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How Newfoundland Veterans Became Canadian Veterans: A Study in Bureaucracy and Benefit

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Peter Neary

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**HOW NEWFOUNDLAND VETERANS BECAME
CANADIAN VETERANS:**

A STUDY IN BUREAUCRACY AND BENEFIT

by

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How Newfoundland Veterans became Canadian Veterans: a Study in Bureaucracy and Benefit

Peter Neary

On the evening of 14 March 1945 Albert Walsh, the Commissioner for Home Affairs and Education in the British appointed Commission of Government, which had been administering Newfoundland since 1934, gave a radio address over stations VONF and VOXM, St. John's.¹ It was a well-established practice for the members of the Commission of Government to explain basic policy on the radio and Walsh's subject on this occasion was a matter of especially pressing concern. This was the plan of the government for re-establishing in civilian life the many Newfoundlanders who had volunteered for service in the world war which had now been in progress since 1939.

Newfoundland's contribution to the war effort had been diverse. In the 1914-18 war the country had raised and sent overseas a regiment of infantry.² The Newfoundland Regiment suffered great losses at Beaumont Hamel on 1 July 1916, the opening day of the Battle of the Somme. In 1917, in recognition of its valour and accomplishments, the unit was given the honour of being named the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. The cost of maintaining the regiment had been heavy for a small country and the debt caused by the war was one of the principal reasons for the financial crisis that beset Newfoundland in the 1930s and which led to the suspension of self-government and the establishment of the Commission of Government. Moreover, conscription to keep up the flow of recruits overseas had been introduced in 1917 in the face of considerable popular resistance. Many other Newfoundlanders had served in the Great War in the Royal Navy and indeed members of the Royal Naval Reserve had been the first local men to go overseas. Newfoundland had also sent overseas a uniformed forestry corps and a small number of nurses. When the Second World War began, the Commission of Government decided on quite a different course of action.³ No units were raised for overseas service and conscription was eschewed throughout the war.

Newfoundlanders were encouraged to enlist in the British forces and the Royal Navy, Royal Artillery and Royal Air Force all recruited in the country. Initially artillery recruits went into the 57th (Newfoundland) Heavy Regiment, Royal Artillery. From November, 1941, however, there were two distinctly Newfoundland Regiments - the 59th (Newfoundland) Heavy Regiment, Royal Artillery, and the 166th (Newfoundland) Field Regiment, Royal Artillery, which superseded the 57th. Thereafter the 166th served in North Africa and Italy and the 59th in Northwest Europe, after the D-Day landings. In the same spirit the 125th (Fighter) Squadron of the Royal Air Force was given a Newfoundland designation.

In October 1939 the Commission created a militia, known from March 1940 as the Newfoundland Regiment, for home defence. In May 1942 Newfoundland gave permission to the Royal Canadian Air Force to recruit in Newfoundland for its Women's Division and thereafter other branches of the Canadian forces were also allowed to recruit in the country.⁴ Newfoundland was said to be the only other country from which Canada thus recruited directly during the war.⁵ Newfoundlanders also volunteered to serve as merchant seaman while others were recruited by the Department of Defence of the Commission of Government to go overseas to work on rescue tugs. Finally, a large contingent of Newfoundland men went to the United Kingdom as members of the Newfoundland Forestry Unit(NFU).⁶ This unit was formed by the Commission of Government at British request in the autumn of 1939 and by the end of 1942 3,597 loggers had joined its ranks.⁷ The unit was commanded by Captain Jack Turner, a veteran of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment who at the time of his appointment was Chief Forestry Officer in the Department of Natural Resources. The Newfoundland foresters were employed, mainly in Scotland, cutting timber that was urgently needed for the war effort. The first draft of the unit, 300 men, left Newfoundland in December 1939 and by February 1940 there were apparently 2,100 Newfoundland foresters overseas.⁸

According to a 1948 Government of Canada report, the number of Newfoundlanders who had enlisted in the British, Canadian and Newfoundland forces to 30 June 1945 was as follows: Royal Navy (including Rescue Tug Service), 3,419; Royal Artillery, 2,343; Royal Air Force, 713; Canadian forces, 1,752;

Newfoundland Regiment, 860.⁹ The figures for the British forces included 787 men who had originally joined the Newfoundland Regiment but later transferred to overseas units. These figures also included 533 members of the NFU who, on the termination of their engagement with the foresters, had joined the British armed forces. Of these 267 had gone into the Royal Navy, 219 into the Royal Air Force and 47 into the Royal Artillery. The total given for the Canadian forces did not distinguish between men and women but in fact, to 30 September 1945, 524 Newfoundland women had enlisted in those forces as follows: Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, 74; Canadian Women's Army Corps, 190; and Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division), 160. In all more than 12,000 Newfoundlanders left the country in connection with the war effort. Clearly, the Commission of Government faced a big task to re-absorb into society the many thousands who would be coming home when peace was restored.

After World War I returning Newfoundland members of the armed forces had been assisted in their readjustment to civilian life by the 'Civil Re-Establishment Committee.' Chaired by Justice J.M. Kent, this committee had included a medical officer, Major W.H.Parsons, and a vocational officer, the prominent educator Dr. W.W. Blackall, who also served as secretary.¹⁰ Newfoundland had also devised a pension scheme for disabled veterans who were not eligible for imperial benefits. This was administered by a Board of Pension Commissioners for Newfoundland.¹¹ To keep alive the memory of wartime sacrifice and to define and advance their interests, Newfoundland veterans, like their Canadian counterparts, looked principally to the Great War Veterans' Association (GWVA).¹² Founded in Winnipeg in 1917, the GWVA was launched in Newfoundland at a meeting in St. John's on 20 August 1918.¹³ The founding president was Harold Mitchell of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, a veteran of the Gallipoli campaign who had been invalided home.¹⁴ The new organization carried on from and absorbed an association of returned soldiers and rejected volunteers. The objectives of the Newfoundland GWVA as set forth in its 1918 constitution and by-laws were those of its sister Canadian organization.¹⁵ The official name of the organization formed in St. John's was 'The Great War Veterans' Association of Newfoundland.' In 1948

it was reported that the Newfoundland GWVA, which had membership in the British Empire Service League, had twenty-seven branches and 3,000 members.¹⁶ In the interwar years the GWVA was one of the country's best organized and most powerful lobbies. It was a prop for and a stay to authority but a claimant whose brief, writ in blood, always had a special edge. The approach of the organization was 'to conduct negotiations with Government in a friendly atmosphere' and to present 'the viewpoint of servicemen by reasoned discussion' but to do so 'with the firm conviction of right and justice.'¹⁷ In the deep public financial crisis triggered in Newfoundland by the Great Depression, the GWVA supported the change to Commission of Government.¹⁸ Organized veterans looked to the new administration, which had the British Treasury behind it, for a better deal. New pension legislation was in fact passed in 1935.¹⁹ The GWVA was also active in giving help to needy veterans and their families through the relief committees of its various branches. When the war brought unprecedented prosperity to Newfoundland, thanks mainly to Canadian and United States base construction, the GWVA campaigned hard for improved pension benefits for the veterans of World War I. It also sought to make a place within its ranks for a new generation of veterans.

The interests of veterans were also fostered by the Newfoundland Patriotic Association, a voluntary organization formed in 1940 by members of the St. John's business and social elite. In a radio address on the need for such an association, the organization's honorary secretary, John G. Higgins, a lawyer and another veteran of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, condemned the way the country had neglected those Newfoundlanders who had served in the Great War:

If the history of the aftermath of the last war is inquired into it will be seen that few, if any, of the good positions were given to returned men, though there were men available to fill them. It cannot be said that ex-servicemen came back and demanded the country. Far from it. After doing their duty they settled down quietly to face the future. They were a very conservative body of men who did not stint themselves in public services or in their desire to care for their less favoured comrades. The taint of bolshevism was not in their blood and their hearts were not hardened.²⁰

But for the GWVA, 'there would have been little organized effort to help those who broke under the strain

of service.' This time the country had to do better and one of the purposes of the Patriotic Association was to ensure it. Those who served their country must be given 'a helping hand' on their return and veterans who needed 'encouragement and support' must not find themselves lacking them.

The Commission of Government listened attentively to the GWVA and the Newfoundland Patriotic Association and dealt with immediate needs while attempting to devise a master plan for the post-war period. Work on this was carried on by a committee on demobilization, civil re-establishment and post-war planning which had an advisory committee attached to it. This consisted mainly of businessmen and professionals but included some labour representatives.²¹ Walsh's address to the country on 14 March 1944

was the culmination of the Commission's long-range planning for veterans.

The scheme of benefits detailed by him went far beyond what Newfoundland had previously attempted and reflected both the prosperity of the times and the belief, held everywhere in the Anglo-American world, that the war was being fought not just to defeat Hitler but also to usher in a better world. War would not be followed by depression but by a golden age of fairness and plenty. This would be underwritten by the state and made possible by planning. What the Commission of Government proposed, Walsh explained, owed much to the plans which had been developed in Canada but took account of Newfoundland's special circumstances, that is to say the country's 'general economy' and its 'financial ability.'²² In devising its programme the government had been guided by three principles, as follows:

- (1) A discharged man should have the opportunity of improving his educational and technical competence with due regard to his abilities and the probability of employment.
- (2) A discharged man should be encouraged to engage in the country's basic industries.
- (3) The transition from war service to civil life should be made as easy as possible without financial embarrassment.²³

To give substance to these principles the government would offer 'maintenance allowances, educational benefits, vocational guidance and training, agricultural courses, assistance for fishermen, assistance for certain small individual enterprises, unemployment benefits, free medical treatment and employment

preference.'²⁴ These benefits would be in addition to the deferred pay, clothing, transportation, discharge furlough, supplementary pension (for United Kingdom pensioners), and employment assistance benefits which had been announced in November 1943. The maintenance allowance would be paid to a veteran taking advantage of one of the opportunities on offer that did not produce immediate earnings, say further education. The allowance would be paid on a sliding scale and would take account of marital status and, in the case of married men, their dependents. The allowance would be paid for a fixed number of months according to the requirements of the particular training or other opportunity being pursued. In the case of unemployment, the allowance would be paid for one year.

The new benefits announced by Walsh would apply to servicemen discharged after 1 April 1945 who had served either in the Newfoundland Regiment (the home defence force) or in the armed forces of the United Kingdom. In the case of men who had previously been honourably discharged from the eligible forces, the government would consider on an individual basis what further assistance was appropriate. Walsh's presentation, phrased in the crisp and careful official prose of the Commission, put a brave face on what the government intended. Newfoundland was keeping faith with those who had served the cause of freedom. In truth, however, the government intended also to keep costs and eligibility within strict bounds and initially it planned to exclude foresters and merchant seamen altogether. The Commission's position on the foresters was that they had 'been in civilian employment in comparative safety' and that many of them had accumulated 'considerable savings.'²⁵ They neither needed nor deserved any special assistance but could return to their usual employment. Those who had volunteered as merchant seamen could likewise be passed over. While it was true that they 'had incurred great risk,' they had also received 'high wages.' Most had been seamen before the war and they could continue in their usual line of work. In practice about 150 merchant seamen and members of the Rescue Tug Service were given limited assistance under the Newfoundland re-establishment programme. Eligible merchant seamen were those recruited in Newfoundland by or on behalf of the British Ministry of War Transport and who had 'signed

agreements to undertake service in war zones for the duration of the war.²⁶ By contrast the only concession made to ex-members of the NFU was to allow them to participate in a land settlement scheme at Cormack if there were insufficient veteran applicants.²⁷ Not surprisingly, the whole letter of the law approach of the government sowed the seeds of much future discontent and public controversy. In varying degrees, foresters, merchant seamen and rescue tug men were left feeling cheated.

Following from Walsh's speech the Division of Civil Re-establishment, the administrative unit of government responsible for the civil re-establishment programme and which had offices on the second floor of the King George V Institute, Water Street East, issued two booklets to explain the Commission of Government's plans. The first was entitled *When You Come Home* and the second *Now That You Are Home*.²⁸

The official in charge of the Division of Civil Re-establishment was J.A. Cochrane, a former principal of Prince of Wales College, St. John's, who had served as president of the Newfoundland Teachers' Association from 1931 to 1938.²⁹ His efforts and those of the Commission generally produced mixed reviews from returning servicemen, who had recourse to the ever watchful GWVA, to the Newfoundland Patriotic Association and to a Citizens' Rehabilitation Committee.³⁰ Kicking and complaining has a long history among men who have laid down arms and have had to adjust back to civil society and the constraints of domesticity. Newfoundland's World War II veterans, however, had specific grievances besides the normal post-war letdown. In May and June 1946, Captain G. Campbell (Cam) Eaton, who had served in the British forces and been awarded the Military Cross, published a series of articles in a new St. John's newspaper, the *Sunday Herald*,³¹ that were highly critical of the treatment being given ex-servicemen. His purpose, he explained in the first issue of the paper, was to 'put before the general public the difficulties our ex-servicemen are having in readjusting themselves and their impressions of this country after years abroad.'³² Ex-servicemen, he asserted, felt badly let down and had a particular cause of complaint in the lamentably inadequate job the government was doing in vocational education:

The return to "Civvie Street" has been very different than was expected by a great majority...They were given the impression while in Italy, Germany, England and many other parts of the world that it would be smooth running as soon as they were discharged. Unfortunately such has not been the case. The Government has let them down badly to begin with in vocational training. True the vocational training centre is now open and there are some one hundred and fifty men undergoing training but this should have begun over a year ago. What is to happen to the remainder of the applicants? They may be waiting for as long as three years before they can even begin a course. This is an appalling state of affairs to say the least. Thoughtful and practical consideration by the Commission of Government should be given to the extension of the training facilities and put into effect as soon as humanly possible. It is an item which cannot wait. Every month wasted by these applicants will have a demoralising effect on them and eventually if present conditions continue they will be of no use to their communities or themselves.

In another of the articles Captain Eaton noted that there were more than 700 veterans drawing the unemployment benefit. They were men who had 'given the best years of their lives in the service of their country' and they deserved better.³³ The government and people had to act quickly to give the veteran a better deal before a 'serious problem' developed. The government should immediately call a meeting of representatives of the Newfoundland Board of Trade and of labour leaders to find a way out of the unemployment dilemma. Earlier on the Board of Trade had adopted the slogan 'They were behind the guns then - are you behind them now?' This was a question, Eaton concluded, which every Newfoundland community might now do well to ponder.

Just how close Captain Eaton was to the mark was shown on 28 June 1946 when veterans attending the ex-servicemen's school at Fort William, St. John's, staged a protest meeting attended by W.R. Dawe and Major F.W. Marshall, respectively President and 1st Vice-President of the Dominion Command of the GWVA.³⁴ The immediate cause of the protest was the publication of a memorandum by the government limiting educational and vocational training to twelve months. This document, it was charged, put so many conditions in the rehabilitation scheme veterans had been promised as to put them at an 'extreme disadvantage.'³⁵ The information booklets the government had issued 'contained a lot of fancy clauses' but the reality now facing veterans seeking retraining and further education under the Commission's rules belied the promises which had been made.³⁶ The St. John's *Evening Telegram* supported the protesters

and called on the government 'to give the greatest encouragement' to ex-servicemen who honestly desired to better themselves educationally. There must be an immediate end to 'bumblodom.'³⁷ The Commission responded with a more liberal plan for education and unemployment benefits.³⁸ By September 1948 some 4,903 veterans had received assistance under the Newfoundland re-establishment scheme at a cost to the Commission of more than \$2,506,000.³⁹ As in so many other policy areas in the immediate post-war period, Newfoundland's appointed government showed itself adept at steering its way around the shoals of confrontation. Nevertheless its relations with its veteran clients evidently remained uneasy.

As the re-establishment programme unfolded, moreover, those relations were overshadowed by a larger question about the future. This was the effect that constitutional change for their country would have on their status and benefits. Soon after the Second World War began, the British concluded that the prosperity the conflict was bringing to Newfoundland made constitutional change imperative.⁴⁰ It could be delayed on the grounds that the war must be won first and that victory took precedence over everything else, but once the fighting ended in Europe, the United Kingdom must be ready with a plan of action for Newfoundland. In keeping with this approach, the British government publicly committed itself in December 1943 to provide Newfoundlanders at the end of the war in Europe with machinery whereby they could decide their own constitutional future. During 1944 British policy makers concluded that the only practical future for Newfoundland was to join the Canadian confederation and in 1945 they were able to make an agreement with Canada to work together behind the scenes to promote this objective. Then, in December 1945, the British announced that a National Convention would be elected in Newfoundland to advise them about choices to be put before the people in a referendum on their constitutional future. The National Convention was duly elected in the summer of 1946 and began meeting in September of that year. The subject of confederation with Canada was soon introduced into its proceedings and made a focus of attention in the country mainly through the efforts of the highly energetic member for Bonavista Centre, Joseph R. Smallwood. Every Newfoundlander had a big stake in this debate but veterans had particular

concerns. For them the possibility of union with Canada posed obvious and immediate questions. In the event of union would they be eligible equally with other Canadian veterans for the Dominion's benefits? What were those benefits? And would they be better off as Canadians or as Newfoundlanders? If Canada were generous, the veterans' vote in Newfoundland might count at the ballot box in favour of confederation. Conversely, Ottawa had to think carefully about establishing precedents in negotiations with Newfoundland that might lead to unwanted expenditures elsewhere in the country.

As might be expected, political developments in Newfoundland were followed closely within the Department of Veterans Affairs (DVA) in Ottawa. Though its officers had only a rudimentary knowledge of Newfoundland, there had been important contacts over the years between Newfoundland and Canadian officials concerning veterans' questions. In 1918 an agreement was reached between the Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada and the Newfoundland Board of Pensions whereby in the case of Canadians living in Newfoundland, the latter agency would conduct investigations on behalf of the former.⁴¹ The Canadian board likewise agreed to pay pensions and provide medical treatment to those pensioners of the Newfoundland board who were resident in Canada.⁴² According to the instruction on it issued by E.R. Scammell, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Soldiers Re-establishment, the Newfoundlanders were to be paid and treated 'as though they were ex-members of the Canadian Forces.'⁴³ For his part W.W. Blackall of Newfoundland's Civil Re-establishment Committee had sought and been given advice by Ottawa on vocational matters.⁴⁴

The recruitment of Newfoundlanders into the Canadian forces during the Second World War brought more business. In August 1943, Air Vice Marshall Sully brought to the attention of Walter Woods, the Associate Deputy Minister for Rehabilitation in the Department of Pensions and National Health, a difficult situation that had arisen over Newfoundland women serving in the Canadian forces.⁴⁵ Woods' department was responsible for the care of women discharged from the forces because of pregnancy. In general, Sully noted, the arrangements for pregnant ex-servicewomen were 'working satisfactorily' but if a Newfoundlander

became pregnant, she would have to be discharged in Canada and remain there in order to avail herself of Canadian medical and rehabilitation benefits. Complicating this was the fact that many of the Newfoundlanders in the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division) had been posted back to their own country. If a pregnant Newfoundland servicewoman were discharged in Canada, she would find herself without legal residence in the country and could be deported by the immigration authorities. In addition Canadian welfare agencies were reluctant to make arrangements for a child who would have no legal status in the country. Conversely a discharged Newfoundland woman who sought to go home with a child ran the risk of trouble with the Newfoundland authorities on the grounds that the child was an alien and therefore inadmissible to the country. Sully also complained that the rehabilitation benefits currently available to ex-service personnel could only be taken in Canada. On discharge, therefore, Newfoundlanders, women and men, would have to stay in the country to take advantage of their rights as veterans. The Air Vice Marshall recommended that consideration be given to removing the restrictions that tied rehabilitation benefits to Canadian residence. And he made a special plea to Woods to do something about the bureaucratic tangle in which Newfoundland women found themselves when discharged because of pregnancy. In response to this and other appeals, improvements were made over time in the rights Newfoundland veterans of the Canadian armed forces who went home following discharge had to Ottawa's benefits.⁴⁶ In the case of the Newfoundland women singled out by Air Vice Marshall Sully, arrangements were eventually proposed whereby the Department of Pensions and National Health would cover expenses in Newfoundland for pre-natal domiciliary care, confinement and post-natal care as required. Nevertheless Newfoundland veterans of the Canadian forces remained at a disadvantage in the immediate post-war period in comparison to veterans of the Canadian forces who were residents of Canada.

The benefits available by 1945 to Canada's World War II veterans had been worked out through a long process of planning and executive and legislative action. A key event was the issuance on 1 October 1941 of order in council PC 7633.⁴⁷ Known as the Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order, this provided

benefits for veterans who were unemployed, who were pursuing vocational training or higher education, who were incapacitated, or who were awaiting returns from private enterprise. The order also provided that, subject to certain conditions, service in the armed forces could be counted as insurable employment under the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940. Fulfilling the promise of PC 7633 was a major objective in wartime Ottawa and when the time came for full-scale demobilization Canada had ready a scheme of veterans' benefits that was both comprehensive and readily available. To facilitate the administration of this scheme the Department of Pensions and National Health was broken up in 1944 into two new Departments, Veterans Affairs and National Health and Welfare. The first Minister of Veterans Affairs was Ian Mackenzie, the former Minister of Pensions and National Health. The first Deputy Minister was Walter Woods, who moved with Mackenzie from the latter's old department. Woods (originally Sainsbury-Woods) had come to Canada from England in 1905 at the age of twenty-one.⁴⁸ He had first worked in the country on an Ontario farm and he had gone overseas in 1914 with the First Canadian Contingent. He was an indefatigable and imaginative public servant in the tradition of the mandarinates dubbed by J.L. Granatstein 'the Ottawa Men.' Woods was a driving force behind and one of the principal architects of Canada's 'Veterans Charter.' This was the name eventually used to describe the country's programme of veterans' benefits. In 1947, in the midst of the big post-war adjustment, the phrase was used as the title of a government of Canada publication that brought together in one volume all the acts that parliament had passed to assist veterans.⁴⁹ This publication also included a comparison of the benefits being provided to assist in the rehabilitation of the veterans of World War II in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. The message of this section was that Canada's veterans' benefits were second to none and in truth the Canadian arrangements were a model of their kind.

What the government planned for them was explained to members of the Canadian forces in the publication *Back to Civil Life*. In the main, men and women were equally eligible for the benefits of the Veterans Charter, though a married woman whose husband was 'capable of maintaining her either wholly

or mainly and under obligation to do so' did not qualify for the out of work benefit.⁵⁰ It was also the case that the rate for out of work benefit paid to a former member of any of the women's units formed in the Canadian armed forces during the war could not exceed her rate of pay on discharge.⁵¹ Yet another disadvantage for women was that, given the preponderance of males in the armed forces, the programmes of the Charter were designed primarily with them in mind. Equality in law for many benefits did not therefore produce equality of condition. Nevertheless the benefits given Canada's nearly 50,000 World War II women veterans marked a notable change in how women were treated in Canadian society. The basic philosophy behind the Veterans Charter was to promote personal independence and enterprise by giving veterans 'OPPORTUNITY WITH SECURITY.'⁵²

On leaving the forces, an honourably discharged member, male or female, was entitled to a clothing allowance of \$100 and could keep one uniform and personal items.⁵³ Those with six months service were entitled to a cash rehabilitation grant. This was equal to thirty days pay and full allowances plus whatever pay and allowances was due in lieu of unexpended leave. Honourably discharged members of the forces were also provided with free transportation to their place of enlistment in Canada or to any other destination in the country that could be reached without additional cost. Meals and sleeping facilities were provided *en route* as required. Under the terms of the War Service Grants Act of 1944 all volunteers who were honourably discharged and those honourably discharged conscripts who had served overseas (including the Aleutian Islands) were eligible for a gratuity. This was in two parts. The basic gratuity was calculated on the basis of thirty day periods of service either in the Western Hemisphere or overseas. For each of the former a payment of \$7.50 was made and for each of the latter a payment of \$15. A supplementary gratuity gave seven days pay and allowances, at the rate in effect at the time of discharge, for each six months service overseas, with a proportionately lower payment being made for a period of less than six months. The whole gratuity was paid in monthly instalments upon discharge. These were limited to the amount of thirty days pay and allowances at the time of discharge. To 31 March 1951 the Government of Canada had

paid out \$469,065,790.34 in war service gratuities, \$47,158,730.02 to navy veterans, \$219,125,150.24 to army veterans and \$102,781,210.08 to air force veterans. Some 961,975 men and women had qualified for this benefit and the average payment per person had been \$488.⁵⁴

Looking to the longer term, the Veterans Charter offered a choice of benefits. A veteran, male or female, could take a re-establishment credit; acquire property under the terms of the Veterans' Land Act of 1942; start a business or get launched in a professional career using the assistance provided for in the Veterans' Business and Professional Loans Act of 1946; or take vocational training or go to university under the terms of the Veterans Rehabilitation Act of 1945. The re-establishment credit had the most takers by far. This benefit also derived from the War Service Grants Act of 1944. It was applicable to those who qualified for the gratuity and was equal in amount to the basic gratuity. It could be applied for within ten years of discharge and could be used for a variety of housing, household furnishing, work-related and business purposes. It could also be used to purchase government annuities or the insurance available to veterans under the Veterans Insurance Act of 1944. To 31 March 1951, \$267,794,786.47 was paid out by the government of Canada in re-establishment credits. Individual applications paid to that date in all categories of support numbered 1,827,298 and the average liability of the government with respect to persons eligible for the benefit amounted to \$384.61.⁵⁵

While they were making a fresh start in life, duly qualified Canadian veterans enjoyed the protection of various medical, unemployment (with the limitations for women noted above) and 'awaiting returns' benefits. For three months after discharge veterans were also entitled to reinstatement in jobs they had held for at least three months prior to enlistment. They were furthermore given preference for jobs on offer through the National Employment Service and in the civil service. The civil service preference accorded them had originally been introduced for World War I veterans and has recently been described as 'the longest and most powerful affirmative action program ever applied in the federal service, as well as being the least controversial.'⁵⁶ Subject to a means test and to various service and age restrictions, a veteran

might also qualify for a living allowance in later years under the War Veterans' Allowance Act. This was also payable to a veteran who at any time in life became totally incapacitated. This allowance was commonly called a 'burnt out' allowance or pension. The act had been passed in 1930 and was administered by the War Veterans' Allowance Board. Pensions for the dependents of those killed in the two world wars and for disabled veterans and their dependents were administered by the Canadian Pension Commission. This commission had been established in 1927 and was the successor administrative unit to the Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada. In 1941 the Pension Act was overhauled to take account of the requirements of World War II. Canadian veterans also qualified for various medical benefits which were administered under the terms of DVA's treatment regulations. Disabled pensioners received lifetime free treatment for their disabilities. On discharge a veteran needing treatment would receive this free for one year at full pay and allowances. Able-bodied veterans who could not provide for themselves were also eligible for free medical treatment for twelve months following discharge. By the same token all veterans were eligible for free dental care on discharge provided application was made within ninety days. Canadian merchant seamen who had served the war effort fell into a separate but related category.⁵⁷ Beginning in 1941 they had become eligible for a war risk bonus and beginning in 1944 for a war service bonus. In 1945 a special bonus, payable on discharge and given for service in dangerous waters, was added to these. Following discharge merchant seamen were eligible for a number of benefits including reinstatement in previous employment and free medical treatment according to the pensionable or non-pensionable status of the individual concerned. A pensionable merchant seaman who, owing to disability, could not continue his normal line of work was eligible for vocational training and for the benefits of the Veterans' Land Act. Those merchant seamen who had received the war service bonus or the special bonus were also eligible for veterans' insurance. Merchant seamen were also eligible for training grants from the Department of Transport and when awarded these came under the provisions governing technical and vocational training of the Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order. In 1948, subject to various disability criteria, the vocational

training and training allowances authorized by the Veterans Rehabilitation Act of 1945 were extended to merchant seamen under the age of thirty who had received or were eligible to receive the war service bonus or the special bonus. In sum, though merchant seamen were not considered 'veterans' in Canada, they enjoyed some of the benefits of veterans. In 1946, moreover, the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act, which was administered by the Canadian Pension Commission, conferred rights on merchant seamen and a number of other civilian groups with special claims for recognition of service to the war effort. In the same year three other civilian groups - 'Special Operators,' overseas 'Supervisors,' and members of the Corps of (Civilian) Canadian Fire Fighters - were also given benefit rights by separate acts of Parliament.⁵⁸

Newfoundland veterans of the Canadian forces who returned home on discharge received the normal clothing allowance and rehabilitation grant and were eligible for the gratuities provided for in the War Service Grants Act.⁵⁹ These were paid directly to the veteran irrespective of where he or she lived. On the other hand, Newfoundland residents could only obtain the re-establishment credit provided for in the same act to purchase veterans' insurance. This was because the re-establishment credit was intended for re-establishment in Canada. By virtue of the Veterans Rehabilitation Act, Newfoundland residents could 'attend educational institutions in Newfoundland under the same financial benefits as Canadian ex-service personnel received in Canada.' If a veteran resident in Newfoundland wanted to attend an educational institution in Canada, he or she was eligible for the same financial benefit as a Canadian resident but no travelling expenses were paid. Veterans resident in Newfoundland might also attend vocational training institutions in Canada, again with the same benefit that Canadian residents received. In this case a veteran would have his or her fare paid from the port of entry into Canada to the location of the school. Veterans resident in Newfoundland were also eligible for treatment of any condition which had been ruled by the Canadian Pension Commission as a pensionable disability and for any condition existing at discharge requiring 'active remedial treatment' and for which application had been made to DVA within thirty days of that event. What Newfoundland residents were losing out on, apart from the full use of the re-

establishment credit scheme, were Canadian out of work benefits, temporary incapacity benefits, awaiting returns benefits and the benefits available under the Veterans' Land Act. This added up to a very substantial loss of entitlement indeed. The prevailing policy of DVA with respect to Canadian veterans resident in Newfoundland was that they were 'entitled to exactly the same benefits as any other veterans of the Canadian armed forces who...[did] not reside in Canada' - no more and no less.⁶⁰ The fact that Canada had been allowed to recruit directly in Newfoundland did not affect the situation. It would be impossible to extend the full benefit package to residents of Newfoundland without making similar provision for veterans resident in other countries and such a general extension of benefits would not be 'advisable.'⁶¹ Yet another wrinkle in all this was that Newfoundland men who had served in the Canadian armed forces were eligible for some benefits under the Newfoundland re-establishment scheme not covered by their Canadian entitlement. In practice some seventy-four were assisted by the Commission of Government.⁶² In contrast, women who had served in the Canadian forces were ineligible for any benefits under the Commission of Government's programme.⁶³ Clearly whatever attractions confederation might have had for Newfoundland veterans at large, it offered certain benefit to veterans of the Canadian armed forces living in Newfoundland. If union were to take place, residence requirements limiting their access to those benefits still in effect in Canada would automatically disappear. In July 1945 the Royal Canadian Navy's Director of Rehabilitation had observed that the Newfoundlanders who had joined the Canadian forces had done so believing that they were enlisting 'under the same conditions and subject to the same benefits as Canadians.'⁶⁴ In practice, this expectation had not been realized, despite the unique recruiting arrangement between the two countries. Union with Canada held the promise, at least as far as Ottawa's continuing benefits were concerned, of redress. There is, of course, no way of knowing the opinions of these veterans or of veterans in general on the constitutional future of Newfoundland but for the residents of the country who had served in Canada's armed forces, confederation most likely had a special appeal.

In addition to administering benefits to eligible residents of Newfoundland, DVA had another

substantial item of Newfoundland business after the war. This was to assist the Commission of Government in carrying out its own re-establishment programme. As Walsh noted in his seminal 1944 radio address, Newfoundland had looked to Canada as a model while drawing up its own plan for veterans and in keeping with this outlook the key Newfoundland officials concerned with the administration of the Commission of Government's scheme visited Ottawa. In October 1944, M.G. Chambers, who would take charge of re-establishment administration following J.A. Cochrane's death in August 1947, went to the Canadian capital to attend a course for personnel counsellors offered by the Department of National Defence for Air.⁶⁵ The next September J.S. Macdonald, the Canadian High Commissioner in St. John's, reported that he had been asked by J.A. Cochrane if places could be found in Canada's vocational training centres for a limited number of Newfoundland applicants.⁶⁶ Macdonald himself was sympathetic to this request and reported that while Newfoundlanders were now arriving home in large numbers the Commission of Government was not very well equipped to provide vocational courses. In fact to meet the need the Newfoundland authorities had to secure buildings and equipment still being used by the Canadian army. Macdonald saw in Cochrane's request an excellent opportunity 'to carry on the close co-operation that had existed between the two countries during the war' and 'to lay a foundation for closer and more cordial relations' in the future.⁶⁷ While admitting that Canadian vocational centres were crowded, he nevertheless pressed for the admission of some Newfoundlanders. His advice was taken and the terms on which Newfoundland trainees could come to Canada were spelled out in an order in council (PC 7032) issued on 23 November 1945.⁶⁸ The Minister of Veterans Affairs was authorized to act as agent of the government of Newfoundland in placing veterans in Canadian schools and other institutions, provided priority was given to the needs of Canadians. No administrative charge was to be levied against Newfoundland for the service thus provided but the minister was enjoined to get "appropriate assurances" from St. John's concerning the costs of the training to be provided. The minister was also required to supervise Newfoundland trainees while they were in Canada and to arrange for their return home once they had finished their courses. J.A. Cochrane visited

Ottawa in January 1946 to work out the details of this scheme and on his return to St. John's publicly thanked the Canadian authorities for their co-operation.⁶⁹ In November 1946, when he reported to the Newfoundland people in a radio address on the first twenty months of the civil re-establishment scheme, Cochrane noted that there were currently 130 men in Canada taking training under the auspices of the Newfoundland government.⁷⁰ Courses being taken in Canada included most of the subjects available at Newfoundland's own vocational institute but veterans were also studying welding, radio operating and technology, and were taking farm and commercial training. For DVA the training agreement with Newfoundland gave a foretaste of the much larger role it would soon come to play there.

The formal involvement of the department with issues arising out of the constitutional future of Newfoundland began in July 1946 when it received a twofold request from the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. In view of the interest in confederation that was developing in Newfoundland, he explained, the government might 'some months hence' be faced with the question whether it was 'prepared to admit Newfoundland, and if so, on what terms.'⁷¹ To prepare for this eventuality an interdepartmental committee had been formed under the chairmanship of R.A. MacKay of External Affairs. This committee was compiling information and wanted an estimate from DVA of the cost of extending its services to Newfoundland. The committee also wished to know 'of any special problems union might raise' for the department. The estimate forthcoming was for an annual cost, low in the event, of \$1,704,000.⁷² This was based on two assumptions: that there had been 9,100 enlistees from Newfoundland in the armed forces of the United Kingdom and Canada (members of the NFU and merchant marine were purposely excluded); and that 'the immediate post-war rehabilitation period' would be over 'if, as and when union with Newfoundland became a matter of direct concern to the Canadian Government.' The Department saw no 'special problem' in extending its administration to Newfoundland.

The distinction thus made between 'the immediate post-war rehabilitation period' and the longer term was crucial to subsequent negotiations over veterans' questions between Canada and Newfoundland. In

February 1947 the National Convention adopted an omnibus resolution that led eventually to the despatch of delegations of enquiry first to London and then to Ottawa.⁷³ The Ottawa delegation was in the Canadian capital from 24 June to 30 September. During its visit its discussions covered the whole range of issues which confederation posed. A smaller group from the main Canada-Newfoundland negotiating team looked at the problems of veterans. This sub-group was chaired by Mitchell Sharp of the Department of Finance.⁷⁴ Discussions took place in September and the discussants had before them a 'Comparison of Benefits for Ex-Service Personnel Canada and Newfoundland' prepared by E.J. Rider, a research adviser at DVA.⁷⁵ The practical result of the talks was an understanding which was incorporated into a document prepared by the government of Canada detailing 'proposed arrangements for the union of the two countries 'should the people of Newfoundland desire to enter into Confederation.'⁷⁶ This document, dated 29 October 1947, was submitted by Ottawa, through the governor of Newfoundland, to the National Convention, after the return of the delegation to St. John's. The subject of 'War Service Benefits' was covered in Annex I.⁷⁷ Part A of this Annex dealt with war veterans and Part B with merchant seamen. By the terms of Part A Canada proposed to extend to Newfoundland veterans a variety of benefits 'on the same basis as if these Newfoundland veterans had served in His Majesty's Canadian forces.' Newfoundland veterans of the two World Wars would be eligible for Canadian disability and dependents' pensions. Canada would assume Newfoundland's pension liability (which included some merchant marine pensioners), would supplement disability and dependents' pensions paid by the United Kingdom or Allied governments to Newfoundlanders up to Canadian rates, and would pay pensions for disabilities pensionable under Canadian but not British law.⁷⁸ Newfoundland veterans would also be eligible for the War Veterans' Allowance and for the free hospitalization and treatment made available to Canadian veterans. Newfoundland veterans of World War II would be eligible for benefits under the Veterans' Land Act; for contributions to the National Unemployment Insurance Fund; for veterans' business and professional loans; for veterans' insurance; and for vocational and educational training. In the case of the latter Canada would

'assume from the date of union, the cost of vocational and educational training of Newfoundland veterans on the same basis as if these veterans had served in His Majesty Canadian forces.'

The benefits proposed for merchant seamen were categorized under 'War Benefits' and 'General Benefits.' By the former, Canada would extend disability and dependents' pensions to Newfoundland merchant seamen who had served during World War II on Canadian, British or Allied ships 'employed in service essential to the prosecution of the war.' These would be paid if a disability 'occurred as a result of enemy action or counteraction, including extraordinary marine hazards occasioned by the war.' A Newfoundland seaman in receipt of a disability pension from the United Kingdom or an Allied nation would be entitled 'during residence in Canada' to have his pension raised to the Canadian scale. Disability pensioners would likewise be entitled to free hospitalization and treatment, and would qualify for vocational training and for the benefits of the Veterans' Land Act and the Veterans Insurance Act. Newfoundland seamen who had served during World War II on Canadian ships and who were eligible for the special bonus would qualify for unemployment insurance contributions, vocational training and veterans' insurance 'on the same basis that they were made available to Canadian merchant seamen.'

No overall philosophy of integration of veterans' benefits was spelled out in the proposed terms of union. E.J. Rider's 'general impression' of the 1947 talks, however, was 'that only benefits of a continuing nature would be considered since items such as "Out-of-work" allowances would not be effective by the time of possible confederation due to time limits.'⁷⁹ It was further understood, again according to Rider, that Ottawa's liability for the vocational and educational benefits offered, which had strict post-discharge deadlines under Canadian law, would extend only to Newfoundlanders in training at the time of union. Conversely, even though Canada's re-establishment credit scheme had an application deadline of ten years from discharge and would likely still be in effect at union, the only reference to this important benefit in the offer made to Newfoundland was a note to the effect that at union Newfoundlanders who had served in the Canadian armed forces would become fully eligible for it.⁸⁰ This proved highly controversial and

indeed agreement between the two countries came to hinge on the eligibility of Newfoundland World War II veterans in general for the re-establishment credit on the same basis that it was available to Canadians. The re-establishment credit scheme had no Newfoundland equivalent, though on discharge members of both the Newfoundland Regiment and the British forces were eligible for gratuities. For the Newfoundland Regiment the terms and amount of the gratuity, together with pension rights, were fixed in regulations published by the Commission of Government in 1944.⁸¹ Newfoundland veterans of the British forces collected their gratuities from the United Kingdom government but these were far below Canadian rates.⁸² Would Canadian rates now apply? And would the Canadian re-establishment credit scheme, which was tied to eligibility for gratuities, be extended to Newfoundland veterans? Qualifying for re-establishment credits would amount to a windfall gain for Newfoundland veterans. Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the addition of this benefit to what Ottawa had already offered that spokesmen for Newfoundland veterans identified as the *sine qua non* of equality between them and Canadian veterans.

The stage was set by events in Newfoundland during the summer of 1948 for the resolution of this and the many other complex issues which union posed.⁸³ In January 1948 the National Convention completed its work and recommended to the British government that in the referendum to follow, the electorate be offered a choice between 'Responsible Government as it existed prior to 1934' and 'Commission of Government.' The British, who had kept to themselves the final wording of the ballot, then announced in March that there would be three choices: 'Commission of Government for a period of five years'; 'Confederation with Canada'; and 'Responsible Government as it existed in 1933.' They now also ruled that the choice to be followed would need majority support. If a first referendum failed to produce this, there would be a second referendum which would offer a choice between the two options leading in the first vote. A second ballot was in fact needed and this was held on 22 July when 'Confederation with Canada' outpolled 'Responsible Government as it existed in 1933' by 78,233 to 71,334. The Commission of Government then appointed a delegation, chaired by Albert Walsh, to go to Ottawa to negotiate final terms

of union. The Newfoundland delegation began talks in the Canadian capital on 6 October.

It was with confederation soon to become a reality that the GWVA held its 1948 annual conference at Grand Falls from 13 to 16 September. A resolution was passed at this gathering which addressed the complaint that the organization was 'not represented in any way' on the delegation the government was despatching to Ottawa.⁸⁴ To remedy this situation a committee was appointed to study the implications of confederation for Newfoundland veterans and to meet with and make recommendations to the delegation. If the committee found that it would be beneficial to name an adviser to the delegation, this should also be done. The members named to the committee thus formed and instructed were F.W. Marshall (President), Cam Eaton (Vice-President), W.R. Martin (Secretary) and F.G. Harnett. Marshall and Martin were veterans of World War I and Eaton and Harnett of World War II. Marshall was also president of the Responsible Government League which had campaigned for 'Responsible Government as it existed in 1933' and which was now manoeuvring to challenge the legality of the whole constitutional process the United Kingdom government had followed. When the GWVA's committee met with the delegation headed by Walsh before the latter group left for Canada, it was agreed that should the veterans' organization send representatives to Ottawa, meetings could be arranged with the Newfoundland negotiators. On the other hand, the members of the delegation apparently resisted the idea of giving the GWVA a direct role in the pending talks on the grounds that this would open the door for numerous other groups to claim the same standing. After the delegation began its work in Ottawa, however, it requested the assistance of the GWVA, whereupon W.R. Martin and Cam Eaton went there.⁸⁵ They were then present at the bargaining table when the final deal on veterans' benefits for Newfoundlanders was struck.

On the Canadian side, in preparation for the final round of talks, Milton Gregg, the Minister for Veterans Affairs, called for consideration of the anomaly in the 1947 offer to Newfoundland over gratuities and re-establishment credits. The omission of these benefits did not accord with the principle of 'making available to Newfoundland veterans the benefits still available to Canadian veterans.'⁸⁶ The truth was,

Gregg acknowledged, that if Newfoundland veterans of World War II were not given these benefits, they would not be treated on the same basis as if they had served in the Canadian armed forces. Subsequently, it was estimated by DVA that the cost of giving eligible Newfoundlanders the gratuity at Canadian rates and the re-establishment credits would be \$10,400,780.16.⁸⁷

On 14 October, with the issue raised by Gregg still open, the Newfoundland delegation submitted to the Canadian cabinet committee on Newfoundland a lengthy memorandum on 'problems connected with union.'⁸⁸ This was in fifty one parts and had six appendices. Part XII dealt with 'Benefits to Newfoundland Veterans of World War II.'⁸⁹ In accordance with the established procedure in the overall negotiations, this item was next referred for study to a sub-committee to be convened by the Minister of Veterans Affairs. The first meeting of this sub-committee was held on 19 October.⁹⁰ Present from Newfoundland were five members of the delegation, including Albert Walsh; J.G. Channing, who was secretary of the delegation; with W.R. Martin and Cam Eaton of the GWVA. In addition to Milton Gregg the Canadian members were E.B. Armstrong of the Department of Finance; six senior DVA officials including Deputy Minister Walter Woods; and J.C.G. Herwig, the General Secretary of the Canadian Legion who had attended the GWVA's 1948 convention in Grand Falls.⁹¹ Three sub-committees of the main veterans' affairs sub-committee were formed to report on pensions, free hospitalization and treatment, and the administration of the Veterans' Land Act in Newfoundland. The work of these sub-groups proceeded smoothly and non-controversial reports from all three were received on 25 October at the second meeting of the main sub-committee.⁹² It was at this session that the issue of the gratuity and the re-establishment credits was joined. The request for their inclusion was made by Cam Eaton and in reply Milton Gregg, who along with Woods and Herwig stood high in the estimation of the Newfoundlanders, asked for a brief from the GWVA representatives. This was duly submitted and made the case to the Canadian authorities, by now familiar to them, that if the War Service Grants Act was not extended in its entirety to the new province, the Newfoundland veteran would "not be treated on the same basis as if he were a veteran of His Majesty's

Canadian forces."⁹³ No recommendation was made on the submission of the GWVA but in the final report of the sub-committee, which was adopted on 27 October, it was agreed that the minister would take the matter up with the government. Gregg likewise agreed to discuss with his colleagues the status of the 'Awaiting Returns' benefits available to various categories of Canadian veterans.⁹⁴ The GWVA representatives had argued that these should also be extended to Newfoundlanders.

Within DVA there were two opinions on the issue of gratuities and re-establishment credits. In a memorandum dated 13 October, G.H. Parliament, the Director General of Rehabilitation, argued that the war service gratuity had been paid 'to recompense Canadians who served in the Forces for service rendered to Canada.'⁹⁵ Therefore it would not 'seem logical to extend the same benefit to Newfoundlanders who were not able to render such service.' In the view of this official the Newfoundland side might have 'a good point' about the re-establishment credits but the fact that this benefit was linked in amount to the value of the Canadian gratuity would make its administration difficult. The gratuity paid to members of the British forces, Parliament noted, was small compared to what Canadian ex-service personnel had received. A contrary view of the whole issue, however, was taken in a memorandum prepared for use by the minister in his discussions with the Newfoundland delegation. The conclusion here was 'that some concession' would have to be made to the Newfoundland view of gratuities and re-establishment credits if 'good relations' were to be maintained.⁹⁶

When the sub-committee report was submitted, it was this conciliatory view that prevailed at cabinet level. Thus Canada proposed and Newfoundland agreed that while the gratuity scheme should not be extended to Newfoundland veterans, re-establishment credits and awaiting returns allowances should be.⁹⁷ The cost of extending re-establishment credits on this basis had been estimated by DVA at \$4,000,000.⁹⁸ The agreement thus made was next incorporated into the final terms of union which were signed at an elaborate ceremony in the Senate chamber on 11 December. Why the Canadian government was willing to accommodate Newfoundland veterans to such an extent can only be speculated upon but several factors may

have influenced the situation. The Newfoundland veterans had made it to the bargaining table and denying them in face to face negotiations would have been tricky. Moreover, Milton Gregg, who had served in the two world wars and had won the Victoria Cross in the first, exhibited a fellow-feeling for the Newfoundland veterans that encouraged a generous approach. He wanted to do the honourable thing and with wartime sacrifice still a recent memory his attitude would have been difficult to counter, especially in good times. It was also the case, of course, that the re-establishment credits scheme was still in effect in Canada and that the cost of extending it to Newfoundland veterans would be but a tiny fraction of Canada's total bill for the benefit. Yet another factor may have been the closeness of the vote in Newfoundland in the second referendum. This overshadowed the whole of the negotiations between the two countries and underlined for the Canadian authorities just how important it was to make a good start in Newfoundland. Leaving Newfoundland veterans feeling disgruntled would certainly not have accorded with that approach. Veterans' benefits were covered in term 38, which revised the offer made by Canada in 1947 so as to take account of the outcome of the 1948 negotiations.⁹⁹ In final form, the agreement made with respect to the payment of the pivotal re-establishment credits was as follows: 'a re-establishment credit will be made available to Newfoundland veterans who served in the Second World War equal to the re-establishment credit that might have been made available to them under the War Service Grants Act, 1944, if their service in the Second World War had been service in the Canadian forces, less the amount of any pecuniary benefits of the same nature granted or paid by the Government of any country other than Canada.' In the final terms of union the benefits to be extended to Newfoundland merchant seamen were covered in a separate section, number 42.¹⁰⁰ This varied the wording of the section on merchant seamen in the 1947 offer but was substantially the same. In February 1949 the Parliament of Canada passed the Statute Law Amendment (Newfoundland) Act which altered existing Canadian law to take account of Newfoundland's pending entry into confederation.¹⁰¹

On their return to St. John's W.R. Martin and Cam Eaton submitted a report to the executive of the

GWVA on what had been accomplished in Ottawa.¹⁰² This summarized events since the 1948 general meeting of the organization and offered a detailed explanation of term 38 of the terms of union. The tone of the report was of a good job well done and certainly Eaton and Martin had reason to be pleased with what had been achieved in Ottawa. By September 1949 payments to Newfoundland veterans under the re-establishment credit scheme reached \$500,000. This event was duly celebrated in a ceremony at DVA's offices, which were located at Buckmaster's Field in St. John's.¹⁰³ Among those present for the occasion was Joseph R. Smallwood, now premier of the Province of Newfoundland. By 31 March 1951, 10,750 Newfoundland veterans had received re-establishment credits worth \$1,827,627.¹⁰⁴ Of this amount 60% had been spent on furniture. Nor was this all. Canadians who had been conscripted into the armed forces under the terms of the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940 and who had served only in the Western Hemisphere were ineligible for gratuities and re-establishment credits. By contrast, Newfoundlanders who had served at home with the Newfoundland Regiment during the war were ruled eligible for the re-establishment credits on the grounds that they had enlisted without territorial limitation.¹⁰⁵ Years later Cam Eaton recalled that at one memorable moment in the bargaining that had gone on in Ottawa in 1948 over this particular benefit, Phil Gruchy of the Newfoundland delegation had said: 'Mr. Minister, if we are coming into Confederation we are coming right into your living room, we ain't staying on your back stoop.'¹⁰⁶ In truth, for those Newfoundlanders who enjoyed the status of veteran, this objective was achieved by the terms of union. The GWVA representatives had not obtained retroactive supplementation of gratuities to Canadian rates and had not been able to turn the training clock back to 1945 but they had obtained satisfaction on every other issue of importance to them. According to one contemporary observer, when Smallwood had learned what Newfoundlanders would qualify for under the Veterans' Land Act alone, he had whistled and said, 'Heck if I had known about this before, I could have swung Confederation without half the trouble.'¹⁰⁷ This spoke for itself about the quality of the bargain that had been struck for veterans in Newfoundland. It also showed just how much Smallwood had to learn

about Canada and just how much he had been flying by the seat of his pants in the referenda campaigns.

While the terms of union were being hammered out in the autumn of 1948, DVA was simultaneously laying the groundwork for its subsequent administration in Newfoundland. The key official in this regard was Paul B. Cross, the Regional Administrator for the Maritime Provinces. In January 1948 he had produced a preliminary report on the organizational requirements of the department in Newfoundland.¹⁰⁸ He concluded that the department should lay plans to duplicate the sort of organization it had in the Quebec City area and that eventually the entire staff should consist of Newfoundlanders. In May Cross produced a much more detailed report, this time an appreciation of conditions in Newfoundland as they affected the rehabilitation of veterans.¹⁰⁹ Next, in August, he set out the terms of reference for a departmental committee on Newfoundland, which he subsequently chaired.¹¹⁰ The purpose of this committee was to make detailed proposals to the deputy minister concerning the setting up of a district organization in Newfoundland. The first meeting of the committee was held on 1 September and it met thereafter as required.¹¹¹ In the same month Cross and E.A. Fergusson, the superintendent of Cornwallis Hospital for veterans in Nova Scotia, went to Newfoundland, the latter to make a survey for the department of treatment services. Fergusson had been posted to Newfoundland during the war for two years and already had a good knowledge of the medical situation there.¹¹² His report, a most useful source for the social history of Newfoundland in the period, had appended to it the following: information, under several headings, about every hospital, of which there were 30; a list of all drug stores, of which there were 23 in St. John's and 17 elsewhere; lists of all doctors (St. John's, 47; elsewhere, 60), consultants (St. John's, 21; elsewhere, 6) and dentists (St. John's, 9; elsewhere, 6); and a table showing the number of graduate nurses at work (305) and where they were employed.¹¹³ The list of doctors gave the name and place of graduation of each practitioner and the list of consultants the address of each. In October a sub-committee of the department's Newfoundland committee was formed to deal with the especially thorny problem of setting up a central registry of veterans. The information for it was scattered in the files of a variety of administrative units in

Newfoundland and the United Kingdom.¹¹⁴ In November 1948 two members of the sub-committee, E.C. Forrest, Chief Administrative Officer (Treatment) and C.C.P. Graham of the Canadian Pension Commission went to St. John's to survey the records there.¹¹⁵ On the basis of their report procedures were then worked out for compiling a central registry in Newfoundland.¹¹⁶

In January 1949, with the approval of the Interdepartmental Committee on Newfoundland, which was directing the flow of officials to St. John's, a party of four DVA officials visited the Newfoundland capital on business connected with the pending administrative changeover.¹¹⁷ They were O.C. Elliott, who was to be the first District Administrator; E.A. Fergusson, who was to be District Medical Officer; C.H. Scott, who was to supervise the work of the Veterans' Land Act; and F.G. Hewett, who was to preside over the creation of the central registry. In March the department began distributing to Newfoundland veterans, initially through the branches of the GWVA, a booklet entitled *Canada's Veterans' Charter: how it applies in the Province of Newfoundland*.¹¹⁸ By the appointed moment of union, that is to say "immediately before the expiration of the thirty-first day of March, 1949,"¹¹⁹ the Department was ready to carry out its responsibilities in Newfoundland. On 2 April Elliott reported from St. John's that the first day of business had 'passed uneventfully.'¹²⁰ Eighty-six veterans had been seen, ten for treatment, nine for pensions, twenty-four for re-establishment credits, and twenty-six for war veterans allowance. Seventeen others had made general enquiries.

Much had been accomplished both politically and administratively and DVA and its clients in Newfoundland had reason to be pleased with the results. There were other Newfoundlanders, however, for whom the outcome of the 1948 negotiations was a disappointment. For merchant seamen the effect of the terms of union was mixed. While it was true that they would enjoy greater benefits as Canadians, it was also the case that they, along with merchant seamen everywhere else in Canada, did not enjoy the status of veteran with all the benefits which that status conferred. Two other groups of Newfoundlanders, moreover, had been totally ignored in the terms of union. They were the members of the NFU and the group of men

who had worked overseas on rescue tugs. The tugmen had been recruited by the Newfoundland Department of Defence and had been posted initially to Royal Naval training centres at Lowestoft, Campbellton and other places for special training.¹²¹ The fact that Newfoundlanders had been singled out for this mission was a tribute to 'their long recognized seamanship as small boatmen.'¹²² During the course of the war the duties of the tugmen had included picking up survivors, towing bombed out vessels and moving floating docks from port to port. They had also been involved in the Normandy landings and had helped lay the pipeline across the English channel. They had done arduous and dangerous work in small vessels and in 'extremely cramped quarters.'¹²³ The ships they had served on were commissioned and they were subject to naval discipline under the terms of an agreement each man was required to sign. Obviously there was much to be said in their favour because of their singular contribution to the war effort. Paul Cross argued in 1949 that they were 'morally' entitled to veterans' benefits but they were nonetheless ruled out.¹²⁴ This was done on the grounds that the section of their agreement subjecting them to naval discipline implied that they were not naval personnel but 'civilians subject to naval discipline in certain circumstances.'¹²⁵

The argument used to deny veterans' benefits to the ex-members of the NFU was different but no less decisive. On 1 October 1944 the foresters had formed the Newfoundland Overseas Foresters Association (NOFA). Its constitution and by-laws were included in *Timber!!*, a publication printed in the United Kingdom at war's end that celebrated the history and achievements of the unit.¹²⁶ The first president of the association was Jack Turner, now Lt.-Colonel, the commander of the unit. In the autumn of 1948 he went to Ottawa to be on hand during the negotiation of the final terms of union and to look out for the interest of the Department of Natural Resources. Unfortunately, he died in his sleep at the Lord Elgin Hotel on the night of 26 September, soon after arriving in Canada.¹²⁷ This left the foresters without a spokesman to attempt to do for them the job that Martin and Eaton would so ably do on behalf of the GWVA. Of course, it cannot be proved that Turner's presence would have produced a different result, but the record of the GWVA participants clearly supports the view that there was a decided advantage in being

represented directly in Ottawa.

The position of DVA on the foresters was spelled out in detail soon after confederation in a letter from Milton Gregg to Smallwood.¹²⁸ Gregg's letter was written in response to representations made by W.J. Keough, the Newfoundland Minister of Natural Resources, to J.A. MacIssac, the department's District Pension Advocate in St. John's. Specifically, Keough had called for extending to former members of the NFU the benefits of the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act. Gregg categorically denied that ex-NFU personnel qualified under the act:

I have looked into this matter and find that during the recruitment of this Unit, the Newfoundland government acted solely as agent for the United Kingdom authorities, that they were recruited for the purposes of cutting pit props or timber in the United Kingdom, and that they were enrolled purely as workmen at a given rate of wages, plus board, lodging, bedding, tools, medical services, etc. Provision was made if they were hurt they were to be returned home without charge. This Unit was not recognized as members of the forces either by the British government or the Newfoundland Commission government. It appears that their work was normal labour somewhat far removed from hazardous areas.

Gregg reminded Smallwood that in the negotiations leading up to union the status of the NFU had been considered but it had been concluded to the satisfaction of all concerned 'that there was no enabling Canadian authority by which they could become eligible for benefits.'

DVA stood firm again later on in 1949 when a former member of the NFU, now resident in London, Ontario, made application to the London district office for contribution towards unemployment insurance in respect of service in the armed forces after 30 June 1941.¹²⁹ In response to his application a further review of the foresters' status was undertaken in the department and on the basis of this a circular letter was sent on 14 December to heads of branches, chiefs of divisions, district administrators, pension medical examiners and all others concerned.¹³⁰ The letter dealt definitively with both the NFU and the Rescue Tug Service. According to this instruction, members of the NFU had not been recognized as members of the forces by either the British or Newfoundland governments and were not therefore eligible for veterans' benefits. In the case of the Rescue Tug Service, employment was not equivalent to service with the armed

forces either. Therefore neither was considered eligible for benefits as veterans. In 1952, however, DVA notified its offices of a decision of the Canadian Pension Commission whereby ex-members of the Rescue Tug Service were eligible for consideration under the terms of the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act.¹³¹

Meanwhile on 21 June 1950 the issue of the foresters entered a new phase when Walter Woods and Paul Cross met in St. John's with members of the executive of NOFA and Isaac Mercer and Frank O'Dea of the St. John's law firm of Mercer, Mifflin and O'Dea, the association's solicitors.¹³² The meeting was held at the home of Isaac Mercer and the Newfoundlanders pressed in particular for two benefits: recognition of the foresters as veterans for purposes of preference in employment under the National Employment Service and recognition of them under the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act.¹³³ Mercer handed Woods a file and this was next circulated for consideration by the deputy minister to key officials in his department.

The Newfoundland submission received a stern response indeed from J.L. Melville, the Chairman of the Canadian Pension Commission.¹³⁴ There was no doubt, he wrote, that NFU personnel had played 'a very great part in the war effort' and had worked far from home. But it was also the case that they had been 'far removed from the air attacks of the enemy.' Even in Mercer's own file the men were clearly described as 'civilians.' Their situation had been thoroughly discussed during the 1947 negotiations with the delegation sent to Ottawa by the National Convention and again in the 1948 negotiations that produced the terms of union. In the latter negotiations, Melville recalled, 'it was made quite clear we had no Canadian authority, nor was it considered the circumstances of their occupation were such as to warrant special consideration.' Newfoundland had accepted no liability for the foresters before 1 April 1949 and Canada therefore had no liability from that date. The terms of employment which the foresters had signed had made plain that in the event of illness or accident, the provisions of the United Kingdom's Workmen's Compensation Act would in general apply. Melville was equally discouraging in relation to the Civilian

War Pensions and Allowances Act. There was 'no group within the Civilian Act' or any provision there which would allow consideration for ex-NFU members. It had to be remembered that a number of Canadians had been employed outside the country during the war, especially in the United Kingdom, but they had not been members of the forces and there was no enabling legislation which provided special consideration for them. It was true that the Newfoundlanders had worked alongside Canadian foresters whose members were eligible for benefits but the difference was that the Canadians were veterans of the forces. 'To sum up the situation,' Melville concluded, 'the claim is not a new one. It was brought to the attention of the Committee when the "Terms of Union" were being considered and, there being no provision in the Statute Law Amendment (Newfoundland) Act, the Commission cannot deal with any claims either under the Pension Act or the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act.'

When Woods contacted the Newfoundland Provincial Command of the Canadian Legion, which had by now absorbed the GWVA, he received a mixed reply.¹³⁵ Woods told the Legion that granting the veterans' preference in employment to the foresters would mean 'a considerable dilution' of the body of Newfoundlanders eligible for this advantage. It was also the case that veterans' preference had not been given to Canadian merchant seamen or to civilian overseas fire-fighters. The Newfoundland Legion endorsed these views in a telegram sent over the signature of W.R. Martin.¹³⁶ Ex-members of the NFU, he reported, were not eligible for membership in the Legion and the provincial organization was therefore reluctant to express an opinion on the matters raised by Woods. But the prevailing 'thought' of the Newfoundland Legion was that preference in employment would give the foresters an unjustified advantage over merchant seamen, civilian fire-fighters and veterans without service overseas. On the other hand, the claim of the foresters for recognition of pension rights was thought to be 'a fair request.'

With this reply and J.L. Melville's analysis in hand, E.L.M. Burns, who had now succeeded Woods as deputy minister, advised Gregg against entertaining the requests of the Newfoundland foresters.¹³⁷ His advice was taken and Gregg duly informed Premier Smallwood in letters dated 20 and 25 July 1950 of the

department's decision and of the reasons for it.¹³⁸ Isaac Mercer heard the bad news directly from Burns a few days later.¹³⁹

If the foresters were disappointed, they were not deterred. Mercer soon countered with a letter to Burns in which he reported that the executive members of NOFA were 'very saddened and even bitter' about the department's decision.¹⁴⁰ That decision, the lawyer asserted, was based 'on the same old and equally weak arguments.' The claim that Canada had only taken over such liabilities as Newfoundland had at union was but 'a broad general point' that needed qualification. It failed to take account of the fact that 'it took a few years after the war before the members of the Unit could recollect themselves in Newfoundland and get properly organized to go after the Government.' Had Newfoundland's union with Canada been delayed for a year, there could be no doubt 'but that the Newfoundland Government would have recognized their responsibility and duty to these deserving men.' 'Just because we had a government not responsible to the people and the Unit had not the time to press their claim on such a government,' Mercer asserted, 'is considered to be a very weak argument and one that the Government of Canada should not be taking advantage of now.'

The argument about the members of the NFU having come under the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom's Workmen's Compensation Act was likewise weak. This failed to take account of the fact that 'everything ended when the employment of these men in Scotland was terminated.' The DVA position failed to acknowledge the fact that no compensation had been paid 'for any permanent injuries or any illness' arising out of the foresters' employment. The workmen's compensation clause in the agreement individual foresters had signed was 'absolutely useless to them' and it made no sense for the government to use it as an argument to deny them hospital and medical benefits now. Nor was it surprising to find that the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act did not specifically mention the NFU. Why should it when the act in question had been passed before Newfoundland became part of Canada? It was, however, the case that 'more and more groups' were gradually being covered by the legislation. The argument that Canadian

foresters were in uniform and Newfoundland foresters were not should simply be dropped. The Newfoundland foresters were 'not claiming to be put on a par with uniformed men' but were seeking to come under the terms of an act to compensate civilians. Was the government, Mercer asked in conclusion, willing to amend that act to bring its benefits to his clients?

Mercer's letter was routed to J.L. Melville and given a pro forma reply whereupon the issue of the foresters went off DVA's policy agenda until 1958 when W.J. Browne, the Solicitor General in the Diefenbaker government and Newfoundland's first Progressive Conservative representative in the federal cabinet, reopened it.¹⁴¹ Browne set out the case for the foresters once more in two letters to A.J. Brooks, Diefenbaker's first Minister of Veterans Affairs; but he was unable to move the department from its established position.¹⁴² It was essential Brooks told him to maintain the principle of a line between those who had served in the armed forces and those who had not. It was true that two small civilian groups - Auxiliary Service Supervisors and Special Operators - had been deemed 'to be veterans' for purposes of the Veterans Charter, but their circumstances were exceptional. The Auxiliary Service Supervisors had 'served with the troops in forward areas' and the Special Operators, fifty-seven men, had 'carried out highly hazardous work in enemy territory during hostilities.' With these exceptions parliament had 'not seen fit to extend veterans benefits to civilians who [had] made valuable contributions to the war effort.' It was, however, the case that 'a modified form of benefit' had been given 'to such as the Corps of (Civilian) Canadian Fire Fighters for service in the United Kingdom.' But they were different because they had been 'called upon to face hazards that were not faced by the civilian population.'

In 1960 Brooks gave a reply along the same lines to Hazen Argue, a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation member of the House of Commons, when Argue approached him about a brief he had received from NOFA.¹⁴³ This brief was printed and was signed on behalf of the association by Thomas Curran (President), C.R. Baggs (Secretary) and Isaac Mercer (Solicitor).¹⁴⁴ It was presented to the House of

Commons Standing Committee on Veterans Affairs on 31 March 1960 by Curran and Baggs.¹⁴⁵ The brief gave the fullest statement to date of the foresters' case. It began with nine 'whereas' clauses and then moved on to a statement of 'facts and information' which was presented in question and answer form. The brief concluded with the arguments as to why the claims of the association were fair and just. Much was made in this brief of the fact that large numbers of foresters had become members of the 3rd Inverness (Nfld.) Battalion of the United Kingdom Home Guard and had been awarded the Defence of Britain Medal. This unit was said to be the only battalion of the Home Guard to be formed 'by Overseas men.' Above and beyond the benefits that members of the NFU as a whole might legitimately claim, the men who had joined the Home Guard arguably had a special claim. This was to be treated equally to former members of the World War II Canadian Forestry Corps, who were fully eligible under the Veterans Charter. It was wrong that Canadians and Newfoundlanders who had done the same work overseas should be treated differently simply because one group was in uniform and the other was not. It was also wrong that, on the same basis, Newfoundland foresters who had gone overseas in World War I qualified as veterans and those who had gone overseas in World War II did not. All three groups - the Newfoundland foresters of World War I, the Canadian foresters of World War II and members of the NFU - should be treated equally. Yet another telling comparison was with members of the Newfoundland Regiment of World War II. They had not gone overseas at all, yet were completely covered by the Veterans Charter because of having been in uniform. All this was made worse by the fact that the reason the first contingent of foresters had not been in uniform was that they were needed so 'badly and fast.' It had been 'much less expensive for the Government to send them in their own civilian clothes' and the men had been able to 'work with greater ease and more comfort in these clothes than in uniforms.' The first Newfoundland foresters were in the United Kingdom by February 1940 whereas the first Canadian foresters did not arrive until later in the year. Everything considered, the brief ventured, ex-members of the NFU 'should be treated the same way as':

(a) Ex-service men in so far as jobs and Government sponsored rehabilitation schemes are concerned,

and/or

- (b) Canadian civilians who served overseas in hazardous occupations as far as the benefits of the Canadian Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act is concerned. This may apply to members of the Unit who did not join the Home Guard in Scotland and/or
- (c) The members of the Canadian Forestry Corps. This may apply to members of the Unit who joined the Home Guard units, and/or
- (d) Persons recruited in Canada by United Kingdom Authorities for special duties in War Areas as set forth in "The Special Operators War Service Benefits Act." This should apply to all member of the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit.

Following the submission of the brief there was a further organizational drive among ex-members of the unit in which the labour leader Esau Thoms played a prominent part.¹⁴⁶ This produced vocal and new lobbying groups in St. John's and St. Mary's. In July 1960, during discussion of the estimates of DVA, the brief of the foresters was endorsed on the floor of the House of Commons by several Newfoundland members of parliament.¹⁴⁷ Then, in October Tom Curran pressed A.J. Brooks for action in a letter that itemized various recent developments that were favourable to the association's cause.¹⁴⁸ In 1958, Curran noted, the executive council of the Newfoundland Provincial Command of the Canadian Legion had gone on record as 'favouring the efforts' of NOFA to obtain recognition from the federal government. Moreover, in 1960 the Legion had gone a step further when at its convention in Windsor, Ontario, the Dominion Command had adopted a resolution which made those members of the NFU who had been awarded the Defence of Britain Medal eligible to join the organization. It was also notable that all Newfoundland members of parliament, both government and opposition, had publicly supported 'getting the Newfoundland Forestry members included under the Veterans Acts on the same level as the Canadian Forestry Corps of World War I and II and the Newfoundland Forestry Corps of World War I.' For his part Premier Smallwood had gone on record that if at the time of the negotiation of the terms of union he had known 'the full facts about the enlistment, works and activities of the Newfoundland Forestry Unit...he would have put forward a much stronger plea for their inclusion in veterans benefits.' Noting that the minister, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, had said that the case of the NFU would be reviewed as part of a pending general review of veterans' legislation, Curran sought assurance that the promised review was

indeed taking place and that there was 'some likelihood' that the men he spoke for would 'be included under the various Benefit Acts, on the same par as the Canadian Forestry Corps.'

Curran heard back only that the promised review was in progress but in truth a breakthrough of sorts for NOFA was in the making.¹⁴⁹ Thus in October 1961 when Gordon Churchill, who had succeeded Brooks as Minister, reported to cabinet on the review that had been undertaken, he recommended that the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act be amended.¹⁵⁰ The change proposed would 'permit the award of allowances, during indigency, to surviving former and certain dependents of deceased members' of eight civilian groups that had 'made outstanding voluntary contributions to the war effort during World War I or World War II.' Included in the two groups were members of either the Canadian merchant marine or the merchant services of Allied countries and the members of the NFU. The benefit would apply to those who had served in Britain and to widows and orphans of deceased members, provided, in both cases, that an individual member had contracted to serve in the unit for the duration of the war or had joined the Home Guard. On this basis, Churchill reported to cabinet, there were currently about sixty eligible claimants and the annual cost to the government of the benefit proposed would be about \$60,000. The changes advocated by Churchill were duly incorporated into a bill which received assent on 23 February 1962.¹⁵¹

NOFA had finally got its foot in the benefit door but, considering how few ex-NFU members would be eligible for the new benefit and the amount the government would be called upon to spend annually, it had hardly done more than that. Not surprisingly, the association was soon lobbying for more, that is to say for easier eligibility for the new benefit. His associates, Curran told W.J. Browne in April 1962, were 'very dissatisfied' in particular with two features of the amendment which had been made.¹⁵² The first related to the 'service requirement' governing eligibility under the new legislation. The six months overseas requirement was satisfactory but the requirement of 'engagement to serve for the Duration' of the war was not only unfair but discriminatory. The first drafts of men to go overseas - the 2,100 who were in the United Kingdom by February 1940 - had signed up for six months service. Before the period covered by their

initial service agreements had elapsed, the Dominions Office, backed by the Commission of Government, had started a campaign to get members to re-engage for a further term. They had been offered a choice of twelve months, two years or for the duration of the war while new recruits to the unit were now all being signed on for the duration. Most of those already overseas when the choice of terms was offered had chosen the twelve month option and had continued to renew on this basis throughout the war, some until July 1946. The result was that some men who had gone overseas in 1941 'as duration men' but who had in fact stayed for only six months were now eligible for benefit while the 'great number' who had stayed overseas on the basis of successive limited term contracts were not. It was 'the opinion of every member' of the Forestry Unit, Curran reported, that the service requirement for eligibility 'should be changed and changed immediately.' The word 'duration' should be dropped from the legislation and eligibility for benefit should be 'six months service overseas' combined with 're-engagement to remain in the Forestry Unit for a further period.' Unfortunately, the service records of the unit, which were now held by the provincial Department of Mines and Resources, did not include any re-engagement forms signed by ex-members in the United Kingdom but this should not be allowed to stand in the way of the proposed change. In the case of those with service numbers to 2,100, who had initially signed six month contracts, proof of re-engagement could be deduced from the date on an individual's discharge papers. This was possible because no member of the unit whose contract expired had been allowed to remain overseas unless he had signed on again. For ex-members of the unit with service numbers above 2,100 the issue of re-engagement did not apply because they had all signed 'duration contracts.'

Curran's second complaint about the amendment made to the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act was that it provided nothing for members of the unit who had 'suffered disability during their overseas service' whereas the members of the other civilian groups mentioned in the act were covered in this regard. In short, only some former members of the NFU had become eligible for benefits and only then for 'Burnt out Allowances.' The additional benefits available to other civilian groups under the act had been omitted

entirely.

DVA readily conceded Curran's point about the eligibility problems faced by members of the unit who had signed successive limited term contracts rather than a duration contract.¹⁵³ Thus it was noted by the officials concerned that the War Veterans' Allowance Board, which was responsible for administering the act, was already taking as *de facto* proof of a duration contract the fact of discharge after VE Day (8 May 1945). From the foresters' point of view, of course, this administrative concession, though welcome, was only as good as far as it went and in truth that was not very far. Accordingly, the protests from Newfoundland continued. In August 1962 Augustus Greene, the chairman of the foresters' organization at Placentia, told the Newfoundland members of parliament that what had been done in 1961 was not enough and that what he and his associates wanted was to be treated equally with Canadian foresters, that is to say as veterans.¹⁵⁴ Greene told Prime Minister Pearson the same thing only to receive yet another re-statement of the DVA position.¹⁵⁵ The members of the Newfoundland Forestry Corps of World War I and of the Canadian Forestry Corps of World War II had formed part of the armed forces and had been 'subject to military discipline in all respects.' By contrast, members of the NFU had 'served as civilians under contracts willingly entered into with specified rates of pay, length of service etc.' To be a veteran one had to be 'a former member of H.M. Armed Forces' and the former members of the NFU did not fall into that category. In 1963, by virtue of the same logic, the then Minister of Veterans Affairs, Roger Teillet, explained to Richard Cashin, the Liberal member of parliament for St. John's West, that former members of the NFU were not eligible for any benefits under the Veterans' Land Act.¹⁵⁶

The stalemate thus reached between DVA and the Newfoundland foresters and their political supporters continued into 1965. In that year, however, there was a sign of change when, in response to a letter from C.W. Carter, the Liberal member for Burin-Burgeo and a longstanding and tireless ally of NOFA, Teillet undertook to study the situation of foresters receiving disability pensions with a view to bringing those pensions up to Canadian rates.¹⁵⁷ Then, in 1967, after further discussions between the Newfoundland

members of parliament and DVA, in which J.W. Pickersgill played a prominent part, the 1962 benefits were extended to all former members of the NFU who had served overseas for more than six months and to members who had been repatriated on medical grounds while they were serving.¹⁵⁸ The estimated annual cost of the additional coverage was \$287,000.¹⁵⁹ By this change the department conceded something to Newfoundland opinion while maintaining the crucial distinction between 'veteran' and 'civilian.' In November 1966 Teillet reminded J.W. Pickersgill that the Government 'would be in a pretty untenable position if it were to grant the Newfoundland foresters benefits significantly in excess of those available to certain other groups who had meritorious war service in a civilian capacity.'¹⁶⁰ 'I am thinking particularly,' he further cautioned, 'of the large numbers of merchant seamen who, during the war years pursued a much more hazardous occupation than the Newfoundland foresters, virtually all of whom operated in the forest lands of Scotland.' Clearly, further progress for the Newfoundlanders would depend on an enhanced status for all the civilian groups who could claim benefit on the basis of special service to the war effort. In 1979 former members of the Rescue Tug Service were reclassified as veterans but this goal continued to elude ex-members of the NFU who remained under the terms of the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act.

In recent times it has become fashionable in Newfoundland to criticize the whole bargain that was struck with Canada in 1948. In the process those who led the campaign for 'Responsible Government as it existed in 1933' have found a new constituency, especially among commentators anxious to make their mark by challenging established views, whatever the evidence and logic behind them. All of this reflects a provincialist tide which has been running strong in the province since the early 1970s and which, ironically, is itself evidence of the success of confederation. As Newfoundlanders went up the scale of development as Canadians, a new middle class emerged among them. It was members of this group in particular that found fault with confederation as it existed and sought, if not outright independence, to shift the balance of power between Ottawa and St. John's in favour of the latter.¹⁶¹ As in so many other parts

of the country, Ottawa laid the basis during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s for decentralization through its social security and equalization payments and its promotion of regional economic expansion. To a generation of Newfoundlanders who looked to an oil rich future, Ottawa often appeared to be an obstacle to progress, and this attitude was easily extrapolated to past events.

For those Newfoundlanders who enjoyed the status of veteran, however, there can be little doubt that confederation was a decided boon. Thanks to the skilful lobbying of the GWVA, Newfoundland veterans entered confederation on a footing of equality with Canadian veterans. Union with Canada, moreover, gave them a benefit package that went far beyond anything that the Commission of Government had ever envisaged and in all likelihood anything that an independent Newfoundland government could have provided. Individual Newfoundland veterans might have complaints after 1949 but collectively Newfoundland's ex-servicemen and women were equal to their counterparts everywhere else in the country. Former members of the merchant marine were likewise much better off as Canadians, though they and their comrades elsewhere in Canada were still denied all the benefits available to veterans.

The omission in the terms of union of any reference to the former members of the NFU raises different issues. The foresters may well have paid dearly for not having had a spokesman in Ottawa in 1948 but even if Jack Turner had lived to influence the negotiation of the final terms of union there is good reason to believe that he would have faced an uphill fight. Albert Walsh after all was a member, perhaps the key member, of the government of Newfoundland and it was that government which had denied the foresters any benefits in the first place. Assuming Canada would henceforth pay the bills, he might have had a change of heart but this can only be speculated upon and in any case did not need Turner's presence. At the same time it must be said that the 1948 negotiations represented a unique opportunity for the foresters to press their case. Their best argument was probably their claim to be treated equally with members of the Canadian Forestry Corps. It was true that they had done much the same work as this unit and that a good many of them had gone overseas long before the first Canadians had set sail. Perhaps the one chance

they had to capitalize on all this was in the negotiations leading to the terms of union; once Newfoundland became part of Canada their cause would inevitably get mixed up with the claims of other civilian groups. For DVA the necessity to maintain a clear distinction between 'veteran' and 'civilian' was fundamental and to single out the Newfoundland foresters for inclusion in the veterans' group would have been to risk trouble elsewhere in the country. If the change of status had been made in the terms of union, the department might have had a credible line of defence in the argument that the adjustment thus made was exceptional, that is to say part of a larger agreement between two countries and therefore a matter separate from Canadian policy and law. But this course was never contemplated because there was no disagreement between the Canadian and Newfoundland negotiators in 1948 as to how the foresters should be regarded.

In the last analysis perhaps the experience of the Newfoundland foresters can best be related to a larger theme in the history of veterans' affairs and of the welfare state more generally. In their pioneering study, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian veterans and the return to civilian life, 1915-1930*, Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright contend that veterans were pathfinders for the welfare state.¹⁶² Their sense of entitlement, so the argument goes, prefigured a general sense of entitlement. This makes sense. Yet it must also be remembered that veterans' benefits as they evolved in western democratic countries promoted a vision of the welfare state that was hierarchical and competitive. Arguably it was this vision that typified the whole of the welfare state as it developed in Canada in the 1940s and 1950s. The underlying purpose was not to produce a society of equals but to promote individualism, sustain the market economy and preserve the values of a society dominated by small property holders in the face of growing interdependency and revolutionary technological change. Welfare state measures did this through timely infusions of capital and by allowing individuals progressively to transfer to the state liabilities - the mounting costs of sickness, old age, education etc. - which limited or even threatened their enjoyment of private property, including provision for and expectation of inheritance. In sum, the essential purpose of the Canadian welfare state as it unfolded in this period was conservative rather than collectivist. Hence the incremental, programme

approach and the heavy emphasis on status and on criteria for eligibility. Benefits derived not from citizenship but from particular need, service or qualification and were decided upon through an ever more complex bureaucracy. The many distinctions fostered by war only reinforced the individualist and bureaucratic thrust of the emerging welfare state. It is in this context that the Veterans Charter and its goal of 'OPPORTUNITY WITH SECURITY' must be seen. Concomitant with that goal, which tells us much about Canada then and now, went the elaborate pecking order of benefits from which the Newfoundland foresters found themselves so unhappily excluded for so long.

NOTES

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- 1 *Evening Telegram* (St. John's), 15 March 1945.
 - 2 For Newfoundland's role in the Great War see G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander* (Government of Newfoundland 1964); S.J.R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto 1971); Patricia O'Brien, 'The Newfoundland Patriotic Association: the administration of the war effort, 1914-1918,' (unpublished MA thesis, Memorial University 1981); and J.R. Smallwood (ed.), *The Book of Newfoundland* (St. John's 1937), vol. 1, 353-451.
 - 3 For Newfoundland's role in World War II see National Archives of Canada, RG 24 (Records of the Dept. of National Defence), vol. 10995, file 290-NFD-013-(D1), A.M. Fraser, 'History of the Participation by Newfoundland in World War II'; Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Kingston and Montreal 1988); and G.W.L. Nicholson, *More Fighting Newfoundlanders: A History of Newfoundland's Fighting Forces in the Second World War* (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1969).
 - 4 See Paul Bridle (ed.), *Documents on Relations between Canada and Newfoundland*, vol. 1, 1935-49 (Ottawa 1974), 839-51.
 - 5 Records of the Dept. of Veterans Affairs (DVA), Daniel J. MacDonald Building, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, file SECTY-6517-45/V2, 'Acts: Union of Newfoundland,' vol. 1, McDonald to Chant, 30 July 1945.

- 6 This was the official name. The unit is, however, commonly referred to as 'the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit' or, sometimes, 'the Newfoundland (Overseas) Forestry Unit.' The rationale for these variations is self-evident.
- 7 Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 118.
- 8 Ibid and DVA, file SECTY-7143-01, 'Civilians: Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit,' Curran to Browne, 17 April 1962.
- 9 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Cross to Deputy Minister, 29 Sept. 1948. Fraser, 'History' gives the same totals to 30 Sept. for the Royal Navy, Royal Artillery and Royal Air Force (430-6). See also statistics in the *Evening Telegram*, 3 Nov. 1945. In 1987 J.R. Walsh, Sub Regional Director (Nfld.), Veterans Affairs Canada, provided the author with World War II recruitment figures for Newfoundland as follows: Royal Artillery, 2,390; Royal Navy, 3,232; Royal Air Force, 734; Newfoundland Regiment, 1,668; Newfoundland Forestry Unit, 3,596. These figures were obtained from nominal rolls in his office. Other sources yield slight variations on all these numbers. A DVA memo dated 18 Sept. 1945 categorized enlistments from Newfoundland in the Canadian forces to 31 March 1945 as follows: Navy - 396 men, 86 women; Army - 369 men, 226 women; Air Force, 394 men, 294 women. These figures gave totals of 1,159 men, 606 women and 1,765 overall (SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, memo to Director of Training, 18 Sept. 1945. See also note 113 below.
- 10 See DVA, file 34-NF, 'District Administration, NF[Newfoundland]-District, St. John's,' vol. 2, Blackall to Barron, 30 Dec. 1919.
- 11 See *Acts of the General Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1919 (St. John's 1919), 95.
- 12 Smallwood (ed.), *The Book of Newfoundland*, 448-51.
- 13 See *Evening Telegram*, 20 Aug. 1918, and *Daily News* (St. John's), 20 Aug. 1918.
- 14 Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker and Robert D.W. Pitt (eds.), *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography* (St. John's 1990), 225.
- 15 *The Great War Veterans' Association of Newfoundland Constitution and By-Laws, 1918*. This item was published by the Association. There is a copy in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University, St. John's.
- 16 34-NF, vol. 3, Cross to Deputy Minister, 29 Sept. 1948.
- 17 Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (CNS(A)), Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University, St. John's, John G. Higgins Collection, COLL-087, 4.04.003, GWVA, *A message to the men who have served in the present war* (St. John's 1945).
- 18 Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 37.
- 19 *Acts of the Honourable Commission of Government of Newfoundland 1935* (St. John's 1935), 75-106.
- 20 CNS(A), COLL-087, 4.05.001, typescript of radio address, 'The Necessity for the Newfoundland

Patriotic Association.'

- 21 Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 196.
- 22 *Evening Telegram*, 15 March 1945.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 242.
- 26 *Now That You Are Home* (St. John's 1946), 37. See also 34-NF, vol. 3, report by M.G. Chambers, 1 Jan. 1948; SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Cross to Deputy Minister, 29 Sept. 1948, 3.
- 27 Tom Curran, *They Also Served: the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit 1939-1946* (St. John's 1987), 95-6.
- 28 See *Evening Telegram*, 29 June 1946. I am grateful to J.R. Walsh for a copy of *Now That You Are Home*.
- 29 For his career see Cuff, Baker and Pitt (eds.), *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, 62.
- 30 The monthly report for July 1946 of the Citizens' Rehabilitation Committee is in CNS(A), COLL-087, 4.04.004. See also *Evening Telegram*, 26 Jan. 1946.
- 31 For Eaton's career see Cuff, Baker and Pitt (eds.), *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, 97.
- 32 *Sunday Herald* (St. John's), 12 May 1946.
- 33 Ibid., 19 May 1946.
- 34 *Evening Telegram*, 29 June 1946. For the general approach of the GWVA see also *ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1945. For the GWVA executive at the time see *ibid.*, 22 Sept. 1945.
- 35 Ibid., 29 June 1946.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid., 2 July 1946.
- 38 Ibid., 27 July 1946.
- 39 See SECTY-6517-42/V2, vol. 1, Cross to Deputy Minister, 29 Sept. 1948. This source summarized the assistance given as follows:

| <i>TOTAL NUMBER</i> | <i>BENEFIT</i> | <i>TOTAL \$ COST TO GOV'T</i> |
|-------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1,000 | Fisheries | 664,000.00 |
| 350 | Small Enterprises | 175,000.00 |
| 2,500 | Awaiting Returns & Unemployment | 1,500,000.00 |
| 600 | Education (University, High School and Agriculture) | 51,000.00 |
| 600 | Vocational Training | 46,000.00 |
| 2,000 | Medical Treatment | 55,000.00 |
| 150 | Miscellaneous | 15,000.00 |
| 300 | Land Settlement and Fur Farming | (no figure available) |
| ----- 7,500 ----- | -- TOTAL -- | ----- \$2,506,000.00 plus ----- |

The discrepancy between the 4,903 given in the text for number assisted and the 7,500 given here arises out of the fact that many veterans qualified for more than one benefit. The 7,500 number is also given in 34-NF, vol. 3, report by M.G. Chambers, 1 Jan. 1948. In this report 'numbers availing of assistance' are accounted for under eleven headings: Education; Vocational Training; Fishery Assistance; Agriculture, Land Development, and Fur Farming; Small Individual Enterprises; Assistance to Apprentices; Provision of Tools; Free Medical Treatment; Unemployment Benefit; and Merchant Navy and Rescue Tug Service.

- 40 For a detailed account of British policy towards Newfoundland during and after the war see Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*.
- 41 34-NF, vol. 1, Secretary, Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada, to McGrath, 15 June 1919.
- 42 Ibid., Scammell to Assistant Directors, Department of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment, 15 March 1919.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid., Blackall to Segsworth, 5, 7 Oct. 1918; Segsworth (unsigned) to Blackall, 15 Oct. 1918.
- 45 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Sully to Woods, 12 Aug. 1943.
- 46 DVA, box 564, file 543/03-4, vol. 13, Robertson to High Commissioner, 10 July 1944.
- 47 For this Order and the amendments made to it see Walter S. Woods, *Rehabilitation (A Combined Operation)*, (Ottawa 1953), 465-76.
- 48 See clipping in DVA, file 32-3-2, vol. 2 from the *Standard*, Montreal, 4 Nov. 1944.

- 49 *The Veterans Charter: Acts of the Canadian Parliament to Assist Veterans* (Ottawa 1947).
- 50 Woods, *Rehabilitation*, 469, 481.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid., 16.
- 53 Except as noted, this account is based on *ibid*, 23-30.
- 54 Ibid., 64, 69.
- 55 Ibid., 70-1. By category, payments had been made as follows: home-owning under the National Housing Act, 6,460; home-owning not under the National Housing Act, 76,694; home repair and modernization, 113,252; home -discharge of indebtedness, 11,236; home - purchase of furniture and equipment, 1,344,293; business - working capital for, 114,761; business - purchase of tools, etc., 126,050; business - purchase of, 7,802; insurance premiums, 20,344; educational - purchase of books and equipment, 6,340; clothing, 66. An individual veteran could, of course, obtain assistance under more than one category up to the limit of his or her entitlement.
- 56 Nicole Morgan, *The Equality Game: Women in the Federal Public Service (1908-1987)* (Ottawa, 1988), 6.
- 57 This account is based on Woods, *Rehabilitation*, 228-35.
- 58 A 'special operator' was 'a person certified by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs as having been enrolled in Canada by United Kingdom authorities for special duty in war areas outside the Western Hemisphere...and who, at the time of such enrolment was resident in Canada' (*Veterans Charter*, 209). A 'supervisor' was 'a duly selected and approved representative of (i) Canadian Legion War Services Inc., (ii) The National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, (iii) Knights of Columbus Canadian Army Huts, or (iv) Salvation Army Canadian War Services, who was attached to and served with the naval, military or air forces of Canada outside the Western Hemisphere' (*ibid*, 217).
- 59 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Woods to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, 16 May 1946.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 DVA, file 67-28, 'Re-Establishment Credits: Newfoundland,' Hogan to Director General, Veterans' Welfare Services, 4 April 1949.
- 63 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Cole to Russell, 17 July 1945. H.W. Cole was Staff Officer Rehabilitation with the Royal Canadian Navy in St. John's. He summed up the eligibility situation at the time as follows: 'You are already familiar with the fact that Newfoundlanders who return to this country from Canadian services automatically exempt themselves from the Canadian benefits with the exception of the Gratuity, Rehabilitation Grant and University and Vocational Training. On the other hand they do

become eligible for Newfoundland benefits such as Farming and Fishery assistance, out of work benefits while awaiting returns from Private Enterprise, one year's medical attention and allowances while incapacitated, all of which appear to be based on the Canadian plan. It is unfortunate though that the Newfoundland scheme does not include women in any instances. It is argued here that the Canadian Government opened recruiting offices in this Country and thus responsibility lies with them. On the other hand it is impossible that Canada could extend to women any of the benefits I have listed with the exception of the year's medical treatment and allowances.'

- 64 Ibid., McDonald to Chant, 30 July 1948.
- 65 Ibid., Macdonald to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 19 Oct. 1944. For Cochrane's death see *Evening Telegram*, 9 Aug. 1947.
- 66 DVA, file 66-67-2, 'Training: Newfoundland, Newfoundlanders in the Imperial Forces,' Macdonald to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 11 Sept. 1945.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 There is a copy in *ibid.*
- 69 Ibid., Acting High Commissioner, St. John's, to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 3 Jan. 1946.
- 70 Ibid., encl. in Macdonald to Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, 29 Nov. 1946.
- 71 SECTY-6157-45/V2, vol. 1, Robertson to Deputy Minister, 16 July 1946.
- 72 Ibid., Woods to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, 31 July 1946.
- 73 For these events in the National Convention see Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 295-8.
- 74 SECTY-6157-45/V2, vol. 1, Rider to Burns, 23 Sept. 1948.
- 75 This document is attached to *ibid.*
- 76 *Proposed arrangements for the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation* (Ottawa 1948).
- 77 Ibid., 11-12.
- 78 Under the Commission of Government's 1935 pension legislation, pensions were decided upon by War Pensions Commissioners. Pensions were administered through the Department of Public Health and Welfare. In 1947 the War Pensions Officer was C.C. Oke, who was assisted by a seven member staff (34-NF, vol. 3, 'War Pensions staff with brief details of duties'). There was also a Pensions Medical Board. This consisted of a Chairman and Examiner, who was employed part-time and an assistant doctor, who was paid per case (*ibid.*). Newfoundland's pension liability in Oct. 1948 consisted of 1,130 World War I pensioners and 710 World War II pensioners for a total of 1,840 (SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Cross to Melville, 20 Oct. 1948).

- 79 SECTY-6517-445/V2, vol. 1, Rider to Burns, 23 Sept. 1948.
- 80 *Proposed arrangements for the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation*, 11.
- 81 Government of Newfoundland, *The Newfoundland Regiment (Pensions and Gratuities) Regulations, 1944* (St. John's 1944).
- 82 Effective 1 Jan. 1942 the United Kingdom had provided a 'Post War Credit' of sixpence per day for other ranks in its armed forces. From the same date the Commission of Government had provided 'Deferred Pay' of 30 cents per day for Newfoundlanders, officers and men, serving with the British forces. These payments were separate from gratuities (SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Cross to Deputy Minister, 1 Oct. 1948).
- 83 For these events see Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 313-24.
- 84 CNS(A), COLL-087, 4.04.006, 'Report of the Great War Veterans' Association delegation to Ottawa,' encl. in Martin to Editor, *Newfoundlander*, 17 Jan. 1948.
- 85 I am grateful to Cam Eaton for this information and for letting me read a diary he kept in Ottawa.
- 86 SECTY-6157-45/V2, vol. 1, Gregg to Pearson, 15 Dec. 1948.
- 87 Ibid., Parliament to Woods, 4 Oct. 1948. This allowed for the deduction of the gratuity paid by the British Government (ibid., 'Memorandum for use by the Minister in discussing Proposal No. 12 of the memorandum submitted by the Newfoundland Delegation, October 1948.' The estimated cost of extending Re-establishment Credits to Newfoundland veterans based on the gratuity they had received from the British Government was \$397,000.
- 88 Paul Bridle (ed.), *Documents on Relations between Canada and Newfoundland*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Ottawa 1984), 1122.
- 89 Ibid., 1126.
- 90 The minutes of the meeting are in SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1.
- 91 Herwig afterwards told Louis St. Laurent that he had explained to his 'Newfoundland Comrades that the Legion's policy would be to have Newfoundland veterans, when they became Canadians, treated in the same way as their Canadian comrades under our pension and rehabilitation legislation' (ibid., Herwig to St. Laurent, n.d.). There is a copy of St. Laurent's reply, dated 25 Sept. 1948, in the same file.
- 92 The minutes of this meeting are also in SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1.
- 93 Ibid., 'Memorandum re War Service Gratuities and Rehabilitation Credits from the Great War Veterans' Association Newfoundland.'
- 94 The minutes of the 27 Oct. meeting and the report of the sub-committee are also in SECTY-6517-

45/V2, vol. 1.

- 95 Ibid., Parliament to Deputy Minister, 13 Oct. 1948.
- 96 Ibid., 'Memorandum for use by the Minister in discussing Proposal No. 12 of the memorandum submitted by the Newfoundland Delegation, October 1948.'
- 97 Bridle (ed.) *Documents*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1183. In his 1953 book *Rehabilitation* Woods gave this explanation of the arrangements made for Newfoundland veterans: 'Some of the Rehabilitation benefits which were provided under the Veterans Charter were designed for the period immediately after discharge from the Service. These provided cut-off dates which had expired at the date of Union. Those benefits were not made available to the Newfoundland veteran - just as they were no longer available to the veterans from the other nine Provinces.
- Not all Rehabilitation benefits provide a cut-off date but the period for which some of these benefits were intended had long been passed before Union took place and they were therefore not deemed payable to Newfoundland veterans. Cases in point were the Rehabilitation Grant comprising the equivalent of 30 days' pay and allowances and the War Service Gratuity. These benefits provided under The War Service Grants Act were payable immediately upon discharge. No time limit was provided in the Act but they were obviously designed to take care of the veterans immediate post discharge needs. As Newfoundland did not enter Confederation until almost four years after the end of the War in Europe it was considered that the period for which these benefits were granted had passed. In any event Newfoundland veterans upon discharge had been granted by their country what was considered to be appropriate benefits of this nature.
- Likewise in the matter of training, Canada's Veterans Rehabilitation Act provided that those wishing to take vocational training must apply for the same within twelve months of the date of their discharge, and in the case of university training the applicant must commence his training within fifteen months of the date of discharge. Exceptions were made with respect to those taking treatment and in cases where the training facilities were not available and so forth, but it will be seen that with few exceptions on the date of Union this legislation had become outlawed by time in the case of Canadian veterans and of course could not be reopened in the case of Newfoundland veterans.
- Nevertheless when Union took place there were 62 Newfoundland veterans still taking training, 60 of whom were in universities. Canada of course at the time of Union took those over until their rights under The Veterans Rehabilitation Act were exhausted.
- Legislation that was still open at the time of Union to Canadian veterans and consequently became available to Newfoundland veterans comprised such important measures as the Pension Act, the Veterans' Land Act, Re-establishment Credits under the War Service Grants Act, the Veterans Insurance Act and the War Veterans' Allowance Act, the Treatment Regulations, etc' (248-9).
- 98 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, 'Memorandum for use by the Minister in discussing Proposal No. 12 of the memorandum submitted by the Newfoundland Delegation, October 1948.'
- 99 Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1255-6.
- 100 Ibid., 1257.
- 101 *Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada*, 1949, Part I, Public General Acts (Ottawa 1949), 37-58.

- 102 CNS(A), COLL-087, 4.04.006, 'Report of Great War Veterans' Association Delegation to Ottawa,' encl. in Martin to Editor, *Newfoundlander*, 17 Jan. 1948.
- 103 *Evening Telegram*, 10 Sept., 1949. See 34-NF, vol. 5, Woods to Gregg, 21 Sept. 1949.
- 104 Woods, *Rehabilitation*, 250.
- 105 67-28, Gunn to Woods, 2 April 1949.
- 106 Unpublished speech by Cam Eaton to St. John's Rotary Club. I am grateful to Mr. Eaton for allowing me to copy this item.
- 107 *Daily News*, 15 Jan. 1949.
- 108 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Paul B. Cross, 'An Appreciation of Conditions in Newfoundland as they affect veterans' rehabilitation,' 14 May 1948, 1.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid., Cross to Assistant Deputy Minister, 27 Aug. 1948.
- 111 The minutes of the first meeting are also in SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1.this file.
- 112 Ibid., Warner to Deputy Minister, 26 Aug. 1948.
- 113 Ibid., Fergusson to Director General of Treatment Services, 30 Sept. 1948, encl. in Farmer to Deputy Minister, 7 Oct. 1948.
- 114 34-NF, vol. 4, DVA committee on Newfoundland, minutes of second meeting, 29 Oct. 1948, 2-3.
- 115 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 2, Cross to Chambers, 3 Nov. 1948.
- 116 34-NF, vol. 4, Elliott to Hewitt, 11 Dec. 1948 and attachment. On 25 June 1949 Baxter Peckham, Chief, Central Registry, NF District, reported from St. John's that 'enlistments from Newfoundland in both World Wars taken from official records' were as follows: World War I - Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 6,264; Royal Naval Reserve, 2,053; Forestry Corps, 500; Nursing Service, 43; Canadian and other forces, 3,000; enlisted in United Kingdom, 62; World War II - Royal Navy, 3,230; Royal Artillery, 2,390; Royal Air Force, 734; Newfoundland Regiment, 1,668 (transfers from this Unit, 1,000); Tug Service, 201; other units other than Canadians, 52; served with Canadians, 1,700. These figures gave a total for World War I of 11,922, a total for World War II of 8,975 and an overall total of 20,897. Of these 'approximately 2,500' were said to be 'active Pensioners' (ibid., vol. 5, report by Baxter Peckham, 'Monthly Workload - Central Registry,' 25 June 1949).
- 117 Ibid., vol. 4, Cross to Howes, 20 Dec. 1948.
- 118 I am grateful to J.R. Walsh for a copy of this booklet.
- 119 Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 1259.

- 120 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 2, tel., Elliott to Cross, 2 April 1949.
- 121 DVA, file SECTY-7142-01, 'Civilians: Newfoundland Rescue Tug Service,' Anderson to Lapointe, 16 Nov. 1953.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Cross commented as follows: 'such people in my opinion morally should be entitled because of the fact that whereas they were not on Naval pay, they were definitely under Naval discipline, served in Naval uniform and were required to serve anywhere during the period of their engagement, which varied under three sections of the plan; namely, so long as their ship was under Naval commission, or for one year, or for the duration of hostilities. Men serving under this Royal Navy plan actually served in most cases in the most vulnerable ships afloat, namely, Armed Merchant Cruisers. Those who served with the Rescue Tug Service were also in an extremely hazardous occupation, namely, that of towing in disabled merchant ships, in most cases unprotected, after the ship had been torpedoed or otherwise damaged' (34-NF, Cross to Dixon, 25 May 1949).
- 125 SECTY-7142-01, Drury to Deputy Minister, 20 Dec. 1953 and unsigned copy of letter to T.D. Anderson, 29 Dec. 1953.
- 126 There is a copy of this in SECTY-7143-01. Tom Curran's 1987 book *They Also Served updated Tumber!!*.
- 127 *Evening Telegram*, 28 Sept. 1948.
- 128 SECTY-7143-01, Gregg to Smallwood, 3 June 1949.
- 129 Ibid., Denovan to District Administrator, DVA, St. John's, 29 Aug. 1949.
- 130 Ibid., Circular Letter 1949-80.
- 131 SECTY-7142-01, Circular Letter 1952-5.
- 132 SECTY-6517-45/V2, vol. 1, Cross to Deputy Minister, 27 June 1950; Woods to Parliament, 28 June 1950.
- 133 SECTY-7143-01, Cross to Deputy Minister, 27 June 1950.
- 134 Ibid., Melville to Deputy Minister, 30 June 1950.
- 135 Ibid., Woods to Anderson, 3 July 1950.
- 136 Ibid., Martin to Kines, copy of tel., n.d.
- 137 Ibid., Burns to Gregg, 19 July 1950.

- 138 Ibid., Gregg to Smallwood, 20, 25 July 1950.
- 139 Ibid., Burns to Mercer, 4 Aug. 1950.
- 140 Ibid., Mercer to DVA (attention E.L.M. Burns), 21 Aug. 1950.
- 141 Ibid., Burns to Mercer, 6 Sept. 1950; Melville to Mercer, 30 Sept. 1950.
- 142 Ibid., Brooks to Browne, 6 June 1958.
- 143 Ibid., Brooks to Argue, 5 Feb. 1960.
- 144 For the brief see House of Commons, Standing Committee on Veterans Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, 24th Parliament, 3-4th Sessions, 1960-61, 91-8.
- 145 See *ibid.*, 89-117.
- 146 *Evening Telegram*, 1, 4 April 1960.
- 147 House of Commons, *Debates*, 1960, vol. 6, 6761, 6765, 6768-9.
- 148 SECTY-7143-01, Curran to Minister of Veterans Affairs, 1 Oct. 1960.
- 149 Ibid., Churchill to Curran, 24 Nov. 1960.
- 150 DVA, file 6555-60-6/1, 'War Veterans Allowance/Civilian War Allowances - Amendments (Cojoined) 1961-1967,' memo to Cabinet by Gordon Churchill, 27 Oct. 1961.
- 151 *Acts of the Parliament of Canada*, 1962, pt. I, Public General Acts (Ottawa 1962), 31-7.
- 152 SECTY-7143-01, Curran to Browne, 17 April 1962.
- 153 Ibid., Christian to Copp, 18 May 1962.
- 154 Ibid., Greene to Carter, Batten, Granger, Pickersgill, Tucker, McGrath, Cashin, 16 Aug. 1962.
- 155 Ibid., Churchill to Greene, 9 Nov. 1962.
- 156 Ibid., Teillet to Cashin, 27 Nov. 1963.
- 157 Ibid., Teillet to Cashin, 11 Jan. 1965.
- 158 *Acts of the Parliament of Canada*, 1967-8 (Ottawa 1968), 113.
- 159 6555-60-6/1, memo for the cabinet by Teillet, 3 May 1967.
- 160 SECTY-7143-01, Teillet to Pickersgill, 30 Nov. 1966.

161 The best account of these developments is James Overton, 'Towards a Critical Analysis of Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland' in Robert J. Brym and R. James Sacouman (eds.), *Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada* (Toronto 1979), 214-49.

162 See, for example, xi, 130, 177, 223-5.