dr. Grisdale right that from a marketing point of view they would fetch a good price, which would make it worth while for the exporters.

Dr. Grisdale: I am right about the milking qualities of these animals, but if you add an item of $25 to $30 to the cost of transportation and other shipping expenses you can see that it reduces his margin.

Mr. Larkin: Sir Arthur cuts that down by half by accepting the ocean voyage.

The Chairman: I do not know. That was a suggestion put forward, but I cannot here and now say I accept it.

Sir F. Floud: The producer's price depends upon what the animal fetches over here. If the animals are of the quality you mention, the price they realise over here will be sufficient.

Dr. Grisdale: Do you know what general purpose and grade heifers - say 2 years old - coming here are worth here to-day?

Mr. Griffith: About £40 now.

Dr. Grisdale: They might be in calf.

Mr. Marshall: To get a good price for an animal here you must have her in calf. You cannot ship springers or heifers just ready to calf.

Mr. Griffith: Mr. Marshall, on the question of prices, there were a lot of very good Irish heifers sold last week for £13.10.0, but anything that is going to calf is a very different thing. That would fetch £40.

Mr. Marshall: Would they be going to feed lots largely?

Mr. Griffith: They were very good ones at £13.10.0.

The Chairman: Would you like to consult among yourselves? I realise that it might not be fair to ask you to give an answer right away, but I do want to make it quite clear that I could not recommend the agricultural community this side to accept anything less than you have in the Bill now.

Mr. Fielding: There is a difference between an agreed Bill for which we are responsible, and a Bill which might ultimately be passed with amendments for which we are not responsible. If we agree, whatever that Bill is, we are going to be responsible for it, you to your Parliament and we to ours. If we agree to something now which is going to be embarrassing to a branch of our trade it puts us in an awkward position.

The Chairman: I only ask you to agree to a Bill as we propose it. If you do I can go to all agricultural meetings -- I can go to the National Farmers' Union, I can go to the great Breed Societies, and the Live Stock Committee -- and say "Now, then, we have talked this matter through and we have agreed on certain terms, and I recommend you to accept them". I do not doubt that I shall be able to get them to accept. That does not bind you or me to any alteration that is made in the Bill. If either House of Parliament chooses to alter in a material sense the Bill — I do not say alter the wording or perhaps the method to some extent, but anything material on which we have come to agreement — then it is the duty of the Government to proceed with the Bills on those lines. I think it will be the

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Government's duty to insist that whatever is agreed -- all the important points - is carried out, and we should give that undertaking.

Mr. Fielding: Well, so far as it goes, that would be all right, but if these regulations were to go beyond — if in all probability they will be against one branch of our cattle trade -- we are only postponing the evil day.

Sir F. Floud: If the Bill is not agreed, the position would be that the Minister would not be able to carry agricultural in favour of it, and the Bill would be bitterly opposed.

The Chairman: And might be obstructed. This is the sort of thing I anticipate would happen. You would have the agricultural party in the House of Commons - which is a very strong party, they put 180 in the lobby the other day -- and a whole number of people were saying that Mr. Prothero had given that pledge and it was the duty of the Government to carry it out. I know lots of people who voted on that alone.

Mr. Fielding: I can understand them.

The Chairman: They have a considerable power of obstruction. They would fight, clause by clause, for amendments much more drastic than anything here. They would very likely be defeated, although they would prolong the discussion greatly. When the Bill got to the House of Lords they would undoubtedly put in some of these extremist amendments which the House of Commons had asked for. There might be disagreement between the two Houses and the Bill might be lost, lost for next year or the year after. That is the position.

Sir F. Floud: If we cannot come to agreement with regard to breeding-cattle, it does jeopardise the position come to as regards the other animals.

The Chairman: Although I have been an opponent of admitting Canadian cattle, I could say "Here are certain heads of agreement we will carry out, and we advise you to accept them". I could not get them to do it unless we come to an agreement on breeding. It would be quite impossible. I think perhaps, Mr. High Commissioner, it would be just as well if you had a talk together.

(At 12.18 p.m. the Conference was adjourned to enable the representatives of the Dominion of Canada to have a private discussion. They returned to the room and the Conference was resumed at 12.49 p.m.)

Mr. Fielding: We want to make suggestions. We appreciate all the difficulties you have in this matter, and we are not less anxious than you are to find a solution. You are asking us to come to agreement on the details of this Bill. There is one factor in this Bill -- the others can be overcome -- which we have great difficulty in agreeing upon. If you want to do this thing yourself later on on your own responsibility that is another matter, but to ask us to agree to the shutting out of these heifers is a very embarrassing situation to us. We quite realise that you must make your own regulations. What do you say to striking out the attempt to define Canadian store cattle and later on you make your regulations as you think best, and we are not then responsible for them? We may have to protest. You are entitled to make them, and you have a clear right to do it. The difference is in doing it on your own responsibility, and asking us to agree today.

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If you do this in the exercise of your undoubted right of making regulations later on, we cannot complain. It is in the power of the British Government. It is their right to make their own regulations. If we don't like them we may exercise the glorious privilege of grumbling. But it leaves it unsettled. It does not wipe it off the slate as you and I would like to do.

The Chairman: I think there is a great deal in what you say. Mr. Fielding. I do not think we are asking you to agree to any definite regulations at all.

Mr. Fielding: You are asking us to agree to a clause which specifically excludes heifers, because you are giving a definition of store cattle which excludes them from the beginning.

Mr. Marshall: You have not made it quite clear. You must strike out the definition.

Mr. Fielding: Yes, leaving you to define it later on.

Mr. Marshall: Just make the Bill to admit store cattle.

Mr. Fielding: It means you are going to make a definition of it here which we do not like. We suggest you get the power to make it later on if you like. By doing it here to-day we are responsible for it; by doing it we have to defend it. It is the right of the British Government to make it. If they make those regulations we may protest against them. My suggestion is not to settle that point in the Bill but settle it later on and leave us to fight you later on the subject if we have to.

The Chairman: Yes. That, of course, raises the point of the definition of store, the question whether the definition of stores is to be in the Bill or is to be the subject of regulations. Well, I think the definition of stores, so far as we are concerned, would have to be in the Bill, but I did not quite gather when you left the room that was the point which was troubling you. The point was the regulations under which breeding-animals - these heifers you spoke about - should come in. Now, what we are asking to-day is not that you should agree to any regulations in advance, but merely agree that we shall make regulations of that point, and I may say I am quite prepared -- I have been thinking this over -- to give this undertaking and to make it public when the rest of this is published, to this effect:

> "That the regulations affecting the introduction of breeding-animals should not as regards tuberculosis impose restrictions or requirements in excess of such as are reasonably necessary to ensure that the animals are not tuberculous."

That does not bind you to 28 or 30 days. It does not say whether it is to be done this side or your side. It merely says we want an effective tuberculin test and nothing else.

Mr. Fielding: You propose to put it in the Bill.

The Chairman: No I would not put it in the Bill.

Mr. Jones: It might or it might not go in.

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Mr. Fielding: I think in a matter of this sort you do not want to rely upon the assurance of anybody, not that we doubt the assurance. It is not the proper way to do business.

Mr. Jones: If they accepted the Bill on the basis of that undertaking they might add to their condition that it might be embodied in the Bill.

The Chairman: I should not object to having it put in the Bill, although we should have to think over the words. That is the point, that the regulations should be such as to ensure that the restrictions or requirements should not be in excess of such as were reasonably necessary to ensure that the animals are not tuberculous.

Mr. Fielding: The spirit of that is all right, but how it would work I do not know. I wonder if I have made my point clear. The province of Ontario is the one from which these heifers would chiefly come, and if we agree to a Bill which at the beginning contemplates the exclusion of these animals, we should have to engage in a fight with the great Province of Ontario. They would say"you have looked after the prairie Provinces of the West, and have ignored our interests".

The Chairman: I quite appreciate the difficulties from a political point of view.

Mr.Fielding: It is not political in a party sense. We want Ontario to feel that we have been as mindful of their interests as of the prairie Provinces.

The Chairman: You could say that you have secured this, that heifers can come as stores if spayed, and without being spayed provided always that there will be regulations of such a nature as would be reasonably necessary to ensure that the animals were not tuberculous.

Mr.Fielding: That is worth considering again.

The Chairman: As you say, Mr.Jones, we might introduce the words into the Bill.

Mr.Fielding: I think it ought to be in the Bill. I do not think private assurances should be relied upon. That is not the way to do business.

Mr.Larkin: What about these two clauses. What do you think, Dr.Grisdale?

Mr.Fielding: The suggestion was that in the sub-section the expression "Canadian store cattle" should be struck out, and also the clause following. Dr.Grisdale and Mr.Marshall, does this additional clause help us any?

Dr.Grisdale: It simplifies matters a bit, but I do not think it helps very materially in Ontario.

The Chairman: That only means that supposing, for example, you had - which I hope you never will -- something in the nature of pleuro-pneumonia our regulations would have to deal with that too. That would not arise now. Tuberculosis is the only thing that is likely to cause any long delay at the present moment. We could not divest ourselves of the right to make other regulations in the event of there being a danger of other diseases.

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Sir S.Stockman: It may be that in the future these difficulties as regards tuberculosis might be overcome by a period under 28 days, but at the present moment I can see no way out of the difficulty.

Mr.Larkin: The 28 days would be exclusive of the voyage.

Sir S.Stockman: In future years the result might be different.

The Chairman: You mean in the event of a tuberculin test which would reduce the thing to a much shorter period.

Mr.Larkin: To 24 hours.

Mr.Fielding: I think this amendment is of some value. Do you think we ought to have a further consultation? It is a declaration that they must be made with a definite purpose.

Dr.Grisdale: I do not think we ought to agree to this proposal without further consideration.

Mr.Fielding: Could we arrange a meeting this afternoon, gentlemen, or have you other plans?

The Chairman: Yes, so far as I am concerned I could meet you this afternoon.

Mr.Fielding: Shall we say 3.30?

The Chairman: Will you make it 4?

Mr.Marshall: Shall we get any further ahead?

Mr.Fielding: We have the benefit of this clause, but I do not think it meets our views.

Mr.Marshall: There are some people here in Britain who are very much interested, quite as much as we are on our side. I would like to get in touch with them.

Mr.Fielding: Could you make it to-morrow?

The Chairman: Not in the morning to-morrow.

Mr.Fielding: I think we should have a further opportunity of considering the matter and meet you at your convenience again. I think all the other matters have been thrashed out by the experts.

The Chairman: Well, of course, we must treat the thing as a whole. I mean that unless we can arrive at something satisfactory on the breeding-animals I do not know how far I can commit myself to the rest - the question of stores. The two things really do hang together. On the question of stores you realise I have made very considerable concessions, and there have been a lot of minor concessions.

Mr.Marshall: The final agreement on that is very satisfactory and it has been reached in a very reasonable way.

The Chairman: I cannot bind myself to the concessions on the question of stores unless I am satisfied on the question of breeding-animals.

Mr.Marshall: That is quite alright, and we do not want to bind ourselves on the question of breeding-animals.

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Mr. Fielding: We do not deny your right to make regulations, and if they are not agreeable to us we may have to submit to them. We do not want to be responsible for something which at the beginning will be obnoxious to our people.

The Chairman: You are not in any way responsible for the regulations. All you are responsible for is the fact that there will be regulations. That you cannot possibly avoid. You are not responsible for the nature of the regulations.

Mr. Fielding: We are responsible for this Bill, which is to be an agreed Bill, and it is because that Bill seems to contemplate the exclusion of heifers -- and it does undoubtedly -- that we do not want to agree to that. We do not deny your right to do it later on, but we do not think you ought to make us responsible for a condition which would be objectionable.

The Chairman: I am asking you to be responsible for the fact that there will be regulations.

Mr. Fielding: The Bill itself clearly points out that the animals are to be excluded. It says first it cannot be done, and later on it says under certain conditions it can. Your definition of store cattle shuts out these animals, and then you go on and provide under certain conditions to allow it. Under the definition of store cattle these animals are shut out.

The Chairman: I must recall this, that this Conference was brought about in consequence of a telegram that the Colonial Secretary sent which summarised proposals that I had made, and it was a fundamental feature of the proposals and made quite clear in the telegram that there must be distinctive treatment as between store animals and breeding-animals.

Mr. Fielding: We have it somewhere, but I should be glad to have a look at it for a moment.

The Chairman: Perhaps I had better read the whole telegram. It is dated the 15th. August:-

> "Canadian cattle. My telegram of to-day. A Bill is proposed by Minister of Agriculture to remove the statutory prohibition of the importation, except for slaughter, as regards cattle sent direct from any British Dominion subject to such restrictions as the Ministry may consider necessary for protection against disease and the preservation of the purity of blood of home-bred stock. Steers would, in the case of Canada, be admitted into Great Britain as store cattle, subject to seven days' observation in Canada before shipment and a short period of detention for inspection after arrival on this side not exceeding 48 hours. Heifers, cows, and bulls would be admitted subject to thirty days' observation in Canada and to undergoing tuberculin test before shipment. Subject to slaughter at the port of landing, fat cattle would be admitted as at present. As regards the three classes of steers, breeding-cattle and fat cattle, it would be necessary that they should be shipped separately and kept separate during observation period before shipment. A small fee not exceeding 1s. an animal, and which might be considerably less, would be charged on this side to cover expenses of examination, etc. In the event of outbreak of disease or grave suspicion, it must be

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understood that British Government retains power to lengthen period of observation or to impose quarantine on this side or temporarily to stop importation altogether."

I am not saying all those terms put forward there are put forward as adamantine things we have to stick to, but there is a clear distinction between stores, defined as steers, and breeding-animals. That is the fundamental distinction we have drawn all through.

Dr. Grisdale: The fact that we were sent to discuss this matter does not imply that the conditions should be accepted.

The Chairman: No, not at all. I think the basis of the discussion was that there was to be a distinction between store cattle and breeding-cattle.

Mr. Fielding: Will it be agreeable to meet this afternoon or to-morrow?

Dr. Grisdale: I think it would be better to-morrow - to-morrow afternoon.

The Chairman: To-morrow is a particularly awkward day for me. I have a particularly important meeting in the morning. I do not wish to hurry you unduly in any way, but if 4 to-day were convenient that would be satisfactory.

Mr. Larkin: In the meantime you will think out and see if it is not impossible to remove those clauses and depend upon regulations for doing what is required.

Mr. Fielding: In negotiations of this kind it is always important to try to put oneself in another persons place. We are asking you to see our view and our position if the Province of Ontario is going to be up in arms against us. I do not dispute your right to make regulations, as every Bill of this nature must contain power to make regulations.

The Chairman: We will meet again at 4 here.

(The Proceedings then terminated).

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SECOND MEETING (Continued)

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE
on the
ADMISSION OF CANADIAN CATTLE INTO GREAT BRITAIN,
held in the
Secretary of State's Room, Colonial Office,
at 4 p.m. on Wednesday,
18th. October 1922.

Present:

The Rt. Hon. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P.
Minister of Agriculture & Fisheries (In the Chair).

The Hon. W.S. Fielding, LL.D., D.C.L.
Minister of Finance, Canada.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, LL.B., K.C.
Minister of Marine, Canada.

The Hon. P.C. Larkin,
High Commissioner for Canada in London.

There were also present:

Sir F.L.C. Floud, K.C.B.
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Sir. S. Stockman, M.R.C.V.S.
Chief Veterinary Officer, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. F.A. Jones, C.B.
Legal Advisor, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. R.J. Thompson, O.B.E.
Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. P.J.G. Rose,
Assistant Under Secretary for Scotland.

Sir R.B. Greig, M.C., LL.D.
Chairman, Scottish Board of Agriculture.

Dr. J.H. Grisdale.
Deputy Minister, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. Duncan Marshall,
Commissioner, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. W.L. Griffith,
Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.M.G.
Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.

Mr. R.H. Franklin,
Ministry of Agriculture (Secretary).

and Private Secretaries to Members of the Conference.

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The Hon. W.S. Fielding:- When we separated before lunch Sir Arthur, I ventured to suggest that we ought to negotiate on the basis of each fellow trying to put himself in the place of the other chap, because we are seeking to have an agreed Bill, and it can only be obtained if both parties are agreed. If we want to put something in which is very objectionable to you, you might reasonably ask us to leave it out. We might also ask you to leave out anything that might not be agreeable to us in order that it might be an agreed Bill. What you have put in, in regard to the definition of Canadian store cattle is a serious difficulty with us, and we would prefer, if possible, to avoid that. What we suggest in that respect is -- if you will turn to the draft Bill -- that we should strike out the definition and leave that to be governed by your regulations later on. We do not see how you can very well object to that as you have the power of regulating it, and if what you do is not agreeable to us we would have to submit; in the meantime it would relieve us of the responsibility of something which we do not like. Our suggestion is to take Clause 1 commencing "Canadian Store Cattle as hereinafter defined", and we suggest the deletion of "as hereinafter defined" and provide that Canadian store cattle born and reared in Canada may, subject to the provisions etc. The remainder of that Section to stand as it is until you come down to Sub-Section 7 on page 2 and there we would like you to strike out the definition, and on the next page, at the beginning of page 3 where it says "the Minister may by Order authorise the landing of Canadian animals" we suggest that he "may authorise breeding-cattle" instead of the word "animals". That then has reference to the breeding-cattle on which you have put so much emphasis. If you agree to those proposals we think our difficulty would be very much overcome. The words "as hereinafter defined" would be omitted.

The Chairman:- (Sir A.Griffith-Boscawen). That practically means that the definition of store cattle is to be in the Regulations and not in the Bill?

Mr. Fielding:- Yes, and we are quite aware that in doing that we are taking a risk that your regulations might not be agreeable to us; but we have to take that risk.

The Chairman:- Well, that is putting us in a very great difficulty. I should despair of being able -- either I or any other Minister -- to persuade the agricultural community to agree to that.

Mr. Fielding:- Even though it reserved the power to you to make your own regulations?

The Chairman:- I think that would be very, very difficult. I think they would want to have it on the face of it, that stores were defined in a certain way in the Act. I do not think they would agree to this -- I feel pretty certain they would not agree to it. It must strike the eye in the Act, and all along the argument has been on the question of store and not breeding animals. That leaves the question of the distinction between stores and breeding animals to be met by regulation, and I do not think that would be possible. I have tried to put myself in your position.

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Mr. Fielding:- It seemed to us that as you were to make the regulations, from your point of view you could not object to that. Some of our people may object, but we have to take that risk.

The Chairman:- You see, we have a large number of farmers in the breeding industry, and they would say "it says Canadian animals but what are they to be". We say "we cannot say now. It is a matter for regulations"; that is not a very satisfactory answer to a farmer. It is all very well to tell him that both Houses have to agree to that. The farmer has a great distrust of politicians, and I do not think he would be satisfied with that. He would want to know what he was going to be subjected to definitely. I quite agree it is a big safeguard, but I do not think it would be so thought among the agricultural community.

Mr. Fielding:- We should expect criticism in our own country by people saying "you are leaving the matter under the Board of Agriculture", In your case there is really no risk to your people; your people are not willing to take any risk. Your farmer will not trust you as much as we will.

Sir F. Floud:- I think the farmers' fear would be that they might get a Minister who would not take the agricultural view at all.

The Chairman:- That is quite possible.

Mr. Fielding:- It was not done with any expectation of that. We had a notion that by agreeing to that we were leaving a great power in your hands, but we were willing to take that risk.

Sir F. Floud:- Were you proposing to put the word "breeding" into Clause 3 without any definition at all?

Mr. Fielding:- On page 3 ?

Sir F. Floud:- Yes.

Mr. Fielding:- It would read "the Minister may by Order authorise the landing of Canadian breeding-cattle". It was meant to be cattle intended for breeding.

Sir F. Floud:- You cannot regulate the use to which breeding-cattle will be put.

Mr. Fielding:- We think there will be a demand for them and we do not want to shut them out. Once they are sold we do not care what becomes of them.

Sir F. Floud:- That is the point. If we were quite certain all these animals would be used for feeding, that would be allright.

Dr. Grisdale:- You are at liberty to put such a regulation on as would preclude their getting in more easily than at present.

Sir F. Floud:- We cannot regulate the use to which animals are put once they are here.

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Dr. Grisdale:- Any unspayed animal would be a breeding-animal and you can put regulations on those which puts it just as definitely, but puts the power into the regulation and we have a clean slate to go home with. If we leave it the way it is, they will immediately say "yes, you agreed to their shutting out the breeding-animal".

Sir F. Floud:- You realise, from the farmer's point of view he regards it as a greater security to have something in an Act of Parliament than be subject to a Minister who changes from time to time?

Dr. Grisdale:- We are conceding something. We give you the right to impose such regulations as you choose. All you are conceding is taking it from the Act to an Order.

The Chairman:- I do not understand how that would work. You do not define "store animals", and then you talk about "breeding-animals".

Dr. Grisdale:- It is one that is possible to be used for breeding.

The Chairman:- If you define the breeding-animal as such, surely you ought to define the store animal. The store animal is what the breeding-animal is not. Here you are using two words and not defining either.

Dr. Grisdale:- Everyone knows what a breeding-animal is, an unspayed heifer or a bull. Those are breeding-animals, there are no other animals.

The Chairman:- Well gentlemen, you have been good enough to put this before us. I think now we had better withdraw for a few minutes and just consider your proposal.

(At 4.12 p.m. the Conference was adjourned to enable the representatives of the Imperial Government to discuss the Canadian proposal, and the Conference resumed at 4.28 p.m.)

The Chairman:- Well Mr. Fielding and gentlemen, I have very carefully considered with my colleagues your proposal, but I am afraid I could not accept it for various reasons. There is one which, I think, is decisive. If we did accept it, and put it in the Bill this would be the result. You would have store cattle mentioned and you would have breeding-animals. mentioned, and there would be no definition of either. The definition would be left to the regulations. Now in all my experience of Parliament -- and I have been in Parliament off and on for 30 years, and have witnessed a great many Bills of all kinds go through, and most of the gentlemen around this table have - where the Bills going through affected their Departments -- I never remember a Bill in which important matters like this, when technical words are used, where there was no definition, and whoever is in charge of a Bill in either House would be pressed from the day he brought it in to put in the definition, and I cannot believe it is possible that either House would pass a Bill without the definition. Therefore, I do not think it is practical politics, and for that reason, among others, I am afraid I must turn down this proposal, but I am very anxious to come to an agreement if it be possible and I am very anxious to put myself in your position, and I fully appreciate your difficulties.

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I think your difficulty is this, as I apprehand it, that you have a certain number of animals, principally in Ontario and the Eastern Provinces, that your people want to send. You feel they would be barred out by the definition of "stores" as castrated males and spayed females and you feel that regulations that will be made later might also bar them out, and you think that the regulation which has been suggested, namely, a tuberculin test and 30 days' observation would effectually bar these grade heifers which you wish to send. I fully realise your position in this matter. You have to deal with your people in Ontario, just like we have to deal with our farmers and people here.

Now I am going to put forward, therefore, another suggestion which might conceivably meet your difficulty. I think that is your principal difficulty.

Mr. Fielding:- Largely.

The Chairman:- It is this - that instead of saying that breeding-animals shall be admitted subject to regulations to be made by both Houses, we should lay down as our main point simply this, that if they are admitted they must be accompanied by a certificate given by your people - by your Government - i.e. a veterinary officer employed by your Government - that the tuberculin test has been effectually carried out within a certain period before shipment. If you look at Clause 3,which you were referring to, on the top of page 3 dealing with the importation of Canadian animals other than store cattle, my suggestion is that it should run as follows:-

> "The Minister may by Order authorise the landing of Canadian animals otherwise than in accordance with the preceding Section, or the provisions set forth in Part I (Slaughter at Port of Landing) of the Third Schedule to the Act of 1894"

that will run as it is, but in place of the words that appear on the paper now, I would add some such words as these:-

> "If the animals are accompanied by a certificate issued by the duly authorised officer of the Government of the Dominion stating that the animals have, within one month before shipment, been tested effectually for tuberculosis and have been found to be free from that disease, and if the importation of the animals is in accordance with such conditions as, in the opinion of the Minister, are necessary or expedient for the prevention of the introduction of disease other than tuberculosis as may be prescribed in the Order".

The effect of that is this, that "store" as defined -- animals which cannot breed -- will be admitted on the terms agreed, and other animals - breeding-animals - can be sent here if accompanied by your certificate.

Dr. Grisdale:- Do away with the proposed quarantine.

Sir F. Floud:- We put the responsibility on you.

The Chairman:- I do not say we can trust all your individual farmers, but we can trust your Government, which is quite another matter.

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I think that is a very big concession if that can be granted. It would help me very much if I could accompany that with a statement from you -- it would only have to be a statement because it cannot be put in the Bill -- that you would accept and adopt -- I think you act by regulation now -- the same method when we send animals to you. As it is now, you insist upon a tuberculin test and 30 days detention the other side. We suggest that you should accept from us a similar certificate to the effect that these animals have been properly tested for tuberculosis before they leave here.

Mr.Fielding: That is the same condition, to make it reciprocal.

Mr.Marshall: Dr. Grisdale and I made it our business to discuss matters with the Veterinary Director General before we left, and this is one of the very questions I asked him. I said "In these negotiations will you agree to accept a certificate for a test for tuberculosis from a qualified veterinary surgeon in Great Britain who is approved by the Board of Agriculture." You do not need to have him in your employ, but you might have a list of men whom you would certify to.

The Chairman: Authorised by.

Mr. Marshall: Yes, and he said he would. That is one of the things we settled before we left home, because that has been one of the difficulties with our importers. In the United States we accept a certificate from the Federal Veterinary Surgeon, a man in the employ of the Federal Department of Agriculture. His certificate admits the animal into Canada. In these circumstances a certificate of a man certified by the Board of Agriculture would admit an animal into Canada.

The Chairman: I will just hand you that, which is very roughly written out (handing Mr. Fielding proposed amended clause).

Mr. Larkin: We would be quite agreeable to that.

Dr. Grisdale: No, we have to consider that first.

The Chairman: I do not adhere strictly to the exact words.

Mr. Marshall: The point is are you eliminating quarantine in connection with these others, the quarantine for the stores.

Dr. Grisdale: Otherwise, the 3 days.

The Chairman: There will be no quarantine.

Mr. Marshall: Just one minute. Would you amend this to read something like this. You say the Minister may by order authorise the landing, or would you admit the same as you do steers. Here is the suggestion that Canadian store cattle as hereinafter defined may be landed in Great Britain. You would say Canadian animals other than in accordance with the preceding section or the provisions set forth in Part I (Slaughter at port of Landing) of the Third Schedule to the Act of 1894, may be landed in Great Britain, subject to the additional provision that they shall be accompanied by a certificate of an officer in the employ of the Canadian Government to the effect that they have been tested for tuberculosis and have been found free from disease.

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The Chairman: Your question is whether we would leave out "by order"?

Mr. Marshall: Yes.

The Chairman: No, I do not think we could do that. We say those are the lines upon which we should draft the order and we should feel it to be our duty in both Houses to defend it on those lines. We should make it a Government matter.

Mr. Marshall: Why not put it right in the Bill?

The Chairman: Because it is entirely a new thing which has never been thrashed out, and I do not think you would carry it if put straight into the Bill, but I do not conceive if the Government insisted upon it, if it is part of the arrangement made with you, that it will be altered. We lay down distinctly what we propose and the principle. If you accompany it with the adoption of a similar principle to us, I have not the slightest doubt it will go through all right.

Mr. Marshall: We are quite prepared to do that as far as adopting the principle there.

Dr. Grisdale: As I understood you it was to do away with the quarantine.

The Chairman: Oh, well, yes. We do not propose any quarantine. We do not propose to ask for quarantine on the case of animals sent by you.

Dr. Grisdale: They make this concession on the condition that we do away with our quarantine, our 30 days on the other side in the case of pure bred animals imported into Canada. Personally, I am prepared to accept that, and I think personally every one of us five is, but we have to consider whether the Government of the Dominion of Canada is ready to do it or not. We did not come authorised to do that.

Mr. Larkin: The only embarrassment it would cause us would be that we should be shut out of the American market entirely.

Sir.S.Stockman: Remember this, if we have disease in this country you do not forgo your right to forbid entry.

Mr. Larkin: America is waiting for a chance to appease the farmers there.

Dr. Grisdale: Of course we could say to them "you cannot come in here

Mr. Marshall: Here is where we want to do our business.

Dr. Grisdale: I am sure the five of us are strongly in favour of it, but it would involve an international matter with the United State and I do not think we would be justified in agreeing to that without cabling.

Mr. Larkin: We could have an answer to-morrow.

The Chairman: I do not think you could expect any of us to accept breeding-animals without quarantine when you expect quarantine.

Mr. Marshall: I am hands up on that.

Dr. Grisdale: I am sure it would not be wise to commit ourselves.

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The Chairman: Otherwise does it go a long way to meet your views?

Mr. Marshall: Yes, this proposition, so far as I am concerned, is fine, and I think we can get it fixed up.

Mr. Larkin: We could get a cable off to-night, and get an answer when?

Dr. Grisdale: We could not get the answer much before Friday.

Mr. Fielding: You suggested to-day some words which might be inserted qualifying the character of the regulations.

The Chairman: This takes the place of it. It goes much beyond it.

Mr. Larkin: Now, we need not keep you any longer.

Mr. Fielding: It is understood that we are to meet again on Friday for the final word. Will that be agreeable?

Mr. Marshall: About 10 on Friday.

The Chairman: At 10.30.

Mr. Larkin: Here?

The Chairman: Yes, I suppose; we have always met here.

Mr. Fielding: 10.30 on Friday in this room. In the meantime we will have these typed copies of the suggestions

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Fielding: It is understood from your point of view that we may treat this as your proposal subject to our acceptance.

The Chairman: Yes, I think so, subject to all the other things we have agreed to.

Mr. Fielding: I am assuming all these other things which we have agreed to. You will have to get your Bill into a more definite shape.

The Chairman: About the notice to go to the Press. I propose that we should merely say that there has been a second meeting, giving the names of those who were present, finishing up as follows: The conclusions of the committee of experts appointed at the previous meeting of the Conference were considered, and a large measure of agreement was reached.

Mr. Fielding: Yes. We are refusing on our side to give any information to the Press. We are telling them that if they want any information they must come down here.

(The Proceedings then terminated).

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THIRD MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE
on the
ADMISSION OF CANADIAN CATTLE INTO GREAT BRITAIN,
held in the
Secretary of State's Room, Colonial Office,
at 10-30 a.m. on Friday,
20th October, 1922.

Present:

The Right Hon. Sir.A.Griffith-Boscawen, M.P. (Chairman)

The Hon.W.S.Fielding L.L.D., D.C.L., Minister of Finance, Canada.

The Hon.E.Lapointe, L.L.B., K.C., Minister of Marine, Canada.

The Hon.P.C.Larkin, High Commissioner for Canada in London.

There were also present:

Sir.F.L.C.Floud, K.C.B, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr.F.A.Jones, C.B. Legal Adviser ditto.

Mr.R.J.Thompson, O.B.E., Assistant Secretary ditto.

Mr.P.J.G.Rose, Assistant Under-Secretary for Scotland.

Dr.J.H.Grisdale, Deputy Minister , Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr. Duncan Marshall, Commissioner, Department of Agriculture, Canada.

Mr.W.L.Griffith, Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada.

Mr.E.J.Harding, C.M.G., Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.

Mr.R.H.Franklin, Ministry of Agriculture, Secretary to the Conference,

and Private Secretaries to Members of the Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps I might say this, so as to get it formally on the Minutes, that, as the Conference quite understands, I am no longer the Minister of Agriculture, and, as a matter of fact, at this moment there is no British Government. The whole Government has resigned.

MR. FIELDING: Are you not the Minister until a successor has been appointed?

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The Chairman. I am carrying on temporarily.

Mr.Fielding. The Government must go on.

The Chairman. The usual practice in this country is that in the interregnum which must occur between the resignation of one Government and the formation of another, the outgoing Ministers carry on temporarily, but, of course, that means for ordinary Departmental business. Questions of policy could not be decided. What I was going to suggest - as a way out of the difficulty - is this, that although I do not think I can in my present position sign any document or any definite agreement which would be binding in any way - because I do not know who my successor may be and I do not know his views or what they may be-I think it would be a great pity if the results of our labours were wasted. I was going to suggest that we should, if we can come to an agreement, embody it in a formal document stating what was agreed between the Minister of Agriculture at the time and the representatives of the Canadian Government. That will stand on record and I think myself that it is most unlikely, that my successor, whoever he might be, would go back upon it. I do not think I have any power or authority to do more than that at the present time. I do not know whether the Legal Adviser of the Ministry has anything to say on that ?

Mr.Jones: If we treat this as merely a meeting to discuss whether or not this document-which we have circulated to you - carries out the agreement which Sir Arthur Boscawen did enter into when he was Minister, there are no further negotiations in the matter, and he is not doing anything as Minister to-day, except merely assenting to the proposition that this is a correct statement of what he did agree when he was Minister. That is the whole position which is practically the same.

Mr.Fielding: Yes, to shew that this was agreed to. If only we had had the good fortune to meet yesterday instead of to-day.

Mr.Jones: We treat this document as an agreement made on Wednesday and this is merely a record of it.

The Chairman: If we do not do anything more to-day beyond record what we practically agreed to on Wednesday, then I can assent because I was Minister when I came to that agreement.

Mr.Fielding: We do not desire to raise any new questions. We have been in communication with our colleagues in Canada but we have not full information from them. However, we thought you would desire to have an end to this conference. We appreciate the great trouble you have taken in the matter and we are prepared to say on behalf of the Canadian representatives that we accept the arrangement as made at our last meeting.

Mr.Jones: And that this is correctly stated in this document?

Mr.Fielding: That is in the Bill?

Mr.Jones: Yes.

Mr.Fielding: The bill as now drafted?

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Dr. Grisdale: We had better look at that again.

Mr. Fielding: I think the Bill gives an exact and correct expression of what we had agreed before.

Mr. Marshall: The only difference is Clause 3.

Mr. Jones: Clause 2 has been slightly altered by the insertion of some words which we agreed; for instance, we substituted 3 days for 5. We had "periodical" instead of "daily" inserted. We also inserted words "including a thorough examination immediately before shipment". I think there is nothing in the draft but what we had already agreed.

The Chairman: I was going to say, Mr. Fielding that if this Bill is accepted by you and the other Canadian representatives, should we not have complementary to it the undertaking, that, in the event of our admitting Canadian breeding - animals under the provisions of Clause 3 which we have been discussing, you will reciprocate in the way of adopting the same plan as regards breeding-animals sent from this country to Canada?

Mr. Fielding: Yes, by modifying our present regulations.

The Chairman: That cannot be in the Bill but should be in the statement.

Mr. Fielding: We have no objection to that going on the records here.

Mr. Marshall: That would take place when you made this order (under clause 3?).

The Chairman: We would not ask you to do it until we had done it.

Mr. Larkin: Will you suggest something now?

Mr. Fielding: It will appear on the records here, Sir Arthur? Sir Arthur wants our assurance that we will do certain things in Canada, and we quite agree to that.

Mr. Larkin: Yes.

The Chairman: What we wanted was an undertaking with reference to the last words in the summary of proceedings on October 14th, where the Canadian representatives reply - that is in answer to my request that, "whilst this concession entirely met the difficulty explained by Mr. Fielding and was satisfactory to them personally, the abolition of quarantine in Canada for animals imported from Great Britain would close the American markets against them and they felt they must refer the question to their Government in Canada as it raised a matter which was outside their powers. Now we want something more than that.

Mr. Marshall: This record is not quite correct. Strike out the words "would close the American markets against them" They are not quite true - and substitute "affect quarantine arrangements with the United States of America". It would affect our quarantine arrangements with them.

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THE CHAIRMAN: It might.

MR. LARKIN: If this were made public, we would be inviting trouble with our neighbours.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will talk about publication later.

MR. FIELDING: It is quite understood now that the Canadian representatives agree to, as you describe this, the reciprocal arrangements.

MR. JONES: Which are your words, Mr. Marshall?

MR. MARSHALL: Strike out the words "close the American markets against them" and substitute "quarantine arrangements with the United States of America".

MR. LARKIN: Is it necessary to put in United States at all?

DR. GRISDALE: "with other countries" we had better put.

THE CHAIRMAN: It might affect the quarantine arrangements with other countries?

MR. FIELDING: Of course, yes. There is no objection to that Mr. Marshall - we agree to make the modification. That is perfectly clear.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is good enough.

MR. MARSHALL: As this Bill is now drafted, the Minister must make an order to admit breeding-females and when you make that order to admit females, then we wipe out that order?

MR. LARKIN: You mean alter it to the same?

MR. MARSHALL: There is nothing except that we will inspect their cattle as they do ours, or change their quarantine exactly to the same as ours. We make our quarantine on the boat then instead of Quebec.

MR. FIELDING: From the beginning, it is understood these notes will not be published except by mutual consent?

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand the position it is this - if we admit Canadian females by order as proposed in clause 3, it means that we have no quarantine at all. We merely accept your certificate that there has been an adequate tuberculin test. What we then ask you is that you will do the same for us. I say that because of the expression used to modify the quarantine which we expect to be wiped out altogether?

MR. MARSHALL: Exactly.

MR. LARKIN: We agree to make exactly the same regulations as yours.

MR. MARSHALL: Our regulation in regard to the admission of British cattle shall be exactly the same as yours in admitting ~~breeding~~-females.

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MR. FIELDING: I suppose that it is understood when these meetings are complete, corrections will be made in these notes and we will be furnished with official copies and that these notes will not be made public except by our mutual consent?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly not, subject to that, they are confidential. That is generally understood. Before we come to the question of publication, I had better read this which willbe inserted at the instance of the Colonial Office because from their point of view it is very important.

(Reading)

"While the terms of the Bill are agreed as regards "the importation of Canadian Cattle, it is of course understood that its terms are not yet settled as regards its application to other parts of the Empire.

"This ought to be made clear, because some of the conditions applicable to Canada, e.g. that the vessel should not during the voyage have entered a port outside Great Britain would necessarily be inapplicable e.g. to Australia or South Africa.

"As regards the rest of the Empire it will of course be necessary to provide for the varying conditions".

MR. FIELDING: Provided there is no case of discrimination against Canada?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

MR. MARSHALL: It is just an explanation because of the geographical conditions.

MR. FIELDING: There would have to be varying conditions for the different Dominions, but in any case no discrimination against Canada would be entertained?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it would be very much the other way.

MR. LARKIN: On account of disease?

THE CHAIRMAN: We could not, for example, from South Africa admit animals to-day on the same terms as we are admitting them from Canada.

MR. JONES. In clause 5 of the Bill which deals with other Dominions you will see the wording "such requirements, etc"

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no objection to this?

MR. FIELDING: No, it is a correct expression of the situation.

THE CHAIRMAN: In my own opinion when the state of Government in this country is in a state of flux, I think it would be most inadvisable to publish anything. I agree with you, Mr. Fielding, that nothing should be published - no part of it should be published except with the assent of both sides.

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MR FIELDING: I quite agree with that-that was my suggestion.

THE CHAIRMAN: But for the moment beyond the fact that we state that we had come to an agreement, I think the Press is entitled to know that. The public is entitled to know that, but I don't think any statement should be made.

DR GRISDALE: You would not give them any hint what the agreement was?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think not at this stage. If I were still Minister, and Mr. Churchill was still Minister, then I think before we published it, we should have to submit the thing to the Cabinet because we were appointed as a committee by the Cabinet really to deal with the matter and we shall have to report to the Cabinet and this I think must be reported to the new Cabinet when it is formed. Until it has been formed, the Cabinet I mean, I don't think we are entitled to publish anything beyond the mere fact that an agreement has been made.

MR FIELDING: The Press will be anxious to get something and whatever is published should be published with the knowledge of both sides. We are not going to make any statement. I think a short statement should be made on the operations of the Conference - not any detailed conclusions - but that it is fully expected that the matter will be taken up by the new Cabinet and it is expected that in all probability the arrangement so made will be confirmed-something of that nature I think might be stated with propriety on both sides.

MR LARKIN: If it came from Sir.Arthur, it would be, I am afraid, found fault with, would it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: Shall I read this. This is a Press announcement which has been suggested:-

(Read to meeting)

"Press Announcement. The third and final meeting of the Conference to discuss the arrangements for the admission of Canadian cattle into Great Britain was held at the Colonial Office on 20th October. In the absence through illness of Mr. Churchill, the Right Hon Sir A.Griffith-Boscawen, presided and there were present the Hon.W.S.Fielding, Minister of Finance Canada, the Hon.E.Lapointe, Minister of Marine, Canada, and the Hon.J.C.Larkin, High Commissioner for Canada in London, together with experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Scottish Office, and the Canadian Department of Agriculture.

"The Conference agreed upon the main conditions which should govern the importation of Canadian cattle into Great Britain, and these terms will be submitted to the new Government with a view to the introduction of the necessary Bill when Parliament next meets".

I don't think we can go beyond that now.

MR FIELDING: That is an official statement, that is all. We are not free to say in answer to any question what is the effect of these political changes here upon these negotiations but in our judgment we do not think the question is affected by any party interests here and it is our full expectation that the agreement made here will be confirmed. Would there be any objection to that?

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THE CHAIRMAN: As far as I am concerned, I should say that would be a correct statement.

MR.FIELDING: If that is our statement - they will be anxious to know at home what we are doing.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall be much surprised if this agreement is not carried out.

MR.FIELDING: We would like to carry our view that it is not a party matter and it would not be affected by political changes. and our expectations are that this matter will be fully confirmed. You are not responsible for that.

THE CHAIRMAN: As long as you make that on your own responsibility.

Mr.FIELDING: That does not commit you.

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

MR.GRIFFITH: It is not forcing the hand of your successor.

MR.MARSHALL: After these negotiations, we shall be glad to see you carrying them out?

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know.

MR.FIELDING: I have a cable here. I do not anticipate it will make any difference. We will communicate with you promptly. I think we may assume what we have agreed upon here will be confirmed. If anything to the contrary occurs, we will give you due notice. I do not expect anything.

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall not be in London to-morrow. I have to go and have a look at my constituents to-morrow.

MR.FIELDING: It is a misfortune to have any constituents.

THE CHAIRMAN: Am I correct in describing myself as Minister of Agriculture. I thought I was not Minister now?

MR.FIELDING: I submit that you are the Minister until your successor is appointed.

MR.LARKIN: You have not visited the King?

THE CHAIRMAN: I have received a letter from the late Prime Minister to say that he has resigned and placed his resignation on behalf of his colleagues in the hands of The King.

MR.LARKIN: Has that been accepted?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, so that practically I am not Minister.

MR.FIELDING: Do we need anything further, Sir Arthur?

MR.JONES: We will send on the notice to the Press and it will appear in to-morrow's papers.

MR.FIELDING: We will make a complementary statement on our own responsibility not giving the details at all. My colleagues

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would not like the Conference to break up, Sir Arthur, without expressing their warmest appreciation for your efforts in this matter. We know that at the earliest stage of this business you held a different view, but when the Commons passed a special resolution we know that you loyally accepted that and we realise your good work which has been done. On behalf of Canada I would express our great appreciation of that and also the co-operation of the officials. It has been a pleasant Conference; we have both had to be governed largely by the advice of experts and now that we have the thing on a satisfactory basis, we shall be able to report to the Government at home that it has received the best consideration of the authorities here who have made every reasonable effort to meet our views.

The Chairman: I am very much obliged to you, Mr.Fielding. On that point it is quite true I have always been an opponent in regard to the introduction of cattle from Canada or anywhere else outside of what used to be called the United Kingdom. In principle I have not changed my view, but I realised that the votes of both Houses were against me and that it was my duty loyally to try and carry out the spirit of those votes and I think I may say that I have been very fortunate in having two Ministers from the Dominion of Canada and your officials to deal with who have shown such an earnest desire to assist me in the difficult task and to reach a solution satisfactory to both sides. I would only like to add this - if this plan we propose is the means of removing a feeling of soreness on the part of the Dominion of Canada towards the mother country, I am sure we have accomplished a very great object because there is one thing in the world more than another we desire and that is the hearty goodwill of the Dominion of Canada.

The Conference then terminated.

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C 46156

CATTLE EMBARGO.

MR. KING: June 2, 1923.

The following memorandum has been prepared in compliance with your verbal instructions of June 1st:-

1. House of Commons on motion of Mr. Meighen passed Order for Return of correspondence, etc. between Canada and Great Britain "in respect of the admission of Canadian store cattle and Canadian breeding cattle into Great Britain" (copy of Order for Return marked Exhibit "A")

2. Mr. Motherwell's office prepared copies of documents on file in Agriculture Department, which might be affected by this Order. These copies are being held by the Secretary of State pending instructions for release.

3. Department of External Affairs prepared a Return of documents on file in said department and Prime Minister's Office - also held pending release.

4. Attached is a cable from the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies asking for permission to publish certain of the above documents marked Secret, etc., and to which objection might be taken (permission was not asked for publication of despatches from Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor General of November 3, 1921 and November 11, 1921, both of which contained frank discussions of the domestic situation in England, which should obviously not be made public.)

5. On May 12, 1923, the Governor General cabled compliance with the Colonial Secretary's request that the question of the admission of breeding cattle be laid over until meeting of Imperial Conference.

6. Mr. Larkin cabled on May 14, 1923, as follows:-
"Government greatly disturbed by breeding animals order feel that there is chance of it being defeated in Commons and are sure it would be defeated in Lords. They would like your consent to postponement until

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autumn. Would counsel you strongly to give it.

7. On May 16, 1923, Governor General cabled Canadian Government's concurrence in postponement of admission of Canadian breeding cattle until after discussion at Economic Conference.

8. On May 28, 1923, Mr. Larkin cabled following request - "Understand you are pressing for publication cattle conference October last stop am writing you fully important you should not press for this.

9. May 28, 1923, Prime Minister cabled Mr. Larkin that return would not be tabled pending receipt of his letter.

10. May 31, 1923, cabledreceived (dated May 30) from Secretary of State for Colonies (Hereto attached).

11. Reply to said cable of May 30, 1923, might take the following lines:-

Canadian Government has no desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government or prejudice pending negotiations regarding admission of Canadian breeding cattle to Great Britain. Permission to publish certain documents enumerated in Governor General's cable of May 17, 1923, was asked in consequence of an Order of the House of Commons based on motion of Leader of Opposition. Canadian Government consider replies to telegrams of August 21, October 25 and November 7, 1921, were of such a nature that publication thereof could not be reasonably expected. Canadian Government therefore withdraws request

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for publication of ~~said~~ telegrams of August 21, October 25 and November 7, as being incomplete without replies.annexed. Should His Majesty's Government prefer that no correspondence or documents affecting admission of Canadian store cattle and Canadian breeding cattle be published at present Canadian Government will be pleased to concur.

L. C. Moyer (sgd)

NOTE: Mr. Motherwell stated yesterday that he had not spoken to Mr. Meighen regarding the compliance with Order for above Return.

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Cattle Embargo

C 46159

Vindictive Restrictions
on
Canadian Cattle Trade

It will be remembered that in 1921 a Royal Commission - after hearing at great length both those for and those against the removal of the Embargo - reported in favour of the admission of Canadian Cattle.

Thereafter in December, 1922, the Act was passed which we all understood restored to Canada the same rights of entry to our markets on the same conditions as Free State Ireland (apart from the tuberculine test which Canada agreed should be applied to her diary and breeding stock). This however has not been the result, because every endeavour has been made by the English Farmers' Union and the Directors of Breed Societies to get wanton, oppressive and vindictive restrictions enacted, in order to prevent the development of Canadian cattle trade, and they have had the full support and encouragement of the Ministry of Agriculture in London. The same selfish crowd who opposed the removal of the Embargo have been busy, getting by subterfuge Protection against Competition - not against disease. In my view their methods have been disgraceful and have been seriously injurious to the interests of Canada, as well as to farmers and consumers here.

Notwithstanding the fact that our dairy herds are admittedly 50% tubercular, the Ministry of Agriculture has refused to permit the entry of Canadian dairying or breeding stock, though they would all be sent under guarantee of having passed the tuberculine test. At the same time Irish stock - dairying, breeding, etc. enjoys

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right of entry here unrestricted by any test whatever, with the result that this country is made a free dumping ground for Irish tubercular casts. When animals fail to stand the test in Ireland the owners are practically invited to send them here, - it is their best market. What possible justification is there for such a policy and how is it tolerated?

In regard to the qualities of the 'store' or 'fat' animals that have arrived here during the past year from Canada, the testimony of all buyers is that the cattle are the healthiest and best thrivers anyone could wish for, and many of them won prizes in open competitions at some of the leading Show.

Yet cruel branding, burned into the hides by electricity, was demanded by our Ministry in order that the crime of being born in Canada should never be effaced - also classification of the animals as 'fat' or 'store' - the classification being made by incompetent Ministry officials - in order to prevent farmers buying the stock they wanted and consumers getting the class of meat they wanted. There is no such interference with Free State Irish Stock.

Let me give one instance of what a Canadian steer can do. It was the first animal to step on shore - out of the first cargo to arrive in Scotland for over 30 years - in April 1923 at Glasgow. The animals in this cargo were described by self-constituted authorities as 'fat' cattle and not 'stores', and this steer would certainly have been classified as a 'fat' animal if classification had been in operation at the time. I bought it and several others, and fed them in account with similar sized Irish cattle on a common allowance of hay and cake - with potatoes (worth nothing) ad lib.

Note: For prizes - see Appendix (a)

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I intended to have sold this beast about the middle of June, but changed my mind and at that time let it out to graze amongst other cattle. Such treatment did not lead me to expect the good results which followed.

When purchased in April, 1923, this steer was 9¼ cwts live weight. On 4th August, 1923 I lent it for the Perthshire Agricultural Show, Live Weight Guessing Competition - Messrs Patullo, Pitcur and Mellis, Sheanbank guessing its weight exactly at 12 cwts 26 lbs. At this time it was undoubtedly a fat bullock and would have been condemned to instant slaughter by any Government classifier but the further results will show what a waste even this would have been. The animal was returned to the grass from this Show and in the beginning of November was housed with other cattle in a court till 11th December when it was sold at MacDonald Fraser and Co's Mart, Blairgowrie to Brechin Bros., Glasgow for £52 - the live weight being 15 cwts. Messrs Brechin Bros. reported that it dressed 999 lbs cold carcase weight or 59.46%. The increased in weight being:-

		cwts	qrs	lbs.
From 12th April, 1923 - 9 cwts 28 lbs) to 4th August,1923 -12 cwts 26 lbs)	increase	2	3	26
From 4th August,1923 - 12 cwts 26 lbs) to 11th Decr., 1923 - 15 cwts)	increase	2	3	2
Total increase from 12th April to 11th Decr.		5	3	-

There is no doubt that this result is typical of what might be expected from nearly all Canadian cattle called 'fat' on arrival here.

Why is it the English Farmers' Union and other organisations

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wish classification which causes such waste of 'stores' - our raw material? For no other reason except to prevent increase in fresh meat production and improvement in quality of Canadian animals, which would then come into direct competition with their product. Surely the worst form of Protection conceivable! You may measure the effects of a tariff - but the effects of this subterfuge you cannot guage.

The opposition had every opportunity at the Royal Commission to prove their case and every assistance - financial and otherwise. They had the support of the Ministry of Agriculture and its officials, - the English Farmers' Union with its champions and officials, - the Breed Societies or Live Stock Defence Committee and their officials, - the Irish Department of Agriculture and Irish Farmers' Union with their officials - all in constant attendance. Also the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals - led byEarl Crewe, though it never was heard of before in connection with other classes of cattle shipped during all these years from Canada, U.S.A. or South Africa or from Ireland. Lady Grey of Falloden did however recently call public attention to the undoubted cruelty and resulting death rate amongst stock shipped from Ireland - as many as 56 head in a single cargo being found dead on arrival here.

Since the close of the Commission I have made every effort to find out what was spent by the Opposition, and although I am a member of the 'Shorthorn Society', - the Council of which subscribed £400 in all out of our funds - (in spite of my protest and the fact that the members were never consulted) - to the so-called

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'Live Stock Defence Committee', the said Council absolutely refused - until now - to give a statement of the intromissions of the 'Livestock Defence Committee'. The statement just received (copy enclosed) - shows that £3,197.0.11 was collected and spent and I believe the English Farmers' Union expenditure is not included in this.

Appendix (b)

I have been unable to find out what was spent by the Irish Department of Agriculture but we know that it amounts to far more than £2000, almost entirely paid out of National funds by the Lloyd George Government which was certainly a gross scandal as Lloyd George said he had set up an "independent impartial tribunal" to report on the question of the Embargo. We were not asking for Canadian stock to get into Ireland - but only into Great Britain - and in any case Ireland had herself full power to keep them out. Ireland's only interest was to keep the Canadian cattle out of our British markets in order to maintain the monopoly of entry to them which she enjoys.

Appendix (c)

It is certain that the Irish and British opposition spent, in presenting their case, not less and probably far more than £6000 - about one-third of which was paid by the Government. On our side we only spent £1203.1.5. It should also be understood that the opposition, having two sets of Counsel - the English and Irish- took up much more than two thirds of the whole time of the Commission which was thereby unduly prolonged and added greatly to our costs.

With such powerful organisations opposing us, served by the

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ablest Counsel, and with such lavish expenditure, we could not have won unless our cause had been good - and having won it is execrable now to see the discredited and defeated opposition obtaining by subterfuge the Protection they aim at, supported by such Free Trade Governments as Lloyd George's - and shall it be said by the present one? Efforts have been made to get Mr. Buxton the Minister of Agriculture to receive a deputation to elicit an answer, but he has stubbornly refused to do so. He would of course find it impossible truthfully to deny that the restrictions are designed to afford "Protection" at the demand of the English Farmers' Union and others. But the question is not to be allowed to rest - and the Government, that has repealed the McKenna duties on motors, cannot be allowed to hide the fact of its supporting Protection on our food supplies, nor blame the want of power for their failure to act as Mr. Asquith is committed to support them. - (see his answer attached)

Appendix (d)

(Sgd.) WM HENDERSON

Lawton, Coupar Angus.
30th May, 1924.

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CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW 1924-25

Sir John Willison LL.D.

Chapter "RELATIONS WITH THE EMPIRE"

Pp. 60-62

Under the sub-heading "INTER-IMPERIAL TRADE RELATIONS", it is stated that"on November 14 (1924 ?) Hon. P.C. Larkin (Canadian High Commissioner) had his first official interview with the new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Amery, when he pressed for the abolition of the provision in the Act rescinding the Canadian cattle embargo, by which ships carrying Canadian stores were obliged to wait for three days in the port of departure before setting sail with their live cargo." This added to the cost of shipment. Canada was in a position to offer quid pro quo of another kind (in connection with straw-packed goods from Britain).

The slaughter by the British Government of 30,000 cows suffering from foot and mouth disease, and the incidence of tuberculosis in British herds, induced a letter to The Times from Cheshire land-owners. They urged that the embargo be lifted to enable the importation of Canadian "stores" for dairy purposes. These representations were heeded by the Government, and the result of the removal of some vexatious restrictions as to inspection appeared in a press despatch of Sept. 17: "Figures just issued show that 100,000 head of Canadian live cattle have been shipped to this country since the cattle embargo was removed. About 40,000 have arrived so far this year, and shipments will continue throughout the winter. According to the statement of Canadian officials . . the British regulations governing the admission of store cattle, which even after the removal of the embargo was a source of complaint from Canadian shippers for nearly a year, are now so administered as to leave not the slightest ground for objection."

According to the Dominion Live Stock Branch, Ottawa, 79,435 Canadian cattle were exported to British ports during 1924.

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C 46166

From Dr. Tolmie

MEMO RE IMPORTATION
OF CANADIAN STOCKER CATTLE INTO GREAT
BRITAIN.

Prior to 1892, Canadian store cattle were permitted unrestricted entry into Great Britain, but a suspected care of pleuro-phenmonia in a shipment made that year caused the British authorities to pace an embargo on all importations of Canadian store cattle, which embargo remained in effect until the year 1923.

Notwithstanding repeated attempts by the Canadian Government between 1898 and 1909 to get the embargo lifted, no appreciable success was obtained until 1917, when the matter was made the subject of a discussion at the Imperial War Conference, and certain promises were made by the British Government. It was not until 1921, however, that a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the whole question when the Canadian case was presented by Honourable Dr. S. F. Tolmie, Honourable Manning Doherty and Honourable Duncan Marshall.

In the autumn of 1922, Canada was invited to send representatives to meet the British Government representatives to discuss the details of a bill to be brought down in December of that year. In this case, the Canadian representatives were Honourable W. S. Fielding and Honourable E. Lapointe. A fairly satisfactory bill was drafted and passed as law in December, 1922, under the name of The Importation of Animals Act in 1922. This law came into effect April 1st, 1923. For a short time it was enforced in a manner satisfactory to Canadians, but by July, 1923, the interpretation being put on its provisions and the very autocratic methods followed by the British authorities resulted in practically killing the reviving trade in cattle. Representations made by the Prime Minister and Honourable Mr. Graham at the time of the Imperial Conference in 1923, however, brought about a better or more liberal interpretation of the law and regulations thereunder, and since that date things have been running very smoothly.

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Memo from Dr. Grisdale 8/2/24

C 46167

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The following statistics will indicate to some extent the comparative volume of shipments of Canadian cattle to Great

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Britain during the years prior to and subsequent to the lifting of the embargo:-

Calendar year 1920	320
" " 1921	33,053
" " 1922	18,475
January to March/23	9,779
April to December/23	47,893
Calendar year 1924	79,435

The lifting of this embargo has been of very much greater importance and value to the Canadian farmer than appears on the surface. The farmer markets about a million cattle a year of which only about 80,000 went overseas in 1924, yet prices available for this 8% of our cattle were very largely responsible for setting the price for the whole million marketed, quality of course determining the relative prices for the different grades. This has meant the increasing of the value of our beef cattle by from 15 to 35 or 40 per cent, according to quality.

The most important difficulty to overcome in this trade at present is the unreasonably high ocean freight rate. This rate, since it is set at so much per head, effectively prevents the shipping of light store cattle to Great Britain. If this rate could be reduced to $15.00 per head instead of $20.00, it would open this market to light stockers, a class very much in demand in Great Britain, and of which we have a very considerable surplus (in the opinion of the stockmen) in this country. This class must now go to the United States and pay from one cent to one and a half cents per pound duty, if it is to find a market outside Canada. The lowering of the rate to the extent mentioned would mean a great deal more to our farmers than the $5.00 difference in freight suggested, as it would give us a market without the necessity of paying present duty.

Another deterrent to this trade, though of an irritating rather than financial character, is the three days quarantine before going on shipboard. In addition to this, there is the very considerable item of expenditure, from $80,000 to $100,000 per year,

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or about one dollar a head a year, borne by the Canadian Government for sending Veterinary Inspectors overseas with each shipment.

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YY-1005-D

C 46170

Woodstock, Ontario.
August 20, 1924

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

re Admission of cattle from Scotland.

The wire you showed me yesterday from Dr.Grisdale stated that an arrangement or an aggrement had been made by the Honourable Sidney Fisher with the American Department of Agriculture to the effect that the admission of cattle from Great Britain to Canada and United States should by mutual arrangement be upon the same terms.

These mutually agreed terms for some years have been that cattle should not be admitted from England or Scotland until a period of sixty days had elapsed after an outbreak of disease had been declared cleaned up.

That England and Scotland for these purposes should be considered as separate countries, and when Scotland was free from disease, cattle should be admitted from Scotland regardless of whether disease existed in England or not. This was a proper arrangement as the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, an entirely separate body,has charge of the administration of the Diseases of Animals Act in Scotland.

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The United States authorities, according to Dr. Grisdale's wire, now want to change this mutual arrangement and consider England and Scotland as one country, and so refuse to admit cattle from Scotland until England is free from disease. This might cover a long period as foot and mouth disease still exists in England; in fact they have scarcely been free of it for several years.

I cannot understand by what right the American authorities have changed the basis of the mutual agreement by which cattle were admitted from Scotland separate from England. As Dr.Grisdale says in his wire, Scotland will have been free from disease for sixty days on September 12th, and if we follow the dictates of the United States and refuse to admit Scotch cattle then we will be maintaining an unfair embargo against Scotland, just as we claim Great Britain did against Canada.

We are not asking to change the agreement made with the United States; they are simply announcing that they are going to change it. What right have our authorities to take American dictation in the matter.

The American authorities have been tightening their regulations with respect to the test ~~of~~ for tuberculosis in the admission of British cattle. The American Shorthorn Association

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some time ago placed a $100. pedigree tax on British cattle and now they follow this up by a change in the agreement they had ~~xx~~ with us, and refuse to admit Scotch cattle on the old terms, all for the purpose of excluding as far as possible British cattle fromcoming to the United States. Surely we do not want to do the same.

The United States have recently had foot and mouth disease in their own country, but we did not for any considerable period shut cattle out of the whole of the United States. We admitted them from the eastern states when the outbreak was in the western states, just as United States has always agreed with us to admit Scotch cattle even if there was an outbreak in England.

We are not asking for any change in the regulations, we are only asking that the former regulation be complied with.

The mutual agreement that Dr. Grisdale speaks of is not being violated by us; ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ the proposal to violate it is coming from the United States. Why should we accept it? His fear that United States would ~~x~~etaliate by shutting out Western Canadian cattle seems scarcely possible. The United States would not put an embargo on Canadian cattle unless we had disease. If they did such a preposterous thing, it is a game that

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two people can play at. It seems to me however that we must play fair with Scotland and with our Canadian importers, and to do so we must conform to the rule that nearly every country in the world has adopted, and that is to admit cattle from an embargoed country sixty days after the disease has been declared eradicated for which the country was embargoed.

Scotland would have a real grievance against us if immediately after the removal of the embargo against Canada we unjustly maintained an embargo against them.

After the outbreak in Scotland of 1921, sixty days after it was cleaned up the United States admitted Scotch cattle to their country though foot and mouth disease still continued in England, and has continued practically ever since, and I cannot quite understand their excuse for wanting to change now; much less can I understand why they should expect Canada to change, or why our Canadian authorities would entertain the idea of changing.

It is simply justice to Canadian importers who have cattle in Scotland waiting for months to get out, and also to the Scottish authorities that we should continue our old arrangement and admit Scotch cattle on the 12th of September.

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Mr. W. A. Dryden telephoned me this morning that Dr. Grisdale had told him over the telephone that he would admit cattle from Scotland provided he got instructions to do so, but that he would require the feed for these cattle on their boat trip to be bought in Canada and shipped over to Scotland. This seems a rather extraordinary request, when onFriday of this week there will arrive in Montreal a Clydesdale stallion shipped from Scotland and consigned to the Canadian Department of Agriculture, and I am quite sure that the feed he was given on the boat was bought in Scotland.

A short time ago a number of horses were brought over for the Prince of Wales' ranch, and I am quite sure that the feed for them was also bought in Scotland. The horses were taken off the boat and none of the feed was allowed to land in Canada, which is quite a proper precaution. The same can be done with the cattle; but sixty days after Scotland is declared free from disease, to ask Mr. Dryden to ship feed over from Canada to bring his cattle back with is not only unnecessary but is a very unfair and expensive request. Time and again horses have been shipped from the Old Country to Canada when foot and mouth disease was in existence across the water, and they have been allowed to bring their feed with them, but not to unload any. The feed for cattle on the boat is identical with that for horses, and there is no excuse for different treatment

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so far as feed is concerned.

The admission of Scotch cattle on September 12th is one of very grave concern as between these two countries, and one in which the United States has no right to dictate terms, and I would consider it a very serious matter indeed if we continued an embargo against cattle from Scotland.

Duncan Marshall

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CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Day Message	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.
Cable Service to all the World
Money Transferred by Telegraph

RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK
		YY-100 S-D

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Ottawa, August 23, 1924

Mr. Duncan Marshall,
41 Wetherell Avenue,
Toronto.

Prime Minister believes matters connected with importation of cattle arranged satisfactorily, though of course all kinds of precautions will have to be taken.

F. A. McGregor

CHG. PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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ALL MESSAGES ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS, WHICH HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS FOR CANADA, UNDER ORDER 162, DATED MARCH 30, 1916.

It is agreed between the sender of the message on the face of this form and the Company with which the message is filed that said Company shall not be liable for damages arising from failure to transmit or deliver, or for any error in the transmission or delivery of, any unrepeated telegram, whether happening from negligence of its servants or otherwise, or for delays from interruptions in the working of its lines, for errors in cipher, or obscure messages, or for errors from illegible writing, beyond the amount received for sending the same.

To guard against errors, the said Company will repeat back any telegram for an extra payment of one-half the regular rate; and, in that case, the said Company shall be liable for damages suffered by the sender to an extent not exceeding $200.00, due to the negligence of the said Company in the transmission or delivery of the telegram.

Correctness in the transmission and delivery of messages can be insured by contract in writing, stating agreed amount of risk, and payment of premium thereon at the following rates, in addition to the usual charge for repeated messages, viz.: one per cent. for any distance not exceeding 1000 miles, and two per cent. for any greater distance.

The said Company shall not be liable for the act or omission of any other Company, but will endeavor to forward the telegram by any other Telegraph Company necessary to reaching its destination, but only as the agent of the sender and without liability therefor. The said Company shall not be responsible for messages until the same are presented and accepted at one of its transmitting offices; if a message is sent to such office by one of the said Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the sender's agent; if by telephone, the person receiving the message acts therein as agent of the sender, being authorized to assent to these conditions for the sender. The said Company shall not be liable in any case for damages, unless the same be claimed, in writing, within sixty days after receipt of the telegram for transmission.

No employee of the said Company shall vary the foregoing.

CLASSES OF SERVICE

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT MESSAGES

Accepted up to midnight at reduced rates, to be sent during the night and delivered on the morning of the next day after their date at places where the Company's offices are open on Sundays, and on the morning of the next ensuing business day at places where the Company's offices are not open on Sundays.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard telegram rates as follows: One and one-half times the ten-word day message rate for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of the initial rate for such 50 words for each additional 10 words or less. The minimum charge for transmission over the Company's lines of any Day Letter will be 45 cents.

Day Letters shall be written in plain English, or may be written in French between offices in Canada. Code language is not permitted.

Day Letters may be forwarded by the Company as a deferred service, and the transmission and delivery of such Day Letters are, in all respects, subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of full-rate messages.

Day Letters may be delivered by the Company by telephoning the same to the addressees, and such deliveries shall be a complete discharge of the obligation of the Company to deliver.

Day Letters are received subject to the express understanding and agreement that the Company does not undertake that a Day Letter shall be delivered on the day of its date absolutely and at all events; but that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject to the condition that there shall remain sufficient time for the transmission and delivery of such Day Letter on the day of its date during regular office hours, subject to the priority of the transmission of full-rate messages under the conditions named above.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to midnight for delivery on the morning of the next day after their date at places where the Company's offices are open on Sundays, and on the morning of the next ensuing business day at places where the Company's offices are not open on Sundays, at rates still lower than its standard night message rates as follows: The standard day rate for 10 words for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rate for such 50 words for each additional 10 words or less. The minimum charge for transmission over the Company's lines of any Night Letter will be 30 cents.

Night Letters shall be written in plain English, or may be written in French between offices in Canada. Code language is not permitted.

Night Letters may, at the option of the Company, be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such Night Letters at destination, postage prepaid

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with letters re — Somaliland

THE SPEECH OF LORD ROBERT CECIL

M bdc

LORD ROBERT CECIL (South Africa) Ladies and Gentlemen, the League of Nations has arrived at its third great meeting and it is a matter of congratulation for us all that is shows no diminution, rather an increase, in the interest which its proceedings arouse in the world and in the ability and eminence of my colleagues whom I see around me. The Report which we are now considering is a document which I think will ~~xxxxxx~~ cause two primary reflections. In the first place, anyone who reads it with the care which it most assuredly deserves, will be struck with the extent and with the quality of the work which it shows that our Council have done in the past year. The work, indeed, has been admirable and useful and in the interests of the happiness of mankind. But I think there will also be another reflection which will strike any careful student of the Report. I think such a student will be disposed to say: "Is there not a little danger lest the work of the Council on its broad lines, admirable as it is, should be a little overshadowed or even overwhelmed by the mass of detail which the Report contains." It is not that I am quarrelling in any way with the drafting of the Report; I think it is an admirable document. Nor am I quarrelling in any way with the manner in which the Council have discharged their/~~xxxxx~~ duties; on the contrary, if without impertinence I may do so, I venture to express my warm obligation and the obligation of my Government for the way in which those duties have been discharged. But I do think that it is opportune for this great Assembly to consider what are to be the lines of progress on which the League is to proceed. I think there is a little danger that the great wealth of detail with which we are presented, may perhaps conceal, and lead public opinion to under-rate, the great value and importance of the achievements which have been accomplished. 'Certainly some of the

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F2 things which the League has done during the past year have been very remarkable and very important.

Perhaps the Assembly would allow me to touch upon one or two of the things which the League has done. There is, for instance, the Convention for the neutralisation of the Aaland Islands, an admirable piece of work, if I may be allowed to say so. It is a Convention - I am not sure whether all the powers have yet ratified it - which has already been ratified by most of the powers. It was participated in by ten powers and it closes a chapter of the exertions of the League which entitle the League to the gratitude of everyone. A question of very great difficulty and complexity has now been settled, and settled, I think, in such a way as to make it most unlikely that it will be reopened. By means of it, I will not say a war, but a difference of opinion, or dispute, and the hindrance to good relations between the nations in that part of the world has been definitely and finally removed.

Then take the question of Upper Silesia. I am not going into the merits of the actual settlement of that question; I know it has been criticised, but I think those who criticise it have failed to distinguish between the provisions of the Treaty which the Council of the League was called upon to interpret, and the action of the Council itself. But what I do want to remind the Assembly of was the admirable work that was done in working out that settlement by a Convention, attended by the representatives of both Poland and Germany, and presided over with such distinguished skill and tact by M. Calondor, as the nominee of the League of Nations. (Applause). That Conference succeeded, as the Assembly is aware, in drawing up a document of great complexity, I believe I may say of even many hundreds of

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F3 Articles, - I think it is no exaggeration to say so - without once coming to a final dispute, but settling all their difference not by the arbitration of M. Calondcr but by common agreement between the parties to the Conference (Applause). That is a result which not only reflects the greatest credit, if I may be allowed to say so, upon the admirable way in which M. Calondor discharged his duties of mediation, but it is also a very high testimony to what has been called the objective atmosphere of Geneva which is assuredly a condition for the successful carrying out of the duties of the League.

Lastly, on the political question, we have to record with the greatest satisfaction the progress of the Albanian question. I need not remind the Assembly, I am certain, of the details of that achievement. We have heard from our Albanian colleague the warmest testimony to the success of what has been done, and I hope I may be allowed to say that for that success no small measure of credit attaches to the far-sighted selfcontrol of the Northern neighbour of Albania, the Serb,-Croat-Slovene State. At any rate, a great achievement has been recorded there. It is not out of place to recall that disputes amongst the Balkan nations, inevitable as I think they are, have been one of the great dangers to the peace of the world. None of us who remembers the Great War can dispute that great proposition and it is really something which twenty years ago would have been thought to have been almost unachievable that a controversy which might have led to very far-reaching consequences indeed, should have been peacefully and fundamentally settled, not merely smoothed over but fundamentally settled, by the action of the League. I believe that every member of the Assembly will agree with what was said on that subject by my distinguished colleague, Lord Balfour, that there was no doubt that there was no statesman, nation, organisation or machinery in the world which could have done what the League of Nations had done in this matter.

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Nor is it only on the political side that great achievements are recorded in this Report. There are the administrative questions, questions quite unsuited to any detailed discussion before the Assembly, but I think anyone who reads the account of them will agree that the Council have discharged duties of great difficulty and delicacy with remarkable success both in the Saar Valley and in Dantzig. I will venture however to make two observations for what they are worth. In reference to the Saar, the Governing Commission consists, as the Assembly is aware, of five Members, one of whom was chosen from the inhabitants of the district. I do not wish to say anything about that gentleman; I daresay he is an admirable man, but it does see to me rather doubtful whether it is desirable, if I may so put it, to impose a gentleman from the Council, to fulfil that functionwithout any consultation with the inhabitants of the Saar itself. There has been created an Advisory Council and I should like very much to ask the Council, or any Member of it, who is good enough to speak in this Debate, whether he thinks the time has not arrived for the Council to nominate through the Saar Member in collaboration with the Advisory Council they have created.

One other observation occurs to me, and it is this - Anyone who reads the accounts of the dealings of the Council with Danzig and the Saar will be struck with the number, and one might add, the minuteness of detail which is sometimes brought before them. That is probably inevitable in all administrative matters, but it does appear to me to be a

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question worth while the consideration of the Council whether some modification of their machinery, the creation if might be of some administrative Sub-Committee of the Council, might not be desirable in order to carry on these very arduous and detailed duties which may otherwise stand in the way of the greater duties which fall upon that distinguished body.

Then there are the technical organisations, all the work that has been done with reference to transit, health, and other matters.

The Health Organisation has especially accomplished great things, and not the least of its accomplishments was the holding so successfully of the great Health Conference at Warsaw, presided over with great distinction, I am told, by a member of the Ministry of the Polish Government, at which not only were members and representatives of the League present, but also of Germany and Russia. That is an indication, let us hope, of that time when the League will be representative not of some nations, but of all nations, and will fulfil to the utmost the destiny for which it was created.

(Applause).

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Lastly, in the very brief review of this Report which I am attempting to make, it would be wrong to ignore what are called the humanitarian questions, Much has been done which, I am sure, will meet with the warmest sympathy of every member of the Assembly in connection with very important subjects of that kind, - opium, the traffic in women and children, dangerous drugs besides opium, and, not least, the question of the refugees and the final liquidation of that admirable work accomplished by Dr. Nansen in the repatriation of prisoners of war. To have succeeded in restoring with great economy and efficiency four hundred and fifty thousand of our fellow creatures to their country who theretofore existed under conditions of the greatest hardship and danger to life and health, is an achievement which would by itself almost justify the creation of the League of Nations.

But when all this is said and done, and we have taken note, with thankfulness, of the great work that the League has so far accomplished, I think there will be some who will ask "Notwithstanding all this, is the League really carrying out the full purpose for which it was created?"

Let me remind the Assembly that by Article IV this Assembly is empowered to deal at its meeting with any matter affecting the peace of the world, and in Article XI it is provided that it is the friendly right of every Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatehs to disturbeinternational peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends. I am not quite sure whether it can be said - in fact, I am sure that it cannot be said - that the/activities of the League extend at present to all the great international subjects and questions which would be embraced by the

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phrases which I have read. After all, what are the great questions which now affect the peace of the world and the good international understanding upon which peace depends? There is, I suppose we should all state almost first, the unhappy conflict, the war which is still going on between Greece and Turkey. So far no appeal has been made and no opportunity has been given to the League to intervene in that question. I do not dispute that there are great difficulties, enormous difficulties. All I would venture to remind the Assembly of is this - that there have been international negotiations on this subject, negotiations which, it must be admitted, have so far not been very successful. But if the League is really to carry out the duties and the functions which are indicated in the Articles to which I have referred, one is forced to ask , Why should not such negotiations have been carried out by the organs of the League or at any rate under the supervision of the organs of the League? Would not the objective atmosphere of Geneva have been of some value in promoting the settlement of this dispute and avoiding further bloodshed?

Then there is the question of Russia, a very difficult question, a question which has occupied the attention of international gatherings, at Brussels, last year, at Genoa and at the Hague this year. So far one must admit that no very material progress has been made. The question is a very difficult one; but for my part I cannot help expressing my great regret that the League last year did not feel able to intervene more decisively in the question of the Russian Famine than it then did. I believe that, had such intervention been possible to it, it might not only have mitigated the

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horrors of that terrible infliction but it might have opened the door for the renewal of commercial intercourse between the Russian people and the rest of the world without raising those very difficult political questions and questions of economic theory which seem to have stood so much in the way of a settlement both at Genoa and the Hague. I conceive that, as things stand, there is not very much which the League could be asked to do at the present time. I rejoice to know that, as I understand it, the Council have accepted the principle of instituting an enquiry into the present situation in Russia, and I admit that, for the time being, there does not appear to be any other step which can be usefully taken. But I do feel that if we had been able to do something more decisive last year, we really should have been fulfilling more completely the duty cast upon us of dealing with all matters affecting the peace of the world and the good understanding upon which that peace depends.

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11. I come now to the question of Austria. The importance of that question it is impossible to exaggerate, but, since it is now under the consideration of the Council, I shall not attempt to make any observations upon it. It has come to us by the decision of the Conference of London, but one must recognise that it has come to us only by that decision, and not by any independent action of our own.

All these questions, however - the question of Russia and the question of Austria - are, after all, only part of the great economic crisis which is threatening Europe, and indeed the world. It is undoubtedly a crisis of far greater urgency, I think one may say, than any that has come upon us since the Armistice of the Great War. Its gravity is intense. We are told by a good observer that one of its manifestations, the fall of the mark, is by no means certainly concluded, and some believe that it is only a question, perhaps, of a few months before the financial situation in Germany will not be very different from that which prevails in Austria.

There is a terrible question, as we all know, centering round those thorny and difficulty matters, reparations and inter-allied debts - or inter-governmental indebtedness, as they might perhaps more properly be called. That question has agitated the international world ever since the Peace was signed. I think it is legitimate for the nations of the world to ask, "How long is this state of things to continue?" It is legitimate for them to ask, "How long is this question to be allowed to poison the international atmosphere". Three years have passed since Peace was signed. Are we really any nearer a settleme nt than we were then?

I noticed recently a speech by a distinguished citizen

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I2 of this country, ~~Mxxxxxxxxx~~ M. Schulthess, in which he said, and said truly, that those questions are not questions between ~~xxx~~ one or two nations, but are questions of world-wide importance. That is true. As long as this crisis continues, as long as it threatens us, it is not only the two or three nations immediately concerned, it is not only all the European nations, but it is all the nations of the world that are affected. I venture, therefore, very respectfully to ask whether this is not a matter in which the League of Nations should take some part (Applause). It is not that I am going to suggest any solution this afternoon. A problem which has baffled the acutest minds of Europe for three years cannot be dealt with in that way; it would be impertinent to propose a solution in an afternoon. I am not going to ask the Assembly to take any decision, but I am going to ask my colleagues to consider this matter carefully and to see whether or not we shall be able to take action of a useful kind before the Assembly separates. I cannot conceal from myself that if we do not do so, if we find ourselves unable to do so, there will be a severe disappointment and disillusionment in all the countries of the world.

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J.l.

Now I will mention one other great question, because there I have a more cheerful tale to tell, at least slightly more cheerful, the question of reduction of Armaments. That has been considered, as the Assembly know, from the very foundation of the League. It has been considered again this year and I hope that proposals of considerable importance will be submitted for the consideration of the Third Committee. Unfortunately, owing to certain delay in the proceedings of the Temporary Mixed Commission, those proposals are only now on the point of formal completion. The substance of it has been agreed upon but the form has to be finally agreed upon this afternoon. They ~~It~~ cannot therefore go to the Council, to which the Temporary Mixed Commission reports, until this afternoon. They cannot come before the Armaments Committee until Friday at the earliest, possibly not even then. I think they will be worthy of that Commission's consideration, but it would obviously be impropoer for me to discuss them now. I do not say that they will do very much. They will do something, but not very much, towards the actual reduction of armaments. But I think they will be of some service in mapping out the line which an advance in the direction of that reduction must take in the future. But those who have been considering this question will, I am certain, agree with me that we have met throughout, as indeed the Assembly recorded l st year, with one outstanding difficulty. The attitude of the international mind is not yet favourable to the reduction of armaments. As one eloquent speaker, I think it was M. Noblemaire, said last year, before you can have material reduction of armaments you must have a moral disarmament. That is profoundly true, and the condition of moral disarmament is the closing of that European

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disunion which depends so largely on the economic difficulties to which I have referred, so that here again, as always in any project of international advance, the economic situation bars the way. When I asknx the League to turn its attention to these great questions, the real questions which underlie the dangers to international peace, believe me I do not under-rate the difficulties of the task. I do not under-rate the objections that may be made. I know it is said that these questions are war questions and that the League was created to maintain peace but not to put an end to war. There is some truth in that statement, but it may be pressed too far. They are war questions. All international questions of importance during the life of the youngest man present will have some relation to the Great War through which we have been. Where are you going to draw the line? We cannot for ever be barred from considering great international questions on the ground that they arose out of the War. And then it is said, "Yes, but there are other bodies, Councils of the Allies and so on, which are dealing with these questions. We cannot intervene while these other international bodies are in oper tion." It may be so, but I venture to say to the League that here too that is a transitional state of things. The League, if it to be the great international organ, must be all or nothing. Sooner or later that will be the choice we shall have to make. Merely to exist to settle matters of secondary importance will not be to fulfil the objects and the aspirations with which the League was created, and sooner or later we must take over the full responsibilities laid upon us by the Covenant. I rather think I have before quoted from this tribune the saying of a great Frenchman: "De l'Audace, de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace! "

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J.3.

That was the prescription of a great man dealing with a time of great confusion and difficulty. I believe it is essentially sound. I believe that to face these difficulties we need not only prudence, not only caution, but courage. I am profoundly convinced that if we risk nothing we shall never achieve anything!

(loud and prolonged applause)

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P.C.769.

Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 7TH MAY 1924

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 2nd May, 1924, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, with reference to a despatch, dated 29th October, 1923, from the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, on the subject of the adherence of Canada to the International Convention for the suppression of the circulation of and traffic in obscene publications.

The Committee, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that Canada do adhere to the said Convention, and that a copy hereof be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemieux

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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INTERNATIONAL MATHEMATICAL CONGRESS, TORONTO, CANADA, 1924.

JOTTINGS FROM THE CANADIAN CENSUS.

By Mr. R. H. Coats, *Dominion Statistician*, and Mr. M. C. MacLean,
Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada.

The Census is the largest of statistical jobs: it is even the largest of ordinary administrative jobs in the average country under average conditions*. It deals primarily with the human factor, the most elusive of all, but at the same time the most important, as forming the background of all other factors. The technic of the Census is correspondingly difficult and tremendous in its consequences. These "jottings"—desultory as their name implies—are not offered primarily for their intrinsic importance, but as lending "local colour" to the present occasion, of which the Dominion Bureau of Statistics desires to express its meed of appreciation.

Historical

To Canada, we are fond of telling the world, belongs the credit of taking the first recorded Census of modern times—a veritable "nominal" enumeration of the population of New France, on the *de jure* system, covering sex, age, occupation, and conjugal and family condition†. The year was 1666. It was not a very large affair—only 3,215 souls. This was repeated no less than fifteen times in the next hundred years. After the British Conquest in 1763, the frequency of the Census at first diminished, but it rose sharply half a century later, and for eighteen years we had actually an annual census in Upper Canada, with fairly recurrent enumerations in the other parts as well. It was not, however, until 1848 that a regular Census was instituted by legislation in the Canadas. We can reckon ourselves today as having a past fairly replete with Censuses, though we have had only nine consecutive decennial censuses of the whole of Canada on a regular plan.

The Census and Parliamentary Representation

The legal *raison d'être* of the Canadian Census is to determine the representation of the several provinces in Parliament. Under the British North

*"Of all the peace-time activities of the Federal Government taking and compiling the Census is the largest."—Report of Advisory Committee on the U.S. Census, 1921.

†Unless the credit belongs to a Census of Castille mentioned by Edgeworth in the Dictionary of Political Economy (article *Census*), as "tolerably complete" and as having been taken in 1593. The Swedish Census commonly mentioned as the first was not taken until 1748.

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America Act, the Province of Quebec is given a fixed number of members in the House of Commons, namely, 65*, the other provinces being assigned representation *pro rata* according to the Census,—with certain important checks and balances. One or two interesting points arise in this connection:

(1) The British North America Act provides (Section 51, subsection 3) that "in the computation of the number of members for a Province a fractional part not exceeding one half of the whole number requisite to entitle the province to a member shall be disregarded, but a fractional part exceeding one half of that number shall be equivalent to the whole number". This, with the provision already quoted, frees us at once from the problem of fractional representation that has so vexed the statisticians of the United States. But it does not free us from the responsibilities always attaching to the use of a standard. Errors, as we know, should not be permitted to occur in statistics. Perhaps therefore it will be helpful to point out, as a further spur to effort on the part of the Census, (and, may we add, as a further plea to the public for their interest and cooperation, often so nonchalantly given, though so absolutely essential to success in this exceedingly difficult task), how necessary it is to achieve the extreme of accuracy, especially at the governing points along the line. The practical issue may be stated as follows, the formulae in each case being of the most obvious kind, yet of value as putting in definite form what is frequently overlooked:

(*a*) What would be the effect on representation of an error, either of under-statement or of over-statement, in the Census of Quebec, the standard province?

Let s represent the true population of the standard province, p that of any other province or all provinces, e the population included in the supposed error, and r the number of representative units resulting from that error.

Then

$$\frac{65p}{s-e} - \frac{65p}{s} = r.$$

Simplifying and transposing:

$$e = \frac{rs^2}{65p+rs}.$$

Applying this to the actual population figures of Quebec and the other provinces as at the last census, the error which, if deducted from or added to the standard province, would give one representative unit too many or too few to the other provinces, will be found to be 13,270.

Now as one-half a representative unit may mean one representative, it follows that an error of 6,635 in taking the Census of Quebec might under present population conditions in Canada result in giving a member too many or too few to the rest of Canada.

*The number of seats held by Lower Canada in the Canadian Legislature prior to Confederation.

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(*b*) The effect on representation of an error in the enumeration of another province than Quebec is, of course, the fraction that the error is of the unit of representation $\left(\frac{65e}{s}=r, \text{ or } e=\frac{sr}{65}\right)$. The unit of representation by the recent Census was 36,283. Half of this, or 18,142, would on the average affect representation by one member.

Thus under present population conditions in Canada an error in the Census of Quebec would be attended with nearly three times as serious consequences to representation in Parliament as a similar error elsewhere.

(*c*) As a refinement we might ask, would an error in the standard province, Quebec, be equal in its incidence upon each of the other Provinces? Obviously the answer is in the negative: the effect will be greater in the provinces that are smaller than Quebec than in Ontario, (the one province which is larger), for the reason that the error will be a greater proportion of the former than of the latter $\left(e_1 \times \frac{p}{s-e_1}=e\right)$. Thus if the Census of Quebec should contain an error in defect (which would have the result of increasing representation outside of Quebec), the increase in representation would tend to be greater in Ontario than in the smaller provinces. On the other hand, if the Census of Quebec should be in error through excess (which would decrease representation in the rest of Canada), the smaller provinces would tend to lose in point of representation less than would Ontario.

(2) As illustrating how the statistician must "watch his step" in working out results under such heavy responsibilities, we may adduce the following: One of the subsections of the British North America Act (subsection 4 of section 51), in addition to that already cited, provides that on the readjustment of representation "the number of members for a Province shall not be reduced unless the proportion which the number of the population of the Province bore to the number of the aggregate population of Canada at the then last preceding re-adjustment of the number of members for the Province is ascertained at the then latest Census to be diminished by one-twentieth part or upwards". The computation arising out of this provision must be so close that even an exceedingly small difference, such as that arising from the use of a decimal to five points instead of a vulgar fraction, must be guarded against, as it might easily result in the displacement of a representative. Ontario, for example, according to the last Census, fell off in the proportion which its population bore to the total population of Canada by a ratio of decrease very close to the one-twentieth prescribed in the Act, namely, .0481. The calculations by decimals to five places and by vulgar fractions show ratios of proportional decrease amounting to .048162 and .048138 respectively, a difference of .000024. Suppose the exact ratio had been .049976: an error of .000024 would have brought this up to .05 thus causing the loss of a representative. By carrying the decimal computation to more places the error would, of course, be reduced, but it would persist.

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The Analysis of a Census—Sample Tests and Interpretations

The general subject of Census analysis is too vast to be approached here, save to mention that our Bureau contemplates a series of studies on special features which though far from comprehensive will represent considerably more than has been attempted hitherto in Canada. Two or three random exemplifications, however, of the importance, nay the necessity, of the most careful examination of Census data may be given, choosing for opening text the item on illiteracy, with special reference to the question of the reliability of the Census.

(1) *The Accuracy of the Census of Illiteracy.*

The Census returns on illiteracy have been under fire in many countries, notably in the United States, and undoubtedly the difficulties connected with the item are many. In the first place, the question "Can you read?" is indefinite: *e.g.*, some might answer "Yes" of a few simple words of print, others "No" having in mind an abstruse work or poorly written script. There is the further possibility of unwillingness to acknowledge illiteracy. Again, the enumerator may rely too much upon impression, a non-English-speaking person of poor appearance being prejudged as illiterate, and an English-speaking person of good appearance as literate. The U.S. Census Bureau concludes that while the illiteracy figures may be fairly accurate for the country as a whole and for States, (by the intercancellation of errors), they do not hold for smaller districts. The U.S. Census Advisory Committee suggests, for the resolution of the doubt, a follow-up survey of certain districts, say, in the neighborhood of a University by students of statistics. We have arrived at a somewhat different conclusion for Canada.

The returns of illiteracy in Canada in 1921 have been compiled for Canadian-, British-, and foreign-born over ten years of age, for the rural and urban parts separately of each of the 219 counties or other large municipal areas into which the provinces are divided. The number of children between the ages of 7 and 14 at school and not at school in the same counties has also been compiled, whilst the provincial education reports give the school grades of pupils in 1921 for 150 out of the 219 counties.

These different sets of figures offer materials for some interesting correlations. Taking first the school attendance figures and the illiteracy returns (Canadian-born), it may be noted that the former are for ages 7 to 14, whilst the latter are for ages 10 and over, the only element common to both being children of ages 10 to 14 years, a negligible factor, as they number in illiterates only 16,920 for the whole of Canada, *i.e.*, 7 per cent. of the total Canadian-born illiterates. When we correlate school attendance with illiteracy, therefore, in the different counties we are avoiding the pitfall of identity in the data. It seems reasonable to add that a correlation between school attendance and illiteracy under these circumstances, and with a sufficient number of cases to guard against chance, is meaningless except on the assumption that the illiteracy returns are accurate.

The illiteracy returns of 1921 were correlated with school attendance by the Pearsonian product moments and found to be .70, a rather high correlation considering the number of cases and the mutual exclusiveness of the elements.

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Care was taken to correlate homogeneous elements, and the rural and urban parts were correlated separately, the coefficients coming out almost exactly the same for both, *i.e.*, around .70

The illiteracy returns and the grades at school were next correlated. It was possible to do this only in the case of four provinces, and as "grade" may have a slightly different meaning in different provinces it was deemed desirable to correlate each province separately. This unfortunately made the number of cases in two of the provinces rather small, namely, 19 and 15 counties, respectively, but the remaining provinces had respectively 66 and 50 counties. The percentage of illiteracy of the population over 10 years of age was correlated with the percentage of children at school below Grade IV and also below Grade V in 1921, and the coefficients found to be high. The two large provinces showed coefficients of .60 and .80 respectively. In the province with only 15 counties it was .98. The province with 19 counties showed a definite but not very high correlation for that particular year, but when the percentage below Grade IV was taken of the children at school according to the census returns, the correlation was .79. There is no doubt that the correlations would have been still better if the average grades for the ten previous years instead of for 1921 had been taken, but this would have involved an excessive amount of labour.

Now there is no conceivable reason for a correlation between the illiteracy of a community and the grade of the children at school, except on the assumption that both sets of figures are accurate; as in the case of school attendance, inaccurate figures would tend to destroy the correlation. Further, it is reasonable to conclude that the illiteracy figures have not only a consistent but also a definite meaning. The grade at school is a definite measurement of educational status; of children who have reached a certain grade it is known not only that they can read but also how much they can read—a point that the most skilfully devised census question on illiteracy could not ascertain. There is a strong probability, however, that in an illiterate community (*i.e.*, illiterate as shown by the census), (1) the school attendance of the children will be lower than in a literate community; and (2) the children actually at school will not reach the same standard before leaving school as the children in a literate community. In other words, the illiteracy figures of the Census as shown by this correlation are an index not only of the inability to read but of the degree of educational status likely to prevail in a community.

It may be mentioned as further tests of the reliability of the census illiteracy figures, (1) that a curve showing the proportion of illiterates in each percentage of the population, beginning with the worst percentage and proceeding in order to the best, is remarkably smooth; (2) that the standard deviation between different communities is largest of all (relatively to the mean) in the case of the British-born, second largest in the case of the Canadian-born, and least in the case of the foreign-born. The British-born show the least illiteracy in the Census, next the Canadian-born, and next the foreign-born. The British-born are comparatively homogeneous as to race; the Canadian-born are of widely different racial origins, including Indians; whilst the foreign-born represent a still larger admixture of origins. If the Census enumerator had prejudged illiteracy upon

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impression, assuming that the person of his own race and language was able to read and that the person who could not understand or speak that language was unable to read, then it is apparent that the foreign-born, varying all the way from the English-speaking American to the Ukrainian, Ruthenian and Italian, would show a greater variability in illiteracy than the Canadian-born, and the latter again than the British-born. But the facts are the opposite, though on the assumption of their accuracy quite intelligible. In a large number of communities, each with only a small number of British-born, the illiteracy of the latter was nil; in other communities, where the British-born were preponderatingly recent arrivals in Canada (so that there were not many old persons among them) their percentage of illiteracy was again very small and in correspondence with the percentage of illiteracy of the English-speaking Canadian-born; whilst in still other communities where the occupations were mining or fishing and where the British-born contained a large element of unskilled laborers and old persons their percentage of illiteracy was large. In other words, the illiteracy of British born communities varied all the way from zero to a relatively high percentage. In the case of the Canadian-born, on the other hand, English-speaking communities had a considerable proportion of old people so that there were no communities with zero illiteracy. In the case of the foreign-born, although certain races show an educational status practically as high as that of English-speaking Canadians, these had as neighbors in the community an illiterate race which brought down the general educational status; consequently the illiteracy of the foreign-born tended more towards a dead level as between communities than that of the Canadian-born, as did the illiteracy of the latter when compared with that of the British-born.

If the above conclusions hold, the census returns of illiteracy are of greater value than has hitherto been claimed for them.

(2) *Weighting.*

False weighting is a fruitful source of error in the interpretation of statistics. For example, if it is desired to compare two observations, A and B, and A is found in the form W_1A, whilst B is found in the form W_2B, the public frequently base their conclusions on what are really the weights and not the observations.

Again using the illiteracy figures for illustration: In 1921, as in former censuses, the percentage of illiteracy of females was considerably lower than that of males, namely, 4.4 per cent., compared with 5.7 per cent. A hasty conclusion is that females as a sex have a higher educational status than males, the explanation being sought in the fact that the former attend school more regularly and longer.

But is this really a phenomenon of sex? Let us consider the "weights" involved, namely, (1) that race is a potent factor in illiteracy, the most illiterate elements in the population being amongst the foreign-born; and (2) that illiteracy is greater in rural than in urban parts.

Now it so happens that in our sparsely settled districts and in rural parts generally the males are in the majority, also in the illiterate races, whilst in the urban centres and in the less illiterate races the proportion of females is much

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greater. That is, under the conditions that chiefly accompany illiteracy, the males are in the majority, whilst they are either in the minority or about equal to the females where the conditions make for literacy. In comparing the illiteracy of males and females, therefore, it is not the sexes but these other conditions that are actually under interpretation. Taking the unweighted average of the percentages of illiteracy of males and females under all the conditions mentioned, or giving them equal weights, it will be found that the difference between the sexes in this respect is unimportant.

A striking illustration of the same fallacy was encountered in studying illiteracy in the different counties. In county A the illiteracy in urban centres was 5.41; in rural centres 3.37. In county B the illiteracy in urban centres was 5.70; in rural centres 3.39. In county A as a whole the illiteracy was 4.77; in county B as a whole, 4.49. In other words, the rural person in A was less illiterate than the rural person in B, and the urban person in A was also less illiterate than the urban person in B; and yet A on the whole was more illiterate than B. What might almost be considered a mathematical paradox was here caused by the different proportions of population in rural and urban centres in the two counties. The question is, which county was the more illiterate, A or B? We think B.

The following table shows the percentages of illiteracy in the different provinces of Canada in two ways: 1. the actual Census figures; 2. as the figures would appear if each province had the same proportions of Canadian, British and foreign-born, also of rural and urban populations, and also of males or females, as the whole of Canada. It should be noticed that the only re-adjustment made here is in the weights—the percentages of illiteracy of Canadian-born, etc., are left untouched:

	P.C. of Population over 10 Years Illiterate According to the Census	P.C. Illiterate if the Population were Distributed by Nativity, Rural and Urban Residence and Sex in each Province in the same Proportion as in all Canada
P. E. Island	3.1	3.0
Nova Scotia	5.1	5.1
New Brunswick	7.6	6.1
Quebec	6.2	6.0
Ontario	2.9	3.7
Manitoba	7.1	5.2
Saskatchewan	5.9	3.6
Alberta	5.2	4.4
British Columbia	6.2	6.9

(3) *Age Distribution, Montreal and Toronto.*

Age distributions differ widely in communities with varying characteristics and standards of life. Thus the population of Quebec is a much "younger"

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population than that of Ontario. On the basis of the 1921 Census, the median inhabitant in respect of age in Quebec was only 20.79 years of age, while the median person in Ontario was 26.76 years of age—nearly 6 years older.

This phenomenon may be further illustrated by a comparison of the populations of the two leading cities, Montreal and Toronto. Both of these moved up during the past decade beyond the half-million mark—the first time Canada witnessed such a phenomenon—itself significant of much. Montreal had in 1921 a total population of 618,506, of whom 614,604 were of known ages; Toronto had a population of 521,893, of whom 520,991 were of known ages. The difference between the populations of known age was 93,613 in favour of Montreal, which would naturally be presumed sufficient to give Montreal a surplus in all the quinquennial age-groups.

We find, however, on examination, that practically the whole excess of the Montreal population over that of Toronto is in the quinquennial age groups under 30—the population over 30 years of age (of known ages) being 242,082 in Montreal as compared with 241,188 in Toronto. Indeed if we consider age 35 as the middle point of human life—*mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*—the persons of known age above this point numbered 192,239 in Toronto as compared with 191,391 in Montreal. It is in the age groups under 15 that two-thirds of Montreal's excess is made up. The question is far from having a merely theoretical interest; it has a profound influence upon the social and economic life of the two cities. The student of statistics would expect the following phenomena to be present in Montreal as compared with Toronto, (1) higher birth rate, accounting for the greater number of young people; (2) higher general death rate, as shown by the lower percentage of people at the more advanced ages; (3) higher infant mortality; (4) proportionally larger educational problem; (5) earlier school leaving and more child labour; (6) lower general standard of living, the percentage of non-workers to total population being larger. These deductions are in the main borne out by independent statistics as follows: (1) the crude birth rate in Montreal in 1921 was 34.2 as against 25.6 in Toronto; as for (2) the general death rate in Montreal in 1921 was 16.6 as compared with 11.3 in Toronto; (3) the infant mortality was in 1921, 158 per 1,000 living births in Montreal as compared with 91 in Toronto; (4) records from the census of 1921 are not yet available, but in 1911 there were 2,911 child workers under 15 years of age enumerated in Montreal as compared with 1,875 in Toronto; (5) hourly wages and hours worked per week in leading trades show on the average smaller earnings and longer working hours in Montreal*. Again, the youthful character of Montreal's population means, generally speaking, that a smaller percentage of the population are at ages where they can be gainfully employed. Thus, out of Montreal's population of 470,480 in 1911, 184,257 or 39.2 per cent., were returned as gainfully employed; out of Toronto's population of 376,538, 169,520 or 45.0 per cent., were returned as gainfully employed. Necessarily it must make a difference to the well-being of a community whether 39 out of every 100 or 45 out of every 100 of its population are producers. On the other hand, from a far-sighted point of view, it may in the long run prove the better

*See *Canada Year Book*, 1922-23, pp. 737-8.

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economic policy to invest capital in the rearing of numerous children rather than in things material. As Ruskin has said, "there is no wealth but life".

The table of the age distribution of the 1921 populations of Montreal and Toronto, by quinquennial age groups follows:

POPULATION OF THE CITIES OF MONTREAL AND TORONTO BY AGE GROUPS, CENSUS, 1921

Age Groups	Population of Montreal	Population of Toronto	Excess of Montreal over Toronto	Excess of Toronto over Montreal
Under 5 years	69,607	46,933	22,674	..
5-9 years	70,166	49,867	20,299	..
10-14 "	62,513	42,957	19,556	..
15-19 "	58,817	41,269	17,548	..
20-24 "	57,271	47,137	10,134	..
25-29 "	54,148	51,640	2,508	..
30-34 "	50,691	48,949	1,742	..
35-39 "	45,845	47,394	...	1,549
40-44 "	38,009	37,826	183	..
45-49 "	29,873	29,549	324	..
50-54 "	24,082	24,819	..	737
55-59 "	17,578	17,505	73	..
60-64 "	14,318	14,664	..	346
65-69 "	9,537	9,023	514	..
70-74 "	6,395	5,873	522	..
75-79 "	3,254	3,149	105	..
80-84 "	1,649	1,630	19	..
85-89 "	635	640	..	5
90-94 "	170	135	35	..
95-99 "	39	28	11	..
100 and over	7	4	3	..
Total population of known ages	614,604	520,991	96,250	2,637
Age not given	3,902	902	3,000	
Grand Total Populations	618,506	521,893	96,613	

Postcensal and Intercensal Estimates—The Future

But of all topics suggested by the Census, the greatest is that of population aggregates and the place of Canada in that sudden and enormous expansion of the human family which made the nineteenth century the "magnificent episode" of Mr. Keynes's phrase—with, of course, the revulsion of the present war-stricken day. For six centuries before 1600 the growth of Europe was negligible. In the seventeenth century the rate advanced to, say, 33⅓ per cent., and in the eighteenth century to, say, 50 per cent. In the nineteenth, this slow fire burst into a marching conflagration, and we had an increase in one hundred years of over 300 per cent.

Canada grew into existence whilst the rate was still moderate, though she was a symptom of the new expansion from the beginning. In 1791, the year of

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our Constitutional Act, which marks our first non-French immigration,—the United Empire Loyalists—we had reached about 200,000. (The first census of the United States taken the year previously gave 3,929,214.) This, it may be noted, was seven years earlier than Malthus, and before the Industrial Revolution. We began the nineteenth century with a quarter of a million, and long before 1840 had increased this to a million and a half. Our first regular census in 1851 showed 2,384,919, a total which had grown to 3,689,257 in 1871, the first Census after Confederation. Not to prolong the recital, we ended the nineteenth century with 5,371,315. If the world increased by three times during the nineteenth century, Canada increased by over twenty times; she grew her three times in the first twenty-five years, and added another three times on the top of that before 1850; reckoning backwards, she grew three times since 1840 alone.

It has been in the twentieth century, however, that the most spectacular expansion of the Canadian population has taken place, the underlying factor being of course the opening to settlement of the "last best West", which became the chief magnet for the attraction of old-world peoples. With an accompanying importation of probably $2½ billions of capital to finance the large constructive undertakings required (railway, municipal and industrial), 1900-1910 became the *decas mirabilis* of Canadian progress. The growth in population was 35 per cent., the highest of any country in the world. Again, in 1911-1921, in spite of the war, our increase was nearly 22 per cent., once more the highest of any country except Australia and that by only a fractional amount. We seem, in fact, during the twentieth century thus far, to have approximated to the experience of the United States throughout the nineteenth, when the latter's increase ran undeviatingly at 35 per cent. from decade to decade until 1860, falling to 27 per cent. in the next three decades, and to 21 per cent. for the ensuing two. It was the astounding growth of the United States, we may recall, that moved Darwin in 1870 to deduce that in 657 years at a similar rate of progress four men would have to stand on every square yard of the whole terraqueous globe*. So Knibbs more recently notes that at the rate of progress immediately preceding 1911 the earth would in 500 years contain 246 billions of people†.

Such statements are beside the mark, save as picturesque and startling descriptions of current facts. Nevertheless, so practically important are the consequences of population growth or decrease, and so necessary are population aggregates for mere shop purposes, as a basis of general statistical measurements from day to day, that the statistician cannot avoid the problem of post-censal estimation—especially in a country that is "new" like Canada, and organized on a federal basis. On a larger view, the questions whether we are as a race to go on and if so, what share is Canada to have in that progress, are, we may agree with Mr. Keynes, the most interesting questions of the present day to which time will bring an answer.

Can we, then, or can we not predict the growth of population? On the one hand it is held that there is no simple law of population growth. True,

*_Descent of Man_, vol. I, Part I, c. 4.
†Scientia, vol. XII.

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population tends to increase, and that in constant ratio, but (*a*) the increase even in itself causes the rate to change, and (*b*) the increase cannot be isolated from other phenomena. In other words, the intervention of social and economic tendencies unpredictable with our present statistical apparatus except within brief limits of time—"imponderables" like the progress of invention, the relation of migration to natural fecundity, changes in the standard of living, etc.—allow any theory to work only by invalidating it altogether. On this basis the predictions of Elkanah Watson for the United States in 1815, which came true for half a century and which were once thought a marvel for prescience, were really borne out by accident. Even the multiple correlation method which Mr. E. C. Snow has so ably advocated as an attempt to take as many factors as possible into account must fail for lack of data and laboriousness of application. On the other hand, in the full light of all these difficulties, and indeed interpretative of them, we are told that there does exist a law of population growth capable of mathematical formulation—that there is an optimum population to which mankind tends to adjust its numbers, that, in brief, "growth of population is fundamentally a phenomenon like auto-catalysis". The phrase is that of Messrs. Pearl and Reed*, of whom more in a moment.

The present writers are concerned only (1) to explain the methods of post-censal and inter-censal calculation used for practical purposes in the Bureau of Statistics, and (2) to apply a formula or two to our past population records, with a view to seeing what horoscope these may cast for Canada for, say, around 1950.

(1) *Post-censal and Inter-censal Estimates.*—We are still without entirely comprehensive vital statistics for Canada, and likewise statistics of the net annual increase or decrease from migration. In any case it is doubtful whether records of the kind can be sufficiently inclusive to measure population from year to year by provincial areas, valuable though the figures would be as a check. We must fall back therefore on the application of a formula to Census results.

In the older countries the method of arithmetic progression is widely adopted for post-censal estimates, and the practice is also followed in the United States. It is not yet applicable to Canada. Neither, it may be added, does the method of geometrical progression apply, there having been only two decades out of our six in which it did not run wild. The Pearl method, which consists of fitting observed population data to the curve $\left(y=d+\frac{b}{e^{-ax}+c}\right)$, whatever its theoretical foundations, cannot be successfully fitted as yet to the Canadian situation. We submit for provisional adoption therefore the method of fitting by least squares a system of parabolas to the provinces, using the order of parabola that is found on trial to fit each province best, and adding these to represent the Dominion. Pearl himself used the parabola $Y=a+bx+cx^2+d\log x$, with satisfactory results prior to his introduction of biological law and the location of asymptotes. It frees us from theory of any kind as to the law of population growth, and it has the merit of reacting more favourably than any other we

*See Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci., vol. VI, No. 6, p. 287.

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have tried to every test in the past. It can be continued in use, fitting it anew from census to census without much labour until a better consensus on the whole point has been arrived at.

With regard to inter-censal estimates and the correction of our yearly post-censal estimates in the light of the following Census, the formula used for the Dominion as a whole is the ordinary one of geometric increase, the tenth root of the ratio of increase between the censuses being taken from year to year. As the geometric ratio of increase for each Province would of course not add up to the geometric ratio for the Dominion, the yearly arithmetic increase of each Province is taken and made to agree *pro rata* with the geometric total for Canada by being multiplied by the ratio between the geometric increase of the Dominion over the total arithmetic increases of the provinces.

(2) *Quo vadimus?*—And now let us essay prophecy by the light of such mathematics as we have been able to invoke. The results will of course have merely an *intérêt de curiosité*, being but a projection of the rate of past growth into the future, whereas, as everyone knows, the future of a new country like Canada is veritably on the knees of the gods.

(1) At the rate of growth which prevailed between 1871 and 1921 the population of Canada in 1951 would be 14,794,000. At the rate of increase between 1881 and 1921 the total would be slightly higher, viz., 14,957,000. By similarly taking the rate between each successive Census and 1921, we have estimates for 1951 ranging from the above to 18,393,000. The geometric mean of these is 15,962,000. There is no good reason for taking this mean, except the usual one of seeking a *via media*. If instead of using two extreme points, as above, a straight line is fitted to the logarithms of all the Censuses, thus striking an average geometric rate of increase, the line will cross 1951 at over 14 millions, but the fit for the observed Censuses is bad.

(2) The Pearl and Reed method may be experimented with as a variant, though, as stated, it is not yet fairly applicable to Canada. Without going into details, the curve was fitted through three points to the Canadian population since 1851, namely, 1851, 1881, and 1911. This gives a prediction of 8,570,000 for 1921 compared with the Census figure of 8,788,483, which is low by less than 3 per cent., and much nearer than by the method of geometrical progression. In fact the aggregate difference between the figures obtained by this method and the Census is considerably less than the similar difference between the Census and results obtained by geometrical progression for every decade since 1851. When, however, the curve is produced to 1950 a population of only 12,274,000 is shown. This we think represents a flattening of the curve beyond all probability, for the reason that it brings the ultimate population of Canada to only 23 millions, whereas on the theory on which the argument for the reliability of the method is based, Canada should ultimately have as large a population as she can support, which is undoubtedly beyond 23 millions. This is not so much a condemnation of the method as an indication that we

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have as yet an insufficient number of points of observation in Canada to enable it to be applied*.

(3) We incline, therefore, in the state of our present data, to the method of using the curve which fits best the observed population since our earliest records. So far as our experiments have gone, this has been found to be the system of curves already described. For 1921 the method gave a total of 8,823,000, which is nearer than Pearl's, and very close indeed to the actual Census. Working it out until 1950 a population for Canada approaching 15,000,000 is shown. Here the calculator may rest his case, unless he adds some infusion of theory as to population growth, which the above makes a point of avoiding.

"Be ye fruitful and multiply; seize the good places of the earth and use them." This advice has been followed by mankind in the past; Canada having so many "good places" still unseized may well see it followed in the future to a degree that will shatter any prophecy based merely upon her past. That, however, is a subject beyond the scope of this paper.

*The curve flattens much less if the Canadian-born population alone is considered, and the fit is also better prior to 1921.

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R.H. Coats (1928 S.W.) C 46204

DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS

Dominion Statistician: R. H. Coats, B.A., F.S.S.(Hon.), F.R.S.C.

NATIONALITY, BIRTHPLACE, AND RACIAL ORIGIN OF CANADIANS AS RECORDED IN THE CENSUS

The Population schedule of the Census contains altogether 35 questions, of which 10 bear on the related subjects of nationality, birthplace, language and racial origin. A description of policy and method is as follows:

(1) Nationality.- Each and every person of Canadian citizenship or nationality whether such by birth or naturalization, is recorded as a "Canadian". In the case of naturalized citizens, the year of naturalization is recorded. In the case of everyone born outside of Canada, the year of immigration to Canada is also recorded.

The participation of Canada in the Peace Treaty and in the League of Nations made it necessary for an official definition of Canadian nationals and Canadian nationality to be made for the first time in Canada, since among different measures adopted in connection with the operation of the League were provisions defining certain rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the nationals of members of the League. A Canadian national was accordingly defined by 11-12 Geo.V, chap.4, as

(a) any British subject who is a Canadian citizen within the meaning of the Immigration Act, chapter 27 of the Statutes of 1910, as heretofore amended;
(b) the wife of any such person;
(c) any person born out of Canada, whose father was a Canadian national at the time of that person's birth, or with regard to persons born before the passing of this Act, any person whose father at the time of such birth possessed all the qualifications of a Canadian national as defined in this Act,

According to the Immigration Act, 1910, a "Canadian citizen" is

(i) a person born in Canada who has not become an alien;
(ii) a British subject who has Canadian domicile;
(iii) a person naturalized under the laws of Canada who has not subsequently become an alien or lost Canadian domicile.

The Census fully covers the point of view above set out.

(2) Birthplace.- The country of birth of each person is recorded, and in the case of Canadian-born, the province of birth. This (a) differentiates the Canadian-born and British-born from the foreign-born, and (b) in the case of the Canadian-born, enables the movement to be traced from time to time of our native Canadian stock within the limits of Canada.

The birthplaces of the father and mother of each person are also recorded. This is for the purpose of distinguishing Canadian families of three or more generations residence in the country, and thus instituting a further and special standard of "Canadianism".

N.B. It will be noted from the above headings that the Census describes everyone of Canadian nationality as "Canadian"; everyone born in Canada as of "Canadian" birth; and everyone whose family has been of three generations residence or more in Canada as "Canadian" in a special sense.

(3) The language spoken is recorded (a) whether English, French (the two official languages of the country), or (b) other language used in the family. Language is not only an important factor in itself, but is a valuable cross-check in various features of population analysis. In the United States the language of parents is obtained as a further index of racial extraction.

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POOR
COPY

(4) The racial origin of each person is recorded, the object of this question being to ascertain from what basic stocks the present Canadian population, more particularly the recently immigrated population, is derived. The answer "Canadian" under this heading is not accepted, as the purpose of the question is to obtain in so far as possible a definition of "Canadian" in terms of racial derivation. In connection with this procedure of the Census, it is recognized that there are Canadians whose family is of several generations residence in the country who may not know their ultimate racial origin, or who may be of very mixed racial origin. As against this it must be considered: (a) That Canadians whose family is of three or more generations residence are enumerated and differentiated through the question on the birthplace of parents above described; (b) That even where racial origins are very mixed, where considerable numbers are involved the method of tracing race through the father reveals the nature of the admixture for the whole, i.e. by the law of large numbers; (c) That there are special features in connection with racial assimilation that require appraisement and study; for example, over 800 Chinese and Japanese children were born in Canada last year, whom it would not be expedient to enumerate solely on the basis of birthplace and nationality. Again, the fact that the constitution of Canada is based on the presence of two dominant races points to the desirability of a measurement of these elements; only recently it has been widely pointed out that the original French colony numbering 75,000 at the date of the Conquest had expanded to over three millions to-day; measurements of this kind would be impossible if the answer "Canadian" instead of "French" were accepted under the heading of racial origin - yet undoubtedly the descendants of the original French colonists are "Canadians" by race, if length of habitat be the criterion; (d) Finally, racial origin is an important subject for study in a "new" country like Canada from the standpoint of the student of ethnology, criminology, and the social and "biometric" sciences in general.

To accept the answer "Canadian" to the question on racial origin would confuse the data and defeat the purpose for which it is asked.

It must be appreciated that the whole question of population analysis from this standpoint is a complex one, involving several concepts (i.e. of birthplace, nationality, race, etc.), which, though closely related, represent distinct points of view. Especially important is the fact that the questions in this connection are not compiled separately, but in combination and cross-relation with each other, and the questions are drafted with that process in view. For example, the racial origin of the newly arrived immigrant and of the three generation Canadian are differentiated in compilation.

The Census, to repeat, deals comprehensively with Canadian nationality in its various aspects, no question being omitted or method pursued that tends to obscure information. The last Census, for example, shows that of a total population of 8,788,483 in 1921, the number of Canadian nationality was 8,412,383 (514,182 being Canadian by naturalization); the number of Canadians by birth was 6,832,747; whilst the number of Canadians whose family residence in the country is of three or more generations and who may therefore be considered as constituting a Canadian race was 4,857,523. Of the racial derivations of Canadians the more important were English 2,545,496, French 2,452,751, Scotch 1,173,637, and Irish 1,107,817. These figures, of course, are analyzed and amplified in the Census reports from literally hundreds of points of view, the object being to lay bare all the essential and crucial facts concerning the population, and especially those relating to "Canadianization".

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B-1000-CC 46206

fyle

Sir Austen Chamberlain

Mr. King:

In speaking this morning about some other matter to Col. Willis O'Connor (who, by the way, has been promoted in rank), I learned that Sir Austen and Lady Chamberlain will be in Ottawa for one day as guests at Government House on Sunday, October 28. I thought perhaps you might like to know of this, as you will perhaps arrive in Ottawa about the 27th or 28th.

WHM

Ottawa,
September 28, 1928.

Check time of arrival at Quebec

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C 46207

NOV-7'28

Visit of the Right Honourable Sir Austen Chamberlain

Ottawa - November 10 - 12, 1928.

November 10	Saturday	Arrive 7.50 a.m. Lunch at L.H. 1.30 p.m. Government dinner, House of Commons 8.00 p.m.
November 11	Sunday	Lunch with Rt.Hon. Sir Robert Borden. Dine with Sir Wm. Clark, High Commissioner for Great Britain - 8.15 p.m.
November 12	Monday	Luncheon, Ottawa Canadian Club - 1.00 p.m. (Chateau) Dine with His Excellency the Governor General.
November 13	Tuesday	Leave for Montreal at 3.35 p.m.

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Following are Sir Austen Chamberlain's movements obtained from C.P.R. and Official:-

Leaves	Toronto	11.25 p.m.	Thursday	November	8th.
Arrives	Ottawa	7.50 a.m.	Friday	"	9th.
Leaves	"	4.50 p.m.	Tuesday	"	13th.
Arrives	Montreal	8.15 p.m.	"	"	"
Leaves	"	5.00 p.m.	Wednesday	"	14th.
Arrives	Quebec	9.45 p.m.	"	"	"

Sails next day.

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COPY

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY

MONTREAL, October 29, 1928.
a.

J. W. Pugsley, Esq.,
Secretary,
Department of Railways & Canals,
O t t a w a, Ont.

Dear Mr. Pugsley:

Referring to our telephone conversation of this morning concerning the Right Honourable Sir Austen Chamberlain.

Sir Austen accompanied by Lady Chamberlain, daughter Miss Diane, son Master Lawrence, a Miss Anne Scratchley, Governess, Valet and Detective will occupy Canadian Pacific private cars "Killarney" and "Strathcona" and move over our lines on the following itinerary, unless subsequently changed:

Lv. Vancouver,	Train	No.4,	9.00	AM,	Nov. 1st,	Thursday.
Ar. Banff	"	"	11.25	AM,	" 2nd,	Friday.
Lv. Banff	"	"	11.25	AM	" 4th,	Sunday.
Ar. Toronto	"	"	7.20	AM	" 7th,	Wednesday.
Lv. Toronto	"	34	11.25	PM	" 8th,	Thursday.
Ar. Ottawa	"	"	7.50	AM	" 9th,	Friday.
Lv. Ottawa	"	504	3.35	PM	" 13th,	Tuesday.
Ar. Montreal	"	"	6.35	PM	" 13th,	"
Lv. Montreal	"	356	5.00	PM	" 14th,	Wednesday.
Ar. Quebec	"	"	9.45	PM	" 14th,	"

For your further information, the party is leaving Seattle by boat today for Victoria where they will remain until 2.15 P.M., Wednesday, October 31st, when they will leave by boat for Vancouver, arriving there at 7.00 P.M. same evening and remain until 9.00 o'clock following morning, when they leave for the East as shown above.

Trusting this information will serve your purpose, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

H. J. Humphrey.

Assistant to the Vice-President.

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B-1000-C

MEMORANDUM
Prime Minister's Office **C 46210**

Ottawa, Nov. 8th, 1928.

FOR MR. KING:

RE: Chamberlain dinner.

Mr. P. Liesching telephoned to say that Sir Austen Chamberlain had expressed the wish that he and his party might remain in their car at the station until 9.30 a.m. when having breakfasted, they would be happy to receive anyone who cares to call on them.

Harry Boothman
Secretary.

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B-1000-C

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 46211

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
November 8,
1928

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Chamberlain Dinner

Mr. Lemaire suggests that he wait upon you at Laurier House with the complete list and the "table" tomorrow afternoon at about 3:00 o'clock.

Harry Baldwin

Secretary.

Lemaire at 20 o'clock

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ANONYMOUS

C 46212

R - February 04th, 1927
E - 1303-5
G - 1300
I - 1000
N - 1302
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D - 1040
1927
T - 1105
T - 1101
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F - 1101

C

Canadian Chamber Commerce
Waterways - St. Lawrence
Trade Exhibitions
Business Interests
Shipping
Grain Bounties
Immigration Policy
Marketing Act
Confederation - Diamond Jubilee
Coal - Alberta
Crown
Tourist Industry
Mr. King's Third Administration
Taxation - Income
Taxation - Corporation
Scientific & Industrial Research
Steel Industry

Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce

A Delegation which met the Members of the Government on Friday, February 4, 1927, at the King Edward Hotel, Toronto.

Ministers present:

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Honourable Charles Stewart,
Honourable W. R. Motherwell,
Honourable Charles A. Dunning,
Honourable Lucien Cannon,
Honourable Peter J. Veniot,
Honourable Peter Heenan.

Mr. J. J. Duffus, President of the Ontario Associated Boards of Trade, introduced the delegation.

Ex-Mayor Copley, of Hamilton, read the memorial on Canadian Exhibition Train to Great Britain.

Mayor Crawford, of Fort William, read the memorial on Canadian Coasting Laws Suspension and Canadian Coasting Laws - Transhipment of Grain.

Mr. John Elliott, of Belleville, read two resolutions, one on Immigration and the other on Canada's Confederation Diamond Jubilee.

Mr. Reynolds, of Peterborough, read a resolution on Tourist Permit, Extension of.

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As the time of the delegation had expired, and further resolutions not dealt with, the Prime Minister said that he would not allow anything to suffer in virtue of the brevity of this gathering: "We will go very carefully into all these resolutions".

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C 46214

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE PRIME MINISTER, W.L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.

AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET

By a Delegation from

The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce.

Toronto, February 4th, 1927.

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C 46215

CANADIAN EXHIBITION TRAIN TO GREAT BRITAIN

Whereas, in June, 1925, the Hon. C. P. Beaubien called "the attention of the Senate to the expediency of sending a Canadian Exhibition Train to Great Britain," proposing that such Train should be operated largely along the same lines as the Canadian Exhibition Train in France in 1923; and

Whereas, we believe that such an Exhibition Train would be of immense value in exhibiting and advertising Canadian natural products, manufactured goods, and our vast mineral resources, and be productive of greatly increased export trade for Canada;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, heartily concur in the proposal, and petition the Dominion Government to take the necessary action to carry out this project; and

FURTHER: That we suggest to the Dominion Government that a number of fully qualified speakers accompany the Train to address the people of Great Britain wherever and whenever they may have the opportunity to do so.

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C 46216

CANADIAN COASTING LAWS--SUSPENSION

WHEREAS, the Federal Government has in the past waived the coasting laws in favor of American boats sailing in Canadian waters, without giving due notice of its intention in this behalf; and

WHEREAS, such action on the part of the Federal Government has been detrimental to Canadian shipping;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce request of the Federal Government that, in future, the coasting law be not suspended without first giving due notice of its intention in this behalf, in order that interested parties may be enabled to make suitable representations in connection therewith.

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C 46217

CANADIAN COASTING LAWS - TRANSHIPMENT OF GRAIN

WHEREAS, Canadian-owned steamships are not allowed to carry grain from an American port destined to an American port, even though it is going through a portion of Canadian territory and the carriage in the Canadian boat would thus be from an American port to a Canadian port; and

WHEREAS, American boats are allowed to carry Canadian grain from Canadian ports at the head of the lakes to Montreal or other Canadian ports by unloading from one boat to another at the port of Buffalo; and

WHEREAS, this unfair competition of American boats is working a hardship to Canadian boats; and

WHEREAS, this state of affairs exists because the Canadian Coasting Laws are not identical with the Coasting Laws of the United States and do not include the expressly prohibitive terms which would remedy the wrong; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce protest against this failure to provide fair protection to Canadian shipping and urge upon the Dominion Government the enactment of an amendment in the Canadian Coasting Law to bring it into strict conformity with that of the United States, thus prohibiting carriage in an American ship from a Canadian port to a Canadian port over the whole or any part of the route.

Malcolm Trade
Cardin Marine
Justice
LaPointe

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IMMIGRATION

RESOLVED: THAT Immigration to this and other Provinces of Canada, from Great Britain and other northern European countries, be especially encouraged and liberally subsidized, so that our waste places may be filled, our resources utilized, our railways and waterways maintained, our production increased, our industries developed, and our national economic life may be quickened with fruitful results.

FURTHER: THAT an aggressive immigration policy should be based upon the principle of varied employment instead of entirely that upon settlement on the land.

FURTHER: THAT any existing administrative restriction tending to deter or unduly delay the entry into Canada of suitable immigrants should be cancelled.

FURTHER: THAT the Medical Examination system is unduly restrictive and should be altered, and the applicant should be entirely relieved from the cost of such service.

FURTHER: THAT realizing the value and importance of attracting an increasing number of desirable immigrants the Dominion Government should make such increased appropriations for immigration as will be more commensurate with the economic value of the new citizens to The Dominion.

FURTHER: THAT the Government of Canada should use its influence to secure the reduction of the Ocean Rate for all Overseas peoples who are otherwise acceptable for settlement in Canada, and secure such equitable Railway Rate, without discrimination to any point in Canada selected by the immigrants.

Immigration

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C 46219

CANADA'S CONFEDERATION DIAMOND JUBILEE

RESOLVED: That this Association commend to the urgent, present and favorable consideration of the Provincial and Dominion Governments and Legislature, the fitting and dignified national celebration of the 60th Anniversary of Confederation in 1927 throughout Canada, so that, from sea to sea, in this historic year the great and permanent results attained in the unification and consolidation of the Provinces under the free and happy flag of Great Britain, may be worthily commemorated; and that, having regard to the important factor which Canada has constituted in the evolution and cementing of the autonomous sisterhood of Nations within the Empire, the Dominion Government be urged to invite their Majesties the King and Queen and other Members of the Royal House to visit Canada, where they will be assured of a warm, enthusiastic and loyal welcome. And this Association pledges itself to do all within its power and influence, in co-operation with all other Associations of Canadian citizenship, to promote and carry out this truly Canadian and Imperial patriotic purpose and develop the sentiment of National unity.

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C 46220

TOURIST PERMIT, EXTENSION OF

RESOLVED: THAT The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce respectfully urge the necessity of extending the tourist permit to ninety days, thereby bringing about a reciprocal arrangement with the United States.

Immigration

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C 46221

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR TOURIST TRAFFIC DEVELOPMENT

WHEREAS, tourist traffic to the Dominion represents an important factor in international trade and economics of the Dominion; and

WHEREAS, the greatest co-operation between those interested in developing tourist traffic to the Dominion and Province respectively is necessary to secure maximum results at a minimum investment;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: THAT The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce recommend to the Minister of the Department of the Interior, Dominion Government, that a conference of representatives of recognized Provincial and Dominion agencies, both governmental and public, be considered with the object of holding such conference in the very near future to consider matters pertaining to a greater co-operative effort in developing tourist traffic to the Dominion;

FURTHER: THAT, in so far as the Province of Ontario is concerned, the Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce urge the Provincial Government to adequately increase the activities of The Ontario Publicity Bureau of the Government to more effectively develop tourist traffic, and to better serve all sections of the Province.

Interior

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[redacted]

C 46222

TAXATION-FEDERAL-STAMP TAXES

WHEREAS, the Stamp Tax on cheques, notes, drafts, money orders, advances, overdrafts, sales and transfers of bonds, stocks or shares, is a deterrent to trade by greatly curtailing freedom in the transaction of business;

RESOLVED: THAT The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce petition the Dominion Government to repeal at the next Session of Parliament the Stamp Taxes as now imposed under the Special War Revenue Act.

Finance

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C 46223

TAXATION--FEDERAL--GENERAL

WHEREAS, The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce have viewed with favour the reductions in taxation granted at the last Session of Parliament, and have learned with gratification of the subsequent public announcement of the Minister of Finance that further reductions may be expected at an early date; and

WHEREAS, the taxation imposed upon income and capital by the Dominion Government is still excessively burdensome; and

WHEREAS, such taxation is
(a) limiting investment in new industries;
(b) discouraging individual initiative and enterprise;
(c) producing less revenue because of the withholding of capital from productive, industrial and commercial enterprises; and

WHEREAS, the present rates of taxation imposed upon income in the United States are measurably lower than similar taxation in Canada, except in the case of the corporation income tax; and

WHEREAS, lower rates of Federal taxation would encourage Canadians to remain in this country; encourage the investment of capital, domestic and foreign, for the development of our resources and other business enterprises, and act as a stimulus upon immigration; and

WHEREAS, reduced taxation upon income and capital in this country would tend to so stimulate development enterprises and business generally as eventually to increase the revenue from tax collections;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce petition the Dominion Government to introduce the necessary legislation at the next Session of Parliament to:-

(a) Reduce the Income Tax rates to the level of those in force in the United States.

(b) Revise, with the view to reduction and avoidance of duplication, the Corporation Income Tax.

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SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

WHEREAS, this Dominion possesses vast natural resources, the development of which would create employment and prosperity, and

WHEREAS, the application of the results of industrial and scientific research would greatly enhance our agricultural and industrial wealth; enable Canadian citizens to have the benefit of economic production and place them in a strong competitive position with progressive nations in the world's markets.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: THAT The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce strongly urge upon the Government the establishment of National Laboratories for Commercial Research, to the end that scientific study may be applied for the advancement of the trade and commerce of the nation.

Trade Agreements

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C 46225

BOUNTY ON IRON ORE

WHEREAS, the importance of the iron and steel industry in Canada warrants exceptional measures being taken to make said industry as far as possible self sustaining in regard to its supply of raw material, and

WHEREAS, the proportion of domestic iron ore smelted in Canada has dwindled until in 1923 the entire supply of raw product was imported, and

WHEREAS, the importation of iron and steel products is steadily increasing, in 1921 the imports from all countries amounted to the sum of $245,626,453, and,

WHEREAS, the iron ores of Canada are sufficiently known to warrant the statement that there is a great tonnage that could be made immediately available for use by preliminary treatment, and

WHEREAS, extensive areas of promising iron formation have been located in many parts of Canada and it is reasonable to expect that concentrations of merchantable ore will be found in these ranges when systematically explored, and

WHEREAS, it is estimated that 75% of the Canadian lake Superior iron ranges are tributary to the Canadian National Railways, the granting of a bounty on iron ore would stimulate the prospecting of these areas and provide remunerative traffic for several sections of this railway that are not now specially productive, and

WHEREAS,. the increased employment of mine operators, explorers and transportation employees, together with the general development of our mining districts would so materially increase the revenues of Canada that the proposed bounty would be a very small charge (if any) on the finances of the Dominion, and

WHEREAS, a special committee, approved by the Province of Ontario, after having made a most exhaustive investigation of the standing of the iron and steel industry of Canada and its dependence of foreign ore and the cause of the continued non-development of Canadian iron ore resources, unanimously found that the only practical and effective method of awakening interest in this development was to offer a bounty for a limited period by Province and Dominion. It is believed that the conclusions of that committee are correct and that it is vital to Canadian trade and industry that there should be Canadian ore available for Canadian furnaces.

RESOLVED: That The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce respectfully urge that the Government of Canada aid in an active effort to develop Canadian iron ore resources by making legislative provision for the granting of a bounty by the Dominion Government in co-operation with or independently of the Governments of the different Provinces.

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ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY AND POWER DEVELOPMENT

RESOLVED: That The Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce now go on record as heartily approving of the construction by the Governments of Canada and the United States of an international deep waterway between Lake Ontario and the City of Montreal and the development of electric power in connection therewith as recommended and approved of by the International Waterways Commission of Canada and the United States signed at Washington the 19th day of December, 1921, and earnestly urge that the Governments of Canada and the United States use every possible effort to bring about the completion of this international deep waterway and power development at an early date.

THAT copies of this resolution be sent forthwith to the Secretaries of State of these Governments.

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C 46227

ALBERTA COAL

WHEREAS, approximately two million tons of domestic fuel coal is used in the central region of Ontario each year and already eighty thousand tons of Alberta coal has been consumed in Ontario with very satisfactory results; and

WHEREAS, the greater part of coal for domestic use in Ontario is brought from the United States; and

WHEREAS, the Provinces of Alberta and Ontario, and the Special Committee appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate the shipments of Alberta coal to Ontario, are strongly in favour of the development of the coal mines in Alberta and the shipment of this coal to the East; and

WHEREAS, the Special Committee above referred to recommended to the Dominion Government that a trial shipment of Alberta coal be made by rail to the head of the Lakes, thence to a Georgian Bay port at which point distribution could be made by rail throughout Ontario;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Ontario Associated Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce request the Dominion Government to carry out the recommendation of the Special Committee and have the trial shipment of Alberta coal made by rail and lake.

Interior Rep

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STANDARDIZATION OF CANADIAN PRODUCTS FOR EXPORT

WHEREAS, it is recognized that the British market offers excellent trade opportunities for Canadian producers; and

WHEREAS, in order to retain this market, the quality of goods, especially food products, must be kept at a high standard; and

WHEREAS, Canadian shipments of food supplies compete with like goods from countries where strict supervision by the government of the country of origin is necessary before exportation;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That recommendation be made to the Dominion Government to enact that commodities intended for export comply with government specifications as to quality and shipping conditions and that their export be subject to government supervision;

2. That commodities for export should be graded and branded accordingly, under a uniform trade mark or label with the name or number of the concern that manufactures or packs the commodity. The principal commodities that need the strictest attention are:- bacon, hams, butter, cheese, eggs, poultry, canned fish, canned vegetables, canned fruits, condensed and evaporated milk, or any commodity which it is possible to standardize.

3. That the Government appoint a number of officials versed in foreign market conditions, to organize and help enlighten producers in the manner in which their goods should be prepared and packed for foreign trade.

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C 46229

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Copies of Resolutions sent to the following Ministers - February 22, 1927.

Hon. Ernest Lapointe,
Minister of Justice.
Hon. Robert Forke,
Minister of Immigration & Colonization.
Hon. W. R. Motherwell,
Minister of Agriculture.
Hon. James A. Robb,
Minister of Finance.
Hon. P. J. A. Cardin,
Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
Hon. Charles Stewart,
Minister of the Interior.
Hon. Charles A. Dunning,
Minister of Railways and Canals.
Hon. James Malcolm,
Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Copy of Resolution re St. Lawrence Waterway and Power Development sent to Dr. Skelton.

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ANONYMOUS C 46230 NOV. 15, 1927

✓ Gov't Expenditures
✓ Canadian Chamber of Commerce
✓ Royal Com. on Maritime Claims 1926
✓ Railways - Bd. Rlwy. Com.
✓ Trade - Con. Tr. with Br. Emp.
✓ Shipping Legislation
✓ Natural Resources
✓ Scientific & Ind'l Research
✓ Coal Policy
✓ Canals - Chicago Drainage Canal
✓ Mr. King's Third Address.
✓ Baldwin, Stanley
✓ Immigration Policy
✓ Taxation

Delegation
from
The Canadian Chamber of Commerce

Thursday, November 15, 1927 - 2.00 P.M.

The delegation, which was composed of:

W. M. Birks, Chairman of the Executive;
A. O. Dawson, Vice-President;
G. Laffoley, President of the Montreal Board of Trade;
George Hogg, Mayor of Westmount;
J. D. McKenna, St. John, N.B.;
J. A. Machado, Ottawa;
W. McL. Clarke, Secretary, Canadian Chamber of Commerce,

was received in the Prime Minister's room, the following Members of the Cabinet being present:

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Hon. J. A. Robb
Hon. Chas. Stewart
Hon. W. R. Motherwell
Hon. P. J. A. Cardin
Hon. C. A. Dunning
Hon. J. C. Elliott
Hon. James Malcolm
Hon. P. J. Veniot
Hon. Fernand Rinfret
Hon. Robert Forke.

Mr. Birks introduced the delegation and called on Mr. Clarke to read a letter which had been prepared for presentation with the resolutions. Mr. Birks then made the opening statement for the delegation and pointed out that it was not proposed to read the resolutions in detail, but that he wished merely to emphasize the fact that the Canadian Chamber of Commerce was a national organization and that the members were anxious to assist the Government of the day in every

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national effort and in their deliberations on all national questions.

Mr. Mackenzie King complimented Mr. Birks and the members of the delegation on the excellent manner in which the resolutions were presented, a copy of the booklet being attached hereto, and suggested that the members of the Cabinet might desire to discuss the resolutions with the members of the delegation.

Mr. Dunning referred to resolution No. 7 on the Duncan Report and pointed out that if the proposals of the Canadian Chmaber of Commerce were adopted it would mean a change in the fundamental principle under which the Board of Railway Commissioners function. Parliament is the only authority to impose taxation.

Mr. Cardin had no serious objection to raise with regard to resolution No. 8, on the subject of a uniform merchant shipping law for the Empire, and felt that it was desirable to obtain the views of men who were actively connected with mercantile and shipping operations in this connection.

Mr. Malcolm expressed appreciation of the fact that in resolution No. 3, on Scientific and Industrial Research, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce was supporting the action of the Government.

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Mr. Forke made a statement on immigration and referred in some detail to the resolutions of 1926 which had been largely implemented by the Government since that time. Special attention was given to the following by Mr. Forke:

Medical examination;
Unaccompanied women;
The removal of administrative restrictions;
The immigration of boys and domestics;
Assisted passages;
Propaganda in Europe.

He announced as his opinion that the coming year would see an immense increase in the immigration from Scandinavian countries.

Mr. Stewart spoke on the coal situation and the Chicago diversion. He pointed out regarding the former that even if the railways were prepared to bring coal from Alberta at the $6.75 rate, which was .47¢ lower than the rate found by the Board of Railway Commissioners, namely, $7.22, it would be impossible to put the coal into Toronto, for example, at a price which could compete with other bituminous coal. The same applied to lignite coal, though in this case the amount required by way of subsidy from the Government would be much less. As to the shipment of coal from the Maritimes to Montreal and Toronto, he pointed out that by the all-water route, which of course was not open during the winter months, it was possible to put Maritime

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coal into Montreal and Toronto on a competitive basis. During his remarks Mr. Stewart made the interesting announcement that the City of Halifax used coke produced from American coal.

On the latter subject of the Chicago diversion, Mr. Stewart pointed out that the Hughes decision was eminently satisfactory to Canada in that it established definitely that the question was one which should be dealt with by Congress. For the first time this really made clear just where the responsibility finally rests. Mr. Stewart also pointed out that by 1931 Chicago must return to the permit of seven thousand odd cubic feet of water per second.

Mr. Robb pointed out, with reference to resolution No. 4 on Federal Taxation, that although the Canadian Chamber of Commerce was asking for a reduction in the Income Tax, in other resolutions they were asking for increased expenditure on highways, research, and by inference, subsidies for coal.

Mr. King closed the proceedings by thanking the delegation for discussing these matters with the Government and promised that the resolutions would receive due consideration.

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CREIGHTON, D.G. - "DOMINION OF THE NORTH"

Ch. 9 (I) The Search for Peace and Security

P. 468

"They (the Liberals) kept up the campaign of criticism against Article X of the League of Nations Covenant; but, at the same time, they seemed almost equally restive under the obligations of a collective imperial foreign policy. In this, of course, they simply followed the lead of Sir Wilfrid, just as the Conservatives had followed the tradition of Sir Robert. Borden had been willing to accept responsibility in return for a share in the determination of policy; Laurier had refused a share in the determination of policy precisely because he wished to escape responsibility. And for the Liberals, the so-called Chanak incident of 1922 seemed to demonstrate the wisdom of Laurier's view. In this sudden quarrel with Turkey which blew up over the peace settlement in the Dardanelles, Great Britain was obliged to take a stand without previous consultation with the Dominions; and then, again without warning, she invited their military support. It was an unfortunate episode, for inevitably it raised doubts about the feasibility of 'continuous consultation' in the sudden crises of peace; and from that time forward the foreign policies of Great Britain and Canada showed a slight, but significant, tendency to diverge."

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COPY

C 46235

TEXT OF THE CONDITIONS OF THE ARMISTICE WITH TURKEY AS SETTLED.

1. Opening of Dardanelles and Bosphorus and access to the Black Sea. Allied occupation of Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts.

2. Positions of all minefields, torpedo tubes, and other obstructions in Turkish waters to be indicated and assistance given to sweep or remove them as may be required.

3. All available information as to mines in the Black Sea to be communicated.

4. All Allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned persons and prisoners to be collected in Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies.

5. Immediate demobilisation of the Turkish Army except for such troops as are required for the surveillance of the frontiers and for the maintenance of internal order. Number of effectives and their disposition to be determined later by the Allies after consultation with the Turkish Government.

6. Surrender of all war vessels in Turkish waters, or in waters occupied by Turkey. These ships to be interned at such Turkish port of ports as may be directed, except such small vessels as are required for police or similar purposes in Turkish territorial waters.

7. The Allies to have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies.

8. Free use by Allied ships of all ports and anchorages now in Turkish occupation and denial of their use by enemy. Similar conditions to apply to Turkish mercantile shipping in Turkish waters for purposes of trade and demobilisation of the Army.

9. Use of all ship repair facilities at all Turkish ports and arsenals.

10. Allied occupation of the Taurus tunnel system.

11.

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11. Immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops from North-West Persia to behind the pre-War frontier has already been ordered and will be carried out. Part of Trans-Caucasia has already been ordered to be evacuated by Turkish troops, the remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies after they have studied the situation there.

12. Wireless telegraph and cable stations to be controlled by the Allies, Turkish Government messages excepted.

13. Prohibition to destroy any naval, military, or commercial material.

14. Facilities to be given for the purchase of coal, oil-fuel, and naval material from Turkish sources, after the requirements of the country have been met. None of the above material to be exported.

15. Allied Control Officers to be placed on all railways, including such portions of the Trans-Caucasian railways now under Turkish control, which must be placed at the free and complete disposal of the Allied Authorities, due consideration being given to the needs of the population. This clause to include Allied occupation of Batoum. Turkey will raise no objection to the occupation of Baku by the Allies.

16. The surrender of all garrisons in the Hejaz, Assir, Yemen, Syria, and Mesopotamia to the nearest Allied Commander and the withdrawal of troops from Cilicia except those necessary to maintain order, as will be determined under clause 5.

17. The surrender of all Turkish officers in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to the nearest Italian garrison. Turkey guarantees to stop supplies and communication with those officers if they do not obey the order to surrender.

18. The surrender of all ports occupied in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica including Misurata to the nearest Allied garrison.

19. All Germans and Austrians, naval, military, and civilian, to be evacuated within one month from Turkish dominions. Those in remote districts as soon after as may be possible.

20.

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20. Compliance with such orders as may be conveyed for the disposal of the equipment, arms, and ammunition, including transport of that portion of the Turkish Army which is demobilized under clause 5.

21. An Allied representative to be attached to the Turkish Ministry of Supplies in order to safeguard Allied interests. This representative to be furnished with all necessary for this purpose.

22. Turkish prisoners to be kept at the disposal of the Allied Powers. The release of Turkish civilian prisoners and prisoners over military age to be considered.

23. Obligation on the part of Turkey to cease all relations with the Central Powers.

24. In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them.

25. Hostilities between the Allies and Turkey shall cease from noon, local time, on Thursday, 31st October, 1918.

31st October, 1918.

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(September 1922 pc.)

~~Despatch left by Sept 15~~ C 46238

Receipt at P. M. Office.

8

It was three o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday ~~before~~ September 16, before delivery was made, from the Governor General's Secretary's Office to the Prime Minister's Office, of the despatch which had come from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General, containing the communication from the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the Prime Minister of Canada respecting the situation in the Near East.

The afternoon papers in different parts of Canada had the intimation, stated to be semi-official, that the Dominions had been invited to send contingents to the Near East.

The despatch from Great Britain, as is the custom, was received at the Governor General's Office in cipher, and it was three o'clock before the message was delivered. Ordinarily on Saturday afternoon the Government offices are closed, but on this particular Saturday one of the assistant secretaries was in the office all day, and received the despatch in a sealed envelope at that hour. The Prime Minister was shown the press despatches from England at Sharon in North York, between two and three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, before the time of the delivery at his office in Ottawa of the despatch from Great Britain.

- Falconer

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C 46239

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EASTERN. [February 2.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 1248/5/44] No. 1.

The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Lord Hardinge (Paris).

(No. 344.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February 2, 1922.*

THE French Ambassador came to see me this afternoon and in the course of our conversation handed me a document of many pages containing, in a formal shape and drawn up, as he believed, by M. Poincaré himself, the observations of the French Government concerning the modifications which they desire to introduce into the text of the proposed treaty of guarantee between France and Great Britain. The substance of this memorandum he had communicated to me before in our various conversations, but only, as he said, in a personal capacity. He now desired to hand it in collectively and formally on behalf of his Government.

His Excellency then passed on to renew, in an apologetic vein, his observations on the recent unfortunate letter of his Government concerning the Græco-Turkish situation, which letter I now knew, and he also was aware that I knew, even though the substance of it might have been sent to him from Paris, had been composed by himself. While he repeated to me with much reiteration what he had intended to convey, I had no alternative, but to reply that he had signally failed to convey it, and that the impression which his letter had produced upon me had been shared by everyone who had read the document.

I told him, however, that I was much more concerned with what we were going to do at the conference at Paris than with what had previously been written. I was aware from a telegram from your Lordship what had passed in the interview between yourself and M. Poincaré, and, indeed, the Count de Saint-Aulaire proceeded to give me the same information on his own account. I was glad, I said, to learn that M. Poincaré had modified his attitude on many of the important particulars upon which I had commented; but there remained two important points upon which, so far, he did not appear to have given your Lordship or myself any satisfaction. If, as I gathered, M. Poincaré or the Turks were going to press for the complete evacuation of Anatolia by the Greeks, what, I asked, were the guarantees the French were going to propose for the safety and indeed the lives of the large Greek population in Smyrna, Aivali, and other towns in the interior. It was out of the question to trust them to the tender mercy of the Turks. We had ample and reliable evidence that the Angora Turks had been deporting the Christian populations of Eastern Anatolia in large masses to the coast amid every circumstance of cruelty and suffering. Their policy was indeed admitted by them to be one of deliberate extermination. Was it the least likely that Europe would stand by to see the Greeks on the Smyrna coast or in the interior treated in a similar fashion? Was it not absurd to rely upon the paper guarantees for minorities in the European treaties?

His Excellency admitted that something much more substantial would be wanted in the present case, though he did not indicate to me clearly where it was to be found. He thought, however, that complete and immediate evacuation would be found impossible and that it could only be effected by stages. Meanwhile he placed great reliance upon the creation of a gendarmerie under Allied officers.

I said I did not believe for one moment that any such body would be able to prevent massacre if the Turks were bent upon it, and I earnestly urged the French Government, if their proposals were going to be of the character indicated by M. Poincaré, to address themselves to the case not merely of the Greeks whom they wished to turn out, but of the Greeks who were going to be left behind.

The second point upon which I said I had so far had no reply from M. Poincaré was the view of the French Government as to the steps to be taken if an agreement arrived at between the Powers was absolutely rejected by the Turks.

The Ambassador asked me what I would do in those circumstances, to which I replied that the question was one which I had originally contemplated examining in concert with the French at Paris, but it was they who had forced the matter to the front and compelled an earlier examination by laying down that in no circumstances whatsoever would they apply coercion to the Turks.

His Excellency reiterated that for the French Government to fight the Turks or move forces against them was out of the question, and I readily allowed that we were as little anxious or as little likely to take a similar step. But this did not

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exhaust the possibilities of coercion which might be applied in many forms, and I urged the Ambassador to press upon his Government the deep consideration of this matter before the discussions in Paris began. One such form of pressure I did indeed indicate in my conversation, and that with a particular object. This might be a withdrawal of the permission accorded to the Turks (equally with the Greeks) at the last meeting in Paris to purchase arms, munitions and stores, not, indeed, from the Allied Governments, but from any private firms who chose to supply them. I told the Ambassador that I was well aware that French firms had taken ample advantage of this permission, and that Mustapha Kemal had been largely supplied by them, but the French had gone even further, for, in spite of the pledge against Government action, M. Briand had handed over to the Angora Turks, when evacuating Cilicia, large military stores, a great number of rifles, and no small amount of ammunition, on the plea that they would be useful for the gendarmerie whom it is proposed to set up. M. Franklin-Bouillon had frankly admitted the gift, but had excused it, as did the Ambassador, on the ground that its dimensions had been greatly exaggerated.

I observed that, whether its dimensions were great or small, it was a deliberate violation of an Allied agreement, and tended to emphasise the suspicion and dislike with which we naturally regarded the whole Franklin-Bouillon transaction. The Ambassador, I am inclined to think, entirely shares my views about the latter, for he informed me with some satisfaction that he had declined to meet that voluble negotiator when he had recently been in this country.

Count de Saint-Aulaire pressed me to name a day when the suspended conversations in Paris might begin, but I declined to do this for the moment, remarking that the return of Lord Allenby next week and the necessity of discussing the Egyptian situation with him would necessarily occupy me for the best part of the week after the opening of Parliament, while the news which had just been received of the fall of the Italian Ministry rendered it more than doubtful whether they would be able to participate at an earlier date.

Before concluding our conversation, the Ambassador said a few words to me about the impending conference concerning Tangier. As he appeared to be a little uncertain about the assurances given to me by M. Briand and M. Poincaré, I repeated them to him. He suggested—not, I am afraid, without deliberation—that the subject of the conversations was to be the assurance by France to Great Britain of guarantees for the maintenance of our commercial and strategical position at Tangier.

I assured him at once that that was not the least the case. The conference was to be a tripartite one between France, Spain and ourselves. It was to deal, not with guarantees to Great Britain or to Spain, but with the internationalisation of the town of Tangier. I proposed to take up the negotiations from the stage at which they were dropped in 1914, soon after the beginning of the war, and the object was to set up, not a ridiculous form of petty municipal administration, such had recently been proposed by the French, but a genuine form of international government for the town.

The Ambassador enlarged to me upon the interests of France in the place, especially in connection with the projected railway, which was to be the starting point of a great transcontinental system leading to her possessions in the heart of Africa.

This, I said, was important and would have to be safeguarded, but France must not forget and could not ignore that Tangier was not in or adjacent to the French protectorate of Morocco, but was actually in and surrounded by the Spanish zone. Further, that the great majority of its population were not French but Spanish, and that the Spanish claims to influence there could not, therefore, be denied.

Upon the Ambassador remarking that the Spanish policy was that of annexation pure and simple, I observed that whilst this might have been the case, and I was not sure that an analogous policy had not been in the minds of some Frenchmen, the Spanish Government now knew perfectly well that any such solution was out of the question. I had myself told them quite candidly that their only chance was an international régime. They had accepted this and I did not imagine for a moment that they would seek to depart from it. That was the basis upon which our conversations must begin.

When I said that I supposed that the Ambassador, from his long Moroccan experience, would be invited to represent his country, he said he thought this extremely unlikely, because he would be regarded as prejudiced in the matter.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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E 1519/B.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [February 20.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 1907/5/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received February* 20.)

(No. 161.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 14, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a statement giving twenty-five points, which are supposed to represent the minimum claims of the Government of Angora in a settlement of the Near Eastern question. This statement was submitted some days ago to the Inter-Allied press censorship by the "Bosphore," a local newspaper published in French, and although passed by the censorship has not yet been published. I have caused enquiries to be made of the "Bosphore" as to the source of the statement, and am informed that it was obtained from certain officials of the Constantinople Government who are in sympathy with the Nationalist movement.

2. Point No. 1, which speaks of the administrative autonomy of Eastern and Western Thrace with the line Enos–Midia, would appear to be due to a confusion, and is probably an error. In other statements of their claims, which have come to my knowledge, the Kemalists demand that Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople and the northern coast of the Marmara, should be restored to Turkish sovereignty without restrictions of any kind.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Les Revendications turques.

LA commission chargée à Angora des préparatifs de paix a terminé ses travaux et soumis son rapport, qui a été ratifié par le Conseil des Commissaires.

Youssouf Kémal Bey, Commissaire des Affaires étrangères, qui se rend en Europe, se propose de défendre les revendications turques suivantes :

1. Autonomie administrative de la Thrace orientale et occidentale avec la ligne d'Énos–Midia.
2. Le contrôle des Détroits sans occupation militaire.
3. La non-intervention étrangère et *statu quo ante bellum* dans la question de Constantinople, dont le régime et la situation sont considérés comme des questions d'ordre intérieur.
4. Payement par les Hellènes des dépenses nécessités pour la restauration des territoires occupés, ainsi que des indemnités de déplacement des "mohadjirs."
5. Restitution sans condition à la souveraineté turque de Smyrne et toutes autres localités de l'Anatolie conformément au pacte national.
6. Aucune intervention étrangère dans la question des "provinces orientales." Solution de cette question entre les intéressés considérés comme les membres de la même famille et d'une façon qui donne à tous satisfaction.
7. En ce qui concerne les frontières orientales, les clauses spécifiées dans les traités conclus entre le Gouvernement d'Angora et de Moscou sont maintenues.
8. Octroi à la Turquie de l'indépendance absolue politique, militaire, financière et économique.
9. Suppression des Capitulations.
10. Octroi aux minorités des privilèges et garanties accordés par les Traités de Saint-Germain, de Neuilly, dans les limites du pacte national.
11. Reconnaissance par les Puissances étrangères de tous les traités et accords conclus jusqu'ici par le Gouvernement d'Angora avec les grands et petits États.
12. Autorisation de l'introduction de capitaux étrangers dans toute la Turquie pour en faire bénéficier les affaires commerciales, économiques, les travaux publics sous tous les rapports.

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13. Existence d'une armée turque capable de sauvegarder la tranquillité en Turquie et de défendre son territoire contre toute agression étrangère.

14. Liberté du Gouvernement d'Angora dans toutes ses affaires intérieures.

15. Admission au plus tôt de la Turquie à la Société des Nations.

16. Organisation d'une flotte turque en mesure de défendre le littoral de la Turquie.

17. Reconnaissance des dettes turques dues aux Alliés sur la base de la répartition des territoires partagés. Dettes dues aux anciens Alliés considérées comme nulles et non avenues.

18. Les payements effectués pour la plupart des commandes militaires (telles que les dreadnoughts "Sultan Osman" et "Réchadié") faites avant la guerre à diverses sociétés seront défalqués du montant des dettes turques.

19. Le Gouvernement d'Angora sera autorisé à établir des relations politiques et commerciales avec tous les États.

20. Les kémalistes ne feront pas de propagande dans les pays étrangers contre n'importe quel Etat.

21. Les kémalistes n'interviendront dans l'organisation civile et militaire d'aucun État et ne l'assisteront pas non plus.

22. Renonciation de tous les droits de la Turquie sur la Mésopotamie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Arabie et la région avoisinante et établissement de bonnes relations avec les Gouvernements de ces pays.

23. Dès la conclusion du Traité de Paix, échange des prisonniers dans le plus bref délai.

24. Exécution intégrale du traité à conclure et sauvegarde des biens meubles et immeubles des minorités en cas d'exode.

25. Acceptation du contrôle provisoire pour toute l'Anatolie à l'instar de celui établie en Cilicie afin de surveiller l'exécution du traité et empêcher tous malentendus.

Le Gouvernement d'Angora n'acceptera pas la plus légère modification des vingt-cinq clauses ci-dessus considérées comme les revendications minima de la Turquie.

Au cas où le conflit turco-grec ne serait pas résolu sur ces bases, les opérations militaires recommenceraient en Anatolie.

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The Prime Minister Canada

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [March 20.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 3036/5/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received March* 20.)

(No. 255.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 13, 1922.

HAVING seen in the local press a statement to the effect that the Turkish Government had received several telegrams from Izzet Pasha, in one of which he had reported at length an interview he had had with your Lordship, I called on the Grand Vizier to-day with a view to ascertaining from his Highness what foundation there was for the statement in question. I also mentioned to his Highness the further statement in the press that the Council of Ministers had considered yesterday the results achieved by Izzet Pasha's Mission.

2. The Grand Vizier replied that beyond knowing that Izzet Pasha had reached Paris, the Turkish Government were without news of him. Tewfik Pasha stated that the telegrams exchanged between the Turkish Government and their representatives in European capitals generally took three days in transmission. This caused great inconvenience The Grand Vizier, who had seen the statement to which I alluded, said that it was an invention. I am not, however, quite satisfied that his explanation is correct as I know that the Turkish Government have received at least one telegram from Izzet Pasha.

3. In this connection, I learn from a good source that Izzet Pasha was at first unwilling to undertake his mission to Europe, since he considered it doubtful whether he would obtain any favourable result. The same source states that the Central Government are by no means in agreement with the national pact, though they are solid with Angora with regard to the necessity for the evacuation of Turkish territory by the Greeks. The Central Government are also stated to be under the impression that the French Government are beginning to feel considerable embarrassment on account of the extreme claims of the Angora Government. Izzet Pasha has, therefore, been instructed to act solely in the name of the Central Government.

4. From a Havas Reuter telegram from London, published in this morning's press, it would appear that Izzet Pasha is concerned to make out that the ideas of the Angora Government are much the same as his own, and that he will get into touch with Yussuf Kemal Bey as soon as the latter arrives in London. Izzet Pasha is reported as having expressed satisfaction with the conversation he had with your Lordship on the 9th instant.

5. In the course of further conversation, the Grand Vizier referred to the reports of a Veniselist movement in the Greek army in Asia Minor to resist the evacuation of Anatolia. He stated that he had heard that 150 Veniselist officers had left Constantinople viâ Panderma and Smyrna. His Highness seemed apprehensive of the consequences to the country if the evacuation by the Greek army were not regulated and superintended by Allied officers. It would not do, in his opinion, for the Kemalist forces to replace the Greeks too quickly.

6. I listened to the Grand Vizier's remarks on this subject, but did not offer any comment. I then said that it looked as if Mustapha Kemal was more than ever counting on the Soviet Government for support. The Grand Vizier quoted in reply the Turkish proverb which says that: "A drowning man clutches at a serpent." I pointed out that the serpent would probably bite Mustapha Kemal. The Grand Vizier said that he had never been able to tolerate Bolshevik doctrines and had always been apprehensive lest the Nationalists might commit themselves too far with the Bolsheviks.

7. The information which has recently been received at this High Commission points to the growth of Bolshevik influence in Anatolia. The Bolshevik representative at Angora appears to be a man of great energy, who has been negotiating the conclusion of an economic agreement with the Angora Government. The Bolsheviks are making propaganda against the granting of concessions in Anatolia to Western capitalists. In spite of the statements made by M. Méry as reported in my telegram No. 121 of the 27th February, I learn from the British military authorities that the pay of the Kemalist army is in arrears and that this state of things can only be remedied by

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Bolshevik money. The Kemalists seem also to be having friction with the French regarding payment for arms supplied for the gendarmerie. Everything therefore points at present to close collaboration between Mustapha Kemal and the Bolsheviks.

8. The necessity for this collaboration has caused the Nationalists to relax their severity towards the Communists and to allow the "Yeni Dunia," the organ of the Communists, to resume publication. On the other hand, the Grand Vizier stated to-day that he had seen a certain Muktar Bey on his passage through Constantinople to join Yussuf Kemal Bey's Mission. Muktar Bey had informed the Grand Vizier that, with the exception of some twenty Communists, the National Assembly was loyal to the Sultanate and to the Caliphate.

9. I have kept out of the press the telegram from the Viceroy to His Majesty's Government endorsing the demands of Indian Moslems for the restoration of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, to Turkey, as I considered that this telegram would lead to undesirable comment at this juncture. I have merely allowed the publication of Mr. Montagu's resignation without any indication of its causes.

10. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

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EASTERN (TURKEY) [March 25.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 3274/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of a Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 1·30 P.M., *March* 22, 1922.—(*Received at Foreign Office, March* 25.)

Present:

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

There were also present for the discussion of the armistice proposals:—

Marshal Foch.	General Sir C. Harington.
General Gouraud.	Colonel Heywood.
General Weygand.	General Marietti.

M. Poincaré began by asking Lord Curzon to open the proceedings.

Communications to the Press.

Lord Curzon said that he wished first to ask M. Poincaré and Signor Schanzer that no communications should be made to the press except such as might be agreed at the end of each meeting.

M. Poincaré and *Signor Schanzer* both agreed.

Armistice.

Lord Curzon then referred to the proposal for an armistice between the belligerents in Asia Minor, which he had already mentioned to his French and Italian colleagues, and as a personal proposal of his own to the two Turkish delegations in London. The moment seemed favourable; there had been no fighting for some time on the line taken up by the two forces at the end of last summer in front of Afiun-Karahissar-Eskishehr. The Greeks had already placed themselves in the hands of the Allies. If the evacuation of Asia Minor, on which, subject to a satisfactory general settlement, there was general agreement, was to be peaceably carried out, there must be first an immediate cessation of hostilities and then a retirement of the Greek forces in successive stages (the Greek press spoke of this taking eight months—the Allied generals at Constantinople seemed to think four to four and a half months would be sufficient). From the Greek, the Turkish and the Allied point of view the proposal was advantageous and the first essential step towards a general peace. The Greeks would require security that in retiring they were not going to be molested. The Turks should realise that they were going to secure the object of their campaign in Asia Minor without any renewal of hostilities and without danger of the country being laid waste by the retiring Greek forces. The only object of the Allies was to be impartial towards Greece and Turkey and to secure a peace as soon as possible. Nothing could be more unfortunate than a renewal of hostilities.

Lord Curzon therefore suggested that an identical telegram should be sent both to Constantinople and Angora and to Athens, and he submitted a draft (see Annex I to these minutes).

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Lord Curzon drew particular attention to the armistice clause in his draft, which stipulated that no movement of troops to or from the theatre of war should take place. This would apply to both parties, but was more important to the Turks than to the Greeks. If the Turks refused the armistice terms, the Greeks, feeling that they must eventually evacuate, but uncertain as to the date, might rush their troops to the sea, ship them to Thrace, thus consolidating their position there and possibly threatening Constantinople, should the Allies show signs of retiring. This would be precluded by the clause preventing the movement of troops.

Lord Curzon also raised the question of the period of the armistice. His military advisers had suggested ninety-two days; Lord Curzon thought this was perhaps too long and that six weeks might be sufficient, but he would be particularly glad to hear the views of M. Poincaré and Signor Schanzer on the subject.

M. Poincaré had expressed doubts to him as to whether the Turks would accept the armistice; Lord Curzon was equally doubtful about the Greeks. Much would depend upon the advice given by M. Poincaré to the Turks with whom he was in closer contact than Lord Curzon, and on the advice to be given by Lord Curzon to the Greeks. Lord Curzon put forward the proposal in any case as in his opinion the first essential step towards peace. Without an armistice the work which the Allies were undertaking might be destroyed at any moment.

M. Poincaré said that he had already briefly expressed his point of view to Lord Curzon that morning. He was afraid that the Turks would not accept an armistice proposed by other Powers than Greece. In any case, he feared that the draft in its present form would prove inacceptable, as it contained no guarantee to the Turks that Anatolia was to be evacuated. It was essential that the three countries should not court a refusal, and he therefore suggested that the draft should be amended to cover this particular point.

Signor Schanzer said that he thought M. Poincaré was merely making a distinction between the principle of the armistice and its details. He was prepared to accept the principle, subject to further discussion of details.

Lord Curzon, referring to M. Poincaré's doubts as to the Turkish acceptance of the armistice, pointed out that the Allies should not be guided in their attitude by their respective views as to the response likely to be accorded to their proposal. They had already met with refusals in dealing with this question in the past. They might have more in front of them, but the responsibility for the peace of Europe and of the world rested on their shoulders, and they must take risks in doing what they thought right. If the Greeks accepted the armistice and the Turks refused, the latter would lose in the eyes of the world, and would find the attainment of a satisfactory peace ultimately more difficult in consequence. Lord Curzon was, however, prepared to meet M. Poincaré's criticism regarding the evacuation of Anatolia by the Greeks. He would first point out, however, that the Turks already know perfectly well from their conversations with Lord Curzon in London that an armistice was intended to be preliminary to a peaceful evacuation of Anatolia by the Greeks. He therefore suggested that something like the following should be inserted in the preamble to the British proposal :—

> " In transmitting their proposals to the Governments concerned, the three Ministers make the following proposal with a view to enable them to make recommendations for the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor."

Such a formula would go a long way to show the main objects of the Allies. He trusted that with that addition M. Poincaré might be able to give his support to the proposal as a whole. Indeed, M. Poincaré had given the British Ambassador in Paris to believe that he favoured the principle of an armistice when first proposed by Lord Curzon. There could be nothing more unfortunate than that this natural and necessary measure should be proposed at the first meeting of the Foreign Ministers and that France alone should raise objection to it.

M. Poincaré said that it was quite true that he had told Lord Hardinge not only that he accepted an armistice in principle, but that he would tell the Turkish delegation so semi-officially. He was in agreement with Lord Curzon and Signor Schanzer on the question of principle; it was only a matter of form. He accepted the addition proposed by Lord Curzon.

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Lord Curzon raised the question whether the reference to the evacuation of Asia Minor should be made in the preamble or in the form of a *communication verbale.*

M. Poincaré thought the latter would be difficult of execution, especially in the case of Angora, and that it should be made in writing.

Lord Curzon then proposed the following formula:—

"The Foreign Ministers of the three Great Powers assembled at Paris with a view to re-establish the peace of the Near East and to be in a position to make recommendations for the evacuation of Asia Minor without further destruction of life and property feel it to be their first duty to propose an immediate suspension of hostilities to the Governments concerned.

"The terms of the proposed armistice might be as follows:—" (For the rest of the proposal, see Annex I.)

M. Poincaré suggested a change to the words "with a view to secure the evacuation."

Lord Curzon pointed out that a number of points had to be decided before so definite a statement as to evacuation could be made.

M. Poincaré then suggested that the word "propose" before the words "an immediate suspension of hostilities" should be strengthened, and the words "strongly to recommend" were agreed upon.

M. Poincaré raised an objection to the word "immediate" as likely to "froisser" the extreme nationalists in Turkey.

Lord Curzon pointed out that it was essential to secure an armistice at once; that the formula had already been modified to meet the Angora point of view, and that to forestall delay and bargaining by Turkey the Allies ought to say firmly what they meant to say.

M. Poincaré said that he was only anxious to secure the success of Lord Curzon's proposal. He was afraid that the French Government had not the influence on the Turkish Government which Lord Curzon had suggested at an earlier stage, whatever influence Lord Curzon might be able to bring to bear on the Greeks. He then waived his point.

[The Allied military experts then entered.]

Lord Curzon proposed that the military experts should examine the precise terms of the armistice attached to his proposal, but before they did so it would be necessary to discuss further the duration of the armistice period, as to which his colleagues had not expressed an opinion.

Signor Schanzer suggested that ninety-two days was not long enough.

M. Poincaré raised the question of procedure. It would be necessary, first, to discuss the essential conditions of peace; secondly, to work them out at Constantinople. This would take a long time.

Lord Curzon pointed out that it would not be possible to begin the evacuation of Asia Minor until the Greeks and Turks had agreed to the general conditions upon which it was to take place. The Constantinople Conference which was to elaborate the latter should therefore be held as soon as possible after the present meeting of the three Foreign Ministers.

General Weygand suggested that a long period would in these circumstances be necessary.

M. Poincaré said that it was important not to confuse the period of the armistice and the period of peace conditions. He himself thought that the procedure at Versailles had been a mistake, and that it would have been better to have had an armistice, a preliminary treaty of peace and a final treaty as after the war of 1870. In the present case the period of the armistice should be long enough to enable evacuation to take place during it and before the final treaty was made.

Lord Curzon agreed with M. Poincaré as to the three stages. There should first be an armistice, then preliminary conditions drawn up at Paris upon the

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acceptance of which by both parties evacuation could begin. These would be elaborated at Constantinople and the final peace treaty completed by a sitting of the Supreme Council.

M. Poincaré and *Signor Schanzer* agreed.

[The military experts then retired to discuss the terms of the armistice.]

M. Poincaré observed that the telegram should be sent off as soon as possible, as time would have to be given for Mustapha Kemal to obtain the assent of the Grand National Assembly.

Tripartite Agreement and Italy.

Signor Schanzer asked that he might at this point make a declaration regarding Italy's position. His country, like France and Great Britain, desired peace as soon as possible and a cessation of the Græco-Turkish hostilities, but vital Italian interests were at stake. Italy had been promised the maintenance of the equilibrium between the three Allies in the Mediterranean by article 9 of the Treaty of London 1915. As a consequence, the agreement of S. Jean de Maurienne had been made in 1917 giving Italy a zone in Anatolia, including Smyrna. The Tripartite Agreement of August 1920 had taken the place of the latter and the financial clauses of the Treaty of Sèvres (particularly article 239) enabled the Tripartite Agreement to be applied. If the financial clauses were modified—in particular, if the Financial Commission were not given a real control over concessions—Italy, with a new and more independent Turkey, would find herself in a worse economic position in Turkey than before the war. Italy must therefore insist that the Allies should require Turkey to accept such a control over concessions in the new treaty. Just as France insisted on Turkey providing from other revenues for any deficit in the existing revenues assigned to the service of the pre-war debt, and just as British experts are understood to want a financial control over Turkey for the payment of war debts, so Italy must insist on a control over concessions without being intransigent as to its mechanism. The Debt Council might be kept, strengthened and reconstructed, and the Financial Commission as such disappear. Signor Schanzer then proposed a formula (see Annex 3) to take the place of article 239 of the Treaty of Sèvres, and asked that the Allies should accept it as a preliminary to any further discussion. Without satisfaction on this vital point he could not defend his Government's position before the Italian Parliament.

M. Poincaré appreciated Signor Schanzer's argument, but thought it would be impossible to reach the desired object of the Conference if at this stage each Ally was to press its own particular national interest. For the rest, Signor Schanzer overrated the extent to which France was benefiting from the Turkish settlement. All the Allies had been disillusioned by the course of events in Turkey. Northern Syria, and in particular Aleppo and Alexandretta, were in desperate straits owing to the war in Cilicia and the Kemalist attitude. In any case, it was necessary to examine the essential question first, especially the stoppage of war in Anatolia. Each Government would reserve its final acceptance of the revised terms as a whole until they were ready for signature.

Signor Schanzer said that the mandates received by France and Great Britain were a real advantage. Italy had no counter-benefit, and Italian public opinion insisted upon the Allies securing such for Italy. They must give her the practical application of economic priority under the Tripartite Agreement in her zone.

Lord Curzon sympathised with Signor Schanzer's position, but the Conference could not invert their order of procedure. He was about to propose that plans for the evacuation of Anatolia should be considered by the military experts, and that the Conference should then proceed to discuss other vital questions in the settlement, *e.g.*, the future administration of Smyrna, the Straits, &c. The question of the precise powers and functions of the Financial Commission would come later, and must be exhaustively considered by experts in the first instance. He would further point out that the Tripartite Agreement, which had been specially designed to satisfy French and Italian commercial interests, was an agreement between the three Powers against competition in each other's zones (England, as a matter of fact, asked for no zone), not an agreement with Turkey. As a matter of fact, Turkey would not accept the application of the Tripartite

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Agreement in the way proposed under the Sèvres settlement, and its essence must be obtained in another way. This was first a matter for the experts, who could sit at once while the conference continued, and the Italian case would be taken up at a later stage. Lord Curzon trusted that Signor Schanzer would collaborate on these conditions in the solution of the more vital questions before the conference. For the rest, Lord Curzon entirely agreed with M. Poincaré that neither France nor Great Britain had gained from the Turkish settlement. Both were finding their mandates burdens to which, in the case of the British mandates, Italy was welcome.

M. Poincaré desired to reserve France's attitude towards the question of the Debt Council and the financial clauses for which technical preparation was necessary. Both France and Great Britain, however, were ready to accept the Tripartite Treaty as between the three Powers as in complete force, and to apply it as loyally as possible, but the form of application must be made acceptable to Turkey.

Signor Schanzer urged that the question was not technical but vital for Italy, so could not be deferred. His formula did not touch the sovereignty of Turkey.

M. Poincaré pointed out that the formula made the Financial Commission permanent, because the control was to be permanent. His own idea was that the Debt Council, in any case, should remain intact, and not be merged in the Commission.

Lord Curzon again pointed out that Signor Schanzer was endeavouring to reverse the usual procedure of all previous conferences. He quite realised Signor Schanzer's point that the application of the Tripartite Agreement was of prime political importance to Italy, but its application must in the first place be examined by the experts. Incidentally the formula proposed by Signor Schanzer went much further than the mere application of the Tripartite Agreement. It ought to control the grant of Turkish concessions everywhere, not only in the French and Italian zones. While it was essential that their deliberations should not be suspended while the experts met, Lord Curzon declared himself ready to assure Signor Schanzer that he would do his best to obtain for Italy the substance of the Tripartite Agreement in the new treaty.

Signor Schanzer trusted that Lord Curzon's declaration might be interpreted in the sense that Italy would be satisfied in the way which she desired. For the rest, he did not ask, for the present, more than that his formula should be submitted at once to the experts, although he must make all reservations as to Italy's satisfaction on this point being subordinated to her acceptance of the treaty as a whole.

Evacuation of Anatolia.

Lord Curzon proposed that the detailed plan, with maps prepared by the Allied Generals at Constantinople, for the evacuation of Anatolia should be at once examined by the Versailles Committee under Marshal Foch. Evacuation would involve acceptance and collaboration by the Greeks and abstention by the Turks. Cordial co-operation of the Allied military authorities and the presence of officers of the three countries would be essential for this difficult task.

Armistice Proposals.

The Allied military experts returned at this stage, and General Weygand read the armistice proposals as redrafted by the experts (see Annex 3 for final text.)

M. Poincaré and *Marshal Foch* suggested that the functions of the central commission and sub-commission in article 4 should be extended to look after the local population, and prevent pillage and massacre, &c., in which the Greeks might indulge as a prelude to evacuation.

Lord Curzon pointed out that there were two distinct questions—the armistice on the existing line, with a special commission to see to its execution, and evacuation by slow stages, under the supervision of a new and larger commission, in which perhaps the Armistice Commission might merge. The Armistice Commission should not assume large responsibilities over a wide area. Incidents of the kind feared by Marshal Foch were unlikely in any case to occur.

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The conference finally agreed to meet Marshal Foch's points by the addition of a sentence to article 4 (see text as finally agreed upon in Annex 3). After some discussion the word "arbitrage" was accepted instead of "décisions" in article 5 as more palatable to both Turks and Greeks. The text was then accepted.

Question of Communication to Greeks and Turks.

M. Poincaré suggested that the armistice proposal should be communicated at once to the representatives of the two Turkish Governments and to the Greek Government through their respective official representatives in Paris. None of the Allies had representatives at Angora. France had not sent one as the agreement of October with Angora was in no sense a treaty of peace.

Lord Curzon said that on previous occasions, such as that of a joint communication by the Supreme Council to the Dutch Government regarding the ex-Kaiser of Germany, the President of the conference telegraphed the decision to his Minister in the country, whose Government was being addressed, and instructions were sent to the other two Ministers to make a collective representation.

M. Poincaré pointed out that this was not a meeting of the Supreme Council, but only an informal meeting of Foreign Ministers. There was no formal chairman.

It was finally agreed that the proposal should be signed by the three Foreign Ministers and telegraphed by the French Foreign Office to Athens and to Constantinople, The British and Italian delegations would telegraph the text to their representatives, with instructions to make a joint communication. It was also agreed to communicate the text of the proposal at once to the press.

Smyrna.

Lord Curzon then raised the question of the future régime at Smyrna after evacuation had taken place. Before discussing possible alternative forms of régime, it was necessary to decide whether Turkey was to be allowed to return to unfettered control over the Smyrna area, or whether some safeguards after the return of Turkish sovereignty would be required. Lord Curzon thought that the former course was inacceptable. The French Government in their proposals of the 27th January had proposed a special régime for the municipality of Smyrna on the lines of Alexandria, but the latter was primarily designed to give representation to the foreign commercial interest. In the case of Smyrna it was not only a question of the interests of merchants in the town, but of the protection of the population of a large locality. There were some 100,000 Greeks in Smyrna, some 40,000 in Aivali, some 60,000 in the Tchesme Peninsula. In the whole Sèvres zone, according to pre-war American figures, there were some 500,000 Greeks. Possibly not all the population had yet been repatriated, but if the Turks returned victorious, what was to be done for this large population and the safety of life and property? Would guarantees for minorities of a general nature, such as Angora was said to be ready to accept, suffice? Lord Curzon thought clearly not. It would be desirable, in his opinion, to establish some special form of safeguard for the area, either on the lines of the Saar Basin Commission, as he had proposed in his note of December last to the French and Italian Governments, but which he was now inclined to consider unsuitable, or possibly a looser régime on Lebanon lines. Perhaps even an entirely new proposal should be examined, *e.g.*, a Turkish vali with a special council on which there would be foreign representation, which the Turks might prefer to that of the local elements alone. In any case, whatever geographical area was selected, Lord Curzon proposed some form of administration, which, while prejudicing Turkish sovereignty as little as possible, would yet afford some real protection to the non-Turkish population. A scheme might be worked out by experts once the principle was accepted. Public opinion in England would find it very difficult to accept the return of this area with only the safeguards of the European minority treaties.

M. Poincaré replied that French public opinion did not want any special favours to be shown to the Greeks. Why should there be one kind of special régime for them and not for the Kurds, Armenians, &c.? He thought it was impossible to impose any special régime on Turkey if proposed either for the Aidin

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vilayet or the Sèvres zone. Turks were in a state of violent patriotic exultation, and if any proposal was made touching their sovereignty in Asia it would be rejected. Moreover, it was doubtful if the Greeks of Smyrna were really the enemy of the Turk. They were reported to desire urgently the evacuation of Asia Minor by Greece. If any special administration was to be applied to this area, it was better to restrict it to the smallest possible area—the town of Smyrna.

Signor Schanzer agreed with Lord Curzon that something was necessary. While, perhaps, something ought to be done for the whole Sèvres zone, there would be great difficulties with the Turks for such an area as the vilayet and probably for any larger area than the town.

Lord Curzon pointed out that he had never suggested a special régime for the vilayet. It must be remembered that at any rate in the sanjak of Smyrna to-day, possibly in the whole Sèvres zone, the Greeks were in a majority. M. Poincaré's argument against recognising a national majority here was not accepted elsewhere. The Turks based their case for keeping parts of the eastern vilayets and for recovering Thrace and Adrianople on the Turkish majority in each instance. Yussuf Kemal had told Lord Curzon that he was ready to give up any territory where the Armenians were in a majority. Why should there be a different rule for the whole area round Smyrna in which there was a Greek majority?

Lord Curzon thought, however, that the best procedure might be to discuss the question of Smyrna again later in connection with the general question of minorities. For the present he would make no formal proposal. All he would say at the moment was that it was essential to bring in to the greatest possible extent the League of Nations.

M. Poincaré presumed that if Adrianople remained Greek and Smyrna were left to Turkey, the régime to be applied to Smyrna would be applied to Adrianople. Special guarantees would no doubt be required for any compact bodies of Greek or Armenian populations that might be scattered through Asia Minor. As for Smyrna, he still favoured a régime for the town only, but he accepted the general procedure as to further discussion of the question proposed by Lord Curzon.

Press.

Signor Schanzer reverted to the question of communications to the press. He hoped it might be possible for each delegation to have some latitude in speaking to the press, apart from the agreed communications of the conference.

Both *M. Poincaré* and *Lord Curzon* deprecated the suggestion, which would probably only lead to one-sided accounts of the day's proceedings being given out by each delegation.

(*The meeting then adjourned.*)

ANNEX 1.

The Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy:

Being desirous, in order to facilitate negotiations for the re-establishment of peace in the East, to ensure an immediate cessation of hostilities between the Greek and Turkish military forces in Anatolia:

Have agreed to propose the following terms for an armistice to be signed by the commanders of the said Greek and Turkish military forces:—

1. Hostilities will cease at twenty-four hours in the night of , 1922.

2. Hellenic and Turkish outposts will be withdrawn in accordance with the decisions of local commissions, consisting of representatives of the local Turkish and Greek commanders and Allied officers, wherever there is contact between the two armies, the guiding principle being to break contact as far as possible, in order to avoid incidents occurring between members of the two armies.

3. No movement of troops to or from the theatre of war in Anatolia is to take place.

4. Allied commissions to be appointed to both armies as guarantee to either side that the terms of this armistice are respected.

5. Hostilities will be suspended for a period of ninety-two days, renewable automatically for periods of ninety-two days until such times as a peace treaty

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shall come into force. Should either party wish to denounce this convention, it will be bound to give notice of its intention to the other party and the representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy a clear fortnight before the expiration of one of these periods.

ANNEX 2.

Le Gouvernement ottoman devra soumettre à l'avis du Conseil de la Dette, avant promulgation, les contrats des nouvelles concessions ou de prorogation des concessions existantes à accorder en faveur des ressortissants ottomans ou de tout autre.

Le Conseil de la Dette avant d'émettre son avis devra examiner si les conditions de ces contrats sont conformes aux intérêts du Gouvernement ottoman.

Le Conseil afin de pouvoir exercer son mandat aura faculté de se faire représenter auprès des départements compétents par son propre délégué auquel le Gouvernement ottoman fournira toutes les facilités requises pour l'accomplissement de sa tâche.

ANNEX 3.

Haut-Commissaire français, Constantinople.

Ministre français, Athènes.

Le 22 mars 1922.

(*Pour Constantinople seulement* :)

Veuillez vous concerter avec vos collègues britannique et italien pour remettre au Gouvernement ottoman et au représentant du Gouvernement d'Angora à Constantinople :

(*Pour Athènes seulement* :)

Veuillez vous concerter avec vos collègues britannique et italien pour remettre au Gouvernement hellénique :

(*Pour les deux postes* :)

Le télégramme suivant, qui est signé par Lord Curzon, par M. Schanzer et par moi :

" Les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des trois grandes Puissances, réunis à Paris en vue de rétablir la paix dans le Proche-Orient et d'être mis à même de faire des propositions pour l'évacuation de l'Asie Mineure, sans nouvelles pertes de vies et de biens, estiment que leur premier devoir est de recommander instamment une suspension immédiate d'hostilités aux Gouvernements intéressés.

" Les conditions de l'armistice proposé seraient les suivantes :

" ARTICLE 1er.

" Les hostilités cesseront à minuit dans la nuit du au 1922.

" ARTICLE 2.

" Tout en conservant les lignes générales occupées actuellement par le gros de leurs forces, les belligérants devront ramener en arrière leurs éléments avancés, de manière à supprimer tout contact et à ouvrir un intervalle libre de troupes large d'au moins 10 kilom. entre les deux fronts, conformément aux décisions prises par les commissions locales composées de représentants des commandements grec et turc et d'officiers alliés.

" ARTICLE 3.

" Pendant la durée de l'armistice, aucun renforcement en personnel ou en matériel ne pourra être opéré dans les armées opposées ; aucun enlèvement d'unités constituées ne pourra être effectué.

' ARTICLE 4.

" Des commissions alliées, agissant sous une direction alliée commune, seront attachées à l'une et à l'autre des armées belligérantes.

" Elles auront qualité pour contrôler, dans chacune de ces armées, l'exécution des clauses de l'armistice, et pour régler les incidents qui pourraient se produire

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à cette occasion. Elles auront également qualité pour intervenir auprès des autorités occupantes, en vue d'assurer la protection des gens et des biens dans les territoires occupés.

"ARTICLE 5.

"Les commandements en chef hellénique et ottoman s'engagent à accepter et à exécuter loyalement l'arbitrage des commissions alliées.

"ARTICLE 6.

"Les hostilités seront suspendues pendant une période de trois mois, renouvelable automatiquement jusqu'à ce que les deux belligérants aient accepté les conditions des préliminaires de paix. Si l'un des belligérants désire ne pas renouveler la présente convention, il devra en faire la notification à l'autre partie et aux représentants de la Grande-Bretagne, de la France et de l'Italie quinze jours au moins avant l'expiration de la période d'armistice en cours.

"CURZON. SCHANZER. POINCARÉ."

De concert avec vos collègues, vous demanderez qu'une réponse vous soit adressée dans le délai le plus bref possible.

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[E 3290/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 10·30 A.M., *March* 23, 1922.—(*Received at Foreign Office, March* 27.)

Present :

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

Armistice.

M. Poincaré read a telegram from General Pellé, which seemed to show that if Lord Curzon's proposal aimed at an armistice on the basis of the *status quo*, the existing situation was much more favourable for the Turks than for the Greeks. It would be better for the Allies to delay the evacuation of Asia Minor, and have time to make the necessary arrangements.

Evacuation of Asia Minor.

M. Poincaré said that this telegram did not change the situation; General Gouraud's views were the same as those of General Pellé. M. Poincaré suggested telling the press that the Foreign Ministers had instructed their military authorities to examine the necessary preparations for the evacuation of Asia Minor, and that such evacuation formed part of their programme. They wanted to get the Turks to accept an armistice and peace. If they failed to secure peace, the three countries would be in great difficulties, as the whole question of Islam in Morocco and India would be involved. Even in Morocco the Sultan had a real respect and religious deference for the Sultan of Constantinople. The mere fact of the signature of the Agreement of Angora had had the best effect; as Lord Curzon was aware, he (M. Poincaré) regretted the form of that agreement, but such was the fact. It would be a real disaster for each of the three Powers with such large Moslem interests if they failed to bring the Turks to accept peace.

It was accordingly essential, as General Pellé said, to obtain the acceptance of the armistice by the Turks, and therefore to show that the Allies were preparing for evacuation by the Greeks at once.

Lord Curzon said that General Pellé's telegram was sent in ignorance of the conditions attached to the proposed armistice. A reference to evacuation had been inserted, and therefore the telegram need cause them no alarm. M. Poincaré had spoken of the possibility of a Turkish refusal and of the ill-effects of a failure to make peace. That was true, but we should look at the time-table. Telegrams had been sent to Athens and Constantinople, and from the latter a telegram would go to Angora; consultation with the National Assembly would follow. Assuming that the Foreign Ministers reached an agreement at Paris and invited the Greeks and Turks to consider the Allied proposals at Constantinople, one of two things must happen. If the Turks favoured the Allied proposals, they would not refuse an armistice; if they did refuse an armistice and the Allied proposals, they would be placed in an entirely false position before public opinion everywhere, despite the question of Islam. He (Lord Curzon) therefore did not feel alarmed. M. Poincaré had said rightly that we must give our policy a chance of success. He (Lord Curzon) saw no

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objection to M. Poincaré's proposal to let the press know that the military authorities were considering a plan prepared by the Allied generals at Constantinople for the progressive and peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks, if evacuation were recommended by the Allied Powers. He would not tell them any more. He wished to make one further observation. The British Empire was just as much interested in the Islamic world as France. We had to pay attention to the views held in India just as M. Poincaré had to do in the case of Morocco. It was necessary to avoid giving the impression that one Power was more interested than another in Islam. M. Poincaré had referred to the Sultan of Morocco and the Angora Agreement. He (Lord Curzon) had heard from many quarters that French officials in Morocco took credit for special friendship for Islam by reason of the Angora Agreement. This was a great mistake. He (Lord Curzon) had no intention of trying to gain credit for special consideration for Turk or Greek, Moslem or Christian.

Signor Schanzer agreed to the proposed communication to the press.

M. Poincaré thanked Lord Curzon and Signor Schanzer. He added that he wished to emphasise that the Allies were solid and united. He only referred to Morocco because he did not think it was for him to refer to India. As to the alleged action of French officials in Morocco, it was surely only a case of independence and excess of zeal on the part of their agents. Lord Curzon knew how difficult it was to control subordinate agents. In any case, it was in the general interest to preserve calm and order in all the Islamic world, which the Bolsheviks were seeking to trouble, even, for instance, in Tunis. It was, therefore, a vital interest of each Empire to do what they could for the Moslem world. He thanked his colleagues for agreeing to the proposed communication to the press, which should exercise a restraining influence on the Turkish extremists.

Lord Curzon proposed the following wording :—

> " The military authorities, under the presidency of Marshal Foch, have been invited to-day to consider the conditions for the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor, in the event of this evacuation being decided upon by the Conference at Paris as part of the general settlement, on the lines prepared by the military advisers in Constantinople."

M. Poincaré thought this went too far.

Lord Curzon said that at that table they could only agree to the evacuation as part of a general regulation of outstanding questions.

M. Poincaré agreed that this went without saying, but it might be supposed that the evacuation was not necessarily to be part of the general settlement. He suggested the words " as part of the general settlement to come." The formula might run : " Les trois Ministres des Affaires Etrangères ont chargé les experts militaires, sous la direction du Maréchal Foch, d'examiner sur la base du plan déjà préparé par les généraux à Constantinople les conditions de l'évacuation pacifique d'Asie Mineure, comme faisant partie du règlement général de l'Asie Mineure à intervenir."

Lord Curzon did not like the words " comme faisant partie," and suggested " on the presumption that this will be a feature of the general settlement." He was only anxious not to consent to evacuation by itself; we did not want to increase the chance of the Turks refusing the general terms of peace because evacuation was certain.

Signor Schanzer suggested " contemplated as forming part of the general settlement."

Lord Curzon suggested that the drafting of the communication should be left until the end.

M. Poincaré said that it was not a question of drafting. France would accept no agreement without the evacuation of Asia Minor.

Lord Curzon pointed out that M. Poincaré went further than this; his formula suggested that the Turks would obtain the evacuation of Asia Minor in any case, apart from the general settlement; they could reject certain points and still get evacuation. He suggested " subject to the acceptance of the other conditions of the

general settlement under consideration," instead of " as forming part of the conditions, &c."

It was finally agreed that the formula should run as follows :—

> " The three Ministers for Foreign Affairs have invited the military experts, under the presidency of Marshal Foch, to consider, on the basis of the plan already prepared by the military commanders at Constantinople, the conditions for the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor, subject to the acceptance of the other conditions of the general settlement in course of preparation."

Minorities.

Lord Curzon then said that yesterday they had discussed the question of the district and town of Smyrna, and agreed to subordinate it to the general settlement of the question of minorities. The Armenian question ought to be reserved for such special treatment as might be found necessary, but it was of course included as well in the general question of minorities. The first question was whether Turkish law really provided for minority representation. In the existing vilayet law there was provision for the representation of local elements, but not for any proportional representation of religious communities or racial minorities. There were thus no safeguards. Again, there were the old provisions in Turkish law for extending ecclesiastical and educational privileges to non-Moslem communities. These provisions were in abeyance during the war, if not abolished altogether in the case of the Armenians. The Treaty of Sèvres restored these privileges, and we ought to insist on this.

Before passing on he would like to remind his colleagues of the extent to which the intervention of the Allies in the present case was necessary. The Turks, when faced with evidence of massacres, took up an attitude of innocence, and maintained that these events were due to acts of hostility or insolence on the part of the victims. This was not the case. He recalled the French evacuation of the outskirts of Cilicia, the massacres of Armenians at Marash and Hajin, of the Greeks at Isnik, of Armenians again at Zeitun and Marsivan and the massacre of Armenian refugees from the Caucasus. Again, Colonel Rawlinson, who had been kept in confinement by the Kemalists for a year and a half, saw with his own eyes on his return journey wholesale deportations of Greeks, the outrage of women and children, and men dying of starvation and exposure. The old Turkish plan of massacre and deportation to get rid of minorities was still in full operation. This was a moral responsibility on all the Allies, and public opinion would not tolerate that they should not try to secure serious and, so far as possible, adequate protection for these unhappy minorities. Lord Curzon quoted Signor Tutozzi's opinion, given to Sir H. Rumbold after visiting Angora, as to the attitude of the Turks, and their policy of extermination as the only solution of the minorities problem. He referred to the necessity, which was realised when framing the Treaty of Sèvres, of inserting special provisions differing from those of the European Minority Treaties. Article 141 provided for the recovery of persons who had been forcibly converted to Islam. Articles 142 and 144 brought in the League of Nations, and provided for arbitral commissions, composed of one Turk, one representative of the victim's community, and a neutral chairman; and finally, in article 151 it was decided that the Allies and the League should decide what provisions were necessary to execute the minorities provisions. In London in 1921 he, Lord Curzon, had also proposed a larger intervention of the League and a special High Commissioner at Constantinople; this proposal had been opposed by M. Cambon and Marquis Imperiali, and was consequently dropped at the time. But a Commissioner at Constantinople had since been appointed, and a resolution was passed by the Council of the League on the 14th January, 1922, drawing the attention of the Principal Allied Powers to the urgent need of securing the protection of minorities, and expressing the readiness of the Council to collaborate with the Powers in securing this object. He, Lord Curzon, would propose to maintain the provisions in this respect of the Treaty of Sèvres and even to go further: he would ask the League to appoint commissioners to visit places where the problem was acute, *e.g.*, Smyrna, Pontus, Angora and Cilicia. He would propose that these Commissioners' powers of supervision should extend to non-Turkish Moslems in Turkey, *e.g.*, Kurds, and to Moslems in detached territories such as Western Thrace. He would not dogmatise about the position or pay of the commissioners—there would be difficult questions in connection with the expenses of maintenance, for the League could hardly defray the cost, and even if it were imposed on Turkey by the Treaty of Peace, it might prove impossible to recover the charge. The best plan, however,

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would be to invite the Council of the League to appoint individual representatives to visit or reside in the various localities, where they could associate themselves with prominent local persons, such as the representatives of the Powers, merchants and missionaries, and look after the interests of minorities either continuously or from time to time. These gentlemen would be under the High Commissioner at Constantinople, who had already been appointed, but their reports should be sent direct to the Assembly of the League for its annual consideration, and thus brought before the public opinion of the world. Speaking broadly, his propositions might be summed as follows :—

1. Reassertion of all privileges and guarantees which already find a place in the European Minorities Treaties, the law of Islam, the secular law of Turkey, or the Treaty of Sèvres.
2. The League of Nations to be constituted the special protector of Moslem minorities in Europe and non-Turkish minorities in Turkey.
3. League Commissioners for certain areas.
4. Reports of these League Commissioners to be sent annually to the Assembly of the League.

Signor Schanzer said that he shared Lord Curzon's views. It was important that they should show that they interested themselves in the minorities; it was impossible to find real guarantees, and if there was a recurrence of massacres, they would bear a great responsibility. He was in agreement with the general lines of Lord Curzon's proposals, but felt certain doubts as to particular articles of the Treaty of Sèvres, *e.g.*, article 142, which dealt with conversions to Islam; it was not desirable to increase feeling between the minorities. He felt some doubts as to the number of the Commissioners, but this was more a question of detail; in principle, he accepted Lord Curzon's idea of bringing in the League as much as possible. He thought that Commissioners were preferable to Commissions on the ground of cost, which from his experience he regarded as a very important consideration. The mechanism, however, must not be too elaborate, and there must not be too much interference with the Turkish Government. He agreed with the idea of annual reports, which was the most suitable method of interesting the public opinion of the world.

M. Poincaré associated himself with the views of Lord Curzon and Signor Schanzer as to the necessity of protecting the minorities against the recurrence of massacres, but said that the Greeks had also been at fault. It was true that it had been thought necessary to insert more stringent provisions in the Treaty of Sèvres than in the minority clauses of the other treaties. The great difficulty was, however, to impose anything on the Turks, whose views were known. It would therefore be better first to seek a basis in the European treaties, and then to have recourse to the Treaty of Sèvres.

The Powers had before the war a special position entitling them to look after the minorities in Greece. In 1920 they had abandoned that position, and it had been replaced by the Greek Minority Treaty of the 10th August, 1920, article 1 of which made the protection of minorities a fundamental law of Greece. M. Poincaré then read the Greek minority treaty, substituting throughout the word "Turkey" for "Greece."

If the Allies proposed conditions like those in article 141 of the Treaty of Sèvres, they must modify the terms. They were in a difficulty. Mistake after mistake had been committed. They had negotiated too theoretically with Turkey. They were not in a position to apply the terms of the clauses in question. They had not the force to impose any terms they pleased, as they had had in the case of the other treaties. They could not to-day impose terms which it had been impossible to enforce even in 1921. They must face realities. They could not resuscitate the Treaty of Sèvres. They must not give the Angora nationalists the impression that they were to be treated as savages; they must treat them like the inhabitants of an European country.

Lord Curzon said that M. Poincaré had said very hard things about the Treaty of Sèvres. He would remind them that the present President of the French Republic, M. Millerand, shared the responsibility for it. M. Poincaré looked at the matter almost entirely from the point of view of the Turks. He had said with much force that the Allies must offer such terms as the Turks would accept. It was said that the Turks ought to be treated like European nations, that this would flatter them, and secure their adhesion to the Allied proposals. To assume such an

attitude, however, was to ignore facts. While the Greeks had been guilty of misdeeds, it was, broadly speaking, true that the Turks had stood for barbarity and savagery for sixty years. It was impossible after past experience to mete out exactly similar treatment to Turks and Europeans. They must, of course, omit from the Treaty of Sèvres clauses that were obsolete or that were needlessly and exasperatingly severe. Articles 142 and 144, for instance, as Signor Schanzer had justly pointed out, were now impossible to apply, however possible it might have been to enforce them two years ago. He, Lord Curzon, did not desire to commit himself to particulars in regard to proposals for the reassertion of particular guarantees.

M. Poincaré had read the excellent clauses of the Greek Minority Treaty. In that treaty, however, the only guarantee for execution was a vague reference to the League of Nations. Turkey was, however, on a different footing. It would be useless merely to substitute the name of Turkey for that of Greece in the Greek Minority Treaty. Much more was required, and this could be found in the framework of a long series of treaties dating from that of Berlin.

For the present, what they had to do was to agree upon broad principles, though they might approach them from a different angle of vision. Later on, a committee of experts might sit as in London in 1920, and might elaborate more detailed clauses for the execution of the general declaration now to be made.

M. Poincaré thought there was least agreement about the Treaty of Sèvres. It was not a treaty at all. It was merely a draft, which had been signed, but not ratified. No French Government could uphold the Treaty of Sèvres. The Turkish treaty was at the time relegated to the second rank and was prepared in London under the auspices of the British Government. The French Government in Paris did not know who had made it. Each Power was compelled to make a treaty which would be accepted by its Parliament. French opinion, at any rate, desired that the minorities should be protected effectively, but it wished for something feasible. France would not send a ship or a military force. Lord Curzon had said that he, M. Poincaré, was thinking of expediency, not justice. This was not so. He only aimed at such justice as was practicable. He merely suggested that they should take the minority clauses of European treaties as a starting point, and elaborate them in detail for Turkey in a practical manner, and one which would permit of application. They might elaborate the League of Nations guarantee, which was vague. Bulgaria and Greece, however, should offer the same guarantees as Turkey. The Powers should arrange for general reciprocity, though he wished to make reservations as to the methods proposed by Lord Curzon, which were too cumbrous.

Lord Curzon said he wished to add one last word about the Treaty of Sèvres. It was not drawn up by irresponsible people sitting under his, Lord Curzon's, presidency in London. France had been represented by her Ambassador and by M. Berthelot. Further, the treaty had been gone through and revised line by line and almost word by word at San Remo in the presence of M. Berthelot himself. It was not sufficient to leave the League of Nations to work out the guarantees. The conference must make some suggestion to it, and this was the object of his proposal.

Signor Schanzer thought that the points of view must be brought closer together before a resolution was put. It was true that the Turks were not on the same level as the European Governments. While he wondered whether they could limit themselves to the European minority clauses, Italian public opinion might accept that with difficulty. He thought there were certain clauses in the Treaty of Sèvres which should be retained. It would be possible to take the Greek treaty and add to it some articles of a temporary character, subject to revision.

Lord Curzon offered to prepare a formula, to give effect to his proposals and to submit it in the afternoon.

(At this point the conference adjourned for luncheon.)

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[E 3427/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Foreign Office Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay, at 3 P.M., March 23, 1922.—(Received March 30.)

Present:

For France ...	...	M. Poincaré. M. Perretti de la Rocca.
For Great Britain	...	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Mr. R. G. Vansittart. Mr. E. G. Forbes Adam.
For Italy ...	...	Signor Schanzer. Marquis Visconti-Venosta. Signor Guariglia.

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

Lord Curzon said he had drawn up a formula in which he had done his best to meet M. Poincaré's point as to reciprocity as regards minorities in Turkey and Greece respectively. The formula sought to establish the League of Nations' supervision impartially on this basis.

The formula (see Annex 1 to these minutes) was then read.

Signor Schanzer suggested the addition of the words "by the Powers" after "approved" in article 3. He thought the proposals generally acceptable.

M. Poincaré thought the proposal acceptable to France. The only question was whether it would be acceptable to Turkey and Greece. The Turks were much puffed up, and the Powers could not impose terms on them by force. The more they accentuated their requirements, the greater would their difficulties be. If they did not succeed in their object, they would be all three in a very bad position. It would be difficult, after a refusal of their proposals, to find means to impose them. Taking the articles in detail, M. Poincaré said that the first was satisfactory. He disliked the reference to the Treaty of Sèvres in the second clause.

Lord Curzon said that it must be remembered that the Treaty of Sèvres had been signed by Turkey as well as by the Powers. M. Poincaré's argument was in favour of giving way at every point to the Turks. The latter had always said that they were prepared to give any reasonable guarantee required to safeguard the minorities. If the Powers could devise such guarantees, it seemed in the highest degree improbable that the Turks, after securing the evacuation of Asia Minor and other big concessions, would break away over minorities. He submitted that there was nothing in his formula which could offend anybody. The Powers had not surely reached a point where they could not mention the Treaty of Sèvres. It was quite possible that the minority clauses of that treaty might need to be modified, but much of them was in the minority clauses of the European treaties, which Turkey had already accepted in principle. The Treaty of Sèvres was in existence and they had to revise it. There was really no harm in saying that it was part of the duty of the conference to study the Treaty of Sèvres.

Signor Schanzer suggested that perhaps a general reference might be made to the "different treaties" instead of special reference to the Treaty of Sèvres.

M. Poincaré said that that was what he desired. He feared the action of the extremists at Angora if weapons were placed in their hands. To avoid this he would propose to accept Signor Schanzer's proposal.

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Lord Curzon suggested that, to meet M. Poincaré and to avoid the difficulty arising from the non-ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres, reference might be made to the "various treaties which have been drawn up since the Armistice," and (*c*) could then be suppressed.

M. Poincaré accepted articles 3 and 4. In article 5 he suggested that they should specify the "Governments concerned" and say "the Governments of Greece and Turkey."

This was agreed.

Lord Curzon said he would prefer to modify his own draft by substituting the words "after consultation with" for the words "with the consent of," and to insert this phrase after the words "will be invited to appoint." Both Governments could then give their opinions but not veto the appointment.

M. Poincaré asked, with reference to article 6, who would draw the attention of the League to the matter.

Lord Curzon suggested that a formula should be found for this in the treaty on the lines of other minority treaties.

M. Poincaré feared that the specification of areas might have a bad effect. Moreover, some minorities would be omitted, *e.g.*, the Assyrian Chaldeans in the south-eastern vilayets. If, on the other hand, the south-eastern vilayets were mentioned as well as the eastern, too large an area would be specified.

Lord Curzon urged that these articles were the main protection offered to the Greeks. The bulk of the Treaty of Sèvres was to disappear. The population of Pontus and Smyrna would regard themselves as deserted.

M. Poincaré seemed to regard too exclusively the Turkish point of view. If one had not the courage to describe the areas where the population were to be protected, what safeguard would there be? There was no more offence in mentioning districts in Asia Minor than in Thrace, which the Turks would wish to have mentioned, at any rate Western Thrace, which, it was already agreed, was not to be returned to Turkey. But Lord Curzon would willingly specify the area where the Assyrian Chaldeans were.

M. Poincaré feared the effect of mentioning nearly the whole of Asia Minor, and added that, by reference to Thrace, Turkey would know that she was to lose it.

Lord Curzon could not agree with M. Poincaré. Surely it was better to specify areas than to suggest that the commissions should roam all over Asia Minor. There were minorities everywhere. His proposal was less offensive to the Turks. As regards the mention of Thrace, he did not wish to prejudice or anticipate a decision. They were not going to publish or mention these formulæ until the terms were ready to be handed to the Greeks and Turks If they decided to give back the whole or part of Eastern Thrace they could specify the area to be affected, or they could mention Western Thrace only.

Signor Schanzer suggested that article 5 was sufficient of itself without mentioning areas. Indeed, Allied liberty of action might be limited thereby.

M. Poincaré agreed. Again, what was to be said regarding Salonica?

Lord Curzon could not share his colleagues' views. Attention must be drawn to such important areas. The word "specially" meant simply "notamment" in French. He would ask his colleagues, as Christians, to agree that they were charged with a duty to the Christian minorities. He was overwhelmed with petitions from everywhere. When a special régime was mentioned for Smyrna, M. Poincaré had said he thought that the minority clauses were the proper place for safeguards for Smyrna. He now wanted to drop all mention of Smyrna. In this case, Lord Curzon would be forced to return to the proposal of a special régime for Smyrna. He did not wish to do this.

M. Poincaré suggested that experts could specify the places. It was not necessary to mention them in a preliminary communication to the Greeks and Turks.

Lord Curzon urged that it really was necessary. It was not proposed that the formula should be given to the press, but should merely be included in the general proposal to be made to the Turks and Greeks. They were going to propose preliminary

terms to Turkey and Greece, who would have to accept or refuse. If the former accepted, they could say later that they had not expected such and such an area to be affected.

M. Poincaré suggested that it would be advisable to refer such a resolution as this for elaboration by experts here in Paris.

Lord Curzon thought that the appropriate course was to draw up general formulæ here. The experts would then have to elaborate them at Constantinople.

M. Poincaré said that that was not his point. He was suggesting that it would be better to refer these formulæ to the experts here in Paris.

Lord Curzon said he saw no reason for referring his general formulæ to experts. There was no doubt as to the presence of minorities in the areas specified.

M. Poincaré asked why Salonica and the Ægean Islands could not be included.

Signor Schanzer pointed out that other areas were not excluded by the words of article 6, which only spoke of attention being "specially" drawn.

Lord Curzon pointed out that there could be no parity between Asia Minor and Greece, where the Moslem minority was relatively very small compared with the Christian minorities in Asia Minor.

It was finally agreed to add "Thessaly" after "Thrace."

The formula was then agreed to subject to these corrections (see Annex 2).

Lord Curzon then referred to the question of Armenia. What the Allies must have in mind were the pledges they had given in differing degrees and forms at various times during and since the war. There was also public opinion in America to be considered, where large sections took a deep interest in the Armenian question and, indeed, in the whole question of the Christian minorities in Turkey. He would recall especially to M. Poincaré an Allied conference at which he thought M. Ribot or M. Briand had been present during the war in 1917 to draw up the statement of the Allies' peace terms, among which had been included an independent or autonomous Armenian State. Further, he would remind the conference of the attempt made to find a mandatory for Armenia after the war was over. The Council and Assembly of the League had failed to find any country willing to assume this obligation, just as the Supreme Council had failed. Then the Treaty of Sévres had been drafted, and provided for an independent Armenian State to include territory from the eastern vilayets of Turkey. President Wilson, as an arbitrator, had sketched out the frontiers of this State in the eastern vilayets in the autumn of 1920. The next phase was the London Conference in March 1921, at which the general proposals put forward to the Turks and Greeks had included a provision that territory should be assigned for a national home for Armenians on the eastern frontier of Turkey, the boundaries of which were to be fixed by a special commission appointed by the League of Nations to examine the territory. The pledges given in the case of Armenia had indeed been very serious. Particular reference should be made to the obligations incurred by France and Italy in respect to the special protection of the minorities in their zones under the Tripartite Agreement. In particular, the French Government had, in raising the Légion d'Orient, given some general assurance of their particular regard for the future independence of Armenia.

M. Poincaré would recall that when France evacuated Cilicia under the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement she endeavoured to satisfy her obligations towards the minorities by taking special guarantees from the Turks. So unsatisfactory were these guarantees, however, that the refugees poured out of Cilicia with the retiring troops in order to escape the Kemalist terror, and went to Cyprus and the Syrian ports. There was, of course, another centre than Cilicia where a more compact mass of Armenians was to be found, namely, the State of Russian Armenia. This State was, in fact, now the sovietised republic of Erivan, which, by the Treaty of Kars of 1921, had been restricted to a small territory round the town of that name. It was full of refugees from Turkey who had poured in during the war; a recent telegram spoke of a population of some million and a-half, including 400,000 Turkish refugees. In seeing Yussuf Kemal recently, Lord Curzon had reminded him that, when the question of assigning Turkish territory to an Armenian State had been raised in March 1921 with Bekir Sami, the latter, while admitting that he had no mandate to agree to a solution, was in no way surprised at the proposal, and had promised to recommend it to his

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Government. Yussuf Kemal seemed less amenable than Bekir Sami, but it was surely a better solution that the Armenians should leave Turkey rather than be massacred, and, if so, it might be preferable to increase the independent Armenian State by some addition of Turkish territory in order to hold a larger population. This was a matter for consideration.

A second centre with a large Armenian population before the war to which a great number of Armenians wished to return was Cilicia. Impartial American pre-war figures had given a minority of about 200,000 Christians, mostly Armenians, for this area. But since the war, and particularly since the evacuation of French troops, this number had been reduced to a few thousands. France had special obligations towards this Christian population, not only because of the Tripartite Agreement, but owing to her position in Syria, and the assurances of a more formal nature given by her to the Armenians during the war. Surely it was worth while, and in accordance with all Allied obligations, that some special régime should be established here. Turkish sovereignty could be preserved, and the governor might perhaps be appointed in consultation with the League of Nations. The area could be specified later; he would suggest that it might be the vilayet of Adana, with or without the sanjak of Marash, or a small area round the sanjak of Mersina. To this centre France and Great Britain could send any Armenian refugres still on their territories. The rich Armenian communities scattered through the world might well find money for the development of the territory, and make this small Armenian community prosperous and a source of strength. If the idea of an extended Armenian State in the north-eastern corner of Turkey could not be followed up in the present political situation in that area, the Allies should at least endeavour to satisfy their consciences and arrive at an equitable solution by trying to create a special "foyer" for the Armenian race in southern Turkey.

M. Poincaré admitted that Lord Curzon's historical résumé had been rigorously correct, although he could not admit that French obligations were quite so specific as Lord Curzon had suggested.

The practical question now, however, was where were the Armenians really to be found? After the French evacuation of Cilicia not more than a few thousands had remained. It was useless, therefore, to endeavour to do anything for them in this direction. It might be possible, however, to create a national home for them in the eastern vilayets, where they appeared to be more numerous. M. Perretti de la Rocca had information showing that there were some 100,000 Armenians still in these vilayets.

Lord Curzon intervened to remark that Yussuf Kemal had not admitted to him the existence of any such minority at this moment in this territory.

M. Poincaré thought that, so far as Cilicia was concerned, it would be better to leave the Armenian refugees in their present position in the zone round Alexandretta and Aleppo under the French mandate. M. Franklin-Bouillon had tried hard to keep the frontier of Syria more to the north, with a view to include the large territory where the Armenians could settle, but he had failed in his endeavour. Turkey would never now give back Cilicia to the Armenians, if only because of the wealth of this territory. Indeed France, in abandoning so rich a country, had made great sacrifices, in spite of what Signor Schanzer had said the day before. For the rest, M. Poincaré was doubtful whether in fact the Armenians themselves were now looking to Cilicia; he thought that they were more interested in the future of the Erivan State. There remained, however, the question of a national home in the eastern vilayets to be explored.

Signor Schanzer said that he thought it would be difficult after the Treaty of Kars to do anything for the Armenians in the north-eastern corner of Turkey. Nevertheless, the Allied Powers could not abandon the idea of doing something for the Armenians. The question must be further studied. Perhaps in some way the interest and help of the League of Nations might be specifically enlisted for this object. The question should in any case not be closed. When the Russian Government changed it might be possible to treat with the new Government with regard to assisting the Armenians in the north of Turkey.

Lord Curzon felt that M. Poincaré only offered them counsels of despair. M. Poincaré had spoken of the territories where the Armenians were now to be found. Surely that was not a fair test. If this argument were adopted a wholesale explusion of a large population from a country would put an end for ever to its claim for the recovery of its home. Some 700,000 Turkish Armenian refugees

had fled to Russian Armenia during the war. If M. Perretti's estimate of the Armenians now in the eastern vilayets had come from M. Franklin-Bouillon, Lord Curzon doubted the accuracy of the estimate. M. Franklin-Bouillon had been a kind of prisoner at Angora, and had never been in a position to estimate the populations further east. If out of this poor remnant of Armenians in the eastern vilayets the Allies were now solemnly to propose a new State, subject to the whims of Mustapha Kemal, the proposal would be greeted with public derision. There remained the alternative of doing something in Cilicia. M. Poincaré had used the argument that, as France had failed to obtain fair terms for the Armenians in their negotiations with the Kemalists last year, it was not now possible for the Allies to succeed in the same endeavour. Lord Curzon had understood, however, from M. Briand that the real reason for the departure of the French troops from Cilicia was not the pressure of the Kemalist army, but the expense of maintaining some 80,000 troops in this area. M. Briand had admitted to him that they could not obtain the necessary credits from the Chamber. The whole position was surely now different. The Great Powers were now jointly proposing terms of peace to the enemy, of which the case of Cilicia was only one. There might actually be only 2,000 or 3,000 Armenians in Cilicia now, but the 80 000 Armenian refugees scattered over Syria, at Alexandretta, Beyrout and elsewhere, should also be included in the calculation. Signor Schanzer had been right in saying that the Allies had an obligation to try and restore these people to their homes in Cilicia. M. Poincaré had spoken of the wealth of Cilicia as a reason for the Turks refusing to restore it. He thought that was equally a reason for allowing the Armenians to return and enabling them to use their very great capacities for increasing the richness of the soil. The Allies might fail, but it would be glorious to fail in trying to do something for the Armenians. Mustapha Kemal might refuse the Allied proposal as regards Cilicia, but, if he did, the Allies would at least have done their best and endeavoured to meet their obligations honourably. Whatever proposal was put forward should be made as palatable as possible to Turkey and some responsibility should be given to the League of Nations. As for M. Poincaré's suggestion that the Armenians did not wish to return, Lord Curzon's information from the spokesmen of the large Armenian communities in England, who had perhaps come to regard England as their special protector, was quite to the contrary.

M Poincaré said he wished to state that France had done her best to keep intact the Sèvres frontier and thus keep under her mandate part of the Cilician plain for the Armenians. M. Briand had sent strict injunctions to M. Franklin-Bouillon, who had done his very best to persuade the Turks to agree. M. Bouillon had failed. The Turks declared that they were now in a different position to that of 1918; a new State had been formed with new aspirations, and they could not cede an integral part—and one of the richest parts—of their country. Lord Curzon had spoken of the three Allies united being able to do more than France alone, but for Turkey the only real question was the actual force on the spot. Neither Italy, nor Great Britain, nor France could send troops to Syria. The three Foreign Ministers could not, by willing it, restore the Armenians to Cilicia. The Turks, if the Allies put forward the proposal, would ask the Allies to come and establish the Armenians in Cilicia themselves. M. Poincaré had not noticed that the Italians had made any suggestion as to establishing the Armenians in the Italian zone. Why should France be required to make this sacrifice of her interests on behalf of the Allies? Why should Cilicia and not another zone elsewhere be selected for the Armenians? If England regarded herself in any way as the protector of the Armenians, why should not England find a refuge for them in her own territories?

Incidentally, M. Poincaré wished to point out that if the League of Nations' commissioners were appointed, as had been proposed, in either the French or the Italian zones under the Tripartite Agreement, it was natural that they should be respectively French or Italian nationals.

Lord Curzon disclaimed any idea of having suggested an Armenian home in Cilicia with a view to prejudice the French interests. Cilicia offered the only alternative for satisfying Armenian aspirations if it was not possible to do anything in the eastern vilayets. He had a letter written from Alexandretta in February which spoke of 20,000 Armenian fugitives there now; something should be done to restore them to their homes.

M. Poincaré had asked him how the Allies could succeed if they had no military force on the spot. Surely the Allies were endeavouring to propose a treaty which

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would be equitable taken as a whole. Even if none of them could fight in Cilicia, they could try by other means to attain the desired end For instance, they were going to propose Turkey's entrance into the League of Nations. If the League were given a lead in the matter of Cilicia they could still refuse Turkey's application unless they received in return serious and substantial concessions from Turkey in the matter of Cilicia. The Allies had a grave responsibility before the whole world. Every clause that they were going to put in the treaty was not going to be carried out by the firing of guns. The Allies must endeavour to do their duty by the use of such powers, direct and indirect as they had. It would be well in any case to reflect what was to happen if, say next week, the Allies were to announce their agreed terms and no special mention was made of the Armenians. A formula of some kind must be found and Lord Curzon would like to try to find one in collaboration with Signor Schanzer, who seemed to share his view.

M. Poincaré said that he too was ready to try to find a formula if he were invited to collaborate; but, as regards Cilicia, France must make every reserve Why should not the Allies ask the League of Nations to agree to a home in Turkey and leave the choice of the spot to the League? All the Allies were represented on this council.

Lord Curzon said he would like time to consider the matter. He did not himself wish to insist on Cilicia if satisfaction could be found elsewhere.

(The meeting then adjourned for tea.)

Evacuation of Asia Minor.

On reassembling, Marshal Foch, General Weygand, General Gouraud, General Sir C. Harington, Colonel Heywood and General Marietti were present. The proposals for the evacuation of Asia Minor (see Annex 2) were read by General Weygand.

Lord Curzon expressed satisfaction with them, and was glad that the experts at Paris had found the proposals made by the Allied generals at Constantinople so satisfactory. There was a difficulty in that civil questions and operations had to be decided with Constantinople, while military movements, &c., had to be settled through Angora He mentioned the point in order that attention might be drawn to this rather difficult question. The same question arose as to the substitution of civil government in the evacuated territory.

M. Poincaré said that, as we approached towards peace, the duality between Angora and Constantinople ought to cease. There was a large measure of agreement between them.

Signor Schanzer raised the question of the incidence of the cost of evacuation. He asked who would bear this expense.

M. Poincaré said that, even if these costs were attributed to the Greeks and the Turks, it would be the Allies who would eventually pay.

Lord Curzon pointed out that the Greeks had, up to a certain date, been carrying out Allied operations, and after that were acting on their own account. So far as these expenses fell on the Allies they would be a charge on Turkey. It would be better to get the evacuation started and to decide the question of payment later. In any case it was perfectly certain that if the costs were attributed to Turkey she would not pay; she never did.

Signor Schanzer asked when the evacuation would begin.

M. Poincaré said that the French Government could not agree to accept the expenses of the evacuation without going to the Chambers. There was a question whether the evacuation should take place after the conclusion of a preliminary peace. If so, it might be possible to put the vote for these expenses and the preliminary peace to the Chambers at the same time.

Lord Curzon said that surely these expenses would be included in the expenses of the occupation of Turkey; these charges were covered by the votes for the cost of the occupation of Turkey, which were to be recovered from Turkey. Officers from Constantinople would be used.

General Gouraud suggested that perhaps Syria could lend officers.

M. Poincaré pointed out to General Gouraud that the Syrian credits were not yet voted He agreed with Signor Schanzer that it would be better to say that the expenses of the evacuation were to be laid to the charge of the two local Governments.

Lord Curzon suggested that it would be better for the Foreign Ministers to think the matter over and consult their financial experts.

It would be necessary for them all to make declarations to their Parliaments.

The military proposals for the evacuation of Anatolia were then approved, and the military experts then withdrew.

Minorities.

Lord Curzon wished to refer again to the question of minorities, as to which general agreement had been reached that morning. In addition, there was the question of protection of minorities by a gendarmerie under foreign officers which was generally held to be the most effective form of control Might not a clause be added to the formula accepted that afternoon as to the principle of placing the gendarmerie under foreign officers?

M. Poincaré thought it useless. The Turks were absolutely *intransigeant* on this point If this point were put forward it would lead to a certain check. Might it not also be rather offensive to the League of Nations? We had invited their intervention, and he, personally, had done it very willingly; the intervention of the League in international affairs should and would grow. He thought the Turks would accept it, and urged Lord Curzon not to press his point.

Lord Curzon thought his point had been misunderstood. He had only spoken of Allied officers attached to the gendarmerie. There were already three or four battalions of gendarmerie with such officers attached, and they were said to be extremely popular. He referred to General Sir Charles Harington's opinion that the Turks welcomed Allied officers organising their gendarmerie. This system was not novel at all; it was already in existence. In Cilicia after the evacuation the French had even proposed a local gendarmerie with French officers, and had assisted them with arms and uniforms. Again, we were proposing, in order to prevent conscription, the recruitment of a large force of gendarmerie representative of all the races with the aid of Allied officers. He did not think the proposal was at all a new one, and in his opinion it would be popular with the Turks.

Signor Schanzer understood that foreign officers were very popular in the gendarmerie. Perhaps since the war, however, this position had changed.

M. Poincaré thought that Lord Curzon and General Harington were very mistaken as to the popularity of the gendarmerie. There had been difficulties in the Straits zone. The British Government had thought that M. Franklin-Bouillon had made a secret agreement about the gendarmerie officers; there were only the public letters, but M. Franklin-Bouillon had been able to ascertain that the Nationalists hated the system of foreign officers in the gendarmerie as savouring of the old régime. They wanted their own control and officers. It was the new Turkish gendarmerie who had kept excellent order during the evacuation of Cilicia. It was possible, however, that this was specially done on that occasion for the sake of effect.

Lord Curzon said that he had made his proposal to make things easier, but as it did not seem acceptable to M. Poincaré, he would not press it in this connection. But he would point out that Colonel Sarrau claimed to be inspector-general of the Turkish gendarmerie in Anatolia. He claimed to be over General Filonneau, the head of the Allied Gendarmerie Commission. He (Lord Curzon) was only too glad to learn that Colonel Sarrau had been making the claim without authority.

M. Poincaré did not accept Lord Curzon's inference as to the situation, but the present question was one of a general system of foreign officers.

Lord Curzon asked what was Colonel Sarrau's position. We had protested against his claim. If there were to be no foreign officers in Asia Minor, what was the colonel's position? Colonel Sarrau calls himself inspector of Ottoman gendarmerie in virtue of an agreement between Paris and Angora.

Signor Schanzer asked the same question.

M. Poincaré thought that this was a question for the three Ministers to settle separately from the general question of peace with Turkey which was now under

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discussion. The Turks had only accepted French instructors in the gendarmerie schools. He had particularly asked for an explanation from M. Franklin-Bouillon, as he feared that he might have exceeded his instructions and prejudiced the position of France and the Allies.

Lord Curzon pointed out that his reference to Colonel Sarrau was only made in reply to M. Poincaré's remark that no foreign gendarmerie officers would be accepted by the Angora Government

M. Poincaré said that Colonel Sarrau benefited by an agreement with the Constantinople Government anterior to the present situation. He had not exceeded his authority; it extended only to the zone under the Turkish Government outside the zone of the Straits.

Lord Curzon asked who had appointed Colonel Sarrau.

M. Poincaré replied that it was the Turkish Government in consequence of an agreement made before the war. In any case it was not a matter for discussion at a conference about the treaty of peace.

Press Communiqué.

Lord Curzon suggested that the press might be informed that, quite apart from the military arrangements, a considerable time had been spent in discussing clauses for the protection of minorities; an agreement had been reached as to the terms to be proposed in relation to the Greeks and Turks in Asia and Europe, and that there was agreement as to a formula bringing in the League of Nations. The following formula was proposed :—

> "The three Foreign Ministers have spent a large part of the afternoon on the consideration of the question of the minorities both in Asia and in Europe, and have arrived at agreement on an *ensemble* of conclusions which will be embodied in the settlement to be proposed to the Turks and Greeks, and in the application of which the League of Nations will be invited to collaborate."

M. Poincaré suggested adding something as to the entry of Turkey into the League.

Lord Curzon suggested that it would be better not to mention this point. It was a matter for the Council and the Assembly of the League. The question of Turkey's fulfilment of the conditions for admission to the League was involved. The Allied Powers had made no such recommendation to the Council about other enemy States, *e.g.*, Bulgaria.

M. Poincaré feared the repercussion on the Turks.

Lord Curzon thought it unnecessary to be so careful about their feelings. We were only concerned in informing the press of our decision.

M. Poincaré feared that there was a real danger lest the Turks, who apparently were already angry about the decision this morning, would be still more difficult after this communiqué. He feared that there was a real danger that the Turks might make war again, and that was why their opinion was more important to the Allies than that of the Greeks.

The above formula was finally approved and the following sentences substituted for the phrase following the word "Greeks" :—

> "The League of Nations, to which it is thought that the Turks will demand to be admitted as soon as they shall have adhered to the terms of peace, will be invited to collaborate in the application of the measures referred to above.
>
> "The Inter-Allied Military Commission have submitted to the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs, who have approved them, their proposals relative to the evacuation of Asia Minor.
>
> "The three Ministers for Foreign Affairs have opened the discussion of the Armenian question."

(The meeting then adjourned.)

ANNEX 1.

It shall be the duty of the Powers—

1. To secure special guarantees for the protection (*a*) of the Christian minorities in the Turkish dominions in Asia, (*b*) of the Moslem minorities in Europe.

2. For this purpose a special study should be made by an inter-Allied committee appointed by the conference of the provisions which are contained: (*a*) in the minority clauses of the European treaties of 1919 and afterwards; (*b*) in the Turkish law; (*c*) in the original Treaty of Sèvres.

3. These provisions as finally amended and approved shall be embodied in the articles of the future treaty of peace, and shall be applicable *mutatis mutandis* to all minorities concerned.

4. The League of Nations, to which it is proposed that Turkey will, on the conclusion of peace, be admitted on the same terms as Greece, shall be invited to assume a special responsibility, both for the assurance of these guarantees and for their effective execution.

5. The League of Nations will be invited to appoint, with the consent of the Governments concerned, special commissioners for the supervision of the minority c use in the new treaty, alike in Europe and in Asia.

6. In Asia Minor the attention of the League will be specially drawn to the need for such commissioners in the following areas: (*a*) Smyrna; (*b*) Pontus; (*c*) Eastern vilayets, (*d*) Cilicia; and in Europe, Thrace.

7. It shall be the duty of these commissioners, acting under the general supervision of the High Commissioner of the Council of the League at Constantinople, to pay periodic visits to the areas in question, and, in concert with the local authorities, to concert measures for the due protection of minorities, as provided for in the clauses of the treaty.

8. Reports shall be made by these commissioners directly to the Council of the League, and shall be laid before the annual meeting of the Assembly of the League, in order to ensure that the nations who are represented through the assembly shall be n a position to secure the faithful execution of the stipulations to which the League will have given guarantee.

ANNEX 2.

It shall be the duty of the Powers :—

1. To secure special guarantees for the protection (*a*) of the Christian minorities in the Turkish dominions in Asia; (*b*) of the Moslem minorities in Europe.

2. For this purpose a special study shall be made by an inter-Allied committee appointed by the conference of the provisions which are contained: (*a*) in the minority clauses of the various treaties which have been drawn up since the armistice; (*b*) in the Turkish law.

3. These provisions as finally amended and approved by the Powers shall be embodied in the articles of the future treaty of peace and shall be applicable *mutatis mutandis* to all minorities concerned.

4. The League of Nations, to which it is presumed that Turkey will on the conclusion of peace be admitted on the same terms as Greece, shall be invited to assume a special responsibility both for the assurance of these guarantees and for their effective execution.

5. The League of Nations will be invited, after consultation with the Governments of Greece and Turkey, to appoint special commissioners for the supervision of the minority clauses in the new treaty alike in Europe and in Asia.

6. In Asia Minor the attention of the League will be specially drawn to the need for such commissioners in the following areas: (*a*) Smyrna, (*b*) Pontus, (*c*) eastern and south-eastern vilayets, (*d*) Cilicia; and in Europe, Thessaly and Thrace.

7. It shall be the duty of these commissioners, acting under the general supervision of the High Commissioner of the Council of the League at Constantinople to pay periodic visits to the areas in question, and in concert with the local authorities, to concert measures for the due protection of minorities as provided for in the clauses of the treaty.

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8. Reports shall be made by these commissioners directly to the Council of the League and shall be laid before the annual meeting of the Assembly of the League in order to ensure that the nations who are represented through the Assembly shall be in a position to secure the faithful execution of the stipulations to which the League will have given guarantee.

Annex 3.

Mesures à prendre par les Alliés dans l'hypothèse de l'Évacuation de l'Asie Mineure par les Troupes helléniques et de sa Réoccupation par les Troupes turques.

L'évacuation de l'Asie Mineure par l'armée hellénique est une opération délicate et de longue durée.*

Pour qu'elle puisse être réalisée sans désordres graves et avec méthode, il est nécessaire :

1. Que les armées hellénique et turque soient réciproquement garanties contre toute reprise, même partielle, des hostilités au cours de leurs mouvements ;
2. Que les populations et leurs biens soient garantis contre toutes exactions ou représailles de la part de l'une ou de l'autre des deux armées ;
3. Que les opérations soient préparées et réglées suivant un programme général établi à l'avance et dans tous ses détails ;
4. Qu'un organe interallié soit chargé d'établir ce programme de concert avec les Hauts-Commandements hellénique et turc, puis d'en diriger et contrôler l'exécution et qu'il soit investi dans ce but, des pouvoirs nécessaires pour régler les incidents qui pourraient se produire à cette occasion.

Le programme envisagé ci-dessus comportera notamment :

1. La réorganisation préalable de l'administration civile du pays et des forces de sécurité locales.
2. Le plan d'évacuation des forces helléniques, réglé par zones successives, ou fonction des possibilités de transport, en vue d'éviter toute concentration prématurée des troupes helléniques aux abords des ports d'embarquement.
3. Le plan de réoccupation des forces turques limitant les effectifs destinés à l'occupation de chaque zone, et conjugué avec le plan précédent de manière qu'une bande de terrain libre de troupe soit constamment interposée entre les deux armées pour éviter les contacts.
4. Le plan d'embarquement des forces helléniques.

Pour diriger l'exécution de ce programme général et en assurer le contrôle l'organe interallié devra disposer des moyens suivants :

Auprès de chacune des deux armées...	Une mission alliée comportant des officiers de contrôle, des hommes de troupe et des moyens de transport et de liaison autom. T.S.F.
Dans la zone à évacuer	Une mission alliée destinée, pendant la période envisagée, à participer à la réorganisation et à contrôler l'emploi des forces de sécurité locale, gendarmerie et police.
Dans les ports d'embarquement ...	Forces interalliées destinées à coopérer au maintien de l'ordre et à la police des embarquements. Smyrne : 3 bataillons environ (1 de chaque Puissance). Région Brousse Moudania, Panderma ($1\frac{1}{2}$ bataillons).

Des forces navales alliées sous commandement interallié (trois cuirassés ou croiseurs, par exemple), avec quelques bâtiments de patrouille, devront contribuer à la police des opérations en chaque point d'embarquement.

* Cette durée peut être évaluée au minimum de quatre à cinq mois.

L'ensemble des moyens visés ci-dessus serait à prélever sur les forces militaires et navales dont les Alliés disposent en Orient. Toutefois, un complément d'officiers devra sans doute être fourni par chaque Puissance pour atteindre le total envisagé comme nécessaire (environ 150).

La Commission des Généraux alliés de Constantinople semble qualifiée pour constituer l'organe interallié directeur des évacuations ; elle aurait, au moment voulu, à transférer son siège à Smyrne.

C'est à elle qu'incomberait dans ce cas l'étude immédiate et la préparation complète du programme général ci-dessus visé.

De même, la Commission des Amiraux alliés de Constantinople aurait à régler les détails de la coopération navale, d'accord avec la Commission des Généraux.

Si les dispositions qui précèdent étaient adoptées, il y aurait lieu de les notifier pour acceptation aux Gouvernements hellénique et ottoman.

Ces Gouvernements devraient être invités à reconnaître l'autorité de l'organe interallié en matière de direction générale des opérations d'évacuation et à prendre toutes mesures pour que les décisions dudit organe soient strictement exécutées par leurs troupes ou agents de l'Administration civile.

Il y aurait intérêt, à cette occasion, à préciser auxdits Gouvernements :

1. Que les Alliés ne sauraient en aucun cas accepter la responsabilité du maintien de l'ordre lors de l'évacuation, non plus que le contrôle direct de l'Administration civile ;
2. Que, dans chaque zone, ce soin incombera aux autorités grecques jusqu'à l'évacuation ; aux autorités ottomanes, dès le départ des troupes helléniques.

Annex 4.

Il y a lieu de prévoir que l'évacuation de l'Asie Mineure par les troupes helléniques peut avoir pour conséquence un exode important de la population.

Pour parer aux conséquences de cet exode, des mesures spéciales seraient à prendre :

Ravitaillement.
Installations matérielles.
Évacuation éventuelle.*

L'étude pourrait en être confiée à une commission mixte constituée par les soins de la Commission des Généraux alliés et de la Commission des Amiraux alliés de Constantinople.

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* Cette évacuation semblant devoir être limitée au minimum indispensable.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 3507/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay, at 3 P.M., March 24, 1922.

Present:

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

Present at the discussion of the question of the demilitarised zone:—

Marshal Foch.	General Sir C. Harington.
General Weygand.	Colonel Heywood.
General Gouraud.	General Marietti.

Straits.

Lord Curzon raised the question of the Straits. The Treaty of Sèvres provided for a large demilitarised zone on both sides and at both ends of the Straits. Under that treaty the demilitarised zone consisted of the Gallipoli Peninsula, the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles to an approximate depth of 60 miles inland, a strip of about 15 miles deep along the European shore of the Sea of Marmora, the European side of the Bosphorus to a depth of about 50 miles north of Constantinople, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus the whole Ismid Peninsula, and a strip of about 25 miles along the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora, leaving Brusa outside the zone. The Marmora Islands and various islands in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles in the Ægean Sea are also included.

In March 1921, at the London Conference with the Turks and the Greeks, the proposed demilitarised zone was reduced in favour of both the Turks and the Greeks. On the shores of the Dardanelles the zone was reduced within a line from the Bulair lines to Rodosto, and on the other side to within a line from Tenedos to Karabigha. In the case of the Bosphorus, the demilitarised area was reduced to a zone of 25 kilom. on either side of the Straits. The question which now arose related to the military occupation of the two sides of the Straits. If we were still to exercise some control of the Marmora and Bosphorus while giving up the actual supervision of the two shores of the Bosphorus, we must at least keep open the entrance into the waters of the Marmora through the Dardanelles.

It was vital for Great Britain that Gallipoli should not be returned to the Turks. He must recall that one of the main objects for which the Allies fought the war had been to prevent these waters being closed again by the Turks. Thousands of soldiers of the British army, men from Australia and New Zealand as well as England, had fought and died for this purpose and lay buried there. British public opinion would never tolerate the surrender of Gallipoli to the control of Turkey, and was determined that the freedom of the Straits should be safeguarded. This question was largely a military matter, and while British military opinion favoured generally the maintenance of the concessions as to the width of the demilitarised zones made to Turkey in March 1921, it strongly urged, in the case of the demilitarised zone on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, a return to the Treaty of Sèvres line, or alternatively to the frontier of the Chanak sanjak. This was indispensable for the safety of the

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Straits if the recognition of Turkish sovereignty throughout Anatolia was to involve the reappearance of the Turks on the Asiatic shore.

As to the garrison of the Straits, he would remind the conference that in their paper of December last the British Government had suggested alternative methods of providing for the garrisoning of the Straits. Marshal Foch's view in 1920 had been that the minimum garrison which would be necessary was three battalions of infantry and two battalions of artillery. The question arose whether this force should be contributed and controlled by the Allies, or whether it should, either now or later, be handed over to the League of Nations. He, Lord Curzon, thought it might not be a bad idea to place the command of the Straits in the hands of an international, instead of an Inter-Allied authority. The League of Nations might be asked either immediately or later to constitute a military body to control the northern shores of the Straits. They would constitute a force and invite the various Powers to contribute their quota and be responsible for the military freedom of the Straits. He wished, however, to make it quite clear that he was not dealing with the waters of the Straits and their supervision. These would be controlled by an entirely separate body—the Straits Commission. On that body, in addition to the Great Powers, Roumania and Greece, it had been agreed that Bulgaria, Turkey, and Russia might, at a later date, be represented. At the moment the only question was that of the military safeguards for the freedom of the Straits and the machinery to be set up for that purpose. These safeguards would be no menace to Turkey. Indeed, the object of the Straits clauses in the Sèvres Treaty was to make Constantinople unassailable by sea and to prevent its being blockaded or attacked unless the League of Nations had sanctioned hostilities in those waters. He would be glad to learn the opinions of his Allied colleagues on the suggestions which he had thrown out.

Signor Schanzer said that he understood the proposal was to leave Gallipoli to Greece, and to maintain the demilitarised zone on both sides of the Dardanelles.

In reply, *M. Poincaré* suggested that it was possible to have some other control than a Greek one for Gallipoli. For instance, international control by the League of Nations of Gallipoli might be substituted for control by Greece. He agreed, however, that the Conference should examine the questions exposed by Lord Curzon, and he entirely concurred with Lord Curzon as to the necessity of maintaining the freedom of the Straits and as to keeping the Turks out of Gallipoli, but the rest of the problem must be discussed. He understood that the military experts wanted a wider demilitarised zone.

Marshal Foch said that this was so. If the Greeks were left in Gallipoli, the Turks would refuse to have the opposite shore demilitarised, and this would not favour the freedom of the Straits.

M. Poincaré proposed to discuss the military question first. As he understood it, the islands of Imbros, Tenedos and Mitylene, and the islands in the Sea of Marmora were comprised in the demilitarised zone.

Marshal Foch said that it was absolutely necessary to demilitarise these islands. No riverain Power ought to possess full sovereignty over them.

Lord Curzon said that he understood the demilitarised zone proposed in London last year, and which included these islands, was generally accepted by Marshal Foch and the other experts. There was, however, one point. In March last year it was not settled that the Turks were to be readmitted to full sovereignty over Chanak. If this was now to be done, the British military authorities thought that the demilitarised zone on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles ought to go back from the March 1921 line, a distance of another 40 miles.

Marshal Foch thought that there was something in this point, but, on the other hand, Turkey would be allowed no guns or troops in the smaller demilitarised zone of March 1921, which might therefore be sufficient.

Lord Curzon explained that he understood the view of the British War Office to be that there would be nothing to prevent the Turks from bombarding the northern shores of the Dardanelles and the Straits from the high ground south of the March 1921 line unless the demilitarised zone extended about 40 miles further back.

M. Poincaré said that the same observation would apply to Gallipoli.

Lord Curzon feared he had not made himself clear. The proposals of March 1921 contemplated Allied garrisons on both the European and Asiatic shores of the

Dardanelles. It was now desired to do all that was possible to conciliate the Turks, and accordingly the Allied forces were to be confined to the Gallipoli side, *i.e.*, the Turks would be back at Chanak, and would not be under any control by Allied troops. In return for this substantial concession to the Turks, we should demand a rather wider zone than that laid down in London in 1921. The British military authorities wanted the limit of the demilitarised zone to be the boundary of the sanjak, which lay between the wider zone laid down in the Treaty of Sèvres and marked on the map, and the narrower zone of the March 1921 proposals.

M. Poincaré suggested that if the zone were extended on the Asiatic side beyond the line laid down at London, it would be necessary to do the same on the northern shore. We must do the same thing on both the northern and southern banks.

Lord Curzon pointed out that the difference was that the Allied garrison was now to be only on the north side of the Straits and not on the south. Of course, if Gallipoli was to be given back to the Greeks without any control, then corresponding measures would be necessary on both sides. It would not be possible, however, to have a demilitarised belt on both sides without some Allied garrison being present in the neighbourhood.

M. Poincaré asked whether the Foreign Ministers were agreed that the Straits Commission should have sovereignty over Gallipoli instead of the Greeks.

Lord Curzon pointed out that the question of sovereignty was not raised; at present, the only question was that of military control.

M. Poincaré proposed to extend the demilitarised zone on both the north and south shores. The Allied garrison on the north shore would be very small and not strong enough to prevent a Greek attack. The zone ought, therefore, to be extended to the north.

Lord Curzon suggested that if there were an Allied garrison in Gallipoli and the sovereignty were Greek, he had no objection to having the same depth (so far as this was geographically possible) for the demilitarised zone on both sides of the Straits, but he would like to hear the opinion of Marshal Foch as to placing an Allied garrison on the north side of the Dardanelles only. Would the Straits in that case be safe?

Marshal Foch said that with control of the north shore the garrison would be able effectively to demilitarise the northern side, but would not be in a position to look after the territory on the other side of the Straits.

M. Poincaré suggested that perhaps the garrison on the northern shore could look after the southern shore by means of aeroplanes.

Marshal Foch was uncertain about this. There was the question of expense in addition to that of practicability.

Lord Curzon said that it was precisely the difficulty of looking after the southern shore which had made him suggest that the League of Nations should be brought in to supervise both sides. Marshal Foch's view supported that proposal. The question was whether the northern shore should be occupied by inter-Allied troops alone, or by forces representing the League of Nations. He preferred the latter for two reasons: (1) It would be more palatable to the Turks; (2) the three Powers were anxious to get their forces away from Gallipoli and the neighbourhood, as their maintenance there was too expensive. The time would come when these expenses could no longer be borne, and then the Allies might lose control over the Dardanelles altogether. For these reasons he had proposed to bring in the League, which was a permanent body.

M. Poincaré said that the League had no troops; France had tried for an international force at the Peace Conference, but had failed owing to the opposition of President Wilson. The League would have to come to the Allies for the necessary troops. It might be possible to say that the three Allies would occupy the northern shore until the day when the League of Nations was ready to take over.

Lord Curzon did not think that this was a valid objection; the League could apply to other Powers. He quoted the instance of the Saar Basin, where the administration was that of the League, but the troops there were French.

M. Poincaré said that the troops in the Saar Basin were not really under the League. They were under the command of France and the League accepted their

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presence. If the League went round asking its members to contribute to the garrison, Bulgaria, Russia, &c., would all ask to contribute. Further, if the three Allied Powers were in occupation, the United States would accept them as Associated Powers, but would not accept the League of Nations. He feared that the proposal would not achieve the object aimed at, and that the League could not provide a garrison, and would have, in fact, to rely upon the forces of the three Allies.

Lord Curzon thought there was much force in this observation, but the United States were removing their troops from the Rhine, and would not want to send them to the Dardanelles. If the three Powers were ready to stay there, well and good, but he wished to look ahead. His prophecy was that in five years or so the Allies would want to take away their troops and would apply to the League. In the meantime, however, he accepted M. Poincaré's view.

Signor Schanzer said that in Italy public opinion was already preoccupied with the expense involved in garrisoning the Straits. She would have preferred demilitarisation without an Allied garrison and with the intervention of the League.

Marshal Foch thought that the proposal might prove feasible if there were no enemy in the neighbourhood, but if there were, the League, which possessed no army, could not help.

M. Poincaré said that if a buffer State were set up between Turkey and Greece—a sort of Saar Basin under the League of Nations—then they might have a garrison of Allied troops with League of Nations control. Otherwise it would not be worth while to bring in the League of Nations.

Lord Curzon thought it quite impossible to set up a buffer State, and it was better to go back to the original proposal and trust to the Allied garrison. Possibly after an interval of time it would be necessary to apply to the League.

M. Poincaré thought that Marshal Foch and the experts should consider the question of the demilitarised zone and a buffer State first and give their opinions. He asked whether Lord Curzon saw any objection to Marshal Foch raising the question of Thrace.

Lord Curzon said that he attached great importance to Marshal Foch's opinion, but the question was in the main political and should not be treated solely as a military one. He would be glad to have, however, what Marshal Foch had to say.

Marshal Foch said that Thrace would be difficult to support by itself if left in the hands of the Greeks. It would be difficult for the latter to hold it against Bulgaria. Again, it would be difficult for the Greeks to hold it against the Turks, and that raised the question of the freedom of the Straits. Thrace, as a whole, raised the question of the demilitarised zones. He feared that if the Greeks remained in Thrace, it would be difficult to demilitarise the Turkish side. He had prepared a paper on the question.

Lord Curzon asked that the political question should first be discussed, and after that the military one.

M. Poincaré agreed to this.

The military experts then withdrew.

Lord Curzon then took up the question of Thrace, and referred to his paper of December 1921. By the Treaty of Sèvres the Chatalja lines had been extended so as to include Lake Dercos and the water supply of Constantinople. He understood that the Chatalja lines formed the only effective line of defence, but as the Turks said that the Chatalja line menaced Constantinople, he had suggested the Midia– Rodosto line. In reply, the French Government, in their note of the 27th January, had suggested the line Topmansu–Maritsa–Kuleh-Burgas–Rodosto. This left to the Greeks the whole of the area west of Rodosto and south of the railway up to the borders of Western Thrace. He was therefore surprised to hear the argument that the question of Greek sovereignty for this area was still in dispute. He had thought the question to be dealt with related only to the country east of the French line.

M. Poincaré said that Lord Curzon had correctly explained the position. When the French Government had made their proposal they were not aware that the Turks would not accept this line, or that Marshal Foch had objections on military grounds. An indiscretion at Constantinople relating to the question of the boundaries of

Thrace had showed what the Turkish view was. The chief consideration was that the line was dangerous from the point of view of peace. If the Greeks kept Gallipoli, it would be difficult for them to defend Thrace.

M. Poincaré then read Marshal Foch's opinion which was in favour of the Enos–Midia line with Turkey to the south of it and a buffer State to the north. Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey were all mixed up in Thrace, and Adrianople was difficult for anyone of them to hold.

Signor Schanzer thought that the Greek view must be treated with sympathy, but thought they must also consider the question of the Straits, and the position of Constantinople as the home of the Caliphate and the capital of Turkey. We must, therefore, give the Turks real protection over Constantinople, otherwise an impulse might be given to the Kemalist movement. He therefore suggested that the frontier should be pushed in the direction of Uzun Kupreui so as to set the frontier further from Constantinople If the Greeks were left with everything up to the Rodosto–Midia line, they would be in danger between the Turks and the Bulgars. It would perhaps be desirable to hear the military view.

Lord Curzon said that M. Poincaré's argument placed him in a position of some difficulty. He had thought that the French view was that the frontier should be that laid down in their note of the 27th January, 1921. He thought that frontier a bad one, but was prepared to consider it. It now appeared that the French proposed a line from Enos to Midia, with Turkey south of that line, and a buffer State, under the League of Nations, to the north of it. He took leave to remind M. Poincaré of what he had just said about the League of Nations. What Government was going to be set up? How was the region to maintain itself? (There was only one town of any size.) Where was it to find its Administration and its staff, and under whose mandate would it be? The whole question had been discussed at Paris in 1919, when the future of this entire area, extending to the zone of the Straits and Constantinople, had been under examination. President Wilson had favoured the creation of such an autonomous State, but it was out of the question to ask the League to accept the charge of administering the attenuated area now proposed.

There was another point of view to be considered, namely, that of Greece. We were going to ask the Greeks to withdraw their army with 80,000 bayonets from Asia Minor, and to give up all claims to Smyrna. The Greeks were our Allies; the Turks were our enemies, and had caused enormous sacrifices to all the Allies. The Greeks really deserved some consideration. Were we really to accept the dictation of Mustapha Kemal? Further, how was it proposed to carry out the proposal? If the Turks possessed military superiority in Asia Minor, the Greeks had it in Thrace. It was all very well to draw the Enos–Midia line, but the Greeks would snap their fingers at it. A good deal had been said of the danger to Constantinople, and that point was worthy of examination. But how was it proposed to turn the Greeks out of Thrace altogether? Outside Constantinople there were only a few Allied troops in the Straits' zone, and we did not want to go to war with Greece.

There was another important aspect of the question. The Allies had tried laboriously since the war to establish a Balkan equilibrium. Would Roumania welcome the proposed solution? Would Bulgaria leave the suggested buffer State alone with the Greeks remaining in Western Thrace, as the French Government still proposed? There would be a Balkan war. Again, they should look at the question of population. M. Poincaré had spoken of not putting the Armenians in places where they were in a minority. The question of population had been argued *ad nauseam*. There was no doubt that before the Balkan wars the Greeks were in a majority in Eastern Thrace (see for instance Kiepert's ethnographical map and other similar maps published in the atlas prepared by the Bulgarian Minister at Berlin), the Turkish figures of 1902 (282,420 Greeks and 261,164 Turks) and of 1894 (258,766 Greeks and 205,125 Turks) and the Greek figures of 1912. He would not rely on the latter; they were not wholly impartial. Then came the Balkan wars in the course of which, as also in the late war, deportations of Greeks by the Turks had taken place on an enormous scale. Since then there had been partly Allied and afterwards Greek occupation; the Greeks had come back and the Turks had either left or been deported, and to-day there was believed to be a Greek majority again in that area. Again, there had hitherto been general agreement that the Greeks must remain at Smyrna, and yet it was now proposed simultaneously to turn them out from there and to put the Turks back on the Northern shore of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora. If this were the idea, his country and Government would never accept it.

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M. Poincaré said that he had already explained why he had now dropped the proposal of the 27th January, 1921. He did not think he could be held to be bound to a particular view. They were all seeking a solution; everything was in a state of flux and they could not be bound to any special solution. In 1912, at the London Conference, the Greeks, the Serbs and the Bulgars all claimed Macedonia and Western Thrace. On grounds of population M. Poincaré thought it useless to settle the question statistically. He had before him a Turkish map showing the population of Eastern Thrace as 900,000 Moslems and also the properties of Moslems. From this it was clear that Thrace was overwhelmingly Turkish.

Lord Curzon intervened to point out that his case had rested upon Turkish official statistics, and not upon propaganda figures.

M. Poincaré thought that not much importance could be attached to figures. The real question was a military one. Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Russia all desired Constantinople, and it was necessary to defend the city against them, otherwise there would be a big war in the East. He remembered M. Veniselos telling him that the Greeks always thought of Constantinople. It was necessary to set up something stable in the East and not something which would lead the Greeks to attack Constantinople. He proposed that they should hear the military authorities.

Lord Curzon said that he was quite ready to hear them, but he must observe that M. Poincaré was advancing a very serious proposition. A year and a half ago at Paris, France had been absolutely ready to agree to Eastern Thrace becoming Greek, and no question of the danger to Constantinople had then been raised. He (Lord Curzon) was unable to understand these sudden changes. He again asked his colleagues to consider what the Greeks would do if they were to propose the Enos–Midia line and the buffer State. The Greeks would rather leave Asia Minor in humiliation than abandon Eastern Thrace. But who was going to turn them out? Great Britain would not assist in the operation. Were France and Italy going to undertake it?

M. Poincaré only wished to say that much had happened since Sèvres. Advantages were conceded to M. Veniselos, but the return of Constantine had created a new situation. He agreed that it was necessary to find a solution which was acceptable to both sides without thinking of coercing either. It was not an easy task.

Lord Curzon said that it was not a question of individuals, of kings or premiers, but of peoples. What M. Poincaré proposed was to put an end to the aspirations of the Greeks. He (Lord Curzon) did not wish to see Greece at Constantinople, and did not think she would get there, but her ambitions lay that way, and it was now proposed at a blow to destroy for ever her aspirations. The result would be that the Greeks would fight on.

M. Poincaré pointed out that when two or three people had the same aspirations there was always a difficulty. Russia would come again, so would Bulgaria. Because of the ambitions of these Powers, everybody had been content before the war to have Turkey at Constantinople Whoever installed himself at Constantinople would have other Powers against him; we must not, therefore, give the Greeks an opportunity to think of obtaining Constantinople.

Lord Curzon said that if what M. Poincaré had said about the aspirations of Bulgaria to Constantinople was true, did he not think that the proposed buffer State with Adrianople in it would lead to attack by Bulgaria? Would not the buffer State also be open to attack from Turkey and Mustapha Kemal, particularly in his present mood? In order to keep the Greeks from Constantinople the only proposal put forward was to set up a sham buffer State. The buffer State would never be a satisfactory method of defending Constantinople.

M. Poincaré agreed that the buffer State might not be the best solution, but it was very difficult to find a good solution in a district with a population so racially mixed. The Conference had, however, to find some means of defending Constantinople.

Lord Curzon said that he thought the way to do this was to draw the frontier some way further back from Constantinople than the Chatalja lines, or to create a larger demilitarised zone

(The Conference then adjourned for a quarter of an hour.)

On resuming, Marshal Foch, General Gouraud, General Weygand, General Sir C. Harington, Colonel Heywood and General Marietti, were present.

Eastern Thrace and the Demilitarised Zone.

Marshal Foch, who was asked to state his views, said that the only possible frontiers in Eastern Thrace were the Chatalja lines, the Midia–Rodosto line, the Enos–Midia or the Maritza. If the frontiers were Enos–Midia or Midia–Rodosto, the Greeks and the Turks would be in contact along comparatively long stretches, and it would be difficult to stop them fighting, or to provide effectively for the demilitarisation of the Straits zone. With Gallipoli under Greek sovereignty and the Greek troops in the proximity, they would always be a danger to an Allied garrison. If Gallipoli were given to Turkey and Greece placed north of the Enos–Midia, the Turks and the Greeks would be in contact at both ends of the Straits, with a possibility of fighting opening at any moment. It was for this reason that he had proposed to separate Greece from Turkey by a buffer State. If, however, political exigencies made it necessary to keep the Greeks in Eastern Thrace, another solution would have to be found, but the difficulty would always remain of the Turks and Greeks coming to blows and a Greek army being stationed somewhere near the gates of Constantinople. He had not yet consulted his Allied colleagues.

Lord Curzon said that he would first like to ask one or two questions. Marshal Foch had said that it would be difficult to maintain Allied troops in Gallipoli if it were under Greek sovereignty. He (Lord Curzon) would ask the Marshal how it would be possible to maintain troops there if the sovereignty were Turkish.

Secondly, Marshal Foch had emphasised the danger to Constantinople from a Greek attack. He would ask whether it might not be possible to preclude this danger without actually expelling the Greeks from Eastern Thrace. It must be remembered that Greece, of all countries in the Mediterranean, was most at the mercy of the Western Powers who had strong navies. If Greece in Thrace was ever a menace or a danger, Allied ships could always be sent to the Piræus and threaten to bombard Athens.

There was another aspect of the question to which he would invite Marshal Foch's attention. The Greco-Turkish frontier had been placed at Chatalja, 30 miles from Constantinople, then it had been moved back to Midia–Rodosto (about 80 miles). It was now stated that neither distance was far enough to make Constantinople safe. He (Lord Curzon) had understood that Chatalja was a very defensible line, and, in fact, if fortified, nearly impregnable. He was, therefore, anxious to obtain military opinion on this essentially military question, and as to the number of the miles of plain which it was desirable to place between Constantinople and the Turco-Greek frontier. The question of establishing a buffer State, which had been raised by Marshal Foch, raised many difficulties by no means of a military nature, and he feared that no solution would be found in that direction. For the rest, he trusted that it would be borne in mind that Greece was, in fact, in occupation of Eastern Thrace, and that if it were decided that she should leave, as the Marshal had suggested, her troops would have to be turned out. How could such action be defended or carried out?

Marshal Foch referred to Lord Curzon's first question. He thought that the answer was that we were going by the treaty to impose control over the Turks in the Straits area, and we were also going to disarm Turkey. As long as Gallipoli was in Greek hands, it would be difficult to demilitarise the area.

Lord Curzon pointed out that there was general agreement already that if Gallipoli were Greek there should be the same extent of demilitarised zone on both sides of the Dardanelles. He said that it was in any case far from certain that we were going to disarm the Turks to any great extent. How was disarmament, in fact, to be carried out? He would recall that the French Government, in their recent proposals, had actually suggested a larger force for Turkey than there was in the Treaty of Sèvres, and the continuance of conscription.

M. Poincaré observed that the French Government had modified their view about conscription since their note. The Allies were going by some means or other to secure a certain measure of disarmament of Turkey, but with a common Greek and Turkish frontier there would always be a danger of fighting, and we must try and avoid increasing the Greek appetite in the direction of Constantinople, which it was in the interests of the Allies to defend.

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Marshal Foch then referred to Lord Curzon's second question as to the possibility of restraining the Greeks from attacking Turkey. He pointed out that Chatalja was no longer a military frontier because it was within cannon-shot of Constantinople. The minimum distance of the frontier, from this point of view, would give Midia–Rodosto. He suggested that it might be preferable to put the frontier further back, namely, to Enos–Midia, in order better to defend Constantinople.

Lord Curzon enquired whether the alternative lay between Midia–Rodosto and Enos–Midia. Would not the latter line be purely artifical with neither strategic, geographical or ethnographical advantages? Geographically and ethnographically, it would be like the frontier between Canada and the United States. Secondly, the Enos–Midia line would mean giving Gallipoli back to Turkey. He would not pursue that question at the moment as he had already explained the very grave objections to it. But he would ask Marshal Foch whether, from the point of view of the danger of allowing the Greeks and Turks to confront each other along a stretch of frontier, the Enos–Midia line, which was twice the length of the Midia–Rodosto line, would not be vastly the more dangerous.

Marshal Foch said that he had only given general indications of his views, and that he would like to study the question of how best to find a frontier which would keep the Greeks the proper distance from Constantinople. The difficulty, however, remained, that there could be no cessation of fighting so long as the Greeks and Turks confronted one another. Whatever the frontier were the Allies would remain confronted with this difficulty in endeavouring effectively to demilitarise the northern shores of the Straits waters.

Lord Curzon enquired whether, supposing the Enos–Midia line were accepted and Gallipoli and the northern shores of the Mamora returned to Turkey, the Allied troops would be stationed at Gallipoli and Rodosto, or would the Turks be allowed to take their troops back to the north of the Straits? He was anxious to find out the real military opinion on this point.

Signor Schanzer observed that the Allies had two aims, namely, to protect Constantinople being attacked by the Greeks, and not to leave the northern shores of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Mamora in the hands of the Greeks. These two objects must be conciliated.

Marshal Foch thought that the only way of preventing the Turks menacing the freedom of the Straits was to remove the Greeks from that area, but he would like to study the question further.

M. Poincaré enquired whether Lord Curzon would have any objection to the demilitarisation of both sides of the Græco-Turkish frontier under the ægis of the League of Nations.

Lord Curzon said he would have none if means could be found to enable the League of Nations to attain that object.

M. Poincaré thought that it might be possible to arrange this, but the difficulty really was that if the whole of Eastern Thrace was demilitarised, which would be the best solution, Bulgaria, with an army much reduced but still large, would be a threat to Thrace.

At Lord Curzon's request, *General Harington* explained that he had been responsible as Commander-in-chief of the Allied troops for the defence of Constantinople, and, speaking as a soldier and if he was in the position of Turkey, he would certainly say that the only two military frontiers were the Chatalja lines or the Maritza. As Lord Curzon had said, all other lines between these were based on grounds of expediency rather than strategy. From the military point of view, he did not think that Chatalja was now a good frontier, as it was too close to Constantinople. For the practical purposes of the present discussion, however, the Maritza, as a frontier, was too far from Constantinople. With reference to Lord Curzon's question as to how far the frontier should be pushed back from the Chatalja lines, he thought that the Midia–Rodosto line would be far enough, and it would give the Turks time to defend themselves by pushing troops up from Chatalja or Constantinople.

For the rest, General Harington thought that it was essential that we should be fair to the Greeks, and that it must be remembered that in the last resort we could always keep them under control by pressure from the sea.

Marshal Foch suggested that General Harington, General Marietti and himself should now examine the question of a suitable frontier.

General Marietti stated that he entirely agreed with General Harington's views, but thought that before the military experts examined the question a political decision should be reached and some indication given to them as to the precise frontier desired.

General Gouraud also agreed with the views expressed by General Harington and General Marietti, but he suggested that Lord Curzon's object might best be achieved by a buffer State.

M. Poincaré, in reply to General Gouraud, briefly reviewed the various objections, ethnographical and technical, to a buffer State, which Lord Curzon had already stated.

Lord Curzon said that it was necessary to draw distinctions between a neutral zone and a buffer State. The latter was, in his opinion, impossible for the reasons which he had already given and which M. Poincaré had correctly summarised. He understood that Marshal Foch and the Allied Military Advisers were to examine the question of a neutral zone, but not of a buffer State.

General Gouraud admitted that a neutral zone, which provided for the absence of Greek and Turkish soldiers, would suffice.

Signor Schanzer then suggested that the frontier might run from the Marmora to the Black Sea, and that the neutral zone to be created should be on both sides of the frontier.

Lord Curzon said that he would first like to put one question to Marshal Foch, and that was, What steps were the three Allies to take to force Greece to retire from Eastern Thrace if the buffer State were to be created?

Marshal Foch said that it was impossible for the Allies to force the Greeks to take this step.

M. Poincaré agreed, but said that he would make the same reservation as regards Turkey.

The military advisers then withdrew to consider the question of the frontier and the neutral zone in the sense of the previous discussion.

Communication to the Press.

The conference agreed on the following communication to the press:—

> "The three Ministers for Foreign Affairs have examined the question of Thrace and the Straits, and have heard the views of Marshal Foch, General Gouraud, General Sir C. Harington and General Marietti, to whom they have referred the examination of certain military aspects of the question."

Armenia.

M. Poincaré read a letter from representatives of the French Armenian community, which corroborated his point of that morning that they really desired a home on the north-eastern confines of Turkey.

Lord Curzon stated that he also had received a letter from representatives of the Armenians now in England, which equally spoke of their aspirations for a home in the south of Asia Minor.

It was decided to make no communication to the press on the question of Armenia, as it would be difficult to avoid questions as to the precise decisions reached, and it was not intended to disclose these until a general communication was made to the Greeks and the Turks.

It was, however, decided to add to the above communiqué the following:—

> "At their meeting in the morning, M. Poincaré, Lord Curzon and Signor Schanzer began the study of the financial questions, and have charged their experts to elaborate certain points."

Signor Schanzer raised the question which he had raised that morning, namely, as to the precise meaning of the phrase in the armistice terms proposed to the Greeks

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and the Turks, from which he had inferred that the Greeks should not be allowed to move any units from their front during the armistice. He understood that Marshal Foch, to whom General Marietti had referred the point, had informed him that he (Signor Schanzer) had correctly interpreted the meaning of this clause.

It was decided to consider the matter further in the morning, as it was uncertain whether the British military adviser had also been consulted.

(The meeting then adjourned.)

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 3508/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 10·30 A.M., *March* 25, 1922.

Present :

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

Present at the discussion of the question of Eastern Thrace :—

Marshal Foch.	General Sir C. Harington.
General Weygand.	Colonel Heywood.
Colonel Georgues.	General Marietti.

Present at the discussion of the question of Turkish finance :—

Mr. Armitage-Smith.	M. Bexon.
Sir Adam Block.	M. Nogara.
M. des Clozières.	

Armenia.

M. Poincaré opened the proceedings by raising the question of procedure in referring the matter of Armenia to the League of Nations, as decided the day before. He suggested that it would be better to refer it specifically to the Council of the League than to the Assembly. It would receive more careful consideration in the former case.

Lord Curzon pointed out that all similar communications made by the Supreme Council previously to the League of Nations had been sent to the Council, and not the Assembly, and that the latter only met once a year. It was therefore in accordance with precedent and expediency to refer the question to the Council.

This was agreed to.

Finance.

At the request of M. Poincaré, *M. des Clozières* read the recommendations of the financial experts (see Annex 1), and explained briefly the system on which the experts had conducted their deliberations, namely, to outline the general principles of a settlement and to avoid, as far as possible, the question of details, on which there might still be differences of opinion when the principles were elaborated into a treaty. The essential thing was that the experts had agreed to a number of concessions to be made to Turkey.

Signor Schanzer said that he accepted the general lines of these proposals, but he desired that the formula (see Annex 2) which was to take the place eventually of article 239 of the Treaty of Sèvres, which had been informally agreed upon by the

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Allied financial experts, should also be inserted in the financial recommendations. Further, he would like the three Foreign Ministers to agree upon another article which was to be added to the Tripartite Agreement to harmonise with the general financial recommendations, and provide for the contingency of the Liquidation Commission coming to an end at an early date. He had prepared a formula, which he submitted to the conference (see Annex 3).

Lord Curzon said that he would like, in the first place, to ask the financial experts to give some general idea of how the finances of Turkey were to be managed in future. He understood that the principle of their recommendations was that the Financial Commission of the Treaty of Sèvres was to disappear, and a kind of reparation commission was to be substituted. Under the Treaty of Sèvres the Financial Commission had been given complete control over the revenue and expenditure of Turkey. It was now generally realised that this was impracticable and perhaps unwise. But he trusted that this consideration would not be explicitly mentioned in any communication which was to be made to the Turks. The preamble to the financial recommendations should therefore be omitted from any communication made outside the Conference Chamber. The second point which he wished to put was as to the powers of the new Debt Council. Thirdly, there was the question whether any control was to be exercised over Turkish finances in the revised commission other than that provided by the Debt Council and the Commission of Liquidation. He quite agreed that Signor Schanzer's point as to the clause regarding concessions was important, but it was subordinate to these general considerations.

M. des Clozières explained that the experts had unanimously agreed that it was preferable not to try to impose any large measure of control over Turkish finances, and that, in the circumstances, the Debt Council should be retained as under the decree of Moharrem. The just claims of Allied Nationals, and the expenses of Allied occupation of Turkish territory should, however, be provided for, and this was being done through the Liquidation Commission. Lord Curzon was therefore right in suggesting that no effective control over Turkish finances was being established by the new recommendations.

With reference to Lord Curzon's point regarding the preamble, the experts had only intended this to be an indication of their views to the conference, not to be published outside. For the rest, under their proposals, the Liquidation Commission was only intended to last until the Allied war debt was liquidated. If that happened soon, it would be necessary to provide for the contingency which Signor Schanzer's second proposal (see Annex 3) was intended to meet.

In reply to a further question by Lord Curzon, *M. des Clozières* said that the sum named by the experts should not prove too large for Turkey to pay. Latitude had been given, however, to that commission to modify the total, if, for instance, the areas remaining to Turkey and devastated during the war did not recover quickly.

M. Poincaré pointed out that it might be necessary, when the clauses were elaborated, to change the words "pounds sterling" to "gold francs."

Lord Curzon enquired whether the experts thought that an early execution of their recommendations, if embodied in the new treaty, was possible as long as two Governments existed in Turkey.

M. des Clozières agreed that unification of the two Governments was essential before the financial clauses could be executed.

Lord Curzon then referred to article 6 of the National Pact, and enquired whether the financial experts thought that, in principle, and from the point of view of that article, their recommendations would prove acceptable to Turkey.

M. des Clozières said that he thought they should prove acceptable to Turkey, and, he added, in reply to an enquiry from Signor Schanzer, that he thought the new formula proposed by the Italian Government regarding concessions (see Annex 2), which provided that the Liquidation Commission should give an opinion on concessions but retain no veto, might also, under certain circumstances, be accepted by Turkey.

The financial recommendations of the Allied experts were adopted.

A discussion then followed on the two articles proposed by Signor Schanzer (see Annexes 2 and 3).

M. Poincaré said that he saw no objection, in principle, to the article to be added to the Tripartite Agreement, as this would not, in any case, be communicated to Turkey. He thought, however, that the formula proposed for the article regarding concessions in the new treaty should be more attenuated in drafting. For instance, Turkey would never accept the imposition of permanent representatives attached to the department of Turkish Government concerned with concessions.

Signor Schanzer pointed out that his formula was considerably weaker than article 239 of the Treaty of Sèvres. With their experience of Turkish administration, it was essential to bind the Turkish Government down in its relations with the commission on the question of concessions.

M. Poincaré then raised the question of the number of representatives to be attached to Turkish departments by the Liquidation Commission under Signor Schanzer's article.

Signor Schanzer explained that it was intended only to appoint one representative who would be responsible for a liaison with all the departments concerned. When the financial clauses were elaborated in the final treaty, it would probably be provided also that the Commission de Liquidation should appoint the controller of the Turkish customs, and perhaps of some other Turkish services, as in the Treaty of Sèvres. There would be good reason for this, because it was proposed that the Turkish Government should, in the new treaty, cede the control over all the customs to the commission. The control was absolutely essential in order to prevent the Turkish Government from appropriating revenues for other purposes, and if there were no delegate attached by the Commission of Liquidation to the Turkish Ministry of Public Works, the Allies would have no say whatever in the matter of concessions, and this was in the interest of neither Turkey nor of the Allies.

M. Poincaré pointed out that there was general agreement as to the first paragraph of the formula proposed to take the place of article 239 of the Treaty of Sèvres, but he must maintain that the Allies should not try to impose upon Turkey a permanent control over her public services, which seemed to be suggested by that paragraph.

Lord Curzon suggested that there was some misunderstanding as to the intention of the second paragraph. He thought Signor Schanzer had intended, not several delegates, but only one delegate, who would act as a liaison with the various departments of the Turkish Government who were concerned with the concessions.

M. Poincaré agreed, but thought the point might be met by a redraft, which would attain, in an attenuated form, the object desired by Signor Schanzer.

After some discussion the formula was agreed to, subject to the provisos that in the first paragraph of Signor Schanzer's article, the words "devra demander" should be substituted for the words "soumettra à," and that in the second paragraph the words "Le Gouvernement ottoman devra en outre donner à la commission et à son représentant toutes les facilités nécessaires pour l'accomplissement de sa mission auprès des administrations intéressées," should be substituted for the words "le Gouvernement ottoman . . . . compétent."

Signor Schanzer then read the text of a special agreement which he proposed that the three Foreign Ministers should sign, providing for the continuance of the principles embodied in the Tripartite Agreement, as between the Allies, in the event of the Commission of Liquidation, contemplated in the new treaty, coming to an end (see Annex 3).

Lord Curzon said he had no objection, in principle, to signing this agreement, but pointed out that Great Britain, as a matter of fact, had no zone of economic priority, and that only France and Italy stood to benefit by the article. It must also be borne in mind that the Allies had no right and no power to insist upon Turkey granting concessions to one or other of them. The Tripartite was only binding as between the Powers themselves.

Further discussion of the article and its signature was deferred until the afternoon meeting.

Thrace.

At this stage the military experts, who had arrived at a decision regarding the frontier in Thrace, entered the room.

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Marshal Foch explained briefly the frontier between Greece and Turkey in Eastern Thrace, which the Allied military experts recommended in accordance with the views expressed by the three Foreign Ministers on the previous day. The line which they suggested would start from a point just east of the Gallipoli Peninsula near Ganos and west of Rodosto, and then run north-east of the Maritza to the west of the towns of Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisse to the Bulgarian frontier in the neighbourhood of the Stranja mountain range. Both sides of this frontier would be demilitarised, and in the district round Adrianople itself Greece would be allowed to retain troops in order that she would be able to defend the western half of Eastern Thrace, which she was to retain against Bulgaria. Under this plan Rodosto would become Turkish, and the Greek territory west of the Græco-Turkish frontier would then be separated from its port. This raised an economical question, which the military experts were not competent to decide.

In reply to an enquiry by Lord Curzon, he added that it was intended to demilitarise equally the whole of Turkish Eastern Thrace and the whole of Greek Eastern Thrace, except her special area round Adrianople, left as a defence against Bulgaria.

Lord Curzon thanked Marshal Foch and the military experts for their careful study of this question. He understood the military reasons which had led the experts to choose this line, but he must point out that the surrender to Turkey of Rodosto—which might become valuable as a port and which had been given to Greece under the Treaty of Sèvres—might well cause a grievance to the Greeks, analogous to that already caused to Bulgaria by the loss of Dedeagatch.

The second criticism which he had to make was that the line proposed by Marshal Foch left two important towns (Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisse) in Turkish Thrace. He did not think it quite fair, while leaving Greece the area round Adrianople, to take away from them these two important towns with a considerable Greek population.

His third point was that genuine hostility between Bulgaria and Greece, owing to past history in the Balkans, existed, and would probably continue to exist in that part of the world. There was a real danger in the continuous intrigues between Bulgaria and Turkey, both anxious to drive Greece respectively from Western and Eastern Thrace. It seemed to Lord Curzon, therefore, that it was essential to reduce the common Turco-Bulgarian frontier as much as possible.

There was a last point to which he would draw attention, and that was the question of railway connection. The transcontinental line from Adrianople to Constantinople would pass from Greek into Turkish territory in the neighbourhood of Baba Eski; but there was no railway connection between Western Thrace and the area between the Maritsa River and Rodosto, which was the natural easterly debouchure of this area. If Rodosto were left to Greece, a line would probably soon be built, running from Rodosto to the nearest point on the Adrianople-Constantinople Railway at Muradli. He understood that this could easily be constructed if the funds were forthcoming.

To sum up, he thought that the objections he had raised could be met by leaving Rodosto on the Greek side of the new frontier, and making the latter go east of the towns of Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisse, so as to join the Bulgarian frontier in the Stranja district. Rodosto would be in the demilitarised zone, and no Greek warships would be allowed there under the Straits provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres which, in essentials, would be presumably maintained. Greek administration at Rodosto could, in itself, be no danger to Turkey.

M. Poincaré admitted that there was force in Lord Curzon's arguments, but thought that the Turco-Bulgarian frontier would not really be long enough, under the present proposal of the military experts, to prove a danger to Greece. If the Greek frontier with Bulgaria were prolonged, as Lord Curzon had suggested, Greece might find it disadvantageous to have so long a stretch to defend. For the rest, he did not think that the economic argument regarding the Greek area in Rodosto could be pressed very far. In leaving Adrianople to Greece we were really doing something disagreeable to Turkey, all the more that Adrianople was, in some sense, a holy city. The Allies would find difficulty in imposing the treaty in any case, and must make their proposals as acceptable as possible.

Lord Curzon agreed that we had to make our proposals as acceptable as possible to both parties, but the Allies must also bear in mind that the Greeks were now in complete occupation of Eastern and Western Thrace and of the towns which the

military experts now proposed to cede to Turkey. She had been given to believe that, even if the Sèvres frontier were modified, she would receive something like the Midia–Rodosto line. If she were now asked to yield more territory and at the same time were told to evacuate completely Asia Minor, with no special régime for Smyrna, she would probably refuse to make the further concessions demanded by the Allies. The Allies would then find themselves in the position of being unable to enforce their demands on Greece.

M. Poincaré pointed out that, as Lord Curzon had himself said the day before, Greece could be coerced, as a last resort, only by Allied naval pressure at Athens.

Lord Curzon observed that he had used this argument, not in connection with enforcing unjust modifications of the Treaty of Sèvres upon Greece, but in connection with the possibility of a future attack by Greece upon Constantinople after the treaty was in force.

For the rest, he understood that M. Poincaré had admitted that no forcible measures could now be taken by the Allies against either belligerent in so far as enforcing peace terms was concerned. He would now ask Marshal Foch whether a frontier of a less objectionable nature than that which he had sketched above could not be found.

Marshal Foch replied that he did not think the frontier which Lord Curzon had suggested east of Rodosto would be so strong, from a military point of view, as that proposed by the Allied military experts. They had specially looked for high ground, and the new line would lie mostly in flat country and would require troops to defend it. This observation applied to the Rodosto end of the line.

Lord Curzon asked whether it would not be possible, leaving aside for the moment the question of Rodosto, to trace a new line up to the Bulgarian frontier on equally high ground, but more to the east than the military experts had proposed.

Marshal Foch thought that it would be quite possible to do this.

General Marietti agreed, and suggested that the line proposed by the military experts might be switched back from a point on the Constantinople–Adrianople Railway northwards east of Kirk Kilisse to the Bulgarian frontier.

Lord Curzon suggested that the military experts might try and find a solution on the lines which both Marshal Foch and General Marietti seemed to think practicable. As to Rodosto, if it were to remain Turkish, Lord Curzon thought that all facilities on the Adrianople-Constantinople Railway east of the new frontier should be given to Greece to enable her to use the port of Rodosto, and on any line or road which might be made from that railway to the port. Greece should, in fact, be given the special position in that port, which was to be given to Bulgaria at Dedeagatch. He would first, however, like to know whether Rodosto was likely to develop into a port of importance and whether a railway could easily be built to the north of the town.

Colonel Georgues and *Colonel Heywood*, who had personal knowledge of the "terrain," agreed that it was quite possible, and, indeed, perhaps more practicable, to develop a port at Rodosto than at Dedeagatch. The hinterland would enable a railway to be built, but the traffic would not be likely to recoup the cost, and improved road communication would be preferable.

In principle, the frontier proposed by the military experts, with the modifications suggested by Lord Curzon, was then adopted, the military experts being asked to draw up a rough map for the next meeting of the conference in the afternoon.

ANNEX 1.

Les circonstances actuelles ne permettent plus l'établissement d'un contrôle effectif sur les finances et l'administration ottomanes. Dans ces conditions, la création d'une commission financière qui ne posséderait que des pouvoirs insuffisants, et ne pourra, par conséquent, exercer qu'une action illusoire doit être abandonnée.

Comme, d'un autre côte, il serait impolitique de proposer des mesures de nature à soulever contre le Traité de Paix le nationalisme turc, les experts soussignés soumetteut les propositions suivantes :

1. Il ne sera pas prévu dans le Traité de Paix un contrôle général sur les finances ottomanes.

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2. Le décret de Mouharrem, les décrets annexes, ainsi que tous les contrats des emprunts énumérés à l'Annexe 1 des clauses financières sont confirmés.

3. Il sera tenu, cependant, compte des décisions du Traité de Versailles supprimant les fonctions de délégués allemands et autrichiens au conseil de la Dette publique ottomane.

4. Le principe des parts contributives à verser par les provinces détachées de l'Empire ottoman et leur mode de calcul sont maintenus.

5. Pour le règlement des frais d'occupation militaires des Puissances alliées depuis l'armistice jusqu'à la mise en vigueur du Traité de Paix et après la mise en vigueur du traité, ainsi que les réclamations des ressortissants alliés pour dommages subis antérieurement à la mise en vigueur du présent traité, il sera créé une Commission de Liquidation composée des représentants des trois principales Puissances alliées, qui aura les attributions plus loin.

6. La Turquie s'engage à verser à cette Commission de Liquidation pendant vingt années une annuité de 5,000,000*l.** Toutefois, pendant les premières années, la commission aura le droit de ne réclamer à la Turquie qu'une somme de 3,000,000*l.* par an, étant entendu que la différence entre la somme totale due par la Turquie, soit 5,000,000*l.*, et ladite somme de 3,000,000*l.*, sera répartie sur les annés suivantes.

7. Pour assurer le paiement de cette annuité, le Gouvernement ottoman devra affecter irrévocablement en garantie les excédents restant libres, des revenus de la douane, de la dîme, et de l'aghnam, ainsi que la part du Gouvernement dans le produit des concessions existantes ou à créer.

8. La commission déterminera* les moyens qu'elle jugera opportuns pour assurer la gestion des revenus donnés en gage.

ANNEX 2.

Formula to replace Article 239 of the Treaty of Sèvres.

Le Gouvernement ottoman soumettra à l'avis de la Commission de Liquidation, avant promulgation, les contrats des nouvelles concessions ou de prorogation des concessions existantes à accorder en faveur de ressortissants ottomans ou de tous autres.

Afin de permettre à la Commission financière d'accomplir la mission en connaissance de cause, le Gouvernement ottoman donnera toutes les facilités requises au représentant que la commission désignera auprès du Département ministériel compétent.

ANNEX 3.

Accord particulier.

(Annexe à l'Accord tripartite.)

Dans le cas où la Commission de Liquidation cesserait de fonctionner et avant la cessation de ses fonctions, les trois principales Puissances alliées se concerteraient sur les mesures à prendre pour assurer par d'autres moyens que ceux prévus au Traité de Paix avec la Turquie l'exécution de l'Accord tripartite en ce qui concerne les concessions réservées à chacune desdites Puissances.

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* Le montant de l'annuité ci-dessus sera partagé entre les trois Puissances conformément à un arrangement à intervenir ultérieurement entre elles sur la base des comptes présentés par chacune d'elles et des réclamations de leurs ressortissants.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 3509/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 3 P.M., March 25, 1922.

Present :

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes-Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

There were also present for the questions of Eastern Thrace and the demilitarised zones :—

Marshal Foch.	General Sir C. Harington.
General Gouraud.	Colonel Heywood.
General Weygand.	
Colonel Georgues.	General Marietti.

Greece and the Armistice.

Lord Curzon informed his colleagues that he had received a telegram from Athens which indicated that the Greek answer to the Allied proposals for an armistice would be favourable.

Italian proposal for an article to be added to the Tripartite Agreement.

M. Poincaré referred to the Italian proposal for an article to be added to the Tripartite Agreement (Annex 3 to the Minutes of the Sixth Meeting), and suggested that the wording of the last phrase should run as follows :—

"Les engagements pris par lesdites Puissances les unes vis-à-vis de l'autre, en vertu de l'accord en date du 10 août 1920, dit Accord tripartite."

This wording was adopted, and it was agreed that the article should be signed at once in the form of a special agreement (see Annex 1).

M. Poincaré said that the questions still remaining to be discussed were Thrace, Smyrna, the military clauses, the Capitulations, and the Straits, which was still being examined by the military experts.

Thrace.

Lord Curzon explained that since that morning he had made further enquiries relating to the railway from Muradli to Rodosto. In consequence of these enquiries, he was of opinion that it was essential to provide economic facilities for Greece in the port and on any railway or road that might be made to it. It appeared that Rodosto had a trade of 1,000,000*l.* per annum before the war.

Adrianople.

M. Poincaré raised the question of Adrianople, and urged the necessity of special safeguards for the Moslem majority there.

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Lord Curzon pointed out that when the conference was discussing the future of Smyrna he had raised the question of the necessity of a special régime for the Smyrna area, and M. Poincaré had raised objections to such a proposal. In view of the minority formula which had now been adopted, the necessity for a special régime for Smyrna had diminished, but it was impossible to legislate specially for Adrianople if they were not to take similar action in the case of Smyrna. For the rest, he had recently received a letter from a British official which gave the present figures of the population of Adrianople as about 23,000 Greeks, 9,000 Moslems and 4,000 Jews, so it was probable that no Moslem majority existed to-day. Moslem rights, in relation both to political matters and to mosques, had been specially safeguarded in the Minorities Treaty with Greece, article 15 of which referred expressly to Adrianople.

M. Poincaré agreed that it was not necessary to do more for Adrianople than for Smyrna, but they might perhaps make it clear in the communication to the Turks that special arrangements were to be made for Adrianople.

Lord Curzon suggested that it might be better to wait until they could elaborate the terms of peace with the Turks and the Greeks. If necessary, the same special régime, *mutatis mutandis*, could then be arranged for both Smyrna and Adrianople.

M Poincaré agreed, but they must remember that the French Parliament might want to elaborate the provisions of the Greek Minorities Treaty, which was not yet ratified.

Lord Curzon said that he did not wish to exclude this possibility, but he would point out that the Greek Minorities Treaty contained very stringent provisions as to the protection of minorities, especially Moslem minorities, and the question as to how and to what extent the treaty shall be reconsidered must be approached with caution. For the present it was only needful for the Allies to say that they were prepared, if necessary, to make special arrangements for the protection and due representation of the different social and religious elements in Adrianople. This was a slight development of article 15 of the treaty.

The following formula was finally agreed upon :—

> "When the Treaty of Peace is drawn up, the three Powers will be ready to secure special protection and adequate representation for the different social and religious elements in the two towns of Adrianople and Smyrna."

Military Clauses and Conscription.

Lord Curzon urged that, in spite of the Turkish desire to maintain conscription, the Allies should take a firm line on this subject. In the first place, the abolition of conscription had been forced upon Bulgaria and the other enemy States by the respective treaties of peace. Secondly, conscription had been used in Turkey either as an instrument of oppression to minority communities, as for instance, by forcing Christians into labour gangs, or as a means of extorting heavy bribes as the price of exemption. Thirdly, the abolition of conscription would be in the best interests of the Turkish peasant; there were rich areas in Asia Minor almost deserted of inhabitants, who had been forced into the army. The disappearance of conscription would thus be to the advantage both of the Allies and of Turkey.

M. Poincaré said that, while appreciating the difficulty of imposing the abolition of conscription on Turkey, he had, after discussion with Marshal Foch and his military experts, already yielded to Lord Curzon's reasoning. Any other course would certainly produce difficulties with Bulgaria. The Allies should consider the question of allowing a certain interval of time before the abolition of conscription was to be completed.

Lord Curzon agreed that some interval would be necessary. Another method (of securing Turkey's acceptance) was to increase somewhat the voluntary army which Turkey was permitted to retain. Under the Treaty of Sèvres the total number of men allowed, including all the elements of the army (gendarmerie, &c.) was 50,000. At the discussion in London in March 1921 it had been proposed to increase this number to 75,000, and perhaps some further increase might now be allowed. In both these respects concessions might be made to Turkey, but before deciding, the military experts should be heard. There was, however, one further point about the gendarmerie. Both in the Treaty of Sèvres and at the London Conference of March 1921 the Allies had stipulated for the employment of foreign officers to reorganise the gendarmerie, though, according to the proposals of March 1921, the number of such officers was to be reduced.

Yesterday, however, M. Poincaré had spoken as if there need be no foreign officers in the Turkish gendarmerie. Was this really to be the case? If so, it would be very difficult to ensure the protection of minorities.

M. Poincaré said that the Angora Agreement—the negotiation of which was entirely contrary to his, M. Poincaré's, views—provided for foreign instructors in the Turkish gendarmerie schools, but not for foreign officers in the gendarmerie itself. These provisions might be maintained and Turkey left to ask for foreign officers if she wanted them. It was impossible both to abolish conscription and to impose foreign officers on Turkey.

Lord Curzon wished to refer for the moment to the Angora Agreement. He had not specifically raised the point before, but he must in this connection refer to the exchange of letters between Yussuf Kemal and M. Franklin-Bouillon. The former had said that he desired to have French specialist officers as instructors in the gendarmerie schools, and M. Franklin-Bouillon had acknowledged the letter. He, Lord Curzon, asked whether it was intended to send French alone, or French, Italian and British officers to the gendarmerie schools as instructors. He knew from his own experience that such instructors would really be officers who took the field with the gendarmerie itself, and he asked whether that was what the Allies intended.

M. Poincaré said that M. Franklin-Bouillon had had a difficulty with the French Parliament, and had explained both to that body and to himself that the Turkish Government were only willing to choose foreign officers themselves and only as instructors in the schools. These officers would only be employed for training purposes.

Lord Curzon enquired whether the Angora Agreement meant in fact a monopoly of French gendarmerie officers. It would appear that this was the case, in view of Colonel Sarrau's reference to himself as head of the Turkish gendarmerie in Anatolia. He, Lord Curzon, would like to be clear as to how each Ally was to stand towards the others in this matter. Would each Ally provide officers on an equal basis? Though important, this matter was of less moment than the general question whether or not foreign officers should be provided for the Turkish gendarmerie in the present treaty.

M. Poincaré said that Colonel Sarrau's position was quite independent of the Angora Treaty and was due to an anterior agreement. As regards the exchange of letters between Yussuf Kemal and M. Franklin-Bouillon about the gendarmerie instructors, he assured Lord Curzon and Signor Schanzer that there was nothing in those letters contrary to the pledge given by France to Great Britain and Italy in the Sèvres settlement. The matter would have to be made clear in the final treaty.

Lord Curzon thanked M. Poincaré for this assurance. He desired to point out that Colonel Sarrau's present claim seemed to be an entirely novel one, and he had had difficulties with the Head of the Inter-Allied Gendarmerie Commission and its French president, General Filonneau.

For the rest, he (Lord Curzon) would like to be clear whether or not the Allies were really going to pursue an inter-Allied policy with regard to these officers, and whether they were to be only instructors or really officers.

M. Poincaré assumed that we must pursue a common allied policy, and the Allies, acting together, must secure in the final treaty what France had been promised at Angora.

Lord Curzon said that he understood M. Poincaré to have admitted three general points:—

1. The Angora Agreement had been concluded, so far as the question of the gendarmerie was concerned, without the consent of the French Government.
2. No claim was made by France for any monopoly or privilege of gendarmerie officers or instructors outside the French zone.
3. The question of providing such officers or instructors could only be resolved by a common inter-Allied policy.

He suggested that the Allied military experts should now consider whether article 159 of the Treaty of Sèvres should be retained in the new treaty, together with the general question of the attachment of foreign officers to the Turkish gendarmerie and other elements.

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Evacuation of Anatolia.

[At this stage *M. Poincaré* read the decision of the military advisers as to the interpretation of the article in the armistice dealing with the removal of troops from the Anatolian front. Their interpretation of it was as follows:—

"Aucune unité tactique pourrait être enlevée pour être envoyée ailleurs."]

Demilitarisation of Eastern Thrace.

General Weygand read article by article the proposals of the military advisers as to the demilitarisation of Eastern Thrace and the zone of the Straits (see Annex 2). He explained that the article intended to replace article 161 of the Treaty of Sèvres referred only to the demilitarised zone as defined in article 178 of the Treaty of Sèvres.

Lord Curzon enquired whether the reference was to the larger zone of the Treaty of Sèvres or to the smaller zone proposed in London in March 1921.

General Weygand explained that it was neither; it was the zone defined lower down in the proposals of the military advisers.

M. Poincaré said that there was a fault in the drafting; it should read "qui sont ou seront occupés."

Lord Curzon asked why the words "gendarmerie under inter-Allied command" had been left out of paragraph 3 of article 178. He referred to the provision of the Treaty of Sèvres which General Weygand had just read out.

General Weygand explained that they had been left out purposely. The Allies were only to control the effectives and not to command the gendarmerie, since there was to be no Allied force in the zone opposite Gallipoli.

Lord Curzon drew attention to the new concession which had been made to the Turks in the new article 178 (3), namely, the permission to have a Turkish garrison in Constantinople as well as the Sultan's bodyguard, which was the only force to be allowed there under the Treaty of Sèvres. He also wished to draw attention to the necessity of consulting the British Admiralty before the draft was finally inserted in the treaty. He must make full reservations on this point.

Thirdly, he understood that the Allied troops were to be reduced in numbers and stationed only in the Gallipoli Peninsula, but they would have to extend their supervision over the whole demilitarised zone. Would there be any confusion of powers between the Allied garrison of the Straits and any Allied troops left in Constantinople under the military clauses, *i.e.*, under the Commission of Organisation and Control.

M. Poincaré also enquired whether the garrison of the Straits would provide officers for the missions at Constantinople.

General Weygand said that Lord Curzon's understanding of the proposed position was correct. He did not think any confusion of powers would arise, but the question of the position of the Allied officers was a matter to be dealt with in the military clauses of the final treaty.

M. Poincaré then raised the question of the demilitarised zone. He thought that that zone should be the smaller area laid down in the London proposals of March 1921.

Lord Curzon pointed out that the question of the zones, as laid down first in the Treaty of Sèvres and subsequently at London, had been modified by the decision of that morning, which demilitarised the whole of Eastern Thrace.

Signor Schanzer enquired whether the Allied garrison in Gallipoli was to look after the whole of the demilitarised area.

General Weygand said that the answer of the military advisers was in the affirmative, and that the Allied garrison would have a large staff and force.

Lord Curzon said that in that case the position would require careful consideration because, if the numbers of the Straits garrison was to be increased in this way, the Gallipoli Peninsula would not be large enough and the Allied troops might have to go to Constantinople.

M. Poincaré agreed that this was a difficulty. The Allied troops must not go to Constantinople because the Turks would never agree to this. It would perhaps be better to let the troops leave Gallipoli, where, as Lord Curzon had pointed out, it might be difficult to keep them; but to keep them as near as possible opposite Chanak or at Rodosto, or withdraw them to the shores of the Sea of Marmora. He therefore suggested the insertion of the words "et sur la côte nord de la mer de Marmara jusqu'à Rodosto."

Lord Curzon thought that the inspecting officers attached to the Allied garrison of Gallipoli should also have the power to go to Constantinople. Both the Greeks and the Turks would be under the régime of demilitarisation.

M. Poincaré feared that in that case there would be difficulties with the Turks, who would be a continual danger if Turkish pride were offended and if they were compelled to accept permanently Allied officers at Constantinople.

Lord Curzon said that there was no question of keeping the officers permanently at Constantinople; all that was proposed was that they should have the right to go there for purposes of inspection. For the rest, these officers should be entitled to go to Adrianople as well as to Constantinople.

M. Poincaré pointed out that Constantinople was a capital and a Holy City, while Adrianople was not important to Greece nor a Holy City for the Greeks.

Lord Curzon suggested that there were many other places which might be taken into consideration, such as Therapia. It would be better to leave the matter vague.

It was finally decided to accept the proposals of the military advisers with the insertion of the words suggested by M. Poincaré "et sur la côte nord de la mer de Marmara jusqu'à Rodosto inclus."

Lord Curzon raised the question of the words in paragraph 7 of article 178 "suivant la marche de l'exécution du traité." He thought that this was too long a time for the Allied troops to remain in the Constantinople area.

It was decided to change these words to "trois mois à partir de la mise en vigueur du présent traité."

With these changes the proposals of the military advisers (see Annex 3 for draft as revised) were adopted.

It was then decided to refer to the military advisers the questions of conscription and of Allied officers for the Turkish gendarmerie.

The military advisers then withdrew.

Capitulations.

Lord Curzon explained that his advisers had prepared a short draft covering the question of the modifications in principle of the Capitulatory régime for insertions in the proposals to be made to the Turks and the Greeks. Before reading it, he would observe that the question of the Capitulations must be examined from the fiscal and judicial points of view. All necessary safeguards must be provided if the Capitulations were to be modified from either point of view. He wished to make a proposal which contemplated a large concession to Turkey, but, at the same time, would provide a means for securing the necessary safeguards.

Lord Curzon's proposal (Annex 4) was then read and its consideration adjourned until the next meeting.

Lord Curzon urged that on Monday next it would be desirable to publish to the world a communication giving the terms which the Allies had agreed to propose to the Greeks and the Turks. They would have to see how each side took this communication. One side or the other might be disillusioned, and it was therefore necessary to publish the Allies' own case, giving the reasons for which their proposals had been made and any necessary explanations. If this suggestion were accepted he would undertake to prepare a draft for submission to his colleagues to-morrow. Simultaneously the French Secretary might prepare the covering letter with which the formal proposals of the conference would have to be sent to both Greeks and Turks at the close of these proceedings.

This proposal was agreed to.

Press Communiqué.

In conclusion, the press communiqué relating to the Straits and the financial clauses was finally approved.

[8159 c—3]

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Annex 1.

Accord particulier.

Dans le cas où la Commission de Liquidation prévue au nouveau traité avec la Turquie cesserait de fonctionner, et avant la cessation de ses fonctions, les trois Puissances alliées signataires se concerteraient sur les mesures à prendre pour assurer par d'autres moyens que ceux prévus audit traité le respect des engagements pris par lesdites Puissances les unes vis-à-vis de l'autre, en vertu de l'accord en date du 10 août 1920, dit Accord tripartite.

POINCARÉ.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.
SCHANZER.

Paris, le 25 mars 1922.

Annex 2.

Propositions des Experts militaires au sujet des Dispositions concernant la Démilitarisation de la Thrace orientale et de la Zone des Détroits.

Ces dispositions sont indiquées ci-dessous sous forme d'articles à insérer dans le traité en remplacement des articles 161, 178, 179 et 180 du Traité de Sèvres :

ARTICLE 161.

Dans les territoires de la zone démilitarisée occupés par les Alliés et définie à l'article 178 du présent traité, les forces de gendarmerie helléniques ou ottomanes seront subordonnées au Commandement interallié d'Occupation de ces territoires.

ARTICLE 178.

En vue d'éviter les contacts armés entre les forces turques et helléniques, et de garantir d'autre part la liberté des Détroits, les hautes parties contractantes conviennent des dispositions suivantes :

1. Dans le délai de trois mois à partir de la mise en vigueur du présent traité, il sera procédé au désarmement et au démantellement de tous ouvrages, fortifications ou batteries dans une zone comprenant les territoires et îles définis à l'article 179 ci-après.

Sont interdites dans ladite zone . . . . (sans changement jusqu'à la fin du paragraphe 1 de l'article 178 du Traité de Sèvres).

2. Sans changement.

3. Les territoires et les îles de la zone démilitarisée ne pourront être utilisés militairement, en cas de nécessité, que par les trois Puissances alliées ci-dessus visées agissant conjointement. Cette disposition n'est pas exclusive de l'emploi dans lesdites zones et îles des forces de gendarmerie et de police helléniques ou ottomanes nécessaires pour y maintenir l'ordre, non plus que d'une garnison hellénique que dans l'île de Mitylène, et d'une garnison ottomane à Constantinople en plus de la garde personnelle du Sultan prévue à l'article 152.

Toutefois, les effectifs maximum autorisés par ces forces de gendarmerie et de police et pour ces garnisons seront fixés en considération du service à assurer par le Commandement interallié des troupes d'occupation visées à l'alinéa 5 ci-dessous.

4. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie, agissant conjointement, auront la faculté d'exercer la surveillance sur toute l'étendue de la zone démilitarisée de manière à empêcher qu'aucune action ne puisse être effectuée ou préparée qui, directement ou indirectement, serait susceptible de porter atteinte aux stipulations des alinéas 1, 2 et 3 du présent article.

Cette surveillance sera exercée :

Au point de vue naval, par un stationnaire de chacune desdites Puissances alliées ;

Au point de vue militaire, par un service d'inspection confié à des officiers alliés, et qui sera organisé dans les conditions fixées par le Commandement interallié d"Occupation.

5. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie, agissant conjointement, auront, en outre, la faculté de maintenir dans la presqu'île de Gallipoli telles forces militaires et aériennes qu'elles estimeraient nécessaires.

Tout en limitant l'occupation interalliée à la région ci-dessus visée, lesdites Puissances se réservent le droit de l'étendre conjointement à d'autres régions de la zone démilitarisée prévue à l'article 179 dans le cas où les stipulations qui font l'objet du présent article viendraient à être violées.

6. Les forces d'occupation visées ci-dessus pourront, en cas de nécessité, exercer à terre le droit de réquisition, &c. . . : (comme dans le dernier alinéa du texte de l'article 178 du Traité de Sèvres).

7. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie retireront leurs forces de Constantinople et la partie de la zone démilitarisée qu'elles doivent évacuer suivant la marche de l'exécution du traité.

ARTICLE 179.

La zone prévue à l'article 178 est limitée comme il suit :

1. *En Europe :*

Côtes de la mer Égée : de Cap Helles à l'embouchure de la Maritza–rives orientales de la Maritza jusqu'à un point situé à 20 kilom. sud d'Andrinople–arc de cercle ayant Andrinople comme centre, avec le même rayon, jusqu'à sa rencontre avec la rivière Pravodia, cours de cette rivière jusqu'à la frontière bulgare–frontière bulgare jusqu'à la mer Noire—côtes de la mer Noire jusqu'au Bosphore (rive ouest).

2. *En Asie :*

Bosphore (rive est) côtes de la mer Noire jusqu'au cap situé à 18 kilom. et de Shilé–ligne allant de ce cap au cap de Yarindjé (golfe d'Ismid)–côtes de la mer de Marmara au cap d'Yarindjé à l'Isthme séparant du continent la presqu'île d'Artaki–ligne traversant cet isthme dans la partie la plus étroite, côtes de la Marmara jusqu'au point où la frontière du sandjak de Tchanak aboutit à la Marmara, frontière du sandjak jusqu'à son débouché dans le golfe d'Adramit.

3. *Iles :*

Sont comprises dans la zone démilitarisée :

(*a.*) Les les de la mer de Marmara.
(*b.*) Les îles de Samothrace, Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos et Mitylène.

ARTICLE 180.

Une commission sera constituée dans les quinze jours qui suivront la mise en vigueur du présent traité pour fixer sur place les limites de la partie continentale de la zone démilitarisée prévue à l'article 179. Cette commission sera composé . . . (sans changement jusqu'à la fin de l'article 180).

Le 25 mars 1922.

ANNEX 3.

Proposition des Experts militaires au sujet des Dispositions concernant la Démilitarisation de la Thrace orientale et de la Zone des Détroits.

Ces dispositions sont indiquées ci-dessous sous forme d'articles à insérer dans le traité en remplacement des articles 161, 178, 179 et 180 du Traité de Sèvres :

ARTICLE 161.

Dans les territoires de la zone démilitarisée qui sont ou seront occupés par les Alliés et définie à l'article 178 du présent traité, les forces de gendarmerie helléniques ou ottomanes seront subordonnées au Commandement interalliée d'occupation de ces territoires.

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ARTICLE 178.

En vue d'éviter les contacts armés entre les forces turques et helléniques, et de garantir d'autre part la liberté des Détroits, les hautes parties contractantes conviennent des dispositions suivantes :

1. Dans le délai de trois mois à partir de la mise en vigueur du présent traité, il sera procédé au désarmement et au démantellement de tous ouvrages, fortifications ou batteries dans une zone comprenant les territoires et îles définis à l'article 179 ci-après.

Sont interdites dans ladite zone . . . . .(sans changement jusqu'à la fin du paragraphe 1 de l'article 178 du Traité de Sèvres).

2. Sans changement.

3. Les territoires et les îles de la zone démilitarisée ne pourront être utilisés militairement, en cas de nécessité, que par les trois Puissances alliées ci-dessus visées agissant conjointement. Cette disposition n'est pas exclusive de l'emploi dans lesdites zones et îles des forces de gendarmerie et de police helléniques ou ottomanes nécessaires pour y maintenir l'ordre, non plus que d'une garnison hellénique que dans l'île de Mitylène, et d'une garnison ottomane à Constantinople en plus de la garde personnelle du Sultan prévue à l'article 152.

Toutefois, les effectifs maximum autorisés pour ces forces de gendarmerie et de police et pour ces garnisons, seront fixés en considération du service à assurer, par le Commandement interallié des troupes d'occupation visées à l'alinéa 5 ci-dessous.

4. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie, agissant conjointement, auront la faculté d'exercer la surveillance sur toute l'étendue de la zone démilitarisée, de manière à empêcher qu'aucune action puisse être effectuée préparée qui directement, ou indirectement, serait susceptible de porter atteinte aux stipulations des alinéas 1, 2 et 3 du présent article.

Cette surveillance sera exercée :

Au point de vue naval, par un stationnaire de chacune desdites Puissances alliées ;

Au point de vue militaire, par un service d'inspection confié à des officiers alliés, et qui sera organisé dans les conditions fixées par le Commandement interallié d'Occupation.

5. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie, agissant conjointement, auront en outre la faculté de maintenir dans la presqu'île de Gallipoli et sur la côte nord de la mer de Marmara jusqu'à Rodosto inclus telles forces militaires et aériennes qu'elles estimeraient nécessaires.

Tout en limitant l'occupation interalliée à la région ci-dessus visée, lesdites Puissances se réservent le droit de l'étendre conjointement à d'autres régions de la zone démilitarisée prévue à l'article 179, dans le cas où les stipulations qui font l'objet du présent article viendraient à être violées.

6. Les forces d'occupation visées ci-dessus, pourront, en cas de nécessité, exercer à terre le droit de réquisition, &c. . . . (comme dans le dernier alinéa du texte de l'article 178 du Traité de Sèvres).

7. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie retireront leurs forces de Constantinople et la partie de la zone démilitarisée qu'elles doivent évacuer trois mois à partir de la mise en vigueur du présent traité.

ARTICLE 179.

La zone prévue à l'article 178 est limitée comme il suit :

1. *En Europe.*

Côtes de la mer Égée : du cap Helles à l'embouchure de la Maritza–rives orientales de la Maritza jusqu'à un point situé à 20 kilom. sud d'Andrinople–arc de cercle ayant Andrinople comme centre, avec le même rayon, jusqu'à sa reencontre avec la rivière Pravodia, cours de cette rivière jusqu'à la frontière bulgare–frontière bulgare jusqu'à la mer Noire–côtes de la mer Noire jusqu'au Bosphore (rive ouest).

2. *En Asie.*

Bosphore (rive est) côtes de la mer Noire jusqu'au cap situé à 18 kilom. et de Shilé –ligne allant de ce cap au cap de Yarindjé (golfe d'Ismid)–côtes de la mer de Marmara au cap d'Yarindjé–à l'isthme séparant du continent la presqu'île d'Artaki–ligne traversant cet isthme dans la partie la plus étroite, côtes de la Marmara jusqu'au point où la frontière du sandjak de Tchanak aboutit à la Marmara, frontière du sandjak jusqu'à son débouché dans le golfe d'Adramit.

3. *Iles.*

Sont comprises dans la zone démilitarisée :

(*a.*) Les îles de la mer de Marmara.
(*b.*) Les îles de Samothrace, Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos et Mitylène.

ARTICLE 180.

Une commission sera constituée dans les quinze jours qui suivront la mise en vigueur du présent traité pour fixer sur place les limites de la partie continentale de la zone démilitarisée prévue à l'article 179. Cette commission sera composée . . . . (sans changement jusqu'à la fin de l'article 180).

ANNEX 4.

The Allied Powers desire to secure to Turkey the greatest measure of economic independence compatible with the proper protection of the interests of their nationals. For this purpose they are prepared to set up at Constantinople, within three months from the coming into force of the treaty of peace, a commission composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and of Turkey, to prepare, with the assistance of technical experts representing the other capitulatory Powers, proposals for the revision of the capitulatory régime in fiscal matters.

These proposals shall provide for fiscal equality between foreign and Turkish subjects, while safeguarding the former against excessive taxation and abuses in collection, and for any necessary modification of the customs taxes with the consent of the Powers concerned.

As regards the Capitulations in judicial matters, the Allied Powers repeat their original offer to set up within the same period a similar commission to prepare a scheme of judicial reform to replace the capitulatory system, which will continue pending the introduction of the proposed scheme. This commission, on which Turkey will be represented, will be at liberty to recommend either a mixed or a unified judicial system.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 3510/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 10 A.M., *March* 26, 1922.—(*Received at Foreign Office, April* 3.)

Present:

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes-Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

M. Gout was present during the discussion of the Genoa Conference.

There were also present during the discussion of Annex 1:—

Marshal Foch.	General Sir C. Harington.
General Gouraud.	Colonel Heywood.
General Weygand.	General Marietti.

Admiral Margerie and Commander Ramsay were present for the consideration of Annex 2.

M. Hutchinson and M. Gout were also present for the discussion of Annex 3.

The military experts attended.

Conscription and Gendarmerie.

Marshal Foch read the recommendations of the military experts (Annex 1).

M. Poincaré pointed out that the first recommendation did not amount to the abolition of conscription.

Lord Curzon reminded the Conference that in the case of Bulgaria and of all the other ex-enemy States the Allies had enforced the complete and immediate abolition of conscription by the Treaty of Peace, as a step towards general disarmament. The Allies should certainly reaffirm the principle, and not insert in the treaty the idea that the abolition of conscription might be postponed, still less any period for such postponement. Perhaps on grounds of expediency it might be necessary to make certain modifications after the entry into force of the treaty, as had been done in the case of Bulgaria, but the principle itself must be insisted on in the treaty. He enquired if Marshal Foch agreed.

Marshal Foch said that he did.

M. Poincaré pointed out that they must also remember the question whether the Turks would accept what was proposed. If they did not accept, what were the Allies to do? They must make every endeavour to bring the Turks into the proposed conference.

Lord Curzon replied that if the Turks refused the most reasonable terms which the Allies were offering as a whole, they would offend the public opinion of the world, but the Allies should certainly not again modify their proposals in consequence. They should affirm the principle of conscription in their offer of general terms.

M. Poincaré said that his observations were of a general nature and he was in agreement as to the principle. They must remember the public opinion of Islam

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and the world, with special reference to Morocco and India and the position of Mesopotamia and Syria. He was pleading the cause of prudence, not that of Angora, and the Allies should not promise that they would do anything which they were not in a position to enforce.

Signor Schanzer suggested that conscription was a sensitive point for so essentially military a people as the Turks; possibly the Allies might leave the whole question vague.

M. Poincaré thought that perhaps it would be better to find a vague formula such as "il sera étudié à la conférence prochaine la suppression du service obligatoire." They were only considering the main terms of the treaty.

Lord Curzon understood that the National Pact contained a provision for a conscript army. The Turks would demand it, and the Allies would have to reply; the point must therefore be mentioned, and they must stand firm on the question of principle, as they had done in the other Peace Treaties. M. Poincaré's formula left the question too open; it would not do to refer questions of principle to the next conference.

After further discussion the following formula was adopted in substitution for the first recommendation of the military experts:—

> "Quant aux forces armées de la Turquie, les Puissances ne voient pas la possibilité d'admettre le maintien de la conscription, qui a été écartée dans tous les traités signés avec les Puissances européennes. Elles sont toutefois disposées à considérer dans un esprit amical la détermination de la période dans laquelle le système de recrutement volontaire devra être admis."

Marshal Foch read the second clause of the recommendations of the military experts (see Annex 1).

Lord Curzon enquired whether under these proposals there was any definite ratio between the size of the Turkish armed forces and that of the population of the country. Such a ratio had been provided for in the case of Austria and the other enemy countries.

General Harington said that old Turkey contained nineteen divisions, of which fifteen were raised from the territory which was to remain Turkish. He had the day before recommended to Marshal Foch the figures contained in the experts' proposals; these figures were based on the idea of fifteen divisions of 2,500 men each, the gendarmerie being based on the old numbers.

General Weygand said that the population of Austria was six millions, and an army of 30,000 men had been allowed, so the ratio in the case of Turkey was about the same as in that of Austria. In the case of Hungary the proportion was also about the same.

Lord Curzon asked how they were to stop conscription if Turkey were allowed to keep an army of this size.

Marshal Foch said that they would have to do it in the same way as in the case of other countries, such as Germany—by the threat of force.

Lord Curzon agreed generally, but pointed out that the case of Turkey was different to-day from that of other countries, since the Allies could not occupy portions of her territory, as they had done in the case of Germany, nor had they yet disarmed her.

The second recommendation of the military experts and the figures proposed for the Turkish forces under the new treaty were then adopted.

The third recommendation of the military advisers (see Annex 1) was then read.

Lord Curzon understood the opinion of his military advisers to be that in practice the Turks would be unable to raise any large or effective force of gendarmerie without the assistance of foreign officers, and that as they were rather to take the place of a local police force scattered over wide areas and were not intended to defend the frontiers, it was right that their numbers should be larger than the other elements.

General Harington said that they could stand behind the other frontier forces in case of emergency, but that they had no technical auxiliary troops and were therefore not on the same basis as the other Turkish forces.

Lord Curzon then referred to the principle of the division of Allied gendarmerie officers in accordance with the zones of the Tripartite Agreement, and enquired whether in fact the adoption of the last paragraph of the recommendation of the military advisers would not mean that the division in accordance with the Tripartite Agreement would be abolished.

M. Poincaré suggested that in any communication to be made to the Turks the question of the proportion of Allied officers in the Turkish gendarmerie should not be emphasised, although for his part he was quite prepared to accept the principle of equal division among the Allies of any officers provided by them to the Turkish gendarmerie.

Lord Curzon thanked M. Poincaré for this assurance, but thought that its application must in practice mean the abolition of article 1 of the Tripartite Agreement.

M. Poincaré said that as far as the imposition of that article on Turkey was concerned he was prepared to abandon it, but he must insist on its maintenance as between the Allies. He was not sure if Lord Curzon meant to ask for gendarmerie posts in all the rest of Turkey outside the two zones, but if so he must make full reservations as regards a British monopoly of gendarmerie officers in Constantinople.

Lord Curzon said that he had not made any such claim, but he had thought it undesirable, in the interests of obtaining the Turkish acceptance of a peace settlement, to revive the principle underlying article 1 of the Tripartite Agreement and to make Turkey think that French and Italian gendarmerie officers were necessarily to be imposed on her in the two zones.

Signor Schanzer said that he accepted the principle of not communicating the Tripartite Agreement to Turkey, but must insist on its maintenance *vis-à-vis* the Allies and the application of article 1. Later this might be modified by Allied agreement.

Lord Curzon again asked his Allied colleagues whether they could not accept the general principle of equal division recommended in the last paragraph of the present report of the military advisers (see Annex 1), which would be sounder from the point of view of Turkey than the Tripartite Agreement.

M. Poincaré repeated that he agreed as to the equal division of Allied officers for the Turkish gendarmerie in the *ensemble* of Turkey, but their distribution should be as far as possible in accordance with the division by zones.

The recommendations of the military advisers (Annex 1) were then adopted, but it was agreed that no reference should be made, in any document conveying the Allied terms to the Turks, to the antepenultimate and last paragraphs of the recommendations.

Demilitarised Zones.

A recommendation of the Allied naval advisers for the revision of parts of Chapter VIII of the Treaty of Sèvres (maintenance of the freedom of the straits) (see Annex 2) was adopted.

Capitulations.

The conference proceeded to consider the proposed statement with regard to the Capitulations which had been circulated by Lord Curzon the previous afternoon (see Annex 3).

M. Poincaré stated that he wished to make an observation upon a matter of great importance in the eyes of France which might be considered to be affected by the wording of this draft statement; he referred to the religious protectorates. He was anxious that this most important question should not be settled in advance against France by the first paragraph of the draft. He enquired whether the reference to "the proper protection of the interests of their nationals" would deprive them of all rights in regard to the protection of others than their nationals.

Signor Schanzer said that he also must make all reserves upon this matter. The question to which M. Poincaré referred had been settled at San Remo.

M. Poincaré stated that as he understood it the question had been settled there only for Palestine.

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Lord Curzon said that the agreement reached with M. Millerand at San Remo was not in his view confined to Palestine. This question must, however, be reserved, and he had no intention whatever that his present proposal with regard to the Capitulations should be regarded as affecting the question of the protectorate one way or the other.

M. Poincaré suggested that the phrase should be modified to read simply "compatible with existing rights."

Lord Curzon enquired whether the difficulty would be met by the substitution for the words "their nationals" of the words "foreign subjects."

M. Poincaré explained that Turkish subjects of the Catholic faith also came in question. He did not want the matter to be settled in advance against France.

Signor Schanzer said that on the question of the religious protectorates each of them must reserve his point of view, and it should be made clear that the present formula did not relate to this question at all. The present statement dealt with economic and judicial matters, while M. Poincaré's point related to religious matters. It appeared to him that provided the position was rendered perfectly draft before them related only to matters fiscal and judicial ("fiscales et judiciaires").

Lord Curzon said that he had not the slightest desire or intention of raising in these discussions the question of the religious protectorates, upon which there was disagreement between the Governments and on which he thought the Italian Government were of the same opinion as the British.

M. Poincaré replied that he was well aware, of course, that Lord Curzon had not intended to touch this question. He would be satisfied to accept Signor Schanzer's proposal, provided it were made quite clear in the *procès-verbal* that the draft before them related only to matters fiscal and judicial (*fiscales et judiciares*").

Upon this understanding Lord Curzon's draft was accepted.

Costs of the Armies of Occupation.

M. Poincaré enquired whether the conference wished to consider at this stage the question of the costs of the armies of occupation. It was a large matter to discuss now.

Lord Curzon pointed out that they wished to finish their immediate work to-day, and suggested that this question should be left over.

This was agreed to.

Statement of Conclusions reached.

Lord Curzon informed the conference that he had during the previous night prepared a memorandum setting out in general terms the conclusions which the conference had reached and their reasons for coming to them. He had endeavoured to give a broad, general and fair-minded statement of the terms proposed, with an explanation of each, in a form suitable for publication to the world, so that they might be judged by their work as a whole. He suggested that he should add to this memorandum a note of the results of this morning's discussion, and should bring it before them in the afternoon.

If it were found to be a fair statement, Lord Curzon would suggest that instead of having two documents, one for the press and the other for the Greeks and Turks, his statement, with any modification of wording that might be considered desirable, should be included in the communication to be sent to the latter, as a general declaration of the proposals which they were invited to consider. It could then be published on Tuesday or Wednesday, or whenever the conference chose.

M. Poincaré thought it desirable to make an announcement to the press to-day, if possible, and suggested that they should be given what was being sent to Constantinople.

This point was left over for further discussion.

Place of Meeting with the Greeks and Turks.

M. Poincaré pointed out that there remained the question of the place of meeting with the Greeks and Turks.

Lord Curzon suggested that this should be Constantinople. He did so for several reasons. Constantinople was the only place where the two Turkish Governments could meet together with ease, and it was close at hand for them; the High Commissioners, who had become familiar with the problem to be dealt with, were also available there. The only alternatives were London, Paris or Rome, none of which was so convenient for the purpose as Constantinople; and it had to be borne in mind that if the Turks and Greeks should come to one of those capitals and should then refuse the terms, a much more awkward position would be created for the Allies than if the meeting were held in Constantinople.

M. Poincaré feared that the choice of this city might suggest a preference to one Turkish Government over the other, and might divide the Turks, and he suggested that Brusa would be a more satisfactory place of meeting. But perhaps they need not indicate at present what place within the Turkish Empire would be chosen.

It was agreed that the communication should say that the place of meeting would be fixed later.

The conference rose till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when Lord Curzon's statement of the results of their work would be considered.

ANNEX 1.

Avis des Experts militaires.

Première Question.—Au bout de combien de temps la suppression du service obligatoire peut-elle être imposée à la Turquie?

Etant données les difficultés actuelles du Gouvernement turc pour assurer le paiement de la solde des troupes et de la gendarmerie, comme aussi les frais élevés qu'entraînera le recrutement par engagement volontaire, il ne paraît pas possible d'indiquer maintenant une date précise à partir de laquelle le recrutement par engagement volontaire peut efficacement être imposé à la Turquie.

C'est seulement lorsque sa situation financière le lui permettra que la Turquie pourra recruter son armée et sa gendarmerie par engagement volontaire.

Deuxième Question.—Quels effectifs est-il possible d'accorder à la Turquie pour son armée et sa gendarmerie?

Le Traité de Sèvres a fixé les chiffres de :

35,000 hommes pour la gendarmerie.
15,000 hommes pour l'armée.

50,000 hommes au total.

A Londres, en mars 1921, on a estimé possible de porter ces chiffres à :

45,000 hommes pour la gendarmerie.
30,000 hommes pour l'armée.

75,000 hommes au total.

Après un nouvel examen, les chiffres suivants semblent pouvoir être atteints :

45,000 hommes pour la gendarmerie.
30,000 à 40,000 hommes pour l'armée.

75,000 à 85,000 hommes au total.

L'artillerie de l'armée ne devra comprendre que des canons de montagne et de campagne, à l'exclusion d'artillerie lourde.

La proportion de la cavalerie devra être largement augmentée par rapport à celle qui était prévue dans le Traité de Sèvres; elle pourra comprendre 4,000 hommes pour une armée de 30,000 hommes. La cavalerie devra également entrer pour une très large proportion dans la composition de la gendarmerie.

Troisième Question.—Est-il indispensable de placer dans la gendarmerie turque des officiers alliés pour y participer à l'organisation, au commandement et à l'instruction?

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L'expérience a montré qu'il serait très désirable, au point de vue des résultats militaires, à obtenir que des officiers alliés soient placés dans les formations de gendarmerie.

Mais on reconnait qu'il est impossible de l'imposer aux Turcs.

Il semble, en conséquence, que le seul moyen pratique serait pour les Puissances alliées de recommander à la Turquie l'utilisation d'officiers alliés pour l'organisation, le commandement et l'instruction de la gendarmerie, en indiquant que ces officiers seraient au service de la Turquie, selon les pratiques en usage avant 1914.

Il y aurait lieu, en outre, de spécifier que les officiers ainsi employés devraient appartenir en proportion égale aux trois Puissances alliées.

ANNEX 2.

Propositions des Experts navals au sujet des Dispositions concernant la Démilitarisation navale de la Thrace orientale, des Iles et de la Zone des Détroits.

1. Au chapitre VIII des Clauses militaires, après le titre "Maintien de la Liberté des Détroits," ajouter en sous-titre: "Dispositions militaires et navales."

2. *Article* 178.—Apporter à nouvelle rédaction de l'article 178 présentée par les experts militaires, les additions ci-après:

(*a.*) Alinéa 1.—Après les mots: "Il sera procédé au désarmement et au démantèlement de tous ouvrages, fortifications ou batteries dans une zone comprenant les territoires et les îles définis à l'article 179 ci-après," ajouter: "Il sera procédé également dans le même délai à l'enlèvement et à la destruction de tous organes de défense maritime (postes d'écoute sous-marines, tubes lance-torpilles, lignes de mines ou de torpilles, filets ou obstructions de toute nature, projecteurs, ... &c.) existant sur le littoral ou dans les eaux de la même zone."

Dans l'alinéa suivant: "Sont interdits . . . .," remplacer les mots: "La reconstruction de ces ouvrages," par les mots: "La reconstruction de ces ouvrages terrestres et maritimes."

(*b.*) Alinéa 3.—Remplacer les mots: "Les territoires et les îles de la zone démilitarisés," par: "Les territoires ainsi que les eaux, ports et rades de la zone démilitarisée et des îles qu'elle comprend."

ANNEX 3.

"The Allied Powers desire to secure to Turkey the greatest measure of economic independence compatible with the proper protection of the interests of their nationals. For this purpose they are prepared to set up at Constantinople, within three months from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, a commission composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and of Turkey, to prepare, with the assistance of technical experts representing the other capitulatory Powers, proposals for the revision of the capitulatory régime in fiscal matters.

"These proposals shall provide for fiscal equality between foreign and Turkish subjects, while safeguarding the former against excessive taxation and abuses in collection, and for any necessary modification of the customs taxes, with the consent of the Powers concerned.

"As regards the capitulations in judicial matters, the Allied Powers repeat their original offer to set up within the same period a similar commission to prepare a scheme of judicial reform to replace the capitulatory system, which will continue provisionally pending the introduction of the proposed scheme. This commission, on which Turkey will be represented, will be at liberty to recommend either a mixed or an unified judicial system."

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 5.

[E 3511/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 4 P.M., *March* 26, 1922.—(*Received at Foreign Office, April* 3.)

Present:

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
	M. Gout.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes-Adam.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

Text of Communication to the Greeks and Turks.

M. Poincaré began by thanking Lord Curzon for the draft communication to the Greek and Turkish Governments, which he had prepared and circulated to the conference before the meeting (see Annex 1). As a whole it corresponded entirely with the French views.

Signor Schanzer said that he also wished to congratulate Lord Curzon on a draft which admirably reflected the general Allied point of view.

M. Camerlynck then read the draft.

M. Poincaré proposed the insertion of the words "summoned for the purpose" after "experts," and the substitution of the words "have examined under all its aspects" for "discussed," and "following proposals" for "conclusions," on p. 1.

These were agreed to.

M. Poincaré said he would like to say something in the preamble as to the terms being subject to the views of the respective Parliaments.

Lord Curzon pointed out that this communication was only the preliminary stage towards the final conclusion of a new Peace Treaty, which would presumably have in any case to be confirmed by the various Parliaments.

Signor Schanzer agreed.

M. Poincaré thought that his point would be met by the use of the words "three foreign Ministers" instead of "Powers" or "Governments" throughout.

After some other drafting alterations had been made, M. Poincaré asked whether some reference should not be made to the phrase "entire independence" of Turkey, which appeared in the National Pact.

Lord Curzon pointed out that this was hardly possible, even if desirable, owing to the servitudes imposed with regard to the Straits.

M. Poincaré proposed to stop at the word "development," and omit the word "national" in paragraph 4. He was afraid Greek ambitions might be roused by such a phrase.

Lord Curzon said that he must insist on the retention of the word "national." This paragraph was intended to emphasise the Allied intention to deal fairly by the Greek nation. The Turks were not the only people who were to be allowed to have

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national aspirations. He would, however, accept some such phrase as "national and economic progress."

This was agreed to.

It was also agreed to omit the words "without humiliation," on p. 4.

Lord Curzon explained that in the third paragraph on p. 4 he wished particularly to emphasise the retention by Turkey of the whole of Asia Minor in unimpaired sovereignty.

M. Poincaré suggested that it was unwise to imply that the Allies were unable to turn Greece out of Thrace, on p. 7.

Lord Curzon pointed out that Marshal Foch had agreed with him in the discussion on the previous day that this was in fact the case, but he would agree to the change "accordingly," *i.e.*, instead of "in these circumstances" at the beginning of the paragraph on p. 7.

Some discussion followed as to the description of the frontier of Eastern Thrace to be inserted in the draft.

M. Poincaré objected to the precise description given to the proposed line, and the mention of Ganos as the starting point on the coast, and Tsnikigori as the point of termination on the Bulgarian frontier. He said that he had only agreed on the previous day to the line originally proposed by the military advisers (*i.e.*, that running from Hora on the coast through the towns of Bába Eski and Kirk Kilisse, being deflected north of the railway).

Lord Curzon said that he understood from his military advisers that after the principle of pushing the frontier to the eastward of the line originally recommended by the military advisers to the conference, namely, east of Kirk Kilisse and Baba Eski, had been accepted by the conference on the previous day, the military experts had drawn a new line on the map, which, south of the railway, followed the crest north of Ganos instead of the plain north of Hora. Marshal Foch had admitted to him that this was a better strategic frontier, and he was quite prepared to accept the Marshal's ruling on the subject.

M. Poincaré regretted that this was the first time he had seen the new *tracé*, and he would require to study it further with his military advisers.

Lord Curzon said that he would not at the moment argue the point further, though he had no doubt as to the line which had been proposed and accepted, but he was willing to describe the point of departure from the coast as a point "in the neighbourhood of Ganos," and the point where the Bulgarian frontier was reached "as the western part of the Stranja mountains."

This was accepted.

On p. 10 of the draft it was agreed to omit a reference to "the three months from the entry into force of the treaty," and to say "will be altogether withdrawn after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace." In the last paragraph on p. 10 *Lord Curzon* suggested that it would be better to indicate one figure as the total Turkish force including Turkish gendarmerie, instead of saying "75,000" to "85,000" men as proposed in the second recommendation of the military advisers.

It was agreed to take 85,000 as the total.

Lord Curzon proposed that a paragraph should be inserted giving the main lines of the financial decisions.

After a discussion in which *Signor Schanzer* asked that some formula should be accepted to cover his proposal, which had already been agreed to, as to consultation between the Liquidation Commission and the Turkish Ministries dealing with concessions, a paragraph drafted by Lord Curzon was inserted and accepted.

Lord Curzon pointed out that his draft specially emphasised the abolition of the Financial Commission.

On p. 14, *M. Poincaré* raised the question of the translation of the word "summarily" before the word "rejected." He proposed to translate it "de parti pris," as the French translation of "summarily" was stronger than the English.

Lord Curzon agreed.

The draft was then accepted (see Annex 2).

Lord Curzon suggested that the whole draft should be sent with a covering letter signed by the three Ministers to the Greeks and Turks, and, at the same time,

telegraphed from Paris to Athens, Constantinople and Angora. The covering letter should invite the parties to a conference which might take place at Constantinople in three weeks' time, seeing that the communication was to be made by telegram.

M. Poincaré thought that Constantinople, if mentioned in the invitation as the meeting place, might be regarded by Angora as prejudicing their position. He suggested Brusa as a suitable meeting place.

Lord Curzon pointed out that this was still in Greek occupation.

M. Poincaré said that he would have an annex to Lord Curzon's note prepared, containing a summary of the resolutions passed by the conference.

It was agreed to meet again at 9·45 P.M. to consider the French translation of Lord Curzon's communication, the text of the covering letter, which would be prepared meanwhile by the French Foreign Office, and the communication to be made to the press.

ANNEX 1.

The Foreign Ministers of the Allied Powers of France, Great Britain and Italy, having during five days in succession discussed every aspect of the situation in the Near East, having consulted at each stage the military and financial experts who were summoned to Paris for the purpose, and having further enjoyed the advantage of communicating beforehand with the representatives both of Turkey and of Greece, have unanimously arrived at the following conclusions, which they offer as the most equitable solution that it is in their power to offer of the Near Eastern problem.

The principles which they have throughout borne in mind, and which are the bases of their proposals have been as follows:—

1. They desire to re-establish peace between the conflicting armies of Turkey and Greece, but to deal fairly with both parties, and to impose upon neither conditions of discomfiture or defeat.
2. They desire to re-establish the Turkish nation and the Turkish dominion in the areas which may legitimately be regarded as their own, with the historic and renowned capital of Constantinople as the centre, and with such powers as may enable them to renew a vigorous and independent national existence.
3. They desire to secure full and fair treatment to the followers of the creed of Islam and to maintain the secular and religious authority of the Sultan of Turkey.
4. They desire to compensate the Greek nation for the great sacrifices which they have accepted during the war in the cause of the Allies, and to leave them such scope for their national and economic development as is demanded both by their achievements and by their legitimate aspirations.
5. They desire to enable both peoples, in regions where they are contiguous or where their populations are intermingled, to live in future in conditions of mutual confidence and self-respect.
6. They desire to provide for the protection and security of the various minorities, whether Moslem or Christian, or of other races and creeds, who, whether in Europe or Asia, find themselves placed in the midst of larger political or ethnic aggregations.
7. They desire to prevent the recurrence of armed conflict between the Turkish nation and the European Powers with whom it was recently at war.
8. They desire, above all, to find a solution that shall not be suspected of partiality to one side or the other, but shall endeavour with firm hands to hold the scales even between the two.

With these ends in view, the first object of the Allied Powers has been to bring about a suspension of hostilities between the confronting armies in Asia Minor, in order to enable the counsels of peace and the prospects of an amicable settlement to prevail. They have therefore proposed the conclusion of an armistice to the Governments of Turkey and Greece, subject to conditions which are scrupulously fair to both parties and which are defined by the military authorities under the presidency of Marshal Foch

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The Hellenic Government has without delay signified its acceptance of this proposal. The decision of the Turkish Government is still awaited.

The proposal of an armistice has been made with the avowed intention of assuring the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek forces and the restitution of Turkish sovereignty over the whole of that region. The arrangements for this evacuation, as the first step in the general settlement which is now proposed, have simultaneously been elaborated by the military authorities under Marshal Foch, and are capable of being put into execution without delay. It is calculated that the period required for a complete and peaceful withdrawal of the Greek forces will be somewhat over four months.

It will be observed that in the event of these proposals being accepted by both parties, the recovery of Anatolia by the Turks, which is believed to be their principal national aspiration, will have been attained without any further sacrifice of treasure or life. Correspondingly, the retirement of the Greek troops will be effected with honour and without humiliation.

Should this operation be successfully accomplished, the Turkish sovereignty in Asia will exist unimpaired from the Mediterranean to the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, and from the borders of Transcaucasia, Persia and Mesopotamia to the Levant.

Accepting the imperative necessity, which is the result both of historical and geographical causes, for the protection of the minorities of alien race or religion who are found, in some cases in large numbers, both in the vilayets of Turkey and in the European possessions of Greece, the Powers have proposed a series of provisions for their full and adequate security, without distinction of race or creed, in both areas. These provisions will be based both upon the stipulations contained in existing treaties or drafts of treaties and in the secular or religious law of the countries concerned. Furthermore, the Powers have decided to invite the League of Nations to collaborate in this object by the appointment of special commissioners to superintend the execution of these provisions in the areas and for the communities who are principally concerned.

The case of the Armenians has called for special consideration by reason both of the undertakings entered into by the Allied Powers in the course of the war and of the cruel sufferings of which that people have been the victims. Accordingly, the aid of the League of Nations is sought, over and above the protection accorded by the minority provisions to which reference had already been made, in order to obtain for the Armenians the satisfaction of their traditional aspirations for a national home.

The interests of peace and the safety of the future demand that Europe shall never again be exposed to the perils and sacrifices which were imposed upon her in 1914 and the succeeding years by the forcible closure of the Dardanelles. The countless lives that were there poured out, the stupendous efforts that were entailed must not have been expended in vain. The Turks will be readmitted to the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles under conditions which will provide for the existence of a broad demilitarised zone, in order to obviate the possibility of any hostile military preparations in that quarter. But an Allied force must be placed and must remain in occupation of the Gallipoli Peninsula in order to safeguard the free and unimpeded entrance of the Straits. This also will be a dimilitarised zone. The Allied garrison will consist of a force sufficient to secure the entrance to the Dardanelles.

The navigation of the Straits will be placed, as already proposed, under the control of an International Commission under a Turkish president, on which it is hoped as time passes that all the principal States who are interested in the commerce or navigation of the Straits will be represented.

The demilitarised zone on the Asiatic shore of the Straits will extend from on the Mediterranean to on the Marmora. No further demilitarisation is proposed on the southern shores of the Marmora. On the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus the demilitarised zone will extend inland to a line drawn from to . The islands of outside the Dardanelles, and of in the Marmora will equally be demilitarised.

Passing to the European shore of the Dardanelles and the Marmora, the Powers have been confronted with the difficult and anxious problem of the future of Eastern Thrace. On the one hand, they were unable, for the reasons which have already been stated, to accept a solution that would place the Gallipoli Peninsula once more in the hands of Turkey. On the other hand, they were met by the complaint that some at any rate of the lines of frontier that have hitherto been proposed between the European possessions of Turkey, to the north and west of Constantinople, and the

areas in Eastern Thrace in the occupation of the Greeks afforded insufficient protection to the Turkish capital, which might find itself exposed in the future either to the military menace of invasion or to the invidious propinquity of a neighbour with whom it had recently been at war.

Such dangers it was obvious would be most effectively removed: (*a*) by the removal to a sufficient distance from Constantinople of the projected frontier; (*b*) by the effective neutralisation of the areas outside this line. Furthermore, the Powers were confronted by the incontestable facts of the existing situation. Whether the attribution of Eastern Thrace to the Greeks by the unratified Treaty of Sèvres be or not be held to constitute a valid title, the Greek forces are in effective occupation, and the Greek Government is engaged in administering that area, which, moreover, contains, and has long contained, a considerable, and in parts a preponderant, Greek population. In these circumstances, the Powers could not assume the responsibility of requiring from Greece not merely the complete evacuation of Anatolia, to which it must be remembered in passing that Greece was invited in 1919 by the Powers, but the complete evacuation of Eastern Thrace in addition. Such a demand would have been consistent neither with equity nor with practicability. It would have been unjust; and it could not be enforced.

In these circumstances, and bearing in mind the importance of the strategical considerations before referred to, which may be summed up in the desideratum of reasonable security for the capital and the state of Turkey in Europe, the Foreign Ministers of the Powers invited the military authorities under Marshal Foch to assist them with their expert advice. These authorities recommended the drawing of a line which will run from the neighbourhood of Ganos on the Marmora in a northerly and north-easterly direction to a point on the Bulgarian frontier at .

This frontier will leave Rodosto, a Greek town, to the Turks. It will place Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisse on the Greek side of the Turco-Greek frontier. The safety of the frontier is assured by the topographical features of the country, and will be further confirmed by the demilitarisation of the entire area of Eastern Thrace both on the Greek and the Turkish sides of the frontier. Thus the Greeks will not be able to threaten Constantinople, and the Turks will not be in a position to attack the Greeks.

The periodical inspection of these and the other demilitarised zones will be undertaken by Allied officers attached to the Allied force on the Gallipoli peninsula, the area of whose occupation will be extended eastwards to Rodosto.

It has been considered whether any special provision should be made for the town of Adrianople, which it has been found impossible to sever from the surrounding territories of Eastern Thrace. Smyrna, which will revert to Turkey, and Adrianople, which will be retained by the Greeks, are in a somewhat analogous position. The Powers will be quite willing to enter into friendly communication with the Turkish and Greek Governments, with a view to the conclusion of a friendly agreement upon conditions which will guarantee a full and fair share to the non-Turkish and the non-Greek elements in the populations in the administration of the two cities and will further safeguard the religious buildings and institutions of Adrianople.

The Powers are not so vain as to suppose that this solution of the Thracean problem will be warmly accepted by either party. The problem admits of no such easy solution. They can only commend it to the public opinion of the world as the proposition which seems to them to be most consistent alike with justice and with the facts of the case.

Passing to Constantinople, the Powers desire to confirm their previously-expressed willingness to withdraw altogether the threat that was made at the time of the Treaty of Sèvres to revoke at some future date the retrocession of the capital to the Turks. They confirm the restoration of that city to the full authority of the Government of the Sultan; and they are further willing to engage that the Allied forces, by whom it is at present occupied, shall be altogether withdrawn with the least possible delay after the ratification of the future Treaty of Peace.

The Turkish Government will be invited to garrison the city with a larger force than was contemplated in the Treaty of Sèvres.

There remain the questions of the future armed forces of the Turkish State, the financial independence which it will enjoy, and the suggested modification or surrender of the capitulatory rights which are enjoyed by foreigners.

Concerning the armed forces of Turkey, the Allied Powers are unable to depart

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from the principles which it has been found necessary to enforce in the treaties that have been concluded with all the other States recently at war, or to admit the continuance of the system of conscription. They will, however, be prepared to consider with the Turkish Government in an amicable spirit the determination of the period within which the voluntary system of recruiting must be established in that country.

As to the numerical strength of the Turkish forces, it is proposed to allow a very appreciable augmentation of the figures which were contained in the Treaty of Sèvres or were afterwards suggested in London in 1921. The forces now finally proposed are gendarmerie 45,000, regular army 20,000 to 40,000, or a grand total of 75,000 to 85,000 men, a total which is very markedly in excess of the 50,000 designated in the Treaty of Sèvres.

Should the Turkish Government desire the assistance of foreign officers for the organisation of the above-named force of gendarmerie—a measure which will probably be found to conduce greatly to its efficiency—the Powers will be ready to place them at the disposal of the Turkish Government.

In respect of the existing capitulatory system, the Powers are anxious to secure to Turkey the largest measure of economic independence consistent with the due protection of the interests of their nationals. For this purpose, they are prepared to set up at Constantinople, within three months from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, a Commission composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and of Turkey, to prepare, with the assistance of technical experts representing the other Capitulatory Powers, proposals for the revision of the capitulatory régime in fiscal matters.

These proposals shall provide for fiscal equality between foreign and Turkish subjects, while safeguarding the former against excessive taxation and abuses in collection, and for any necessary modification of the customs taxes with the consent of the Powers concerned.

As regards the Capitulations in judicial matters, the Allied Powers repeat their former offer to set up within the same period a similar commission to prepare a scheme of judicial reform to replace the capitulatory system, which will continue provisionally pending the introduction of the proposed scheme. This commission, on which Turkey will be represented, will be at liberty to recommend either a mixed or an unified judicial system.

Such, in broad outline, are the main features of the settlement which the Ministers of the three Great Powers, acting on behalf of their Governments, have decided unanimously to recommend. These proposals are now submitted primarily to the judgment of the two parties who are directly involved, but secondarily, and in a not inferior degree, to that of the civilised world. Nor is it necessary to add that the people or the Government by whom they were rejected, if such a misfortune were to occur, would assume a very grave responsibility before the public opinion of mankind, namely, the responsibility of resuming a struggle which has already wrought sufficient havoc among the peoples of two continents, and the renewal of which can only bring further ruin and destruction in its train, besides leading to a permanent embitterment between the races and creeds of the Near East.

March 27, 1922.

ANNEX 2 TO MINUTE 9.

The Foreign Ministers of the Allied Powers of France, Great Britain and Italy, having during five days in succession discussed every aspect of the situation in the Near East, having consulted at each stage the military and financial experts who were summoned for the purpose, and having further enjoyed the advantage of communicating beforehand with the representatives both of Turkey and of Greece, have unanimously agreed to the following propositions which they put forward as the most equitable solution that it is in their power to offer to the Near Eastern problem.

The principles which they have throughout borne in mind and which are the basis of their proposals have been:—

1. They desire to re-establish peace between the conflicting armies of Turkey and Greece, but to deal fairly with both parties and to impose upon neither conditions of discomfiture or defeat.

2. They desire to re-establish the Turkish nation and the Turkish dominion in the areas which may fairly be regarded as their own, with the historic and renowned capital of Constantinople as the centre, and with such powers as may enable them to renew a vigorous and independent national existence.
3. They desire to secure full and fair treatment to the followers of the creed of Islam, and to maintain the secular and religious authority of the Sultan of Turkey.
4. They desire to compensate the Greek nation for the great sacrifices which they have accepted during the war in the cause of the Allies, and to leave them free scope for their national and economic progress in the future.
5. They desire to enable both peoples in regions where they are contiguous or where their populations are intermingled to live in future in conditions of mutual confidence and self-respect.
6. They desire to provide for the protection and security of the various minorities, whether Moslem or Christian or of other races and creeds, who, whether in Europe or Asia, find themselves placed in the midst of larger political or ethnic aggregations.
7. They desire to prevent the recurrence of armed conflict between the Turkish nation and the European Powers with whom it was recently at war.
8. They desire, above all, in the solution which they propose, not to be suspected of partiality for the one side or the other, but with firm hands to hold the scales even between the two.

With these ends in view the first object of the Allied Powers has been to bring about a suspension of hostilities between the confronting armies in Asia Minor in order to enable the counsels of peace and the prospects of an amicable settlement to prevail. They have therefore proposed the conclusion of an armistice to the Governments of Turkey and Greece, subject to conditions wihch are scrupulously fair to both parties and which were defined by the military authorities under the presidency of Marshal Foch.

The Hellenic Government has already signified its acceptance of this proposal. The decision of Turkey is awaited.

The proposal of an armistice has been made with the avowed intention of assuring the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek forces and the restitution of Turkish sovereignty over the whole of that region. The arrangements for this evacuation, as the first step in the general settlement which is now proposed, have simultaneously been elaborated by the military authorities under Marshal Foch and are capable of being put into execution without delay. It is calculated that the period required for a complete and peaceful withdrawal of the Greek forces will be somewhat over four months.

It will be observed that in the event of these proposals being accepted by both parties the recovery of Anatolia by the Turks, which is believed to be their principal national aspiration, will have been attained without any further sacrifice of treasure or life. Correspondingly the retirement of the Greek troops will be effected with honour.

Should this operation be successfully accomplished, the Turkish sovereignty in Asia will exist unimpaired from the Mediterranean to the Straits and the Black Sea and from the borders of Transcaucasia, Persia and Mesopotamia to the shores of the Ægean.

Accepting the imperative necessity, which is the result both of historical and geographical causes, for the protection of the minorities of alien race or religion who are found in some cases in large numbers both in the vilayets of Turkey and in the European possessions of Greece, the Powers have proposed a series of provisions for their full and adequate security without distinction of race or creed in both areas. These provisions will be based both upon the stipulations contained in existing treaties or drafts of treaties and in the secular or religious law of the countries concerned. Furthermore, the Powers have decided to invite the League of Nations to collaborate in this object by the appointment of special Commissioners to superintend the execution of these provisions in the areas and for the communities who are principally concerned.

The case of the Armenians has called for special consideration by reason both of the undertakings entered into by the Allied Powers in the course of the war and of the cruel sufferings of that people. Accordingly the aid of the League of Nations is

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sought over and above the protection accorded by the minority provisions to which reference has already been made, in order to obtain for the Armenians the satisfaction of their traditional aspirations for a national home.

The interests of peace and the safety of the future demand that Europe shall never again be exposed to the perils and sacrifices which were imposed upon her in 1914 and the succeeding years by the forcible closure of the Dardanelles. The countless lives that were there poured out, the stupendous efforts that were entailed, must not have been expended in vain. The Turks will be readmitted to the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles under conditions which will provide for the existence of a broad demilitarised zone in order to obviate the possibility of any hostile military preparations in that quarter. But an Allied force must be placed, and must remain, in occupation of the Gallipoli Peninsula in order to safeguard the free and unimpeded entrance of the Straits. This also will be a demilitarised zone. The Allied garrison will consist of a force sufficient to secure the entrance to the Dardanelles.

The navigation of the Straits will be placed, as already proposed, under the control of an International Commission under a Turkish President, on which it is hoped, as time passes, that all the principal States who are interested in the commerce or navigation of the Straits will be represented.

The demilitarised zone on the Asiatic shore of the Straits will be identical with the existing Sanjak of Chanak. No further demilitarisation is proposed on the southern shores of the Marmora with the exception of the Peninsula of Artaki. On the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus the demilitarised zone will be identical with the existing neutral zone. The islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Tenedos, Samothrace and Mitylene outside the Dardanelles and all the islands in the Marmora will equally be demilitarised.

Passing to the European shore of the Dardanelles and the Marmora, the three Ministers have been confronted with the difficult and anxious problem of the future of Eastern Thrace. On the one hand, they were unable, for the reasons which have already been stated, to accept a solution which would place the Gallipoli Peninsula once more in the hands of Turkey. On the other hand, they were met by the complaint that some at any rate of the lines of frontier that have hitherto been proposed between the European possessions of Turkey to the north and west of Constantinople and the areas in Eastern Thrace in the occupation of the Greeks offer insufficient protection to the Turkish capital, which might find itself exposed in the future either to the military menace of invasion or to the invidious propinquity of a neighbour with whom it had recently been at war.

Such dangers, it was obvious, would be most effectively removed (*a*) by the removal to a sufficient distance from Constantinople of the projected frontier; (*b*) by the effective neutralisation of the areas outside this line. Furthermore, the Ministers were confronted by the incontestable facts of the existing situation. Whether the attribution of Eastern Thrace to the Greeks by the unratified Treaty of Sèvres be or be not held to constitute a valid title, the Greek forces are in effective occupation, and the Greek Government is engaged in administering that area, which, moreover, contains, and has long contained, a considerable and, in certain parts, a preponderant Greek population.

In these circumstances the Ministers were unable to assume the responsibility of requiring from Greece not merely the complete evacuation of Anatolia, to which it must be remembered in passing that Greece was invited in 191 by the Powers, but the complete evacuation of Eastern Thrace in addition.

Accordingly, bearing in mind the importance of the strategical consideration before referred to, which may be summed up in the desideratum of reasonable security for the capital and the State of Turkey in Europe, the Foreign Ministers of the Powers invited the military authorities to assist them with their expert advice. These authorities recommended the drawing of a line which will run from the neighbourhood of Ganos on the Marmora in a northerly and north-easterly direction to a point on the Bulgarian frontier in the western part of the Istranja Mountains. This frontier will leave Rodosto, a Greek town, to the Turks. It will keep Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisse on the Greek side of the Turco-Greek frontier. The safety of the frontier is assured by the topographical features of the country, and will be further confirmed by the demilitarisation of almost the entire area of Eastern Thrace both on the Greek and on the Turkish sides of the frontier. Thus the Greeks will not be able to threaten Constantinople, and the Turks will not be in a position to attack the Greeks.

The periodical inspection of these and the other demilitarised zones will be

undertaken by Allied forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the area of whose occupation will be extended eastwards to Rodosto.

It has been considered whether any special provision should be made for the town of Adrianople, which it has been found impossible to sever from the surrounding territories of Eastern Thrace. Smyrna, which will revert to Turkey, and Adrianople, which will be retained by the Greeks, are in a somewhat analogous position. The Powers will be quite willing to enter into friendly communication with the Turkish and Greek Governments, with a view to the conclusion of a friendly agreement upon conditions which will guarantee a fair and full share to the non-Turkish and the non-Greek elements in the populations in the administration of the two cities, and will further safeguard the religious buildings and institutions of Adrianople.

The three Ministers are not so vain as to suppose that this solution of the Thracian problem will be warmly accepted by either party. The problem admits of no such easy solution. They can only recommend it to the public opinion of the world as the proposition which seems to them to be most consistent alike with justice and with the facts of the case.

Passing to Constantinople, the three Governments desire to confirm their previously expressed willingness to withdraw altogether the threat that was made at the time of the Treaty of Sèvres to revoke at some future date the retrocession of the capital to the Turks. They confirm the restoration of that city to the full authority of the Government of the Sultan; and they are further willing to engage that the Allied forces, by whom it is at present occupied, shall be altogether withdrawn after the ratification of the future Treaty of Peace.

The Turkish Government will be invited to garrison the city with a larger force than was contemplated in the Treaty of Sèvres. There remain questions of the future armed forces of the Turkish State, the financial independence which it will enjoy, and the suggested modification or surrender of the capitulary rights which are enjoyed by foreigners.

Concerning the armed forces of Turkey, the Allied Powers are unable to depart from the principles which it has been found necessary to enforce in the treaties that have been concluded with all the other States recently at war, or to admit the continuance of the system of conscription. They will, however, be prepared to consider with the Turkish Government in an amicable spirit the determination of the period in which the voluntary system of returning must be established in that country.

As to the numerical strength of the Turkish forces, it is proposed to allow a very appreciable augmentation of the figures which were contained in the Treaty of Sèvres or were afterwards suggested in London in 1921. The forces now finally proposed are gendarmerie 45,000; regular army 40,000, or a grand total of 85,000 men—a total which is very markedly in excess of the 50,000 designated in the Treaty of Sèvres.

Should the Turkish Government desire the assistance of foreign officers for the organisation of the above-named force of gendarmerie—a measure which will probably be found to conduce greatly to its efficiency—the Powers will be ready to place them at the disposal of the Turkish Government.

With regard to finance. The financial clauses of the Treaty of Sèvres shall be modified in such a way as to abandon the proposed Financial Commission, while reconciling the principle of Turkish sovereignty with the protection of the Allied economic interests and with the amount of control necessary to ensure the payment of the Turkish pre-war debts to the Allies, and a war indemnity fixed at a sum which Turkey can be reasonably expected to pay. The pre-war Debt Commission shall be maintained, and the special Allied Liquidation Commission shall be set up for the above purposes.

In respect of the existing capitulary system, the three Ministers are anxious to secure to Turkey the largest measure of economic independence consistent with the due protection of the interests of the nationals of their respective countries. For this purpose they are prepared to set up at Constantinople, within three months from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, a commission composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and of Turkey, to prepare, with the assistance of technical experts representing the other capitulary Powers, proposals for the revision of the capitulary régime in fiscal matters.

These proposals shall provide for fiscal equality between foreign and Turkish subjects, while safeguarding the former against excessive taxation and abuses in

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collection, and for any necessary modification of the customs taxes, with the consent of the Powers concerned.

As regards the Capitulations in judicial matters, the Allied Powers repeat their former offer to set up within the same period a similar commission to prepare a scheme of judicial reform to replace the capitulary system, which will continue provisionally pending the introduction of the proposed scheme. This commission, on which Turkey will be represented, will be at liberty to recommend either a mixed or a unified judicial system.

Such, in broad outlines, are the main features of the settlement which the Ministers of the three Great Powers, acting on behalf of their Governments, have decided unanimously to recommend. These proposals are now submitted primarily to the judgment of the two parties who are directly involved, but secondarily, and in a not inferior degree, to that of the civilised world.

Nor is it necessary to add that the people or the Government by whom they were deliberately rejected, if such a misfortune were to occur, would assume very grave responsibility before the public opinion of mankind, namely, the responsibility of resuming a struggle which has already wrought sufficient havoc among the peoples of two continents, and the renewal of which can only bring further ruin and destruction in its train, besides leading to a permanent embitterment between the races and creeds of the Near East.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 6.

[E 3512/5/44] No. 1.

Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of Foreign Ministers at the Quai d'Orsay at 9·45 P.M., March 26, 1922.—(Received at Foreign Office, April 3.)

Present :

For France	M. Poincaré.	
	M. de Perretti de la Rocca.	
	M. Bargeton.	
	M. Gout.	
For Great Britain	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.	
	Mr. R. G. Vansittart.	
	Mr. E. G. Forbes Adam.	
	Mr. H. W. Malkin.	
For Italy	Signor Schanzer.	
	Marquis Visconti-Venosta.	
	Signor Guariglia.	

Interpreter, M. Camerlynck.

Press Communiqué.

Lord Curzon stated that it was doubtful whether it would be possible to send the text of the long communications to the Greeks and Turks to the English press in time for the morning papers the next day. He would prefer that it should not be given to the press until the next day.

M. Poincaré agreed, but suggested that a short résumé should be prepared at once by M. Gout for communication to the press that night.

This was accepted.

Annex to the Communications to Greek and Turkish Governments.

M. Poincaré asked if they should now discuss the summary of the conference's resolutions prepared by the French Foreign Office (see Annex 1).

Lord Curzon suggested that it might be sufficient to send the communication which he had drafted without the summary. The latter, as drafted, appeared to cover much of the ground which was already covered by the former, and the conference would not have time to examine the text fully, since the Italian delegation had to leave almost at once. For the rest, the summary seemed to contain some points, *e.g.*, regarding the detailed plans for the evacuation of Asia Minor, to which no reference should at present be made in any communication to the Turks.

It was agreed that the summary prepared by the French delegation should not be attached to the communication to the Turks and the Greeks, but that the various resolutions accepted by the conference and embodied in it should serve as instructions to the Allied representatives at the forthcoming conference, and might be communicated to the two Powers before the proposed meeting took place.

Covering Letter.

The text of the letter (see Annex 1) covering the communication to the Greeks and Turks was then approved and agreed by the three Foreign Ministers.

Future Allied Action.

Lord Curzon raised the question of what action the Allies should take in the unfortunate event of the Kemalists refusing to come to the conference, or demanding further details or a delay before the conference met. He did not think either refusal or difficulties were likely from the side of the Greeks.

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M. Poincaré thought that the essential thing was to bring the Turks and Greeks to the proposed conference, and that we should use all means in our power to do this, but without the application of force.

Signor Schanzer agreed.

Lord Curzon pointed out that if the Kemalists refused an armistice, there was always the possibility of Greece evacuating Asia Minor through Brusa and Mudania and occupying Thrace in strength. The danger of the Allies evacuating Constantinople and their place being taken by the Greeks would then be a real menace to the Turks.

M. Poincaré thought that if the Turks refused the armistice, it would be because they expected to cut the Greek forces in two and prevent the disembarkation of either section. He doubted whether Mudania was a port where any large body of troops could be disembarked, but he would have the matter, which was essentially a military one, considered by Marshal Foch's committee.

At Lord Curzon's request, Colonel Heywood, who had local knowledge of the situation on the Greek front, then explained that it would always be possible for the Greeks, with their present forces, to counter-attack viâ Konia, and thus enable the northern forces to retire viâ Mudania and Brusa. These forces had for the most part been brought over and reinforced from Thrace viâ Muradli and Rodosto through Mudania, whence, according to a French staff officer's report, six shiploads of men could be embarked a day. The Turks were believed to be short of transport and had only the Konia section of railway line in South Asia Minor.

Lord Curzon suggested that in any case if this were the situation, the Allies should do what they could to hint to the Turks the consequences which were likely to follow their refusal of an armistice.

M. Poincaré said that he would consider using what influence he had with Naby and Ferid Bey in Paris to bear on this point.

Press Communiqué.

M. Gout then read the summary of Lord Curzon's communication which he had prepared for the press, and this was agreed to.

As the Italian delegation were forced to leave at this point, the meeting broke up.

ANNEX 1.

Draft résumé of Resolutions of the Conference prepared by French Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Les Ministres des Affaires étrangères de France, de Grande-Bretagne et d'Italie, réunis à Paris en vue de rétablir la paix dans le Proche-Orient, sont tombés d'accord sur les conditions d'un règlement général auquel serait subordonnée l'évacuation pacifique de l'Asie Mineur envisagée dans la proposition d'armistice qu'ils ont télégraphiée le 22 de ce mois aux Gouvernements intéressés.

Pour que l'évacuation de l'Asie Mineure par les troupes helléniques et sa réoccupation par l'armée turque puissent avoir lieu sans effusion de sang et sans dévastations, il est nécessaire que les armées helléniques et turques soient réciproquement garanties contre toute reprise des hostilités même partielle au cours de leurs mouvements; que les populations et leurs biens soient garantis contre toutes exactions ou représailles de la part de l'une ou de l'autre des armées; que les opérations soient préparées et réglées suivant un programme général établi à l'avance et dans tous ses détails; qu'un organe interallié soit chargé d'établir ce programme de concert avec les Hauts-Commandements hellénique et turc, puis d'en diriger et d'en contrôler l'exécution, et qu'ils soient investis à cet effet des pouvoirs nécessaires pour régler les incidents qui pourraient se produire à cette occasion.

Ce programme comportera notamment: (1) la réorganisation préalable de l'administration civile du pays et des forces de sécurité locales; (2) le plan d'évacuation des forces helléniques, réglée par zones successives en jonction des possibilités de transport, en vue d'éviter toute concentration prématurée des troupes helléniques aux abords des ports d'embarquement; (3) le plan de réoccupation des forces turques limitant les effectifs destinés à l'occupation de chaque zone et conjugué avec le plan

précédent de manière qu'une bande de terrain libre de troupes soit constamment interposée entre les deux armées pour éviter les contacts; (4) le plan d'embarquement des forces helléniques.

Pour diriger l'exécution de ce programme et en assurer le contrôle, l'organe interallié dévra disposer des moyens suivants: (1) auprès de chacune des deux armées, d'une mission alliée comprenant des officiers de contrôle, des hommes de troupe et des moyens de transport et de liaison (automobiles, télégraphie sans fil); (2) dans la zone à évacuer, d'une mission alliée destinée, pendant la période envisagée, à participer à la réorganisation et à contrôler l'emploi des forces de sécurité locales, gendarmerie et police; (3) dans les ports d'embarquement, de forces interalliées destinées à coopérer au maintien de l'ordre et à la police des embarquements (à Smyrne trois bataillons environ, un de chaque Puissance; dans la région de Brousse, à Moudania et à Panderma, un bataillon et demi). Des forces navales alliées, sous commandement interallié, devront contribuer à la police des opérations à chaque point d'embarquement.

Les Gouvernements intéressés sont invités à reconnaître l'autorité, en manière de direction générale des opérations d'évacuation, de l'organe interallié qui installera son siège à Smyrne, et à prendre toutes mesures pour que les décisions de cet organe soient strictement exécutées par leurs troupes ou par les agents de leurs administrations civiles.

Les Alliés ne sauraient en aucun cas accepter la responsabilité du maintien de l'ordre lors de l'évacuation, non plus que le contrôle direct de l'administration civile; dans chaque zone, ce soin incombera aux autorités grecques jusqu'à évacuation, et aux autorités ottomanes dès le départ des troupes helléniques.

Les trois grandes Puissances considèrent qu'elles ont le devoir d'assurer des garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités chrétiennes dans les possessions turques en Asie, et minorités musulmanes en Europe. A cet effet, une étude spéciale sera faite, par une commission interalliée, nommée par les trois Ministres des Affaires étrangères, des dispositions qui sont contenues dans la législation turque et dans les différents traités rédigés depuis l'armistice. Ces dispositions, après avoir été définitivement amendées et approuvées par les Puissances, seront incorporées dans les articles du futur Traité de Paix et seront applicables, *mutatis mutandis*, à toutes les minorités intéressées. La Société des Nations, dans laquelle il est présumé qu'après la conclusion de la paix la Turquie sera admise dans les mêmes conditions que la Grèce, sera invitée à assumer spécialement la responsabilité, d'une part, d'assurer ces garanties, et, d'autre part, d'en poursuivre l'exécution. La Société des Nations sera invitée à désigner, après consultation des deux Gouvernements intéressés, des commissaires spéciaux chargés de surveiller l'exécution des clauses du nouveau traité relatives aux minorités, aussi bien en Europe qu'en Asie. L'attention de la Société des Nations sera spécialement attirée sur la nécessité de tels commissaires dans les zones suivantes: (1) d'Asie, à Smyrne, dans le Pont, dans les vilayets de l'est et du sud-est, en Cilicie et (2) d'Europe, en Thrace et en Thessalie. Ces commissaires auront pour mission, sous le contrôle général du Haut-Commissaire du Conseil de la Société des Nations à Constantinople, de faire des visites périodiques, dans les zones en question, et de concert avec les autorités locales, de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour protéger les minorités conformément aux clauses du traité. Lesdits commissaires feront directement des rapports au conseil de la Société des Nations et les soumettront à la réunion annuelle de l'assemblée de la Société, pour permettre aux nations représentées à l'assemblée d'être en mesure d'assurer la fidèle exécution des stipulations pour lesquelles la Société aura accordé sa garantie.

Les trois Puissances, conscientes des engagements qu'elles ont publiquement pris, en tant d'occasions, d'assurer au peuple arménien une existence nationale autonome, et désireuses de mettre en harmonie l'exécution de ces engagements avec la situation de fait actuelle, ont décidé d'inviter la Société des Nations à assumer la responsabilité spéciale de l'exécution des garanties qui sont recommandées pour la protection des minorités, aussi bien en Europe qu'en Asie, étant présumé que la Turquie, après conclusion de la paix, sera admise comme membre de cette Société. Les Puissances estiment qu'il ne pourra se présenter d'occasion plus favorable de donner satisfaction aux demandes des Arméniens, qui, aussi bien en nombre qu'en importance, sont au premier rang de ces minorités. Les demandes des Arméniens se résument dans l'aspiration générale de se voir réserver un foyer national dans l'une ou l'autre des zones de l'Asie Mineure où ils ont jusqu'ici résidé en nombre considérable. Le choix de la région où ce foyer pourra le mieux être assuré dépend de conditions politiques, économiques et sociales sur lesquelles il est actuellement impossible de se prononcer

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définitivement. Toutefois, les Puissances recommanderont particulièrement à la Société des Nations d'entrer, aussitôt après la conclusion de la paix, en rapports avec le Gouvernement ottoman, à l'effet de créer un tel foyer national pour les Arméniens, et de s'efforcer de déterminer les conditions auxquelles il peut être réalisé et pourvu des garanties nécessaires à son existence future. A cet effet, les trois Puissances promettent de donner toute l'assistance possible, convaincues que la solution amiable du problème arménien est également désirable dans l'intérêt des Arméniens, de la Turquie et de la paix de l'Orient.

Il n'est pas dans l'intention des trois Puissances de prévoir dans le Traité de Paix un contrôle général des finances et de l'administration ottomane. Le décret de Moharrem, les décrets annexes, ainsi que tous les contrats énumérés à l'Annexe 1 des clauses financières du projet de Traité de Sèvres sont maintenus.

Il sera tenu, cependant, compte des dispositions des Traités de Versailles et de Saint-Germain supprimant les fonctions des délégués allemand et austro-hongrois au conseil de la Dette publique ottomane.

Le principe de la contribution à la dette publique ottomane des territoires détachés de l'Empire ottoman est maintenu, ainsi que le mode de calcul de cette contribution.

Une commission de liquidation composée de représentants des trois Puissances alliées sera chargée du règlement des dépenses d'occupation militaire des Puissances alliées depuis l'armistice jusqu'à la mise en vigueur du Traité de Paix et après cette mise en vigueur, ainsi que des réclamations des ressortissants alliés pour dommages subis antérieurement à cette mise en vigueur.

La Turquie s'engagera à verser à cette Commission de Liquidation, pendant vingt années, une annuité de 5,000,000*l.* ou de francs or ou de lire or. Toutefois, pendant les premières années, la commission aura la faculté de ne réclamer à la Turquie qu'une somme de 3,000,000*l.* ou de francs or ou de lire or par an, étant entendu que la différence entre le montant total de l'annuité, et cette annuité réduite sera répartie sur les années suivantes.

Pour assurer le paiement de cette annuité, le Gouvernement ottoman devra affecter irrévocablement les excédents restant libres des revenus de la douane, de la dîme et de l'aghnam ainsi que la part du Gouvernement dans les concessions existantes ou à venir.

La Commission de Liquidation déterminera les moyens qu'elle jugera convenables pour assurer la gestion des revenus donnés en gage.

La frontière en Europe entre la Grèce et la Turquie suivra le tracé suivant : elle partira d'un point à choisir à l'ouest de Ganos sur la mer de Marmara pour aboutir à la frontière bulgare à la hauteur de Behvren, laissant en territoire grec les villes de Baba-Eski et de Kirk-Kilissé. Une zone démilitarisée sera constituée, qui comprendra le territoire européen de la Turquie et, en territoire hellénique, une bande de terrains comprise entre la frontière gréco-turque définie ci-dessus et une ligne qui suivra la rive orientale de la Maritza, de son embouchure à un point situé à 20 kilomètres au sud d'Andrinople, un arc de cercle ayant Andrinople pour centre avec le même rayon jusqu'à sa rencontre avec la rivière Pravodia et le cours de cette rivière jusqu'à la frontière bulgare.

Le Gouvernement ottoman accordera toutes facilités pour permettre le développement économique de la ville de Rodosto.

En ce qui concerne les villes d'Andrinople et de Smyrne, il sera inséré dans le Traité de Paix des stipulations assurant la protection et la représentation adéquate des divers éléments ethniques et religieux de ces deux villes. Ces stipulations s'inspireront notamment du projet de traité signé le 10 août 1920 entre la Grèce d'une part, et l'Empire britannique, la France, l'Italie et le Japon d'autre part.

Dans les territoires de la zone démilitarisée qui sont ou seront occupés par les Alliés et qui sont définis ci-après, les forces de gendarmerie helléniques ou ottomanes seront subordonnées au Commandement interallié d'Occupation de ces territoires.

Cette zone démilitarisée comprend :

1. *En Europe :*

Côtes de la mer Égée : du Cap Helles à l'embouchure de la Maritza–rive orientale de la Maritza jusqu'à un point situé à 20 kilom. sud d'Adrinople–arc de cercle ayant Andrinople comme centre, avec le même rayon jusqu'à sa rencontre avec la rivière Pravodia, cours de cette rivière jusqu'à la frontière bulgare–frontière bulgare jusqu'à la mer Noire–côtes de la mer Noire jusqu'au Bosphore (rive ouest) ;

2. *En Asie :*

Bosphore (rive est) côtes de la mer Noire jusqu'au cap situé à 18 kilom. est de Shilé–ligne allant de ce cap au cap de Yarindjé (golfe d'Ismid)–côtes de la mer de Marmara du cap d'Yarindjé à l'isthme séparant du continent la presqu'île d'Artaki–ligne traversant cet isthme dans sa partie la plus étroite, côte de la Marmara jusqu'au point où la frontière du sandjak de Tchanak aboutit sur la Marmara, frontière du sandjak jusqu'à son débouché dans le golfe d'Adramit.

3. *Iles :*

Sont comprises dans la zone démilitarisée :

(*a*) Les îles de la mer de Marmara ;
(*b*.) Les îles de Samothrace, Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos et Mytilène.

En vue d'éviter les contacts armés entre les forces turques et helléniques, et de garantir d'autre part la liberté des Détroits :

1 Dans le délai de trois mois à partir de la mise en vigueur du futur traité, il sera procédé au désarmement et au démantèlement de tous ouvrages, fortifications ou batteries dans une zone comprenant les territoires et îles définis ci-dessus.

Sont interdites, dans ladite zone et dans ces îles, la reconstruction de ces ouvrages et la construction d'ouvrages semblables. La France, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Italie auront le droit, dans ladite zone ainsi que dans les îles de Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace et Tenedos, de préparer la mise hors de service des routes et voies ferrées existantes et pouvant être utilisées pour amener rapidement des batteries mobiles, et dont l'établissement y reste interdit.

Dans les îles de Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace et Tenedos, l'établissement de nouvelles routes ou voies ferrées ne pourra être entrepris qu'avec l'autorisation des trois Puissances ci-dessus mentionnées.

2. Les mesures prévues au paragraphe 1, alinéa premier, seront exécutées, par les soins et aux frais de la Grèce et de la Turquie, en ce qui concerne leurs territoires respectifs, et sous le contrôle prévu à l'article 203.

3. Les territoires et les îles de la zone démilitarisée ne pourront être utilisés militairement, en cas de nécessité, que par les trois Puissances alliées ci-dessus visées agissant conjointement. Cette disposition n'est pas exclusive de l'emploi dans lesdites zones et îles des forces de gendarmerie et de police helléniques ou ottomanes nécessaires pour y maintenir l'ordre, non plus que d'une garnison hellénique dans l'île de Mytilène, et d'une garnison ottomane à Constantinople en plus de la garde personnelle du Sultan.

Toutefois, les effectifs maximum autorisés pour ces forces de gendarmerie et de police, et pour ces garnisons, seront fixés en considération du service à assurer, par le Commandement interallié des Troupes d'occupation visées à l'alinéa 3 ci-dessus.

4. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie, agissant conjointement, auront la faculté d'exercer la surveillance sur toute l'étendue de la zone démilitarisée, de manière à empêcher qu'aucune action puisse être effectuée ou préparée qui, directement ou indirectement, serait susceptible de porter atteinte aux stipulations des alinéas 1, 2 et 3 précédents.

Cette surveillance sera exercée :

Au point de vue naval, par un stationnaire de chacune desdites Puissances alliées ;

Au point de vue militaire, par un service d'inspection confié à des officiers alliés, et qui sera organisé dans les conditions fixées par le Commandement interallié d'Occupation.

5. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie agissant conjointment, auront en outre la faculté de maintenir dans la presqu'île de Gallipoli et sur la côte nord de Marmara, jusqu'à Rodosto inclus, telles forces militaires et aériennes qu'elles estimeraient nécessaires.

Tout en limitant l'occupation interalliée à la région ci-dessus visée, lesdites Puissances se réservent le droit de l'étendre conjointement à d'autres régions de la zone délimitarisée prévue, dans les cas où les stipulations qui font l'objet des présentes dispositions viendraient à être violées.

6. Les forces d'occupation visées ci-dessus, pourront, en cas de nécessité, exercer à terre le droit de réquisition, dans les mêmes conditions que celles prévues par le Règlement annexé à la Convention IV de La Haye 1907, ou toute autre conventio qui viendrait à remplacer celle-ci et à laquelle chacune desdites Puissances serait partie. Toutefois, ces réquisitions ne pourront être effectuées que moyennant payement immédiat.

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7. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie retireront leurs forces de Constantinople et de la partie de la zone démilitarisée qu'elles doivent évacuer, suivant la marche de l'exécution du traité.

Une commission sera constituée dans les quinze jours qui suivront la mise en vigueur du futur traité pour fixer sur place les limites de la partie continentale de la zone démilitarisée prévue ci-dessus. Cette commission sera composée de trois membres respectivement nommés par les autorités militaires de la France, de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Italie, et, selon les cas, d'un membre nommé par le Gouvernement hellénique en ce qui concerne la partie de la zone placée sous la souveraineté hellénique, ou d'un membre nommé par le Gouvernement ottoman en ce qui concerne la partie de la zone restant sous la souveraineté ottomane. Les décisions de la commission, qui statuera à la majorité des voix, seront obligatoires pour les parties intéressées.

Les frais de cette commission seront imputés au compte des frais d'occupation de ladite zone.

ANNEX 2.

Text of Covering Letter to be signed by the three Foreign Ministers and sent to the Turkish and Angora Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. le Ministre,

Nous, Ministres des Affaires étrangères des trois Puissances alliées, Grande-Bretagne, France et Italie, nous sommes réunis à Paris les 22, 23, 24, 25 et 26 mars, 1922, et nous avons examiné la situation dans le Proche-Orient avec le sincère et ardent désir d'y voir régner à nouveau l'ordre et la paix

Nous vous communiquons, sous ce pli, un exposé complet des propositions auxquelles nous avons abouti après ce mûr examen, exposé appuyé des raisons qui justifient ces propositions.

Nous proposons enfin que vos représentants se rencontrent dans le moindre délai possible, dans une ville à déterminer mais facilement accessible, et qu'ils examinent en commun les propositions.

Nous sommes disposés, d'ailleurs, à déléguer les Hauts-Commissaires britannique, français et italien à Constantinople, pour assister les représentants des hautes parties intéressées.

Comme il est d'un intérêt général que cette réunion ait lieu le plus tôt possible, nous vous engageons à fixer à trois semaines de la date de la présente lettre le jour d'ouverture de ces conférences.

Agréez, &c.

Son Excellence Izzet Pacha,
Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Turquie.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [March 30.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 3340/5/44] No. 1.

Pronouncement by Three Allied Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Paris, March 27, 1922.—(Received in Foreign Office, March 30.)

(Annex 2 to Minutes of Ninth Meeting.)

THE Foreign Ministers of the Allied Powers, France, Great Britain and Italy, having during five days in succession discussed every aspect of the situation in the Near East, having consulted at each stage the military and financial experts who were summoned for the purpose, and having, further, enjoyed the advantage of communicating beforehand with the representatives both of Turkey and of Greece, have unanimously agreed to the following propositions, which they put forward as the most equitable solution that it is in their power to offer to the Near Eastern problem.

The principles which they have throughout borne in mind, and which are the bases of their proposals, have been:—

1. They desire to re-establish peace between the conflicting armies of Turkey and Greece, but to deal fairly with both parties, and to impose upon neither conditions of discomfiture or defeat.
2. They desire to re-establish the Turkish nation and the Turkish dominion in the areas which may fairly be regarded as their own, with the historic and renowned capital of Constantinople as the centre, and with such powers as may enable them to renew a vigorous and independent national existence.
3. They desire to secure full and fair treatment to the followers of the creed of Islam and to maintain the secular and religious authority of the Sultan of Turkey.
4. They desire to compensate the Greek nation for the great sacrifices which they have accepted during the war in the cause of the Allies, and to leave them free scope for their national and economic progress in the future.
5. They desire to enable both peoples, in regions where they are contiguous or where their populations are intermingled, to live in future in conditions of mutual confidence and self-respect.
6. They desire to provide for the protection and security of the various minorities, whether Moslem or Christian, or of other races and creeds who, whether in Europe or Asia, find themselves placed in the midst of larger political or ethnic aggregations.
7. They desire to prevent the recurrence of armed conflict between the Turkish nation and the European Powers with whom it was recently at war.
8. They desire above all in the solution which they propose not to be suspected of partiality to one side or the other, but with firm hands to hold the scales even between the two.

With these ends in view, the first object of the Allied Powers has been to bring about a suspension of hostilities between the confronting armies in Asia Minor, in order to enable the counsels of peace and the prospects of an amicable settlement to prevail. They have therefore proposed the conclusion of an armistice to the Governments of Turkey and Greece, subject to conditions which are scrupulously fair to both parties and which were defined by the military authorities under the presidency of Marshal Foch.

The Hellenic Government has already signified its acceptance of this proposal. The decision of Turkey is awaited.

The proposal of an armistice has been made with the avowed intention of assuring the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek forces and the restitution of Turkish sovereignty over the whole of that region. The arrangements for this evacuation, as the first step in the general settlement which is now proposed, have simultaneously been elaborated by the military authorities under Marshal Foch, and

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7. La Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Italie retireront leurs forces de Constantinople et de la partie de la zone démilitarisée qu'elles doivent évacuer, suivant la marche de l'exécution du traité.

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are capable of being put into execution without delay. It is calculated that the period required for a complete and peaceful withdrawal of the Greek forces will be somewhat over four months.

It will be observed that, in the event of these proposals being accepted by both parties, the recovery of Anatolia by the Turks, which is believed to be their principal national aspiration, will have been attained without any further sacrifice of treasure or life. Correspondingly the retirement of the Greek troops will be effected with honour.

Should this operation be successfully accomplished, the Turkish sovereignty in Asia will exist unimpaired from the Mediterranean to the Straits and the Black Sea, and from the borders of Transcaucasia, Persia and Mesopotamia to the shores of the Ægean.

Accepting the imperative necessity, which is the result both of historical and geographical causes, for the protection of the minorities of alien race or religion who are found, in some cases in large numbers, both in the vilayets of Turkey and in the European possessions of Greece, the Powers have proposed a series of provisions for their full and adequate security, without distinction of race or creed, in both areas. These provisions will be based both upon the stipulations contained in existing treaties or drafts of treaties and in the secular or religious law of the countries concerned. Furthermore, the Powers have decided to invite the League of Nations to collaborate in this object by the appointment of special commissioners to superintend the execution of these provisions in the areas and for the communities who are principally concerned.

The case of the Armenians has called for special consideration by reason of both of the undertakings entered into by the Allied Powers in the course of the war and of the cruel sufferings of that people. Accordingly, the aid of the League of Nations is sought, over and above the protection accorded by the minority provisions to which reference has already been made, in order to obtain for the Armenians the satisfaction of their traditional aspirations for a national home.

The interests of peace and the safety of the future demand that Europe shall never again be exposed to the perils and sacrifices which were imposed upon her in 1914 and the succeeding years by the forcible closure of the Dardanelles. The countless lives that were there poured out, the stupendous efforts that were entailed, must not have been expended in vain. The Turks will be readmitted to the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles under conditions which will provide for the existence of a broad demilitarised zone, in order to obviate the possibility of any hostile military preparations in that quarter. But an Allied force must be placed and must remain in occupation of the Gallipoli peninsula in order to safeguard the free and unimpeded entrance of the Straits. This also will be a demilitarised zone. The Allied garrison will consist of a force sufficient to secure the entrance to the Dardanelles.

The navigation of the Straits will be placed, as already proposed, under the control of an international commission under a Turkish president, on which it is hoped as time passes that all the principal States who are interested in the commerce or navigation of the Straits will be represented.

The demilitarised zone on the Asiatic shore of the Straits will be identical with the existing sanjak of Chanak. No further demilitarisation is proposed on the southern shores of the Marmora, with the exception of the peninsula of Artaki. On the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus the demilitarised zone will be identical with the existing neutral zone. The islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Tenedos, Samothrace and Mitylene, outside the Dardanelles, and all the islands in the Marmora will equally be demilitarised.

Passing to the European shore of the Dardanelles and the Marmora the three Ministers have been confronted with the difficult and anxious problem of the future of Eastern Thrace. On the one hand, they were unable, for the reasons which have already been stated, to accept a solution that would place the Gallipoli peninsula once more in the hands of Turkey. On the other hand, they were met by the complaint that some, at any rate, of the lines of frontier that have hitherto been proposed between the European possessions of Turkey, to the north and west of Constantinople, and the areas in Eastern Thrace in the occupation of the Greeks, afforded insufficient protection to the Turkish capital, which might find itself exposed in the future, either to the military menace of invasion or to the invidious propinquity of a neighbour with whom it had recently been at war.

Such dangers it was obvious would be most effectively removed (*a*) by the removal to a sufficient distance from Constantinople of the projected frontier; (*b*) by the effective neutralisation of the areas outside this line. Furthermore, the Ministers were confronted by the incontestable facts of the existing situation. Whether the

attribution of Eastern Thrace to the Greeks by the unratified Treaty of Sèvres be or not be held to constitute a valid title, the Greek forces are in effective occupation and the Greek Government is engaged in administering that area, which, moreover, contains and has long contained a considerable and in certain parts a preponderant Greek population. In these circumstances the Ministers were unable to assume the responsibility of requiring from Greece not merely the complete evacuation of Anatolia, to which it must be remembered in passing that Greece was invited in 1919 by the Powers, but the complete evacuation of Eastern Thrace in addition.

Accordingly, bearing in mind the importance of the strategical considerations before referred to, which may be summed up in the desideratum of reasonable security for the capital and the state of Turkey in Europe, the Foreign Ministers of the Powers invited the military authorities to assist them with their expert advice. These authorities recommended the drawing of a line which will run from the neighbourhood of Ganos on the Marmora in a northerly and north-easterly direction to a point on the Bulgarian frontier in the western part of the Stranja mountains. This frontier will leave Rodosto, a Greek town, to the Turks. It will place Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisse on the Greek side of the Turco-Greek frontier. The safety of the frontier is assured by the topographical features of the country, and will be further confirmed by the demilitarisation of almost the entire area of Eastern Thrace both on the Greek and the Turkish sides of the frontier. Thus the Greeks will not be able to threaten Constantinople, and the Turks will not be in a position to attack the Greeks.

The periodical inspection of these and the other demilitarised zones will be undertaken by Allied officers attached to the Allied force on the Gallipoli peninsula, the area of whose occupation will be extended eastwards to Rodosto.

It has been considered whether any special provision should be made for the town of Adrianople, which it has been found impossible to sever from the surrounding territories of Eastern Thrace. Smyrna, which will revert to Turkey, and Adrianople, which will be retained by the Greeks, are in a somewhat analogous position. The Powers will be quite willing to enter into friendly communication with the Turkish and Greek Governments, with a view to the conclusion of a friendly agreement upon conditions which will guarantee a full and fair share to the non-Turkish and the non-Greek elements in the populations in the administration of the two cities, and will further safeguard the religious buildings and institutions of Adrianople.

The three Ministers are not so vain as to suppose that this solution of the Thracean problem will be warmly accepted by either party. The problem admits of no such easy solution. They can only commend it to the public opinion of the world as the proposition which seems to them to be most consistent alike with justice and with the facts of the case.

Passing to Constantinople the three Governments desire to confirm their previously expressed willingness to withdraw altogether the threat that was made at the time of the Treaty of Sèvres to revoke at some future date the retrocession of the capital to the Turks. They confirm the restoration of that city to the full authority of the Government of the Sultan; and they are further willing to engage that the Allied forces, by whom it is at present occupied, shall be altogether withdrawn after the ratification of the future Treaty of Peace.

The Turkish Government will be invited to garrison the city with a larger force than was contemplated in the Treaty of Sèvres.

There remain the questions of the future armed force of the Turkish State, the financial independence which it will enjoy, and the suggested modification or surrender of the capitulatory rights which are enjoyed by foreigners.

Concerning the armed forces of Turkey, the Allied Powers are unable to depart from the principles which it has been found necessary to enforce in the treaties that have been concluded with all the other States recently at war, or to admit the continuance of the system of conscription. They will, however, be prepared to consider with the Turkish Government in an amicable spirit the determination of the period within which the voluntary system of recruiting must be established in that country.

As to the numerical strength of the Turkish forces, it is proposed to allow a very appreciable augmentation of the figures which were contained in the Treaty of Sèvres or were afterwards suggested in London in 1921. The forces now finally proposed are: gendarmerie 45,000, regular army 40,000, or a grand total of 85,000 men, a total which is very markedly in excess of the 50,000 designated in the Treaty of Sèvres.

Should the Turkish Government desire the assistance of foreign officers for the organisation of the above-named force of gendarmerie—a measure which will probably be found to conduce greatly to its efficiency—the Powers will be ready to place them at the disposal of the Turkish Government.

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With regard to finance. The financial clauses of the Treaty of Sèvres shall be modified in such a way as to abandon the proposed Financial Commission, while reconciling the principle of Turkish sovereignty with the protection of Allied economic interests and with the amount of control necessary to ensure the payment of Turkish pre-war debts to the Allies and a war indemnity fixed at a sum which Turkey can be reasonably expected to pay. The pre-war Debt Commission shall be maintained and a special Allied Liquidation Commission shall be set up for the above purposes.

In respect of the existing capitulatory system, the three Ministers are anxious to secure to Turkey the largest measure of economic independence consistent with the due protection of the interests of the nationals of their respective countries. For this purpose they are prepared to set up at Constantinople, within three months from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, a commission composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan and of Turkey, to prepare, with the assistance of technical experts representing the other capitulatory Powers, proposals for the revision of the capitulatory régime in fiscal matters.

These proposals shall provide for fiscal equality between foreign and Turkish subjects, while safeguarding the former against excessive taxation and abuses in collection, and for any necessary modification of the customs taxes, with the consent of the Powers concerned.

As regards the Capitulations in judicial matters, the Allied Powers repeat their former offer to set up within the same period a similar commission to prepare a scheme of judicial reform to replace the capitulatory system, which will continue provisionally pending the introduction of the proposed scheme. This commission, on which Turkey will be represented, will be at liberty to recommend either a mixed or a unified judicial system.

Such in broad outline are the main features of the settlement which the Ministers of the three Great Powers, acting on behalf of their Governments, have decided unanimously to recommend. These proposals are now submitted primarily to the judgment of the two parties who are directly involved, but secondarily, and in a not inferior degree, to that of the civilised world. Nor is it necessary to add that the people or the Government by whom they were deliberately rejected, if such a misfortune were to occur, would assume a very grave responsibility before the public opinion of mankind, namely, the responsibility of resuming a struggle which has already wrought sufficient havoc among the peoples of two continents, and the renewal of which can only bring further ruin and destruction in its train, besides leading to a permanent embitterment between the races and creeds of the Near East.

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[E 2775/900/44] No. 1.

The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Lord Hardinge (Paris).

(No. 940.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 1, 1922.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 372 of the 12th February, I shall be glad if you will reply on the following lines to the note from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs regarding the French protectorate over Catholics in the East :—

2. If His Majesty's Government have rightly interpreted this note, the French Government advance four distinct contentions :—

(*a.*) The decisions of San Remo apply only to Palestine, "France having never renounced, either at San Remo or elsewhere, the rights and prerogatives which are recognised in her favour by international treaties in the territories submitted to the Sultan."

(*b.*) The secretaries' notes of the San Remo Conference had not the value of official minutes, revised and signed by the parties concerned.

(*c.*) The San Remo decision juridicially does not become valid until the treaty with Turkey enters into force, although as regards Palestine the French Government have not insisted on the maintenance of the *status quo ante* in deference to the exercise of the British mandate.

(*d.*) Even in Palestine the decision of San Remo only comprises the renunciation of civil, political and temporal privileges. Liturgical honours will continue to be paid to France as long as the Vatican desires, the Vatican alone being competent to modify existing practice in the matter.

In answer to these contentions I wish to make the following observations :

3. His Majesty's Government must adhere to their conviction that the renunciation of the French protectorate at San Remo applied generally to the East. While the discussion on that occasion arose on the concrete instance of Palestine, that debate took a general turn, and, as will be seen from p. 23 of the French text of the minutes, which purport to reproduce in *oratio recta* the speeches as delivered, and are understood to have been taken in shorthand during delivery, M. Nitti summed up the discussion in the following manner :

"*M. Nitti :* Je crois qu'au fond nous sommes d'accord sur toutes les questions, mais il est opportun qu'il ne reste aucun malentendu. Il est bien entendu que la déclaration de M. Millerand, c'est-à-dire que le temps des privilèges est définitivement fini, doit être comprise dans ce sens. Il n'y aura plus aucune question de protection des Catholiques en Orient de la part d'une nation ou d'une autre et que les communautés religieuses ne pourront plus réclamer que leurs droits soient protégés plutôt par les représentants d'une Puissance que par ceux d'une autre et qu'il n'y aura pas lieu à aucune réclamation contre les religieux qui ne voudront pas rendre les 'honneurs' à la nation qui les réclame.

"*M. Millerand :* Je suis d'accord."

The English text of the minutes is not quite so full, and summarises the speeches in *oratio obliqua*, but M. Millerand is recorded as saying that "he was prepared to accept the Italian addition to the article, provided that the opening sentence with regard to the abandonment of the French religious privileges was not formally included in the treaty, but was regarded as a binding pledge." For the rest, the resolution which followed this discussion speaks of the settlement of the question of the religious protectorate of France "earlier in the afternoon by the undertaking given by the French Government that they recognise this protectorate as being at an end." It seems therefore clear to His Majesty's Government that, according to the records of this meeting, the renunciation of the protectorate was general and was not confined to Palestine.

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4. With regard to the contention of the French Government as to the validity of the documents containing the renunciation, His Majesty's Government would point out that it was out of deference to M. Millerand's express desire to avoid, for internal political reasons, the actual signing away of the French protectorate that the decision was simply recorded in the minutes of the conference, minutes which had been prepared in accordance with the usual and hitherto unquestioned procedure of the Supreme Council. M. Millerand himself admitted the binding character of the pledge thus given. Had the Allied Powers foreseen that doubt could afterwards be thrown on the decision on the ground that it did not figure in a signed document, they would have been forced, however reluctantly, to insist on the signature of a separate instrument. In point of fact, the insertion in the resolution of the conference (both French and English texts) of a definite undertaking as to the cessation of the French protectorate was not challenged at the time by the French Government, and, as far as His Majesty's Government are aware, has not been challenged since until the receipt of the present French note.

5. For similar reasons His Majesty's Government regret that they cannot admit that the entry into force of the renunciation of the protectorate was in any way bound up with the entry into force of the treaty. As already explained, the renunciation was purposely not recorded in the treaty in deference to M. Millerand's wishes, but in the minutes of the conference and in a phrase which unmistakably proved that it had come to an end from the date of that record. At the same time, while unable to admit the juridical basis of the French argument, His Majesty's Government gladly recognise the fact that the French Government have not in fact pressed that argument in the case of Palestine, in a friendly desire not to make difficulties for the exercise of Great Britain's mandate.

6. The French Government make a distinction between the political privileges and the ceremonial and liturgical privileges which follow from the protectorate. Such a distinction seems to His Majesty's Government to be inadmissible and misleading. A ceremonial privilege inevitably denotes, in Eastern minds, a political privilege. His Majesty's Government therefore hold the French recognition of the cessation of their protectorate over Roman Catholics in Palestine and elsewhere to be absolute and complete and to cover all rights and privileges connected with it, and they cannot recognise the right of France to retain a ceremonial or liturgical precedence or other privilege of any kind in the East since the date of France's renunciation of her protectorate at San Remo.

7. In conclusion, His Majesty's Government desire to make it quite clear that they do not wish in any way to diminish the legitimate influence which the French nation has acquired in Turkish territory, through the good works and patient labours of her missionaries and teachers over a long period of time. His Majesty's Government merely desire that the changed situation in the Turkey of to-day and in those territories conquered from Turkey in the recent war should be clearly recognised, and that the explicit renunciation by France of that monopoly and of these privileges, which the French Prime Minister admitted at San Remo as having had their day ("ont vécu") should be implemented throughout the East in the spirit and the letter. For the rest, His Majesty's Government cannot refrain from noting that throughout the negotiations for peace with Turkey no claim has been put forward in practice by France to monopolise the protection of the Roman Catholics or other Christians in Turkey by way of the initiation and application of practical safeguards for their safety. Such protection has been implicitly treated as the equal responsibility of the Allies, and, as such, a responsibility is now under the anxious consideration of the representatives of the three Powers.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

E-1313B.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [April 10.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 3776/5/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 326. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 3, 1922.*

I TOOK the opportunity of the visit which I paid to the Grand Vizier on the 1st instant, as recorded in my immediately preceding despatch, to ask his Highness how the Turkish Government viewed the settlement which had been proposed by the Allied Foreign Ministers.

The Grand Vizier replied that, whilst a very great step had been made towards the restoration of peace, the decision that the Greeks were to retain Adrianople gravely impaired the value of the proposed settlement in Turkish eyes. I pointed out that one of the points on which both the Central Government and the Nationalists had laid the greatest stress was that the presence of the Greeks on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora constituted a permanent menace to the safety of Constantinople. It was now proposed to remove this menace, for not only was Rodosto to be handed back to Turkey, but Eastern Thrace on both sides of the proposed frontier was to be demilitarised, whilst the Gallipoli Peninsula was to be occupied by Allied troops.

The Grand Vizier admitted that the proposed demilitarisation of Eastern Thrace would undoubtedly help matters, though it would, on the other hand, make it more difficult for the Turks to cope with komitaji bands which were sure to form on the Greek side of the frontier. He dwelt at length on the danger to peace which the formation of these bands would constitute. I told him I thought he was exaggerating this danger.

As there is good reason to suppose that both the Central and the Angora Governments may look upon the proposed settlement as a basis for discussion in the course of which further concessions of a territorial nature may possibly be obtained, I said that the Allied Governments had gone to the extreme limit in making their present proposals. Moreover, these proposals had been made unanimously by the three Powers, and must be looked on as a whole. There were two parties to the conflict, and the Allies had attempted to do justice to both. They could not give everything to the Turks and leave nothing to the Greeks. I reminded his Highness that the war in Anatolia had reached a deadlock, the only issue from which was a reasonable compromise. I did not believe that the Nationalist army could drive the Greeks out of Asia Minor any more than that the Greek army could achieve a complete victory over Nationalist forces. I asked the Grand Vizier to represent the above considerations to his colleagues when the Cabinet met to examine the proposed settlement.

It is essential that neither the French nor the Italian High Commissioner should show any weakening in their language in the sense of allowing the Turks to suppose that they can secure any further territorial concessions. In this connection, I learn from a good secret source that, at a meeting of the Association of the Turkish Press on the 29th March, the editor of the "Vakit" informed his friends, in confidence, of a personal communication made on the previous day to himself and to the editor of the "Tefhid-Efkiar" by the Counsellor of the French Embassy. According to this statement the two editors had been invited to the French Embassy, where they were received by Count Chambrun, who spoke to the following effect:—

> "The interests of Turkey oblige you to appear favourable to the general acceptance of the proposals of the conference. Nevertheless, you may criticise and express your opinion against the decisions concerning Turkey. You may insist that the Straits must remain Turkish. According to my personal impression, if the Turks can insist in the right way ('savent bien insister') a few months longer they will obtain Adrianople also. The army will remain intact and will always be what it is, for I know that there is now a very strong current in favour of the Turks."

Allowance must be made for Turkish inaccuracy or exaggeration in repeating conversations, but if he was at all correctly reported, Count Chambrun's language is

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very much to be regretted. General Pellé seems, outwardly at all events, very anxious that the Turks should accept the proposed settlement and agree to come to a conference. General Charpy, commanding the French troops here, with whom I had a conversation on the 1st April, made no secret of his hope that the Turks would accept the proposed settlement. He thought that they had nothing to gain by being recalcitrant, and that the unfavourable comments in the Turkish press must be discounted.

It is conceivable, therefore, that in order to get the Turks to come to the proposed conference the French may be holding out to them the possibility of obtaining further concessions.

It is probable, in my opinion, that the Central Government will await some indication from Angora before it gives its views on the proposed settlement and conference. The Turks, both here and at Angora, will naturally be largely guided by events at Athens. Meanwhile, the Soviet agent at Angora is pretty sure to work hard to prevent the Angora Government from accepting either the armistice proposal or the peace settlement.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [May 1.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 4430/5/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 390.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 25, 1922.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of the reply of the Angora Government to the note which the Allied Governments addressed to that Government on the 15th instant. This reply was handed to me by the Nationalist agent, Hamid Bey, on the 23rd instant, and I had the honour to send your Lordship a full summary of it in my telegram No. 219 of the 23rd instant

2. My telegrams Nos. 220, 222, 224 and 225 contain the observations on the note from the Angora Government which I have considered it desirable to submit to your Lordship, and the present despatch supplements those telegrams.

3. It was to be foreseen that the Angora Government would be placed in a difficulty by the demand formulated by the Allied Governments that the Nationalists should accept the body of the peace conditions subject to the discussion of particular points before the evacuation of Asia Minor could commence. In its answer, the Angora Government maintains its previous request that the evacuation of Asia Minor should immediately follow on the conclusion of the armistice, and proposes in terms the precise significance of which is not quite clear a preliminary conference at Ismid in order to see whether it is possible to find a *terrain d'entente* which would permit of subsequent peace negotiations.

4. The principal impression produced by the perusal of the enclosed note is that it is mainly in the nature of propaganda. The first portion of the note is an attempt to distort the intentions of the Allies with regard to the evacuation of Asia Minor. The alleged ruthless proceedings of the Greek army in Asia Minor are quoted as a reason for a speedy evacuation of the territory occupied by that army. The Angora Government even goes so far as to accuse the Greeks of massacre and the burning of villages in the Sokia region, which has only just been evacuated by the Italians. There is nothing either in the reports received from Smyrna by my Italian colleague or by myself to show that the Greeks have committed any excesses in occupying the Sokia district, and it is not materially possible that, when the Angora note was despatched, the Nationalists could have had cognisance of the state of the district in question. I consider, therefore, that their statement under this head is purely imaginary.

5. The omission in the note from Angora of all reference to the intention of the Allied Powers to safeguard the Caliphate is significant, as also is the passage to the effect that the Turkish people should not be deprived, owing to their being a Moslem nation, of rights which are naturally recognised in the case of Christian peoples. This is mischievous propaganda which should be countered in any reply which the Allied Governments return to the present note.

6. The Angora Government reaffirms the statement, so often heard here, that, of all the defeated nations, Turkey is the one which has suffered most. This does not take account of the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire has completely disappeared. Further on the note states that, as the bulk of the peace conditions only interests the Great Powers, there is no reason why those Powers should maintain a Greek army of invasion in Anatolia in order to restrict the right of discussion of the Angora Government. This statement is perhaps the most inaccurate one in the whole note.

7. Finally, the note proposes a preliminary meeting at Ismid between plenipotentiaries of the Angora Government and plenipotentiaries of the Allies to elucidate the different points of view.

8. In handing me the note, Hamid Bey explained that, if this proposal were accepted, Mustapha Kemal would himself go to Ismid, as, in his capacity as a kind of head of the State, Mustapha Kemal would have power to take decisions on the spot without reference to Angora. It would therefore be desirable that the Allied delegates should have similar powers.

9. I have impressed on my colleagues that these statements indicate that Mustapha Kemal has in view something more than the elucidation of "particular points." His

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proposal is in line with the statement made in the note, that the bulk of the peace conditions only concerned the Allied Governments, a statement to which the Italian High Commissioner had taken great exception. I expressed the view that an acceptance of the proposal to go to Ismid would be dangerous and would be exploited by the Nationalists to the detriment of the Allies, the Greeks and the Central Government. I reminded my colleagues that Mustapha Kemal was well acquainted with the main lines of the proposed settlement, and that he would hardly put himself out to go to Ismid in order to discuss secondary issues. Hamid Bey had said that if the proposal to go to Ismid were not accepted Mustapha Kemal would be unable to go to any other locality outside Anatolia, as he would not leave the national soil. As my colleagues themselves were of the opinion that it would be undignified for the Allied High Commissioners to go to Ismid, or indeed to any place of that kind indicated by the Nationalists, I saw no point in the proposed preliminary conference.

10. On the other hand, my colleagues and I are agreed that it would be unwise to close the door to further discussion. We are also inclined to think that the Nationalists do not desire to terminate discussions. The Kemalist army appears to be weary of fighting, the Nationalists have their eyes on the Genoa Conference, and are probably reluctant to take a plunge in any direction before they know how the position of the Russians is likely to be affected by the Genoa Conference.

11. I have only indicated two considerations which must be present in the minds of the Nationalists, though there are no doubt others.

12. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

Hamid Bey to Sir H. Rumbold.

Constantinople, le 23 avril 1922.

Excellence,

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre ci-inclus à votre Excellence et avec prière de faire parvenir à destination la note responsive que son Excellence Youssouf Kémal Bey, Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie, vient d'adresser par mon intermédiaire à son Excellence Lord Curzon, Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique.

A. HAMID.

Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

Hamid Bey to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.

Angora, le 22 avril 1922.

LE Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie a l'honneur d'accuser réception aux Gouvernements de France, de Grande-Bretagne et d'Italie de la réponse collective en date du 15 avril 1922, faite par eux à sa note du 5 du même mois.

Se basant sur les déclarations de leurs Excellences les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des trois Puissances relatives à leur sincère et ardent désir de voir régner à nouveau l'ordre et la paix dans le Proche-Orient, et sur le fait que l'armistice a été proposé uniquement dans l'intention d'assurer l'évacuation pacifique de l'Asie Mineure, le Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie avait estimé que la simultanéité de l'évacuation avec l'armistice eût été plus conforme aux conséquences logiques des buts poursuivis. Il avait donc cru, dans sa note responsive du 5 avril 1922, s'être conformé au point de vue des Puissances alliées qui se proposent d'exclure toute possibilité du renouvellement des hostilités. En effet, lorsque, dans leur note du 22 mars 1922 au sujet de l'armistice, leurs Excellences les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des trois Puissances recommandaient instamment la suspension immédiate des hostilités, ils déclaraient avoir en vue de rétablir la paix dans le Proche-Orient et d'être mis à même de faire des propositions pour l'évacuation de l'Asie Mineure, sans nouvelles pertes de vies et de biens. De même, il est spécifié dans la note du 26 mars 1922 relative aux conditions de paix que l'armistice a été proposé avec l'intention déclarée d'assurer l'évacuation pacifique de l'Asie Mineure par les forces grecques et la

restauration de la souveraineté turque sur l'ensemble de cette région. De plus, son Excellence Lord Curzon, Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Grande-Bretagne, avait déclaré, le 30 mars 1922, à la Chambre des Lords que l'invitation à accepter un armistice était accompagnée par l'intimation du fait que l'armistice serait suivi par des mesures pour l'évacuation de l'Asie Mineure par les forces grecques. Le peuple turc, prenant en considération cette série de déclarations, espérait qu'il serait procédé à l'évacuation sans délai de l'Anatolie simultanément avec l'armistice. Or, il a été constaté avec regret que, dans leur dernière communication du 15 avril 1922, les Puissances alliées ont déclaré ne pouvoir accepter une évacuation immédiate accompagnant l'armistice et subordonné cette évacuation à l'acceptation de l'ensemble des conditions de paix.

Mon Gouvernement veut s'abstenir de discuter ici le fait que les Puissances alliées ont invoqué comme motifs de cette remise de l'évacuation le refus probable du Gouvernement hellénique de souscrire avant le début des négociations à une condition de cette sorte et le renouvellement éventuel de la guerre en Thrace, actes qui, s'ils se produisaient, impliqueraient de la part du Gouvernement une opposition effective au sincère et ardent désir de paix des grandes Puissances et attireraient sur lui le blâme et la réprobation universels. Dans tous les cas, les motifs précités prouvent combien le point de vue turc au sujet de l'évacuation est conforme aux intérêts de la paix ainsi qu'à la justice et à l'équité. Cependant, mon Gouvernement sent la nécessité d'insister sur le fait que dans les territoires occupés, autrefois si riches et si prospères, l'armée hellénique ajoute tous les jours de nouveaux incendies et de nouvelles dévastations aux crimes qu'elle a déjà perpétrés et augmente par de nouvelles victimes le nombre de musulmans innocents massacrés. Les atrocités, telles que les massacres des populations et l'incendie des villages, commises ces derniers jours par les Grecs surtout dans la région de Sokia, dernièrement évacuée par les Italiens, sont une nouvelle preuve de nos affirmations. Les ruines amoncelées sur les territoires turcs et les indicibles atrocités perpétrées sur la population musulmane, autrefois si aisée, depuis l'occupation grecque sont attestées par les témoignages unanimes de tous les étrangers neutres, y compris les délégués des Croix-Rouges qui ont visité les régions envahies.

Mon Gouvernement ne veut pas croire que les Puissances alliées, dont les efforts humanitaires tendant à la protection des minorités chrétiennes sont connus, puissent consentir à abandonner encore un certain temps à leur triste sort les majorités musulmanes gémissant sous l'occupation hellénique et rester simples spectatrices de leurs souffrances.

C'est dans cet espoir que mon Gouvernement fait appel aux sentiments dont sont animés leurs Excellences les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des Puissances alliées et les prie instamment de délivrer un moment plus tôt nos frères musulmans innocents et malheureux de l'administration cruelle et insupportable de l'ennemi en faisant, selon leurs propres intentions, suivre l'armistice d'une évacuation immédiate.

Mon Gouvernement nourrit le ferme espoir que les Puissances alliées admettront facilement combien le peuple turc, mû par la volonté de délivrer un moment plus tôt ses compatriotes du joug cruel de l'ennemi, est excusable de ne pouvoir consentir à ce que l'évacuation soit subordonnée à l'acceptation de l'ensemble des conditions de paix.

J'avais eu précédemment l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance qu'en cas d'acceptation de son point de vue relatif à l'évacuation, mon Gouvernement serait prêt, conformément à l'invitation contenue dans la note du 26 mars 1922, à envoyer ses délégués en vue d'étudier les conditions de paix. Toutefois, parmi les conditions proposées se trouvent des points qui sont en contradiction avec les principes que les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des Puissances alliées ont eu constamment présent à l'esprit et sur lesquels se fondent leurs propositions, ainsi qu'avec les assurances suivantes données officiellement et publiquement en 1918 par M. le Président du Conseil de Grande-Bretagne: "Nous ne faisons pas la guerre pour dépouiller la Turquie de sa capitale et des régions riches et renommées de l'Asie Mineure et de la Thrace qui sont turques en race d'une façon prédominante." Cependant, les principes contenus dans la note du 26 mars, et visant à rétablir la nation et la puissance turques dans les territoires qui peuvent être considérés comme leur appartenant avec les pouvoirs qui permettent à la Turquie de reprendre une existence nationale vigoureuse et indépendante, et assurer aux musulmans le régime le plus équitable, &c., ne différant pas des buts pour l'obtention desquels le peuple turc s'est imposé tant de sacrifices, mon Gouvernement ne veut pas perdre l'espoir de voir adapter aux principes précédemment énoncés les conditions de paix qui ne s'y ajustent pas et par suite d'arriver à réaliser un accord sur l'ensemble des conditions proposées.

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Mon Gouvernement se permet de répéter encore une fois que le peuple turc ne désire rien autre chose que de vivre indépendant et d'être en sécurité sur les territoires lui appartenant, de se débarrasser de chaînes politiques, judiciaires et économiques entravant son libre essor et de ne pas être privé, par le seul fait d'être un peuple musulman, des droits que l'on reconnaît tout naturellement aux peuples chrétiens.

Parmi les Etats vaincus, la Turquie a été éprouvée le plus durement pour sa participation à la guerre générale par la perte de vastes pays de l'étendue de plusieurs royaumes. Dans ces conditions, et alors que les buts légitimes et modestes du peuple turc sont admis en principe par les Puissances alliées, mon Gouvernement estime que la subordination de l'évacuation à l'acceptation de l'ensemble des conditions de paix aura pour seuls résultats de permettre à l'ennemi, durant les mois qui s'écouleront pour établir les conditions de paix, de se mettre en état de reprendre les hostilités, ainsi que de fournir à l'envahisseur l'occasion d'attenter, d'une façon continuelle et toujours sur une échelle plus grande, à la vie et à l'honneur et aux biens des musulmans se trouvant dans les territoires dont l'attribution à la Turquie n'est contestée par personne.

D'ailleurs, la plus grande partie des conditions de paix proposées intéressant uniquement les grandes Puissances alliées, mon Gouvernement est convaincu qu'elles n'ont pas besoin de maintenir en Anatolie une armée grecque d'invasion afin de restreindre son droit de discussion. A ce sujet, je crois devoir ajouter que les Puissances alliées ont laissé mon Gouvernement dans l'incertitude en ne précisant pas quels sont les points qu'elles considèrent comme particuliers dans l'ensemble des conditions proposées. En effet, ce mode de classification des conditions de paix, en se prêtant à diverses interprétations, selon les différents points de vue, présenterait des inconvénients et donnerait lieu à discussion ; or, toutes ces discussions auront pour résultat de prolonger les souffrances de l'occupation imposée à la population musulmans.

Se basant sur ces considérations et tout en remerciant leurs Excellences les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des Puissances alliées pour les déclarations comme quoi satisfaction aurait été donnée dans une importante mesure à sa demande principale concernant l'évacuation, le Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie se voit obligé d'insister sur son point de vue relatif à la nécessité de commencer l'évacuation simultanément avec l'armistice.

Néanmoins, je m'empresse de vous faire connaître, au nom de mon Gouvernement, qu'afin d'éviter toutes pertes de temps que nécessiterait un échange de correspondance, et de déterminer par des négociations verbales la question de savoir si en réalité les différents points de vue mis en avant dans le but d'arriver à la paix sans nouvelles pertes de vies et de biens sont conciliables ou non, et de pouvoir s'entendre de vive voix sur les points qui ont besoin d'être élucidés, nos délégues plénipotentiaires sont prêts à se rencontrer à Ismid, à une date à fixer, avec les délégués plénipotentiaires des Puissances alliées, en vue d'ouvrir, en premier lieu, des pourparlers préparatoires et à procéder de suite aux négociations de paix dans le cas où l'on pourrait trouver un terrain d'entente.

Au cas où cette proposition serait agréée par votre Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur de vous prier, au nom de mon Gouvernement, de vouloir bien m'en informer, afin que nous puissions vous faire parvenir les noms de nos délégués.

YOUSSOUF KÉMAL,
Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [May 1.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 4432/5/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 391.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 26, 1922.

ONE of the most striking features of the situation in this country during the past few weeks has been the hostility of Angora towards the Constantinople Government. The Grand National Assembly has of course, since its inception, claimed in theory to be the sole Government of Turkey, but, up to a short time ago, care was taken not to push this theory to its logical extreme. The new attitude dates from the moment when the Constantinople Government decided to send Izzet Pasha to London and Paris. This, as your Lordship is aware, was greatly resented in Angora as an attempt to cut the ground from under Yussuf Kemal Bey, and the resentment was all the greater as the belief appears to be entertained at Angora that Izzet Pasha has gone against the Nationalist leaders there and is working for an understanding with Great Britain.

2. The reply of the Constantinople Government to the Paris proposals gave a fresh impetus to the new movement of hostility to the Constantinople Government. The reference to Angora's answer as being the reply of "the army" was greeted with a scream of indignation, and, though it was well known that the Angora Government were unwilling to come to a conference at Constantinople, the rejection of that place by the Central Government was also made a ground of attack. The word went out from Angora that the statesmen of Constantinople were unwilling to see a conference held in the capital simply because they feared that if delegates of the Angora Government came here they would be welcomed by the whole population as representing the only real Government of Turkey.

3. It may be said that Angora now has a two-fold programme, and wishes not only to impose the National Pact on the Allies, but also to force the Allies into the position of treating with the Kemalist Government alone. France is regarded, and rightly, as an asset in securing both parts of this programme. Italy, though to a less extent, is also regarded as favourable. Great Britain is considered the only serious obstacle to the realisation of the double object, and is thought to be still supporting the Greeks, even to the extent of secretly encouraging the Micrasiatic movement.

4. It is sometimes maintained in foreign circles that the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks would deprive the Angora Government of its *raison d'être*, and that once the evacuation took place it would be easy enough to obtain a satisfactory settlement from an united Turkey. The only ground for hoping this is that there is undoubtedly dissension at Angora, and there are undoubtedly elements of some importance in the Grand National Assembly, who would welcome a return to the traditional order of things, in which the Sultan-Caliph would be the sovereign of a Constitutional State. Mustapha Kemal and his associates, however, are not of this mind. They wish to recover Constantinople, but they wish to exercise the same power in the whole of the future Turkey that they now exercise in Anatolia, and to deprive the Sultan of all temporal authority. For them the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks is a step towards the realisation of their larger programme as defined at the beginning of the preceding paragraph.

5. I have before me reports of speeches by members of the Angora Government which bear out the above appreciation. One of these is a report by the Commissioner of Finance on the financial and economic bearing of the Allied proposals. He is said to have taken exception to the maintenance of the Public Debt and the proposed Liquidation Commission, and to have gone on to deal in the following terms with the question of the Capitulations.

6. "We feel that the most important consideration in regard to the future peace is that which concerns our economic independence, and I state without hesitation that this part of the Allied peace proposals is totally inacceptable, for it involves no serious engagements towards us and only consists of empty words. What is granted with one hand is at the same time withdrawn with the other. The principal basis of our economic independence is the right and the power to impose taxes like any other

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nation. Although the peace conditions appear to acknowledge this right, in reality it is denied by the statement 'in order to protect foreign subjects against all abuses in the collection of taxes and against unreasonable impositions.' Similarly, the establishment of customs dues in conformity with the economic and financial necessities and interests of a country is the legitimate right of every Government, and the peace proposals appear to grant us this right, but it is nevertheless denied us by the statement 'no alteration of customs dues may be made except with the consent of the Governments interested.'"

7. The Commissioner of Finance apparently qualified his statement by saying that a settlement of the financial question might be possible and that certain undertakings might be given in regard to special taxation, but he insisted that there must be no restraint on Turkey's economic freedom and nothing which would infringe her political independence.

8. The following extracts from a speech reported to have been delivered by Mustapha Kemal himself at the beginning of April illustrate the double aim of the Angora Government:—

9. "The Central Government knows very well that Angora represents the whole nation; consequently, even if preparations are made for direct negotiations with the Greeks, the dignatories of Stambul certainly realise that such negotiations, without the consent of Angora, can have no possible result. Even in the event of there being such negotiations, the dignatories of Stambul likewise realise that the conference could not assemble in Constantinople, but in some other place where there would be no interference from Angora. That is the reason why the Sublime Porte in the reply handed to the Powers stated that Constantinople would not be an opportune place of meeting for a second peace conference. In the event of our proposal being favourably received, and provided the Greeks can be made to accept the conditions, a conference will be held three weeks later at a place designated by Angora, such as Ismid, Ineboli or Trebizond; the Sublime Porte is doubtless aware of this also.

* * * * * *

"Therefore, what Angora declares and desires will be carried out. We have forced those who signed the Treaty of Sèvres to lick away their signatures. It is we who have created this situation, and in these circumstances what have we to fear?"

10. With regard to the encouragement given by France and Italy to the Nationalists, Yussuf Kemal Bey is alleged to have stated at a secret sitting of the Grand National Assembly immediately after his return from Paris that he had obtained promises from M. Poincaré and M. Schanzer to the effect that Eastern Thrace would be restored to Turkey and that the Straits question would be settled in accordance with the National Pact, and that the two Ministers had asked in return that the armistice should be accepted without reserve. I cannot be certain that Yussuf Kemal went so far, and, if he did, I hesitate to believe that either M. Poincaré or M. Schanzer would have given him any assurances of so definite a kind. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that France and Italy are regarded in Angora, and with some reason, as being only too ready to modify the Paris proposals in a sense favourable to Turkey and that Great Britain alone blocks the way.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [May 2.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 4466/5/44] No. 1.

Lord Hardinge to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received May* 2.)

(No. 1073.)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Paris presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note from M. Poincaré, dated the 1st May, respecting the attitude of the Allies towards the reply of the Angora Government.

Paris, May 1, 1922.

Enclosure in No. 1.

M. Poincaré to Lord Hardinge.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères,
Paris, le 1er mai 1922.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

PAR sa note en date du 26 avril, votre Excellence a bien voulu me faire savoir que le Gouvernement britannique, estimant peu désirable d'entamer une discussion qu'il juge sans issue avec le Gouvernement d'Angora, proposait de faire remettre par les trois Hauts-Commissaires alliés au représentant de ce Gouvernement à Constantinople une réponse catégorique à sa dernière note. Votre Excellence ajoutait qu'en ce qui concerne le siège de la conférence, le choix d'Ismid était, dans l'opinion du Gouvernement britannique, peu opportun, celui de Therapia lui paraissant préférable.

J'ai l'honneur de faire savoir à votre Excellence qu'en communiquant à l'Ambassadeur de la République à Londres le texte de la dernière réponse du Gouvernement d'Angora, je le priais, dès le 25 avril, de faire remarquer à Lord Curzon qu'à mon avis, si les réserves formulées par le Gouvernement d'Angora n'étaient pas de nature à nous donner toute satisfaction, du moins le ton général de sa communication manifestait clairement le désir d'arriver à une entente. J'ajoutais que, dans ces conditions, j'estimais qu'il convenait de profiter de ces dispositions et d'accepter le principe de la réunion envisagée par le Gouvernement d'Angora.

Je considère qu'avant de demander au Gouvernement d'Angora une réponse définitive, il y aurait grand intérêt à se prêter "aux pourparlers préparatoires" qu'il souhaite. Il ne serait pas impossible, en effet, qu'une entrevue directe de délégués alliés avec Moustapha Kémal, dont la présence serait très probable si ces conférences avaient lieu à Ismid, fît faire un pas décisif à la cause de la paix.

Ces conversations pourraient éclairer le Gouvernement d'Angora sur certains points qu'il paraît ne pas avoir exactement compris ou qui ne sont pas visés dans les conditions générales de la paix; elles ne lui laisseraient également aucun doute sur les sentiments et les intentions véritables des Alliés à son égard. Elles devraient, d'ailleurs, avoir comme conclusion logique une réponse définitive du Gouvernement d'Angora, en ce qui concerne les propositions de paix.

Ces entretiens avec les représentants du Gouvernement d'Angora présenteraient encore un autre avantage. En prolongeant la période des négociations, ils rendraient plus difficile, pour des peuples fatigués par la guerre, la reprise des hostilités. Par contre, une mise en demeure immédiate adressée au Gouvernement d'Angora pourrait fournir aux éléments extrêmes de l'Assemblée nationale un prétexte pour réclamer et justifier aux yeux des populations une reprise de la lutte. Le Gouvernement français ne saurait, pour sa part, assumer la responsabilité d'avoir, par une attitude qui paraîtrait peu conciliante, laissé échapper une occasion de ramener la paix en Orient.

Le Gouvernement de la République serait reconnaissant au Gouvernement britannique de lui faire savoir s'il est disposé à accepter la procédure ci-dessus indiquée, qui lui semble la plus favorable au rétablissement de la paix—principal objectif des Gouvernements alliés.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
POINCARE.

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[E 4980/19/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received May* 15.)

(No. 415.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 3, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a communication addressed to each of the Allied High Commissioners individually by Yussuf Kemal Bey, drawing the attention of the Allied Governments to the atrocities stated to have been committed by the Greek authorities and troops in occupied territory. This communication was handed to me personally to-day by Hamid Bey, the Nationalist agent.

2. After reading this communication through, I stated to Hamid Bey that, if the facts as related were true, they were very regrettable. I pointed out, however, that I had received no reports from Smyrna confirming the statement that the reoccupation of the Sokia district by the Greek forces had been attended by massacres and excesses. On the contrary, such information as I had received from Smyrna pointed to the fact that the reoccupation of the district in question had been effected very smoothly. On the other hand, a report from Athens stated that the Turks had driven off hundreds of Greek hostages—men, women and boy scouts—from Sokia immediately after the Italian evacuation. Hamid Bey interposed with the remark that the boy scouts were no doubt of military age. I replied that I could not accept this defence.

3. I then alluded to a telegram which had appeared in the local press to the effect that the Greek Government was taking measures to protest against the accusation of massacres and excesses brought against the Greek authorities by the Nationalists. I said that as long as a state of hostilities continued in Asia Minor, and having regard to the bitter feelings prevailing between the two belligerents, there would continue to be charges and counter-charges of atrocities.

4. I took this opportunity of telling Hamid Bey perfectly frankly that the mention of atrocities did not come well from the Nationalist Government. I had received authentic information from reliable witnesses of the terrible excesses and massacres committed by the Turks in the Pontine region, and in particular at Marsovan, where the notorious Osman Agha, Mayor of Kerassund, a ruffian of the worst description, was apparently allowed to ill-treat the Christian population as he pleased. Hamid Bey enquired whether the names of the alleged victims of these excesses could be furnished. I replied that the massacres had been on a wholesale scale and that it was not possible to give the names of all the victims. No doubt there had originally been some sort of a revolutionary movement in the Pontine district, but that did not excuse massacres and deportations of women and girls I also quoted the evidence of Colonel Rawlinson as to the gangs of Greeks whom he had met going up from the coast into the interior. In talking to Hamid Bey in this manner I had in mind your Lordship's despatch No. 151 of the 13th February, though I took care not to indicate the origin of the reports enclosed in that despatch.

5. The Italian High Commissioner has spoken to Hamid Bey in exactly the same sense. Marquis Garroni stated that he had received a visit from an eyewitness of the atrocities at Kerassund. On Hamid Bey attempting to palliate these atrocities on the ground that the Nationalist Government had had to cope with a revolutionary movement and had only dealt severely with the men, my Italian colleague remarked that he preferred to believe the statement made to him by the eyewitness in question rather than that of Hamid Bey.

6. Finally, I informed Hamid Bey that I should forward the communication he had left with me to the proper quarter. As some of the charges of excesses contained in the enclosed communication relate to the Smyrna and Sokia districts, I am forwarding a copy of it to Sir Harry Lamb for such observations as he may have to offer. I am also forwarding a copy of this despatch and its enclosure to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

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Enclosure in No. 1

Yussuf Kemal Bey to Sir H. Rumbold.

Angora, le 30 avril 1922.

LE Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie se voit obligé d'attirer encore une fois l'attention des Gouvernements français, britannique et italien sur les atrocités commises par les autorités et les troupes helléniques en territoire occupé, atrocités qui se sont multipliées depuis la dernière Conférence de Paris.

Ainsi, en mars dernier, le village de Férendjé, dans le nahié de Torbali, a été mis à sac par les Grecs, qui ont en même temps assassiné un notable nommé Ahmed Agha et promené sa tête plantée au bout d'une pique dans tous les villages environnants. Plus tard les Hellènes ont incendié cette localité. La population qui tâchait de s'enfuir fut en grande partie massacrée à coup de fusil. Ceux qui survécurent à cette tuerie furent jetés dans les flammes et brûlés vifs.

Dans la localité de Chamlar, près de Smyrne, douze bouchers musulmans furent assassinés, leurs bestiaux enlevés et leurs cadavres abandonnés en pleine rue.

Les bandes grecques dépendant des organisations dites nationales commettent journellement sur la population musulmane des atrocités sans nombre et travaillent fièvreusement à faire disparaître, soit par le massacre, soit par l'exode en masse provoqué par la terreur, l'élément musulman des régions occupées.

Le Comité révolutionnaire arménien Dachnaksoution a décidé de collaborer à cette œuvre et délégué à Smyrne le Général Torcoum, célèbre pour les massacres qu'il perpétra sur la population musulmane de nos provinces orientales, après la retraite des armées russes, en 1917.

Cet individu, qui, durant la guerre balkanique, servait comme lieutenant dans l'armée bulgare et provoqua en duel l'illustre écrivain français Pierre Loti pour ses articles en faveur de la Turquie, déclara aux journalistes, dès son arrivée à Smyrne, être venu afin d'assurer la collaboration effective des révolutionnaires arméniens et des Grecs contre les Turcs.

Le Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie veut espérer que les grandes Puissances ne permettront pas que les crimes commis par les Dachnaks dans nos provinces de l'est, crimes décrits par tant d'officiers russes et par le général américain Harbord qui visita ses régions après l'armistice de 1918, se renouvellent de nos jours en Anatolie occidentale.

En attendant que les comités arméniens entrent en action sur une vaste échelle, des bandes grecques et arméniennes, constituées par les organisations mentionnées et soutenues tant par le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople que par le Généralissime hellénique Papoulas, continuent leurs forfaits. Le soir du 1er avril dernier, une de ces bandes, de l'effectif d'un bataillon, cerna le quartier musulman de Ménémen avec le concours de troupes régulières. Toutes les maisons furent mises à sac, les femmes et les jeunes filles violées et beaucoup d'hommes assassinés. Les mêmes faits se répétèrent les jours suivants dans les villages environnants, sous le prétexte de chercher des armes cachées.

Le moulin de Médjidié, près de Djiguerman, fut assailli par une de ces bandes, forte de dix hommes, son propriétaire, un riche musulman nommé Ali Kehya, assassiné, sa femme complètement déshabillée et violemment battue et sa fortune, composée de £ T. 10,000 en billets et de 400 pièces d'or, volée.

Au début du mois d'avril, de nombreux crimes furent commis à Boudja, près de Smyrne, et entre autres quatre jeunes filles musulmanes furent violées, puis massacrées.

Des faits analogues se répétèrent dans la localité d'Avram, près d'Alachéhir. Le 15 avril, le village de Djévizli, au sud de Seyd-Gazi, fut incendié par les Grecs. La région de Seuké, à peine évacuée par les Italiens, fut envahie par les Hellènes avant d'avoir été réoccupée par les troupes turques. Dès la matinée du 20 courant, les Grecs entrèrent dans le village de Dikikeuy, près de Seuké et l'incendièrent. Des bandes montées grecques, se dirigeant de Moseli vers Inekpazari, avancèrent en poussant devant elles la population musulmane de l'endroit afin d'empêcher nos troupes de faire feu, pillèrent les villages et se retirèrent en emmenant tout le bétail des paysans, après avoir massacré, sans distinction d'âge ni de sexe, ceux qui n'eurent pas le temps de se sauver. Beaucoup de musulmans poursuivis par ces bandes se sont noyés dans le Méandre.

En protestant avec énergie contre tous ces faits, qui constituent une infime partie des atrocités grecques de ces derniers temps—la plupart des crimes commis restent cachés, grâce à l'étroite surveillance des autorités publiques sur tous ceux qui pourraient

témoigner contre ces agissements—le Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie prie encore une fois les Gouvernements français, britannique et italien de vouloir bien user de toute leur influence auprès du Gouvernement hellénique pour que ces atrocités cessent et que ces bandes nouvellement formées ou en formation soient dissoutes.

YOUSSOUF KÉMAL,
Ministère des Affaires étrangères du Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie.

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[E 5012/19/44] No. 1.

Mr. Lindley to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received May* 15.)

(No. 238.)

My Lord, *Athens, May* 6, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a note from the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, respecting massacres, incendiarism and pillage alleged to have been committed by Greek troops in Asia Minor.

I have, &c.

F. O. LINDLEY.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Lindley.

M. le Représentant, *Athènes, le 22 avril/5 mai* 1922.

LE Gouvernement royal ayant pris connaissance avec stupéfaction des passages des notes adressées aux Puissances alliées par le Gouvernement d'Angora en date des 5 et 22 avril dernier, ayant trait aux soi-disant massacres, incendies et pillages commis par les troupes grecques en Asie Mineure, croit devoir protester énergiquement contre ces allégations calomnieuses.

Il croit devoir s'élever avec indignation contre cette campagne tendancieuse ayant comme but de renverser les rôles et les responsabilités et de masquer les atrocités inouïes perpétrées par la Turquie durant toute la guerre et dans le passé.

Le Gouvernement turc, tant le Gouvernement du Sultan Abdoul-Hamid que celui des jeunes Turcs ou le Gouvernement kémaliste, a, à maintes reprises, non seulement en état de guerre mais aussi en pleine paix, donné des ordres de déportations en masse et de massacres sur une grande échelle, contre les Grecs et les Arméniens, dont la Thrace, les provinces d'Ionie, le Pont, l'Arménie, et d'autres provinces ont été le théâtre et qui, universellement connus, ont révolté la conscience de l'humanité tout entière.

Les Puissances alliées elles-mêmes, dans les notes adressées à la délégation ottomane durant la Conférence de la Paix, ont constaté et justement flétri les atrocités commises par la Turquie contre ses propres ressortissants.

Récemment encore, des milliers de Grecs du Pont ont péri, massacrés par ordre du Gouvernement d'Angora, et les horreurs commises par ses agents en Anatolie contre les chrétiens ont égalé ses exploits antérieurs.

En septembre dernier, l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations, après le rapport d'une commission qui avait fait une enquête sur place, prenait des mesures contre les déportations et les emprisonnements de milliers de chrétiens par les autorités ottomanes.

Aujourd'hui encore, d'après les dépositions des témoins oculaires, les populations helléniques qui vivent sous l'autorité du Gouvernement terroriste d'Angora sont dans une situation lamentable, la population mâle ayant été pour la plupart déportée, tandis que les femmes et les enfants, restés dans leurs foyers, se trouvent dans un état complet de dénûment.

Prétendre aujourd'hui qu'il faudrait procéder à la protection des Turcs contre les chrétiens, c'est renverser les rôles et instituer un procès de tendance en demandant de protéger les bourreaux contre leurs victimes.

Le Gouvernement hellénique ne croit pas superflu d'attirer l'attention des Puissances alliées sur les périls qui pourraient surgir de cette campagne mensongère qui tend à soulever le monde musulman contre les Puissances occidentales et les chrétiens d'Orient.

Il est à noter, en dernier lieu, que la lettre du Gouvernement d'Angora qui dénonce les prétendus méfaits commis par les troupes helléniques, lors de l'occupation de la

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vallée du Méandre, évacuée par les troupes italiennes, est datée du 22 avril. Or, cette évacuation n'a commencé que la veille, c'est-à-dire le 21 avril.

Il est, tout au moins, surprenant que l'armée grecque a eu le temps de procéder à l'occupation de ces territoires, d'y commettre ces horribles crimes, et que ces nouvelles soient parvenues jusqu'à Angora et enregistrées dans la note kémaliste dans l'espace d'un seul jour.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
BALTAZZI.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [May 15.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 4990/19/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received May* 15.)

(No. 428.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 9, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a communication emanating from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Angora Government which has been addressed to the Allied High Commissioners by the vice-president of the Ottoman Red Crescent, and which deals with an alleged renewal of atrocities by Greek troops in the zone of their occupation.

2. In discussing this communication with my colleagues, together with that which formed the subject of my despatch No. 415 of the 3rd May, I expressed the opinion that the charges preferred by the Angora authorities were of too vague a nature to call for representations to the Greek High Commissioner.

3. I have therefore in both cases confined my action to the transmission of these complaints to your Lordship and to His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna.

4. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Athens.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Note communicated by Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

LES informations parvenues récemment au Ministère des Affaires étrangères du Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie établissent que les troupes hellènes ont recommencé ces temps derniers la destruction systématique de ce qui reste de villages turcs dans leur zone d'occupation en se servant de l'incendie et des massacres comme un moyen d'anéantir la population paisible. La recrudescence des atrocités, commises depuis le début de leur occupation par les mêmes troupes, est attestée par les témoignages des habitants de la région de Guemlik et du littoral de Marmara qui ont cherché refuge à Constantinople.

Ces pratiques inhumaines, que ne saurait expliquer aucune nécessité de guerre présente, ainsi que l'époque où elle se produisent, dénotent précisément l'état d'esprit de leurs auteurs. Le Gouvernement hellène et ses agents militaires veulent désormais ne laisser subsister après eux qu'un monceau de ruines.

Des témoignages irrécusables et impartiaux avaient déjà fait justice des procédés de guerre en honneur chez l'armée hellène et ses chefs, qui, à présent, ont hâte de mener à bout, tout autant que les circonstances le permettront, leur plan de destructions.

Le Gouvernement de la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie a le devoir de protester formellement contre ces nouveaux agissements.

Encouragé qu'il est par les efforts généreux déployés dans maintes circonstances par leurs Excellences MM. les Hauts-Commissaires des trois grandes Puissances alliées en vue de limiter les souffrances des malheureuses populations turques gémissant sous un joug rien moins qu'humain, il s'empresse de faire appel une nouvelle fois à leurs sentiments humanitaires pour faire arrêter ces nouvelles violences.

Il les remercie pour tout ce qu'ils vont faire dans ce même but.

A. HAMID.

Constantinople, le 29 *avril* 1922.

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C 46338

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [July 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[AMENDED COPY.]

[E 6136/5/44] No. 1.

The Earl of Balfour to Sir M. Cheetham (Paris).

(No. 2035.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 5, 1922.*

I HAVE received Lord Hardinge's despatch No. 1437 of the 17th June, enclosing a copy of a note from the French Government regarding the Near Eastern settlement. I shall be glad if you will transmit to M. Poincaré in reply the memorandum a copy of which is enclosed herein.

I am, &c.
BALFOUR.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Memorandum.

HIS Majesty's Government have carefully considered the arguments advanced by M. Poincaré in his note of the 16th June to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris in favour of a further attempt to bring the representatives of Greece and of the Constantinople and Angora Governments to a preliminary conference.

2. They regret that the French Government cannot see their way to accept the British alternative suggestions either (*a*) that a fresh communication should be made to the three Governments asking for a definite answer to the question whether they accept or refuse the proposals of the Paris Conference, or (*b*) that those proposals should be liquidated and the correspondence published to the world. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the first alternative would have served to mark the determination of the Allies to stand united behind the project of mediation at which they had arrived after the most careful discussion and examination. Such Allied unity is essential to the acceptance of any settlement by the belligerents, not only in reality but in appearance, if the belligerents are to be induced to accept the Allied proposals. That they have begun to doubt it is only too evident from the course of events.

3. The second alternative, while admittedly emphasising the failure of the Paris plan, would clearly have shown the length to which the Allies had gone to avoid that failure and brought the full force of the public opinion of the world to bear on those responsible for the obstinate rejection of the Allies' efforts.

4. Nevertheless, His Majesty's Government feel that, in the face of the opposition of the French Government, they are not in a position to insist on either of the alternative courses which they have proposed. The French Government consider that there are other means of arriving at the early cessation of hostilities and settlement of peace conditions which both Governments so cordially desire, and M. Poincaré in his note recommends that a last effort should yet be made to bring the adversaries to accept by conference the general peace terms elaborated at Paris. As His Majesty's Government understand it, this effort should, in the view of the French Government, take the form of a preliminary conference at Ismid, at which the three belligerents would be represented, without the acceptance in advance of the armistice, so far as the Kemalist Government is concerned, or of the general proposals of peace put forward at Paris, so far as any of the three Governments are concerned. The Allies would, however, remain bound, as between themselves, to maintain the Paris proposals during the conference, and would endeavour by diplomatic means to persuade the three Governments to accept them.

5. Such a procedure, meeting as it does in its main outline the counter-demands of the Kemalist Government, could, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, as already explained, only serve to mark the apparent weakness of the Allies *vis-à-vis* that Government, and would inevitably lead to the stiffening of the Kemalist opposition to the Paris terms, at a time when the Angora Government, unlike the Greek Government, has not even seen its way to accept the proposal for an armistice, and when public opinion, at any rate in this country, has been profoundly shocked at the increasing

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evidence of the brutal treatment by the Kemalists of the minorities in Asia Minor. If, therefore, His Majesty's Government, in deference to M. Poincaré's appeal, are willing to withdraw their objection to the principle of a preliminary conference between the three Allies and the Greek, Constantinople and Angora Governments, without conditions so far as the last three Governments are concerned, but with a view to obtain their acceptance of the armistice and general proposals for peace elaborated at the Paris Conference, they must in turn ask for Allied agreement on the following terms :—

6.—(1.) The three Allied Governments should exchange formal assurances in advance that their representatives, throughout the preliminary conference, will loyally abide by the Paris resolutions, and present a united front on this basis to the other participants in the conference.

(2.) The invitation to the conference should specify Beicos or some other convenient spot on land and near Constantinople as the place of meeting instead of Ismid.

(3.) As an earnest of the Allied intention to enforce peace in these areas, and pending the acceptance by Greece and Turkey of a definite settlement, the three Allied Powers should agree to adopt the application of the usual rules of international maritime law, thus for instance enabling the Greek Government to exercise its undoubted right to visit and search private merchantmen carrying contraband of war to their enemies. Unless one or other of these courses is adopted, the Allied Governments cannot justly condemn such action by the Greek Government as the bombardment of Samsoun. That action, however impolitic and inexpedient in the interests of the Greek minorities in Asia Minor and the general cause of peace, had undoubtedly a justifiable military object in view, namely, that of destroying the dumps of ammunition and arms which had accumulated at the Kemalist port, and with the transit of which under French and Italian flags, the Greek Government are precluded from interfering.

(4.) The three Allies should agree not to exclude the possibility of strengthening the Paris resolution regarding the provision of safeguards for the protection of minorities in the final Treaty of Peace, should the eventual reports of the commissions of enquiry appear to render such action desirable.

7. His Majesty's Government confidently hope that the French Government will see their way to give assurances on these points with a view to expedite the holding of the preliminary conference, and thus to exhaust all diplomatic means in an attempt to persuade the three Governments to accept the substance of the Paris proposals.

July 5, 1922.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [July 25.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 7351/27/44] No. 1.

Mr. Lindley to the Earl of Balfour.—(*Received July* 25.)

(No. 352. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Athens, July* 14, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a most interesting report made by Colonel Hoare Nairne, military attaché to this Legation, on his recent tour round the Greek front in Asia Minor. This report should put an end, once for all, to the legend which the French were at one time fond of propagating, that the Greek army was negligible as a fighting force and more likely to take part in a revolution than an engagement with the enemy. The fact seems to be that the army was never in a more healthy or efficient state, and I have little doubt that the large offensive spirit, which Colonel Nairne notes is now lacking, would return with the consciousness that the support of a Great Power would ensure the fruits of a successful operation being enjoyed.

The second point to which I would draw your Lordship's attention is the comparatively favourable opinion which the military attaché expresses regarding the new commander-in-chief. The views expressed in my despatch No. 300 of the 15th ultimo were based on reports from excellent sources, but they seem to be out of date, and General Hadjianesti appears, though eccentric, to possess some soldierly qualities and decision of character. The appointments Colonel Nairne reports him to have made are those of a man who has efficiency at heart and who prizes it more than correct political opinions. It remains to be seen whether he is capable of dealing with the very delicate situation which will arise in a few months, when the army is faced with the alternative of either another winter in the trenches or evacuation.

It is this question which has been the principal item of discussion at the Cabinets and Crown Councils which, as reported to your Lordship, have been succeeding each other here for the last three weeks. At last they are at an end, and the Greek High Commissioners at Constantinople and Smyrna have returned to their respective posts. As I ventured to anticipate, the Government have taken the important decision to do nothing whatever as regards the military side of the question. As regards the administrative side, it is otherwise; your Lordship will have noticed that the decision, reported in my telegram No. 250 of to-day's date, follows closely the lines of the views developed to me by M. Sterghiades and reported in my telegram No. 244 of the 8th instant. In my conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day I did not learn more than that the Administration was to be reorganised in a zone of which the two eventual terminals were to be Smyrna and Panderma, and of which the hinterland would follow, but include throughout, the railway line uniting the two towns. M. Baltazzi added that the reorganisation will take the form of calling on the local population to take a larger part in the administration than it had hitherto done, and he did not conceal the fact that the Greek Government hoped that the Administration thus established would be made permanent in the final settlement, and would, in fact, constitute a form of autonomous government. At the same time he explained that no announcement of the change would be made at Athens, but that M. Sterghiades would probably issue a proclamation to the population; he would not, however, speak of autonomy.

I made no observations to M. Baltazzi as to the merits of the decision of his Government, but to your Lordship I venture to submit the following consideration. It is abundantly clear that, whatever the exact truth as to the number of Armenians and Greeks already "suppressed" by the Kemalists, the Christian population of the occupied area will either fight or leave the district *en masse* if a Turkish Administration is reinstalled. Either of these two eventualities, or the more probable combination of both, would complete the ruin of the Levant and would be such a reflection on the policy pursued by His Majesty's Government since the armistice that it is impossible to regard it without the utmost dismay. It would mean the end of our prestige in the East. If this proposition be accepted we shall be forced, whatever the French may wish, to insist on some kind of autonomy for what may be called the Smyrna zone.

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The word "autonomy" may never be used; any amount of camouflage may be employed, but it will be impossible to readmit a Turkish Administration and Turkish forces into the zone. It is therefore all to our advantage to get the public accustomed to this fact by the erection of a permanent autonomous Administration by the Greeks. It can be represented to Turkish opinion as a concession when this Administration has been taken out of Greek hands and transferred to those of the Allies, and it will be a distinct advantage to the latter to have a framework, constructed by a man of the experience and capacity of M. Sterghiades, upon which to build. How the institution of an autonomous zone is to be brought within the four corners of the Paris proposals is another matter, but I observe that your Lordship has, in your latest note, pointed out to the French Government the necessity of strengthening the minority clauses of those proposals, and it is, presumably, on these lines that the question is to be attacked.

I have, &c.
F. O. LINDLEY.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Colonel Hoare Nairne to Mr. Lindley.

Athens, July 13, 1922.

Sir,

ON returning from a month's tour in Asia Minor I have the honour to submit a report on the Greek army and on various matters connected with its occupation of that country. I attach a diary of my tour (Appendix A*).

2. When I last visited the Greek army of Asia Minor, just a year ago, I included in my report a detailed statement of the strength of the army and of the amount and nature of arms, ammunition, equipment, transport and supplies which were available. As the War Office and the General Officer Commanding-in-chief at Constantinople are kept informed by the British military representatives in Asia Minor regarding these details and from time to time communicate them to me, and as your particular wish was to know the *moral* and the tendencies of the army, I used my time in trying to visit a large proportion of the formations and units and to see as much as possible of the troops.

I was particularly fortunate in having the company of Major A. B. Johnston, British military representative, Smyrna, from Smyrna to Eskishehr, and of Major M. C Strover, British military representative, Brusa, from Eskishehr to Constantinople. These two officers helped me in every possible way; their intimate knowledge of the Greek commanders, troops and positions were invaluable.

Everywhere and always I received the greatest kindness, help and hospitality from the Greek authorities, commanders and soldiers. I was given permission to go wherever I liked and to see anything that I wished.

3. The general condition of the troops was better than I had expected to find it. The clothing of the men was serviceable, the boots in particular were much better than they were in 1919 or early in 1920; the putties were the worst articles of clothing I saw, being of inferior quality and much worn and frayed. The ration was sufficient and included meat three or four times a week, oftener than the men would have it when doing farm work in civil life; the only complaints I heard of the rations were on the ground of monotony, for the Greek Government seems to have obtained large stores of macaroni and to give it to the troops every day. All the men were under cover which, on an average, was almost as good as our own men had in the forward areas in France and Belgium. Arms were well cared for. Health and spirits were excellent. The relations between officers and men appeared to be good and the way that the men saluted officers, even in the crowded narrow streets, showed that discipline was being maintained. Three things which particularly struck me were :—

First.—That more training was being carried out by troops in local reserve for the front line than I have ever before seen. Even in 1919 when French officers were attached to formations to supervise training there seemed to be more talk than action. It would be easy to criticise the work being done, but the fact that troops are regularly working under their own officers marks an advance.

Second.—A great improvement in entrenching, both in the nature and in the organisation of the works. Again it would be easy to criticise; but the present Greek line represents knowledge gained by experience as well as much hard work.

* Not printed.

Third.—For the first time I saw organised amusements for the men of support and reserve troops in the line. The games included football, which has taken a firm hold of the Greek soldier, and in every division, and in many units too, there are theatres of some sort ranging from marionettes to more ambitious plays with actors, including the female characters, drawn from the ranks.

4. The conditions all along the front are quiet. The opposing lines of entrenchment are generally so far apart that sniping is futile. Occasional raids by one side or the other, patrol encounters and frequent aerial reconnaissance prevent actual stagnation; and I think the Greeks are within the truth in claiming success in most of these encounters on the ground. The last considerable fight was the Turkish reconnoitring attack at Savran last April, where the Greeks claim to have inflicted serious casualties on the Turks with practically no loss to themselves. I visited the Savran section with General Tricoupis and after seeing the natural strength of the position and its entrenchments could understand that, having once failed to effect a surprise, an attacking force must have suffered heavily.

5. Better organised work and recreations together with a possibly firmer and more consistent discipline seemed to me to have greatly reduced the political dissensions among the troops which report spoke of during the early winter; and responsible officers like General Tricoupis assured me that the improvement is genuine. So within certain limits, I think the Greek *moral* at the front is as good as ever. The troops appeared to be well in hand and to be conscious of being militarily and morally superior to the Turks. They would welcome an attack by the Turks and would meet it with a very active defence, in full confidence in success; if and when they had broken the attack they would follow the Turk up as eagerly as ever. But that, I think, is now the limit of the Greek offensive spirit. The army no longer has the keen desire to seek the Turk and to attack him in force which last year inspired it; and that because it no longer believes that a decision can be gained by offence. The troops see in front of them strong Turkish entrenched positions and know by experience that what they can see is little compared to what they would find beyond their present view; but most of all they feel that Kemal has space to move in and that even if they took all his entrenchments they would have gained only ground and not a decision, whilst their advance might revive Nationalist feeling. The Greek leaders and probably thousands of junior officers and of the rank and file realise that so far from being able to hold a more extended line Greece will not be able to pay much longer for the maintenance of the army at its present strength; and that withdrawal either from Asia Minor or to a more restricted line with shorter communications will soon be unavoidable.

6. Several senior Greek officers spoke anxiously of the internal and financial situation in Greece, and of the urgent need of an early settlement of the Asia Minor situation. They have no doubt as to the security of their present line in the face of Kemal's present forces and resources; but they recognise that it has been only by an enormous effort that Greece has kept her army supplied during this year, and has even succeeded in giving the troops their arrears of pay. They know that the end of both supplies and money is now in sight, and that without financial assistance from, at any rate, one of the Allied Powers, Greece will shortly be unable to maintain her army. They recognise that in these circumstances a withdrawal to a line nearer their base, if not the actual evacuation of Asia Minor, must soon be necessary; but they are convinced that a withdrawal without a real settlement would mean death or ruin to the Christian inhabitants and probably to thousands of Circassians and Turks who have befriended the Greeks. By abandoning the Afion Karahissar–Eskishehr railway the Greeks would be giving up their strongest pawn which they fought last year to gain; and without that pawn they would have small hope of negotiating any settlement which they would believe to be adequate or honourable.

The question then remains—what limit of time is really available for safety if a withdrawal is to take place before next year? Two-thirds of the Greek army is in the southern area, with Afion Karahissar as its centre. Ushak and Afion Karahissar are supplied by railway and so the necessity of making or maintaining roads has not been so urgent as in the northern area. But the railway from Alashehr (Philadelphia) to Afion Karahissar is a single line running on steep gradients; in the case of anything like a forced evacuation of the area it would be necessary to use the roads as well as the railway, but when the autumn rains break in September most of the roads will become impossible for heavy transport. So, if an evacuation of the southern area is to take place this year, in any conditions other than an

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orderly withdrawal protected by a settled agreement, the movement of stores and heavy transport should not be delayed beyond the middle of August at the latest.

In the northern area the conditions did not appear to me to be so urgent. The troops are scattered and would have to depend on country roads for their concentration; but from Eskishehr there is a good double line of railway to Karakeui whence a good metalled road leads to Brusa and Mudania. The lateral road Karakeui–Bilejik–Keupru Hissar is in fairly good order, so is the road from Gemlik to Brusa. The Keupru Hissar–Brusa road is now being very thoroughly remade, and in another month should be in first-class order.

7. In spite of the real anxiety of the most intelligent of the Greek senior officers, I saw no definite indications of an immediate retirement. The repair of lorries and other transport, and of the roads where the line is not served by a railway, is as consistent with a resolve to maintain the present position as with a withdrawal. The continued and progressive work still being done on the trenches and other defensive organisations on the present front, and the absence of any such work on any rearward line, may be intended only to deceive the Turks; but when known facts may have more than one meaning, the simple explanation is more often than not the right one. The impression I gained was that the Greeks mean to hold on to their present general line until circumstances absolutely force them to draw back, and that in the meantime they are going to continue to work on the improvement of their position as earnestly as if it were to be permanent. Whether the Government and the army commander will judge the last limit to be reached in August, I cannot say; but after that month, without a settlement or some financial relief, the retention of the Greek army in its present position will become a gambler's risk.

8. From the preceding paragraphs of this report it will be seen that the superior officers of the Greek army in Asia Minor are likely to be faced with a situation which will require great firmness and tact as well as capacity for organisation. Whether the troops are called on to remain in Asia Minor and to suffer increasing anxiety for the maintenance of their families at home, or to withdraw and to feel that they are abandoning their brothers in blood and religion in Asia Minor, they will need very careful handling. So the recent changes in the chief command and the headquarters staff, as well as in subordinate commands and staffs, are of special importance.

I have known General Hadjianesti for eighteen months as an unemployed officer who never talked politics to me and who was obviously intensely devoted to King Constantine. He was said to be Anglophobe, but I always found him well bred, cultured and courteous, and he spoke to me often of the time, fifteen years or more ago, when he was attached for a time to a battery of artillery at Woolwich. He had eccentricities of manner and was almost universally said to be mad. In his appearance he is very like a well-trimmed and well-dressed Don Quixote. As far as his military qualities were concerned, I had to form my judgment from what I was told from time to time by a number of officers of every age and grade and of varied political colour who had served with him. It was on their unanimous reports that I gave you an opinion as to his unfitness for command, which I now recognise was probably exaggerated. He has always been highly-strung and excitable, and has worried those under him by an exaggerated sense of discipline, which sometimes reached absurdity. He was greatly attached to his wife, and for some time after her death a few years ago he really was mad, but I think there is no doubt that he has recovered much of his balance. For the rest, he is an educated soldier, and, with Dousmanis, Jean Metaxas and Tricoupis, was one of the first officers selected when the Greeks began to form a General Staff before the Balkan wars of this century. He was general staff officer of a division, commanded a division in the Balkan wars, and afterwards was a successful, though eccentric, head of the Evelpides (Cadet) College in Athens. So, though he has no experience of recent war, he has seen as much active service as General Papoulas had when he took over the command in Asia Minor.

General Hadjianesti's arrival in Asia Minor was the signal for the departure of the chief of staff, General Pallis, and of the sub-chief, Colonel Saryannis. Since then Colonel Spiridon, the very capable head of the Transport and Supply Bureau at general headquarters, has gone on leave and will possibly not return. The loss of these officers is serious, but General Pallis and Colonel Saryannis were both in need of a rest, and probably foresaw the difficulty, which Colonel Spiridon actually encountered, of referring to any past arrangements as efficient without arousing General Hadjianesti's resentful suspicion that he was being "run" by his staff.

General Valettas, the new chief of staff, is very capable; being as new to his post as is the army commander, he is less likely than the old staff officers to arouse his jealously; possibly his command of a division through the thick of last year's fighting will inspire respect in General Hadjianesti's mind.

During my tour of the front I was only a few days behind General Hadjianesti's, so the impressions he had left were fresh. The general feeling seemed to be relief at finding him much more reasonable than had been expected. A legend such as has grown up round him is not easily killed, and there was still some fear of what his future attitude might prove to be, but several officers told me that they believed time had improved his balance and would now give freer play to his undoubted talents. Every officer in Asia Minor whom I asked about him and who had known him in the past said that, apart from his absurdities, he was a "good soldier." The energy with which he carried out his long tour, travelling long distances and seeing every part of the front, proved his physical toughness, and he seems to have shown a quick insight into the situation and condition of the troops.

However much his character may have mellowed, his continued insistence on discipline is shown by his address to the army of Asia Minor on taking up the command (translation attached as Appendix B*).

9. The most probable of the many reasons which were originally given for General Papoulas's supersession was that he had been mixing in politics, and this was confirmed to me two days ago by the Minister of War. In this case "politics" almost certainly meant the tendencies of the Micrasiatic League. I learned in Constantinople that General Ioannou has now given up his intention of going to Smyrna, so evidently General Hadjianesti has not encouraged the league. Apart from that he has shown a broadminded tolerance in the first appointments he has made in the army. With commendable decision he has replaced tired or unsuitable commanders by fresher and, as far as I know them, better men; and several of the newly-appointed officers served under M. Veniselos and sympathised with his politics. The new appointments are shown in the Order of Battle of the Greek army of the 1st July, compiled by G.H.Q., Constantinople.

10. An important recent decision of the Greek Government has cancelled the organisation of the troops in Thrace as a separate army, and, reconstituting them as the IVth Army Corps, has placed them under General Hadjianesti's command. Thus Asia Minor and Thrace now form one united command.

It is possible to read into this new adjustment a Greek intention to try to seize Constantinople by force from the Allies. I have heard that inference drawn, and do not believe it justified. It is true that the idea of a Greek Constantinople is kept alive in the minds of Greek soldiers, as I myself heard in a funeral oration at a military memorial service at Afion-Karahissar. It is possible, too, that, if the Allies left Constantinople, the Greeks might try to seize it. But I neither saw nor heard anything in Asia Minor which suggested that the Greeks would try to take it from the Allies. On the contrary, I often heard Greek officers and soldiers say, in allusion to munitions reaching Kemal from oversea: "We can fight the Turks, but not the French and Italians as well." It is unlikely, therefore, that Greece or her troops would be willing to incur the active opposition of the Allies by trying to force their troops of occupation.

I have, &c.

E. S. HOARE NAIRNE,

Military Attaché, Athens.

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* Not printed.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [July 24.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 7286/19/44] No. 1.

Mr. Henderson to the Earl of Balfour.—(*Received July* 24.)

(No. 639. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, July* 18, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to Sir Horace Rumbold's despatch No. 584 of the 27th ultimo, that Mr. Jaquith, the Managing Director of the American Near East Relief in Constantinople, came to see me on the 12th instant.

2. I had told the United States High Commissioner that I was anxious to hear from Mr. Jaquith himself an account of his recent visit to Angora, but that before asking him to call upon me I wished to ascertain whether Admiral Bristol had any objection to my doing so. Admiral Bristol kindly volunteered to arrange an interview for me.

3. Mr. Jaquith begged me to treat anything he told me as confidential for the use of the Foreign Office, but not for publication in any manner whatever. He explained that he proposed to visit Anatolia again later in the year, and that, if the Nationalists had any indication that he had reported adversely upon them or their treatment of minorities, it would render his position a difficult one, and react not only on his own work there, but on that of the various Near East Relief Missions, with a personnel of some forty Americans scattered throughout the country.

4. I gave him an undertaking that his remarks would be treated as strictly confidential and would neither be published nor mentioned in Parliament.

5. As a matter of fact, the information which he gave me furnished no new facts in regard to the deportations and extermination of the Christian minorities. It fully bore out, however, all that has previously been reported. Mr. Jaquith was very categorical in this respect. He said, in fact, that Major Yowell's report and those of Dr. Ward, Mr. Gibbons and other American relief workers gave only a portion of the truth; they described only facts either witnessed or definitely ascertained. There had been no eye-witnesses of what had occurred in out-of-the-way places. He himself had been accompanied in his journeys by Feizi Bey, and had naturally been unable to pry too openly into the matter of atrocities or to question survivors. He could not himself prosecute enquiries, especially as he had to consider first the interests of his missions. But in the course of his travels in Eastern Anatolia, which lasted seven weeks, he had covered about 33,000 kilom. and had visited all the more important towns—Samsoun, Kharput, Sivas, Marsivan, &c. He had noticed along the sides of the roads thousands of shallow mounds round many of which lay skulls and bones uncovered by the wandering pariah dogs. This evidence the Turks had not had the patience or the time to conceal. In other respects pains had been taken to remove anything in the way of evidence. He had heard, for instance, that some hundreds of deportees were concentrated in one town which he proposed to visit. Orders were given for them to be moved on before his arrival. For this reason Mr. Jaquith gave it as his opinion that the work of a Commission of Enquiry would not give any very practical results. The traces of what had occurred would be removed before its coming. It could throw no new light on what had happened. It could only confirm facts which could not be more definitely established than they were already. I did not argue the point with him, as he was probably repeating the views of Admiral Bristol, who is, as he has in fact informed me himself, opposed to the despatch of a Commission of Enquiry.

6. Mr. Jaquith confirmed also the fact that he had written the letter to Fethi Bey enclosed in Sir H. Rumbold's despatch under reference. There had been some confusion about it, as Feizi Bey had not been satisfied with its terms and had drafted another for Mr. Jaquith to sign containing a much more vigorous denial of the truth of Major Yowell's allegations. Mr. Jaquith had refused to do so, but in the meantime Feizi Bey had held up the letter which Mr. Jaquith had given him to send to Fethi Bey.

7. Speaking generally, Mr. Jaquith said that the hatred of England at the present moment was intense, but that she was the only Power who was respected in Anatolia.

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France was despised as a mere tool, to be treated with consideration so long as she remained serviceable, and the Italians were regarded with contempt. Only about a third of the land which he had seen was under cultivation, but the crops promised to be very good. There was no scarcity or shortage of food. He had seen plenty of able-bodied men who had not yet been called to the colours.

8. Mr. Jaquith was particularly emphatic concerning the hold which Soviet Russia had on the country. All the civil functionaries and the higher military officers were paid, he said, in Russian gold at the fixed rate of £T. 7·50 to the 10-rouble piece. He had not met Aralof, but he had gained the impression that the influence of that able and intelligent representative of the Soviet Government was supreme in Angora. All the Nationalists' money and munitions came from Russia. In fact, the one point which intrigued him was what Russia got in return for all she gave.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
Acting High Commissioner.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [July 31.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 7554/3873/44] No. 1.

Mr. Henderson to the Earl of Balfour.—(*Received July* 31.)

(No. 653. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, July* 25, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to your despatch No. 1465 to Paris of the 16th May last, that I have been shown the summary of what purports to be the text of a secret Russo-Turkish Agreement concluded at Angora on the 20th June last. The agreement is alleged to have been signed on behalf of the Soviet Government by Aralof, its representative at Angora, and on behalf of Turkey by Kiazim Pasha and Yussuf Kemal and to have been ratified by the Nationalist Government at the beginning of this month.

2. The agreement as shown to me contains six clauses :—

By the first article Turkey undertakes not to make peace with Greece without the consent of the Soviet Government.

The main points of the other clauses are to the following effect :—

(*a.*) Turkey, in event of her concluding peace with her present enemies, undertakes not to allow Turkish territory to be used in any action which may be taken against Russia.

(*b.*) In event of any attack being made on Russia by a Balkan or Caucasian State, Turkey undertakes to intervene in favour of her ally with all her available forces.

(*c.*) Turkey undertakes to ratify the Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Russia and any other treaties which the latter may make with other countries, provided those countries engage to accept as the basis of their relations with Turkey the Russo-Nationalist Treaty of 1920.

(*d.*) The Soviet Government undertakes to supply Turkey with all the military supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war against Greece.

3. A Soviet military mission is to be attached to the headquarters of the Nationalist army for the purpose of supervising the effective execution of the engagement under (*d*).

4. I was also assured that there existed a further clause dealing with the eventual future relations of Turkey with the Western Powers, but of such a secret nature that the agent of my informant has been unable to ascertain its terms.

5. I am undecided as to whether to express belief or disbelief in the authenticity of this document. It was shown to me by a friend in whom I have confidence and who procured it from a source which he considers reliable and trustworthy, qualities which, however, do not prevent one from being honestly misled. My informant, however, who is an American correspondent, was sufficiently impressed by its veracity to telegraph it to his paper.

6. It is on the one hand inherently not improbable that such an agreement should have been concluded. The ever-growing influence of the Soviet Government at Angora is one of the most disturbing features of the present Near East situation. It would be only natural that Moscow should have been anxious to induce and have succeeded in persuading the Kemalist Government to give contractual expression to an undoubted state of dependence. The Nationalist movement is so beholden to Russia for all the material resources in money and arms which are indispensable for its successful issue that Mustapha Kemal, even though he might prefer not to so bind himself, could scarcely have resisted a desire on the part of the Soviet Government to round off the Rapallo Treaty with an alliance with Angora.

7. On the other hand, the inherent probability above referred to is in itself sufficient to provoke scepticism. The production of such a document by those interested in such forgeries supplies an exact need of the moment. In that sense it is as likely to be false as genuine. It is, moreover, difficult to reconcile the existence of such an agreement with the inferences to be drawn from the public utterances of Mustapha

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Kemal at Ismid and of Yussuf Kemal at a recent banquet given by the Soviet representative to the newly-arrived Persian Ambassador at Angora, but in that respect again public utterances are often notoriously misleading.

8. I would prefer, therefore, to reserve any definite opinion as to the authenticity of the document of which I have had the honour to give your Lordship a summary until such time as further information from other sources shall have tended either to confirm or to refute it.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
Acting High Commissioner.

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[E 6964/5/44] No. 1.

The Earl of Balfour to Sir M. Cheetham (Paris).

(No. 2359.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 27, 1922.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a memorandum regarding the negotiations for a settlement in the Near East, which I request that you will communicate to the French Government in reply to their note of the 13th July enclosed in Lord Hardinge's despatch No. 1629 of the 13th July.

I am, &c.
BALFOUR.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Memorandum regarding the Negotiations for a Settlement in the Near East.

HIS Majesty's Government have carefully considered M. Poincaré's memorandum of the 13th July in reply to their conditional agreement to the proposed preliminary meeting of Allied representatives with delegates of the Governments of Athens, Constantinople and Angora. Seeing how important it is that the meeting, if it is to take place at all, should assemble as soon as possible, they regret to find that while in their anxiety to promote a settlement they have consented to make a further concession, and have, however reluctantly, agreed to the general principle involved in the French proposal, the French Government still declare themselves not satisfied on several minor points on which they maintain that they must continue to insist as essential conditions of the proposed meeting.

2. It is material to the proper appreciation of the position, to bear clearly in mind the origin and purpose of the proposal to hold the meeting. The French memorandum refers in its first, third and last paragraphs to the "preliminary conference," but in subsequent paragraphs it refers to it as the conference contemplated by the three foreign Ministers in the course of the Paris conversations of last March. It would appear as if the French Government regarded the meeting to take place at Beicos or other spot in the vicinity of Constantinople, as that provided for in the Paris programme. This can hardly be. There is clearly a vital distinction between the conference as originally contemplated at Paris and the meeting now under consideration.

3. The first was an integral part of the Paris programme, and prior acceptance of an armistice and of the peace conditions in general, as then formulated, was an essential preliminary to its assembly; its purpose was not to present the peace conditions to the delegates of the Governments of Athens, Constantinople and Angora, but, the armistice having been first concluded and the peace conditions already accepted in principle, to discuss their detailed application with the delegates of the three Governments, with the view of reducing them to treaty form.

4. The meeting now proposed is essentially different in its object and in the conditions under which it assembles. It is not preceded by an armistice, and the belligerents who take part in it are not already committed to the Paris proposals. Their object is to ask for explanations of those proposals, not to deal with details of proposals already accepted. The Allied representatives should therefore not be expected to do more than reiterate and expound the Allied offer comprised in the threefold programme elaborated at Paris, and endeavour to persuade the Greek and Turkish delegates to accept this programme. Their first duty will be to urge on the Angora Government the conclusion of an armistice, to which the Greek Government have already agreed, and to which the Angora Government have, according to M. Poincaré, expressed to Colonel Mougin their readiness to agree also. Their next duty will be to recommend and explain to both Greeks and Turks the peace conditions drawn up at Paris.

5. M. Poincaré in his note of the 15th May expressed the confident hope that personal contact would have the result of securing acceptance of these conditions. In

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this case the preliminary meeting, its objects having been attained, could be transformed into the conference contemplated by the Paris programme for the discussion in detail of the peace conditions and for the elaboration of a preliminary draft of the final settlement.

6. But should M. Poincaré's confidence prove to have been misplaced, and should the peace conditions not be accepted in principle, there would remain no question for discussion or negotiation between the Allies and belligerent representatives. At the most, the former could take note, for reference to their Governments, of the various and, doubtless, mutually conflicting counter-propositions which may be brought forward by the Greeks and Turks. In that case, the preliminary conference would come to an end, since the offer proceeding from the Paris Conference of March would have been definitely repudiated.

7. As regards the place at which the preliminary meeting is to be held, His Majesty's Government strongly object to a meeting on Nationalist territory. They are equally opposed, for practical reasons, to a meeting on shipboard. They see no more reason for consulting in this respect the convenience of the Angora Government than that of the Greek Government, who have suggested Athens or Corfu for the meeting; nor is it clear that the presence of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in person is necessary, seeing that, according to recent reports, it seems doubtful whether he would be entitled to represent the Grand National Assembly of Angora as the sole and responsible head of that body. His Majesty's Government therefore maintain their preference for Beicos, or possibly Prinkipo, as the meeting place, though they would be prepared to consider any alternative suggested by the French Government which would not be open to the objections above explained.

8 His Majesty's Government cannot assent to the doctrine that the resolution passed by the Supreme Council on the 10th August, 1921, either altered or was intended to alter the law of nations with regard to the right of search; but they are quite prepared to consider any scheme consistent with that law, by which the export of arms to any belligerent which refused to accept the armistice might be checked or wholly prevented.

9. His Majesty's Government trust that the French Government, in expressing their desire to make the strengthening of the minority clauses conditional upon acceptance by the belligerents, do not mean to imply that any objection on the latter's part would be considered a sufficient reason for the Allied Governments to cease from insisting on effective safeguards. In view of the recent disclosures of atrocities committed against racial minorities, His Majesty's Government deem it essential to demand acceptance of really adequate measures for the protection of surviving minorities in Thrace and Asia Minor. These measures, as the French Govenment are aware, have still to be worked out by experts, and there is no question of the consideration of specific arrangements at the preliminary meeting. The Allied representatives at that meeting should make it clear that, when the moment comes for framing the actual measures, the Allied Governments reserve to themselves the right, in the interests of both Greek and Turkish nationals, to exercise the widest latitude in the interpretation of the minorities resolution of the Paris Conference.

Foreign Office, July 27, 1922.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [August 1.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 7586/5/44] No. 1.

M. Rizo-Rangabé to the Earl of Balfour.—(*Received August* 1.)

THE Greek Chargé d'Affaires presents his compliments to the Earl of Balfour, and has the honour to communicate herewith, under instructions from his Government, copy of a note handed to the British Chargé d'Affaires in Athens on the 29th instant and addressed by M. Baltazzi, His Majesty's Foreign Minister, to His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

M. Rizo-Rangabé regrets that delay in transmission of the despatch in question from Athens made it impossible to deliver the enclosed copy on Saturday, as he was instructed to do.

Greek Legation, London, July 30, 1922.

Enclosure in No. 1.

M. Baltazzi to the Earl of Balfour.

M. le Ministre, *Athènes, le* 16/29 *juillet* 1922.

A LA suite de ma lettre du 14/27 juillet, j'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence les résolutions auxquelles le Gouvernement Royal s'est arrêté ainsi que les considérations qui l'ont amené et qu'une étude approfondie de la situation a péremptoirement fait ressortir.

Le conflit armé entre la Grèce et la Turquie n'est évidemment que la continuation de la guerre des Alliés contre cette dernière et à la fois la conséquence de la tentative turque de trahir ses obligations internationales et de réagir contre la volonté des vainqueurs.

C'est dans le but d'imposer les décisions prises en commun par les Puissances alliées de maintenir l'ordre et d'assurer l'existence des chrétiens contre les persécutions kémalistes et dans la suite en vue d'obtenir par la force l'exécution du Traité de Paix garantissant le libre essor de la vie nationale des peuples d'Orient que le mandat de l'Asie Mineure a été donné à la Grèce et que des forces alliées ont occupé Constantinople pour exercer une pression sur le Gouvernement ottoman.

Mais pendant que la Grèce combat contre les troupes kémalistes renforcées par tout ce qui restait de facteurs militaires et économiques de l'ancien Empire ottoman et qu'elle poursuivait une guerre que les conditions territoriales et la limitation de son action militaire rendaient des plus difficiles, les Puissances ont proclamé la neutralité des territoires occupés par leurs contingents tout en se déclarant neutres elles-mêmes.

Par cette déclaration de neutralité la pression envisagée au commencement a perdu forcément son caractère et l'occupation se changea en une sorte de protection et de sécurité pour le Gouvernement de Constantinople et la capitale de l'Empire. Ceci a privé la Grèce d'un de ses moyens les plus efficaces et les plus décisifs et l'empêcha de diriger son action et son effort militaire sur le point vulnérable et le plus sensible.

En effet, par la proclamation de la neutralité, le champ d'action de la Grèce a été limité à son détriment et entrava, en conséquence, ses mouvements en lui enlevant une partie essentielle des moyens de pression dont elle a le droit de se servir dans le but de hâter la conclusion de la paix, ce qui va à l'encontre du principe de la neutralité et de la position des neutres en droit international à l'égard des belligérants.

Le Gouvernement hellénique a cru devoir se soumettre jusqu'ici à la décision de neutralité des Puissances et, malgré l'infériorité dans laquelle la Grèce était mise vis-à-vis de l'ennemi commun, elle n'a épargné ni le sang de ses enfants ni les ressources du peuple grec et elle s'est imposé la plus extrême tension de ses forces morales et matérielles.

Durant cette longue période des hostilités ses alliés de la grande guerre n'ont pas cru devoir lui venir en aide; mais ils prirent l'initiative de propositions de paix

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qui n'ayant pu aboutir, la pacification est devenue de plus en plus problématique et la situation en s'aggravant de jour en jour menace de perpétuer l'anarchie dans le Proche-Orient.

Je crois ne pas devoir taire ici que cet état de choses favorise exceptionnellement l'extermination par les massacres et les déportations des races chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure, programme mis en action depuis longtemps par les Kémalistes et auquel le Gouvernement de Constantinople n'a pas su opposer même une réaction morale. Tout au contraire, la sécurité dont il se voit entouré et l'influence kémaliste qui domine de plus en plus ses agissements, l'ont encouragé de continuer l'envoi d'armes et de munitions à Angora, après avoir consenti au départ pour l'Anatolie de la presque totalité des officiers de l'ancienne armée impériale.

Pour ces raisons et pour mettre un terme à une situation inextricable dans laquelle se débat l'Orient, le Gouvernement hellénique est arrivé à la conclusion que seule l'occupation de Constantinople, capitale de l'Empire, par l'armée grecque imposera la conclusion de la paix.

Le Gouvernement hellénique a pris dans cet ordre d'idées toutes ses mesures et a l'honneur de s'adresser aux Puissances alliées pour les prier de donner des ordres en conséquence à leurs troupes d'occupation, inspirées par la solidarité des communs efforts et les principes immuables du droit.

La Grèce n'a rien omis et rien épargné pour paraître digne de l'ouvre libératrice qui lui a été confiée. Et pour cela elle peut bien espérer que les Puissances voudront bien ne pas mettre d'obstacles à sa marche vers la paix, qui sera le salut des chrétiens et des races soumises au joug turc et le complément de la paix du monde achetée par ses sacrifices.

Je vous prie, &c.
G. P. BALTAZZI.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [August 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 7759/5/44] No. 1.

Sir M. Cheetham to the Earl of Balfour.—(*Received August* 5.)

(No. 1821.)

My Lord, *Paris, August* 4, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith the reply of the French Government to the memorandum on the Near East enclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 2359 of the 27th July.

I have, &c.
MILNE CHEETHAM.

Enclosure in No. 1.

M. Poincaré to Sir M. Cheetham.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères,
M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Paris, le 3 août* 1922.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception du mémorandum relatif aux affaires du Proche-Orient que vous m'avez transmis en annexe à votre lettre du 28 juillet dernier.

Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir faire parvenir à Lord Balfour la réponse ci-jointe que le Gouvernement de la République fait à ce mémorandum.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
POINCARÉ.

Mémorandum.

Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, a examiné avec la plus grande attention le mémorandum daté du 27 juillet que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a bien voulu lui faire parvenir en réponse à sa communication du 13 du même mois. Il est heureux de constater qu'il est d'accord avec le Gouvernement britannique sur la nécessité de hâter le plus possible la réunion en Orient de représentants alliés, à laquelle seraient convoqués des délégués des Gouvernements d'Athènes, d'Angora et de Constantinople.

En ce qui concerne le caractère de cette "conférence préliminaire," il est évident qu'il serait différent de celui qu'avaient envisagé les trois Ministres des Affaires étrangères alliés en mars dernier, lorsqu'ils ont élaboré les propositions à présenter aux belligérants pour ramener la paix en Orient. Cette "conférence préliminaire," réunie sans attendre la conclusion d'un armistice, aurait pour objet de renouveler et d'exposer les propositions déjà formulées et de persuader les délégués grecs et turcs de les accepter. Les derniers événements démontrent que les efforts des Alliés pour convaincre les Grecs ne devront pas être moindres que pour amener les Turcs à accepter les conditions de paix proposées. Mais c'eût été négliger une occasion de rétablir la paix que de refuser de se réunir dans ces conditions nouvelles. Un tel refus eût entraîné une lourde responsabilité. Si les efforts des Alliés ont un résultat satisfaisant, la "conférence préliminaire" se transformera immédiatement sur place en la conférence prévue sur l'initiative de Lord Curzon par la réunion de Paris et l'on pourra discuter les détails des propositions de paix et élaborer un projet de texte en vue du règlement définitif.

Si, au contraire, ces efforts sont infructueux, les Gouvernements alliés examineront les demandes des Grecs et des Turcs; ils décideront s'il y a lieu ou non d'en tenir compte. En cas de rupture, la responsabilité de celui qui l'aura causée sera nettement établie à la face du monde.

Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, ne doute pas que le point de vue auquel s'est rallié le Gouvernement britannique ne soit également adopté par le Gouvernement italien.

Quant aux points secondaires visés par le mémorandum britannique du 5 juillet, et rappelés par celui du 27 juillet, M. Poincaré espère qu'il ne sera pas difficile d'arriver à un accord.

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Pour ces raisons et pour mettre un terme à une situation inextricable dans laquelle se débat l'Orient, le Gouvernement hellénique est arrivé à la conclusion que seule l'occupation de Constantinople, capitale de l'Empire, par l'armée grecque imposera la conclusion de la paix.

Le Gouvernement hellénique a pris dans cet ordre d'idées toutes ses mesures et a l'honneur de s'adresser aux Puissances alliées pour les prier de donner des ordres en conséquence à leurs troupes d'occupation, inspirées par la solidarité des communs efforts et les principes immuables du droit.

La Grèce n'a rien omis et rien épargné pour paraître digne de l'ouvre libératrice qui lui a été confiée. Et pour cela elle peut bien espérer que les Puissances voudront bien ne pas mettre d'obstacles à sa marche vers la paix, qui sera le salut des chrétiens et des races soumises au joug turc et le complément de la paix du monde achetée par ses sacrifices.

Je vous prie, &c.
G. P. BALTAZZI.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [August 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 7759/5/44] No. 1.

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I have, &c.
MILNE CHEETHAM.

Enclosure in No. 1.

M. Poincaré to Sir M. Cheetham.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères,
Paris, le 3 août 1922.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception du mémorandum relatif aux affaires du Proche-Orient que vous m'avez transmis en annexe à votre lettre du 28 juillet dernier.

Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir faire parvenir à Lord Balfour la réponse ci-jointe que le Gouvernement de la République fait à ce mémorandum.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
POINCARÉ.

Mémorandum.

Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, a examiné avec la plus grande attention le mémorandum daté du 27 juillet que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a bien voulu lui faire parvenir en réponse à sa communication du 13 du même mois. Il est heureux de constater qu'il est d'accord avec le Gouvernement britannique sur la nécessité de hâter le plus possible la réunion en Orient de représentants alliés, à laquelle seraient convoqués des délégués des Gouvernements d'Athènes, d'Angora et de Constantinople.

En ce qui concerne le caractère de cette "conférence préliminaire," il est évident qu'il serait différent de celui qu'avaient envisagé les trois Ministres des Affaires étrangères alliés en mars dernier, lorsqu'ils ont élaboré les propositions à présenter aux belligérants pour ramener la paix en Orient. Cette "conférence préliminaire," réunie sans attendre la conclusion d'un armistice, aurait pour objet de renouveler et d'exposer les propositions déjà formulées et de persuader les délégués grecs et turcs de les accepter. Les derniers événements démontrent que les efforts des Alliés pour convaincre les Grecs ne devront pas être moindres que pour amener les Turcs à accepter les conditions de paix proposées. Mais c'eût été négliger une occasion de rétablir la paix que de refuser de se réunir dans ces conditions nouvelles. Un tel refus eût entraîné une lourde responsabilité. Si les efforts des Alliés ont un résultat satisfaisant, la "conférence préliminaire" se transformera immédiatement sur place en la conférence prévue sur l'initiative de Lord Curzon par la réunion de Paris et l'on pourra discuter les détails des propositions de paix et élaborer un projet de texte en vue du règlement définitif.

Si, au contraire, ces efforts sont infructueux, les Gouvernements alliés examineront les demandes des Grecs et des Turcs; ils décideront s'il y a lieu ou non d'en tenir compte. En cas de rupture, la responsabilité de celui qui l'aura causée sera nettement établie à la face du monde.

Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, ne doute pas que le point de vue auquel s'est rallié le Gouvernement britannique ne soit également adopté par le Gouvernement italien.

Quant aux points secondaires visés par le mémorandum britannique du 5 juillet, et rappelés par celui du 27 juillet, M. Poincaré espère qu'il ne sera pas difficile d'arriver à un accord.

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Comme il l'a indiqué dans sa réponse du 13 juillet, le Gouvernement français désire uniquement que le lieu choisi pour la réunion ne soit pas un obstacle à la venue des délégués des différents Gouvernements. Il faut rendre cette réunion possible.

Puisque le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté considère que, pour des raisons pratiques, les divers lieux envisagés pour cette réunion ne sont pas convenables, le Gouvernement français se ralliera à toute proposition du Gouvernement britannique qui aurait chance d'être adoptée par tout le monde.

Il semble y avoir des obstacles insurmontables à choisir un lieu situé en territoire turc ou en territoire grec. Tous les environs de Constantinople doivent d'ailleurs être écartés, en raison des derniers événements, qui ont créé, dans la capitale turque, un état d'inquiétude et d'excitation qui ne pourrait agir favorablement sur l'esprit des délégués grecs et turcs. Il semble donc indiqué de choisir un territoire allié ou neutre ; s'il y a intérêt à se réunir en Orient, l'île de Rhodes pourrait répondre aux conditions voulues ; sinon, une ville de Suisse ou de l'Italie du Nord se recommanderait par la facilité des communications aussi bien avec l'Orient qu'avec les capitales alliées.

En ce qui concerne l'exercice du droit de visite, le Gouvernement français tient à donner l'assurance qu'il n'entend aucunement porter atteinte aux règles ordinaires du droit international ; il se mettrait sans peine d'accord avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté si celui-ci proposait une procédure qui, permettant d'accorder aux belligérants l'exercice du droit de visite et d'interdire dès maintenant l'exportation d'armes et de munitions destinées aux uns et aux autres, répondrait à la décision prise par les Alliés de tenir la balance égale entre les parties adverses. C'est particulièrement dans la période précédant un armistice éventuel que cette interdiction pourrait servir la cause de la paix. L'attitude que vient de prendre le Gouvernement hellénique ne laisse aucun doute sur la nécessité d'appliquer cette interdiction aux Grecs comme aux Turcs, comme de faire respecter, dans les Détroits, les règles de la neutralité.

Le Gouvernement français estime, comme le Gouvernement britannique, que les mauvais traitements infligés aux minorités imposent aux représentants alliés le devoir d'insister pour faire accepter par les Turcs et par les Grecs que des garanties effectives soient données à ces minorités. On devra dans cette voie s'engager aussi loin qu'on le pourra sans compromettre le rétablissement de la paix par des exigences incompatibles avec l'amour-propre national. Les dispositions spéciales à cet effet n'auront pas à être élaborées au cours de la conférence préliminaire, cette tâche étant réservée aux experts, qui, le moment venu, et en tenant compte des résultats des enquêtes, pourront, s'il y a lieu, proposer un renforcement des clauses relatives aux minorités, aux Gouvernements alliés, seuls qualifiés pour interpréter les résolutions adoptées à la réunion de Paris. Il serait prématuré d'ailleurs de faire état, dès maintenant, pour renforcer ces clauses, de faits sur lesquels les Gouvernements alliés ont estimé que des enquêtes étaient nécessaires pour établir leur réalité.

Dans ces conditions, le Gouvernement français serait reconnaissant au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté de bien vouloir lui faire connaître, le plus tôt possible, et en même temps qu'au Gouvernement italien, ses propositions pour le lieu et la date de la réunion projetée, ainsi qu'en vue de l'interdiction de l'exportation des armes et des munitions.

Le 3 août 1922.

 E-1313

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EASTERN (TURKEY) [August 8.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 7843/5/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Earl of Balfour.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 683.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 1, 1922.

I RETURNED to Constantinople on the 30th ultimo, and on arrival at the summer Embassy at Yenikeuy found a message from the French High Commissioner asking me to call a meeting of the Allied High Commissioners, generals and admirals for that afternoon. I had previously acquainted myself with the telegrams which had been exchanged between your Lordship, the Legation at Athens and this High Commission on the subject of the threatened Greek advance on Constantinople. Prior to the meeting with my colleagues and the Allied admirals and generals, I had a long meeting with General Harington and Admiral Brock.

2. At the meeting with the Allied High Commissioners, &c., a very urgent letter from General Harington to the Allied High Commissioners regarding the situation was discussed. I have the honour to enclose copy of this document. On opening the meeting, I acquainted my colleagues and the naval and military representatives with the substance of the more important telegrams which had been received at this High Commission, and in particular with Mr. Bentinck's telegram No. 271 of the 29th July to your Lordship. I pointed out that General Harington had very wisely already taken measures which could leave no doubt in the minds of the Greeks that an advance into the neutral zone would be resisted by the Allied troops. These measures were in themselves designed to make the Greeks pause before committing themselves to an action which could only bring disaster on Greece. The assurances reported by Mr. Bentinck as having been given to him by the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs seemed to me to be satisfactory, and we could only await the reply of the Allied Governments to the second Greek note. I went on to say that I could not, as far as I was concerned, endorse the demands made by General Harington under (*a*) and (*b*) without explicit instructions from His Majesty's Government.

3. It was evident to me from the outset that the French High Commissioner was either purposely magnifying the situation or else was genuinely alarmed at the immediate outlook. General Pellé insisted that it was necessary to consider the measures which it would be necessary to take in the event of the Greek forces—owing perhaps to the rash act of a local commander—crossing into the neutral zone in spite of the warning of the Allied authorities. In such an eventuality the Allied naval forces ought surely to take action against the Greek ships at present in these waters.

4. I pointed out that it was necessary for the meeting to consider what would be the effect of adopting at this moment the suggestions under (*a*) and (*b*). If the Greek ships refused to obey the order to remain at anchor, were they to be fired upon? Such an act would be an act of war, and we had not got to that point yet. It was true that General Harington advocated the putting into force of the measures he had suggested only in the event of the Greek military preparations continuing in Thrace. At this point I reminded the meeting that one of the arguments we had used in the past with the Turks, in order to get the Nationalists to accept an armistice in Asia Minor, was that an armistice would keep the Greek forces on the spot and preclude the Greeks from reinforcing their army in Thrace. I said that, if the Greek army crossed the neutral zone in spite of warnings to the contrary and the knowledge that their advance would be resisted by the Allied forces, such action would of itself be of a belligerent character. After some discussion, Admiral Brock stated that, if and when he learnt from General Harington that the Greek army had crossed the neutral zone in force and that there had been fighting with the Allied forces, he would consider himself at liberty to take action against the Greek ships.

5. The proposals under (*c*) and (*d*) were not discussed, but my Allied colleagues and I informed General Harington that the suggestion made by the Turkish Minister for War to provide 2,000 Turkish soldiers already organised, together with 20,000 reservists to be organised and equipped, for service under General Harington, could not be entertained. Before the meeting separated I expressed the opinion that it was unlikely that the Greeks would cross the neutral zone.

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6. I subsequently received a repetition of Mr. Bentinck's telegram No. 274 to your Lordship, which is of a reassuring character. General Pellé, who has just paid me a visit, likewise states that he has received a reassuring telegram from Athens. I learn from Haidar Bey, Izzet Pasha's "chef de cabinet," who paid me a visit yesterday afternoon, that General Harington's proclamation has had a calming effect on the population of Constantinople.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Lieutenant-General Sir C. Harington to the Allied High Commissioners.

Your Excellencies, *Constantinople, July 29, 1922.*

I HAVE to-day held a meeting with the Allied generals regarding the situation.

As you are aware, I have, up till now, thought and hoped that the Greek concentration was mainly political and defensive, but I am bound to admit that my latest information confirms the very serious view held by my colleagues, namely, that an advance by the Greeks on Constantinople may take place at a very early date. I have therefore decided to take precautionary measures.

2. I visited the Chatalja lines yesterday for the purpose of making a personal reconnaissance. Undoubtedly those lines constitute the main defence of Constantinople, but, as you are aware, I have not the means of holding them against a serious attack. In 1912 those lines were defended by 80,000 men, whereas, at the moment, all the Allies can produce amounts to 4,000 rifles.

3. At the same time, however, I think it would be a sign of weakness to withdraw until forced to do so, and I have decided to show an Allied force in the shape of a cavalry screen on those lines, supported by two Allied brigades. I cannot offer serious resistance with them, but I have hopes that the measures taken will show to the Greeks Allied unity, and will act as a deterrent to them, showing clearly that, if they advance across the neutral line, they will be engaged with the forces of Great Britain, France and Italy. If a serious attack is made, the Allied forces will retire as a rearguard to defend a contracted position covering Constantinople.

4. Your Excellencies will realise that the available military means at my disposal are not sufficient to resist a really serious attack, and my colleagues agree with me that the circumstances are so exceptional as to ask your Excellencies for support by the strongest diplomatic action without delay. We therefore consider it within our province to advise that a joint note should be presented to the Government at Athens on behalf of the three Allies, stating in categorical terms that the Allied Governments do not intend to tolerate aggressive action as regards Constantinople, and that the military preparations which are apparent in Thrace must be discontinued forthwith.

5. I have, as your Excellencies are aware, with the concurrence of your Excellencies, caused a communiqué to appear in the local press making it clear that the Allies are united in the principle of preserving the neutrality of the zone of Allied occupation, and I understand that this communiqué has already had a good effect in cooling local anxiety or enthusiasm as the case may be.

At the same time my colleagues concur that I should obtain the concurrence of the Allied Governments in putting into force immediately the following measures should the Greek military preparations continue in Thrace :—

(*a.*) Refusal to permit the Greek ships at present in harbour to leave, and to retain them under the observation of the Allied navies, and refuse to allow the transfer of troops to Thrace to continue, as we are now convinced that these movements are directed against the Allies.
(*b.*) Demonstration by Allied navies, either on the flanks of the Allied military forces or against Athens, or both.
(*c.*) Cessation of the activities of the Greek military mission in Constantinople.
(*d.*) Application of censorship as regards official communiqués from Greek diplomatic and military representatives in Constantinople, Athens or elsewhere.

6. In order to demonstrate beyond doubt unanimity amongst Allied representatives here to protect the western frontier of Turkey, in addition to the communiqué and the

precautionary measures already referred to above, I have sanctioned preparation for such demolition as may be necessary of the Orient Railway in order to deny its use to the Greeks. I also made it quite clear to my Allied colleagues that I am prepared to put into force immediately such of the precautions mentioned as are directly within my province.

7. An important point, regarding which it seems necessary to have clear instructions from the Allied Governments in common, is the use of Turkish troops, in co-operation with Allied troops, for the defence of Constantinople should the necessity arise. The Turkish Minister of War, at an official meeting with me this morning, undertook to provide 2,000 Turkish soldiers already organised, together with 20,000 reservists, to be organised in two divisions, which he is prepared to place under my orders and says he can have ready within a week, provided I can give him certain assistance regarding equipment.

In accepting such an offer it would be preferable for me to know whether there are any political objections.

8. I have the honour to inform your Excellencies that I am telegraphing to the War Office, London, asking for a definite policy on the questions raised above, but, in the meantime, I must of course reserve the freedom to take such steps as may be necessary for the military security of the Allied forces in case of crisis.

9. It would be idle to ignore that a crisis exists, and it strengthens my hands greatly to know that I have the support and goodwill of your Excellencies in adopting such inter-Allied measures as may be necessary to deal with it. For it is only by absolute unanimity of purpose and practical co-operation of the Allied High Commissioners, admirals and generals that it is possible to cope with a situation such as has arisen.

I am prepared to take full responsibility for my actions, which will be carried through in the interests of the Allies as a whole.

I have, &c.
C. H. HARINGTON, *Lieutenant-General,*
Commanding-in-chief Allied Forces of Occupation, Turkey.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [September 25.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3

[E 9882/27/44] No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received September* 25.)

(No. 822.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 16, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to report that Izzet Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, called on me on the 14th instant to urge the desirability of the Allies immediately taking in hand, by means of a conference, the settlement of the questions of Eastern Thrace, the Straits, &c. I have reported in my telegram No. 417 what his Highness said on this subject.

2. There is no doubt that the Sultan's Government is genuinely anxious that the Allies should summon a conference to meet as soon as possible at a place of their own choosing. One reason for this eagerness for a conference is anxiety as to Mustapha Kemal's next move. Should Mustapha Kemal attempt to advance on Constantinople, and even, owing to a weakness of the Allied forces, succeed in reaching Scutari, a serious situation would arise. It is to the interest of the moderate elements in the Turkish Government, and especially of those who wish to maintain the present Sultan, that the territorial questions, other than that of Anatolia, should be settled before the Kemalists take control of the capital.

3. In the course of our conversation I mentioned to Izzet Pasha the substance of the telegram sent by the correspondent of the "Daily Mail" to his paper after his interview with Mustapha Kemal. I alluded to the way in which Mustapha Kemal had spoken of the probability of a change in the person of the Sultan. Izzet Pasha admitted that the present Sultan was looked upon with hostility by many of his subjects. Mustapha Kemal could not do away with the House of Osman, but Izzet Pasha implied that a change of sovereign was not improbable.

4. The outlook for the Sultan is indeed gloomy. His Majesty has steadily refused to telegraph his congratulations to Mustapha Kemal on the latter's victory over the Greeks, although I understand that his Government advise him to do so. He attended a service at the mosque in the grounds of the Seraglio Palace for those who had fallen in the recent fighting, and he went to the Mosque of the Conqueror yesterday where a similar service was held. It is significant that at least two of the important Turkish papers have passed this over in silence. Indeed, the Turkish press in the capital is now entirely Nationalist or Committee of Union and Progress in colour. The one anti-Nationalist paper, which was formed from a combination of the "Payam" and the "Sabah," has been dissolved.

5. I asked Izzet Pasha how he thought that the fusion between the Central and Angora Governments would be brought about. He was not very explicit in his reply. He affirmed with considerable emphasis, however, that he himself would never make any advances to the Nationalists. The Grand Vizier might take steps in that direction. He thought that a Grand Vizier would be appointed who would be acceptable to Turks of all shades.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

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C A B I N E T.

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SECRET.

C.P. 4198. IRAQ AND THE NEAR EAST SITUATION.

Paraphrase Telegram from the High Commissioner of Iraq to the Secretary of State for the Colonies
Dated 18th September
(Received Colonial Office 9.34 a.m., 18th September, 1922).

(Circulated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies).

No.662 of 18th September.

Feisal and I naturally spoke of the stirring news from Smyrna and Constantinople at interview to which my immediately preceding telegram refers. According to public opinion Mustapha Kemal would move against Iraq at once if the Dardanelles question led to a state of war between Great Britain and Turkey. Feisal begged to be kept in our confidence as regards possibility of the Turks undertaking movement against Iraq and any other developments of the situation. Feisal said that in such a contingency as Turkish advance on Iraq Great Britain must inform the Government of Iraq in what way latter could best co-operate in resistance to the Turks. All available men of Iraq local forces should in his opinion be concentrated in osul.

It seems to me that we should take advantage of the present situation to let Iraq Government introduce conscription as soon as the treaty is signed. National instinct of self-preservation would make it possible and the policy would itself stimulate that instinct and at the same time ease our financial difficulties and dissipate doubts regarding our intentions. I should be glad to know whether at first sight above proposals commend themselves to you.

COX.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
20th September, 1922.

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P.M. of Canada

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SECRET.

C A B I N E T.

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C.P.3565. IRAQ AND TURKEY.

Paraphrase of Telegram from High Commissioner of Iraq to the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 13th December 1921.

(Circulated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies).

Feisal states that no negotiations are being carried on by him with Kemalists and he fully realises that His Majesty's Government is averse from his entering into relations with them. A letter has, however, recently been sent to him by his cousin Sherif Jamil at Amman suggesting that a certain Naji Bey who has a high position with Mustafa Kamal should be approached. Naji Bey who is related to Feisal's mother by marriage is, Feisal says, a trusty Hedjaz friend of his own and a soldier of some repute. If there is no objection he would like to write to him and ascertain privately what are Mustafa Kamal's intentions regarding Iraq. I would be glad if you would inform me by telegram whether His Majesty's Government has objection to Feisal's proposal. In my opinion this opportunity of obtaining reliable information should not be missed. This refers to my telegram No. 766 of December 6th.

(SD) COX.

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SECRET. CABINET.

C.P. 3534. IRAQ AND TURKEY.

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Circulated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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PARAPHRASE TELEGRAM from the High Commissioner for Iraq to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dated 3rd December.

(Received Colonial Office 11.45 a.m., 4th December, 1921).

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Please see General Baghdad's telegram X.4014 dated November 5th to War Office and Allfor Constantinople telegram 1309 of December 1st to General Officer Commanding Baghdad. The two telegrams though from totally different sources corroborate one another in such a striking manner that we seem justified in accepting as true the information given.

I cannot urge upon you too strongly vital importance to success of our policy generally and especially at present juncture of an early peace that will secure a friendly Turkey and His Majesty's Government will I trust at once exploit proffered opportunity to the full.

As regards frontier eastwards from Jezireh the Kemalist proposal as reported which is well to north of Amadia would enable us to fulfil our moral obligations to Christians and Kurds of Mosul and would afford a satisfactory basis for acceptance of compact. I am sending a considered despatch by air mail dealing with detailed alignment of northern frontier and defining possible alternatives which having regard to political and military problems would be acceptable to Iraq.

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Necessity for immediate action is more pressing because of known presence at Angora of Frunze X and forthcoming visit of Chicherin to attend Congress assembling in furtherance of Pan Islam (3 corrupt groups) with programme of oriental extremists.

COX.

X Hitherto Commander-in-Chief of the army in the Ukraine.

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FILE → (WLMK) jc. C 46363 SEPT. 18, 1922

Statement given to Press. Sept 18 - 6.30 pm
after meeting of Council — Ghanat Standard

As already mentioned, the only communication which our Government has thus far received, with respect to the situation in the Near East, from the British Government, is a cable despatch marked "Secret", the contents of which, without the sanction of the British Government, we do not feel at liberty to make public.

It is the view of the Government that public opinion in Canada would demand authorization on the part of Parliament as a necessary preliminary to the despatch of any contingent to participate in the conflict in the Near East.

The Government is in communication with members of the Cabinet at present in Europe as Canada's representatives at the League of Nations, and with the British Government, with a view to ascertaining whether the situation that exists in the Near East is one which would justify the summoning of a special session of Parliament.

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EASTERN (TURKEY). [September 22.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 9735/27/44] No. 1.

Conference between the French President of the Council and the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, 11 A.M. Wednesday, September 20, 1922.

Present :

For France—
M. Poincaré.
M. Laroche.

For Great Britain—
The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.
Lord Hardinge.

Secretaries—
M. Massigli.
Mr. Forbes Adam.

M. POINCARÉ began by asking Lord Curzon to open the conversation.

LORD CURZON said that he would begin by explaining the whole situation briefly, and His Majesty's Government's justification for their attitude. He need not refer to past history, except to remind M. Poincaré that all attempts to bring Mustapha Kemal to a conference after the Allied meeting in Paris last March had failed. After a long exchange of notes between the French and British Governments, Venice had been agreed upon as the place for a conference. Mustapha Kemal had then, however, decided to attack, and the Greek defence of Asia Minor had collapsed. It became obvious, from that moment, that the territorial question in Asia Minor had been liquidated, although the problem of the protection which the French and British Governments were equally pledged to provide for the racial and religious minorities there remained. On the other hand, the European question (Thrace, the Straits and Constantinople) was left to be decided. Nothing, however, had occurred to modify here the broad principles of agreement reached in March last, and in so far as modification would be required, it ought to be arrived at in friendly consultation between the Powers, either by themselves, or preferably in a full peace conference. His Majesty's Government were unable to admit the view that a decision on these questions could be taken out of their hands by Mustapha Kemal. It was not for him to settle such questions as those of the Straits or Thrace, or even to prejudge them in any way by a military occupation. Nor could he be allowed to rush the position at Constantinople, and thus set the whole of the Balkans aflame. These questions must be settled by conference and not by force—by negotiation and not by invasion. They were emphatically matters for the Allies; and there would be nothing more disastrous than a failure to settle them by agreement and co-operation between the Powers. The question would arise later how far other Powers were involved in the question of the Straits; for the moment, it was a matter primarily for the Great Powers alone. Meanwhile, action had been taken in two directions—at Constantinople by the three High Commissioners and generals, and in Europe by the Allied Governments. It was satisfactory to know that when danger threatened at Constantinople, General Sir Charles Harington had acted in complete accord with his French and Italian colleagues, who had agreed with him as to the dispositions necessary to represent the Allied flags on the Ismid peninsula and on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. He had already reported the actual steps taken to place detachments of the Powers in both places. Meanwhile, His Majesty's Government had asked the French Government what was their point of view regarding the defence of the neutral zones around Constantinople, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; and Lord Curzon had received with much satisfaction M. Poincaré's note of the 14th September stating that the French Government thought it most desirable, in agreement with His Majesty's Govern-

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ment, to maintain the neutrality of the zones occupied by the Allies, without, however, prejudging the future peace, and that they were ready, in concert with the British and Italian Governments, to inform the Angora Government that the Allied Governments expected that these zones would be respected by the Turkish troops.

Sir Horace Rumbold had immediately been instructed to make a communication to the Angora Government in conjunction with his Allied colleagues. There was some doubt as to whether these instructions had been acted upon at once; but Lord Curzon had received a telegram that day reporting that the communication to the representatives of the Angora Government at Constantinople had been formally made by the High Commissioners yesterday.

His Majesty's Government naturally drew the only possible conclusion from the terms of M. Poincaré's above-mentioned note—that the Allied forces were prepared to defend both zones, and that they would never permit Kemal to violate them. His Majesty's Government had thought and hoped that the declaration of the Allies would be itself sufficient to deter Kemal from any attempt to violate either zone. At the same time they had continued to receive from their representatives at Constantinople and in the Straits zone alarming information as to the intentions of Kemal. His forces were reported to be advancing northwards from Smyrna, and already actually to have reached the borders of the neutral zone. His Majesty's Government had heard further that Kemal had announced his intention of settling the question of Thrace by crossing to Europe and deciding it by force of arms. They also heard that he was threatening the Ismid position. Meanwhile, advice was said to be reaching Kemal from many quarters to settle the whole question at once, without a conference, behind the backs of the Great Powers. With this object he was counselled to provoke a rising at Constantinople, and to encourage the military bands who were already said to be active in Eastern and Western Thrace. In consequence of these reports, and in pursuance of a policy which they firmly believed to be that of the Allies as a whole, His Majesty's Government had resolved to reinforce the Allied positions at Chanak and Constantinople. At Chanak, up to the time of that decision, there had only been one British battalion, the garrison at Gallipoli comprising a French Senegalese battalion, but with the establishment of the three flags at Chanak, and relying on their presence there, His Majesty's Government had proceeded to order all available reinforcements to that place. There was already a considerable British force there (one squadron of cavalry, two battalions of infantry and a battalion of field artillery). Further, His Majesty's Government had decided to send as large naval reinforcements as could be obtained from the neighbouring waters, and had no intention of allowing Kemal to take the position out of the hands of the Allies, or to cross the Straits at any point. All the available forces of Great Britain were ready to support this decision, and Lord Beatty, who had come to Paris specially for the purpose, would explain to M. Poincaré the precise steps which had been taken by the British navy, and the naval reasons which justified His Majesty's Government in confidently believing that Kemal could not attack or cross the Straits.

Lord Curzon wished here to recall to M. Poincaré the fact, of which he had already reminded him in March, that Gallipoli was a sacred and Imperial interest of the British Empire; and the recent appeal of His Majesty's Government to the Dominions and their response showed their ready recognition of this fact.

The attitude of His Majesty's Government was similar in regard to the positions at Scutari and Ismid. Again in pursuance of what they believed to be the Allied policy, His Majesty's Government had reinforced, with all the means at their disposal, the positions there, and were ready, with their Allies, to prevent an invasion of Europe across the Bosphorus by the Kemalists. It had been stated in some quarters that the whole situation could have been easily liquidated by diplomacy, and that the forcible measures of precaution taken by His Majesty's Government were unnecessary and even dangerous. It would be well, however, to remember that diplomacy was not always effective in checking an Oriental army flushed with victory, and any weakness on the part of the Allies would simply have been an invitation to Kemal to cut the Gordian knot by force of arms. His Majesty's Government had therefore thought it necessary to act promptly. Had Kemal been permitted to advance to both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, he could at any moment during the conference have decided to break up the peace discussions and dictate his own terms by throwing his sword into the scale. For the rest, the British action in sending reinforcements was identical in procedure with the recent French action in bringing forces from Syria to Chatalja when the Greeks were threatening those lines. Both had been perfectly legitimate actions. Indeed, up to the present,

His Majesty's Government had believed that the steps they had taken had the full sympathy of the French Government, since they were in pursuance of an agreed policy. It was therefore with considerable surprise that Lord Curzon had heard that orders had been given yesterday by the French Government to withdraw the French contingent from Chanak. This step seemed a direct invitation to Kemal to pursue his designs, relying on France and on the fact that the British forces were faced with the alternative of either defending alone the neutral zone (which the other Allies nevertheless recognised) or of withdrawing and allowing Kemal to settle matters in his own way.

As regards the position at Ismid, there was still some doubt as to whether the French troops had equally been withdrawn from the Allied position in front of Scutari, but on this point, as well as on the question of the withdrawal from Chanak, Lord Curzon sought the fullest explanations which M. Poincaré was prepared to give him. At the same time, it was his duty to point out that if the French Government took the pointed action of withdrawing their forces in one or both of these areas, it was a clear indication to Kemal that France was not ready to support Great Britain, who would have to act alone. Lord Curzon thought it unnecessary to indicate to M. Poincaré the grave consequences to the alliance and, indeed, to the future of Europe, of this step. For the moment, he would only ask for the fullest explanation of French policy. His Majesty's Government had been carrying out an Allied policy, and had applied it in practice with sincerity, courage and promptitude. There was no new factor necessitating a breach of this Allied unity. In Lord Curzon's opinion, it would be disastrous and deplorable to allow it to be broken by the victorious Kemalist forces. To permit Kemal, not only to beat the Greeks, which was a comparatively easy task—but also to overcome the Allies—would have consequences, the range of which it would be impossible to forecast. Lord Curzon had come to Paris to concert urgent steps with his Allies to save the situation while it was still possible, and to insist on an immediate conference to settle the political issues. He would not now trouble M. Poincaré with the question of the place and form of the conference, and the Powers who should be represented at it. These were points which he would be ready to discuss later. For the present he would only confine his statement to the full account which he had just given of the naval and military steps taken by Great Britain, and their desire to maintain the Allied position in the Straits area in the interests of a continued alliance and of the peace of Europe.

M. POINCARÉ began by thanking Lord Curzon for his full and lucid statement. He was unable, however, to accept the explanation which Lord Curzon had given of the failure since March last to bring Mustapha Kemal to a conference. He would recall that he had explained on several occasions during the March discussions that he feared the Turks would not accept the proposals upon which they were agreeing and would only become more and more exacting. A time would soon come when the Allies would find themelves powerless to impose any terms at all. In his opinion, events had proved his forecast to be perhaps too optimistic. In his talks with Fethi Bey and Ferid Bey, M. Poincaré had repeated how deplorable it would be if Angora were to take the offensive when an Allied conference had been practically decided upon at Venice. His advice had, however, not been taken, and the Turks had been too well informed about the state of the Greek forces not to resist the temptation to attack. Incidentally, M. Romanos had told him the day before that the Greek commanders had been deceived by the information given to them by alleged deserters and refugees from the Kemalist army to the effect that the latter was demoralised. Be that as it may, the position to-day was that the Allies could no longer maintain the position which they had taken up in March last. They were now confronted with a nation of fanatics flushed with victory, and it had become a question of saving the general peace of Europe and Asia.

At this point M. Poincaré read a telegram which he had received from General Pellé from Smyrna that morning. The general reported that he had just had a long conversation with Kemal to whom he had intimated as clearly as possible the exact nature of the Allied note as to respecting the neutral zones. He had urged Kemal not to abuse his victory and to show Europe that the Turkish State, of which he was the head, was a modern civilised organism. Mustapha Kemal had protested his friendship with France and his desire to avoid conflict with the Allies, but he had frankly stated that he could not stop his troops now from occupying all the territory covered by the national pact. It was for the Allies to realise the situation and to allow his troops to occupy Constantinople and Thrace. The Greeks could not defend the latter, and he, Kemal, had no intention of occupying more territory than the

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national pact contemplated. For the rest he was only sending the minimum of troops and men necessary to maintain order in Thrace, but he must finish the campaign before the winter. Delay would be fatal. He also feared the Allies had no real intention of abandoning Constantinople. He concluded by stating that he was summoning his Government to Smyrna and expected them the next evening. He would ask General Pellé and the French Government to await the full reply of his Government.

M. POINCARÉ suggested that in these circumstances it was essential to have a conference as soon as possible. To this the Turks must come, but if the Allies told them now that they were not to be allowed to pass the Straits or to occupy the zones they would simply refuse to come to the conference, and meanwhile attack. France, for her part, could not defend herself against such an attack. On the one hand there was a moral impossibility. France was a Moslem Power and could not neglect the serious situation which was arising in all her Moslem colonies. M. Poincaré here quoted a telegram from Tunis explaining the numerous telegrams of congratulation sent by the natives to Mustapha Kemal on his victory. These telegrams have been held up by the French authorities, but would eventually have to go forward. Again, the Governor of Indo-China had told him only yesterday that a war between France and Turkey would be completely misunderstood in that colony. The community of feeling between Asiatics was so strong there, and the Governor said that the Annamite troops sent to Syria had told him before their departure that they would only go when they were assured that they would not have to fight against Turkey. M. Poincaré felt that Lord Curzon, as perhaps the only British statesman who had ever visited the colony of Indo-China, would appreciate the force of these facts.

In addition to the moral question France was faced with the material impossibility. She had no forces to send there. Only recently the Commission of Finance of the Chamber of Deputies had expressed their anxiety regarding the small credit with which the French Government wished to cover the expenditure on additional forces to be sent to the East. It was only when M. Poincaré explained to the commission that the forces were intended to defend Constantinople against the Greeks, and in no circumstances for an attack upon Turkey, that they had voted the required sum. To prevent the passage of the Straits it was not enough for the Allies to make declarations. Either they must have sufficient strength to prevent the passage of the Straits, or they must persuade the Turks to come to a conference. If the Allies stuck to the March proposals there was no hope of a successful step in the latter direction. M. Poincaré did not believe that they would accept the March proposals either as regards Thrace or Gallipoli.

With regard to the action of the Allied commanders at Constantinople in establishing the three flags at Chanak and Ismid, M. Poincaré emphasised that the only step to which the French Government (as distinct from the French Government's subordinates) had agreed to was to send to the Angora Government the Allied note asking them to respect the neutrality of the two States in Constantinople. The French Government, however, had never agreed to send troops to force Turkey to accept the neutrality of these zones. They never even agreed to send French troops to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. It was true that General Pellé had acted on the spot in a spirit of camaraderie, but as soon as he, M. Poincaré, learnt it he had thought the step dangerous and had sent contrary instructions. It must be remembered that there were Turkish irregulars in the neighbourhood who might attack quite apart from regular troops. Once a shot had been fired the outbreak would extend. It was not a question of France favouring the Turks. All France desired was an honourable peace. At the same time, to secure that peace, France was not prepared to defend the Greeks. It was true that Greece had been an ally of France for a time during and since the war, but she had then elected to bring back King Constantine, who was responsible for shooting of French troops in the streets of Athens. There was here for France a question of sentiment like that of Gallipoli for the British Empire.

M. Poincaré here recorded that Ferid Bey had come to him yesterday officially to inform the French Government that Mustapha Kemal would not cross the Straits at once, but that he had among his followers extremists elated by victory who might drive him to precipitate action.

In these circumstances M. Poincaré considered that there could only be one answer to the question, whether Allied troops were to stop the advance of the Turks. It was a material impossibility, and the only action which they could take was to persuade the Kemalists to come to a conference. For this purpose they must tell him

plainly that he was to obtain Constantinople, and that the Allies would offer him an acceptable settlement in Thrace and Gallipoli. Hitherto France had refrained from giving any such assurance alone without her allies to Kemal.

As for precautionary measures, M. Poincaré recognised the prompt answer given by the Dominion Governments to the Mother Country, but before such reinforcements could arrive on the scene something irreparable might take place. In the opinion of the French Government there were not sufficient naval forces on the spot to stop the Turks crossing the Straits waters or the Sea of Marmora, at any rate in isolated packets of men. He would again therefore repeat that France's only wish was to obtain peace and that she only disagreed with Great Britain on the question of means for this purpose. She felt that the Turks would not be stopped now merely by the arrival of Allied reinforcements. She feared too that a Turkish attack would be followed by a Bulgarian attack on Serbia and by a Russian attack on Poland and Roumania.

To bring the Turks to a conference, it was essential to tell them in the invitation that they would get such-and-such satisfaction. They must even be given promises as to terms of peace, and, if England thinks that she could not do this herself or join in such an Allied communication, France must do it alone. Otherwise M. Poincaré felt sure that the Turks would never come.

LORD CURZON said that he would like to answer some, at any rate, of the points raised by M. Poincaré. He would begin with the various issues involved in the explanation just given as to the withdrawal of the French troops from the southern shore of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. When the French Government suggested the Allied declaration as to defending neutral zones and had agreed to the French signature being put to the communication to the Angora representative at Constantinople, His Majesty's Government had thought the latter a serious document. This was not apparently the view of the French Government, who only regarded it as a pious supplication to Kemal not to cross the neutral zones. There was to be no serious action taken to support its application. His Majesty's Government had hoped for some act of Allied solidarity similar to that taken by the British in the defence of the Chatalja line against the Greek threat upon Constantinople. If General Harington had answered General Charpy's appeal as the latter had been instructed by the French Government to answer General Harington's, and if General Harington had then excused himself by saying that the English were the friends of the Greeks and could not risk having to fire upon them, the French would have been shocked, and would have thought such action inconsistent with the alliance. It now appeared that the French general on the spot had been only too anxious to help General Harington, but that his action had been disavowed, and in consequence the French forces had been withdrawn both from Chanak and apparently (though this was not quite clear) from Ismid.

If, as appeared to be the case, Kemal was now to be allowed to violate the neutral zones and to remain in unrestricted control of the shores of the Marmora and the Straits opposite Gallipoli and Constantinople, a very serious position for Great Britain would arise.

M. Poincaré had offered in return a slender encouragement of Ferid's assurances that Kemal would not cross the Straits at once. As a matter of fact, the latter could not and would not be allowed to cross them. For the rest, the British Foreign Office knew in fact from their own sources of information that Ferid had actually advised Mustapha Kemal to cross the Straits and attack the Allies.

Lord Curzon had understood M. Poincaré to say that it was impossible for the Allied military forces to prevent Kemal from crossing the Straits and the Sea of Marmora, and in consequence his advice was that the Allies should abandon the game and accede Kemal all his demands in advance of the conference. He would therefore ask M. Poincaré to hear Lord Beatty's opinion on this subject. He would be in a position to explain that the British naval forces on the spot would soon be quite sufficient to prevent Kemal from crossing the waters between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Meanwhile he, Lord Curzon, would ask M. Poincaré to consider seriously what value a conference would have if Kemal were to be allowed to advance and take possession of Thrace, Constantinople and Gallipoli. His Majesty's Government wanted a conference, but it must be a conference with reasonable chances of success.

He could not understand the French view that in order to induce Kemal to come to the conference we must concede him in advance all the terms of the national pact. Lord Curzon saw no reason why the terms of the March conference must be torn

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up simply because 70,000 Turks had driven the Greek forces into the sea. There was of course the question of Moslem opinion to be considered. It was a factor with which His Majesty's Government had to deal in Egypt, India and Mesopotamia, just as the French Government had to deal with it in Indo-China, Morocco and Tunis; but it was not a factor which compelled us to surrender the fruits of victory, and agree to set up in Europe a State of militant Turks. He fully agreed with M. Poincaré that the sooner the conference was held the better, but there was no reason to bribe Mustapha Kemal in advance by conceding the full national pact. The main point was that the Allies should not enter the conference divided. It would therefore be necessary to consider, before the conference, questions such as the future of Gallipoli. Here M. Poincaré had spoken as if it were quite enough to trust the word of Mustapha Kemal; but the British Government could not take such risks. Then there was the question of Constantinople. Lord Curzon had been surprised to hear doubts expressed in certain quarters as to the Allied attitude in this matter. So far as the British Government were concerned, the March proposals stood in this respect; and as soon as peace was ratified, the Allied troops would be withdrawn. Thirdly there was the question of the frontier in Thrace. Many lines had already been discussed, but there was no need to say before the future conference that such and such a frontier was the final decision of the British Government and of the Allied Governments. On this point the Turks, Greeks, Roumanians and Serbs must all be heard. As to the fears expressed by M. Poincaré of Bulgarian and Russian action, Lord Curzon had seen M. Ninchitch, the Jugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, in London, and he was seriously alarmed with regard to Kemal's advance in Thrace. His Majesty's Government had already consulted the Roumanian Government, and from communications received this morning, Lord Curzon understood that they too were very anxious about the situation, and were prepared to resist Kemal's attack by military measures.

Meanwhile Lord Curzon would urge M. Poincaré to reassure the Turks that all points which he had stated would be taken into grave and sympathetic consideration by the Allies: that the Allies were perfectly willing to give up Constantinople after peace was established and that an acceptable frontier would be found in Thrace, but that as regards the Straits and Gallipoli, their freedom must be clearly defined. For the rest, it was essential that the Allies should stand together, and in this respect France must realise the dangerous position which would be created if Great Britain were to be left to stand alone while Turkey was given every assurance by the French Government that all her demands would be conceded. He could not sufficiently emphasise that the British action in this matter was not one of bluster and bravado. He hoped M. Poincaré would be convinced of this by the statement which Lord Beatty was to make that afternoon.

M. POINCARÉ asked to be allowed to make a further explanation regarding the French attitude in the matter of the note as to the neutral zones. He recalled that he had refused to send any ultimatum to Angora during the March discussions, and Lord Curzon and Signor Schanzer had yielded to his point of view. Nevertheless, M. Poincaré had regarded the note which the Allied Foreign Ministers had then sent to Constantinople, Angora and Athens as serious, just as the present note about the neutrality of the Straits was serious. France could not, however, engage herself to take any forcible action in Asia Minor. In March last it had never been contemplated that Allied troops were to be established on the southern shores of the Straits. As regards Chatalja, the French had had a battalion there already when the Greeks threatened the Allies, and all they had done was to reinforce it; but they had never had any troops south of the Straits. Again, it was a physical possibility to stop the Greek advance, but it was not possible now to stop the Turkish advance; and if they really wanted to prevent the Turks from reaching the Straits, the Allies must not seek to assume a threatening attitude, but do all they can to bring Kemal to a conference. For the rest, he, M. Poincaré, had no wish to give up everything to the Kemalists There were many points, for example, minorities, the Allied garrison at Gallipoli, and the military provisions of the future treaty, which would have to be debated at length with the Turks. As regards the Straits, their problem would have to be definitely settled one way or another. Possibly the League of Nations would be found the best solution; but as regards the territorial provisions of the national pact, the Allies must be prepared to meet the Turks in advance in some measure. For, even supposing, as Lord Curzon seemed to think, that the Allies would be found capable of preventing the Turks reaching Europe, the Turks would simply turn again to Syria and Mesopotamia. Then Bulgaria would attack Jugoslavia,

and Russia, Poland and Roumania. In these circumstances it seemed to him an act of blindness to invite the Turks to a conference on the basis of the March proposals. This does not mean that he wished to take the Turkish word as a sufficient guarantee for Gallipoli. Here, of course, serious safeguards would have to be provided, even if the Allies were to accept nominal Turkish sovereignty. As for Thrace, the Jugoslavian Minister for Foreign Affairs had told him that he would accept a common Turco-Bulgarian frontier, and had so stated publicly in the press in Paris. He could only repeat again that it was useless to tell the Turks to come to a conference and simply to rely on Allied justice, while, in the meantime, barring their route to Europe by military measures. They must be promised a settlement on certain points in advance, even if others were left for examination and discussion at a future conference. This was the only way to persuade them to come to a conference.

LORD CURZON proposed to discuss the question of the conference later, but desired first to return to a point about the seriousness of the document intimating to Kemal the Allied intention to defend the neutral zone. The question of its seriousness could be measured by the fact that it was immediately followed by the French and Italian withdrawal of troops from the two vital places in the zones. M. Poincaré was quite right in saying that the Allied occupation had been confined under the March proposals to Gallipoli and the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora as far as Rodosto. But those were provisions for the final peace settlement, and, meanwhile, under the armistice, neutral zones had been fixed by Allied action for the safety of the Straits and Constantinople. Were these safeguards now to be overthrown by one-sided French action? Again, how were the Allies to make Turkey accept in the final setlement demilitarised zones south of the Asiatic shores of the Straits if Kemal was to be allowed to advance to occupy the neutral zones which were actually only part of the larger demilitarised areas contemplated in the final settlement? Lord Curzon trusted that M. Poincaré would again consider the gravity of the French action in withdrawing from Chanak in the light of these observations.

Turning to the question of the conference, Lord Curzon agreed that there were several points, such as minorities, and the military provisions of the treaty, which would have to be discussed in the future conference. But he did not see why all the territorial questions, such as Thrace, the Straits, Constantinople and Gallipoli, were to be settled in advance of such a conference. It was quite true that we might have to modify the March frontier of Thrace, and he did not even wish to exclude the possibility of nominal Turkish sovereignty being allowed in Gallipoli—but these were all points for the future conference.

As regards M. Poincaré's fears in the direction of Syria and Irak, His Majesty's Government, for their part, were prepared to run the risk. They trusted, however, that the French would have no trouble in Syria, and, indeed, they felt confident that, as a result of the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement of October 1921, France had a real insurance against such trouble. In any case, a firm display of Allied unity seemed the best way to make the Turks pause, if they were really contemplating an attack on Syria and Irak.

M. POINCARÉ asked to be allowed to add a few words regarding the Allied occupation of the neutral zone. He wished to point out that it was the French Government alone who could settle vital movements of French troops, and it was their view that these troops should not be exposed on the southern shores of the two Straits. Even if British naval action could prevent the Turks crossing the Straits, the force at Chanak was hopelessly exposed. He would emphasise once again that an immediate conference was vital, and that the Turks must be persuaded to come to it. If France were to join with Great Britain in shutting the Straits without agreeing to give the Turks some hope of substantial assistance in the future conference, she would simply be courting disaster in Syria, trouble in her colonies, and a big Moslem upheaval in Asia.

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Ottawa, September 22, 1922.

Mr. Crerar arrived this morning and we were in conference for some time, during which I outlined the Government's attitude and policy with respect to the representations which have been made concerning the situation in the Near East.

Since the present administration was formed, the attitude of the Progressive party has been one of co-operation in the Government's administration of the country's affairs in so far as ~~these~~ its policies were in accord with those of the Progressive party.

I have felt that no question which the Administration is likely to be called upon to consider will equal in gravity or importance the one which has presented itself during the course of the past week. It is for this reason that I was particularly anxious to consult Mr. Crerar and, in so far as might be possible, ascertain his views.

2nd draft.

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

Ottawa, September 18, 1922

Hon. T. A. Crerar,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

I should like to discuss with you the situation which has developed in Europe in the Near East. I regard the matter as sufficiently important to ask you to come to Ottawa immediately for purposes of interview, if that is at all possible. Please reply upon receipt of this communication.

W. L. Mackenzie King

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

Winnipeg, Man. Sept. 18,1922.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister,
Ottawa.

Telegram received. If matter of pressing urgency can arrange leave for Ottawa Wednesday morning. Please advise.

T. A. Crerar

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

Ottawa, September 19, 1922.

Hon. T. A. Crerar,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

I think matter is sufficiently urgent for you to to come to Ottawa.

W. L. Mackenzie King

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The Prime Minister of Canada.

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Printed for the Cabinet. September 1922.

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CABINET.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST.

Summary of the Discussion at the Meeting of the Sixth Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations, held on September 22, on a Proposal that the League of Nations should use its good offices to secure the immediate Cessation of Hostilities in the Near East.

(Circulated for Information.)

THE NINTH MEETING OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.

THE Sixth Committee held its ninth meeting yesterday (Friday) at 4 P.M. under the chairmanship of Jonkheer Loudon.

The Position in the Near East: Proposal of Dr. Nansen.

DR. NANSEN (Norway) begged to move the following resolution :—

"The assembly resolves to request the council to consider what steps it could take on behalf of the League of Nations, whether by offering its good offices to the belligerent parties or otherwise, to secure the immediate cessation of hostilities in the Near East."

Dr. Nansen, presenting this resolution, argued that it was the duty of the League to take action in accordance with article 3 and article 11 of the Covenant. The war in the Near East was a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League was bound to take any action which might prove wise and effectual to bring hostilities to an end.

He proposed in his resolution that the council should consider what could and ought to be done.

There was a group of Powers which was endeavouring to arrange a settlement, and these negotiations might lead to a successful result. He thought, however, that the council would have to play a direct part in these negotiations. The council might invite the two parties to a conference to be held under the auspices of the League, at which the council, either as a whole or through a sub-committee, might act as a mediator. For this purpose, both parties should be treated on a footing of complete equality, and the Government of Angora would necessarily be invited, under the provisions of article 17 of the Covenant, to accept the rights and duties of membership of the League while a settlement was being prepared.

SIR JOSEPH COOK (Australia) congratulated Dr. Nansen on his motion, and said he would like to see it strengthened. People in Australia found it difficult to understand why the League of Nations, with its council, its secretariat and the various technical bodies at its disposal, should be unable to do anything when faced with a crisis in European affairs.

The countries which were negotiating a settlement were represented on the Council of the League, but they apparently preferred to act not through the League but in some other way and in some other place. No doubt there were difficulties. Turkey was still at war with the Allies. Negotiators were actually at work trying to restore peace. Precipitate and unwise action might make matters worse.

Was it not, however, possible to ask the League of Nations to ascertain the facts of the position and to set them forth fairly and dispassionately? Negotiations might

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be begun after the facts were ascertained. The League had no material force, but public opinion was behind it, and, if this public opinion were instructed, it would prove to be an important factor.

The League might further undertake to define the boundaries of a neutral zone and to supervise the Straits.

Dr. Nansen had said that the matter would have to come to the League when the negotiators had finished their work. Why should not the assistance of the League be asked in the beginning? Thus it might be possible to avoid the mistake, made in Paris and at Genoa, of arranging an imperfect settlement and handing over to the League the problems which remained.

PRINCE ARFA-ED-DOWLEH (Persia) said that Persia was particularly interested in the rapid conclusion of the war. He had asked the assembly to intervene in the previous year. It might then have been believed that he was speaking on behalf of Turkey and the Moslems, but yesterday and to-day his sole concern was with humanity at large. The war had gone on with no other result than an increase in the number of its victims. Turkey was not now the only nation concerned. Millions of Moslems turned towards Turkey and awaited the issue of the conflict. It was necessary to act wisely. Certain nations were to be thanked for their policy in the East, in particular, France and Italy. If every country were inspired with the spirit of the Covenant, peace might be restored. The adoption of the proposal of Dr. Nansen would, if necessary, permit the League of Nations usefully to intervene.

MR. TCHEOU-WEI (China) asked for what purpose the League had been established if it were not in order to do something for the suppression of war, which had inspired terror in the hearts of the nations. China brought with her the modest assistance of its 400,000,000 of inhabitants in order to safeguard the principles defined in the Covenant. It was impossible for the League of Nations to remain indifferent to the horrors of a war which was being indefinitely prolonged. The Chinese Government approved the proposal of Dr. Nansen.

MR. FISHER (British Empire) said he wished to express his gratitude to Dr. Nansen for bringing up this grave international question. The League of Nations was an association to prevent war, and could not watch unmoved the continuation or extension of the present war in the Near East. The exact terms of the resolution to be adopted by the committee were not, however, of great importance. It should express the grave anxiety with which the League of Nations viewed the present situation, and the desire of the League that hostilities should cease and peace be established. It should, however, be noted that the negotiations were in the hands of certain Powers, and that it was not well to perplex these negotiations, which, so far, were progressing satisfactorily.

The League should express its willingness to render any assistance for which it might be asked, either during the present negotiations or in the event of their failure. The League was in an excellent position to assist owing to the international atmosphere which prevailed at Geneva, and the possession of a permanent machinery.

He begged to submit to the committee a resolution which embodied these considerations :—

> "The assembly views with dismay the possibility of the prolongation of the war in the Near East. It notes with satisfaction the announcement of a conference at which the interested Powers will be represented, and it trusts that the council will be prepared, as the occasion demands, to render any assistance which may be invited by the negotiating Powers towards the attainment of a prompt and durable peace."

The British Government was anxious to secure the co-operation of the League, and believed that the League would be able to assist in a durable settlement. The British Government recognised and shared the hope of the British Dominions that the League would be able to take a prominent share in the restoration of peace, and was ready to afford facilities as the occasion might demand.

LORD ROBERT CECIL (South Africa) said there were dangers and difficulties either in action or in a failure to act. There was, however, a war in progress, and it was the duty of the League to take wise and effective action under article 11, unless there were very good reasons for refraining. Emir Zoka-ed-Dowleh had

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already drawn attention to one of the great difficulties. The League had not intervened last year when the Greeks were victorious, which did not make it easy for the League to intervene now that the Turks were victorious.

Action must be left to the council. There was no desire that the council should take action which would add to the difficulties of the situation, and it was vital that the League should do nothing to injure its chances of success if, in the event of the failure of the present negotiations, it became the duty of the League to mediate. There was a phrase in the resolution presented by Mr. Fisher which was open to misconstruction, particularly by the Turks. It was said that the League should intervene at the request of the negotiating Powers. Was it intended that Turkey should be included among those Powers? The resolution would not be so understood. He could not admit the principle that the League could only act on the invitation of a group of Powers acting outside the League, and directing the League to take or refuse to take particular action. Such a principle was inadmissible on general grounds, and in this particular case would go far to destroy the League's chance of usefulness. The League should act as a great international body, independently and of its own initiative.

He did not consider that there was any objection to accepting the resolution of Dr. Nansen as it stood.

M. HANOTAUX (France) felt it was necessary to avoid the appearance of anticipating a failure in the negotiations which were then proceeding. The first results of the negotiations in progress had promised well for the future. It would suffice to lay down that the council should vigilantly watch the position, and hold itself ready to assist. For this reason he approved the proposal of Mr. Fisher.

THE MARQUIS IMPERIALI (Italy) said the discussion had shown that everyone was agreed on the substance of the question. He agreed completely with the formula submitted by Mr. Fisher and approved by the French representative. This formula brought the duties of the League of Nations into harmony with the requirements of the situation. It would facilitate the work of peace.

M. RADEFF (Bulgaria) said that Bulgaria was happy to see the sphere of action of the League of Nations enlarged and its prestige increased. He hoped that negotiations would be conducted in a way that would enable account to be taken of all the interests at stake. Bulgaria was particularly interested in the solution of the Eastern question, for there were Bulgarian elements in the regions whose destiny had to be decided, and Bulgaria, disarmed by the treaties, was a country adjacent to these regions, where war might at any moment break out. Whatever might be the course of events, Bulgaria would not depart from a loyal neutrality, but, as she was not in a position to compel respect for her neutrality, she was placed in an unhappy position. She hoped that peace would be restored, if necessary with the assistance of the council, whose intervention could not cause anxiety to anyone.

M. G. STREIT (Greece) pointed out that Greece had accepted offers of mediation in 1921, and proposals for an armistice in March 1922. Greece had kept faith at the cost of great sacrifices, because of her duty towards the Greeks, Armenians and all the oppressed populations of Asia Minor. He thanked his colleagues, particularly the delegates of Persia and South Africa, for their efforts on behalf of peace. The declarations of the representatives of the three Great Powers promised well for the future. Greece had confidence in the result of the negotiations, and in the possible intervention of the council.

VISCOUNT ISHII (Japan) noted that virtual agreement had been reached. There was no difference of opinion as to the object to be achieved, and the difference in regard to the steps which should be taken did not go very far. He thought that it might meet the various views which had been put forward if a sentence were added to the resolution submitted by Mr. Fisher, expressing confidence that the Council of the League would take all proper measures, justified by the circumstances, with a view to giving effect to the unanimous desire of the assembly for the prompt establishment of peace.

MR. FISHER (British Empire) said he thought the committee were agreed that there should be no interference with the negotiations which were proceeding for the settlement of the Near East. There was, however, a desire that the League should intervene if it could usefully do so, either while the conference was in progress or if the negotiations should break down. There was a difference of opinion as to whether the League should await the invitation of the interested Governments. He agreed

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with Lord Robert Cecil that nothing should be done to injure the prestige of the League, or to prejudice its intervention. He feared, however, that it might lead to a breakdown of the present negotiations if there were an immediate prospect of concurrent negotiations taking place under the auspices of the League.

He suggested that the various proposals which had been brought forward should be submitted to a drafting committee with instructions to prepare a text for further consideration.

DR. NANSEN (Norway) said he accepted the proposal of Mr. Fisher. He noted that the committee was unanimously agreed in recognising that it was confronted with a question which interested the whole League, and in inviting the council to act if it should be requested to do so. It might be assumed that, if the resolution were adopted, the council, which included representatives of the three Great Powers at present engaged in the negotiations, would do nothing calculated to encounter their opposition.

M. HANOTAUX (France) congratulated the committee on the progress which had been made towards unanimous agreement. His chief concern had been to keep within the limits of a procedure which had already, as in the case of Upper Silesia and of Austria, shown excellent results.

THE MARQUIS IMPERIALI (Italy) and LORD ROBERT CECIL (South Africa) supported the proposal that a drafting committee should draw up a text for submission to the commission.

The committee decided that the drafting committee should be composed as follows: Lord Robert Cecil (South Africa), Mr. Fisher (British Empire), M. Hanotaux (France), the Marquis Imperiali (Italy), Viscount Ishii (Japan), Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) and Dr. Nansen (Norway).

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