War and Society in Modern Canada, 1914–1949

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War and Society in Modern Canada, 1914–1949

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Contributors

Lindsay Allison is a native of Montreal and is currently pursuing his PhD in Canadian history part time at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. His article published in this journal is taken from his developing doctoral thesis. Lindsay gained a BA in Economics at McGill University and an MSc in Economics at St Antony's College, Oxford University. Lindsay also has a Master of Public Administration (MPA) from Queen's University in Kingston. He has worked in infrastructure-related public finance and funding in the Greater Toronto Area for nearly 20 years.

Sam Allison was born in Scotland and emigrated to Montreal in 1968. Teaching secondary economics and history for many years on the 'south shore', he actively served on local school boards as well as Quebec Ministry of Education curriculum committees. For several years he was vice-president of the Quebec Association of Teachers of History. During his tenure as a senior history specialist, he contributed to numerous seminal curriculum publications, including *Elements of Our Past: An Outline Review of the History of Quebec and Canada* (1991). Following Sam's retirement from the high school classroom, he spent several years as a sessional lecturer teaching historical curriculum development with the Faculty of Education of McGill University. In 2016, he received the Gordon Atkinson Memorial Prize in Highland Military History for his book, *Drv'n by Fortune: The Scots March to Modernity in America, 1745–1812* (2015).

Jon Bradley initially trained as an elementary school teacher, but he has since taught social studies and/or Canadian history at every level of the public school and university landscape through to graduate studies. Over

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his years with the Faculty of Education of McGill University, he challenged his students to engage historiography and not blindly accept prevailing dogma, be it historical or pedagogical. In parallel, he became an advocate for 'boy learning' and the plight of the male teacher in the contemporary educational landscape. Furthermore, he served on numerous curriculum committees at both the provincial and international levels, for example, receiving in 1997 the Service Key Award from Phi Delta Kappa International as well as the 2003 McGill University Faculty Appreciation Award. The author of numerous articles, book chapters, curriculum guides and newspaper opinion pieces, his most recent co-authored book is *Making Sense in Education: A Student's Guide to Research and Writing* (2017, 2nd edn).

C. P. Champion, PhD, FRCGS, is an independent scholar and the author of *Relentless Struggle: Saving the Army Reserve 1995–2019* (2019) and *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism 1964–1968* (2010). Most recently he co-edited, with Tom Flanagan, *Grave Error: How the Media Misled Us (and the Truth About Residential Schools)* (2023). He advised a federal cabinet minister for eight years, has served for seven years in the Army Reserve (Infantry) and edits *The Dorchester Review*, a semi-annual journal he founded in 2011.

Esther Delisle has a BA in Political Science and Journalism and an MA and a PhD in Political Science from Laval University in Canada. She studied for three years at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem during her doctoral studies. Her postdoctoral fellowship was in the History Department at McGill University in Montreal. The abridged version of her PhD dissertation was a bestseller in Quebec (1993). Esther wrote two other books on the repressed history of fascism in Quebec and a third on the Asbestos Strike of 1949 in Quebec. A documentary was made about her historical work, *Je me souviens*. She has also published several articles and reviews. She has worked as an investigative, freelance journalist and translator and has been an academic tutor for many years.

James K. Hiller came to Newfoundland as a graduate student in the mid-1960s and became a member of the Department of History of Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1972. He retired as University Research Professor in 2007 and was appointed Professor Emeritus in 2010. In 2011, he received the Newfoundland and Labrador Historical Society's Heritage Award. James has been widely recognised for his

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contributions to the history of both Newfoundland and Labrador. He is a past president of the Newfoundland Historical Society, and was the academic co-ordinator of the Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage website. He was co-editor with Peter Neary of *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation* (1980). Among his other works are, with Margaret Conrad, *Atlantic Canada: A Region in the Making* (2001) and *Robert Bond: A Political Biography* (2019).

Richard W. Pound is a scholar, lawyer and former Olympic athlete who has served the Canadian and International Olympic movement in numerous capacities for over 50 years. A past-President of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) and a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), he also served as IOC Vice-President for two four-year terms. Further, he is a member of the Canadian Olympic Committee and served this organisation in various capacities, including as Director and President, since 1968. Recognised by *Time* magazine in 2005 as one of the '100 Most Influential People in the World', he was elevated to the rank of Companion of the Order of Canada in 2014. A lifetime educator in the broadest sense, Richard supported his alma mater, McGill University, for decades in pivotal roles and was given the honorary title of Chancellor Emeritus in recognition. His many and varied scholarly publications include, *Chief Justice W. R. Jacket: By the Law of the Land* (2000), *Rocke Robertson: Surgeon and Shepherd of Change* (2008) and the several times revised/updated *Fitzhenry and Whiteside Book of Canadian Facts and Dates* (1986).

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Introduction: War and Society in Modern Canada, 1914–1949

Sam Allison and Jon Bradley

John Donne famously said that 'No man is an island',[1] and this idea can be applied to countries as well, especially during a global conflict when 'sides' must be selected and alliances formed. Canada sent volunteers during the Second Boer War of 1899–1902 and, ever since then, has actively engaged in foreign wars. Canadian men earned a reputation in that war as effective fighters, while the women were regarded as exceptionally skilled nurses. These perceptions lasted through subsequent World Wars and are only one example of how war cemented Canada's international image.

The five articles in this collection explore some of the impact that wars have had on Canadian life, and illustrate that the transformations generated by world conflicts are more profound than many Canadians usually realise. Each article highlights in different ways how wars fundamentally altered the country; alterations which are still ongoing.

Canadian – and Newfoundland, which was independent at the time – servicemen and women have paid a heavy price for their participation in wars since 1867, especially in the First and Second World Wars, with close to two million enlisted, more than 100,000 killed and over 200,000 wounded. As James Hiller graphically illustrates in our first article, Newfoundland was politically and economically devastated after the capture of Beaumont-Hamel (1 July–18 November 1916) in the Battle of the Somme, ultimately forcing it to surrender its independent status within the British Commonwealth and become part of Canada in 1949.[2]

Over the course of three wars – the First World War, Second World War and the Korean conflict – Canada's enemies sought to change the world order while Canadians fought alongside their allies to preserve that world order. Yet, neither side managed to maintain its pre-war society, and the ripple effect from all three wars has not yet abated. For example,

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the collapse in 1918 of the former Austro-Hungarian, German, Ottoman and Russian empires reverberates even today. The Balkans, Middle East and Ukraine are still hot spots. There is instability in places such as Hong Kong and Kashmir due to the collapse of the British Empire after 1945. North and South Korea remain at odds, while China threatens Japan and other countries. As for Britain, most of Ireland broke away after the First World War, and tensions persist between Éire and Northern Ireland.

Turning to divisions in North American society, the African-American migration from the rural South to the industrial North during the First World War resulted in large-scale race riots. During the Houston Race Riots of 1917, 19 black and white people were killed. A white mob attacked 63 black soldiers, who were then tried for defending themselves. Following the trials, 12 of the black soldiers were hanged and the rest imprisoned. Canada's French and English communities were deeply divided by the Conscription Crisis during the First and Second World Wars. Yet, contrary to much of modern Canadian thinking, French–English language divisions are less significant when compared to the geographical, economic and social divisions among both Canada's allies and its former enemies.

The post-war attitudes, values and even the language are often explained by the World Wars. 'Tanks', 'U-boats', 'no-man's-land' and 'fighter aces' appeared in the First World War, while 'sonar', 'jets', 'radar' and the 'A-bomb' arose during the Second World War. 'War brides' entered Canada and played a significant role in the worldwide 'baby boom'. Canadian social values changed dramatically. There was huge concern about population loss and the need to replace manpower. Consequently, in the 1920s, there was strong opposition to birth control, now (re) labelled as family planning. Yet, fertility among the poor was not encouraged. Ideas from eugenics, which first surfaced in the 1880s, advocated modifying the fertility of different categories of people. The Eugenics Movement (re)surfaced after the First World War, citing efforts to improve the 'quality' of a population whose officer class was devastated by war.

War and travel went together as increasing numbers of Canadians became men and women in motion. For the first time in their lives, many left the immediate confines of their home towns and villages. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians travelled the world with the armed forces. Interestingly, after the wars, Canadians emigrated westwards within Canada and south to the USA. Over one million immigrants came to Canada from abroad after 1918, while four million came after the Second World War. As Richard Pound notes in the second article, these many and various internal and external migrations forced changes upon the political and legal landscapes. New rights and responsibilities were codified in law and less relevant ones swept away.[3]

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Farm workers moved from the countryside to work in city factories after the First World War. Women continued their hard socioeconomic climb into jobs previously held by men only. Discrimination against visible minorities, First Nations peoples and foreign nationals sometimes increased during and after the wars. Thousands of people (often Canadian citizens) were transferred into internment camps. Young women who preferred shop and factory work deserted the Canadian servant class which, as but one example, was never able to recover its pre-war numbers. As noted by Lindsay Allison in our third article, such youthful movement of young people dramatically increased the size of cities, diminished rural populations and foreshadowed the rise of new powerful municipally controlled centres of commerce, transportation and innovation.[4]

These huge post-war migrations, forged in global conflicts, fundamentally changed the Canadian mosaic. Evolving institutions reflected the new immigrants. For example, a Chinese hospital and the Jewish General Hospital appeared in Montreal in 1918 and 1934, respectively.

French Canadians in the First World War enlisted in approximately the same numbers as English Canadians, if British-born citizens are excluded. However, the personal letters of British-born Canadians indicate that they often saw enlistment as a cheap way of seeing their relatives, especially their grandparents. The approximately 100,000 Home Children in Canada often enlisted to find brothers, sisters or even fathers and mothers in Britain and Éire. Yet, the length and carnage of the First World War generally hindered enthusiasm for enlisting in the Second World War. In the fourth article, C. P. Champion's detailed analysis of the underfunded Canadian militia between the wars graphically illustrates how experience of past wars influenced contemporary decision-making and enabled Canada to rebuild its forces for the Second World War.[5]

Social consciousness changed after each of these conflicts and set in motion successive waves of alterations that shaped new futures. The post-war years from 1918 to the 1950s swept away all manner of social, political and economic realities, sometimes generating new discriminatory arrangements. Before the wars, society's influential individuals determined the nature of Canada and its provinces. After the wars, the state increasingly determined how Canadians should live, who should live there and how the wars should be remembered. Canada clothed, fed and provided medical care to several million servicemen and women. The warfare and welfare relationship to wounded servicemen and women gradually widened to include the welfare of the whole society.

Class consciousness had changed gradually into a moral consciousness about the wider society. The pre-First World War concept of charity for the 'deserving' and 'underserving' poor had evolved into a concern

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for poverty as a problem for all of society. After the wars, it was thought that the Canadian and provincial states should assume more responsibility for their citizens, thus reducing the role of private charities. The Canadian Medicare System, a publicly funded health system championed by Saskatchewan's premier Tommy Douglas after the Second World War, was eventually embraced by the whole country.

In contrast, in the final article, Esther Delisle charts an often ignored dark period in Canadian – and more specifically Quebec – society.[6] Support for anti-Semitic fascism was coupled with a Catholicism that leaned towards Vichy France and its adherents. The author shows that even after the horrors of the Holocaust became common knowledge, this support continued.

Governments, along with private citizens, began an interest in commemorating these wars. Memorials such as Vimy Ridge and Newfoundland's Beaumont-Hamel in France were built, and pilgrims from Canada began visiting in their thousands. Many small towns erected plaques and statues to their fallen after 1918. In 1945 and 1952, names were often added to existing memorials. The idea of the commemorative poppy was inspired by the poetry of Colonel John McRae, a doctor at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, who also commanded the McGill University Field Hospital in France during the First World War – 'In Flanders Fields' is one of the most quoted war poems.[7] Geographically, German names were eradicated from Canadian places. For example, the Ontario city of Berlin was renamed the city of Kitchener, after the British General Lord Kitchener. In Britain, the German Shepherd dog breed was renamed Alsatians, while the royal family, the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, renamed itself the House of Windsor.

Wars provoked a post-war concern for human rights during wartime. The *Llandovery Castle*, a Canadian hospital ship, was intentionally sunk by a German submarine in June 1918, killing 234 civilians. A lifeboat carrying surviving nurses was then machine-gunned and sunk. The Hague Convention of 1907, signed by Germany, had outlawed such intentional attacks on hospital ships, but the submarine captain, although found guilty, escaped justice. In sharp contrast, the Second World War Holocaust led to the Nuremberg trials and hangings of Nazi war criminals. In turn, John Humphrey, a McGill law professor, became Director of the Division of Human Rights in the United Nations and the principal drafter of the UN Declaration of Human Rights that emerged after 1945.

Much more than the Canadian flag changed after these wars. Constitutionally, the British Empire became the British Commonwealth in the early 1930s. Canada was now autonomous alongside Australia and New Zealand, first in the League of Nations, then in the United Nations

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after the Second World War. Canada was no longer British North America, nor was it simply a northern United States as far as conflicts went. Canada carefully selected its wars and, for example, did not join Britain in invading Egypt in the Suez Crisis of 1956–7 and, significantly, did not join the United States in the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s. More importantly, Canada's peacekeeping world role evolved.

Paraphrasing H. G. Wells in *The Sleeper Awakes* and Washington Irwin in *Rip Van Winkle*, a Canadian who went to sleep in 1914 and awakened in 1955 would be hard-pressed to recognise the country.[8] Canada had grown with the addition of Newfoundland; the population was mostly located in suburban areas; state-funded safety nets shielded the poor; all children were educated long past the age of 14; women, First Nations people and visible minorities had the vote and held high office; and medical treatment was available to all. For the most part, these societal evolutions developed directly from Canada's 50 years of war. As devastating as the conflicts were, positive change did indeed come to Canada. Wars are terrible events for all the people involved. Nevertheless, we might well ponder the compelling words of Cecil Day Lewis, writing during the Second World War: 'That we who live by honest dreams/Defend the bad against the worse.'[9]

Notes

1 Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*.
2 Hiller, 'Canada, war and "independent Newfoundland"'.
3 Pound, 'Canadian law between the wars'.
4 Allison, 'Public infrastructure'.
5 Champion, 'The "nation-in-arms"'.
6 Delisle, 'Hidden in plain sight'.
7 McRae, 'In Flanders Fields'.
8 Welles, *The Sleeper Awakes*; Irving, 'Rip Van Winkle'.
9 Day-Lewis, 'Where are the war poets?'

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Canada, War and Independent Newfoundland, 1914–1949

James K. Hiller

Abstract

This article addresses the impact of war on Newfoundland, including Labrador, while Newfoundland was independent from Canada, and the role of war in the eventual addition of Newfoundland as a province of Canada in 1949. Newfoundland's small and scattered population meant that it was never a particularly prosperous place, although the railway embodied the hope of the existence of a real future. Locally, some fishing premises and farms performed well, but there was a pervasive opinion, expressed in the degree of outmigration, that one could not do well in the territory. Its leadership went through a number of changes, from responsible government with an elected assembly in 1855 to Commission of Government in the 1930s and 1940s. But the overriding issue was the Canadian Confederation of 1867, and here the Confederates had an overall advantage, given the Canadian welfare state of the late 1940s. After a referendum following the Second World War, Newfoundland joined the union as the tenth province on 30 March 1949.

Keywords smallest colony; fisheries; First World War; Second World War; Dominion; confederation; Newfoundland; Labrador.

Introduction: the oldest colony[1]

Newfoundland has sometimes been regarded as Britain's oldest colony. It was certainly one of the most vulnerable, which is why the Royal Newfoundland Regiment of Fencible Infantry was formed in

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1795. Members of this regiment took part in the War of 1812 and it is recorded that 'they fought gallantly at Fort George, Fort York, and throughout the Niagara Peninsula, and at Fort Mackinac'.[2] However, despite engaging in further wars on the same side as Canada, the people of Newfoundland did not join forces with their Canadian cousins in 1867 and a united confederation was not established until 1949. Why was this? And what part was played by the impact of the two World Wars?

Newfoundland's territory includes both the island and the continental region of Labrador. It was the smallest of the colonies of settlement to become a self-governing Dominion, in terms of its population, that is, since people were spread out over a large land area – 405,200 km^2 – often in isolated pockets. The majority of the population lived in the south-east of the island, where there was a degree of political consciousness, expressed in 1869 by a refusal to confederate with the other British North American provinces that had created the Dominion of Canada in 1867.[3] The island and Labrador only received colonial status in 1825, after a long period of direct rule by governors who came (until the early nineteenth century) only in the summers. An assembly and council followed in 1832 and responsible government in 1855. Even in its origins, therefore, Newfoundland was unusual. It was seen in England as a transatlantic fishery, and it took some effort to change the English mind.

Labrador was the home of Inuit, largely converted to Christianity by the Moravian Brethren. They were the most southerly Inuit in Canada. The Innu (formerly Montagnais – Naskapi) once roamed over Quebec and Labrador, but have been centralised now in the villages of Sheshatshiu and Natuashich. There is also a mixed population, characterised as Métis. This group extended towards and beyond the Quebec border, which was set near Blanc Sablon (which is in Quebec) in the south and Cape Chidley in the north, for reasons that are unclear. There is evidence of Aboriginal settlement in the entrance to the Strait of Belle Isle, but the interior boundary was undefined and awaited arbitration (by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) in 1927 to decide where it lay. In effect, Indigenous people had no status. Labrador was seen on the island as a place to fish, nothing more, and increasing numbers of fishermen went north as the nineteenth century progressed.

The fact that most of the population lived in the south-east of the island reflected the roots of the original European settlers – in south-western England and later in south-eastern Ireland. The main Irish population was on the Avalon Peninsula, with other populations spread over

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the rest of the island. There was a small Scottish mercantile element, for instance, and there was a reverse migration from Cape Breton to the west coast of the island. There was some French settlement on the west coast, but it was not significant. The main migration had ended by the 1830s; however, it kept alive many memories. It is possible that the migration caused, in part at least, the rejection of confederation in 1869. Nevertheless, more important was the link to the homelands and all that it meant. Newfoundland as the 'oldest colony' had a real meaning, and was widely believed to be a fact, although recent scholarship has referenced Ireland.[4]

It was a large place and problematic in various ways. Canada was denied control over the east coast fisheries, and Newfoundland's sole product – salt codfish – competed with Canadian fish in the Caribbean. Beyond that, Newfoundland was neither a source of a significant number of immigrants nor a significant market for produce. It was largely a backwater, although important in imperial terms for what it brought into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – the old French treaties. These gave the former the use over the so-called French Shore, which extended from Cape St John to Cape Ray and included the French islands of St Pierre and Miquelon that became a smugglers' utopia.[5] It also extended the life of the Anglo-American Convention on fisheries of 1818, which had to be arbitrated in 1908 as a result of the Newfoundland premier's claims.[6] These were serious problems. As Sir Robert Herbert put it in 1890, 'The affairs of Newfoundland, except where they are insignificant, are imperial.'[7] In short, Newfoundland brought into the twentieth century disputes that were nearing the end of their existence – old treaties that sought to regulate a fishery that had existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The major dispute in the nineteenth century concerned the French Shore. The French held that their right to the Shore was exclusive, if temporary. In season, the Shore was patrolled by a French naval squadron, and the soldiers could with impunity regulate who fished and where they built their fishing establishments. The St John's view – certainly after 1850 – was that Newfoundlanders could do whatever they wanted on the so-called French Shore so long as the French fishery was not disturbed. The result was a series of prolonged arguments about whether an increasing population should have police and magistrates and be represented in the House of Assembly, whether lobsters were included in the category 'fish', where the railway (which was built across the island in the 1880s and 1890s) should run, the application of imperial authority and so on. Not surprisingly, the dispute became a patriotic

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touchstone and compromise was disparaged. It also provided a scapegoat for a variety of failings.

The St John's Daily News argued that so long as 'the most fertile half of the Island is … under French domination … we have not Home Rule, we cannot … so long as there is a dual authority in any part of the Island'.[8] In 1900 the then-premier Robert Bond said that the colony's backwardness was 'a national disgrace to England' and Newfoundlanders had no need to be ashamed, 'for we could not alter it one iota. We have been handicapped in the march of progress by imperial interdiction … and French aggression …' Thus we 'have been subjected to an inferiority we neither merit not feel'.[9] The argument grew into a struggle against imperial indifference and hostility, symbolised by mythical tyrants – the West Country merchants, the fishing admirals and naval governors who, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had allegedly harassed the settlers. Newfoundlanders had 'never had a break in the 450 years of our history', said a politician in 1947.[10] However, such comments coexisted with pride in being part of the British Empire. There were certainly calls for closer relations with the United States from time to time, but the occasional royal visit was welcomed with great enthusiasm. Newfoundlanders were loyal to 'the backbone', as a newspaper put it in 1865.[11]

A British Society existed from 1837. At its peak, the Orange Order, which arrived in 1863, had 190 lodges. The first overseas company of the Church Lads' Brigade was formed in St John's in 1892 and the first colonial Royal Naval Reserve contingent followed in 1900. The Boy Scouts and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire appeared in 1910 and the Legion of Frontiersmen the next year.[12] Imperial honours were prized. Roman Catholics perhaps displayed their loyalty less stridently, but the Loyal Toast was drunk at the Benevolent Irish Society's dinners and no one refused a knighthood.

All Newfoundlanders celebrated with great enthusiasm Queen Victoria's jubilee and the 400th anniversary of John Cabot's supposed voyage to Bonavista in 1497. Indeed, the main address was given by the Roman Catholic bishop, who stated that Cabot had discovered and given to Britain 'the New World, and her first and most ancient and loyal colony'.[13] There was a royal visit that year, and loyalty to the British Empire was an important component of the Newfoundland identity. Sir Ralph Williams, who was the governor before the Great War engulfed the country, commented in 1911 that Newfoundland was 'untainted by American ways'. 'It is British to the core … bound to the mother country far less by ties of interest than by ties of affection.'[14]

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The First World War

The French problem was solved in 1904 with the *entente cordiale* and the American difficulty by arbitration in 1908. These solutions ended disputes over foreign fishing privileges in Newfoundland waters, with the exception of St Pierre and Miquelon that remain to this day as a French exception – with fishing rights.[15] But that aside, the colony had far less to complain about. And given the background, there was no question that it would send a regiment to the First World War. The governor, Sir Walter Davidson, played an unusually prominent role in that he became Chair of the Newfoundland Patriotic Association, a non-denominational, non-partisan body that managed the war effort until 1917.[16] Other Newfoundlanders served as foresters in Scotland and in the Royal Navy. But the main attention has been on the appalling losses suffered by the Newfoundland Regiment on 1 July 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme. Since then, 1 July has been observed as a special day of recollection, and the forget-me-not as a flower of remembrance.

Sir Edward Morris – later ennobled as Baron Morris – looked after these affairs.[17] He was present at meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference, a sign that Newfoundland was accepted as an equal by other self-governing members of the Empire. But this was to change. In 1919, the fragility of the country's position was exposed. Manoeuvring between the objections of the United States to separate Dominion representation and the justifiable expectations of the other Dominions themselves, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George decided to sacrifice the claims of Newfoundland, the least influential Dominion. The prime minister, Sir William Lloyd, returned home.

Newfoundland was not among the signatories of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, nor was it on the original list of members of the League of Nations. Lloyd could be criticised for his lack of ability, but the die had already been cast. Newfoundland was obviously subordinate. As a Foreign Office official noted in 1923, 'There are two types of British Dominion status: the major type, as exists in Canada etc. … and the minor of which hitherto Newfoundland has been unique.'[18]

In the colony – it did not formally change its name to 'Dominion' – there was no overt objection to what was really a change in status. Prime ministers continued to attend imperial conferences, but often made deprecatory remarks. Newfoundland did not apply for League membership, and allowed its foreign relations to be handled by the imperial government. Thus, Newfoundland was a member of the Commonwealth for internal purposes but had no separate international

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status. This was an instance in which the Great War did not mark a coming of age. There was great pride in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, as it was known from 1917, and memorials were erected at home and in Europe. The national war memorial in St John's was unveiled by Field Marshal Douglas Hague in 1924, and 'the fighting Newfoundlander' certainly entered the pantheon, but the war did not create a national identity. That already existed. In fact, Newfoundland never recovered from the war.

It left a sad legacy of loss, instability and debt. Newfoundlanders turned in on themselves and, preoccupied with the country's dismal economic and financial state, politicians had little interest in international and imperial affairs. In 1931, when the draft Statute of Westminster came before the legislature, there was much talk of strengthening, rather than loosening, ties: 'Let the Oldest Colony once more take the lead in showing staunch and unswerving fealty in act as well as in word of mouth to Britain's Crown.'[19] The result was that Newfoundland exercised the New Zealand option and did not ratify the statute.

The critical road to confederation

By the early 1930s, Newfoundland was unable to continue full payments on a public debt of about $100 million, one-third of which represented the cost of the Great War. Alarm bells rang in Ottawa and London. It was unheard of that a British Dominion should default. Thus, the imperial government had to act, sensing that this was not a wholly Canadian affair. Indeed, the Canadian government made it clear that it was not interested in Newfoundland becoming a province or in providing a financial bailout.[20]

The Newfoundland Royal Commission met in 1933, chaired by Baron Amulree, and its recommendations followed a Whitehall script.[21] The Newfoundland debt would be rescheduled and guaranteed by the British government – a disguised default. But since financial intervention was incompatible with Dominion status, responsible government would have to be suspended and replaced by an appointed commission that would last until the country was again self-supporting and there was a request from the people for constitutional change. It remained, legally, a Dominion. In February 1934, a commission of three Newfoundlanders and three British officials took over, and most people were prepared to accept the failure of independence. It was a unique experiment in imperial administration.[22]

However, the experiment had not been adequately thought through, and by the late 1930s the commission was widely unpopular, mainly

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because it was secretive and had failed to fulfil the inflated expectations that had accompanied its inauguration. The British government would perhaps have had to reform the system, but the Second World War intervened. And the war brought prosperity and full employment, with the building of American and Canadian military bases on the island and in Labrador. Overall, there were higher disposable incomes than ever before, and the government had a surplus large enough to make interest-free loans to the United Kingdom. There was no question that the country was once again self-supporting and that direct rule had to end. The events that followed have spawned an extensive literature, and a controversy that lasts to this day.

As Dominions Secretary, Clement Attlee visited Newfoundland in 1942 and sent out a 'goodwill' mission of three Members of Parliament in 1943. The MPs agreed that most Newfoundlanders opposed a return to full responsible government and that confederation was out of the question. As Lord Cranbourne, Atlee's successor, put it, Newfoundlanders wanted to have their cake and eat it.[23] British policy at this stage assumed that confederation could not happen for some time, and Canadian policy was extremely cautious. The change came in 1945, when P. A. Clutterbuck of the Dominions Office was sent to Ottawa. He was bluntly told that there was little useful assistance that Canada could offer, but was asked about confederation.

Could it be achieved without a return to responsible government? From this point on, the meeting was absorbed by the issue of confederation and an official statement was issued on 11 December 1945. There would be a national convention in which Newfoundlanders could 'come to a free and informed decision as to their future form of government'.[24] It was a calculated gamble, since all would depend on how public opinion developed in Newfoundland. The National Convention Act, passed in mid-May, provided for 45 candidates from 39 districts – and Labrador was included for the first time.

It was a strange election. Very few candidates made definite statements about where they stood, and only Joseph R. Smallwood openly espoused confederation. The voter turnout was generally low, apart from St John's, despite Newfoundland's growing population (see Table 1). All members had to reside in their districts. There was also a change in governor; Sir Humphrey Walwyn was replaced by Sir Gordon Macdonald, a religious, teetotal Welshman, a former Labour MP and a friend of Attlee. He was very much in favour of confederation, reflecting the views of the British government. The Canadians had established the Interdepartmental Committee on Canada–Newfoundland Relations,

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Table 1. Population of Newfoundland: Selected years, 1869–2021.

Years	Population
1869	146,536
1874	161,374
1884	197,335
1891	202,040
1901	220,984
1911	242,619
1921	263,033
1935	289,588
1945	321,416
1951	361,416
1966	493,396
1976	557,725
1986	568,349
1996	552,000 (estimated)
2016	519,716
2021	510,550

Note: The French Shore population may be underestimated in the censuses prior to 1874, and that of Labrador before 1945.

which was soon in touch with the small group of elected members of the Convention who favoured confederation, through the High Commissioner in St John's who had been in place since 1941. The responsible government supporters were, in contrast, divided and disorganised; this state of affairs was to continue *mutatis mutandis* throughout the Convention.

The first intervention by Smallwood (Bonavista Centre) was to suggest sending a delegation to Ottawa for 28 October 1946. It was the same day that the debates of the Convention began to be broadcast, of which Smallwood was well aware. The attack on the motion was led by Michael Harrington (St John's West), who called it premature; others followed, expressing indignation at Smallwood's alleged insults to Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders. Finally, Smallwood's motion was defeated and discussion was postponed until 1947. Then the Chair, Judge Fox, died on 16 November. The Convention was asked if it wanted to elect one of its members as Chair; they chose F. Gordon Bradley (Bonavista East), who had been a Confederate for many years.

The debate on Smallwood's motion changed the atmosphere of the Convention. It created clear divisions and injected bitterness and acrimony. The Responsible Government League finally got to work, but it did not invite Peter Cashin, a leading anti-Confederate, to join, and continued to think that the British government would never allow confederation to be placed on the ballot as an alternative to responsible government. It was a bad mistake.

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Many of those who favoured the resumption of responsible government were sympathetic to the argument that Newfoundland should seek close economic ties with the United States. The idea of reciprocity with the US had a long history, and many voters would sympathise with it. However, the Commission of Government refused to allow the Convention to look at tariff matters, since it was outside its terms of reference. In the end, a London delegation was elected on 19 March, of which Bradley (as Chair) was to be a member. The only other Confederate sympathiser was William J. Keough (St George's).

The delegation left in late April 1947. In summary, the British government offered to forgive the 1917 loan (£400,000) and try to convert this sterling debt to a lower interest rate, but there was no question of any other debt adjustments. With reference to the American military bases, which had been mentioned, there was no expectation that the US would renegotiate the agreement. And there was a limit to the amount of fish and iron ore that Britain could purchase. In short, the Convention's requests had been dismissed out of hand. 'I hope,' said Lord Addison (yet another Dominions Secretary), 'you will think of us as kindly as you can when you get back.'[25]

The delegation to Ottawa left Newfoundland on 19 June. Bradley and Smallwood were determined to drag out the talks, obtain generous terms of union and delay the referendum until 1948. The Canadian position was initially less clear, and there were reservations about offering terms at all. However, that changed in July and draft terms gradually emerged. The central issue was financial, in that the Canadians did not want to be accused of over-generosity or else there would be political repercussions in federal–provincial relations. The delegation finally left Ottawa without final terms on 30 September, to enter a hostile environment. The Convention resumed its meetings on 10 October, and Bradley resigned as Chair in a dramatic flourish. He was replaced by John McEvoy, the third Confederate Chair.

The draft terms of union were handled by Smallwood, who dominated proceedings from 20 November until 12 December and after the Christmas break until late January. It was agreed that responsible and Commission government should be on the ballot paper, and then Smallwood moved the motion to place confederation there as well. Early in the morning of 28 January, the motion was defeated by 29 votes to 16. In fact, the number of confirmed Confederates was 12. The Convention dissolved on 29 January. As Smallwood had predicted, confederation was placed on the ballot anyway and the Confederate Association was launched.

The anti-Confederates were outraged. The British action was seen as a breach of the 1934 'contract' and a repudiation of the National Convention.

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It made no difference. Then the Economic Union Party emerged as a rival to the Responsible Government League, seeking closer relations with the United States. It was backed by the *Sunday Herald* and did quite well until it became clear that there was no statement of interest from any responsible American official and in fact some hostility. Nevertheless, the League could count on numerous votes, including those of many Roman Catholics. Archbishop E. P. Roche, a Roman Catholic, had been an anti-Confederate all of his life; he feared that 'a simple God-fearing way of life' would be destroyed by materialism and a Protestant-based morality that would encourage divorce and mixed marriage. The *Monitor*, the voice of the archdiocese, called the placing of confederation on the ballot a political crime.

On 3 June, the referendum showed responsible government at 44.6, confederation at 41.1 and Commission at 14.3 per cent support. It was immediately clear that victory for the Confederates was within reach in a second referendum, and a splinter group of members of elite groups emerged, but without allegiance to Smallwood and Bradley. It was these two who fought in the second referendum, which was much dirtier than the first. The Confederates played the Catholic card, mobilising the Orange Order, and attacked the Economic Union Party, mainly for being anti-British.

The second campaign was nasty and brutish. But the final count showed 52.3 per cent votes for confederation and 47.7 for responsible government. As before, most districts off the Avalon Peninsula voted for confederation. The Economic Union Party collapsed. There were a number of attempts in London to use legalisms to dispute the result, but in the end the Confederates had a famous, if narrow, victory.

Conclusion: tied to Canada

As a result of the referendum, the independent Newfoundland came to an end. However, becoming a province did not stop its problems. Most Newfoundlanders and Labradoreans accepted the new dispensation without argument, but there was a pervasive uncertainty about the way in which it was done and accusations of skulduggery persisted for years.[26] This was not without a reluctant respect for the autocratic regime that Smallwood had put in place. He was the king of Newfoundland and made himself felt in national as well as local politics. But the centre had shifted to the west, the province was virtually bankrupt, the future of the fisheries was very uncertain and mining and offshore oil seemed to be the only promising areas.

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In these circumstances, there is a tendency to look back at the Smallwood years and blame him for extravagance and arguably corrupt companions, from Alfred Valdmanis to John Doyle.[27] This is true enough, but there was a real problem in representing a relatively small population spread out over a huge area where so much had to be done and in a country where historical knowledge was uneven.

Newfoundland and Labrador were never vital to the old empire except in terms of geographical location. They may have been first in various ways and placed proud emphasis on their loyalty, but geography was always an essential component. If Marconi was the first to receive transatlantic transmissions in 1901, it was because Newfoundland was the closest place to England – just as the early international fishing fleets had come across to exploit what the 'New Isle' had to offer. There followed aviation and the Second World War. However, it was Britishness and proximity that counted. Today, without readily available help, there are real problems in terms of population, health care, education – indeed, in all the basic services. Let us hope that something short of commission government is the eventual answer.

Declarations and conflicts of interest

Research ethics statement

Not applicable to this article.

Consent for publication statement

Not applicable to this article.

Conflicts of interest statement

The author declares no conflict of interest with this work. All efforts to sufficiently anonymise the author during peer review of this article have been made. The author declares no further conflicts with this article.

Notes

1 This article is an updated version based on my two previous works: Hiller, 'Status without stature' and Hiller, *Confederation of Newfoundland and Canada*.
2 Blake and Baker, *Where Once They Stood*, 21–2.
3 Hiller, 'Confederation defeated'.
4 Bannister, *The Rule of the Admirals*.

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5 Thompson, *The French Shore Problem*.
6 United Nations, 'The North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Case'.
7 Minute by Herbert, 21 January 1890, National Archives, London, CO 194/212, 625.
8 *The St John's Daily News*, 13 June 1898.
9 Bond in Assembly debate, 10 March 1900, *Evening Herald*, 19 March 1900. See also Hiller, *Robert Bond*.
10 'J. R. Smallwood in the National Convention'.
11 St John's *The Patriot*, 18 July 1865.
12 Smallwood, ed., *Encyclopedia*, vols 1–2; Poole, ed., *Encyclopedia*, vols 3–4; vol. 1: 236, 267, 437–40, vol. 2: 426–7, vol. 3: 66, 381–6, and vol. 4: 27–9.
13 Quoted in Smrz, 'Cabot 400', 24.
14 Williams to Harcourt, conf., 24 April 1911, CO 194/283, 158.
15 See Janzen, 'France–Canada maritime boundary dispute'. The decision was controversial.
16 O'Brien, 'The Newfoundland Patriotic Association'.
17 Hiller, 'Morris, Edward Patrick' and Hiller, 'Lloyd, Sir William Frederick'.
18 Addam, minute, 3 January 1923, quoted in Gilmore, *Newfoundland and Dominion Status*, 102.
19 St John's *Evening Telegram*, 13 March 1931.
20 See Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*.
21 *Newfoundland Royal Commission, 1933: Report*. Chaired by Baron Amulree. [London: HMSO], 1933 (*Amulree Report*).
22 O'Flaherty, *Lost Country*.
23 Memorandum by Cranbourne, 8 November 1943, in Bridle, ed., *Documents*, vol. 2, part I: 81. Much of what follows relies on this source.
24 Statement, Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates (Commons)*, 5th Series, 11 December 1945, 210–11.
25 Transcript of third meeting, 7 May 1947. Hiller and Harrington, eds, *The Newfoundland National Convention*, vol. 2: 509.
26 In 2001, the government changed the name of the province from Newfoundland to Newfoundland and Labrador. See, for example, Malone, *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders*.
27 Bassler, *Alfred Valdmanis*.

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Canadian Law Between the Wars

Richard W. Pound

Abstract

Examined through a legal prism, Canada is an officially bilingual federal state with a bi-juridical legal system based, for the most part, on the traditions of British common law as it has evolved over the years. But in Quebec, the private law is civil law, contained in a Civil Code, derived from the laws established in what was New France. Canadian public law is essentially British. The current Head of State is King Charles III, Head of the Commonwealth. Canada's constitution sets forth, inter alia, the jurisdictional competence of the federal government and that of the provinces and territories. Over the course of the more than 150 years since Confederation, the respective governments have engaged in much litigation, testing the limits of their respective legislative powers.

Beginning in the early years of the twentieth century, an increasing volume of legislation developed as Canada progressed from its colonial status to a fully autonomous state with full control of both its domestic and foreign affairs. The scope and volume of legislation increased substantially in the lead-up to the Second World War (and thereafter) as governments, in their respective spheres, sought to create a legal environment that was attentive to a broader range of social issues. The existence of a federal state complicated the development and enactment of policies that produce the same outcomes throughout the country, since the constitution confers legislative jurisdiction on the provinces regarding property and civil rights. Much effort is expended in intergovernmental negotiations, leading to achievement of substantially harmonised results.

Keywords imperial matters; federal/provincial jurisdiction; Privy Council; Indigenous peoples; banking legislation; labour law; women's rights; social security; war; League of Nations; United Nations.

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Introduction

Law is an expression that, in general, reflects the outcome of legislation, whether constitutional (including conventions of a procedural or deferential nature) or reflective of established governmental policies that, in turn, are reduced to legislation (including both statutory and subordinate regulation), adopted by a legally competent legislature empowered with the jurisdiction to legislate. Any study of Canadian law 'between the wars'[1] requires some measure of set-up, if only to identify the context and to deal with the evolution of the country from its colonial status to a largely self-governing and eventually fully autonomous state, as well as to note preparatory initiatives leading to more modern legislation that had its roots in the period under study.

The roots and traditions of Canadian law are a mixture of both civil and common law, the former derived from the law applied in New France prior to what is sometimes referred to as the conquest, in the course of which the British captured first Louisbourg, the centre of Acadian traditions, then Quebec in 1759 and finally Montreal (by capitulation) in 1760.[2] The British brought with them the common law, along with a somewhat more enlightened system of criminal law than had previously been applied in New France. The French occupation of what became British North America had, however, a lengthy, if somewhat narrower, legal history when compared with the British common law, with its tradition of incremental judge-made law, afflicted with a bewildering set of arcane procedures, penetrable only by a few lawyers.

The French in Canada considerably outnumbered the relatively few British. Britain had enjoyed a military victory, but the formally acquired territory was overwhelmingly occupied by the French, who had been there for more than two centuries. The French were less than enthusiastic about the 'opportunity' to change their language, religion and laws. The law in matters such as property, contracts, succession and marriage was well established, resulting in a degree of tension throughout the former area of New France, one that required careful management by the British minority to avoid open conflict. This need for a practical accommodation led to the adoption of the Quebec Act of 1774 by the Imperial Parliament, which preserved many aspects of the civil law, language and protection of the rights of the Roman Catholic Church, giving Roman Catholics in Quebec considerably greater rights than those enjoyed by their counterparts in Britain, the mother country.

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This special accommodation of the Quebec Roman Catholics also attracted the attention of the British colonies in New England, whose Roman Catholics also had far fewer rights than those benefitting from the Quebec Act, to the point of invasion of Canada, even prior to what became the US Declaration of Independence in 1776.[3] Indeed, the protections afforded to the French by the Quebec Act played a significant part in eventual decisions, often untidily reached, not to accept annexation with what became the United States of America.

The initial political organisation of the conquered territory applied to the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and what had been New France (or Quebec), divided into Upper and Lower Canada pursuant to a British-made constitution coming into force in 1791. When Confederation occurred in 1867, it involved only those territories.[4] Manitoba was added in 1870, British Columbia in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. Saskatchewan and Alberta joined in 1905. Newfoundland (and Labrador) remained a separate British colony until 1949,[5] when it was incorporated as a province within Confederation. While in Upper Canada, British law prevailed in both criminal and civil matters (through the common law), in Lower Canada it was bifurcated, with British criminal and public law and the French traditions of civil law.[6]

It was in the nature of new colonies that the primary legal (and practical) focus was on local matters, including the clearance of land, the building of shelters, cultivation of crops and ensuring generation of the necessities of life. Law as such was essentially an add-on to the society of the day, most evident in the gradual emergence of municipal institutions and amenities, such as roads and primitive services, essentially utilitarian in nature. Churches, schools, hospitals and the like were generally private undertakings.

One must remember that the Canadian possessions of the day were, in fact, British colonies, with local powers that were vestigial in nature and subject to control by British political institutions, whose officials were unfamiliar with the conditions in those colonies, and headed by British-appointed governors. It would be almost a century before the Dominion of Canada was established (by Britain) pursuant to the British North America Act, 1867.[7] British governors general continued to be appointed thereafter for almost another century. Even Dominion status, which included well-defined legislative powers divided into provincial and federal competence (for peace, order and good government), was short of full self-government, finally achieved only in 1982, with the patriation of the Canadian constitution and the adoption of the foundational Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

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In the early years of the twentieth century, as Europe lurched towards the First World War, development of the law in Canada was neither particularly exciting nor ground-breaking. All non-purely domestic matters were fully controlled by the Imperial Parliament. If Britain was at war, so, automatically, was Canada, without the constitutional necessity for Canadian agreement or even consultation. Despite some negotiated progress during the First World War by Canadian politicians, that position was only seriously challenged when the Second World War was declared by Britain in 1939. Canada issued its own declaration a few days later, even though such a declaration may merely have confirmed the legal fact that Canada was already at war.[8] The final court of appeal in Canadian legal matters was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a state of affairs that lasted until after the end of the Second World War (except for criminal matters, which, after 1933, were deemed by Canada to be essentially local in nature and ceased to be appealable to the Privy Council).

Part of the issue of the generally uninspiring legal development of Canada may be laid at the doorstep of the division of legislative powers in the BNA Act. Property and civil rights fell within the legislative competence of the provinces. While the configuration of the country – especially in 1867, when the population was sparse, travel problematic and uncertainty existed regarding westward expansion of the new Dominion – may have favoured such a statutory matrix, it made development of national policies in many areas very difficult, if not practically impossible. The burning constitutional question in Canada tended to be whether legislative jurisdiction in respect of any particular subject matter was federal or provincial.

The federal powers were contained for the most part in section 91 of the BNA Act and those of the provinces in section 92. The following enumerations provide an overview of the division of powers, within which the federal and provincial governments constantly manoeuvred:

> **Section 91:** Public debt and property, regulation of trade and commerce, unemployment insurance,[9] raising of money by any mode or system of taxation, borrowing of money on the public credit, postal service, census and statistics, militia, military and naval service and defence, …, beacons buoys, lighthouses and Sable Island, navigation and shipping, quarantine and establishment and maintenance of marine hospitals, sea coast and inland fisheries, ferries between a province and any British or foreign country or between two provinces, currency and coinage, banking, incorporation of

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banks and the issue of paper money, savings banks, weights and measures, bills of exchange and promissory notes, interest, legal tender, bankruptcy and insolvency, patents of invention and discovery, copyrights, Indians and lands reserved for the Indians, naturalization and aliens, marriage and divorce, the criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters, the establishment, maintenance, and management of penitentiaries. Such classes of subjects as are expressly excepted in the enumeration of the classes of subjects by the Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces.

Section 92: direct taxation within the province in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial purposes, the borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province, … provincial offices and appointment and payment of provincial officers, management, and sale of public lands belonging to the province and of the timber and wood thereon, … public and reformatory prisons in and for the province, … hospitals, asylums, charities and eleemosynary institutions in and for the province, other than marine hospitals, municipal institutions in the province, shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer and other licences …, local works and undertakings other than … ships, railways, canals, telegraphs … connecting the province … lines of steam ships … works situate[d] in the province declared by Parliament to be for the general advantage of Canada …, incorporation of companies with provincial objects, solemnization of marriage in the province, property and civil rights in the province, administration of justice in the province …, imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment …, generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province.

Given the judicial structure in the period immediately following Confederation, it is perhaps not surprising that Canadian law as such was slow in developing. The provincial superior courts, the judges of which were appointed by the federal authorities, were the repository of the residual jurisdiction for court intervention. There were no federal courts until 1875, when the Supreme Court of Canada was established, sitting in Ottawa,[10] along with the Exchequer Court of Canada as an itinerant trial court, although seated in Ottawa. The composition of the Supreme Court of Canada is now fixed at nine judges, of which three are appointed from Ontario, three from Quebec and three from the rest of Canada. In

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the face of the supervisory power of the Privy Council, Canadian judges were conservative in judicial outlook and tended to focus on the literal meaning of any legislation they were called upon to interpret, the so-called black-letter approach.

Then, too, the subject matter of the legislation of the day did not stray far from the traditional (especially British) subjects, such as criminal law, mercantile law (what would be called business law today), property, succession, admiralty, torts, patents and copyright. Comprehensive legislation in education, health, consumer protection, human rights and others were still areas to be developed, first as policy and then converted into statutory format. The communications revolution had not yet occurred, other than in newspapers, some of which were little more than platforms for the dissemination of the editorial views of their publishers. Radio was on the horizon after the First World War, although mainly local, and television was not a proven concept until just prior to the beginning of the Second World War. The challenges of Canadian geography and sparsely settled communities were more acute than those in Europe, making it more difficult to mobilise national public opinion and action than in Europe, thus reinforcing the role of the provinces.

Indians

The early arrivals, predominantly from Europe, into what is now Canada, were small in number and had no significant impact on the Indigenous peoples, other than admiring their superior weapons, which they were glad to acquire for the purposes of influencing outcomes in their own domestic rivalries. There were also trade relationships, generally in furs, payment for which exposed them to aspects of European implements and goods. As the number of Europeans grew and there were rivalries among their own communities, the Europeans, in turn, recruited the Indigenous peoples as allies in their own struggles.

This led to them being armed and plied with alcohol, to which they had almost no tolerance, creating many problems affecting both health and conduct. As the European trickle turned into a flood, it became all too clear that the Indigenous traditions and even their existence were at risk. Within ten years of Confederation, Parliament adopted the Indian Act in 1876.[11] It recognised the special nature of the Indians and their culture, providing certain protections for them, albeit in a rather paternalistic manner, and not always in a consistent, sensitive or protective fashion.

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A 1920 amendment to the Indian Act provided for enfranchisement of all native Canadians (as defined) and for the transformation of the Department of Indian Affairs, originally created in 1880. In 1936, the department was made a branch of the Department of Mines and Resources; in 1950, responsibility was transferred to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to be reborn in 1966 as the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In 1939, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled, in a dispute between the federal and Quebec authorities, that the term Indian in the BNA Act referred to all original inhabitants of Canada, including the Inuit.

Canada is only gradually addressing the many issues and unresolved implications of past treatment, including land claims, living conditions on reserves, sexual exploitation and residential schools. There have been occasional patchwork efforts to address known problems, some of which have led to the blockading of bridges and roads to protest against particular treatment. One such example was the strike of a Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples following a siege at Oka, Quebec, in 1991. A recent and much more poignant exercise was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission arising from the mistreatment of aboriginals during the time when residential schools operated, including the removal of children from their homes and parental care.

The Supreme Court of Canada, especially in recent years, is the Canadian institution that has protected aboriginal rights much more effectively than the executive and legislative branches of governments.

Transportation

Canada is vast. Its size was almost beyond the comprehension of the European immigrants. Some of the settlers making up New France had acquired more of an idea of the extent of Canada, the Northwest and even the United States as a result of their astonishing voyages of exploration, some of which covered the entire continent. From the outset of the new Dominion, transportation was a primary concern. In 1871, as part of the negotiations with British Columbia to join Confederation, the federal government promised to build a railway from Eastern Canada to the Pacific. British Columbia duly joined in 1871, but as often happens with government promises, had to wait until 1885 for the completion of the project. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company was incorporated in 1881 as a private corporation and continues to operate to the present day. In addition to transporting passengers and freight (much of which is

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wheat), it also transported troops and material during the war years and developed marine and air services at various times.

In 1919, another transcontinental railway company, Canadian National Railways Company, was founded in Montreal, established as a government-owned enterprise that combined several existing railways. Four years later, in 1933, legislation was adopted,[12] directing the two competing rail companies (Canadian National and Canadian Pacific) to cooperate in effecting economies and reducing duplication. One result was the cooperative pool trains in central Canada, jointly operated by the two corporations. Canadian National has subsequently been privatised and is now a listed publicly owned company.

One of the world's most significant waterways is the combination of the Great Lakes and the St Lawrence River, which stretches from the middle of the continent to the Atlantic Ocean between Canada and the United States. Its transportation potential was recognised as enormous, even though in the climate of the day, major parts of the waters were frozen during the winter season. The two countries had formed a Deep Waterways Commission in 1895 and an International Joint Commission in 1909 to study the matter. Progress was slow and the United States was also committed to the Mississippi and Missouri routes to the south. In 1927, Canada refused to join the United States in developing a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. However, on 18 July 1932, Canada and the United States signed the Great Lakes–St Lawrence Seaway Deep Waterway Treaty to build the St Lawrence Seaway and to improve transportation of grain and other commodities across the continent. The St Lawrence Seaway project would not begin until August 1954 and was eventually opened in 1959.[13] In August 1932, the fourth Welland Canal, bypassing the Niagara Falls, was opened, raising and lowering ships 99.36 metres.[14]

In 1936, Trans-Canada Airlines was created by the Government of Canada as a subsidiary of Canadian National Railways.[15] Effective from 1 January 1965, Trans-Canada Airlines became Air Canada. It was later privatised and is now a publicly traded corporation.

Banking

The Canadian banking system is organised across five broad categories of financial institutions: chartered banks, trust and loan companies, the cooperative credit movement, life insurance companies and securities dealers. Despite having a constitutional responsibility for banking, the

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federal government did not create a national bank until 1934, to serve as a government agency to regulate national policy, effective 11 March 1935.[16] Oddly enough, the Bank of Canada was initially to be privately held. This did not last long. Three years later, it became a publicly owned institution.[17] The Canadian banking system is widely regarded as one of the safest banking systems in the world.

Taxation

Until 1917, Canada imposed no income tax on personal and corporate incomes. Its taxation revenues were derived principally from customs and excise taxes. Some have expressed the thought that this was to help make Canada appear more attractive to immigrants, for which Canada was competing with other jurisdictions. However, First World War-related costs were such that by 1917 the federal government was forced to adopt a temporary Income War Tax Act to assist with funding the war effort – a first-time national tax on personal incomes.

However, taxes tend not to be temporary and personal income taxes have remained in effect ever since, becoming a major source of government revenues. Provincial governments have also embraced income taxes in respect of provincial undertakings. The taxation statutes are not only confined to the mere collection of government revenues, but also extend to policies designed to achieve specific economic objectives by means of such mechanisms as grants, credits, lower tax rates, exemptions and accelerated or increased deductions in the computation of income.

Labour relations

The expansion of the resource industries, construction of canals and railways and general growth of the economy led to the development of relationships that were governed by a capitalist labour market. During the colonial period, company towns developed (often based on production of a single resource such as coal or paper), providing a reserve of skilled labour and, to some degree, of worker stability. When violence occurred (as it often did), employer responses ranged from closing company-owned facilities to calling in the militia. Work for women changed from family enterprises to domestic service such as servants and housekeepers. Child labour peaked in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was supplemented by immigrant children brought from Britain by various

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children's aid societies and often involved cruel exploitation. Job security and assistance in the case of illness, injury and death were effectively non-existent.

For most of the nineteenth century, unions were normally small and local organisations, often illegal. Huge violent strikes occurred on work sites such as the Welland and Lachine canals. Growing acceptance of unions had emerged by the mid-century and led to the formation of some purportedly national workers' unions by the end of 1870s. The Toronto printers' strike in 1872 led Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to introduce the Trade Unions Act, with the outcome that labour unions were no longer considered as illegal conspiracies. The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital reported in 1889 and documented the sweeping impact of industrialisation in Canada and strong support for unions as a suitable form of organisation for workers. In 1894, Labour Day, the first Monday in September, was established as a national holiday. The federal Department of Labour was created in 1900.

During the First World War, union membership grew to 378,000 by 1919 and strike activity increased to more than 400 strikes in the same year. Most, but not all, of these were in Ontario and Quebec (the two most populous provinces), but also included the Winnipeg General Strike, when its leaders were arrested and the violent suppression of the strike demonstrated that governments would not remain neutral. Labour activities during and after the war eventually led to the introduction of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1941, a reform achieved only in 1940, which had an important influence on the labour movement. The Great Depression of the 1930s was an important turning point in this struggle, when more than one million were out of work. By 1949, union membership was in excess of one million, especially in new mass production industries such as rubber, electricity, steel, automobile manufacturing and packing houses.

New rights afforded to labour and the rise of the welfare state during the 1930s and 1940s were major achievements, promising to protect Canadian workers against major economic misfortunes. Governments, major employers in their own right, granted similar rights to their employees. The Canadian Labour Congress would emerge in 1956. Looking farther into the future, the Canadian Labour Code was assented to in the Canadian centennial year, 1967.

In the course of the Second World War, despite government efforts to limit union powers through wage controls and restrictions on the right to strike, workers refused to wait until the war was over, which led to the adoption of an emergency order-in-council, protecting employees' rights

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to join unions and requiring employers to recognise the union selected by the employees.[18] After the war, in 1948, the Industrial Relations and Disputes Act became the cornerstone of Canadian industrial relations, along with analogous provincial legislation.

During 1945, 17,000 striking members of the United Auto Workers and Ford Motor Company agreed to binding arbitration under Justice Ivan Rand of the Supreme Court of Canada. While arbitrating the strike, Rand handed down what has become known as the Rand Formula, establishing a form of union security pursuant to which an employer would deduct a portion of the salaries of all employees, whether they belonged to the union or not, and pay the overall amount to the union as union dues.

Unemployment insurance

This federal responsibility emerged from a 1940 constitutional amendment to the BNA Act. As early as 1919, the creation of a national programme of unemployment insurance had already been recommended by the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations. When in 1935 the R. B. Bennett government tried to introduce the Employment and Social Insurance Act, both the Supreme Court of Canada and the British Privy Council declared it unconstitutional, as an infringement of provincial authority. This led to the 1940 constitutional amendment, immediately followed by passage of the Unemployment Insurance Act, which created the Unemployment Insurance Fund, the first compulsory unemployment insurance plan in the country, effective on 2 July 1941, with contributions from employers, employees and the federal government.

Business-related legislation

The federal Companies Act came into force on 2 October 1934, replacing the Companies Act of 1927, which established stricter standards for regulations safeguarding the security of investors, shareholders and creditors.

The year 1923 saw the adoption of the Combines Investigation Act, the basis of modern legislation designed to control mergers, trusts and monopolies that limited or eliminated competition. In 1935, the Dominion Trade and Industry Commission became empowered to administer the Act, prohibiting monopolies from operating to the detriment of the public.

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Women’s rights and emancipation

On 1 January 1916, Emily Murphy, an Edmonton reformer and suffrage activist, became the first woman magistrate in the Commonwealth. British Columbia’s first female judge, Helen Emma MacGill, from Vancouver, was appointed in 1917.

Enfranchisement of women in Canada did not come easily and it was only in 1918 that they became eligible to vote in federal elections. In 1921, the first federal election in which women had the vote, Agnes Campbell MacPhail became the first woman elected to House of Commons in the rural Ontario riding of Grey South East.

Female voting took place at the provincial level during the First World War (see Figure 1). Manitoba women were the first in Canada to be granted the franchise, in 1916, followed by Saskatchewan and Alberta later that same year and in 1917 by British Columbia and Ontario. Nova Scotia granted the franchise for women in 1918, followed by New Brunswick in 1919. In 1922, Prince Edward Island women were given the right to vote in provincial elections as well as the right to hold political office in the province. In 1934, New Brunswick women were granted the same right to run for provincial office in the province. In Quebec, this right was not gained until 1940. Temperance activist Louise McKinney was the first woman in Canada to win a seat in a provincial legislature (Claresholm, Alberta).

Women in Quebec could not practise law until 1942. In 1952, women in Manitoba were the first to serve on juries. Women generally

Figure 1. Canadian women voting during the First World War. (Source: National Library and Archives Canada)

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could not serve on juries until after the Second World War and, in Quebec, not until 1971.

Women had also long argued for appointment to the federal Senate. They were rebuffed by three successive prime ministers, who believed that qualified persons for the purposes of appointment to the Senate pursuant to section 24 of the BNA Act did not include women, since the drafters of the statute clearly thought so, and that an amendment of the BNA Act would be required to achieve such an outcome. Since political action produced no results, the women took to the courts. The Supreme Court of Canada, predictably, produced a unanimous judgment rejecting their argument. On 18 October 1929, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council overruled that decision. Lord Sankey, speaking for the Privy Council, stated that: 'The exclusion of women from all public offices is a relic of days more barbarous than ours.'[19] The Supreme Court of Canada came off as looking rather foolish. Four months after the Privy Council judgment, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King appointed Cairine Wilson as Canada's first female senator.

Social safety nets

Old age pensions were established in 1927.[20] This was the federal government's first major initiative in the field of public welfare. The legislation provided pensions for British subjects who had resided in Canada for at least 20 years and who were 70 years of age or older. The maximum pension was $270 per year, to be paid to persons with demonstrable need, in cooperation with those provinces that wished to join. The original legislation was replaced by Old Age Security in 1952. Pensions had originally started at age 69, but beginning in 1966, eligibility was lowered, one year at a time, to eventually begin at age 65. In January 1966, the Canada Pension Plan was launched, except in Quebec, which created its own Quebec Pension Plan.

The 1943 Speech from the Throne announced 'a charter of social security for the whole of Canada'. The *Report on Social Security for Canadians* was published, calling for a comprehensive national social security system guaranteeing assistance in old age, sickness, maternity and disability. Family allowances were legislated in 1944, with payments commencing in 1945.

Medicare got its initial start in Saskatchewan in 1947, followed by Alberta in 1950. The first federal involvement began in 1961, with the St Laurent government's Royal Commission on Health Services, 1961–4, chaired by Supreme Court of Canada Judge Emmett Hall.

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Canada and the two World Wars

Constitutional responsibility for Canadian foreign relations was all left to Britain, which, after all, had adopted the BNA Act, 1867. Beginning in 1916, Prime Minister Robert Borden lodged complaints about the significant Canadian contribution to the war effort, but having only minimal involvement in the decision-making process. In March 1917, Borden and other Dominion prime ministers attended the first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet in London, a body created by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, to bring together Allied policymaking. Within a month, Borden proposed Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, calling for a special Imperial War Conference following the cessation of hostilities, with the objective of readjusting constitutional relations between component parts of the Empire. This was to be based on full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations in the Imperial Commonwealth.

On 18 November 1926, the Balfour Report was adopted at the Imperial Conference, declaring Britain and the Dominions of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Irish Free State to be 'autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate [to] one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations'. Just over a week later, Vincent Massey was appointed Canadian Minister to Washington, the first internationally recognised diplomatic appointment made by Canada.

Notable Canadian activity during the First World War included the 1915 composition (apparently in the space of 20 minutes) at Ypres of Dr John McRae's well-known poem, 'In Flanders Fields'. The poem was first published in *Punch* in December that year. In 1917, General Arthur Currie assumed command of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, succeeding Julian Byng as commander of the Canadian Corps in France. That same year, the Conscription Act was passed, leading to demonstrations and riots in Montreal. Also in 1917 was the founding of the National Hockey League. In 1919, after the end of the war, the Nickle Resolution requested that English monarchs refrain from conferring titles on any Canadian subject. This resolution was not law and Canada was the only Commonwealth nation to have such a policy.

Canada was a founding member of League of Nations in 1920, headquartered in Geneva. Canada served on the Council of the League until 1930. In 1935, Canada was part of the Committee of Thirteen to examine how economic sanctions could be used against violators of

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peace in Europe. The League was dissolved on 16 April 1946 and was replaced by the United Nations Organization.

During 1920, the Royal North West Mounted Police and the Dominion Police, the federal police force in eastern Canada, became the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The headquarters were moved to Ottawa from Regina, although the training centre remained (and still remains) in Regina. This national police force has become an iconic symbol of Canada.

The 1922 National Defence Act placed all Canadian defence forces under a single minister for the first time. It was later redesignated as the Department of National Defence Act. Adding to national conformity, also in 1922, British Columbia changed from driving on the left.

In 1923, the Halibut Treaty with the United States was signed, the first time a Canadian representative has signed a treaty with a foreign state without British involvement. This was followed by several others, dealing with trade, cooperation with respect to smuggling, boundaries and other matters.

The Royal Canadian Air Force was formed in 1924. In addition to active service, it would play an important role during the Second World War in training foreign air crews prior to their engagement in combat and other roles.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was established in 1936, with powers to regulate private stations and to support and promote Canadian culture, replacing the Canadian Broadcasting Commission that had been established in 1932. CBC went on to become the largest public broadcasting system in the world.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King met with Adolf Hitler in Berlin during 1937, later describing him as ‘a simple sort of peasant’ representing no serious danger to the world. On the domestic legal front that year, the Privy Council upheld a Supreme Court of Canada decision dated 17 June 1936, striking down the Bennett government’s New Deal legislation. In Quebec, the so-called Padlock Act[21] was adopted by Maurice Duplessis’ Union Nationale government, a statute eventually ruled unconstitutional in 1957 by the Supreme Court of Canada. Also in 1937, the Royal Commission on Dominion–Provincial Relations was established to examine the BNA Act. The Rowell–Sirois Commission issued its report in May 1940. In 1937, the Alberta government adopted a statute that forced newspapers to disclose their news sources to a government board, as well as to publish government rebuttals to any published criticism of the government. A year later, in 1938, the Supreme Court of Canada invalidated the statute.

On 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. The War Measures Act was proclaimed and the Canadian militia (today’s reserves) was called

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to active service. Defence of Canada Regulations were proclaimed in force under that Act, giving the federal government sweeping authority to protect the country against subversion and to control dissent. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, under the Minister of Labour, had power, inter alia, to control prices and the distribution of necessary goods and services.

In 1940, Canada commenced a massive programme to construct merchant and naval vessels. As early as May 1941, corvettes were launched to form the Newfoundland Escort Service with other Canadian destroyers. The North Atlantic crossings were particularly dangerous throughout the war due to the German U-boats that were very effective in their harassment and sinking of ships carrying large numbers of troops and filled with supplies destined for Britain and the European theatre of war.

In a major step forward in the war effort, on 11 March 1941, the United States Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, which permitted the US to provide Allied countries with necessary defence articles. Canada played an active role in the behind-the-scenes negotiations, many of which took place near Montreal. Later in 1941, upon approval of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, Canada and the USSR became allies following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. In 1943, Quebec adopted a law stipulating free and compulsory education in the province.

Canada was a founding member of the United Nations Organization, along with 50 other countries which signed the Charter in San Francisco on 26 June 1945. Canada ratified the Charter on 24 October and the United Nations Organization replaced the League of Nations. On 10 December 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Canada was an early signatory, having played an active role in the drafting of this foundational document.

After the end of the war, in January 1946, an Act of Parliament declared the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation to be a Crown corporation. The same year, the Atomic Energy Control Board was established to regulate the production and use of atomic energy.[22] September 1945 marked the first atomic fission in Canada and the first controlled atomic reaction outside the United States, sustained within the research reactor at Chalk River, Ontario. In addition, in December 1946, restrictions on the right to strike in the war industries and the freezing of prices and wages were lifted to allow for the readjustment of industries to civil production.

The Canadian Citizenship Act was proclaimed on 1 January 1947, pursuant to which Canadians became Canadian citizens rather than British subjects. Canadian women no longer automatically lost their citizenship when they married non-Canadians. The following year, Japanese Canadians were given the right to vote in federal elections and, in 1949, full citizenship was extended to all Asian Canadians.

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On 6 July 1948, delegates from Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States met in Washington, DC, to begin discussions which led to the North Atlantic Security Pact. On March 28 the following year, the North Atlantic Treaty was submitted to the Canadian House of Commons and approved in a single day, having been opposed only by two independent members from Quebec. This was followed almost immediately, on 4 April 1949, by the signature of the North American Pact in Washington, DC, by External Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson, Canada thereby becoming one of the 12 original members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

On 23 March 1949, assent was given to the North America Bill, passed by the British Parliament for the union of Newfoundland and Canada. This had not been an easy transition: a first referendum in Newfoundland had failed and the second, held on 22 July 1948, was decided narrowly in favour by 78,408 to 71,464. Newfoundland became the tenth Canadian province on 31 March 1949. Parliament passed the Supreme Court Bill in 1949, making the Supreme Court of Canada the final court of appeal for Canada. At the end of the year, on 10 December, the Trans-Canada Highway Act came into effect, authorising the construction of a two-lane roadway across Canada via the shortest route. Initially scheduled for completion by 1956, it was officially opened 3 September 1962. Route selections were made by the respective provinces and costs were shared 50–50 by the federal and provincial governments, with the federal government paying 100 per cent in respect of those portions passing through national parklands.

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Canada backed a United Nations decision to support the South. External Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson urged support of a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning North Korea and demanding its immediate withdrawal from South Korea. On 7 July 1950, the United Nations Security Council (with the Soviet representative absent) voted in favour of a multilateral force to aid South Korea. The Korean War hostilities ceased on 27 July 1953, with United Nations and North Korean delegates signing an armistice at Panmunjom. Canadians also served with the United Nations forces after the end of the war until 8 November 1954.

On 24 January 1952, Vincent Massey was appointed as the first Canadian-born governor general of Canada, the 18th person to hold the honorific position. He served in that capacity from 28 February 1952 until 15 September 1959.

Canada's first television station CBFT in Montreal (part of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation French network) began transmitting

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on 6 September 1952. Two days later, on 8 September, Canada's first English-language television station, CBLT, operated by the CBC, began broadcasting in Toronto.

Looking forward: matters of law still ripening

As noted, Canadian interest in non-traditional expansion of the legal system started to develop around the beginning of the First World War as matters of social policy began to occupy the population and the legislatures, both federal and provincial.

The final removal of the death sentence in Canada would not be made a matter of law until 1999, although from a practical perspective, no executions occurred after 1962. In 1976, the death penalty was removed from the Criminal Code, which was nevertheless maintained by the military until 1999; however, no military executions had occurred after 1945. Some 710 executions had taken place between 1867 and 1962, mostly by hanging, with the military keeping executions by firing squad.

A Bill of Rights was adopted by the Diefenbaker government on 10 August 1960, which, although it has never been repealed, was later largely supplanted by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms adopted by the Pierre Elliott Trudeau government. The Charter has become a foundational part of the Canadian constitution. The confidence of Parliament in the quality of Canadian courts has left much of the responsibility for evolution of the law in respect of Charter-protected rights in the hands of the courts.

The legal order in Canada continues to expand, extending to matters that operated outside earlier iterations, whether by active choice of legislators or simply by never having been considered as necessary or appropriate in the society of the day. Homosexuality, for example, was once punished under criminal law. Now it is a protected right and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is forbidden. The legal implications of homosexuality and related or analogous variations of sexual identification or expression are still in the process of being identified, properly defined and brought within the social net.

The ubiquity of information and the ease of its communication in the existing digital world is driving privacy concerns and developing the means of preventing personal data from becoming public. Access by the public at large to information in the possession of governments and other institutions continues as a matter of concern.

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While some of the legal fields identified, in summary only, in this concluding section were clearly within sight at the end of the period under review, others have taken much longer to mature and, even today, many important subjects are not yet settled. The appetite for expansion remains and it is not difficult to predict that legislation and jurisprudence will continue to advance in response to that appetite.

Declarations and conflicts of interest

Research ethics statement

Not applicable to this article.

Consent for publication statement

Not applicable to this article.

Conflicts of interest statement

The author declares no conflict of interest with this work. All efforts to sufficiently anonymise the author during peer review of this article have been made. The author declares no further conflicts with this article.

Notes

1 For purposes of this article, this period extends from the Boer War to the First and Second World Wars, finishing with the Korean War.
2 The war giving rise to these military actions was North American only on the periphery of an ongoing war between England and France relating to the Austrian succession.
3 It was not until 1960 that the USA elected John F. Kennedy as the first Roman Catholic president of the country.
4 By that time, Upper and Lower Canada had been united into a single province pursuant to the Act of Union, 1841, Canada East (today's Quebec) and Canada West (today's Ontario).
5 In 1925, Newfoundland offered to sell Labrador to Quebec for $30 million, which was rejected by Quebec. After a long-standing dispute, in 1927, the Privy Council (a British institution) awarded Labrador to Newfoundland (still a British colony). Newfoundland enjoyed a brief period as a Dominion, but reverted to colonial status in 1933 as a result of financial difficulties that had it facing bankruptcy. Its Dominion status was removed pursuant to the Newfoundland Act of 1933, which suspended its constitution.
6 As it became increasingly clear from the conferences leading to Confederation that it would occur, Quebec set about formalising a Civil Code to capture the appropriate subject matter, based on the *Coutume de Paris*, introduced in

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New France in 1627, and the 1804 Napoleonic Civil Code of France. The Civil Code of Lower Canada was enacted by the Quebec Legislative Assembly in 1865 and came into force on 1 August 1866.

7 This statute is now the Constitution Act, 1867. References to the statute prior to the name change are to the name used at the time, the British North American Act, abbreviated for convenience as the BNA Act.

8 The legal status of Canada's situation during 1 and 10 September 1939 was conveniently ignored and the United States shipped considerable war material to Canada, ceasing only when the Canadian declaration was made, to maintain US neutrality by not selling such material to a nation at war.

9 This came later through a 1940 amendment to the BNA Act.

10 In 2021, for the first time, the Court sat (physically) in Winnipeg; it had a similar sitting in Quebec City in 2022.

11 The name of the statute reflected the ubiquitous description of the Indigenous population as a whole. Even with the more nuanced description and understanding of their cultures that now exist, the federal government has never changed the name of the statute. In this segment, focusing as it does on law, I have used the statutory term, while recognising that, in today's world, it is an unsatisfactory descriptor of a broad range of aboriginal and Indigenous peoples or First Nations.

12 Canadian National-Canadian Pacific Act, 23 May 1923.

13 There were many slips twixt cup and lip. In February 1949, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St Laurent flew to Washington to discuss the project with President Harry S. Truman and to inform him that if American delaying tactics did not cease, Canada was prepared to proceed alone. A second trip in September 1951 occurred for the same purpose. Final commitment to the Seaway came with the passage of the Wiley-Dondero Bill on 13 May 1954 and a ground-breaking ceremony commenced on 10 August 1954.

14 Less extensive predecessors to the current Welland Canal had been established in 1829, 1845 and 1887.

15 Trans-Canada Airlines Act, 10 April 1937.

16 Bank of Canada Act, 1934. Resistance to the creation of a central bank had come principally from the leadership of the chartered banks.

17 Bank of Canada Amendment Act, 1938.

18 See PC 1003 (federal Cabinet), 17 February 1944.

19 *Edwards* v. *Attorney General of Canada*, [1930] A.C. 124 at 128. See also Sharpe and McMahon, *The Persons Case*.

20 Old Age Pensions Act, 1927.

21 Act Respecting Communistic Propaganda, 1937.

22 Atomic Energy Control Act.

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Public Infrastructure in the Greater Toronto Area: A National Challenge Addressed at the Local Level

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Abstract

This article provides a brief summary of infrastructure in twentieth-century Canada. An analysis is then presented, showing the post-war evolution of municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area, the first and largest municipal unit in Canada. It was municipalities, and not the federal or provincial governments, that came to own and operate nearly half of the total Canadian public stock. The article then discusses the intricate ways in which the funding mechanisms of public infrastructure developed and argues in some instances that funding on the scale of needed infrastructure explains how governments themselves developed. It explores how the current system, albeit intricate, continues to drive local economies in the Greater Toronto Area, now the key engine of Canadian national growth.

Keywords Greater Toronto Area (GTA); public infrastructure; municipalities; federal government; provincial government; Canada; funding; national growth; First World War; Second World War.

Introduction

Who decides, who builds and who pays for Canada's infrastructure has evolved in large part as a consequence of war. War modernised Canada in many ways, its infrastructure benefitting from new ideas, equipment and

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inventions related to mass transportation and communication, housing, roads, bridges and airports. Providing public infrastructure in Canada is not a story of linear investment, rather it comes in waves.[1]

The First World War saw the invention of tanks as well as vast improvements in aeroplanes and trucks. By 1926, there were over 750,000 motor cars in Canada. This brought a need for national cooperation on roads, with British Columbia being the last province to drive on the right rather than on the left.

Prior to the First World War, infrastructure expenditure largely reflected the railroads, but by the 1920s and the advent of cheap motor cars, road bridges and road tunnels began to be built on an epic scale. The world's first international vehicular tunnel from Windsor, Ontario, to Detroit, Michigan, was opened. Airports and airmail appeared in the 1920s and 1930s in Canada's largest cities. The Second World War saw new airports in Dorval (Montreal) and Gander in Newfoundland become central to Ferry Command and the US Airforce. Literally thousands of bombers were ferried to Britain from Dorval via Gander. In turn, this led to huge transatlantic air passenger traffic in the post-war years. After the Korean War of the 1950s and as the Iron Curtain formed around Russia, early warning radar stations were established in northern Canada and coastal USA. Today, the rise of an electronic infrastructure reflects the growth of computers and cellphones. The REM (rapid electric trains) in Montreal and the SKY train in Vancouver are new forms of rail transport that are appearing. Metrolinx is a new provincial organisation to coordinate transport in the Toronto and Hamilton areas.

The creation of nations is sometimes framed in terms of heroic struggles, wars, revolutions and political upheaval. Canada's history is different – the nation was literally built by infrastructure.[2] The country's twentieth-century infrastructure reflected changes often brought about by Canada's wartime experiences.

As with most stories of national unification, the Canadian story is complex, sometimes sordid and certainly not linear. Public infrastructure may not be exciting to some, but it is intrinsic to Canada's national story. Canals, railways and highways, many of which were state sponsored, sometimes after the fact, provided the foundations of Canadian national unification. Canada's history is one of people brought together over considerable stretches of varied geography by shared beliefs, shared infrastructure and shared public debt. There was considerable public infrastructure investment following the First World War, but this started to drop off by the late 1920s, possibly due to a number of procurement

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scandals at the time. Investment resumed in earnest after the Second World War as a means of securing economic growth. The 30-year period after the Second World War is sometimes described as the golden age of Canadian infrastructure, with its best-known projects completed during this time, including the St Lawrence Seaway, the Trans-Canada Highway and the Trans-Canada pipeline.[3] Overall, post-war Canadian economic growth was robust and infrastructure spending was considerable – public gross investment as a percentage of gross domestic product peaked at approximately 4 per cent in 1975.[4] However, the oil and inflation crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s brought retrenchment and public infrastructure investment experienced a marked decline, remaining comparatively low through to the late 1990s, when it picked up again.

Canadians should be forgiven for the popular belief that the nation was built by the railway. To some extent it was, but the cause and effect is not so straightforward. As Canadian high school students are taught, a driving reason for the creation of Canada was to finance the Transcontinental Railway – in other words, they created a country to build a railway, not the reverse. One can only imagine British or American students learning about their great constitutional moments, the signing of the Magna Carta or the American Declaration of Independence juxtaposed with the Canadian story: Canada's Founding Fathers sipping half-decent wine on a steamship off Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, haggling over the finance of a rail link from Central Canada to Maritime Canada. Outrage at the overreach of the Crown may have driven English barons in 1215 or the US Continentals in 1776, but Canada's path to nationhood seems to have been driven, at least in part, by a fear of the Grand Trunk Railway, described by its own board just prior to Canadian Confederation, as 'an undertaking which is overwhelmed with debt, wholly destitute of credit and in imminent danger of lapsing into utter insolvency and confusion'.[5]

And yet, that is Canada's history; a remarkable and peaceful nation, unified sea to sea by rail, road and port and by the shared beliefs in the powers of the rule of law, the invisible hand and consolidated joint and several debt. A Canadian folk song hails:

> For they looked in the future and what did they see
> They saw an iron road runnin' from the sea to the sea
> Bringin' the goods to a young growin' land
> All up from the seaboards and into their hands.[6]

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The role of the federal government after the First and Second World Wars

One of the major federal infrastructure efforts that came before the Second World War in the 1930s was aimed to arrest the high cost of home ownership in cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and their surrounding municipalities, a problem that persists today. The federal government passed legislation to try to reduce house prices but without much appreciable effect.

The more significant federal role in housing came after the Second World War and the effort to house returning veterans and new Canadians. One of the impediments was the size of the Canadian building industry – it was too small to supply houses in the needed numbers. For much of Canada's history, homes were built, literally, by homeowners themselves. Beginning with the quintessential log cabins of old, by the early part of the twentieth century Canadians were still building their own houses, sometimes making use of prefabricated kits. When built by companies, houses were constructed by small corporate outfits, each building just a handful per year. To achieve the scale necessary in the post-war years, the government had to recognise that the building industry needed to increase production considerably by adopting more of a mass-production approach than the small operators of the time could deliver. One of the major impediments was accessing capital, as banks were reluctant to lend money, either to corporations to develop land or through mortgages to homebuyers. The Canadian government understood that if it wanted to encourage individual home ownership, and develop the suburbs, the country needed a vehicle that could finance both the industry and homeowners.

To do this, the federal government created the Canadian Mortgage Housing Commission (CMHC) in 1946 to administer federal legislation and assist Canadian mortgage companies. As James Lorimer argues, the federal government made several important choices. First, the CMHC deliberately allocated investments to support low-density family-owned housing.[7] Second, it decided that the private rather than the public sector would deliver the housing stock. To facilitate this, the federal government created the necessary scale through policies that encouraged corporate concentration among the developers themselves. As Lorimer concludes, the Canadian government deliberately chose a development industry consisting of a few large firms as opposed to an industry of many.[8]

The post-war push to the suburbs from the 1940s onwards and the resulting built form was not solely the purview of municipal and

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provincial governments. The federal government also played a role. With the exception of specific initiatives during the Second World War to house munition workers, federal involvement in housing was primarily financial.

Public infrastructure: the municipal challenge

Canadian economic history often focuses on the growing linkages between cities and provinces, but in fact the story of Canadian public infrastructure, at least on a dollar-weighted value, is more a municipal story than it is a provincial or national one. The Canadian theme of creating governments to some extent to fund infrastructure continued through to the latter part of the twentieth century. Canada's first and largest municipal government, the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), is an interesting case study of the role of government and infrastructure in the creation of Canada's most prosperous region.

In Canada, responsibility for providing public infrastructure is divided between three orders of government. Constitutionally, the 1867 British North America (BNA) Act articulates the roles of the federal and provincial governments. With respects to infrastructure, Section 91 of the BNA Act gives the federal government infrastructure responsibility for defence, navigation, the postal service, shipping and ferries. Section 93 apportions provincial infrastructure responsibilities to include education, provincial courts, hospitals and local works.[9] Municipalities are not featured in the BNA; rather, they are creatures of the province, and each province does it differently. In Ontario, the largest province, municipalities are governed under several Acts, the most important being the Ontario Municipal Act, last revised in 2001. Section 11-3 outlines areas of municipal infrastructure jurisdiction to include: highways, transportation systems other than highways, waste management, public utilities, culture, recreation and heritage, and drainage and flood control.[10]

In terms of size, core public infrastructure in Canada was estimated to be worth approximately $382 billion in 2015, nearly 60 per cent of which was owned by municipalities, while the provinces held most of the remainder.[11] Interestingly, as shown in Table 1, the total share of municipal infrastructure has been increasing as a proportion of the national total, from approximately 26 per cent in 1961 to nearly 50 per cent by 2002.

Ontario's Greater Toronto Area provides some interesting insights. According to the 2016 census, the GTA is home to 6.4 million people, or

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Table 1. Capital stock of public administrations in Canada, net of linear depreciation. (Source: Harchaoui, Tarkhani and Warren, 'Public infrastructure in Canada', 307)

Years	Total $billion	Federal		Provincial		Local	
		$billion	%	$billion	%	$billion	%
1961	13.6	5.3	39.1	4.8	35.0	3.5	25.9
1973	39.0	10.2	26.1	16.5	42.3	12.3	31.6
1979	83.5	17.7	21.2	37.4	44.8	28.4	33.9
1988	153.1	29.6	19.3	63.7	41.6	59.8	39.1
2000	219.1	38.0	17.3	78.2	35.7	102.9	47.0
2001	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2002	227.5	40.1	17.6	77.9	34.3	109.5	48.1

about 18 per cent of Canada's population.[12] They live in 29 municipalities (see Figure 1), and in terms of municipal infrastructure responsibilities, who does what is quite varied even within the GTA. The reason for this variability rests in the way municipalities are organised. In total,

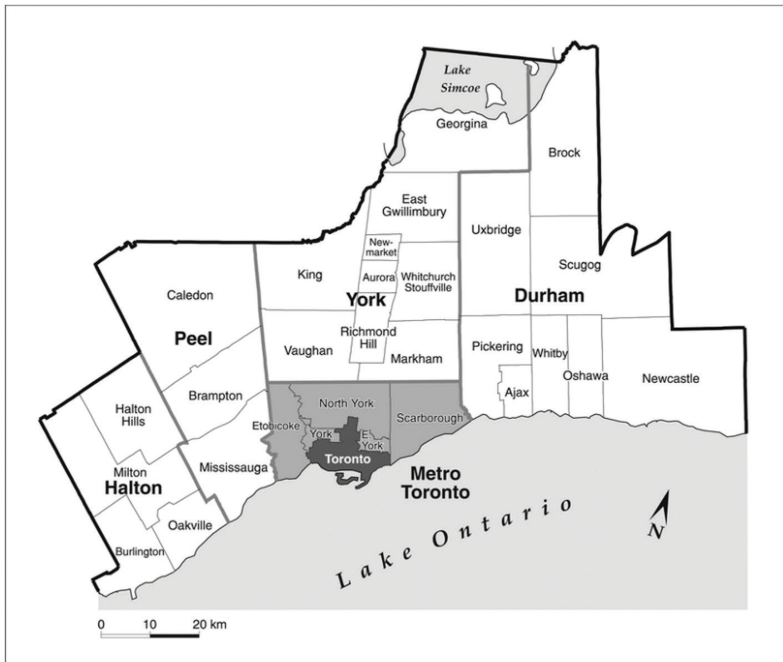

Figure 1. Toronto's four regions (Halton, Peel, York and Durham) and their 29 municipalities. (Source: The Cartography Office, Department of Geography, University of Toronto)

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there are 444 municipalities in Ontario that fall into four types: single tiers, regions, counties and districts. In the GTA, there is just a single tier (Toronto) and four regions (Peel, York, Halton and Durham). The single tier simply means one municipal government provides all municipal services while the regions are different. Each region has its own government and responsibilities, but regions are federations of local municipalities, and some responsibilities fall within the remit of the locals, while others fall to the regions. So, for example, Peel Region is a government unto itself, but Peel is responsible for providing certain municipal services, while its three locals (Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon) provide other services. The four GTA regions have between them a total of 24 local municipalities, each with their own administrations. Thus, the GTA has 29 municipalities, including Toronto, the four regions and their 24 locals. Generally, the regions provide the more expensive infrastructure such as arterial roads, water and wastewater.[13] However, two-tiered municipal responsibilities vary. For example, Peel offers region-wide water services but not region-wide transit, whereas York Region provides region-wide transit but splits water provisioning between the upper tier (York) and its nine local municipalities. The regions all have their own police services but in Caledon, a local municipality of Peel, policing is done by the Ontario Provincial Police.

It should be mentioned that transit in the GTA is not exclusively a municipal remit. The Toronto Transit Commission, owned by the City of Toronto, is overwhelmingly the largest transit provider in the GTA, and there is an assortment of public transit bodies in the regions and their local municipalities. But in addition to the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) and a number of local transit providers, the province of Ontario's crown agency, Metrolinx, provides very sizeable rail and bus services throughout the GTA and is now constructing four new subway lines as well. Metrolinx is also responsible for Presto, which is the payment platform used by transit riders on 11 different transit services in the GTA, Hamilton and Ottawa.

How did this rather intricate system come about? The short answer is that it is not entirely straightforward, but the ability for an order of government to provide infrastructure is certainly part of the explanation. The four regions of the GTA were established in the early 1970s, in part as a means to create governments large enough to both plan and finance major infrastructure investments, particularly in water and wastewater, that would allow for significant population growth but without sacrificing the local municipalities people were familiar with.

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At the time of their creation, the regions were comparatively small in terms of population, though sizeable in geography and investments, and had to link services across a wide area. Interjurisdictional negotiations are both required and easier between fewer municipalities. The regions and Toronto negotiate a considerable number of service agreements between themselves. Overall, the experiment has proved remarkably successful. The last 50 years have witnessed exponential growth in the regional population, replete with a tremendous build-out of infrastructure. However, one may ask whether the GTA now needs 29 municipalities. From time to time, the province of Ontario has asked itself the same question, and municipal amalgamations have happened. In fact, what is now the City of Toronto is the result of a lengthy history of annexation and amalgamations, with the last one taking place in 1998. Whether these were worth it remains a hotly contested debate in some areas but after the 1998 amalgamation in Toronto, the province has done little redrawing of municipal boundaries in the GTA, perhaps concluding that the juice isn't worth the squeeze.

At the end of the day, municipalities are spending a great deal of money on infrastructure. In 2018, the last reported year in the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing's Financial Information Return (FIR), Ontario's 444 municipalities invested over $11.6 billion in infrastructure.[14] Hence, municipal spending on infrastructure is roughly the same as the province spends to run all of its post-secondary and training facilities.[15]

Ontario municipalities borrowed nearly $1.5 billion from various sources to fund their investments in 2018. They directly funded over $7.5 billion from internal sources, including reserves, and received approximately $2.6 billion in grants from other levels of government. These grants included approximately $1.9 billion in federal money and approximately $650 million in provincial funding.[16]

Decisions on what to build, where to build it and when to build it are wrapped into a capital planning exercise typically split into two parts: spending to facilitate the growth in population (growth spending); and spending on the existing asset base which includes repair, rehabilitation and replacement (collectively referred to as asset management). By its intrinsic nature, infrastructure spending is lumpy – in other words, cash flows over time look like spikes and troughs, depending on the timing and magnitude of projects. Water and wastewater are examples where scale economies dictate stepwise investment in plant and pipe capacity. In other words, the system is deliberately built with many years of growth to spare. Hence, larger municipalities may make water and wastewater investments upwards of a billion dollars in a space of only a few years to accommodate growth, and then spend very little on it for over a decade.

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Population growth, which pays for these investments, is critically important because if the growth rate is overestimated, municipalities will be left with years of expensive overcapacity, while underestimating growth will simply stop building as capacity runs out.

Canada's post-war infrastructure

The post-Second World War infrastructure began reaching the end of its useful life and needed to be replaced by the end of the twentieth century.[17] The post-war need to rebuild on a massive scale echoed throughout the country long after the actual war years. As discussed previously, overall infrastructure spending tapered off in the late 1970s as government budgets were consumed elsewhere. However, by the year of the millennium, Canadian municipal infrastructure investment was quickly re-emerging as a major national challenge. Bridges were literally collapsing in Montreal, and traffic congestion was acknowledged to be a major restraint to Canadian economic growth. Altogether, infrastructure was reaching the end of its post-war life and needed to be replaced.[18] The situation was not unique to municipalities. At the provincial level, many public institutions such as hospitals and schools were in poor condition, while population growth and increasing case complexity in hospitals meant new infrastructure was needed. It was also during this time that many began to recognise that funding the infrastructure challenge was something municipalities could not do on their own.

Part of the fiscal challenge was that those who could decide the built form were not necessarily from the same organisation that could fund it. Early-twentieth-century municipal reformers in large cities such as Montreal and Toronto deliberately tried to shift the population away from the city core and into the newly forming suburbs reached by train and buses. Motivated by the perceived risks of an overcrowded downtown core, reformers sought not to create suburbs haphazardly, but to shape them by a planned build-out of municipalities undertaken through provincial legislation.[19]

To see this, one need only to look at municipal planning in Toronto. Formal municipal planning exercises can be found in nineteenth-century Canada and were typically driven by public health and the discovery that treated water and disposing of sewage could curtail disease. Planning for water and wastewater became public health imperatives, although for a considerable time untreated wastewater was simply dumped into available rivers and streams. The sheer cost of water and wastewater

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infrastructure made interjurisdictional political cooperation and, in time, consolidation a means to an end, but this was done by the municipalities rather than the province.

Formal legislative planning requirements began in Toronto in 1907, but its first official Master Plan did not come until 1943. Penned by Tracy D. LeMay, Toronto's first Official Plan was 16 pages long and contained one map.[20] Three years later, in 1946, the Planning Act was passed, allowing Ontario municipalities to publish binding Master plans, something that is now a requirement for most.

The Act also permitted inter-municipal planning boards and, almost immediately after the 1946 Planning Act was passed, the Toronto and York Planning Board was created to address regional issues, with York located north of Toronto. As argued by the Neptis Foundation, the Toronto–York Planning Board itself was largely ineffectual, failing to devise a regional plan, implement any land-use restrictions or carry out an investment in infrastructure.[21] However, it was important as it represented the area's first planning body to look at truly regional issues rather than individual municipal ones. Although it was swiftly eclipsed by the more effective Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, the Toronto–York Planning Board commissioned a number of key studies, including the 1949 water and sewer study by the engineering firm Gore & Storrie, which provided the foundation for Toronto's waterpipe expansion in the 1950s.[22]

While municipal planning in the GTA went through continuous evolution in the 1950s and 1960s, the provincial government did not enter the regional planning space until the 1970s. Its first foray was the introduction of the Toronto-Centered Region (TCR) concept. In the end, the initiative achieved very little and was quietly shelved.[23] However, it did have one significant result in that the experience left the province with little appetite for any hands-on municipal planning of its own. It would be another 30 years before Ontario re-entered the municipal planning space. Granted, provincial policies continued to have municipal planning ramifications, but it was not until Ontario's Places to Grow Act in 2005 and the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe were passed in the following year that the province returned in a significant way to the municipal planning sphere. These two acts were very significant, in that they articulated how the GTA could develop by creating a protected greenbelt of land around the region and require urban intensification and renewal within existing corridors.

While post-war planning frameworks shifted over time, the exceedingly expensive business of building the suburbs proceeded at a rapid clip. Metro Toronto was responsible for paying for its own water and wastewater infrastructure, something made possible by Toronto's rich

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tax base. However, the outlying areas were a different story. John Sewell writes that the province decided in the 1950s that growth would hug Lake Ontario with fingerlike projections up Yonge Street into what are today Vaughan, Markham and Richmond Hill.[24] But it was widely believed that the suburban municipalities lacked the financial ability to fund the needed infrastructure. To help them, the Ontario government made a series of significant water investments in the 1970s and 1980s, setting the trajectory for the subsequent rapid suburban growth. For example, in 1981, the province built a new $35 million water facility in Peel. Despite complaints by Peel that the investment was insufficient, the provincial plant allowed the region to grow without a steep rise in water rates. Ontario's former Premier Bill Davis reflected that, 'The [Peel] deal was heavily subsidized. No question. It was the kind of investment that provided an economic base for the growth that happened.'[25] The provincial water facility was later transferred to the region of Peel free of charge, causing other municipalities, particularly York and Durham, to vociferously demand similar deals. However, seven years earlier, York and Durham had received an equally, if not better, deal when the province agreed to close eight small water plants and replaced them with a $69 million investment in the Duffin Creek plant to bring water from Durham to York.[26]

The pipes that brought water also brought development, a great deal of it. In 1971, Peel Region had a population of approximately 260,000. Ten years later, it had nearly doubled to 500,000, and it continued to grow by roughly 250,000 every decade.[27] The region of York proved just as successful at attracting growth. A May 1972 report on the servicing of York's water for the Ontario government estimated that York's ultimate population, which was approximately 170,000 at the time, would be at full build between 263,000 and 416,000.[28] York's population exceeded these expectations within 20 years and is now over 1.2 million.[29]

Permitting this sort of growth over such a large area meant that suburbs would, in addition to significant water and wastewater investments, also require an extensive transportation network, in particular to carry people to their jobs in downtown Toronto. There were two ways of tackling the transportation challenge, roads and transit. Both forms of investment have seen substantial involvement by municipal and provincial governments, though paying for it was, and still is, an intractable challenge.

Until the post-First World War years, the roll-out of what would today be called public transit, had, in fact, very little about it that was public. Rather, the government relied on transit routes built and paid for by the private sector. This worked, to an extent, in the pre-First World War years, but profitability meant that new transit infrastructure would not be extended until growth had already happened. It readily became

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apparent to municipal governments that the private sector was either unwilling or unable to deliver the needed transit.[30]

In the post-First World War years, Toronto's government decided to step in, but the shift to the heavily publicly subsidised system that exists today in the GTA was a stepwise process. In 1921, the newly minted TTC took over from the Toronto Railway Company, which until then had been a very profitable transit corporation. Unlike today, the TTC at the time did not receive any public subsidy, meaning its routes had to be profitable. In fact, the early TTC was so profitable that the Commission was able to fund the first subway line up Yonge Street without aid from any level of government.[31] Although the TTC's footprint expanded quickly, profitability prohibited it from providing city-wide coverage. Invariably this led to increasing political friction as councillors pushed for unprofitable routes into their constituencies. Solomon argues that the politicisation of the TTC started after the Second World War with the creation of the Municipality of Metro Toronto in 1953 and the push to provide a wider transit network.[32] Sewell, a former mayor of Toronto, argued that the real politicisation of the TTC came much later, in the 1970s, when political pressure led the TTC to abandon double fares, a measure that not only ended pricing by distance but also the days when the TTC posted operating surpluses. Thereafter, the TTC came to require both operating and capital subsidies.[33]

But the orchestrated push to the suburbs, and paying for it, was considerably more than just a story of transit or water. Some argue that the key to the Canadian urban form is arterial highways, the car and the office tower.[34] Roads themselves are the purview of municipalities, but highways and arterial roads are key to making the suburbs function. Here, the provincial government played an important role when, in the post-First World War years, it began to subsidise municipal roads, where provincial subsidies to counties and for suburban roads amounted to over 40 per cent of the capital costs, plus a further 20 per cent (approximately) for maintenance.[35]

Another major provincial contribution was the construction of the 400 series highways that crisscross Ontario, with a number in the Greater Toronto Area. These highways are simply too big for any municipality to deliver, maintain or operate. They were built to alleviate congestion but planners failed to realise that the highways themselves would become magnets for growth and development.[36] In Toronto, the capacity of the 401, the main east–west highway through the city, was rapidly overwhelmed by demand. Originally built to handle 48,000 cars per day, the 401 was carrying more than three times the amount in slow-moving traffic within three years of opening.[37]

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Conclusion

The role of providing public infrastructure in Canada is intrinsic to the evolving national experience. Achieving a financial scale to fight wars enabled governments to achieve a financial scale to fund massive and needed infrastructure projects. The warfare state evolved into a state capable of modernising infrastructure and remains one of the justifications for the creation of governments in Canada. The mechanisms by which public infrastructure is funded and financed is complicated with each level of government and its agencies, playing important roles that reflect new times. Ultimately, Canada and its public infrastructure is a partnership between all levels of government, and judging by the results, a remarkably successful one. Canada's story of creating a country to build infrastructure may not be as romantic as other national stories. However, as we enter the post-Covid world and look to the challenges that face other nations, one cannot help but think that Canada's founders, sipping half-decent wine on a steamship off Prince Edward Island and haggling about infrastructure, got a few things right.

Declarations and conflicts of interest

Research ethics statement

Not applicable to this article.

Consent for publication statement

Not applicable to this article.

Conflicts of interest statement

The author declares no conflict of interest with this work. All efforts to sufficiently anonymise the author during peer review of this article have been made. The author declares no further conflicts with this article.

Notes

1 Roy, *From Roads to Rinks*, 7.
2 Brox, 'Infrastructure investment', 9.
3 Harchaoui, Tarkhani and Warren, 'Public infrastructure in Canada', 304.
4 Brox and Fader, 'Public infrastructure, 144.

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5 Bliss, 'Canada was built to last'.
6 Lightfoot, *Canadian Railroad Trilogy*.
7 Lightfoot, *Canadian Railroad Trilogy*.
8 Lorimer, *The Developers*, 252.
9 Bazel and Mintz, 'The free ride is over', 5.
10 Municipal Act, 2001, S.O. 2001, c. 25.
11 House of Commons, Canada, 'Updating infrastructure'.
12 Statistics Canada, *Population and Dwelling*.
13 Ontario Municipalities.
14 Schedule 53.
15 *Maclean's*, 'The 2018 Ontario Budget'.
16 'Schedule 53', Rows 0299, 0498, 0425, 0430, 0440, 0445, 0502. Financial Information Return. Note the difference between Federal, provincial and total grants is 'Grants from other municipalities', which are inter-municipal capital cost-share agreements.
17 Grace, 'Building from the ground up', 399.
18 Grace, 'Building from the ground up', 399.
19 Solomon, *Toronto Sprawls*, 33.
20 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 30.
21 White, 'The growth plan'.
22 White, 'The growth plan', 11.
23 White, 'The growth plan', 30.
24 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 113.
25 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 110.
26 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 119.
27 Peel Region, *Population 1971–2006*.
28 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 110.
29 York Region Planning.
30 Solomon, *Toronto Sprawls*, 12.
31 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 13.
32 Solomon, *Toronto Sprawls*, 13.
33 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 82.
34 See, for example, Lorimer, *The Developers*, 78.
35 Sewell, *Shape of the Suburbs*, 14.
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The 'Nation in Arms', 'Attempted Rearmament' and the 'Brigade of Guards', 1936–1939

C. P. Champion

Abstract

This article is an enquiry into the voluntary and part-time nature, as well as the Britishness, of the Canadian militia, especially the Non-Permanent Active Militia (NPAM), in an interwar 'nation-in-arms'. Major-General Maurice Pope's insights are revisited through the eyes of regimental histories, print media, memoirs and other sources. After reviewing the role of voluntarism, unpaid service and improved training, three themes will be considered. The first is a type of training known as close-order drill, singled out by Joseph Pope as a mark of English-speaking regimental culture. The creation in 1937 of a Canadian Guards brigade, part of a wider Guards tradition across the British World, ties into a second theme briefly considered: NPAM participation in the royal tour of 1939 in communities across Canada, which merits a more detailed study. Third, there follows a case study of one exemplary but lesser-known interwar officer in Ottawa, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Lisle of the Governor General's Foot Guards, who, like so many men across the country, as well as his civilian day-job, pursued a lifelong part-time army career as a reserve unit officer and realist contributor to the *Canadian Defence Quarterly*.

Keywords Britishness; citizen soldier; civic militarism; conscription; militia; religious loyalism; reservists; volunteerism.

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Introduction

When Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King reluctantly visited Canadian troops on their sports day in Aldershot on 23 August 1941, he was greeted by 'mixed cheers and boos'.[1] He had arrived 40 minutes late,[2] in the pouring rain. Waiting for him were 10,000 men, 'the largest single gathering of Canadian troops ever assembled in Britain'. They comprised about one-tenth of the 125,000 soldiers of the First Canadian Corps, Jonathan F. Vance's 'Canadian empire'[3] in England, and on that day, a rowdy representation of the nation in arms. As the booing resumed, which 'lasted for several seconds',[4] said *The Ottawa Journal*, it 'was at times … more voluminous than handclapping and cheering'.[5] Major Stacey, then a senior historical officer, although himself not present, in an official report downplayed it as a 'soldier-like lark'. The men 'were not, of course, on parade at the time', not formally drawn up. There was some 'discontent' among them, having 'been in this country for some twenty-one months without seeing action'.[6]

The discontent was predictable – had been predicted: at least one cabinet minister, Chubby Power, repeatedly warned the government between 1940 and 1941 not to let the men's morale suffer through inaction.[7] The *Journal* was more explicit: 'some soldiers', after nearly two years in England, felt that they should have been deployed 'beside the Australians',[8] who had been fighting with the British, Poles and Czechs all year in North Africa and Greece against Italy and Germany, and in the Levant against Vichy France. Mackenzie King acknowledged in his diary 'the inactivity' and that 'it was clear that they were feeling restraint at not getting to the front' – although contradictorily he professed to believe 'clearly [the booing] had been organised' and was 'unfair and Tory tactics'.[9] Indeed, the 'inactivity' was one more reason for Canada's soldiers to resent their political leadership. Those who had served in the pre-war Militia knew the painful neglect that the politicians had subjected them to, the 'pitifully small' budgets and 'great restriction in training'.[10] Now, while others fought, Ottawa imposed on the restless nation in arms a protracted *Sitzkrieg*.

The personification of the nation in arms, as a Napoleonic 'citizen-soldier' myth,[11] imagined community or 'invented' tradition,[12] has appealed to chroniclers and cynics alike since the 'patriotic yeomanry forsook ploughshare and broadaxe, seized sword and musket, and rallied to the standard of Brock'.[13] As Marc Milner described it, 'Until the late 1950s', the army (regular and reserve) remained 'a traditional "nation in arms," ready to mobilise, with a sense of "civic duty" or "civic

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militarism."'[14] There was little in the tradition that need be invented. The Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) of 1914–19 had been the 'greatest thing Canada had ever done', according to Stacey.[15] It was, in a 'very real sense', said Vance, 'the nation in arms, the life-force of Canada transported overseas',[16] or as James Wood put it more reservedly, 'real and imagined … an army of citizen soldiers'.[17] After 1919, and between the wars, the CEF torch fell to the Canadian Militia, comprising the small professional Permanent Active Militia (PAM) and the larger part-time Non-Permanent Active Militia (NPAM). The NPAM subsisted mostly in numerous small regiments in towns and cities in every part of Canada, English and French, each with their distinctive, locally adapted British traditions and sustained to a certain extent by unpaid voluntary service.

The prevailing public and official mood in the 1930s, amply described elsewhere,[18] was one of 'apathy' towards the military, as an unnamed contributor to the *Canadian Defence Quarterly* (*CDQ*) observed in 1935.[19] 'In the absence of an immediate crisis,' wrote C. P. Stacey in 1940, 'the country's political leaders, the members of Parliament generally, and the public at large had all been indifferent.'[20] The result for the army was, as one senior officer put it, the 'familiar policy of partly trained Militia, inadequately equipped, out of balance, lacking modern arms', what Stanley called 'an army on the "cheap"'.[21]

The interwar General Staff and most serving officers considered themselves realists: they expected that a second war involving Germany, Russia and the Western powers would come sooner or later. Their view contradicted the prevailing spirit of pacifism, appeasement and funk, even if the British strategy by 1938 was 'to play for time' while rearming.[22] The realist Permanent Force and part-time Militia believed that in the event of war, adequate numbers of trained officers and men would be an imperative need.

Accordingly, from 1937 to 1939, the Canadian government pursued an 'attempted rearmament' as proposed by the Chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Andy McNaughton, before he stepped down in 1935. As Stacey, Stephen J. Harris, Britton MacDonald and a number of regimental historians have recounted, the realists at National Defence had the odds stacked against them, with anti-war public opinion and pacifist organisations opposing rearmament and defence planning,[23] emboldening sceptical civilian officials who, particularly at External Affairs showed 'disdain'[24] and a 'long-standing anti-imperial and nationalistic bias' where 'imperial defence' was concerned.[25]

The NPAM, designated on the outbreak of the Second World War as the 'Canadian Army (Reserve)',[26] was mostly made up of partially

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trained soldiers – part-time reservists who served during their leisure hours, frequently unpaid, relying heavily on the voluntary spirit to train, keep abreast of modern tactics and uphold regimental traditions in the communities where they resided across English and French Canada.[27] Despite 'miserly budgets' and 'training deficiencies', inadequate government support and with little public sympathy,[28] reserve units across Canada were forced to find innovative ways to recruit, train and retain troops through the interwar years. They could do so because they felt motivated: they 'had a hunch in spite of the popular trend, that they'd be needed once again'.[29]

The NPAM was described by Major-General Maurice Pope as an organisation 'evolved by Anglo-Saxons' and 'well-suited' to the particular 'genius' of English-speaking Canadians. A member of the General Staff and a bicultural Quebecer, Pope was uniquely positioned to evaluate the interwar army, which he described as 'British through and through with only minor differences imposed upon us by purely local conditions'.[30] Innovations were under way. In addition to a streamlined and, it was hoped, modernised reserve army, the restructured NPAM would include a Brigade of Canadian Guards, formed in 1937 and modelled on the United Kingdom's renowned Guards Brigade (the Household Division), although the Canadian 'brigade' would not be an operational unit; it would exist only for ceremonial tasks[31] – as it were, the citizen-soldier nation-in-arms trooping the colour.[32]

Pope, too, was a realist and called the 'attempted rearmament' a 'return to reality'.[33] Despite the lack of a serious procurement programme, training and education went on at every level, and once Canadian troops were required to deploy overseas, the interwar voluntarism of the Militia proved its value: in 1940, they provided 'the majority of commissioned officers and warrant officers to the CASF', the initial expeditionary Canadian Active Service Force, in which the reserve's 'partially-trained officers, NCOs and soldiers' formed what Stacey called an 'invaluable nucleus'.[34] And 'by May 1945, the NPAM provided three of the five division commanders'.[35]

The interwar struggle to maintain 'readiness' was Commonwealth-wide.[36] Leo Amery, a former Colonial Secretary, excluded like Winston Churchill from cabinet after 1931, lobbied for reform and investment in the British Army.[37] In Canada, the groundwork for Defence Schemes 1 to 4 was built on Sutherland 'Buster' Brown's earlier mobilisation and expeditionary plans before he was pushed out of the Department of National Defence in 1933.[38] A realist tradition can also be traced in Australia and New Zealand.[39] The efficiency of the British and Canadian army reserves has been compared.[40]

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Britishness was a prominent topic in the papers presented at the British World conferences of 1998 (London) and 2002 (Cape Town),[41] and in a wide-ranging series of books, covering many topics across the imperial 'big tent', such as networks, missions, churches, media, universities, scouting, migration and war.[42] Voluntary activity has been addressed in work on social organisations such as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.[43] Marc Milner celebrated the Canadianisation of the 'too-British' Navy, while for Peter Archambault, Britishness might be a virtue if Horatio Nelson were the model.[44] Britishness need not work against Canadianness: the 'shared English-Canadian national identity' born of the CEF, wrote Patrick Brennan, was both Canadian and British.

The result was complementary and hybrid, 'clearly displayed' in the voluntarism and civic mindedness of interwar former Corps officers, Brennan wrote,[45] indicating a certain *noblesse oblige*.[46] Such qualities could be described as universal. Addressing the governor general's Foot Guards in Ottawa, the Earl of Bessborough, the viceroy from 1931 to 1935, spoke of 'service' and 'loyalty to a common cause' and compared participation in the NPAM to 'chivalry' and giving 'inspiration' to the young.[47]

This article is an enquiry into the voluntary and part-time nature as well as the Britishness of the NPAM as an interwar 'nation-in-arms'. First, Major-General Maurice Pope's insights will be revisited through the eyes of regimental histories, print media, memoirs and other sources. After reviewing the role of voluntarism, unpaid service and improvised training, three related themes will be considered. The first is a type of training known as close-order drill, singled out by Pope as a mark of English-speaking regimental culture. The creation in 1937 of a Canadian Guards brigade, part of a wider Guards tradition across the British World, ties into a second theme briefly considered: NPAM participation in the royal tour of 1939 in communities across Canada, which merits further study. Third, there follows a case study of one exemplary but lesser known interwar officer in Ottawa, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Lisle of the Governor General's Foot Guards, who, like so many men across the country, over and above his civilian day-job pursued a lifelong part-time army career as a reserve unit officer and realist contributor to *CDQ*.

Future researchers will no doubt add much to the preliminary findings of voluntary service and sacrifice, particularly scholars with direct access to local records, regimental archives, newspapers, correspondence and memorabilia.

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Maurice Pope's memorandum

Major-General Pope's memorandum to his chief, Lieutenant General Andy McNaughton, was not primarily about English Canadian characteristics. Entitled 'The French Canadian and the N.P.A.M.', it was an attempt to explain nuances in 'French' military proclivities, which Pope contrasted with those of Anglophones.[48] Contemporary observers had been struck by the notable lack of a Francophone presence, for example, at the recent Conference of Defence Associations meeting. Francophones were, as is well known, less inclined to serve in the military and less likely to volunteer.[49] That was true even though the army was the service traditionally most open to Francophones.[50] But among those who did serve, the 'French' in the city corps, according to Pope, believed on principle that if Ottawa wanted a better trained Militia, then Ottawa should fund more training days in the year. 'Their view is that if the government thinks more training is needed,' Pope wrote, 'it should pay for 20 days instead of 12.'[51] The implication was that while French Canadians were less inclined to serve and train for no pay, English Canadian NPAM officers were willing to do so in order to provide training opportunities for the men.

Pope's attitude has been described as 'sympathetic' if 'paternalistic'.[52] Beginning with a historical survey from 1608 to the Conquest of French Canada in 1759, he outlined the qualities that enabled the French-speaking 'race' to survive and flourish, developing in due course an 'outlook' that 'is somewhat more local than is perhaps desirable'. The French Canadian 'is fully seized of … the duty of bearing arms in the defence of the State', he said, but being in the 1930s 'unaware of any menace to their security', was 'not conscious of, and would perhaps be unwilling to admit, any obligation arising from Canada's position as a member of the British Empire'. In short, he might serve at home but not abroad. The explanation for this discrepancy was ethnic allegiance: 'The Imperial tie derives its strength largely from sentiment. It is a blood tie, and the French Canadian is not an Anglo-Saxon.' And Pope repeated the point: the 'Frenchman … be it remembered, is *not* an Anglo-Saxon'.

That the Militia was overwhelmingly Anglo-Protestant in character was par for the course; so was every institution in the old Canada.[53] Pope's description contained echoes of the 'militia myth'. The latter was criticised so heavily by Canadianising historians that it may after all be true: Upper Canada did have Loyalist defenders, celebrated by

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their descendants to 1914, of whom Carl Berger wrote in *The Sense of Power*,[54] and doughty yeoman farmers did take up arms for King Alfred. Former Parks Canada historian Robert Henderson has charted how extensive was the militia's role in defeating the Americans in the War of 1812.[55] Pope's allusion, however, can be better understood as a matter-of-fact comparison of the differing proclivities of Francophones and Anglophones in a 'voluntary system'.[56] As a document, Pope's memo will interest students of amateur soldiering across the British World, which has a literature of its own.[57]

Pope was the 'best educated' among Canada's General Staff, noted by a prominent cabinet minister for his perceptiveness and 'inquiring mind'. His 'realisation' of the nuances of French Canada 'coloured everything he did', wrote J. W. Pickersgill.[58] In 'a wholly English-speaking environment' where only 10 per cent of officers were Francophone, Pope was almost as unusual as Léo Lafleche and the half-Irish Georges-P. Vanier. Pope was 'different', wrote J. L. Granatstein, even 'something of an outsider among the khaki', with a sense of politics and the national interest that went beyond purely military concerns, capable of perceiving both English and French Canadian 'points of view'.[59]

Maurice Arthur Pope was a 'hybrid' French-English Canadian, a Roman Catholic, married to a Belgian countess,[60] and at least a partial example of what Donal Lowry characterised as 'non-British white loyalism' in the context of 'dominant British Protestant-descended elites' in Canada, Australia and South Africa.[61] He did not exactly fit Lowry's description of an 'ethnic outsider': his maternal grandfather was Sir Henri-Thomas Taschereau, the Quebec lawyer, Member of Parliament and judge. His paternal grandfather, William Henry Pope, was a father of confederation from Prince Edward Island. The Wasp background took a turn when his father, Sir Joseph Pope, private secretary to Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, became an intellectual convert to Catholicism,[62] transforming him into a co-religionist of the Quebec majority.

In remarking on the Britishness of the army reserve, Maurice Pope was not referring to the Militia's well-known flaws, such as what Lieutenant-Colonel John A. English later called its 'ugly hues of political patronage', regimental and 'social club' proclivities (shared with the British Army) or notorious 'resentment, even scorn, of regulars'.[63] Rather, Pope was praising the NPAM's qualities as an organisation ideally suited to Canada's geography and 'adequate to her needs', because those needs were 'small'.[64]

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Whether the defence needs of a country of 'three and a half million square miles',[65] with a 250,000-mile coastline, were small may be debated. What is clear is that the Militia, being closer to civilian populations, did provide opportunities for people of varying backgrounds, professions and trades to serve part-time in a national institution with a unified purpose. The model enjoyed widespread acceptance. 'A Citizen Militia' was, McNaughton wrote, 'the proper type of Land Defence Force for Canada', with the permanent element as an 'instructional corps'.[66] Their predominantly 'English' culture, Pope believed, was related to another all-important element in the NPAM's success: that of enthusiasm. The willingness to serve outside work hours and during one's leisure time was characteristic, he added, of the 'hobbyist or amateur in the literal sense'. The keenness of the aficionado 'yields free training in city corps', Pope elaborated, in a context where 'Parliament allots too little training funding'.

Under these conditions, the NPAM's low-key, steady commitment to preparedness, their voluntary part-time military training through the lean times and their realist outlook on imperial defence, stand out even more. In the absence of support and higher training, interwar reserve soldiers, at their own initiative and 'often at their own expense', studied the art and science of war, which they believed would not be a waste of time. In the ranks of the realists may be counted not only the General Staff, but thousands of reserve NPAM officers and soldiers who, like Maurice Pope, 'felt in their innermost thoughts that the nation should not be completely unprepared'.[67]

Regiments and leadership

Regimental historians gave expression to this interwar realism. Admittedly, such writers were sometimes former serving officers during the interwar period or during the war (sometimes both) and regimental pride coloured their interpretation of the events, although they did so with the benefit of hindsight. They knew the sting of public indifference and even scorn towards part-time soldiering, and they could recall bitterly the 'years studded with the scoffing of the ignorant', as the historian of the Halifax Rifles, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Gordon Quigley, wrote in 1960.[68] Quigley began his officer career as a lieutenant in 1923,[69] and served as a unit officer during the interwar years. He was later a Halifax city councillor from 1961 to 1967.[70]

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The civic-minded spirit of the interwar army reserve was captured in romantic terms by the celebrated novelist Farley Mowat in his 1974 memoir, *The Regiment*. In spite of the neglect and underfunding of Canada's defence, 'There was one hidden weapon,' Mowat wrote. 'One ignored by most of those who calculated military strength, ignored by the very government itself – and yet a weapon infinitely more powerful, and more ready than any in the official armoury.' He wrote:

> It was called the Militia.
>
> Now there are not many men who love war … Hating with a depth of understanding born of bloody experience, these men alone were not deluded by the soft complacency that filled the country in the years between [the wars]. Knowing war for what it was, these men – the few – foresaw the day when they, and their sons and grandsons too perhaps, must needs go out again to battle that the unborn generations might survive.
>
> These were the men of the Militia; to which the 'playtime soldiers' … belonged.

'It was an army,' Mowat wrote of the local Prince Edward and Hastings Regiment in rural Ontario where he had joined up, 'but one that would have been hard put to it to find enough riflemen for one platoon.'

They were an easy target for sceptics to mock as amateur weekend warriors. To outsiders it might look like play-acting, dressing up as soldiers. Still, Mowat insisted that 'the absurdity was purely superficial'. First, there was no other way to train. Second, 'What mattered was the power of the belief that the Militia was a thing to be preserved in readiness.'[71]

Mowat, too, referred to an atmosphere of negative 'propaganda' in Canada, of 'political expediency,' pacifism and 'not a few' citizens sympathetic to fascism. The result was 'starvation' for the Militia, 'no boots, no weapons, no interest, and often no pay'. In spite of this, men turned out 'from the farms and from the shops', even though 'often, there was not even the recompense of the miserly militia pay'.

> Their officers laboured unceasingly, giving not only of their time, but of their own pockets to buy boots for the men. Against a growing feeling of apathy, or of outright antipathy, the Regiment survived – stood ready against the day of need … There were never

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> many of them … Play soldiers all, the men of the militia received nothing but the opprobrium of their fellow citizens; yet they endured. They endured the years between [the wars], and because of that, Canada was not utterly impotent when the day of danger came.[72]

It was frequently observed that regimental officers gave back their pay to cover training costs for the rank and file. This began in the 1920s and continued into the 1930s. Britton MacDonald wrote in his unpublished 2009 PhD thesis that in 1927, '402 of the Militia's 870 units' voluntarily 'turned over part or the whole of their pay to their unit'. Members 'gave their time without remuneration' and no soldier was 'coerced' into attending training, giving 'new definition to the term "volunteer service"'.[73] The regimental historian of the 8th Canadian Hussars in New Brunswick wrote that men 'were willing to serve voluntarily and raise funds to keep the Regiment active'.[74] So widespread was this practice that McNaughton at headquarters became aware of their 'self-sacrificing' spirit.[75] As MacDonald wrote, 'In order to be an efficient member of the NPAM, one sacrificed time and money for a duty, an organisation, or friendships that they deemed worthy. Only the tireless and selfless efforts of the men in the NPAM regiments ensured these units survived a hostile political and public climate.'[76]

The 'volunteer idea' had a long history. Voluntarism, staff historian C. P. Stacey wrote in his 1940 study, *The Military Problems of Canada*, had animated the Militia since the 'citizen force recruited exclusively by voluntary enlistment' in the years after 1855 and in the Active Militia (volunteers) designated by the Militia Act of 1868.[77] A century later, 'That one outstanding advantage that every volunteer force possesses,' wrote one reserve officer in the *Quarterly*, 'is that every new recruit can be presumed to have that spark of enthusiasm which is an army's greatest asset. The Militia must strive by careful organization to catch that spark, to nurse and kindle it into that warm glow or real enthusiasm which has overcome dangers and difficulties for the British soldier throughout the centuries.'[78]

Apart from Farley Mowat, a handful of officers have left written accounts of the interwar struggle. Howard Graham, who rose from Private soldier (the lowest position in the rank and file) as a young man in the reserves to Lieutenant General and Chief of the General Staff from 1955 to 1958, recalled that as a NPAM officer before the war – in the same unit as Farley Mowat, the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment – 'I can never recall drawing a cent of pay for time spent in regimental training.'[79]

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Many drew pay but then turned it over to the regimental fund in order to train men 'for more days than the government paid'.[80] The Royal Montreal Regiment's officers applied regimental funds, when government funds had run out, to cover the cost of camp training for the junior officers and men at Carillon, Pointe au Claire, Mount Bruno and St John's, Quebec.[81] For officers of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada, in Winnipeg, 'membership in the force meant financial loss' and personal assumption of certain kit (uniform and equipment) expenses.[82] In Ottawa, 'all ranks' of the Governor General's Foot Guards signed a waiver 'relinquishing any right' to their pay, pooling their pay to support training.[83] Personal sacrifice of this sort reflected the value placed on ensuring that men who might one day have to face war would receive training; in order to recruit and survive, the regiment must remain viable and reputable. 'We tried to keep the unit active and before the public in many ways,' wrote Graham.[84]

Visibility and popularity in the community were vital. Officers therefore got involved in local non-military events and social functions. Their ceremonial uniforms were interesting to the public and lent a well-attested panache and theatricality to events.[85] In explaining NPAM enthusiasm in his 1931 memo, Pope noted that attractive uniforms and personal vanity did play some role, as did the pride and social cachet accruing from regimental identity. There was surely 'some element of vanity', he wrote, in the uniform and 'alleged position in the community'. Yet Pope says it would be 'invidious' to scrutinise that human factor too much.[86] Human foibles were to be expected in any endeavour. It is notable that the ceremonial, pageantry and uniforms are found in the public culture of every country.[87]

Graham recalled many occasions such as a tea in the armoury in Picton and the picnics, dinners and other events that typified social life around the drill hall. Soldiers might wear their mess kit (a formal uniform, typically with scarlet tunic, with medals) to Masonic events – the Lodge being a civilian hub of social and charitable initiatives by men in most Canadian cities and towns.[88] On other occasions, they would attend a baby's baptism in the Anglican church dressed in 'patrol blues' (a formal uniform with dark blue tunic, trousers and regimental forage cap) with swords, 'all of which', Graham wrote, 'we bought out of our pocket'.[89] Attending such a ceremony in person was a traditional way to honour the family members, wider community and the church's place in the midst of them. Such activities kept 'spirit and morale high' during the 'difficult years'. But most importantly, maintaining social and training activities at private expense meant that if war came, the regiment would

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not be redundant but could take its place in the 'mobilization plans' and recruiting in a crisis.

Another inspirational leader, who left no memoir,[90] was Major K. S. 'Keltie' Kennedy, an amputee in the Great War and a prominent figure in Princess Louise's Hussars, based in Hampton, New Brunswick, during the interwar period. He, too, believed a second European war was inevitable. He served as Commanding Officer (CO) from 1936 to 1939 and later as Honorary Colonel, a figurehead and community role (with no command authority in the unit) from 1957 to 1969.

During Kennedy's tenure before the war, the Hussars ceased training with horses and adopted mechanisation, using rented cars at their 1936 summer camp because they were not provided with military vehicles. Kennedy managed to organise an 18-member brass band, a traditional way to engage the public and draw recruits, at no public cost.[91] Like militia officers across Canada, he 'inspired men to join the Hussars and to serve the Regiment voluntarily without pay'.

In 1935, for the first time since 1931, the Hussars trained at Camp Sussex with a limit of 14 officers, 38 other ranks and 36 horses but with full pay and allowances. When 'training funds were severely limited and none provided for summer camp' unit officers agreed to go anyway 'at greatly reduced rate of pay, the officers donating their time, and the other ranks receiving 50 cents per day and an additional 50 cents per day for their horse'. Having trained with horses for 90 years, 1935 was the last summer they did so.[92] In 1936, they rented motor cars to train as a Motorized Cavalry Regiment. Kennedy took command in 1937 and took 135 from all ranks to Camp Sussex that summer with 31 motor cars.

Another Kennedy initiative was to adopt the Lewis machine gun as a weapon in the unit, which assisted with recruiting because it was an interesting weapon system to learn, in addition to the standard infantry weapon, the bolt-action Lee Enfield rifle. The Hussars sent a machine gun section to compete at Valcartier in 1935, 'typical of the spirit of volunteer soldiering', according to the regimental history. During his command, Kennedy extended drill nights, sent officers on staff courses and personnel to the Canadian Armoured Fighting Vehicles School at Borden 'for armoured training'. With an eye on Hitler's rapid rearmament in Europe, Kennedy 'drove himself hard and kept pressing for more and more effort'. When the government tried to limit to 55 the number of Hussars junior ranks sent for training one summer, Kennedy threatened to resign, forcing headquarters to relent and permit 75.[93]

The struggle to support local unit training was felt at the top end as well, at the Department of National Defence in Ottawa. As Director of

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Military Training and Staff Duties at NDHQ in 1934–6, Major-General George R. Pearkes found that even if a given Militia unit could muster 250 men, Pearkes could budget only for 175 members to go for summer training. 'The remaining 75 went to camp voluntarily or were paid from regimental funds,' wrote Pearkes' biographer, Reginald Roy. It was the 'spirit of duty and sacrifice among militia regiments' that Pearkes admired, although it was 'frustrating' not to be able to fund them properly.[94]

Examples abound from across Canada. According to the history of the Seaforth Highlanders, based in Vancouver, even as 'both officers and men continued to sign over their pay to a regimental fund', save for a few dollars at summer camp, 'the spirit of the regiment shone as never before'.[95] As a former commanding officer wrote, 'You had to pay for the privilege of being a member of the defence force of Canada.'[96] The official history of the Queen's Own Rifles, based in Toronto, records likewise that pay was 'signed over to the regiment' and that 'No officer or man ever received a cent for his efforts. In point of fact it cost an officer a good deal of money to belong.'[97]

A type of *noblesse oblige* thus played a part in NPAM survival, with serving and retired officers donating funds to assist in sports programmes and granting the use of their private land. Brigadier General C. J. Armstrong, district commanding officer for the Quebec sector, allowed the Royal Montreal Regiment (RMR), in Westmount, to train on his family property near Carillon on the lower Ottawa River. The RMR officers' mess, assisted by private donors, managed to build two bowling alleys in the Armoury.[98] Outside Montreal, Colonel Frank Meighen provided the Canadian Grenadier Guards of downtown Montreal with space on his own land at Roxboro on the Back River for two soccer fields and a baseball diamond.[99] In Toronto, Colonel W. G. McKendrick, DSO, donated cash prizes for Queen's Own Rifles sporting activities.[100]

In this way, army regiments provided a 'well-organised local club and support network for its members', wrote Britton MacDonald.[101] The club-like qualities were part of the attraction for men during the Depression years, 'a special sort of association to its members in the discouraging thirties', wrote R. W. 'Wilf' Queen-Hughes, who served in the Winnipeg Grenadiers, spent three years in Japanese captivity and after the war became a *Winnipeg Tribune* editor and historian of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada.[102] Such activities helped keep morale and participation high, and indeed kept 'battalion strength over 200 at times', 'a real achievement', wrote Queen-Hughes, that 'really attested to the attractive worthwhile program offered under trying conditions which almost defied the survival of a militia unit'.[103] His wife, Gloria, helped

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establish the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Corps (CWAC), initially a civilian volunteer body, in Winnipeg after the outbreak of war.[104]

In Winnipeg, wrote Wilf Queen-Hughes, 'Instead of individual pay, the citizen-soldiers received street car tickets, coffee and sandwiches, … beer at 202 Main Street [battalion headquarters] after the Decoration Day parade, outings to the St. Charles ranges, occasional parties … family picnics', and enjoyed sporting activities. All of these made reserve service palatable to family members who might otherwise feel neglected, wrote Queen-Hughes, giving 'the family of a peacetime soldier an active and proprietary interest in the well-being of the Regiment'.[105]

Future researchers will no doubt add much to the preceding preliminary findings of voluntary service and sacrifice, particularly scholars with direct access to local records, regimental archives, newspapers, correspondence and memorabilia. The remainder of this article will examine three additional themes: close-order drill and the Brigade of Canadian Guards; the royal tour of 1939; and the part-time career of an exemplary reservist, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Lisle of the Governor General's Foot Guards in Ottawa.

Close-order drill and the Brigade of Canadian Guards

Maurice Pope in his memo suggested that the English Canadian advantage lay in the high quality of their close-order drill. This refers to the order, discipline and movement of a formed body of soldiers, as in marching, coming to attention, presenting arms and trooping the colour, both as a training instrument and as a feature of ceremonial events. Training in 'drill' has been regarded by militaries the world over as one of the foundations of discipline, obedience and fighting spirit, while also providing an impressive spectacle on ceremonial occasions.[106]

The poet Robert Graves, who served with the Royal Welch Fusiliers, recalled how Canadian troops he encountered in 1916 complained about drill. They 'asked what sense there was in sloping and ordering arms, and fixing and unfixing bayonets. They had come across [the Atlantic ocean] to fight, and not to guard Buckingham Palace.' It was a sentiment shared by many troops.

But as Richard Holmes explains in *Firing Line*, a study of soldier motivation and combat performance, while the emphasis on parade square drill can become 'excessive', drill instils discipline and automatic obedience to commands. In combination with 'battle drills' (which refers to minor tactics and section-level fire and movement), close-order drill

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'binds a unit together' and 'plays an important ritualistic and morale-building role'. Holmes explains: 'not only does it make men look like soldiers but, far more important, it makes them feel like soldiers'. He quotes Robert Graves' response to Canadian complaints: 'for some reason or other', he told them, 'the troops that fought best' were 'those that had guts and were good at drill'.[107]

Maurice Pope observed that while English Canadian units thrived on close-order drill, it 'doesn't appeal to the French Canadian mind'.[108] (Although he adds that Francophone officers possessed the compensating strength that they tended to have a wider life experience and were broader-minded.)

Excellence in close-order drill was characteristic of the Brigade of Guards in Great Britain from Victorian times until 1968. It was made up of the five regiments of Foot Guards (the Grenadier Guards, Coldstream Guards, and the Scots, Irish and Welsh Guards) and was no less renowned for their fighting reputation. (Since 1968, it has been called the Guards or Household Division.)

In 1918, in recognition of their service in the First World War, King George V granted private soldiers (the most junior rank, in Great Britain consisting mostly of working-class men) the unique rank title of Guardsman (abbreviated Gdsm), and extended the same honour to Guards regiments in Canada. In India after Independence, inspired by the British model, Field Marshal K. M. Cariappa, who attended Sandhurst and was the first Indian officer to be trained at Quetta, established within the post-Independence Indian Army, 'The Brigade of The Guards', in 1949.[109] They, like the British and Canadian Guards regiments, used the rank title of 'Guardsman' for their most junior members. Of note, the Republic of Singapore also established a Singapore Guards infantry-helicopter formation in the 1970s.[110]

Canada has had at least two active Guards regiments for more than 150 years. During the Victorian era, part-time officers seeking to emulate the excellence of Britain's Guards in soldiering and in ceremonial drill, and to provide the Dominion capital and the Queen's representative in Ottawa, the Governor General of Canada, with ceremonial spectacle and music worthy of a capital city, launched the Governor General's Foot Guards (GGFG) in 1872 on the basis of the extant Civil Service Rifles established in 1861 in pre-Confederation Quebec City. Also originating in the Province of Quebec were the Canadian Grenadier Guards of Montreal (CGG), descended from Montreal-area units since 1764 that went through several identity changes until taking the name of 1st Regiment Canadian Grenadier Guards in 1911.

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When in May 1936 Canada's Minister of National Defence, Ian Mackenzie, presented the reformed NPAM structure to the House of Commons, it included the creation of a Guards Brigade. The decision was made at the time to limit the Brigade to ad hoc ceremonial capacity on occasions when the two part-time infantry regiments in Ottawa and Montreal were brought together for that purpose.

The creation of a permanent Guards element in the Canadian Army did not occur until the end of the Korean War, on 16 October 1953. Although that event is outside the interwar context of this article, it is mentioned here as an indication of the sustained interest in the Guards idea in Canada. Known as the Regiment of Canadian Guards, a full-time regular force regiment establishment was set up on the initiative of Lieutenant General Guy Simonds, Chief of the General Staff.

Born in England, Simonds settled with his parents in Victoria, studied at RMC Kingston and joined the army in 1926. In the 1930s, he served in the Permanent Force and contributed to *CDQ*. As the history of the Canadian Guards explains, Simonds

> had a great deal of respect for the traditions and standards of the British Brigade of Guards. He wished to transplant what was excellent of their training, discipline, and esprit de corps into a uniquely Canadian regiment that would be recruited from 'from sea to sea.'… He believed that a truly national infantry regiment, that would glamorise the ordinary foot slogging infantryman, was needed. The others were too parochial. He had a fondness for elite units that could set a standard of excellence, and made it no secret that he admired the British Brigade of Guards.[111]

According to the Regiment's official 'regimental spirit', 'Belief in the cause of service to one's country is the most honourable task of the citizen and more so as Guardsmen.' They achieved high standards in training, service overseas (in Europe and Cyprus) and ceremonial precision. Even so, the Regiment, when only 17 years old, was eliminated by the Pierre E. Trudeau government, or as the official language put it, the Regiment was 'reduced to nil strength and transferred to the Supplementary Order of Battle on 6 July 1970'.[112]

All of that, however, lay in the future. Before the Second World War, the purely ceremonial 'Brigade' of Canadian Guards was authorised by General Order (GO) 91, in May 1937, to be formed out of the two existing regiments.[113] 'This Brigade', said GO 91, 'will only function as a brigade on occasions when the units comprising it are brought together for any

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inspection, ceremonial or state duty under special orders to be issued by the Adjutant-General.'[114]

The concept had the potential to concretise McNaughton's attempted rearmament in its prioritisation of excellence in both fighting readiness and ceremonial capacity. A fully realised Brigade of Guards on the British model might, as part of a bundle of reforms, have signalled the development of a stronger, more disciplined NPAM in the period immediately prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. Why the decision was made in 1937 to create only a ceremonial Brigade, one based only on reserve (part-time) units, is an avenue for further research.

The royal tour of 1939

An occasion for the Brigade to operationalise together arrived almost immediately, on the king's birthday, 6 June 1937, when the Brigade of Canadian Guards performed its ceremonial function in the capital, trooping the colour on Parliament Hill in honour of the monarch. They did so again on 19 May 1939, this time on a more spectacular scale, as part of the royal tour by King George VI and his consort, Queen Elizabeth. The Brigade was reviewed by the king before 10,000 spectators.[115] Including the combined Governor General's Foot Guards and Canadian Grenadier Guards bands and drums (160 strong), there were about 700 Guards in total on duty that day, embodying the new brigade.[116]

Thus in Ottawa, as elsewhere in the Commonwealth, military pageantry was everywhere part of the British experience. Nor, some argued, was it mere empty spectacle; the presence of the head of state, even more than that of the governor general, in a ceremonial capacity made the monarchy 'real' to the public. Sir Gerald Campbell, the British high commissioner in Ottawa, remarked on the tour's 'miraculous' success, 'where the new status of the British Empire had been given "a visual representation" by their majesties. "The Statute of Westminster [had] now for the first time [been] understood by the ordinary man"', making visible in a public way the constitutional fact that Canada, since the Statute of Westminster of 1931, possessed its own autonomous crown.[117]

The 1939 tour was spectacular and effective at forging ties between citizen and monarch, John Herd Thompson wrote, as the king and queen identified themselves with Canada and mingled comfortably with Canadians in English and French.[118] Contrary to those who assumed that the king's visit was a pre-war ploy 'for drumming up support for the

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monarchy' in the hope that Canadians would fight on Great Britain's side, Claire Halstead has suggested that it was an occasion for Canadians to be *proactive*, stepping forward in their Sunday best to 'claim a piece of the tour for themselves'. By turning out to greet the royals and wave flags, Canadians expressed a desire for the link to the monarchy, cherishing the moment and the memory of it.[119] It was Canadians who proactively made the royal family no longer remote or distant but 'humanised, kind, beautiful' to their 'welcoming hosts', the people of Canada.[120]

Neither Thompson nor Halstead cites military sources. Halstead's sole reference to soldiers was to a guard of honour mounted by the Royal Canadian Regiment in London, Ontario, at that time still a significant military hub.[121] But a far-reaching study could be made of the role of NPAM units in the royal tour, drawing on memoirs, newspapers, interviews and regimental histories. The historian of the Royal Montreal Regiment found it 'difficult now to describe the spirit of that event, or convey a sense of the national unity it revealed', as 'the first visit of a reigning sovereign to the land'.[122] The king and queen brought 'a cleansing wind, which inspired rejoicing'. The week before, the regiment had been training at Mount Bruno.[123] In New Brunswick, 'Keltie' Kennedy's Hussars paraded in St John for the king and queen on 13 June 1939, when Kennedy was presented to them together with other war amputees.

The king himself praised NPAM members for turning out for duty – one might say that Canada's citizen-soldiers, supporting Claire Halstead's conclusions, 'proactively' lined the parade route, mounted Guards of Honour in their local community and provided security and crowd control. Reservists were, said the king in a radio broadcast, 'men who are prepared to devote a generous proportion of their spare time to the military service of their country'.[124] Their role was active rather than passive, requiring a good deal of training and preparation, apart from volunteering to participate on that occasion, which required taking time away from their paid civilian employment.

Service is sometimes its only reward. Howard Graham entrained with 150 officers and men of the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment from Picton to Kingston, joining 10,000 spectators at Fort Henry to greet the king and queen. However, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, accompanying their majesties on the train across eastern Ontario, departed significantly from the arranged schedule by adding impromptu stops. The royal party was delayed to such an extent that, when they reached Kingston, the train did not stop but only slowed down as it passed through one of the premier military centres of Canada since the 1700s. Left standing at the station were Graham, his regiment and a crowd that had waited until

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dusk – only to see the train appear and vanish in a matter of seconds. By prioritising other locations, Graham wrote, the prime minister ‘did not think of the thousands’ of people, let alone the 150 unpaid Militia soldiers who had donned burdensome ceremonial kit to be inspected by their king.[125] The prime minister’s diary might be compared with the official tour schedule to identify which stops he had added, and why he chose to prioritise those over Kingston.

A career of part-time service: Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Lisle

When the new Brigade of Guards trooped the colour for the king’s birthday in 1937, the officer commanding the escort to the Colour, No. 1 Guard (GGFG) was a certain Captain Edward Lisle of the Governor General’s Foot Guards.[126] Lisle was a lifelong Ottawa resident and civil servant who was at one stage in his professional career the Acting Director of Stores in the Department of Naval Service. His family, as of 2021 still living in the Ottawa area, believes Lisle spent his civilian career in public service.[127]

Lisle is an example of the reservist who, outside his daytime work hours, kept NPAM units going through the hard times and whose efforts got some recognition in local news coverage and the regimental history. If his civil service job was unassuming, his service to the part-time army was outstanding. From the early 1920s he served the GGFG in training, administering, maintaining civil-military connections and participating in marksmanship activities.

As regimental adjutant in 1925, Lisle’s organisational skills were noted in helping to run the unit’s orderly room, records, syllabus, quarters, messes and finances.[128] Lisle served in all facets of unit life. He was a Company Commander during annual camp training at Connaught Ranges, the training facility west of Ottawa, in 1937 when the GGFG won the District Efficiency Award. He served as the Weapons Training Officer when members of No. 4 District came to train at Connaught because the Pointe-Aux-Trembles range had been destroyed by fire.[129] He accompanied Major-General C. F. Constantine on his inspection of the Cadet Corps at Ottawa’s Ashbury School.[130]

Marksmanship, and notably the National Rifle Association’s Imperial Meeting or National Championship at Bisley, provided a link between NPAM regiments and military units across the British Commonwealth, an expression of unity throughout the British World. Regiments from across

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the Commonwealth sent shooting teams to Bisley. Marksmen competed for 'top shot', of whom the best would be awarded the King's Medal.

Lisle was active in the GGFG marksmanship team and a high scorer on the shooting range. As a Major, he served as a Company Commander at the GGFG's home base, Cartier Square Drill Hall in Ottawa, and at the nearby Connaught Ranges.[131] In the summer of 1936, he was reported to have hit the bull's eye on every shot at 300 yards, although his score dropped by one point at 600 yards, at which distance it is significantly more difficult to shoot accurately, particularly with iron sights.[132]

Shooting accurately was not merely sport but a core military skill: a soldier who could not hit and kill an enemy put himself and his comrades at risk. With the army reserve, shooting was more, then, than an expression of amateur enthusiasm; rather, a means of generating publicity, attracting recruits to the regiment and the army and contributing to regimental pride.[133] The participants were often quite ordinary men – and in Canada, at least, the teams' training meetings included some women marksmen, too, as seen in the scrapbooks of Lieutenant-Colonel Horace Bishop of the GGFG, one of Canada's top marksmen from 1924 to 1939, at the Canadian War Museum.[134]

Finally, when the Foot Guards mobilised as part of 4 Division on 31 May 1940 after the evacuation of Dunkirk, Major Edward Lisle took a leadership role in preparing the GGFG for deployment. He served as Commanding Officer of training and recruit-bashing at Lansdowne prior to embarkation, where there were 'shortages of cooks, bedding, clothing, barracks, equipment, transport, arms, and training equipment', but good training all summer in the 'broiling sun' on the 'unshaded' Lansdowne football pitch. He later commanded the HQ Company.[135]

When the GGFG were converted to the armoured role, taking the name of 21st Canadian Armoured Regiment (GGFG), their officer complement was reduced on 26 January 1942, and thus Major Lisle and Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Wurtele could not deploy with the regiment.[136] However, Lisle, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel, did visit the regiment in England at Maresfield, north of Brighton, on 23 April 1944, St George's Day, a few weeks before they began their operations in the liberation of the Netherlands.[137]

Like so many military wives, Winifred M. Lisle (née Ainsborough, of Almonte, Ontario) exemplified the contemporary community spirit as president of the GGFG Ladies Auxiliary for two years during the war,[138] working on camp food and comforts.[139] Mrs Lisle also served in civilian Roman Catholic charities, such as the Catholic Women's League, and was a member of the Third Order of St Dominic, one of many voluntary

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associations designed to assist lay men and women to live a more Catholic life.

In 1943, Lieutenant-Colonel Lisle, then retired, attended a ceremony at the Ottawa Oval to close the Diocesan Crusade of Prayer for Victory and Peace, commanding the representative parties from military units of the Ottawa area.[140] Lisle's Roman Catholicism puts him in the broad category of non-Protestant loyalism, since he was Anglophone but, like Maurice Pope and Georges Vanier, a Roman Catholic. After the war, Lisle rounded out his lifelong service to the regiment by assisting with the production of the GGFG's regimental history, published in 1948.[141]

Lisle's career is illustrative of NPAM aspirations in other ways, including the pursuit of higher training. Knowing one's profession as an officer, even a part-time officer, required reading and systematic study. In this regard, Lisle exemplified what John A. English called 'determined reserve officers', who in the 1930s took opportunities presented 'on the individual level' to attain 'a degree of professional excellence'.[142] By 1939, every eligible Foot Guards officer of the rank of captain and up, which included Lisle, had completed the Militia Staff Course.[143] That course was considered to be 'the finest investment … ever … made with training funds', said one-legged General Harry Letson, commanding the Officer Training Corps at the University of British Columbia, in 1933.[144] Lieutenant General Howard Graham, mentioned in the section 'Regiments and leadership' above, was another part-time soldier who completed the Militia Staff Course.[145] In contrast to 1914, when few officers had received a professional level of training before the outbreak of war, when war came in 1939 there were hundreds of staff-trained officers available.[146]

Part-time soldiers also contributed to the intellectual life of the army. Before the war Lisle took his amateur soldiering to unusual heights, publishing two articles in the military's premier academic publication, *CDQ*.[147] He won 'Best Essay' in 1935 for a paper, 'Can Canada Defend Herself?', probably one of the contributions that got Harry Crerar, Director of Military Operations and Military Intelligence from 1935 to 1938, and briefly Commandant of RMC Kingston in 1938–9, 'in trouble for allowing some articles critical of Canada's defence preparedness' into the *Journal*.[148]

Lisle wrote that, although many were not willing to face up to it, Canada's first obligation and chief military problem was 'how to defend herself'. But Canada also had 'definite obligations' to the League of Nations and the Commonwealth 'British family of nations', including

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'the dispatch of an overseas force should the occasion ever arise'.[149] At the grassroots level, he wrote, 'the greatest problem with which militia officers have to contend has to do first with recruitment and then with maintaining the men's interest and enthusiasm', as we have seen in this article. He concluded that 'the present organization' of the military 'is totally inadequate'.[150]

Lisle's prize paper drew the ire of the prominent Liberal nationalist John S. Ewart who, replying in *CDQ*, made the isolationist case that Canada had no obligation to the Empire, merely ties of sentiment and tradition. In follow-up, Lisle wrote a realist assessment that aligned with the thinking of the General Staff:

> Recent history has shown that weak nations may expect short shift from some at least of the world powers if they have only themselves to depend upon … So long as Canada sees fit for perhaps good and sufficient reasons not to arm to the point of being able to defend herself against all-comers, she imposes upon herself first the necessity of aligning herself with some other power or powers and secondly of assuming certain obligations towards those powers.[151]

In short, if Canadians refused to invest sufficiently in their own defence, they were giving themselves little choice but to participate in, and surrender some measure of sovereignty to, alliances, which would in turn place obligations on Canada.

In the context of the 1930s, such obligations were not only sentimental but also stemmed from Canada's interests, vulnerability and willingness to be defended by Great Britain. In Lisle's view, 'that Canada continues to be a sovereign nation despite her present almost defenceless condition is proof positive that she is a member of the Commonwealth'[152] – that is to say, reliant on Empire cooperation for her defence.

Lisle wrote in *CDQ* again in 1938, publishing 'The British Empire and world peace', an overview of Canada's position in the Empire and the world that took into account Australia, South Africa, India, the 'Colonial Empire' and 'Defence Requirements of the Empire'. His arguments were typical of mainstream interwar opinion that the League of Nations had failed but that the Empire was too decentralised to be an effective bulwark for peace. He noted that Canada's trade and prosperity depended significantly on the freedom of the sea-lanes afforded by Britain's Navy. Since Canada's seaborne trade was worth $295 million

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per year, 'her prosperity is dependent to a very large extent upon this trade' and 'therefore she in common with the other member-states have obligations one to another'.[153] Defence cooperation with Great Britain in preserving 'world peace', and in the event of war, was, as P. A. Buckner put it, a 'vital Canadian interest'.[154]

Both of Lisle's articles were written before the Ogdensburg Agreement of 17 August 1940, which placed Canada under President Roosevelt's security guarantee. The reserve officer's essays evoke a 'conservative' view that Canada could expect diminished autonomy under American 'protection'. Lisle believed that 'the defence of Canada's sovereign status must continue to rest solidly upon the British connexion and her own maximum contribution'.[155] Canada's security was grounded in the British Empire status quo. To the extent that the United States was not a status quo power, leaders in Washington should be regarded by Canadians as ambitious revisionists whose goals were not necessarily consistent with Canada's interests.[156]

Edward Lisle's essays have received little attention from scholars reviewing the work of *CDQ* or the interwar defence debate. Even so, they aligned with the views of senior officers in the Permanent Force such as Andrew McNaughton, Ken Stuart and Maurice Pope, who understood the Empire as an alliance that presented Canada with obligations as well as security.

Conclusion

More could be written from a Canadian viewpoint about the lost peace, in which 'the combined might of the British Empire and its Dominions', as Leo Amery saw it, should have been 'so vast as to act as a deterrent to any European aggressor, and also to police and protect the wider Empire to secure it against both internal unrest and foreign aggression'. This was a concept that one scholar has called the 'imperialist alternative' to appeasement,[157] but which has attracted little study in Canada. It is notable that even a little-known Militia officer such as Lisle counted himself among the realists in reserve units across Canada, who supported regimental training and recruiting while publicly or privately advocating Empire cooperation, in the hope of contributing to Canadian and Commonwealth readiness and deterrence.[158] McNaughton's army reforms had reduced the total peacetime establishment (the number on paper) of the NPAM from 102,182 to 88,943. But in reality, there were only 48,761 enrolled in the NPAM in 1935.[159]

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The NPAM was a superb expression of interwar Canadian nationalism and identity and is worthy of further study. Whether in field training, marksmanship competitions, ceremonial activities, studying the art and science of war or making contributions to the local community, small groups of men soldiered on in the interwar years. Regimental histories reveal that numerous drawbacks and shortcomings were matched by a striking capacity to maintain good morale, a reasonable turnout and survival for a better day in 'a silent battle for existence'.[160] In 1938–9, there were as many as 30,000 reservists at training camps, more than any summer since the Great War.[161] Their efforts meant that by 23 August 1939, when the Nazi–Soviet Pact was revealed and war inevitable, the Canadian Militia were on a sounder footing than ever before.

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Research ethics statement

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The author declares no conflict of interest with this work. All efforts to sufficiently anonymise the author during peer review of this article have been made. The author declares no further conflicts with this article.

Notes

1 'Prime Minister visits Canada's overseas army', *Ottawa Evening Journal*, 23 August 1941, 1.
2 Cook, *Warlords*, 266. Mackenzie King's diary says he arrived 'about a quarter of an hour late. The guard of honour had been standing in the wet.' Diaries of

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W. L. Mackenzie King, 747 (typescript, stamped, Library and Archives Canada. Halifax County, Nova Scotia, Elected Officials. Accessed 4 January 2024, https://cdn.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/about-the-city/archives/ElectedOfficials-County.pdf).

3 Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire*, 167. For the figure of 125,000, see Stacey, *Six Years of War*, vol. 1: 93.
4 Stacey, *Six Years of War*, vol. 1: 93.
5 'Troops free to express views says prime minister of booing', *Ottawa Journal*, 25 August 1941, 2.
6 Maj. C. P. Stacey to Director (Historical Section), 'Visit of the Rt. Hon W. L. Mackenzie King to Canadian Troops in England', 23 September 1941, Directorate of History and Heritage.
7 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 40–1.
8 *Ottawa Journal*, 25 August 1941, 2.
9 Diaries of W. L. Mackenzie King, 23 August 1941, 749. Mackenzie King's diary also claims it was Churchill who wanted the Canadians to remain in England, see 752.
10 Harris, *Canadian Brass*, 192; Stacey, *The Military Problems*, 94. See Roy, *The Seaforth Highlanders*, 42.
11 Forrest, *The Legacy*; Beckett, 'The nation in arms', 1, 4.
12 Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.
13 Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 105. Peter Vronsky writes, 'In 1862, the *levée en masse* and the idea of the nation in arms guided the hand of John A. Macdonald when as minister of militia he drafted and redrafted the defence policies of the Province of Canada.' See Vronsky, 'Combat, Memory and Remembrance', 14.
14 Milner, 'Whose army is it anyway?', 14. Milner thought this voluntarism enhanced their effectiveness in war: 'Unlike many of the conscripts of larger armies, Canadian soldiers took a proprietary interest in their jobs and it showed. This gave Canadian combat operations their peculiar flavour of toughness and resilience, which usually developed into a hard professionalism in combat which most Canadians today would find unsettling.'
15 Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, 238, quoted in English, *The Canadian Army*, 3.
16 Vance, *Death so Noble*, 136.
17 Wood, *Militia Myths*, 268.
18 Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada*; Hillmer and Bothwell, *The In-between Time*; Socknat, *Witness against War*; Owram, *The Government Generation*.
19 [Unsigned] in CDQ, vol. XIII, 1935–36, 33d.
20 Stacey, *Military Problems*, 99.
21 Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers*, 340.
22 McCulloch, 'Mackenzie King', 13.
23 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect'; Harris, *Canadian Brass*; Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men*.
24 Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General*, 103–9.
25 Harris, *Canadian Brass*, 160, 164–5.
26 Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, 240. The Militia as a whole was reborn as the Canadian Army in 1940, see Creighton, *The Forked Road*, 47; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, vol. 1: 89.
27 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 240.
28 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 240; Delaney, *The Soldiers' General*, 18.
29 Queen-Hughes, *Whatever Men Dare*, 10.
30 Harris, *Canadian Brass*, 203; Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 53.
31 Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, 236–7.

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32 In 2009, the former Chief of the Defence Staff, General Rick Hillier, wrote of the Guards on Parliament Hill: 'the faces under those imposing bearskins … reflected who we are as a country', see Hillier, *A Soldier First*, 364.
33 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 346; 'attempted rearmament,' Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers*, 347.
34 Stacey, *Canadian Army*, 3–4; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, vol. 1: 34–5, 50, cited by MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 341.
35 They were major generals Bruce Matthews, Bert Hoffmeister and Holley Keefler, see MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 340.
36 Delaney, 'Imperial armies'.
37 Grayson, 'Leo Amery's imperialist alternative', 499.
38 Brown, *Buster*, 138; Harris, *Canadian Brass*, 180.
39 Crawford and Watson, '"The most appeasing line', 78–9.
40 Mowbray, 'Militiaman'; see Jones, 'Pinchbeck Regulars?'.
41 Buckner and Bridge, 'Reinventing the British world', 81.
42 For example, Buckner and Francis, eds, *Canada and the British World*; Buckner, ed., *Canada and the End of Empire*; Buckner and Francis, eds, *Rediscovering the British World*.
43 Pickles, *Female Imperialism*.
44 Milner, *Canada's Navy*, 175–95; Peter Archambault, 'Too much "Britishness" or not enough? The Canadian naval mutinies of 1949', presented to the International Commission on Maritime History, Calgary, 28 June 1998, cited in Milner, *Canada's Navy*, 195.
45 Brennan, 'The other battle', 261.
46 Champion, *Strange Demise*.
47 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 35–6.
48 'The French Canadian and the N.P.A.M.', reproduced in Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 83–9.
49 Typically, only one-third of all officers and men attending army reserve summer training in Quebec's two military districts in the mid-1920s were Francophones, although that proportion rose to 46.5 per cent in 1939, see Granatstein, *The Generals*, 241.
50 Kronenberg, *All Together Now*, 82–3.
51 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 87.
52 Leblanc, 'Maurice A. Pope, 55.
53 Champion, *The Strange Demise*, 197–221. If unification was not about race, men like Jean-Luc Pépin, MP, made it so, asserting that certain admirals were motivated by a desire to preserve the Navy's 'Anglo-Protestant' character, see *Hansard*, Parliament of Canada. 1966. Linked Parliamentary Data Service (LiPad), 20 October 1966, 8890.
54 Wood, *Militia Myths*, 106; Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 104–7.
55 Henderson, 'The myth of the "Militia Myth"'.
56 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 86.
57 Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition*; Sheffield, 'Amateur soldiering tradition'.
58 Granatstein, *The Generals*, 207.
59 Granatstein, *The Generals*, 240.
60 Comtesse Simonne du Monceau de Bergendal, see *Maurice Arthur Pope Collection*, Canadian War Museum Finding Aid, Ottawa. Accessed 4 January 2024. https://www.warmuseum.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/mauricepope_e.pdf. Granatstein, *The Generals*, 209.
61 Lowry, 'The crown', 96–120, for French Canadians, 104.
62 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*.
63 English, *The Canadian Army*, 3–4, 15.

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64 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 86 ff.
65 Lisle, *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 1938, 9.
66 Quoted in English, *The Canadian Army*, 25.
67 English, *The Canadian Army*, 35, 38; MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 159; Roy, *Sinews of Steel*, 99.
68 Quigley, *A Century of Rifles*, 113.
69 *Canada Gazette*, 1923, 1883.
70 Halifax County elected officials.
71 Mowat, *The Regiment*, xi–iii.
72 Mowat, *The Regiment*, xvi–ii.
73 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 138.
74 Crook, *A Pictorial History*, 92.
75 Crook, *A Pictorial History*, 245.
76 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 329.
77 Stacey, *The Military Problems*, 59, 61.
78 Chesley, 'Notes on the training', 182.
79 Graham, *Citizen and Soldier*, 105.
80 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 7.
81 Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Montreal Regiment*, 4, 6.
82 Queen-Hughes, *Whatever Men Dare*, 4, 6.
83 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 31.
84 Graham, *Citizen and Soldier*, 105.
85 Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*; Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building*.
86 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 87.
87 Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*; Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*; Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen*.
88 Graham, *Citizen and Soldier*, 105.
89 Graham, *Citizen and Soldier*, 106.
90 The 8th Hussars Museum in Sussex, New Brunswick, has a finding aid. Accessed 4 January 2024. https://search.canbarchives.ca/downloads/k-s-keltie-kennedy-3.pdf
91 How, *The 8th Hussars*, 92.
92 How, *The 8th Hussars*, 96.
93 How, *The 8th Hussars*, 98.
94 Roy, *For Most Conspicuous Bravery*, 125.
95 Roy, *The Seaforth Highlanders*, 36.
96 Roy, *The Seaforth Highlanders*, 37, citing Seaforth Archives, interview with Brig. Lough, 18 July 1960.
97 Barnard, *The Queen's Own Rifles*, 129.
98 Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Montreal Regiment*, 2.
99 Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, 234.
100 Barnard, *The Queen's Own Rifles*, 129.
101 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect', 140–1.
102 'R.W. Queen-Hughes, editorial writer, dies', *Winnipeg Free Press*, 20 July 1970, 20.
103 Queen-Hughes, *Whatever Men Dare*, 2.
104 Bruce, *Back the Attack!*, 30.
105 Queen-Hughes, *Whatever Men Dare*, 3.
106 Mackenzie, *Popular Imperialism*, 30–2. See Festing, 'The value of close order drill'; Wardle, 'A defence of close-order drill'.
107 Holmes, *Firing Line*, 40–4.
108 Pope, *Why I Became a Roman Catholic*, 87.
109 Praval, *Indian Army*; Silverthorne and Gaskin, *The British Foot Guards*.
110 Ong-Webb and Ho, *National Service*, 116.

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111 Patterson, *A Regiment*, 2–3.
112 Patterson, *A Regiment*, 4.
113 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 39.
114 Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, 236.
115 Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, 237. The seniority of the GGFG was shown in its mounting of the first four Guards, including No. 1 Guard, the Escort Guard of the Colour, while the CGG provided Guard Nos 5, 6, 7 and 8. Apart from the Escort, which consisted of one officer and two NCOs, each Guard consisted of three officers and 66 other ranks. See also Dexter, 'At the National Capital', *Maclean's*, 15 May 1939.
116 Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, 238.
117 Fedorowich, 'Sir Gerald Campbell', 367.
118 Thompson, 'Canada', 102–3.
119 Halstead, 'Daylight upon magic', 105, 107.
120 Arnold Heeney looked on as the 'jittery' ('again') Mackenzie King prompted the king to unveil the monument at the wrong moment, Heeney Diary, Library and Archives, Ottawa, 20–1 May 1939.
121 Halstead, 'Daylight upon magic', 117–18.
122 Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Montreal Regiment*, 10.
123 Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Montreal Regiment*, 11.
124 'His Majesty's message to all Defence Forces of Canada' as 'Head of the three Services', *Canadian Military Gazette*, 22 August 1939, 1.
125 Graham, *Citizen and Soldier*, 107.
126 'Trooping of Color Ceremony seen by 10,000 spectators', *Ottawa Citizen*, 7 June 1937, 16; 'Trooping of Color rehearsed; Plans made for Sunday', *Ottawa Citizen*, 5 June 1937, 18; *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 42–3.
127 Telephone conversation with Winnifred Lisle, Ottowa, 27 September 2021.
128 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 31.
129 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 46.
130 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 40.
131 'On the ranges', *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 August 1937, 12; 'Foot Guards compete in Sand Table Competition', *Ottawa Citizen*, 17 November 1937, 1.
132 'Harold Borden match won by Montreal shot', *Ottawa Citizen*, 12 August, 1936, 9. The interwar years were good for the Governor General's Foot Guards' shooting team: Lieutenant D. T. Burke managed to win the King's Medal at Bisley Ranges, home to the National Rifle Association in Surrey, England, in 1925, 1927, 1929, 1930 and 1931, while Sergeant W. J. Livingstone earned the King's Medal in 1924 and 1926, and Lieutenant A. B. Coulter in 1922. As a Guardsman, Burke had competed at Bisley for the first time in 1924 and won the King's Prize and a Canadian scholarship worth $2,500. *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 224.
133 Delaney, *The Soldiers' General*, 17.
134 'Scrapbook of Lt Col William Horace Bishop', Acc. No. 19840059-227, Canadian War Museum ARCH DOCSMANU 58E 3 2.2.
135 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 50–1.
136 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 65.
137 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 88, 210.
138 'Mrs. E. Lisle, former city resident, dies', *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 January 1956, 4; 'Priorum Temporum Flores', marriage announcement (Winifred's brother, the Rev. A. A. Ainsborough, officiating), *University of Ottawa Review*, October 1911, vol. 14: 153–4.
139 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 59.

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140 'Catholics participate in ceremony at Oval', *Ottawa Citizen*, 5 July 1943, 18.
141 'Stirring story is told of record of GGFG', *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 December 1948, 12.
142 English, *The Canadian Army*, 35.
143 *The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards*, 46.
144 English, *The Canadian Army*, 35; Letson, 'Influence of mechanization', 36.
145 Graham, *Citizen and Soldier*, 100–1. It is an interesting reflection of the challenges of part-time service that Graham described being 'loath' to continue to the advanced course to seek higher rank because, encompassing international politics, resources, governments and large formations, the advanced course would be a drain on his private and professional life.
146 Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 162.
147 Ewart, 'A criticism' and Lisle 'A reply', in '*Canadian Defence Quarterly* Prize Essay', 1935. English states that *CDQ* manifested the high quality of Canadian officers in the study of war, *The Canadian Army*, 29.
148 Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General*, 105, does not specify which articles.
149 Lisle, 'Prize essay', 164.
150 Lisle, 'Prize essay', 162, 164.
151 Lisle, 'A reply', 461.
152 Lisle, 'A reply', 463.
153 Lisle, 'The British Empire and world peace', 22.
154 Buckner, 'The long goodbye', 198.
155 Lisle, 'The British Empire', 20.
156 Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power*.
157 Grayson, 'Leo Amery's imperialist alternative', 495.
158 MacDonald, 'The policy of neglect'.
159 Bezeau, *Rocky Mountain Rangers*, 140.
160 Roy, *Sinews of Steel*, 99.
161 Stacey, *Military Problems*, 121, 124.

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Hidden in Plain Sight: Fascism in Quebec during the Second World War

Esther Delisle

Abstract

My doctoral dissertation on anti-Semitism and extreme right-wing nationalism in 1929–39 Quebec proved to be a thread that, once pulled, would reveal other aspects of Quebec history that had also been hidden in plain sight. The writing of the most prominent nationalists of the 1930s was available in most university libraries in Quebec. While some politicians acknowledged in their memoirs the influence of these intellectuals in their youth, the appeal of fascism and anti-Semitism was never mentioned. Their resounding silence was quickly shattered by reading the Université de Montréal (University of Montreal)'s *Le Quartier Latin* student newspaper, where articles praising fascism and denouncing the Jewish influence were common, and a little book that claimed that Pierre Elliott Trudeau had been a member of a revolutionary organisation that aimed at toppling the provincial government to establish an independent Quebec freed from democracy. Researching the French Nazi collaborators warmly received in Quebec after the Second World War led to a little-known man who became the personal ambassador to the Vatican of the premier of Quebec, Maurice Duplessis, during the Asbestos Strike of 1949. Combing through the files of some of the leading actors of that conflict in the Jesuits' archives would reveal that the miners' health threatened by asbestosis was a significant issue that the historiography of the event had neglected.

Keywords extreme right-wing nationalism; fascism; Nazism; France; Quebec; anti-Semitism; French Nazi collaborators; Asbestos Strike; Pierre Elliott Trudeau; René Lévesque.

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Introduction

Evidence of anti-Semitism and fascism in a university library near you

Jerusalem, May 2013.[1] I am sitting in one of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities salons with Professor Emeritus Zeev Sternhell, a world-renowned specialist on fascism, especially French fascism.[2] I had been his student in the mid-1980s when I was doing a doctoral internship at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. For two years, he invited me to participate in a seminar he led at the Institute of Advanced Studies of university. Near the end of our conversation, I told him in French: 'La recherche et l'écriture de mes quatre livres ont été une aventure intellectuelle extraordinaire' ['Researching and writing my four books have been an extraordinary intellectual adventure']. To which he replied: 'J'en suis certain' ['I am sure']. I now share this journey with you.[3]

My doctoral dissertation was about anti-Semitism as expressed in the writings of the main French-Canadian nationalists from 1929 to 1939. Back in Canada as a doctoral student at Laval University, Quebec, I had read all the works by Abbé Lionel Groulx published during that period, the *Tracts* and the *Cahiers des Jeune-Canada*, all the issues of *L'Action nationale* appearing from January 1933 to January 1940, as well as all the issues of the daily *Le Devoir* from 1929 to 1939. The first three sources were used in toto, while 234 articles of *L'Action nationale* and 1,007 articles of *Le Devoir* were carefully examined for analytical purposes. Why did I read all of these writings in their entirety and not select a scientifically sound sample? For one reason: the more I read, the more I realised that the anti-Semitism expressed in these writings, especially in *Le Devoir*, was crude, violent and vulgar. All the characteristics of the Nazi iconography of the Jew were repeated ad nauseam.[4] The sheer number of anti-Semitic articles would validate my claim that anti-Semitism was part and parcel of that group's nationalism.

Furthermore, the nationalism of Lionel Groulx and his followers had an obvious kinship to the extremist right-wing nationalism cum fascism that was gaining momentum in Europe at the time. To be more precise, the French variety of that extreme ideology found an audience in Quebec for the obvious reason of a shared language. Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurras were the most prominent French influence on Quebec nationalists at the time. Depending on the European or American historians or political scientists you read, their nationalism was extreme right-wing or a form of fascism.

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To summarise the findings of my book: the fanatical Jew spewed out by their feverish pens had a pendulous, crooked nose which was evidence of its criminal propensity, crooked fingers and a repulsive odour caused by his dirtiness. He soils public parks. He is a criminal and suffers from mental illness. He is responsible for capitalism and communism and is bent on controlling the world, as demonstrated in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He is the devil incarnate. Capitalism is evil in itself mainly because it allows the Jew to exploit the nation and infect it with unnameable germs; democracy is evil because it is the tool of capitalism and of the Jews. Modernity incarnated in the cosmopolitan cities, the cinema and jazz is the work of the Jew because in it blossoms all cankers and putrefaction. In brief, he (the Jew) is genuinely the enemy in our midst.

But the Jew cannot rule alone. Enter his nefarious sidekick, the Traitor. The true French Canadian is entirely determined by the powerful forces of 'the blood, the soil and the past', wrote Lionel Groulx, echoing the famous expression penned by Maurice Barrès – 'the blood, the soil and the dead', but Groulx saw the ideal as very rare. Most French Canadians were 'too much like those we see cluttering the streets: beings without consistency, without dignity, without pride, whom one would say are from no race, no country; mockeries of men who are an insult to mankind, and above all an insult to Catholic education'.

Replicating the logic of Charles Maurras and his movement L'Action française, only French Canadians who follow his nationalism are worthy of being called French Canadians. The others are devoting their time and effort to helping the Jew to use capitalism, democracy and modernity, thereby destroying the province of Quebec and the world for his own benefit.

Although society is ravaged by miasmas, destruction and death brought by liberalism, the Jew and the Traitor, there is hope: fascism.

> Weak minds which believe in democracy at the expense of the Church and Christ react with horror to fascism in all its shapes and forms. This, despite the fact that certain nations are currently very content, experiencing the most glorious kind of rebirth under this political system (… in Mussolini's country, for example, they would see how a real head of state goes about inculcating the taste and passion for greatness and resurrection in a moribund nation).

Such a national state would reconcile the 'de jure country from the real country', a leitmotif copied word for word from Charles Maurras and his monthly journal *L'Action française*. 'I mean by a French State … a

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re-establishment of the link or identity between the “legal country” and the “real country”.’

The economist Esdras Minville who founded the monthly *L’Action nationale*, successor to *L’Action française*, takes his inspiration for the future from the National Socialism in Germany as understood by Gonzague de Reynold: ‘If they mean to give it back its dignity, pride, independence, its love of living the German life, then they are doing wholesome, intelligent, deliberate work … What Gonzague de Reynold wrote about Hitler and his brown shirts in 1933 could have been written today about Abbé Groulx and *L’Action nationale*.’

In a fascist cum Nazi national state, the young generation will become no less than Supermen and Gods as opposed to the previous generation, labelled the Dead:

> Those young men and girls who have been smitten with an absolute ideal, eagerly pushing their personality development to the limit, will realize that their birth into the Catholic faith … During the course of their spiritual development, this ideal can transform them, if they so desire, into supermen and Gods.

As for the Jews, they will be parked in ghettos or deported to Palestine.

In articles and books that teach the history of Quebec or Canada, the nationalism of the 1920s and 1930s (often until 1960) is classified as ‘clerico-nationalism’.[5] Its prominent supporters were Catholic priests – foremost among them Abbé Lionel Groulx. Its goal was to preserve the religion and traditions of French Canadians which were threatened by the industrialisation and urbanisation of the province. Clerico-nationalism glorified a past incarnated by la Nouvelle-France (New France), saw the family as the fundamental social unit and envisaged agriculture as the key to the economic development of Quebec. Groulx’s writings stated that the political independence of the latter was deemed unavoidable but always postponed.[6] The concept of clerico-nationalism glosses over the anti-Semitism and fascism of Abbé Groulx and his followers. Yet, I found their writings from the 1930s readily available in university libraries, including every microfilmed issue of *Le Devoir* from 1929 to 1939.

Memory is the structuring of forgetfulness

It has been written that ‘memory is the structuring of forgetfulness’.[7] Euphemisms, lies and omissions also play a part in shaping memory.

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These tactics were used by prominent French Canadians coming of age during the Second World War when they wrote their memoirs. Reading the memoirs of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, René Lévesque, Gérard Pelletier and others,[8] I was struck by how little they reminisced about events they acknowledged to have been of tremendous importance.

René Lévesque, born on 24 August 1922, was a well-known journalist who became a Liberal minister in the provincial government. He shepherded the nationalisation of electricity companies in the early 1960s. In 1967, he launched the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (Sovereignty-Association Movement),[9] which morphed into Le Parti Québécois (The Quebecker Party), a political party advocating the sovereignty of the province of Quebec while retaining some economic association with Canada. Having joined the American Psychological Warfare Department as a reporter at the request of Phill Robb of the Office of War Information, he covered the war in Europe, where he claimed to have witnessed the first minutes of Hermann Goering's surrender to the GIs.[10]

Lévesque writes in his memoirs that he enlisted because of a 'ravenous hunger for war experience' and perhaps a desire to protect democracy.[11] However, according to his biographer, Pierre Godin, Lévesque made numerous attempts to dodge military service, which are not mentioned in his reminiscences.[12] Furthermore, on the day his memoirs were launched, the then-retired politician admitted that his account of Hermann Goering's surrender was pure fiction, as had been his witnessing the corpses of Mussolini and his mistress hanging in the street in Milan.[13]

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, born on 18 October 1919, was a lawyer, future Liberal Minister of Justice and Attorney General in the Federal Government and Prime Minister of Canada from 1968 to 1979 and from 1980 to 1984.[14] Over the course of his political career, he steadfastly opposed the independence of Quebec and remained an unflinching advocate of Canadian Federalism. He was 20 years old when the Second World War broke out.

Trudeau writes in his memoirs that he was indifferent to the discussions his fellow students at the Université de Montréal (University of Montreal) had about the Battle of Britain and the London Blitz. Like many French Canadians, he doubted that it was a just war but rather that it was a 'settling of scores among the superpowers'. As an afterthought, he adds curtly: 'And then, of course, there was the conscription issue.'[15]

The conscription crisis

The conscription issue involved a plebiscite the Canadian government held on 27 April 1942, on the following question, 'Are you in favour

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of releasing the Government from any obligations arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?'[16]

Some 72.9 per cent of French-Canadian voters answered No, while in the other provinces, 80 per cent answered Yes. The League for the Defense of Canada was created on 22 January at the home of Abbé Groulx. André Laurendeau was named its principal Executive Officer. While this League had worked tirelessly to promote the No side, this was not its only goal. At its first public meeting on 11 February 1942, the crowd chanted, 'Down with the Gazette!' 'Down with the Jews!' At a youth rally at the Jean-Talon market on 24 March, the crowd jeered at 'the International Jewish Finance', 'the Toronto Two Hundred' and the English newspaper *Montreal Gazette*. A small group screamed, 'Kill them! Kill them!' and smashed the windows of shops believed to be owned by Jews. I learnt later that Pierre Elliott Trudeau participated in that event.[17]

As noted, the conscription issue was a vehicle to promote other agendas. A survey was held to ascertain why former members of Le Bloc populaire canadien (previously the League for the Defense of Canada) had joined the party. Only 5.4 per cent of former Le Bloc populaire canadien members mentioned conscription as the main reason for joining the party. Hatred of old political parties was invoked by 16.9 per cent of the 152 former members and 23.1 per cent by the influence of friends or the pressure of events.[18] For André Laurendeau, Le Bloc populaire canadien was the 'instrument of the legitimate revenge of Canadians against their corrupt masters'. It would 'end the nightmare of the old party system and establish a social and national regime that will treat men like men'. There was indeed much more than opposing conscription in the minds of the members and supporters of the League for the Defense of Canada and of its successor. Maybe there was not even an alleged 'conscription crisis', suspected its leading architect and creator, André Laurendeau: 'In the full and formal sense of the term, conscription never occurred. Was this whole long story then nothing but a sinister farce?'

Trudeau and Lévesque, leaders of the great political divide in Quebec for more than four decades (1970–2010), helped shape the prevailing memory of the Second World War.[19] Their memoirs considered the Second World War to be of minor importance in Quebec, save for the conscription crisis.[20]

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Sounds of silence

There had to be more to Trudeau's and Levesque's experiences of the Second World War than what they publicly revealed, especially since they had stated that they were keenly aware of its importance.[21] What was their youthful stance on Pétain and the Vichy regime? On fascism, Mussolini, Hitler? A deafening silence resonated in their memoirs. Was it evidence of some truth that had remained hidden in plain sight? After all, the fascism and the anti-Semitism in the writings of Lionel Groulx, *L'Action nationale*, the *Jeune-Canada* and *Le Devoir* had been there all along for all to see.

I surmised that their uneasy silence hid their attraction, if not their support, for the government of Philippe Pétain, fascist Italy and perhaps even Nazi Germany. I was proven right to a large extent. In the 1930s, Lévesque and Pierre Trudeau, like so many others of their generation, had studied in classical colleges run by the Jesuits. They were fed a steady diet of extreme right-wing nationalism cum fascism, with its aversion to democracy, political parties and capitalism.[22]

Both admired Lionel Groulx's nationalism and were impressed by his novel *L'appel de la race* (*The Call of the Race*), which claimed that people from different races could not reproduce without dire consequences. The children of the novel's protagonists – Jules de Lantagnac (French Canadian) and Maud Fletcher (English) – have severe intellectual and psychological issues bordering on mental illness. Quoting Maurice Barres, one of France's leading proponents of extreme right-wing nationalism, Groulx wrote, 'The races' blood remains the same through the centuries.'

François Hertel, the pen name of the Jesuit Rodolphe Dubé, taught at the colleges Jean-de-Brébeuf, Ste-Marie and St-Ignace. He became a lifelong friend of Pierre Trudeau. His book on 1930s youth, entitled *Leur inquiétude* (*Their Concern/Their Worry*), published in 1936, made a deep impression on future provincial and federal prime ministers. In it, he parroted much of Lionel Groulx's nationalism, which does not come as a surprise when one knows that this influential book was a collection of articles published in *L'Action nationale*. The conquest of New France by the British in 1759 was blamed for the Depression that plagued French Canadians in the 1930s. Three threats assailed them, as terrible as they were all-encompassing and vague: 'anglicization, denationalization and protestantisation'. Ottawa imposed parliamentary partisanship contrary to the French Canadians' national temperament. The French Canadians

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have become water carriers since the industrialisation of the province of Quebec. The financial trusts crushed them economically. The rural exodus to the cities, where they came into contact with Protestants, interethnic marriages, radio, movie theatres, cars and political corruption, plagued the nation.

François Hertel, together with two other Jesuits and a layman,[23] established a secret society named Les Frères Chasseurs (also called les LX).[24] Its mission was to gather together intellectuals who would prepare the accession of Quebec to independence through revolution, violent if necessary.[25]

At that point in my research, a friend gave me a book by a former LX member, François-J. Lessard.[26] He claimed that Pierre Elliott Trudeau had been a member of that organisation. Lessard asserted that Trudeau joined it in 1937 when he was 18. I met with the author several times to gather evidence of Trudeau's membership and activities in the LX.[27] I eventually gained access to François-J. Lessard's personal papers in the basement of his home. They were scattered in boxes among other items such as kitchen implements and rubber boots. In there, I found evidence of the involvement of Pierre Trudeau, Jean Drapeau and others in this secret society.

Some of Trudeau's unfortunate actions became public knowledge: he participated in a theatre play claiming that Nazi Germany would be as bad for French Canadians as the British Empire, and he gave a speech tinted with anti-Semitism supporting Jean Drapeau, the future mayor of Montreal[28] and a candidate for Le Bloc populaire canadien in Outremont. Other actions were left private, like his role as an intermediary between Lionel Groulx and Father Marie-Joseph d'Anjou when a split within the Bloc Populaire canadien threatened its existence.

Many members of the LX wrote in *Le Quartier latin* and joined the Bloc universitaire created in 1937. Trudeau was a member of the Bloc universitaire and was elected to its Montreal (regional) board at the end of March 1938.

In the summer of 1938, the Bloc universitaire organised a trip to Nazi Germany. In the 11 November 1938 edition of *Le Quartier latin*, under the pen name of Mercure, a student wrote that all German students were Nazis, which made Hitler happy because he had done so much for them, ensuring them a splendid future. Their intense nationalism made the Germans sound of character, wrote Mercure. 'Nazis believe that it is the best way to ensure the nation's common good, and that is the "raison d'être" of the universities.' Finally, asserts Mercure, 'Germans are pacifists and want to live in peace with everyone.'[29]

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Other articles published in the same student newspaper praised fascist Italy, the National Revolution of Marshal Pétain and the Portuguese dictator Salazar, and attacked Jewry for its communism and financial control over the world. Trudeau was a student at the University of Montreal from 1940 to 1943 and one of the editors of its student newspapers. While not authoring such articles, he was very likely aware of them.

Again, hidden in plain sight.

My biggest surprise came when I found a postcard, dated 10 October 1948, that Trudeau had sent to his friend François-J. Lessard and his wife, Lise, while he was travelling abroad. He muses on Mesopotamia, 'cradle of humankind, Laurentie, cradle of the new world! To you, the responsibility to make it happen. And to me to come back as soon as possible.' After the Second World War ended, the 29-year-old Trudeau still extolled the dream of La Laurentie – an independent Quebec – to a couple of fellow members of the LX. As late as 1947, Trudeau publicly condemned the 'system of the political parties that poisons our people' in *Notre Temps*.

In his memoirs, Trudeau remains mute on the anti-liberal and anti-democratic ideology of many of his Jesuit teachers at the college Jean-de-Brébeuf. He also fails to mention the support for fascism and Nazism in *Le Quartier latin*, his membership of Les Frères Chasseurs/LX and the Bloc Universitaire and his deep attachment to La Laurentie that lasted into adulthood.

Vindication

Four years after my third book, *Essais sur l'imprégnation fasciste au Québec*, was published, which included the revelations about Trudeau's youth, his biographers Max and Monique Nemni corroborated and considerably elaborated on my findings in their 2006 book, *Young Trudeau: Son of Quebec, Father of Canada*. Unlike me, they had full access to the former prime minister's personal archives.[30]

Vichy French collaborators with the Nazi regime

Many Vichy French collaborators who took refuge in Quebec City after the Second World War[31] were greeted with open arms by a handful of influential Quebec City and Montreal notables.[32] For example, Dr Georges-Benoît Montel[33] was introduced to Premier Maurice Duplessis.

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Count Jacques Dugé de Bernonville[34] remains the best-known case of Vichy French collaborators who took refuge in Quebec and became somewhat of a 'cause célèbre'.[35] He had come to Quebec City disguised as a priest under the name of Jacques Benoît. The city's nationalist elite received him warmly. Count Jacques Dugé de Bernonville was imprisoned on 4 September 1948, after a deportation order had been issued. He had requested permanent residency from federal authorities.

Two days later, the Committee for the Defense of Political Refugees was established to pressure the federal government into allowing Jacques Dugé de Bernonville and other French Nazi collaborators to become landed immigrants. Its president was Philippe Hamel. Five days later, a petition of 6,000 signatures favouring de Bernonville was sent to the federal government.[36] The champions of the exiles' cause were two former stalwarts of the Bloc populaire canadien, Philippe Hamel and René Chaloult, the latter being the most active.

Their fight continued their support for Marshal Pétain's Vichy France, Mussolini's fascist Italy and Salazar's New State (*Estado Nuovo*) in Portugal. Furthermore, Nazi Germany did not start the Second World War, wrote Philippe Hamel and André Laurendeau. According to the latter, 'The Polish Government has grave responsibilities to bear in the origin of the Second World War. Its intransigence, probably encouraged by Great Britain, brought on Hitler's armed coup.' Taking their cue from Pétain's National Revolution, they saw the hands of the Freemasons, the Jews and the communists behind the deportation orders received by de Bernonville and some other Vichy French collaborators. 'If Jacques de Bernonville had been called Bernovitch, if he had hunted down the noble Marshal of France, if he had been a Communist or an anticlerical fanatic, well then, all our Keenleysides and company would have embraced him tenderly and naturalized him Canadian,' René Chaloult cried out in the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

In the end, the Canadian authorities relented in four cases of Vichy French collaborators and granted them the right to stay but stood firm on the de Bernonville case. On 17 August 1951, he left for Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he was murdered in 1972, aged 71. The official explanation was that he had been strangled with his own necktie by his housekeeper's son, who claimed to have been possessed by voodoo. A Brazilian journalist disputed that explanation. Dirceu Aives, a reporter with the newspaper *Diario da Noite*, recalled that the victim's hands and feet were carefully bound, which suggested that the assassin was in full possession of his mental faculties and not a novice.

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The reporter also suspected that there was an accomplice to the murder and wondered if Klaus Barbie's hand, one of Bernonville's old 'acquaintances' from Lyon, was implicated in the murder. Barbie then lived in exile in Bolivia under the name of Klaus Altmann. According to that version of events, Barbie, the former Gestapo Colonel and Chief of Section IV of the Sipo-SD in Lyon, feared what de Bernonville might reveal in the memoirs he was writing at the time of his death.

The personal and confidential ambassador of Premier Maurice Duplessis in the Vatican

I thought I had completed my research on the French Nazi collaborators when I phoned Berthe (maiden name Denis), Jean Bruchesi's widow. Bruchesi had been a writer and historian and the Under-Secretary of the province of Quebec during those years. I explained my research to Berthe, who exclaimed: 'This ungrateful Richemont! We helped him, and when we attended a party at his home in Westmount, he met with Duplessis in a private room and ignored us. After all we had done for him!' I had never come upon the name of Richemont. I commiserated with her on the regrettable ingratitude of some people and asked questions about Richemont. She told me that his real name was Paul Erwin Eberhard Reifenrath[37] and that he had lived in Alsace, France. Upon his arrival in Canada in 1947 or 1948, he used the name Leyzen. His real name was never to be uttered. He then changed his false name to Chambord after the street where he lived for a while.

When he came to live in Westmount, his name had become Paul-Éverard Richemont. Eager to know more about him, I read about Premier Maurice Le Noblet Duplessis (1890–1959), the head of the Union Nationale and the Premier of Quebec during 1936–9 and 1944–59.[38] I found in Conrad Black's biography of Maurice Duplessis[39] partial confirmation of what Berthe Bruchesi had told me and more: the premier had hired the Vichy French collaborator as a propagandist during the Asbestos Strike that lasted from 15 February to 1 July 1949. About 5,000 miners walked off the job at four asbestos mines in Asbestos and Thetford Mines.[40] Expanding the research done by Conrad Black enabled me to piece together the following story: Paul Erwin Eberhard Reifenrath, better known in Duplessis' circle as Paul-Éverard Richemont, had penned writings supporting Duplessis' stance in the Abestos Strike, foremost among them in the anonymous *Bulletin Custos* (*Custos Report*) and had

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also acted as Duplessis' personal and confidential ambassador in the Vatican from May 1950 to sometime in 1951 'with the rank of minister'.

The rift between the bishops supporting the striking Asbestos miners and their colleagues opposing them had created some turmoil in the quiet corridors of the Vatican. Once in Rome, Richemont championed the cause of the premier 'of the only Catholic government in North America'. Richemont authored an issue of the *Custos Bulletin* (125 copies) to be put in the hands of the pope and cardinals of the Curia. Like its earlier and more extensive version, the *Custos Report* was full of worn-out, cliché-ridden stories about the Communist–Jewish–Freemason conspiracy (that he called the Subversion) for world domination. The unions were pawns in the hands of the nefarious Subversion, and Duplessis acted as a valiant knight against it. For reasons not clear, Duplessis trusted Richemont less and less, and in 1951 the latter left Canada and Italy for good and died in Peru in the 1970s.

The Asbestos Strike

I met with Father Jean d'Auteuil Richard, then Director of the Jesuits' magazine *Relations*, to learn more about the Asbestos Strike and the role played by Paul-Éverard Richemont.[41] Father Richard told me that the strike originated from the Silicosis Scandal in St-Rémi d'Amherst and that the archives of the Jesuits in Saint-Jérôme were where I should research. Unbeknownst to me at the time, my fourth book was born.[42]

I perused the files of the Silicosis Scandal and its main protagonists in the Jesuit archives in Saint-Jérôme, north of Montreal, Québec.[43] The *Alexandria Quartet* by Lawrence Durrell came to my mind. In the first two novels, the story is the same but told differently by each narrator, who has information that others do not have or has a different interpretation of them. Here are the bare facts.

In 1948, 11 months before the Asbestos Strike, Burton LeDoux and Father Jean-d'Auteuil Richard devoted an entire issue of the Jesuit magazine *Relations* to the devastating and sometimes fatal effects of silicosis on miners in Saint-Rémi d'Amherst. Their widows did not receive any financial compensation. Burton LeDoux accused the silica mining companies of criminal negligence, targeting the Timmins family of Canada. Some members of this family were minority shareholders, with seats on the boards of directors of Noranda mines which controlled Canada China Clay and Silica Ltd and ran the mining operations at St Rémi d'Amherst.[44]

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The Jesuit authors predicted that the same fate awaited those miners who would soon be working to extract iron ore in Ungava. The Timmins Group, the owner of the Noranda mines, exploited the iron ore in Ungava, a pet project of Maurice Duplessis.

The premier of the province of Quebec was incensed by the article and demanded a retraction from LeDoux and Father Richard. The Jesuit order dismissed the whole editorial team. On 12 January 1949, the newspaper *Le Devoir* published an article by Burton LeDoux on the ravages of asbestosis among the miners working in East Broughton in the Eastern Townships. On Sunday, 13 February 1949, some 2,000 miners in Asbestos went on an illegal strike, against their union leaders' wishes. The day after, 3,000 colleagues in Thetford Mines joined. On 24 June, they returned to work, followed by the Asbestos miners on 1 July.

Conclusion

The Franco-American Burton LeDoux is truly the unsung hero of the fight for industrial health in the province of Quebec. For him and Father Jean d'Auteuil Richard and, to a lesser extent, for the newspaper *Le Devoir*, the strike was first and foremost about the health of the workers threatened by asbestosis.

Premier Duplessis and his acolytes, including the mining companies, some bishops and Jesuits, blamed the strike on agents of communist subversion. The miners demanded 'a $1 per hour wage, nine paid holidays, union participation in the management of the mines – a pension, and action to limit illness-causing asbestos dust'.[45] Pierre Elliott Trudeau had stayed just a few days in Asbestos during the miners' strike. Nonetheless, he edited a book[46] that created the myth surrounding the event and wrote that neither the place where it occurred nor the industry were significant. The Asbestos Strike of 1949 was the moment when the working class fought to gain its rightful place in society. Only by happenstance did it occur in Asbestos and Thetford Mines. It became recognised as a unique historical moment whose legacy was accepted unconditionally for a long time and by people who later became ideological opponents of Pierre Trudeau, including members of the Front for the Liberation of Quebec, an organisation devoted to establishing an independent Quebec, by violent means if necessary.[47]

The miners actually gained very little from their five-month strike. Their wages were increased by 5 cents an hour. Many were not rehired. The union's demand that the company submit all promotions, transfers

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and terminations to it was ignored, as was the health issue. It was only after a second asbestos strike lasted seven-and-a-half months in 1975 that the miners were finally adequately protected against asbestosis.

This is the end of my intellectual historical journey for now. Or is it? Just as I was finishing the article you are reading, I found out about a reel in the Conrad Black archives at York University entitled, 'Paul-Éverard Richemont and Maurice Duplessis, 1941–1959'. Could this be the prelude to another article?

Declarations and conflicts of interest

Research ethics statement

Not applicable to this article.

Consent for publication statement

Not applicable to this article.

Conflicts of interest statement

The author declares no conflict of interest with this work. All efforts to sufficiently anonymise the author during peer review of this article have been made. The author declares no further conflicts with this article.

Notes

1 Unless mentioned otherwise, quotations in this section are from Delisle, *The Traitor and the Jew*.
2 Zeev Sternhell (1935–2020) was an Emeritus Professor of political science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the author of several books, which were translated into many languages, and numerous articles. His books included: *La droite révolutionnaire, 1885–1914*; *Ni droite ni gauche: L'idéologie fasciste en France*; *Les anti-lumières*; and *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*. He was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 2010 and to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2016.
3 For the sake of conciseness and clarity, some chapters of my second and third books are not mentioned in this article. In my second book, *Myths, Memory and Lies*, for example, the chapter entitled 'Sleepless in Quebec City: The anxieties of an American consul', which is based on my research at the State Department Archives in Washington, DC, exposed for the first time the existence of the Iron Guard, a secret fascist organisation operating mainly in Quebec City; 'A tale of two statues' analyses the historical memory that crystallised around the statues of Maurice Duplessis and Lionel Groulx.
4 The Nazi affirmation that the 'press, art, literature, the cinema, the theatre are all areas where the young Hitler sniffed out the Jews who "behave like the worst bacilli and poison of our souls"' is of the same ilk. De Fontette, *Le racisme*, 74.

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5 The term was coined by historian Paul-André Linteau. See Linteau, Durocher and Robert, 'Le courant clérico-nationaliste', vol. 1: *Histoire du Québec contemporain,* 700–7, to describe French-Canadian nationalism in the 1920s.
6 For Charles Maurras of L'Action française, royalism did not mean actually restoring the French monarchy by taking power but preparing public opinion to do so eventually. Creating true French Canadians came first. Maurras and Groulx were not interested in seeing their political movements seize power. They were happy to keep working indefinitely on creating a royalist or a nationalist mind.
7 Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 4.
8 Filion, *Fais ce que peux*; Gagnon, *Les Apostasies*, vols 1 and 2; Pelletier: *Les années d'impatience*. Gérard Pelletier became a minister in the Trudeau government and served as the Canadian ambassador to Paris. See Behiels and Cooper, 'Gérard Pelletier'.
9 Archibald and Harvey. 'Sovereignty-Association'.
10 Godin, *René Lévesque*, 99–100.
11 Lévesque, *Memoir*, 84–5.
12 Godin, *René Lévesque*, 99–100.
13 MacKenzie, 'Lévesque rectifies tales of Goering, Mussolini'; Aubin, 'Lévesque admits that his new book contains a lie'.
14 Whitaker, de Bruin and McIntosh, 'Pierre Elliott Trudeau'.
15 Trudeau, *Memoirs*, 32.
16 'Conscription Plebiscite'.
17 Unless mentioned otherwise, quotations from this part of the article are from Delisle, 'Sounds of silence', in *Myths, Memory and Lies*.
18 Comeau, *Le Bloc populaire*, 31.
19 In 'La province de Québec au moment de la grève', Pierre Elliott Trudeau qualifies the French-Canadian nationalism of 1900–50 as defensive, and there is a word on the anti-Semitism of *L'Action nationale* in the 1930s or its fascist leanings. According to him, nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s was unrealistic and characterised by authoritarianism. Delisle, *Essais*, 92–5.
20 In its 1998 edition, the most widely used history book in colleges and universities in Quebec devoted less than four pages to the Second World War: see Linteau, Durocher and Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain*, 124–7.
21 Unless mentioned otherwise, quotations from this part of the article are from Delisle, 'Fragments d'une jeunesse retrouvée'.
22 It predated the 1930s. See Pomeyrols, *Les Intellectuels québécois*.
23 Father Thomas Migneault, S.J., Father Marie-Joseph d'Anjou, S.J. and Jean Ouvrard.
24 It took its name after the Association des Frères-Chasseurs, which was a secret society that aimed to free Canada from British rule. It was founded by Patriotes exiles following their defeat in 1837. See Dagenais, 'Association des Frères-Chasseurs'.
25 For more on Les Frères chasseurs/LX by a former member and friend of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, see Roux, *Nous sommes tous des acteurs*.
26 Lessard, *Message au Frère Trudeau*.
27 As far as I know, I was the first to make the fact of Pierre Trudeau's membership of Les Frères Chasseurs public in my book *Essais sur l'imprégnation fasciste au Québec*, published in 2002. A question was asked in the Canadian House of Commons, where Pierre Elliott Trudeau acknowledged that he had been a member of a secret movement whose aim was to establish an independent Quebec by pacific means without mentioning its name.
28 Mayor of Montreal from 1954 to 1957 and from 1960 to 1986. McKenna and Lambert, 'Jean Drapeau'.
29 Many questions remain unanswered. Who hid behind the pseudonym Mercure? Who were the students who travelled to Germany? Could each student afford to do so during the economic crisis of the 1930s? If not, who provided the money necessary for the trip?
30 Nemni and Nemni, *Young Trudeau*. It has become part of the official biography of the former Canadian prime minister; see English, 'Trudeau'.
31 Unless mentioned otherwise, quotations from this part of the article are from Delisle, 'A strange sort of hero'.
32 The following is the list of the French Nazi collaborators that I could establish: Georges Simenon, Paul Erwin Eberhard Reifenrath, Jacques Dugé de Bernonville, Dr Georges-Benoît Montel, Dr André-Charles Emmanuel Boussat, Julien Labedan, Jean-Louis Huc, Dr Michel-Lucien Seigneur, Roger Pau, Victor Keyserling, Gabriel Dorget, Dr Masquin, M. Jacquet, Robert J. Garry.

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33 Dr Georges-Benoît Montel (also known as Gaston Ringeval) had been a member of the Parti Populaire Français, the Legionnaire Security Service, the Militia and the assistant mayor of Annecy. On 19 April 1945, the Court of Justice of Haute-Savoie condemned him to lifetime forced labour, with loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. He arrived in New York in 1946 and in Montreal in September 1946.
34 Count Jacques Dugé de Bernonville was named responsible for Jewish Affairs by the Vichy government. He organised the Legionnaire Security Service in Rabat. In 1942, in Paris, he was seconded to the Ministry of National Education and acted as Chief Officer of the permanent Franc-Garde of the French Militia. In Paris, in November 1942, he became secretary of the African Phalanx and founded the French Volunteer Corps. In December 1943, he became a member of the Eighth Brandeburg Unit of the Waffen SS. In January 1944, he was appointed Commander of the Forces for the Maintenance of Order in Lyon (under Klaus Barbie's authority). Finally, from 20 June to 14 August, he acted as the Military Governor of Lyon. De Bernonville stood accused of collaboration with the enemy, attacking state security, arbitrary arrests, willful arson, violence and theft. He was condemned to death *in absentia* by the Court of Justice of Toulouse and the Appeals Court of Toulouse, and fled to Canada and later Brazil, where he was murdered in 1972 by his servant's son.
35 Lavertu, *L'affaire Bernonville*.
36 As of 15 December 1950, 543 presentations, including 13 petitions, had been submitted to the federal government.
37 Paul Erwin Eberhard Reifenrath was a journalist. From 1932 to 1934, he acted as Secretary-general of the pro-Nazi movement Solidarité française and editor of the paper of the same name; he was a correspondent in Alsace-Lorraine for the ultra-nationalist paper *La Victoire*, run by the French politician Gustave Hervé. In 1934, Reifenrath collaborated with the weekly *Die Staatsreform* and *l'Union paysanne*. He was the main figure of the anti-Semitic movement in Strasbourg. On 1 January 1937, he became the editor of *La Voix d'Alsace et de Lorraine*. He was the author of the brochure, *Les Juifs en France mais surtout en Alsace* (n.d.) and the founder of the weekly *La nouvelle voix d'Alsace*.
38 Black, 'Maurice Duplessis'.
39 Black, *Maurice Duplessis*.
40 Kucharsky and David, 'Asbestos Strike of 1949'.
41 Unless mentioned otherwise, quotations from this part of the article are from Delisle and Malouf, *Le quatuor d'Asbestos.*
42 Delisle and Malouf, *Le quatuor d'Asbestos*.
43 Fonds La Silicose, Fonds Relations, Fonds Émile Bouvier S.J., Fonds Jacques Cousineau S.J, Fonds Arthur Dubois S.J., Fonds Adélard Dugré S.J., Fonds Léon Pouliot S.J., Fonds Paul Racine S.J., Fonds Jean-d'Auteuil Richard S.J.
44 The Canada China Clay & Silica Ltd closed its doors and destroyed its installations a few months after the scandal of the working conditions of its miners erupted in *Relations*. Destroying the evidence of its wrongdoing was seen as an admission of its guilt. Delisle and Malouf, *Le quatuor d'Asbestos*, 17.
45 Kucharsky and David, 'Asbestos Strike of 1949'.
46 Trudeau, *La grève de l'amiante*.
47 Delisle, *Essais*, 130.

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