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Provincial Representation Abroad: The Office Of Agent General In London

Little has been written about Canada's agents general[1] – those officials appointed by most of the provinces to represent their interests abroad and who usually live abroad.[2] The office has failed to attract attention partly because it evolved during a period when interest in Canada's own emerging autonomy in external affairs was paramount and partly because the agents general were assumed, to the degree that they were noticed at all, to hold a position similar to that of private trade promoters. In the eyes of the federal government, the Canadian provinces were never competent to discuss trade relations on a government-to-government basis. In the sixties when Quebec publicly asserted an international competence in matters falling under Section 92 of the British North America Act, (a competence the federal government also publicly rejected), it seemed that the provincial agents general might at last warrant some examination. But most of the comment generated by the ensuing conflict between Ottawa and Quebec City concerned the provinces' role in treaty-making and treaty implementation or as participants at international conferences.[3] Thus once again the agents general were ignored.

The harmonious relations existing today between federal and provincial representatives in London provide no hint of the prolonged friction which characterized their relationship earlier in the century. Then Ottawa repelled advances made by the agents general to deal directly with British government officials. Today, however, this original federal opposition has disappeared and the agents general possess a quasi-consular status which they accept as an appropriate and necessary condition of their office.[4] This status has been achieved without impairment to the federal government's conduct of external relations in

Great Britain and, moreover, in recent years has even been sanctioned by the federal government. The office of agent general in London thus serves as an early example of accommodation of provincial interests in the field of external relations – a field which the federal government traditionally has been reluctant to share.[5]

The first Canadian agent general in Great Britain was a federal not a provincial official. He was appointed in 1875 to promote those Canadian interests in the British isles which had previously been the concern of visiting federal ministers or of British agents appointed by the federal government. The only Canadian officials in London prior to this time were emigration agents of the four original provinces of confederation who had first been appointed in 1869 under the terms of a federal-provincial agreement on immigration. They had been "duly accredited" by a letter of introduction from the Governor General of Canada to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the specific purpose of finding emigrants in Great Britain.[6] Between 1875 and 1880 they acted under the direction of the agent general who was himself responsible to the federal Minister of Agriculture. This arrangement ceased in 1880, when the federal agent general was replaced by Canada's first high commissioner in London, Sir Alexander Galt, and the provincial emigration agents were left to find emigrants on their own once again.

As a result of another event in the same year, the provinces were made aware, however, of the inadequacy of their position in the British capital. Late in the eighteenth century the British North American colonies had begun to appoint agents to look after their interests in London.[7] But in 1833 these individual agents had been superseded by a new creation of the British government, the Joint Agents General for Crown Colonies (later called the Crown Agents for the Colonies and today known as the Crown Agents for Oversea Departments and Administrations). Although appointed by the Secretary of State for the colonies, the salaries and expenses of the Crown Agents were met by annual colonial payments and through commissions charged "roughly in accordance with the relative amount of work performed for each [colony]".[8] The Crown Agents acted for the colonies as purchasing agent, financial advisor and personnel recruiter. But in 1880, the Crown Agents were prohibited from undertaking any work for colonies with responsible government on the constitutional ground that, as ap-

pointees of a British minister, they were in an anomalous position when acting for colonies not under his control.

Thus at the same time that the federal government was embarking upon a new venture in overseas representation through the high commission in London, the provinces found themselves deprived of their valuable British agents. In response to this new situation Nova Scotia and New Brunswick appointed permanent officials in London during the 1880s, but other provinces, who opted for the time being to use special agents when needed, appointed their first permanent agents much later: British Columbia acted in 1896, Prince Edward Island in 1901, Quebec in 1911 and Ontario and Alberta in 1913.[9] In any event, each of these provinces gave its permanent official the title of agent general, and it is with these individuals that the modern history of the office begins.

Because the second world war marks a major break in the evolution of the agencies general in London, it is desirable to examine the office in two periods. Before 1939 the federal government, through the office of the high commissioner in London, and the Colonial Office rejected every initiative by the provinces to establish direct contact between their agents and British governmental departments. Only after the war did the provincial agents general establish working relations with British government departments without continual intervention by the high commission.

The origin of the dispute between the federal and provincial governments over the office of agent general in London lay in three claims made by the provinces, at the beginning of this century.[10] First, the provinces viewed the agents general as direct successors to the agents the British North American colonies had appointed a century earlier. For them neither the interregnum of the Crown Agents nor the creation of a federal state destroyed the continuity of direct colonial representation in Great Britain. Second, but related to the first claim, they saw the office of high commissioner as superior to that of agent general and they argued that the creation of a superior federal representative in 1880 left the older but secondary level of representation, the office of agent general, open to the provinces. Finally, ignoring the fact that the mainland colonies of Australia had appointed agents general as early as 1875 and that these officials had established in London by the end of the nineteenth century and before the

creation of the Commonwealth of Australia a status almost equal to that of the Canadian High Commissioner, the provinces regularly compared themselves to the Australian states and demanded equal treatment for their agents general in Great Britain.

The British and the federal governments rejected all three assumptions. The Colonial Office noted that after 1867 the provinces had "no regular agents in [Great Britain]" and, moreover, that Canadian confederation prevented the provinces from maintaining agents general with the status of their Australian namesakes.[11] Between themselves the British might admit that "there [was] not particularly much reason" for the distinction between the two sets of agents general, but publicly they supported the Canadian federal authorities.[12] The response of these authorities to every provincial attempt to promote the agents general was to contrast the "organic" relationship of the provinces of Canada toward the Dominion to the different relationship of the states of Australia toward the Commonwealth. A classic exposition of this view was given in 1914 by Sir Joseph Pope, then Canadian Under Secretary of State for External Relations:

> The states of the Commonwealth retain in many respects their old Colonial status, having merely surrendered certain specific powers to the Federal Government. Their Governors (who are not Lieutenant Governors) are appointed by the King; they correspond directly with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who also passes upon their legislation. The functions and status of the Canadian Provincial Governments are radically distinct from this. In fact, the British North America Act is framed upon the opposite principle, the powers of the Canadian Provinces being limited by actual delegation. So long as the Dominion of Canada continues on its present basis, it is not easy to see how the Central Government could lend itself to such a fundamental change as would be involved in the recognition by the Colonial Office of the Provincial Agents General....
>
> Inasmuch as the Lieutenant Governors of our Provinces do not communicate direct with the Colonial Secretary, it seems rather an extreme pretension to ask that their Agents should be authorized to do so.[13]

Re-iteration of the federal government's position did not discourage the provinces from trying to establish direct access to the British government. It did, however, make the British reluctant to offend the Canadian authorities. In 1908 when British Columbia's Cabinet issued an order-in-council seeking "official recognition" for the province's agent in London, and in 1910 when she repeated her request for "recognition", the Colonial Office expressed alarm: "We must not

recognize the Canadian provincial agents as representatives in the ordinary form, or we shall have terrible trouble." Such recognition the Colonial Office noted would be "directly contrary to the wishes of the Dominion Government."[14]

The British particularly feared Lord Strathcona, Canadian high commissioner between 1896 and 1914, for he was, according to one biographer, "tenacious" in upholding the dignity of his office, especially against "the desire on the part of the Agents General of the different Provinces to raise their status and consequence...at the expense of the higher office".[15] When Strathcona learned of the British Columbia order-in-council of 1908, he personally communicated his objections to the Colonial Office and informed the Canadian prime minister. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's reply that "I altogether approve your attitude in this matter," was transmitted by Strathcona to officials at the Colonial Office, who, in turn, concluded that the letter "is fatal to the request put forward by British Columbia".[16]

Ten years later orders-in-council passed by the executive councils of Nova Scotia and British Columbia requesting "official recognition" from the British government for their provinces' agents general met the same fate as the request of 1908. The reason given by the colonial secretary for rejecting Nova Scotia's request demonstrated how effective Lord Strathcona had been in establishing the federal position: "Having regard for the views expressed by the Canadian Government, [the British Government] do not consider that it would be possible for them to comply with the request of the Government of Nova Scotia."[17]

In addition to overt attempts at securing something which approached formal recognition, the provinces also sought unsuccessfully to conduct business with British ministers or their advisers for more specific purposes. In 1910 New Brunswick officials approached representatives of the War Office to allow British army pensioners to commute a portion of their pensions thus enabling them to emigrate to New Brunswick. Strathcona complained personally to the Colonial Office about these discussions, pointing out that provincial agents were not recognized by the federal government "in any way".[18] And in 1915 when the agent general for British Columbia tried to promote the sale of his province's fish to the British army and navy, the Colonial Office once again turned a deaf ear to his proposal: "If we deal with

[him] officially in any way we shall get into hot water with the Dominion. It is contrary to practice to deal with provincial agents general."[19]

In the 1920s the position of the agents general in London deteriorated rather than improved. While they continued to promote their provinces' products, which at this time were mainly agricultural, and to seek British emigrants, there was general dissatisfaction with benefits resulting from agent general activity. The provinces with the oldest offices (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) and the one with the newest (Alberta) closed their doors. At the end of the decade only the agents general of British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec remained.

The economic depression in the 1930s and the political upheaval in Ontario and Quebec signalled the demise of these provinces' offices in 1934 and 1936. Although the Hepburn Government's house-cleaning on assuming power in 1934 prejudiced the survival of the incumbent agent general who had first been appointed in 1921, economic conditions did not favour the continuation of his office. The 1934 annual report of the Ontario minister responsible for colonization and immigration noted two salient facts about the agent general's office: disbursements up to May 1, 1933, were in excess of thirty thousand dollars, while "the actual arrival of single men and families through our Office in the British Isles [was] nil".[20] Since immigration was considered "the main business of the office", the likelihood of its survival during a period of economic crisis was scant.[21]

The office of the agent general for Quebec met an abrupt end. It was one of the first to be closed by the new Duplessis Government in 1936. For the agent general, L.J. Lemieux, the government's action took a personal tone. He was denied a five thousand dollar pension which a decade earlier the former government had virtually guaranteed by statute.[22] Only British Columbia continued after 1936 to maintain an office, and even then it was run by an acting agent general at less than one-tenth of its 1922-1923 appropriation.[23]

This near eclipse of Canadian provincial representation in London lasted for almost a decade. The effect of the rupture was not only to break such continuity of representation as had existed but to alter provincial attitudes toward the office of agent general. After the war the elusive goal of official recognition disappeared, and the invidious comparisons between the status of Canadian and Australian agents

general were dropped. At the same time Ottawa acted less aggressively to preserve its monopoly of formal Canadian representation in London.

When George Drew, as premier of Ontario, announced the reopening of Ontario House at the end of the war, he forecast three major roles for the agent general. One was to attract immigrants, another was to promote Ontario products abroad, and a third was to help British firms establish themselves in Ontario.[24] This last role was new for the agent general, but in the long run it was to become one of his principal jobs.[25] At the time Drew was speaking, however, the prospect of attracting British firms to Canada seemed remote. The economic consequences of the war for Great Britain made the exportation of capital unlikely for some time. For this reason the concerns of agents general in the immediate post-war period differed only slightly from those of earlier occupants of the office.

For this reason too, the provinces were slow to re-establish themselves in London: Manitoba appointed an agent general in 1956 and the Atlantic Provinces agreed to appoint a single agent general in 1958. In the case of Quebec, political changes in that province helped account for the delay. In 1962, Quebec was the last province to open an office in London after the war. During the last decade further reconsideration of the benefits to be derived from representation led to the closing of the Atlantic Provinces office and the establishment of separate offices for the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The more the provinces looked to economic benefits the more difficult the job became for one man to serve four governments. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland followed Manitoba's earlier decision in 1965 not to maintain an agent general in London.

The economic considerations which influenced provincial government thinking grew to be far more complex than the Ontario premier had suggested at the end of the war. It was not only a question of encouraging British industrialists to open plants in Canada but also of finding Canadians who would invest capital and manufacture British patented goods under licence. In addition, the agent general might play a third role and help a Canadian manufacturer establish himself in Great Britain. Finally, the relatively simple act of a resident of one country investing his capital in the building of a plant in another country became greatly complicated by the appearance of government incentive schemes in Canada, at both the federal and provincial levels, and in

Great Britain. These financial inducements assured an expansion of this type of work for the provincial agents general.

But all of this activity grew even more as a consequence of the expansion of the agent general's territory. Before the second world war no agent general went beyond the British Isles in the discharge of his responsibilities. In recent years no agent general stays solely within Great Britain. All of the provincial representatives in London today have responsibility for promoting their province's interests on the continent of Europe. Except for Quebec's agents general, who shares this task with delegates general, in Paris and Brussels, the other agents general travel throughout all Europe, just as they travel around Great Britain, meeting individual industrialists, attending trade fairs and even sponsoring trade conferences. With the entry of Great Britain into the European Economic Community, there is no prospect that the former insular concerns of the agents general will return.

The growth in importance of this work is reflected in several ways. All of the agents general in London consider trade and development work their principal job. All of the provinces in 1952, except Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia, had at least one individual in their London office who functioned as a provincial trade commissioner. And all of the agents general are either directly responsible to the appropriate trade and development minister in their provincial government, whatever his portfolio may be called, or have their most frequent contact with him, even if formally responsible to the provincial premier. Although he was a unique example, John Paterson, the agent general for New Brunswick, in 1972, was at the same time a deputy minister answerable to the Minister of Economic Growth in New Brunswick.

Immigration work, which for so long was the most prominent concern of the agents general, now ranks second among their interests. The Quebec agent general suggested that British immigration was not a major concern for his province and ranked cultural and educational programmes as the second most important subject with which he had to deal. In the opinion of all the agents general the older schemes of mass immigration, most frequently identified with Ontario's programme after the war, have been replaced by interest in selective immigration. At different times each of the provinces has required specially trained people to fill particular vacancies: doctors, nurses and teachers are the

most obvious examples. In each instance the agent general is usually called upon to assist in finding these people and then in aiding them in their move to Canada. The most dramatic illustration of this work was the doctors' strike in Saskatchewan in 1962 and the recruitment by the provincial medical care commission of British and Commonwealth doctors. In this particular crisis the agent general for Saskatchewan, Graham Spry, played an important role.

The prominence of the agent general's economic role brings him into almost daily contact with one British government ministry: The Department of Trade and Industry. The result is that the position of agent general today is very different from the pre-war years. Despite attempts to gain official recognition from the British government, the degree of contact with government departments was comparatively slight. The agent general could function, however, within the imposed limits, if not happily at least adequately. This is no longer true.

The triangular relationship between the agents general, the high commission for Canada and British government departments reflects this change. The descriptions of this relationship by the agents general in 1972 varied in detail, but there was general agreement that it was personal, informal and harmonious. The Quebec agent general attributed the informality to the British tradition of avoiding definitions. Since the British are not formalists, there was no need for the umbrella-type agreement which Canada concluded with France in 1965 to permit provincial contacts with Paris. Most contacts between the agents general and the British government take place at the civil service level, and the agents general agreed that the high commission approved of them as long as they definitely involved matters of provincial concern. While one agent general said that he thought he should inform the high commission every time he made such contact, but agreed that he did not do this, another agent general said it was not necessary to inform the federal representative.

The intricacies of the relationship are impossible to define. So few people are involved and the contacts have tended to be on a personal and informal basis. But what is significant is that the contacts are known and sanctioned by the federal government. Since this tolerance marks a break with earlier federal attitudes, it must be explained. The agents general claim that their position in London is equivalent to that of a consul of a foreign country in Great Britain. In that status, they see

no conflict between their relationship with the British and Canadian federal governments. Needless to say, this is a position that any pre-war Canadian agent general would envy.

The assimilation of Canada's agents general to consular status results from the evolution of Commonwealth relations. Once dominion status was fully secured and once some dominions, like India, chose a republican form of government within the Commonwealth, there was a need to regularize relations between these independent countries and Great Britain. In 1952 the British Parliament passed the necessary legislation which extended immunities customarily accorded to officers of a foreign sovereign power to representatives and their staffs of Commonwealth countries and the Republic of Ireland. It also extended the same immunities to "the chief representative in the United Kingdom of any state or province of any country" to which the Act applied.[26]

Thus a clear basis for recognition of the agents general existed after 1952. Provisions of the legislation were applied by order-in-council in 1952 to the agents general of Australia and in 1961 to the agents general of Nigeria then in London. They were extended at the request of the federal government to the Canadian agents general in 1967.[27]

This change in Commonwealth relations, while welcomed by the agents general, is ironic in the context of their history in London. Their earlier claims to an elevated status had been rejected by the federal government and the high commissioner for Canada on the assumption that official recognition of the provincial representatives would be detrimental to the achievement of dominion status. Yet it was the statutory recognition of the dominions as independent nations possessing diplomatic status that provided the basis of a new status for the agents general.

The uniqueness of the Commonwealth relationship and Canada's important contribution to its development have thus been significant factors in the evolution of the office of agent general. In this federal-provincial conflict both sides benefited in its settlement because of the dissolution of empire.

Today, since there is no counterpart to the Colonial Office in foreign capitals willing to follow the federal government's advice, the options available to federal authorities to curb provincial ambitions in international relations are more limited and at the same time less subtle than

before. In any case they involve Ottawa in negotiations with provincial governments which are often political and which, to echo Lord Strathcona's concern, invariably result in greater international prestige if not status for the provinces at the expense of the federal power.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, however, H. Gordon Skilling, *Canadian Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945), pp. 107-10 and 119-21; Ronald G. Atkey, "Provincial Transnational Activity: An Approach to a Current Issue in Canadian Federalism," in Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation, *Background Papers and Reports*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1970), pp. 176-79; and Howard A. Leeson and Wilfried Vanderelst, eds., *External Affairs and Canadian Federalism: The History of a Dilemma* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1973), Section II.
2. In 1973, the Saskatchewan Government announced the appointment of an agent general "for Japan and other Pacific Rim countries" who might reside abroad or "remain in Regina and make frequent trips overseas." *Star-Phoenix* (Saskatoon), October 16, 1973, p. 4.
3. The dispute is chronicled in John Saywell, ed., *Canadian Annual Review* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). See the *C.A.R.* for 1968 and 1969, pp. 222-31 and pp. 193-203 respectively, for a discussion of Quebec's contacts with Francophone countries. The federal government's position was stated in *Federalism and International Relations* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968) and *Federalism and International Conferences on Education* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968) and the Quebec government's position was stated in *Working Paper on Foreign Relations* (Constitutional Conference, Continuing Committee of Officials, Notes Prepared by Quebec Delegation, 1969). There are a number of recent studies concerning the provinces and the foreign relations power; see, for example, Atkey, *op. cit.;* Gerard F. Rutan, "Provincial Participation in Canadian Foreign Relations", *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, XIII (No. 2, April, 1971); and Richard H. Leach, Donald E. Walker and Thomas Allen Levy, "Province-State Trans-Border Relations: A Preliminary Assessment," *Canadian Public Administration*, 16 (No. 3, Fall, 1973).
4. This was the opinion of the following agents general who were interviewed in London in January and February, 1972: M. Jean Fournier, Agent General for Quebec; Mr. F.H. Larson, Agent General for Saskatchewan; Mr. John A. Paterson, Agent General for New Brunswick; Mr. C.A. Richardson, Agent General for Nova Scotia, and Rear Admiral M.G. Stirling, Agent General for British Columbia. The Position of Agent General for Alberta was then vacant and, the Agent General for Ontario, Allan Rowen-Legg did not wish to be interviewed.
5. The federal government's reluctance in this matter was again revealed in 1972, when Ontario announced that it would establish a "mini-embassy" in Washington because its interests were not being promoted or protected adequately by federal officials in the U.S. capital. After lengthy correspondence between the premier of Ontario and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ontario agreed to forgo its original plan and, instead, place a man in the Canadian embassy to represent the province's interests in Washington. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), August 2, 1972, p. 1 and August 3, 1972, p. 6.
6. Dispatch from Sir John Young (Governor General) to Earl Granville (Secretary of State for the Colonies), June 17, 1869: CO 42/676. This "arrangement" was later enacted by Parliament, see 32 Victoria, c. 13, 1869. All Colonial Office files referred to in this paper are in the Public Record Office, London, England.
7. United Kingdom, *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons Return, No. 623, August 5, 1845.
8. United Kingdom, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 4473, 1901, "Committee of Enquiry into the Organization of the Crown Agents' Office (Report, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices)," December 10, 1908, p. vi: C0885/19. For a more recent account of the Crown Agents, see Brian L. Blakeley, *The Colonial Office, 1868-1892* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972), chap. IV.

9. The dates when the first provincial agents general were appointed still remains unclear. Skilling says the Nova Scotia agent general was appointed in 1885, the New Brunswick agent general in 1887 and the British Columbia agent general in 1901, *op.cit.*, p. 107. In a memorandum by Sir Joseph Pope, dated April 30, 1914 and to be referred to below, the Canadian Under Secretary of State for External Affairs gives the outside dates of these appointments as 1883 and 1896, Public Archives of Canada, *Borden Papers,* OC 217, pp. 22002-03. The dates for the establishment of the other agencies general were compiled from annual issues of J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review* (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company) and *The Canadian Almanac and Miscellaneous Directory* (Toronto: Copp, Clark Co. Ltd.). Saskatchewan and Manitoba did not appoint agents general until after the second world war.
10. The provinces' case was presented most fully by F.C. Wade, "High Commissioners and Agents-General," *The Empire Review,* XXXIII (Nos. 225 and 226, October and November, 1919). Wade was agent general for British Columbia, 1918 to 1924.
11. Minute by C.H. Niblett (Librarian I.S.O.), July 9, 1919 and minute by G. Venning (Confidential Clerk), July 17, 1919 on letter from Wade to L.S. Amery (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), July 5, 1919: CO42/1013.
12. Minute by Arthur Berriedale Keith (then a clerk in the Colonial Office) n.d. on letter from Earl Grey (Governor General) to Earl of Crewe (Secretary of State for the Colonies), October 17, 1910: CO42/939. The Governor General had sent the Colonial Secretary a newspaper clipping from the *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), October 12, 1910 which noted the reluctance of the Ontario government to appoint an agent general in London.
13. Pope's statement is entitled "NOTES on a Memorandum by Dr. Pelletier on the subject of the status of the representatives of Canadian Provinces in London," P.A.C., *Borden Papers,* OC 217, pp. 22002-03. Dr. Pelletier was the Agent General for Quebec and a copy of his "Memorandum on the Status of the Canadian Provincial Representation in London, Approved by them In Meeting Assembled" may be found in CO 42/1040. This memorandum, drafted co-operatively by all the Canadian agents general in London shortly after the death of Lord Strathcona, "recommended" a radical departure from practice: "the agents general should have power to act officially in all matters appertaining to the Provinces, whilst the High Commissioner deals with the Federal business as stipulated in the British North America Act."
14. Minute by Sir Charles Lucas (Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), October 1, 1908, on papers communicated to Sir Francis Hopwood (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), by R.G. Tatlow (Minister of Finance and Agriculture for British Columbia), September 22, 1908: CO 42/928. See, too, personal letter from Lucas to Richard McBride (Premier of British Columbia), October 18, 1910, on McBride to Hopwood, October 1, 1910: CO 42/944.
15. Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 1820-1914* (London: Cassell and Co., 1915), pp. 555-57.
16. Minute by Lucas, October 2, 1908 on letter from Laurier to Strathcona, March 24, 1908: CO 42/921.
17. Draft letter from Viscount Milner (Secretary of State for the Colonies) to the Duke of Devonshire (Governor General) November 10, 1920, on Sir Louis Davies (Administrator and Chief Justice of Canada) to Milner, October 7, 1920: CO 42/1021.
18. Minute by Lucas, January 24, 1910, on Strathcona's visit regarding correspondence between War Office and the Government of New Brunsiwck: CO 42/940. Subsequently the Colonial Office notified the War Office that in future if agents general communicated with them, they should at once contact the high commissioner "who alone represents Canada to H.M.'s Government." *Ibid.*
19. Minute by H.C.M. Lambert (acting Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), June 15, 1915, on a letter from J.H. Turner to Andrew Bonar Law (Secretary of State for the Colonies), June 9, 1915: CO 42/992.
20. Ontario, Sessional Papers, 1934, LXVI, Part V, "Report of the Minister of Agriculture for 1933," p. 94.
21. Ontario, Sessional Papers, 1926, LVII, Part IV, "Report of the Minister of Agriculture for 1925," p. 56. When the end came, it was swift. Ontario House was given five weeks notice to close down by August 31, 1934. Some hint of difficult days ahead had appeared in April when, for economy's sake, the deputy minister of agriculture has pressed the agent general to cancel his office's subscription to the *Canadian Historical Review,* Archives of Ontario.

Ontario House, General Files, "Prior to 1934" and "Ontario House Data – Past and Present."

22. *C.A.R.* (1935-36), p. 285; see Statues of Quebec, 14 Geo. V, c. 18.
23. British Columbia, Sessional Papers, I, 1923, *Public Accounts,* p. Axxv ($81,800.00) and 1936 (Second Session), *Public Accounts,* p.EExxii ($6962.80).
24. Monthly Political and Economic Report, mid-November to mid-December, 1943, from Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada to Dominions Office: DO 35, Box 1117, G 578/46. See, also, Archives of Ontario, Ontario House, "Organization Plan for Trade and Industry Department, Ontario House [1946]."
25. In his dual role of promoting provincial exports as well as attracting foreign capital investment, the agent general meets a large number of businessmen. A retiring Ontario agent general, Allan Rowen-Legg, estimated that between 1967 and 1972 he met over 14,000 British businessmen. *Star-Phoenix* (Saskatoon), March 14, 1972, p. 9.
26. The original legislation, 15 and 16 Geo. 6 and 1 Eliz. 2, c. 18, 1952, was entitled *Diplomatic Immunities (Commonwealth Countries and Republic of Ireland) Act.* Commonwealth Consular officers are specially noted in the more recent *Consular Relations Act,* 16 Eliz. 2, c. 18, section 13, 1968.
27. See, Statutory Instruments 1952, No. 1219; 1961, No. 1194; and 1967, No. 160. Provincial agents general have enjoyed tax advantages in Great Britain since at least the end of the war. They are exempted from certain local government taxes as well as from import duties, such as those on liquor and cars. When these tax advantages were first extended to provincial representatives and offices remains unclear. See, Archives of Ontario, Ontario House, General Files, "Prior to 1934," Memorandum for Minister of Agriculture from Deputy Minister (re: Ontario House taxes), November 27, 1936.
A recent example of a province availing itself of privileges under the *Consular Relations Act* occurred when the High Commission for Canada on behalf of the Agent General of Saskatchewan successfully claimed immunity from the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom Industrial Tribunals in a personnel dispute involving the Agency general of Saskatchewan. I am obliged to the premier's office (Regina) for providing a copy of the note sent to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office by the High Commissioner for Canada, March 12, 1974.