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An opinion of Lord Tweedsmuir's term as Governor General written by a Canadian

## John Buchan (1875-1940)

JANET FYFE

*"I am a passionate Canadian in my love for the country and the people."*

Coincidentally with the news of John Buchan's appointment to the Governor Generalship of Canada, Victor Gollancz gave a party at Claridge's at which some of Buchan's friends were present. "What do you think of John's new job?" asked James Bone of Donald Carswell. Carswell replied that it was splendid. "Yes," said Bone, "but difficult. All that democracy, you know!"

The job was indeed difficult, since the Statute of Westminster had been in effect for a mere four years and its practical implications for the conduct of the King's representative in Canada had yet to be fully understood and experienced. John Buchan, however, would scarcely have seen Canadian democracy as a source of difficulty since he himself was, if not a doctrinaire democrat, at least a believer in the essential consonance of democracy with western civilization.<sup>2</sup> That he was "democratic" in his social relations; too, has been well attested by those who knew him and by biographers and critics. His friendships, wrote David Daniell, ranged "from the scruffiest tramp to His Majesty King George the Fifth."<sup>3</sup> An office which required of its holders both dignity and accessibility could hardly have been better filled than by such a man as John Buchan.

Although the Governor Generalship was not exactly the type of

public service he had envisaged for himself as a young man, Buchan's previous career might well have been designed to lead up to it. By birth, he was less aristocratic than his predecessors, but it must have been well known in Canada, with its Scottish heritage, that many Scottish sons of the manse had equalled or excelled the sons of the aristocracy in the distinction with which they adorned high office at home or abroad. Canadians were not therefore likely to hold his birth against him. Buchan's formal education, at Glasgow University and at Brasenose College, Oxford, had combined the best of two traditions and given him a basis for the understanding he was to show during his term of office for the problems of Canadian higher education. His training in the law, in political journalism, in business as a publisher, and above all as a historian, also prepared him well for his proconsular concerns.

A Governor General need not be experienced in politics or government, yet such experience may be valuable to him. Buchan's experience as a private secretary to Lord Milner, as a member of Parliament, and as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland helped him to develop the qualities which led Franklin D. Roosevelt to call him "the best Governor General that Canada ever had."<sup>4</sup>

His work with Milner in South Africa allowed him to observe and take part in administrative work of a high order, which paralleled in some respects the work he would have to do in Canada. Certainly his powers as Governor General fell far short of the quasi autocracy enjoyed by Milner as High Commissioner in South Africa, nor was Canada in the final stages of a bitter war as South Africa had been when Buchan arrived there. Yet the need he perceived in South Africa for Boer and Briton to learn to work together was no doubt often in his mind as he strove in Canada to unite the French and British in a common understanding, and his work in Milner's Land Settlement Department fitted him to discuss with authority the problems of prairie farmers.

Buchan sat in Parliament from 1927-1935 as member for the Scottish Universities, but made comparatively little mark there though he was popular and respected. It gave him an insider's view of the workings of parliamentary democracy and a bond of common service with the members of the Canadian Parliament. In Ottawa, he spent one morning a week in the East Block of the Parliament Building where any member who wished to could come and talk to him.<sup>5</sup> He believed they often found it easier to discuss their problems with him than with their own Cabinet ministers.

It is even less mandatory that a Governor General be a historical writer or a writer of fiction. Nevertheless, Buchan's choice of subjects for his historical biographies had some relevance to his preparation for the Governor Generalship in that Montrose, Julius Caesar, Gordon of Khartoum and Oliver Cromwell were men concerned with the problems of leadership and Government under a variety of political circumstances. For these varied manifestations of leadership, Buchan could distil its essential characteristics and, to some extent, embody them in himself. Even more germane were his studies of his predecessors, Lord Durham and Lord Minto.<sup>6</sup> The novels cannot perhaps be seen as direct preparation for the post, yet even they should not be discounted entirely. If they merely added a kind of romantic glamour to the appointment, this was some service to a country which could be described even by such an admirer as Buchan himself as "without much glamour."<sup>7</sup>

The Governor Generalship was not Buchan's first experience of representing the Crown. In 1933, and again in 1934, he served as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The ceremonial and social duties were similar to those he would perform on a larger scale in Canada. Just as he would in Canada, Buchan carried out these duties with dignity and grace. One innovation he made as Commissioner was an interesting prefiguration of his persistence in Canada in seeking bonds of union between different groups and symbolizing these bonds by the presence of the King's representative at their respective meetings. He was the first Commissioner to visit the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland as well as that of the Established Church.<sup>8</sup>

With such preparation, Buchan could start on his duties in Ottawa with reasonable hope of success. A further good omen lay in the fact that it was the Canadians themselves who had sought his appointment and that the leaders of the two major parties, R.B. Bennett and Mackenzie King, were in complete agreement about it.

On 2nd November, 1935, Buchan (now Lord Tweedsmuir) sailed into Quebec and was there sworn in as Governor General. His status as Governor General was based on a Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, re-affirmed in 1930, and legally ratified by the Statute of Westminster. He was the representative of the monarch, exercising on his behalf "the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn."<sup>9</sup> He was appointed on the advice of the Dominion ministers and was no longer an agent of the British Government nor an official channel of communication between the British and Canadian Governments. His duties were to perform the ceremonial and social duties of a Head of State, to open Parliament,

read the speech from the Throne, grant a dissolution of Parliament, receive the resignation of a Prime Minister, summon a party leader to form a Government, and give his assent to legislation.

Buchan accepted this role willingly, but interpreted it broadly. The social duties, as he conceived them, did not consist merely in holding levees but in travelling throughout the country to meet as many people of as great a variety as possible, to "get in touch with ordinary folk."<sup>10</sup> In his biography of Lord Minto, he had quoted approvingly Sir Wilfrid Laurier's description of the dual rôle of the Governor General, the ceremonial one and that of "custody of the custodians" or advising the Government. To this he added his own opinion that the rôle should include also "the task of interpreting to Britain the ideals and aims of the Dominion and, conversely, of expounding to the Dominion the intricate problems of the mother country."<sup>11</sup> He also considered it to be the task of the Governor General to help the different regions of the country to understand each other and "to nationalise what is now a provincial perspective."<sup>12</sup> He wished to make Canada proud of herself, and proud too of her position within the Commonwealth.

Thus were his duties, both statutory and self-imposed, conceived. Let us look now at his performance of each of them.

Buchan's formal duties as representative of the King presented no great difficulty to him; he always rather enjoyed dressing up and appearing in public even when he made deprecating remarks about having to don "kilt and lace and siccan vanities."<sup>13</sup> However, at least two occasions arose during his tenure of office which required careful handling.

One of these was the abdication of Edward VIII. Buchan's ideals for the British monarchy were lofty ones. "The British throne is the most stable thing in the world," he wrote to Stair Gillon, "but it must be founded on righteousness and honour."<sup>14</sup> He also disapproved of the "horrible, night-club, jazz, cocktail raffishness" of Edward's social life, which he contrasted with the serious atmosphere surrounding George V. When the King's domestic affairs began to titillate the American press and public, Alexander Hardinge, the King's Private Secretary, wrote to Buchan confidentially about his own anxieties over the matter and asking Buchan to write a letter drawing attention to any harm that was being done in Canada, which might be shown to the King at a crucial moment.<sup>15</sup> Buchan replied giving his own opinion, since his position prohibited his active solicitation of Canadian opinion, that Canadians were especially bitter over the King's unkingly behaviour: they were more embued

with the Victorian traditions of respectability than other people, and they were chauvinistic enough to resent occasion being given for American criticism of *their* King. He himself strongly supported Baldwin's course of action, and encouraged Mackenzie King to do likewise. Violet Markham criticised King for not taking a firm stand, but Buchan thought differently.<sup>16</sup> "I think that Baldwin has handled a most difficult business admirably, and my own Prime Minister has been magnificent," he wrote to his wife.<sup>17</sup>

The other occasion was a happier one, but there were difficult matters of protocol for which there were no precedents. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited Canada in the summer of 1939. It was a visit which Buchan had suggested in 1937, at the time of George's succession, and it was due to his pressing the matter "with the persistence of a horse-leech" that it eventually took place.<sup>18</sup> But what was the rôle of the King's representative when the King himself was in Canada? Buchan wanted to meet the royal party at Quebec, entertain them in Ottawa and then leave the rest of the tour to the Prime Minister. Mackenzie King insisted that he should be the first to welcome them to Canada and should accompany them throughout. This was in fact what took place: Buchan's part in the tour consisted of entertaining the King and Queen at Ottawa and then "sitting back and letting Canada do everything."<sup>19</sup> Out of courtesy to the King and Queen, Buchan would have preferred his original plan, but he gracefully gave way and avoided any unseemly wrangling over constitutional niceties. In fact, he was just as determined as Mackenzie King that Canada's new status should be "given a visual representation" through the prominence given to her Prime Minister on this occasion.<sup>20</sup>

During the royal visit, Buchan was invested with the G.C.V.O., which embarrassed him slightly, he told Vincent Massey, for "I have taken the line that I am a Canadian while I am here, and therefore subject to the Canadian embargo on honours."<sup>21</sup> Mackenzie King, however, in spite of his general disapproval of honours and his disappointment that Buchan had come to Canada as a peer rather than a commoner, was enthusiastic about this mark of distinction to Canada's Governor General.

Except for unavoidable barriers not of his own choosing, Buchan found even less difficulty in his social duty of meeting ordinary people. The incident related by Margaret Bourke White of her rebuke by Buchan's aide-de-camp for having addressed His Excellency before His Excellency addressed her was an uncharacteristic one, of which, indeed, Buchan himself may have been unaware.<sup>22</sup> More

characteristic was his sharing of a mid-day meal with the unemployed of Winnipeg, where he was delighted to be told by their leader that he was "a grand guy."<sup>23</sup> His letters to family and friends reveal his genuine pleasure at meeting people of different ethnic groups, Indian and Inuit, Icelanders and Ukrainians on the Prairies, French in Quebec and Scots everywhere. Above all, he liked to meet the people of small isolated communities in the West and the far North. Shuldham Redfern, in his recollections of the 1973 Arctic journey, wrote of the "many in the valley of the Mackenzie River who will tell their children of the time when, though isolated from the world, they were not forgotten by the King's representative, who took the trouble to go among them and cheer their lonely lives with his kindly smile and abiding interest."<sup>24</sup> Buchan himself explained his social success with all sorts and conditions of men as due to his having a good many interests of his own so that there was always some point of contact.

. . . The farmers believe me to be an enthusiastic farmer; the prospectors, surveyors, and mining people think me an enthusiast for their work; and writers and painters, and even musicians welcome me as a colleague; not to speak of the immense fraternity of mountaineers, fishermen and sportsmen. Then I have all kinds of military associations, both with the South African and the Great War veterans.<sup>25</sup>

The duty of giving advice to the Government required a high degree of sensitivity. It was naturally the Prime Minister who benefitted most frequently from the advice of the Governor General acting in his capacity of "custodian of the custodians." Mackenzie King was not always the easiest person to deal with, as Lord Byng had discovered, but Buchan managed to keep on good terms with him on the whole. He was helped in this not only by his own tact and diplomacy, but by the mutual respect which already existed between King and himself. They had known each other a long time, having met at Chatsworth when the Duke of Devonshire was entertaining the Dominion Prime Ministers there in 1923.<sup>26</sup> During Buchan's visit to North America in 1924, he spent a few days with King in Ottawa and in his country house, and King paid a return to Elsfield while in Britain for the Imperial Conference of 1926. They had a mutual friend in Violet Markham, who attempted in 1925, with King's approval, to persuade the British Government to appoint Buchan to succeed Lord Byng in the Governor Generalship. For various reasons, this scheme failed, but the idea had taken root in King's mind for future propagation. Violet Markham continued to act as a link between them, even after Buchan did eventually get the appointment, and she was able to alert Buchan to the need for sensitive understanding of King's personal idiosyncracies.

Buchan considered it his duty to help to "get the administrative machinery in better order."<sup>27</sup> Sir Alan Lascelles, Secretary to the previous Governor General, Lord Bessborough, had warned him about the haphazard way in which Canadian Government business was carried out. There was a tendency to leave everything to the last moment and then "to attempt to evolve belated order out of chaos by telephone or telegraph," a tendency, he said, which was increased by the Prime Minister's inveterate habit of making himself "the bottleneck through which alone action can issue."<sup>28</sup> The Prime Minister referred to was, of course, R.B. Bennett and not Mackenzie King. Nevertheless, Buchan took it upon himself to try to clear this bottleneck by encouraging King to reorganize his office. He thought that Mackenzie King should have in his office "a permanent assistant of a very special type," who would act as head of the office and as an intelligence officer performing duties similar to those Buchan himself had unofficially performed for Ramsay Macdonald.<sup>29</sup> King took his advice.

On larger public questions, King benefitted from Buchan's advice principally in the area of external affairs. Apart from Buchan's own international interests, this was probably due to the relative freedom of comment allowed a Governor General on external compared to purely domestic matters. Buchan referred to this in his speech to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in Montreal. A Governor General, he said, had to walk warily. "In the domestic affairs of the country, he can have no views on policy except those of his ministers." If he was a little freer on international questions, however, even there "he is in a position of some delicacy, for today international problems have the unhappy knack of also becoming domestic problems and dividing people into party groups."<sup>30</sup> His advice on Canada's relations with the United States, particularly on the trade agreement then under negotiation, and on defense policy and planning, was not basically very different from King's own approach to these questions, but the tone of the letters and memoranda which passed between them suggests that the encouragement and support given to him by Buchan did much to keep the Prime Minister firm in his convictions.

Buchan believed that the peace and freedom of the world depended on a close understanding, based on common traditions rather than on mere alliances or treaties, between the United States and the British Commonwealth. In the draft of a speech which he wrote for the King to give at the launching of the Queen Elizabeth, he said that the two peoples were "linked not by brittle things like pacts and treaties but by a common tradition of freedom and a common faith."<sup>31</sup> He believed, too, that this position as Governor General gave him a special

opportunity to help bring about this understanding. For this reason, he set great store by the visit which Roosevelt paid to him in Quebec in August, 1936, and his own visit to the United States in April, 1937, both of which were the first of their kind. No American President had officially visited Canada before, and no Governor General had officially visited the President in Washington and addressed Congress.

The discussions which took place between Roosevelt and Buchan concerned chiefly the dangerous international situation and possible ways of breaking "the vicious cycle of fear among the nations of the world."<sup>32</sup> Buchan summarized their talks in a memorandum to Roosevelt. The plan suggested was for a world conference to be called by the United States. Germany, Italy and Japan were to be invited, without prejudice, and the discussions would not be overtly political but addressed to "those fundamental economic difficulties which are the real cause of world disquiet." From a post-World War II perspective, this indirect method of dealing with the Nazi menace might seem unduly optimistic if not downright naive, yet it may well have been, as Winston Churchill later called it, "the last frail chance to save the world from tyranny otherwise than by war."<sup>33</sup> The substance of the proposed conference was less important than the fact that it would have been an American initiative, showing clearly that the United States was not going to stand idly by while the European democracies crumbled. The conference, however, was not held. Success depended on British participation, but Neville Chamberlain, without apparently even mentioning it to his Foreign Secretary, rejected Roosevelt's proposal. This failure does not, however, nullify the credit due to Buchan for his endeavour to promote world peace, nor the more general effect that his relationship with Roosevelt had on Canadian-American and American-British relations.

Although Mackenzie King let slip an occasional hint in his letters that he felt his own contribution to Canadian-American understanding was underestimated, he was generally well pleased that Buchan was successful in his work with the Americans. On the issue of Canadian defence, however, there was some discord, especially when remarks Buchan made to the Alberta Military Institute in Calgary on 3rd September, 1936, were quoted out of context in the press. Buchan appeared to have charged the Canadian Government with failure to develop a defence policy. He apologized to King, who acquitted him of intent to interfere but reminded him that he must not be drawn into controversy.<sup>34</sup>

Buchan's innumerable speeches in Canada helped to interpret Britain to the Canadians, and the speeches he made in Britain during



his visit in 1938 performed a similar service in reverse. Because of the relative recency of Dominion status, he found he had to remind British officials of its meaning, to prevent such symbolic offences as sending British Ministers to accompany the King and Queen on their tour. His interpretative rôle, in both directions, became particularly important immediately before and in the early days of World War II. He became practically a mediator between the Canadian and British Governments on matters such as the training of British air pilots in Canada and the manufacture of destroyers in Montreal by the Vickers Company for the British Government.<sup>35</sup> If he perhaps overstepped the bounds of his position, it was with the Prime Minister's approval and justifiable under conditions of crisis. He kept the British Government well informed about Canadian opinion on the war effort, and was consulted about British propaganda in Canada by, for example, the Director of Public Relations in the War Office.<sup>36</sup> In all of these activities, Buchan insisted that the British should respect Canada's right to make her own decisions. This was not surprising in view of the earlier statement on Canadian autonomy he made in his speech to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in 1937. Canada, he said,

is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or from the United States, or from anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to Canada and to Canada's King. . . .<sup>37</sup>

Autonomy and unity are twin lodestars for nationalist aspirations. Just as Buchan reminded Canadians that they possessed the former, so did he encourage them to aspire to the latter. He believed the most important of his tasks to be that of helping the different regions of Canada, the different ethnic groups and the different religions to understand each other and their common heritage as a nation.

The Scottish Canadians, he felt, had a particular responsibility in the development of Canadian unity, for in their own history as Scots they had already shown that a nation could be formed out of disparate elements. The Highlanders and the Lowlanders were as unlike as the French and English Canadians yet they had learned to live together and become one nation. It was their duty to transfer that learning to their new environment. "We Scots," he said, "have always been exponents of unity."<sup>38</sup> It was certainly true of himself. He was an exponent of superimposed unities, the unity of Canada, of the British Commonwealth, of the English-speaking world, of Mediterranean civilization, and even - in spirit - of "the nations of the world."<sup>39</sup>

Buchan used a variety of methods to foster understanding and unity, some of them as apparently unimportant as going to Toronto to attend the St. Patrick's Day Ball because it was an opportunity "to get the Catholic and the Orange Irish to unite," securing financial support for the Dominion Drama Festival, or giving "the greatest encouragement I have ever received" to J.S. Matthew's work in establishing the Vancouver City Archives.<sup>40</sup> Of highest priority to him, however, were his efforts to have the French contribution to Canadian culture recognized by the rest of Canada and to use the lure of the North as a unifying symbol.

The emphasis on the French contribution was partly due to his own love for the French people. He subscribed, as he told an audience at McGill University, to the opinion of Alan Breck who, at a critical moment in Stevenson's *Catriona*, turned to David Balfour and said, "They are a real bonny folk, the French nation."<sup>41</sup> There was a romantic strain to his belief that as a Scot, inheriting the tradition of the Auld Alliance, he had a special affinity with the French, but French Canadians seemed to agree with him. "Lords Tweedsmuir was united to our race by the solid link which binds every Scotchman to France," read the Université de Montréal's address of condolence at his death.<sup>42</sup> He liked to think of himself as not the thirty-fifth, but the fifty-first, Governor General - which gave him some interesting additional duties. "You know," he wrote to his friend Stair Gillon, "as representing the King of France, I have the right to enter a nunnery at any hour of the day or night."<sup>43</sup> His romanticism, however, did not side-track him from practical attempts to give French Canadians a more prominent part in national affairs. In particular, he believed the *corps diplomatique* would benefit by a large infusion of French talent and suggested to Mackenzie King, for example, that he should appoint Jean Bruchési Minister in Ireland.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, his own interest in exploration made it easy for him to see the potential of the Canadian North, and in this, too, he combined the romantic and the practical. The work of the Hudson's Bay Company especially fascinated him. One of his duties before leaving Britain had been to address the Canadian and Newfoundland Rhodes Scholars at a luncheon given by the Company at the Savoy Hotel. He said on this occasion that he felt that in the writing of imperial history justice had never been done to the work of the great companies of merchant adventurers, like the Hudson's Bay Company.

These merchant companies were like pointer dogs; they went out to find game, and, unlike badly bred dogs, they did not eat the game, but they brought it back. They did the blazing of the trail and all the pioneer and foundation work, and when they had

made the rudiments of a nation the British empire stepped in and took it over.<sup>45</sup>

Although the great days of pioneering were over, Buchan believed that the chartered companies still had important tasks to perform, and during his stay in Canada he was liberal with suggestions to the Company about possible innovations in its work. His trip to the Arctic in 1937 was arranged by them, and on his return he wrote a description of the journey, "Down North," and a report suggesting that the Company should develop its own air fleet, make a specialty of catering to well-to-do American tourists on the eastern slopes of the Rockies north of the Peace River to the Arctic, organize a tourist trade in Indian and Eskimo handicrafts, H.B.C. blankets, parkas, snow shoes, etc., and publish a series of popular books on some of the highlights of its history.<sup>46</sup> This was far beyond the routine courtesy by which he would have been expected to show his gratitude; he intended to make a real contribution to the work of the Hudson's Bay Company and, through it, to the development of the Canadian North.

Besides his official and unofficial duties as Governor General, Buchan managed to find time while in Canada to write four books, a biography, *Augustus*, his autobiography, *Memory Hold-the-Door*, a novel, *Sick Heart River*, and a children's book, *The Long Traverse*. The last two are thoroughly Canadian in content. *The Long Traverse*, a "kind of Canadian *Puck of Pook's Hill*," was written specifically to foster understanding and unity by engaging the imaginations of Canadian children in their national history.<sup>47</sup> Many critics have seen *Sick Heart River* as an allegorical treatment of Buchan's own last years, and certainly it is at least much influenced by his own experiences. It is not only an exciting adventure story set mainly in the Canadian North, with vivid, detailed descriptions of exactly how it felt to live in the Arctic, but also a philosophically profound novel. It was finished only shortly before Buchan died, and it is perhaps not too fanciful to see it as his last attempt to teach the British about the Canadians and the Canadians about themselves.

Shortly before the end of his term as Governor General, John Buchan died in Montreal, on 11th February, 1940. Just as Sir Edward Leithen in *Sick Heart River* had sacrificed his life to his duty, so in a way did Buchan who had been in poor health for many years. Francis Galliard's words on Leithen's death apply equally well to Buchan himself. "I can't feel sad," said Galliard, "He fought a good fight, but he hasn't finished his course . . . he knew that he would die; but he knew also that he would live."

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Letter from Donald Carswell to John Buchan, 27 March 1935. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>2</sup>"But I believe that democracy in the widest sense must remain the creed of western civilization, of the French, British, and American peoples, for it is consonant with something very deep in their tradition and spirit. Of that democracy, responsible government is the core and the heart." "Lord Durham," *Canadian Historical Review* 20 (1939), p. 118, and *Canadian Occasions* (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1940), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup>David Daniell, *The Interpreter's House* (London: Nelson, 1975), xi.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in letter from Arthur Murray to John Buchan, 1 January 1940. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>5</sup>Susan Tweedsmuir, *John Buchan by his Wife and Friends* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1947), p. 220.

<sup>6</sup>*Lord Minto: a Memoir* (London: Nelson, 1924), Buchan wrote no full-length biography of Durham's career in Canada in some detail.

<sup>7</sup>Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan* (London: Hart-Davis, 1965), p. 369.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>9</sup>Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London: Kegan Paul, 1900), p. 75.

<sup>10</sup>John Buchan, "Two Months Report," 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>11</sup>*Lord Minto*, p. 122.

<sup>12</sup>Letter from the Earl of Crawford to John Buchan, 3 November 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>13</sup>Terence H. O'Brien, *Milner: Viscount Milner of St. James and Cape Town* (London: Constable, 1979), p. 199.

<sup>14</sup>John Buchan to Stair Gillon, 7 December 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>15</sup>Alexander Hadinge to John Buchan, 15 October 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>16</sup>Violet Markham to John Buchan, 21 December 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>17</sup>John Buchan to Susan Buchan, 10 December 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>18</sup>John Buchan to Anna Buchan, 10 October 1938. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>19</sup>John Buchan to Stanley Baldwin, 19 June 1939. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>John Buchan to Vincent Massey, 24 July 1939. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>22</sup>Margaret Bourke White, *Portrait of Myself* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 157.

<sup>23</sup>John Buchan to Susan Buchan, 7 December 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>24</sup>*John Buchan by his Wife and Friends*, p. 245.

<sup>25</sup>"Two Months' Report," 1936.

<sup>26</sup>Smith, *John Buchan*, p. 246. However, in a letter to Stanley Baldwin, 16 November 1935, Buchan mentions having known Mackenzie King for thirty years, and makes a similar comment in the "Two Months' Report."

<sup>27</sup>"Two Months' Report," 1936.

<sup>28</sup>Memorandum: Sir Alan Lascelles to John Buchan, 27 May 1935. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives. Also in *Dalhousie Review* 55 (Winter 1975-76), p. 642.

<sup>29</sup>John Buchan to Mackenzie King, 31 December 1935. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>30</sup>*Canadian Occasions*, p. 79.

<sup>31</sup>The passage was altered in the final version because Oliver Stanley, of the Board of Trade, thought it inappropriate to suggest that Britain attached little importance to written agreements at the very moment the Government was concluding a Trade Agreement with the United States. Alexander Hardinge to John Buchan, 31 August 1938. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>32</sup>Memorandum from John Buchan to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 8 April 1937. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives. Also in Smith, *John Buchan*, p. 473-5.

<sup>33</sup>Winston Churchill, *The Gathering Storm* (London: Cassell, 1948), p. 199.

<sup>34</sup>John Buchan to Mackenzie King, 8 September 1936; Mackenzie King to John Buchan, 4 September 1936, and 8 September 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>35</sup>Mackenzie King to John Buchan, 23 July 1938; 25 August 1938. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>36</sup>Ian Hay Beith to John Buchan, 23 December 1939; John Buchan to Ian Hay Beith, 9 January 1940. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>37</sup>*Canadian Occasions*, pp. 80-1.

<sup>38</sup>*Canadian Occasions*, p. 44.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup>J.S. Matthews to Lord Tweedsmuir, "Saturday afternoon." Vancouver City Archives, Mss 54, Vol. 14B, File 203.

<sup>41</sup>*Canadian Occasions*, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup>Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>43</sup>John Buchan to Stair Gillon, 23 May 1936. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>44</sup>John Buchan to Mackenzie King, 1 December 1939. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>45</sup>"John Buchan, as Guest of the Company, addresses Rhodes Scholar," *The Beaver* (June 1935), p. 58.

<sup>46</sup>Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.

<sup>47</sup>John Buchan to Anna Buchan, 17 January 1938. Buchan Collection, Queen's University Archives.