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**THE CANADIAN POSTAL SYSTEM:
ORIGINS, GROWTH AND DECAY OF
THE STATE POSTAL FUNCTION, 1765-1981**

BY

IAN R. LEE, M.A.

*A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of*

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Science

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario**

February 22, 1989

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the acceptance of the thesis
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OF THE STATE POSTAL FUNCTION, 1765 - 1981"**
submitted by
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in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The thesis analyzes the Canadian Post Office from its establishment in 1765 until it was made a Crown Corporation in 1981.

The thesis documents government involvement in communications from the very beginning. This contradicts the literature which dates government involvement from 1932 following the establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Commission. Additionally the thesis contradicts the literature which explains State ownership of the Post Office as a source of revenue. The thesis records that the British Post Office was established by Elizabeth I to monitor correspondence and discover treasons. After acquiring Canada the British established the Post Office as a communications system for the military. The subsequent struggle for control by Canadian Radicals reveals the highly political nature of postal communications during this period.

After 1851 the Canadians used the Post Office as the primary instrument of nation-building as evidenced by large postal deficits encouraged to develop postal routes and offices. This occurred 40 years before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, contradicting views of this organization as the first major instrument of nation-building.

The thesis reviews the emergence of electronic media and policies adopted thereto. Governments were acutely aware of the potential of electronic media for nation-building. This awareness caused governments to depreciate postal workers who were now viewed as less skilled workers. Consequently the policy makers implemented a low-wage policy for postal workers which caused the formation of worker associations between 1889 and 1904 and which culminated in the strikes of 1919 and 1924.

The thesis documents that growth in the Post Office came to an end after World War I, due to the establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Commission which was provided with a mandate to nation-build. The thesis argues that the Post Office continued to decline as governments increasingly relied upon electronic media as the instrument of nation-building. Governments then began to use the Post Office as an instrument of commercial policy. The thesis concludes that the transformation of the Post Office to a Crown Corporation was an inevitable consequence of the emergence of electronic media and not due to labour unrest or postal deficits.

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In setting out on this journey four and one half years ago I never imagined how arduous and tortuous the route would be. However a number of individuals encouraged me to persevere and I wish to acknowledge this assistance.

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Conrad Winn, initially my field supervisor for the Comprehensive Exams and latterly the Chairman of my Thesis Committee. Professor Winn's expertise in communications policy and more generally Canadian public policy, was invaluable in the development of the dissertation. I would also like to thank Professor David Bellamy who was most invaluable dealing with the historical context of the dissertation. His wise advice prevented egregious errors on my part. Professor Scott Bennett provided valuable advice concerning logical inconsistencies.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the invaluable assistance provided by several librarians. Librarians are the unsung heroes of academic research who unfortunately do not receive their due often enough. Notwithstanding the latest computer assisted research tools, they cannot substitute for an intelligent, informed librarian. On numerous occasions the on-line search system failed to produce a reference which was subsequently provided by a librarian. In fairness to the designers of computer systems, this was frequently because the reference contained important subject matter not cited in the title or abstract. However human intelligence can make those logical inferences and establish connections between disparate information that has so far eluded automated systems.

Most importantly I wish to thank Ms. Francis Montgomery of the Carleton University Library, Government Documents Division. At an early stage of the research an impasse had been reached and this was overcome due to the efforts and superb knowledge of Ms. Francis. Without her excellent assistance very important historical data would have been overlooked. I am deeply indebted to her. I also wish to thank Ms. C. Kelly and her assistants in the Interlibrary Loan Division of the Carleton University Library. Ms. Kelly and her staff located and obtained almost every book written on the British and American postal systems (cited in the bibliography). This included locating rare books which had been out of print for a hundred years. I am very grateful for their efforts.

Mr. Louis Brillant of the Library of Parliament was extremely helpful in locating and copying committee reports of the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada which were missing from the collection of the National Library and Public Archives. The Chief Librarian of the Office of the Auditor General, Mrs. Shayla Mindell, was also most helpful by permitting the author to use their library to

access the annual reports of the OAG. Finally, Richard Harkin, Research librarian of the Public Service Staff Relations Board Library was most helpful in locating and copying P.S.S.R.B. decisions pertaining to the Post Office Department. Unfortunately P.S.S.R.B. decisions are not adequately indexed and Mr. Harkin had to manually review all decisions for a fifteen year period in order to locate decisions pertaining to the Post Office. Again I am deeply grateful.

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I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the tremendous debt owed to my father-in-law, Robert Dufault, for entering the labour data collected into Lotus and formatting it to the required standards for the dissertation. The tables and graphs numbered approximately 130 pages requiring approximately six months to complete. By offering his assistance the time required to complete the thesis was reduced significantly. The assistance provided by Robert Dufault and Danielle Dufault extended to the provision of care for our son during this period thereby ameliorating the anxiety of a new parent.

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that I would have completed the dissertation. For these reasons I have dedicated the dissertation to them.

Finally, and most importantly I thank my wife, Lyne Dufault, for withstanding the stress of giving birth and caring for our two children while I wrote the thesis. The birth of my oldest child, Kyle, coincided with the birth of this thesis; his development paralleled the development of this thesis. It was his birth that provided the inspiration for this thesis while the birth of our daughter, Dominique, coincided with the completion of the thesis. Each illuminated the other. This was captured by one of Nietzsche's most profound aphorisms,

Ideal selfishness - Is there a more holy condition than that of pregnancy? To do all we do in the unspoken belief that it has somehow to benefit that which is coming to be within us! - has to enhance its mysterious worth, the thought of which fills us with delight! In this condition we avoid many things without having to force ourself very hard! ... Everything is veiled, ominous, we know nothing of what is taking place, we wait and try to be ready. At the same time a pure and purifying feeling of profound irresponsibility reigns in us almost like that of the auditor before the curtain has gone up - it is growing, it is coming to light: we have no right to determine either its value or the hour of its coming. All the influence we can exert lies in keeping it safe. 'What is growing here is greater than we are' is our most secret hope: we prepare everything for it so that it may come happily into the world ... And if what is expected is an idea, a deed - towards every bring forth we have essentially no other relationship than that of pregnancy and ought to blow to the winds all presumptuous talk of 'willing' and 'creating'. This is ideal selfishness: continually to watch over and care for and to keep our soul still, so that our fruitfulness shall come to a happy fulfilment.

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THE CANADIAN POSTAL SYSTEM:

ORIGINS, GROWTH AND DECAY

OF THE STATE POSTAL FUNCTION, 1765-1981

... the specifically modern means of communication enter the picture as pace-makers of bureaucratization. . . development of the means of communication in turn is one of the most important prerequisites for the possibility of bureaucratic administration. ... The modern Occidental state can be administered the way it actually is only because the state controls the telegraph network and has the mails and railroads at its disposal.

Max Weber, *Economy and Society*¹

It has seemed to me that the subject of communications offers possibilities in that it occupies a crucial position in the organization and administration of government and, in turn, of empires and civilizations.

Harold Innis, *Empire and Communications*²

The "content" of any medium is always another medium ... the "message" of any medium or technology is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs.

Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media*³

There has been a general agreement that the state should be allowed to undertake postal business; but its further claim to have a monopoly of that business has been acquiesced in *per incuriam* rather than admitted as the result of careful scientific study.

Alfred Marshall, letter to *The Times*⁴

Organized postal systems sprang not from the desire of separated friends to communicate with one another, but from the needs of leaders of government.

Wayne Fuller, *The American Mail*⁵

Let us bind these people to us with a chain that can never be broken.

George Washington on the new postal system⁶

For much of American history, the mail was our main form of organized communication ... Yet from American historians the mail has not received its due. And our national myopia is betrayed in the fact that the abundant new courses in "communications" in schools and colleges, preoccupied with radio and television, allow us to forget the central role of the mail in the history of American life.

Daniel Boorstin, *The American Mail*⁷

The Postal Service has been studied by a few economists but has received almost no attention from political scientists or students of public administration.

John Tierney, *Postal Reorganization*⁸

The typographic extension of man brought in nationalism, industrialism, mass markets, universal literacy and education.

Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media*⁹

CHAPTER 1:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY BUILDING

INTRODUCTION

When considering the genesis and growth of postal systems, the most important theoretical issue is the place of the Post Office in the political economy, and especially the factors and rationale impelling state involvement. Historically the postal system developed in a *pre-laissez-faire* period, for it dates from the reign of Elizabeth I, but the reason for the State's original involvement is not immediately obvious in light of the prevailing ideology of the time. Accordingly, this chapter reviews the literature on the British and American postal administrations in order to present and analyze scholarly theories of postal systems and their role in the public sector.

Although systems of communication have existed for over two millennia, it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the modern post office emerged. Prior to that time communications were transmitted by Royal messengers (called *nuncii* or *cursores*) or private messengers who travelled the entire distance. Over a long period of time this system evolved into a regular system of relay messengers. Relay messengers were called *posts*, which was an

anglicization of the French word *posita*, which was derived from the French verb *ponere* meaning to place.¹⁰ The French in turn borrowed from the Latin word *positus* - to place¹¹ because the messenger relays were placed at intervals along the route.

Indeed the historian-sociologist Michel Foucault pinpointed the sixteenth century as crucial, for it was during this period that feudalism was destroyed and replaced by the "great territorial and administrative and colonial states".¹² The decentralized system of feudal government was replaced by the centralizing and centralized nation-state. Simultaneous with this shift was a movement in the opposite direction in the religious realm; religious homogeneity and centralization were breaking down as a consequence of the Reformation.

These two movements produced what Foucault called the "problematic of government" - "how to be ruled, by whom, to what extent and by what methods". In Foucault's words, "To govern a state will therefore mean to set up an *oeconomy*¹³ involving the entire state that is to exercise towards the citizens, the wealth and behaviour of everyone, a form of surveillance, of control which is as watchful as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods".¹⁴ We will argue that the Post Office initially served this role. Negatively stated it can be called "policing" - not in the narrow sense of a police force - but in the broader sense, referred to by Foucault, of disciplinary surveillance by the State. In more benign language it can be called nation-building. The concept of nation-building

is merely a positive articulation of Foucault's notion of disciplinary policing. We will return to this issue below.

THEORIES OF THE BRITISH POSTAL SYSTEM

The modern postal system which first emerged in England during the sixteenth century, later became the model for the Canadian postal system in the eighteenth century. Discussion of explanations of the postal system will thus be limited initially to those provided in accounts of the British postal system. Subsequently we will examine American and Canadian explanations of the State postal system. The American experience is germane, not only because we share a similar geography but because during the formative years, the Canadian postal system was a division of the American postal system reporting to the British Post Office.

The various explanations of the British Post Office system can be grouped under three broad theories. The first explanation provided is that of national security argued by Joyce (1893),¹⁵ Hemmeon (1912),¹⁶ Smith (1917),¹⁷ Robinson (1948),¹⁸ Kay (1951),¹⁹ Coase (1955),²⁰ and Ellis (1958).²¹ Hemmeon argued that while a system of postal communications existed long before the sixteenth century, it was for the sole use of the Crown. It was not until the sixteenth century that a monopoly was granted to the nascent State postal system requiring private citizens to use the mail service. By forcing all citizens to use the *Royal Mail*, all

mail correspondence was readily accessible by the Crown which enabled it to search for treasonous activity. Ellis (1958)²² provided a more fully articulated explanation of this theory by arguing that the Post "transmitted, collected and created intelligence" - presumably a forerunner of the British MI6 Secret Intelligence Service. This practice, he argued, dated from the Tudor period, became more frequent during the Cromwell *interregnum*, and continued thereafter although increasingly performed pursuant to court warrants (thus bringing the legal system within the umbrella of governmentalization). This approach is promising; however it was not pursued and developed into a fully articulated theory by Ellis or other scholars. We will return to this below.

Hemmeon (1912),²³ Kay (1951),²⁴ and Coase (1955)²⁵ provided a second theory to account for the establishment of a State monopoly postal system. Approximately 75 years after the initial establishment of the postal system, the Crown recognized the "postal establishment as a source of revenue to the state". Previously the Royal Mail had been subsidized by the Crown, because postal revenues were retained by individual postmasters who had purchased their position from the Crown. As the sales of positions did not cover the cost of the system (primarily transportation costs), the Crown subsidized the postal system. With the reforms adopted between 1633 and 1711, whereby postal revenues now accrued to the State and postmasters were placed on salary, the postal system became self-sufficient. According to Hemmeon the new policy transformed the Post Office into an instrument of taxation, used to produce surpluses which could

be used by the State for other purposes. Hemmeon argued that this occurred after 1711 and was occasioned by the need for revenues due to the war with France. Thus Hemmeon seemed to suggest that the original reason for the monopoly had been transformed into a fiscal rationale of taxation. This theory is inadequate for it suggests that any revenue generating operations invites State ownership, and this cannot explain why the State entered the postal business and not other profit making enterprises.

The third theory articulated by Hemmeon²⁶ and Coase,²⁷ accounted for the origin of the State monopoly postal system by suggesting that it came about due to the slow increase in demand for a communications system for individuals and business because of increasing trade and commerce. In the language of neo-classical economics, it was a demand-driven organization. That in itself is not a theory, but implicit in this account is the notion of natural monopoly. According to this argument the State administered the postal system because it would be inefficient to have competing collection and distribution systems; yet according to the theory of natural monopoly, one firm ultimately drives out all other firms for it shifts to lower long run average costs forcing out competitors. This is probably the most well-known and widely accepted of the theories of a State postal system. However it is certainly the weakest, for it cannot account for the existence of the monopoly granted by the State. If the monopoly were to accrue naturally over time, it would not be necessary to grant the firm a legal monopoly. Nor can this theory explain continuous competition from private firms over the entire 400 year

span.²⁸ Again, natural monopoly theory dictates that all but the lowest cost firm are eliminated.

Related to the theory of natural monopoly is that of market failure. This theory states that on occasion markets fail to allocate goods and services for a variety of reasons. The State must then intervene if the goods or services are to be provided. However if the market fails to allocate and if the State intervenes, it is unnecessary to grant a legal monopoly to the State enterprise. In fact the market failure theory can be rejected on the basis of the record of competition from messenger or express companies throughout modern postal history. Thus the ownership and monopoly issues concerning the Post Office have wrongly become analytically fused.

As will be discussed in the following chapters, economic theories which attempt to explain State ownership and the legal monopoly, are inadequate in the years prior to commercialization. We will argue in the final chapter that postal policy can be interpreted using economic theory only after World War II.

THEORIES OF THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SYSTEM

Two major theories claim to account for the American State-owned monopoly postal system. The first theory is analogous to that given by Hemmeon and other scholars concerning the British postal system. It was argued by Fuller,²⁹

Priest,³⁰ Adie,³¹ and Fowler³² that the United States postal system was established immediately prior to the American Revolution to protect correspondence relating to revolutionary activities. The American revolutionaries seized control of the postal system because it was used primarily by the Continental Army, and they wanted to prevent the Crown from monitoring revolutionary activities through nail openings.³³ This parallels the national security theory provided by British theorists. We will return to it below.

The second theory, grounded in economic theory, has overtones of what later became *Public Choice* theory. This view, articulated by Baratz,³⁴ Adie,³⁵ and Priest,³⁶ regards the Post Office as a budget maximizer which converted the temporary requirement for a monopoly into a permanent State monopoly postal system. Thus the Post Office is owned by the State because of the self-interested behaviour of bureaucrats. This is inadequate for it does not account for the origins of the State postal monopoly nor the trend to "incremental privatization" and commercialization today.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE CANADIAN POSTAL SYSTEM

Only two books have been written on the Canadian postal system.³⁷ The first was written by William Smith, an employee of the Canadian Post Office in the early twentieth century. Although not an economist, he explained State ownership

in terms which can be interpreted on the market failure theory. Smith stated that the Canadian postal system was administered by the British Government after the American Revolution for "without them the mails could not be carried, except at an outlay which the revenues were not able to bear".³⁸ This assumes that it was "demand-driven" rather than "State-driven". Smith failed to analyze the government requirements for a State-owned postal system. In addition Smith invalidated his explanation in revealing that messenger companies existed from the earliest years of the Post Office in Canada.

The second book was authored by David Stewart-Patterson, a journalist with the *Globe and Mail*. This book only concerned itself with an even later period in post office history, namely the period between 1965 and 1985. It provided a rudimentary explanation by suggesting that excessive interference by elected officials was responsible for the current postal imbroglio. But the author did not provide an explanation for the extraordinary involvement by governments.

RATIONALE FOR THESIS

No comprehensive scholarly research has been undertaken on the Canadian Post Office, and thus there is no empirical data base. For this reason the popular press contains a great deal of conjecture unsupported by factual data. Even among postal officials, the unions and the media, there has been substantial

misinformation concerning postal policies.³⁹ It is essential that the record be factually established before continuing to an interpretation of the data. For this reason the thesis will necessarily involve a large empirical element to provide a scientific basis.

Professor Hodgetts faced a similar difficulty concerning his research on the pioneer public service in the Province of Canada and the post-Confederation *Civil Service Commission*. It is worth quoting from *The Pioneer Public Service*, for it established a research agenda which serves to describe the objectives of this thesis,

Three objectives underlie this study. It is intended, first, to provide a description of the evolution and structure of the administrative machine which, with few fundamental changes, still serves the Canadian nation. ... A second objective is to disclose the presence in the pioneer public service of certain basic administrative issues which today still rise to perplex both the student and practitioner of public administration. ... Finally, this study, it is hoped, will reveal a neglected aspect of the winning of responsible government in Canada⁴⁰.

REVIEW OF METHODS

The most widely used method of analysis has been the narrative-descriptive historical method. Good examples of this method were provided by Cullinan, Fuller, Ellis, Hemmeon, Hyde, Joyce, Robinson, and Smith. However none provided a cogent theory of the postal system which situated the Post Office as an institution in the larger governmental complex or society. Although this method is useful in developing an empirical base for future theorists it is nonetheless untheoretical because of its failure to explain.

The second method, applied largely to the American postal system, relies on the principles of welfare economics. This method was adopted by Adie, Baratz, Benda, Butlin, Fleishman, Fowler, Horsefield, Kennedy, Knisbacher, McLaughlin, Owen, Perloff *et al*, Sherman and Stenning, Sorkin, Tye, Waldau *et al* and Wattles. It frequently is micro-policy oriented and is used to analyze pricing policies and scheduling. Although this method can be useful, it does not explain State ownership or the State monopoly.

The third method can be called the organization case study approach. This has been used by Benda, Biggart, Corby, Lovelock, Parr, Tierney, Watson and Werner in studies of the British and American postal systems. As this method limits itself to intra-organizational information, it too cannot account for change.

The fourth method, applied in surprisingly few cases, is class analysis. This has been used by Batstone *et al*, Baxter, Johnson, Laidlaw *et al* and four of the five *Carleton University* Honours and M.A. theses. This method explains State ownership of the Post Office as a subsidy for capital; however this is rejected because the State established the Post Office in a period which predates the market economy. In addition class is postulated as the central or independent variable that accounts for change in society rather than transformations in communications technologies.

METHODOLOGY

Before proceeding to a discussion of the method to be used, it is necessary to review certain methodological disputes concerning societal change. The classical economists developed the labour theory of value in an attempt to explain the origins of a surplus in a market economy which in turn was used to explain change in society. However it became apparent that the labour theory was inadequate⁴¹ and a debate called the *methodenstreit* or "battle of the methods", developed in the late 1800s⁴² between the German school of historical economics, and the marginalist or neo-classical school.

The German Historical School was opposed to classical and neo-classical theory, for it saw both as attempts to discover eternal, scientific laws. The Historical School believed this was demonstrably false. For example, the "law of supply and demand" can only operate in a market; yet markets are a very recent historical phenomenon and then only in certain countries. Instead the Historical School viewed the role of economics as one of description and analysis, concerning the origins, development and transformation of different types of economies, having regard to all social institutions.

The best known theorist in the German Historical School was Max Weber who modified these principles by synthesizing the principles of the Historical School and the neo-classical school. This was undertaken because Weber accepted the principles of neo-classical economics once a market had evolved.

Thus Weber attempted to provide a historical, institutional ground for neo-classical economics through the notion of ideal types.⁴³

The ideas of the German Historical School came to North America and influenced certain American economists, of whom the most important for our purposes, was Thorsten Veblen. Veblen accepted the arguments of the German Historical School in rejecting classical and neo-classical economics. However he rejected the Historical School as well, because of its implicit moral base (which Veblen viewed as the foundation of all three schools). Veblen located an "unscientific", utilitarian hedonism within classical and neo-classical economics while he believed the Historical School contained residues of German Idealism. Veblen viewed morality as separate from economics, for morality, he argued, blocked a scientific approach to economics.⁴⁴ Instead Veblen proposed a "scientific and genetic (evolutionary) theory of economic growth".⁴⁵

Veblen turned to biology (Innis described Veblen's life work, as the study of "processes of growth and decay")⁴⁶ as a model for economic analysis, and consequently understood economics as a "post-Darwinian, causal theory of the origin and growth of species in institutions".⁴⁷ Veblen argued that man and his institutions changed over time through a process of social evolution similar to natural evolution. One consequence of economics as evolution, is that economic laws, principles and models become historically relative (a residue of the German Historical School). This implied the existence of cultural perspectives appropriate to different eras - a set of values or *weltanschauung* which guided each era.

Therefore it became necessary to elaborate the perspective that guided each era and to articulate its impact on the development of institutions. (Veblen's approach became known as *institutionalism* in North America).

Veblen's theories strongly influenced Harold Innis during his doctoral studies at Chicago where Veblen had taught. With one critical exception, Innis accepted Veblen's arguments that the classical and neo-classical schools could not account for the emergence of a surplus in the development of an economy. Veblen accounted for it through "costless technological advance" propelled by "instinctual human drives".⁴⁸ However this was insufficiently rigorous for Innis. Thus Innis attempted to locate a more scientific variable to explain technological change. Innis replaced instinct with purposive action, expressed in social values, which ultimately becomes embodied in social organizations. As Professor Neil eloquently stated:

... it provided an explanation of the on-going process of institutional formation, the genetic process of organizational change in relation to changes in technique. Specifically, it was an assertion that as society organized around new techniques, particularly techniques of communication, the purposive character of the general advance received expression in changing institutional forms. These institutional forms constituted a framework within which individual values, expressed in prices, were accommodated. In other words, social values related to the general advance of society were, in theory, logically prior to the market values of the price system; and prices and price theory, though not irrelevant, were somewhat beside the main point in an analysis of economic growth.⁴⁹

But Innis transcended Veblen by articulating the notion of the staple. In the conventional understanding of the staple, less developed countries, known as the margin or periphery or hinterland, rely on one or two key natural resources

which are traded to the center or the metropole, for processing, while finished goods are traded to the marginal countries in exchange for the staple resource. Thus the periphery becomes dependent on the staple for the development of the economy of the hinterland.

This is true as far as it goes but much more is involved. Professor Kroker recognized that,

There never was, anyway, such a great difference between the "staples" of cod, lumber, fur, pulp and paper and the "communicative media" of papyrus, stone, radio and television. Whether "staples" or communicative media proper, each reflected a "bias of communication", and, indeed, the "staples" in Canadian economic history were communicative media in their own right: each contained a grammar of technology which shaped communication between the New World and Europe; and each staple directly implied a "bias" toward time (the decentralization of the cod fisheries) or space (the centralization of the fur trade).⁵⁰

Professor Kroker continued with these remarks,

Consequently, it was precisely on the basis of his formative research in the Canadian staples economy that Innis was able to formulate his later conclusions (*Empire and Communications*, *The Bias of Communication*) about the decisive role of those "staples" of communication - parchment text, printing, clay tablets - in western civilization. ... what Innis discovered concerning the tendency of each commodity to run immediately to a "monopoly of knowledge" was exactly the same point that was later to be so central to his exploration of the relationship between power and media of communication. ... Thus, when Innis was later to write about the problem of government (control over space) in relationship to western civilization, he was only reflecting, but on a global rather than national level, what he had concluded earlier about the intense, and necessary, involvement of the Canadian state in economic affairs. For Innis, the significance of government intervention in economic planning lay directly in its spatial bias: the Canadian state was a (political) corrective to the "time bias" of the landscape; it facilitated the development of transportation (CPR and CNR) and "utilities" (Ontario Hydro) as a way of "offsetting" the bias inherent, both in a dependent economy and in a "discontinuous" landscape.⁵¹

Professor Kroker argued that Innis demonstrated that a staple, like a medium of communication, develops a monopoly. That monopoly - staple or medium - which is a monopoly of knowledge or bias of communication, causes a nation to develop in a particular direction. Thus the "bias of communication" contains a "grammar of technology". According to Innis, the antidote to these outside forces is provided by the State.

Innis examined numerous technologies of communications such as the alphabet, clay, parchment, wheel, printing press, roads and canals, but he, (and McLuhan), overlooked the most important communications technology prior to the twentieth century. This oversight will be corrected in the dissertation using Innis' evolutionary model manifested in the "staples approach".⁵² The Post Office contained its own bias of communication - its own grammar of technology - which extended control over space through large numbers of outlets across the nation. State control of the Post Office was used by the policy makers to "offset the bias inherent, both in a dependent economy and in a "discontinuous" landscape."⁵³ And for a period of time the Post Office was the monopoly medium of communications which became the necessary condition for the emergence of Canada and transformed the development of Canada until the First World War. It has been argued that Canada was created as a defensive mechanism against American expansionism. The thesis will demonstrate that the Post Office was the instrument of this policy.

The approach taken will integrate Professor Neil's economic interpretation of Innis and Professor Kroker's philosophical interpretation. Professor Neil argued that Innis attempted to articulate a new theory of growth to account for growth in a hinterland economy and to that end developed the notion of the staple. Professor Kroker argued that Innis developed a theory of technology which explained the development of societies. A growth theory (Neil) and a theory of technology (Kroker) can be revealed, through a study of the Post Office, to be the same.

Elite commitment to State and nation-building should be understood as the independent variables with government commitment to the postal system as the dependent variable and the array of existing technologies as the intervening variable. Political elites attempt to enhance the State through the extension of legal-rational bureaucracy and view nation-building or the encouragement of national cohesion as a means to this end.

Because the postal service was used to encourage and structure communications, its enhancement became a natural goal of State and nation-building elites. However elite commitment to the Post Office declined because of evolving technological changes in communications. On the one hand, use of the postal system during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, for purposes of national security and intelligence, lost its relative effectiveness as alternative means of private communications emerged. On the other hand, the emergence of modern

broadcasting systems began to relegate the postal system to the sidelines as a factor in mass communications and hence nation-building.

Thus we will argue that the Post Office was used as an instrument of State and nation building from the beginning until approximately 1914. The periphery - the Canadian colony - became a regional center and produced new peripheries within Canada through the medium of the Post Office. Each post office in each small town or rural community, which was a tentacle of the center, became the federal "presence" or the center in that periphery.⁵⁴ Innis argued that print extends control over space rather than time. A communications system establishes national consciousness by disseminating information by newspapers concerning the nation-state. This was so important that authority for the Post Office was a reserved federal power under the *British North America Act*. Thus the means of communication is the "pacemaker of bureaucratization" which provides the "possibility of bureaucratic administration". The Post Office was the instrument responsible for the spread of legal-rational bureaucracy which culminated in "governmentality".⁵⁵

We will illustrate this theory through an analysis of postal policy, to reveal the ways in which the State used the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building. It will be revealed that postal policy was the first instance of a government communications policy. Scholars generally date the emergence of federal communications policy to 1932 with the creation of the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission*. However the thesis will reveal that government

involvement in communications can be dated to the beginning of British North America.

Postal policy encompasses three subsets of policies: technologies; postal rates and services; and labour. In an attempt to retain its monopoly of communication, the Post Office rapidly adopted new transportation technologies and this transformed not only the Post Office but the Canadian State. In turn, technologies adopted and technologies in competition with the Post Office influenced pricing policies. Pricing policies, established by political rather than by market forces, in turn influenced postal labour policies. These three sets of policies were determined by what Lindblom called "politics" and not by markets. Therefore postal deficits will not be relied upon as a measure of the organization's relative efficiency. Instead it is used as a barometer of nation-building.

CHAPTER OUTLINE OF THESIS

The evolution of the postal policy will be examined progressively through five eras. The periods chosen coincide with discontinuities in communications technologies as recognized by the policy makers of the day. In each period we will examine not only the evolution of the Post Office but also the way in which it was used to develop control by the centre over the margins. We will argue that the Post Office was the first and most important instrument of nation building.⁵⁶

Evidence will be provided by pricing policies, postal labour and transportation policies and patterns of post office openings and closings.

Chapter 2 examines the British Post Office in Canada from 1765 to 1850. This era ended in 1850, for in that year the British government gave control of the Post Office to the Provinces of Canada. In this chapter we will determine the principles that governed the British establishment and administration of the Post Office in Canada after the Conquest. We will argue that the British Post Office in Canada was an important instrument of the State used extensively by the military to transmit intelligence, and by the civil government to communicate with the home government.

Chapter 3 covers the period 1850 - 1877 during which provincial leaders used the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building during the period 1850-1887. As a consequence of pressure from the colonials to extend service to the hinterlands, the British Government in 1849 devolved authority to the four Provinces of Canada to administer the Post Office. The annual reports and committees of the *Houses of Assembly of Upper Canada and Lower Canada*, the *Province of Canada* and *Parliament*, provide evidence that during this period, policy makers saw the Post Office as the symbol of the "federal presence" in the hinterland and used it as the primary instrument of nation-building to develop a national identity.

Chapter 4 analyzes the phenomenal growth in the Post Office between 1887 and 1914. More importantly it will document emerging electronic communi-

cations technologies - telegraph, telephone and radio - and the responses by the policy makers to these discontinuities. The policy makers were acutely aware of the importance of these technologies in terms of nation-building. It will be argued that the decline of the Post Office can be dated to this period even though the decline was not yet empirically measurable. It was during this period - approximately a third of a century before the establishment of the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission* - that the State first subsidized electronic media for the purposes of nation-building.

Chapter 5 analyzes the period from 1914 until 1945, a period of stasis when the growth of the Post Office came to an end, notwithstanding the steady increase in the Canadian population. During this period the Post Office still had an important but declining role as telegraph, telephone and radio gradually usurped its role as the dominant media of communications.

The penultimate chapter analyzes the decline and commercialization from 1945 until 1981, when the Post Office was made a Crown Corporation. During this period the ever increasing sophistication and power of electronic communications media (primarily television), transformed the postal system from a monopoly medium of communication into a marginal medium of commercialization. This is validated by the dramatic decline in the number of post offices from 14,000 to 8,000 notwithstanding a much larger population. The State no longer required the Post Office to provide a federal presence throughout the country for this was now achieved much more efficiently and effectively with the Canadian Broadcast-

ing Corporation's television network. George Washington's remark concerning "binding the people to us with a chain that can never be broken" was far more true of television than it ever was of the Post Office.

Thus the Post Office was forced to seek out a new mandate and to that end, sought to establish itself as a commercial service for the private sector. In Professor Molot's phrase it became "commercialized". This accounts for the transformation of the Post Office into a Crown Corporation. Once it was no longer a dominant instrument of power, it became a nuisance to the State. Paradoxically, during and after the 1960s as the Post Office became more politicized, it was simultaneously becoming less political, being replaced by the new monopoly medium of television.

In the concluding chapter, we will argue that the conversion to a Crown Corporation was inevitable with the advent of radio and television. The actual transformation in 1981 to Crown Corporation was the lagged response to these events rather than a response to the demands of labour or capital. Weber argued that the Marxian focus on the separation of the worker from the means of production, was merely a special case of the much broader phenomenon of increasing rationalization. We will argue that Weber's theory can be understood through the prism of transformations in communications technologies. Each medium or monopoly of knowledge contains a bias or monopoly which is ultimately overcome by a succeeding monopoly of communication. While it is

the dominant medium it multiplies rationalization and determines the development of the nation and of our consciousness.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the thesis will operate on several levels. First, it is an historical account of the evolution of the Canadian postal system. Second, it attempts to shed light on State and nation building during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by analyzing the evolution of the Canadian Post Office. Third, it will illuminate contemporary postal policy dilemmas. Exploring the historically anomalous involvement of the State helps shed light on contemporary postal policy issues such as privatization, franchising, contracting out, and closing of rural post offices. Indeed contemporary analyses and popular press accounts of the Post Office are often flawed due to the failure to understand the structural transformations which underly contemporary postal policies.

In this light, the transformation of the Post Office Department to a Crown Corporation, was the inevitable consequence of the marginalization and commercialization of that medium (and NOT, contrary to the conventional wisdom, due to the postal deficits and labour unrest of the 1970s). The "secularization" of the Post Office was brought about by the more recent and newly political media of radio and television, which became the instruments of the State in extending

control over the society. Thus the Post Office which was originally an instrument of control by the center over the margins, in turn became marginalized or de-centered by newer communications technologies.

CHAPTER 1: END NOTES

1. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*. New York: Bedminster Press, 1968, p. 973.
2. Harold Innis, *Empire and Communications*, p. 2.
3. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, 2nd Edition, pp. 23-24.
4. Letter to the Editor in *The Times*, March 24, 1891 quoted in Ronald Coase, "The Postal Monopoly in Great Britain: An Historical Survey" in J.K. Eastman ed. *Economic Essays in Commemoration of the Dundee School of Economics 1931-1955*, pp. 25-37.
5. W. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*, p. 3.
6. Quoted in G. Cullinan, *The United States Postal Service*, p. 29.
7. Daniel Boorstin, Editor's Preface, p. ix in Wayne E. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*.
8. John Tierney, *Postal Reorganization: Managing the Public's Business*, p. viii.
9. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, 2nd Edition, p. 157.
10. A.D. Smith, *The Development of Rates of Postage: An Historical and Analytical Study*, p. 2.
11. W. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*, p. 3-4.

12. Michel Foucault, *Ideology and Consciousness*, No. 6, pp. 5.
13. *Oeconomy* is the Greek word for family, which became the English word economy.
14. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality", *Ideology and Consciousness*, Vol. 6, p. 10.
15. H. Joyce, *The History of the Post Office from its Establishment down to 1836*, pp. 12-14.
16. J.C. Hemmeon, *The History of the British Post Office*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912, pp. 3-12.
17. A.D. Smith, *The Development of Rates of Postage*, pp. 14-14.
18. Howard Robinson, *The British Post Office*, pp. 25-26.
19. F. George Kay, *Royal Mail: The Story of the Posts in England from the Time of Edward IVth to the Present Day*, p. 4.
20. Ronald H. Coase, "The Postal Monopoly in Great Britain: An Historical Survey".
21. K. Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 60-77.
22. Kenneth Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Administrative History*, pp. 60-77.
23. J.C. Hemmeon, *The History of the British Post Office*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 13-62.

24. F. George Kay, *Royal Mail: The Story of the Post in England from the Time of Edward IVth to the Present Day*, p. 5.
25. Ronald Coase, *The Postal Monopoly in Great Britain: An Historical Survey*, p. 37.
26. J.C. Hemmion, *The History of the British Post Office*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912, pp. 63-88.
27. Ronald Coase, "The Postal Monopoly in Great Britain: An Historical Survey".
28. See Ronald Coase, "The British Post Office and the Messenger Companies" which thoroughly documents the continuous competitive threat from private messenger companies over a long period of time.
29. W. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*, pp. 30-41.
30. G. Priest, "The History of the Postal Monopoly in the United States", *Journal of Law and Economics*, Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 33-80.
31. Douglas Adie, *An Evaluation of Postal Service Wage Rates*.
32. Dorothy G. Fowler, *Unmailable: Congress and the Post Office*.
33. This is still done today by the modern intelligence agencies e.g. CSIS, CIA.
34. M. Baratz, *The Economics of the Post Office*.
35. D. Adie, *An Evaluation of Postal Service Wage Rates*.
36. G. Priest, *The History of the Postal Monopoly in the United States*.

37. W. Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America*, 1920.
D. Stewart-Patterson, *Post Mortem: Why Canada's Mail won't Move*, 1987.
38. W. Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America*, p. 75.
39. Many examples can be provided of this statement. Subsequent to the two strikes of 1987, President Landers made the statement that the Post Office never operated during any previous strike. This is factually incorrect. During the 1919 and 1924 strikes the Post Office terminated the employees on strike and replaced them with strike breakers. A related and very common myth concerns the militancy of the unions wherein it is argued that union militancy arose from the 1965 strike. This is demonstrably false based on debates in the *House of Commons* and memoranda discovered in the *Public Archives* RG 3, exchanged between the employee associations and post office management during and after the 1920s. Another misconception is that the Post Office was converted to a crown corporation due to the large deficits experienced during the seventies. There is no correlation between large deficits and conversion to a crown corporation. Although there were continuous large deficits between 1851 and 1900 there was no suggestion, in the *House of Commons* or *Senate Debates*, to privatize or incorporate or contract out postal services. Another myth concerns the alleged recency of rural post office closing. Between 1945 and 1970 the post office closed over 5000 post offices - a vastly greater number than has been closed subsequent to 1981. Yet commentators persist in stating that this never occurred before the 1980s.
40. J.E. Hodgetts, *The Pioneer Public Service*, p. vii and viii.
41. For a thorough study see Ronald Meek, *Studies in the Labour Theory of Value*. For an brief view of this school and its shortcomings see Eric Roll, *A History of Economic Thought*, Chapter 4-5, pp. 138-250.
42. For a brilliant account of this debate see Joseph Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, Part IV, Chapter 4, Sozialpolitik and the Historical Method, pp. 800-824. It is also briefly mentioned in Harold Innis' portrait of Veblen in *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, p. 19-20.

43. See Max Weber, *Roscher and Knies: The Logical Problems of Historical Economics*.
44. See *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization*, for the fullest account of his philosophy in this regard.
45. Robin Neil, *A New Theory of Value: The Canadian Economics of H.A. Innis*, p. 24.
46. H.A. Innis edited by Mary Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, pp. 17-26.
47. *Place of Science in Civilization*, p. 265.
48. For this understanding I am indebted to R. Neil, *A New Theory of Value*, pp. 20-34.
49. R. Neill, *A New Theory of Value*, p. 26.
50. A. Kroker, *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*, p. 115.
51. A. Kroker, *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*, pp. 115-116.
52. The staples approach is the Canadian version of institutionalism.
53. A. Kroker, *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*, pp. 115-116.
54. This is the essence of the argument made today by the interest group, Rural Dignity, in protesting against rural post office closings.

55. The notion of governmentality was explored by Michel Foucault in "Governmentality", *Ideology and Consciousness*, Number 6.
56. This involves a revision to the literature on nation-building.

CHAPTER 2:

THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, 1765-1850

That whereas it hath been found by experience that the writing and settling of one General Post Office . . . is the best means . . . to discover and prevent many dangerous and wicked designs, which have been and are daily continued against the peace and welfare of this Commonwealth, the intelligence whereof cannot well be communicated, but by letter of escript".

Commonwealth Post Office Statute, 1656 ¹

INTRODUCTION

To understand the evolution of the Canadian postal system, it is necessary to return to the origins of the first modern postal system in the world, namely the British Post Office for it was this systems and not the French system which provided the administrative model for the North American postal system. Before reviewing the origins of the British postal system, however, we will briefly discuss postal communications from ancient times until sixteenth century Britain in order to compare and contrast ancient and modern postal systems.

ANCIENT WORLD

The historian, Wayne Fuller, argues that the first postal system in the world was established by Persia.² At the height of its Empire, Persia stationed a series of horses and messengers every fourteen miles. As a result it only required approximately seven days for a message to traverse the 1500 mile length of the empire. The Roman Empire used a similar postal system - the *cursus publicus* - which was even more efficient because of the Roman road system. The stations for each relay were called posts, which was taken from the Latin word *positus* i.e. to place. With the collapse of the Roman Empire there is no record of a postal system in Europe other than the Royal Couriers of Charlemagne. However none of these ancient systems were public communication systems for they were reserved for the exclusive use of monarchies. And Roman efficiency in postal communication was not exceeded until postal systems adopted railroad and steamer technologies approximately 1800 years later.

It was not until the Renaissance that postal systems emerged again. The most famous private system at this time was organized by the von Taxis family; it operated over most of Europe. It was authorized to carry the mail throughout the Holy Roman Empire in the late fifteenth century, and like the Roman system, relay stations and fast horses were stationed every few miles. A letter sent by the von Taxis postal system between Rome and Brussels (1000 miles) required ten

days in summer and twelve days in winter. Importantly it carried both private and government communications.³

GREAT BRITAIN

Prior to the sixteenth century a system of communication existed in Britain, for Royal messengers carried communications albeit exclusively for the Crown. The messengers were called *nuncii* or *cursores* and accounted for a large portion of the King's budget.⁴ This system was less efficient than the Roman or *von Taxis* system for the Royal messenger carried the communication for the entire journey on the same horse. During the Wars of the Roses, Edward IV modified the system so that fresh horses were placed every twenty miles along the messenger road (this was adopted later in Lower Canada under the name of *maitre de poste*). The attendant speed-up in communications was required by the military and can be viewed as an early form of State-building (war being the most extreme form of State-building).

Evidence of an emerging separate postal administration is provided by the first recorded appointment of a British Postmaster General Sir Brian Tuke, in 1512.⁵ Tuke was responsible for appointing postmen for which service he was paid a fee. The outgoing Royal letters were delivered to Tuke for sortation and then delivered by the postmen to the recipient. The postmen were compensated

by charging the recipient. The Royal Post was not limited to Royal mail during Tuke's administration but due to the inefficiency of the State system, it faced competition from two alternative private postal systems which sprang up to service commercial needs (this is a recurring issue which confronts policy makers). The *Merchant Adventurers' Post* was established to deliver domestic and foreign mail, while the *Foreigners' Post* was formed to deliver mail abroad. The competition provided by the *Foreigners' Post* caused the *Merchant Adventurers' Post*, to advise the Crown that treasonous activity carried by foreign messengers would escape detection. They therefore recommended that the *Foreigners' Post* be abolished. The Crown accepted the advice but went further by issuing a Royal Proclamation on April 26, 1591 which abolished the right of both private postal services to deliver foreign mail. The Proclamation intended to:

redress the disorders ... [of] divers disavowed persons ... contrary to all good order ... [no one could carry letters except those named] either by our Master of the Posts ... [and they were to search] all males, bougets and other carriages of all such disavowed carriers.^{6 7}

Although a legal monopoly was established by the Royal Proclamation the State had not yet established ownership, for the Postmaster General and postmen continued to retain net postal revenues after expenses (Weber's separation of the official from the office had not yet occurred). The State's only revenue accrued from the sale of the position of Postmaster General.

In 1609, the State extended its monopoly to inland or domestic mail. The attitude of the policy makers of this time is well illustrated by the following quote from Sir John Coke, the King's principal *Secretary of State*. Although it concerned a later decision (1627) by the *Privy Council* to allow some businessmen to operate foreign posts independent of the government, it indicates the views of the Royal advisors during this early period:

I confess it trobleth mee to see the audacitie of men in theis times that Billingsley a broker by trade, should dare to attempt thus often to question the king's service: and to derive that power of foren letters unto merchants which in al states is a branch of regal authoritie: Nether can anie place in Christondom bee named wher merchants are allowed to send their letters by other body or posts, then by those only which are authorised by the state; and though in favor the merchants adventurers here for their mart towns only have been suffred to send their letters and from those towns only, and concerning their merchants affairs and no other, by a man of their own choise: yet that this man of theirs should be suffred to carie al letters from other places and from all merchants in general, and much less the letters of strangers or ambassadors was never thought fitt: nor durst anie attempt to do it.

He then went to argue that,

In deed the merchants purse hath swayd verie much in other matters in former times but I never heard that it incroched uppon the kings perogatives til now. Your Lordship best knoweth, what accompt wee shal bee hable to give in our places of that which passeth by letters in or out of the land, if everie man convey letters under the couvrs of merchants to whome and what place he pleaseth. Whether this reference were obtained from his Maiestie by Mr. Atturney (who is one of the referries ioyned with the four Lords) or by whom els I can not learn: but I presume who soever gott it hee farbare to informe his Majestie how much it concerned his own service and how unfit a time this is to give libertie to everie man to write and send what hee list.⁸

It may be inferred from this statement (and other evidence) that the monopoly was not strictly enforced in the early years. Although the State had created a legal monopoly it had not yet acquired true ownership. This was rectified in 1635, when Postmaster General Withering established full State ownership by abolishing "ownership of position", placing the postmen on salary with the State now responsible for postal revenues and expenditures. At the same time the Postmaster General enunciated postal policies concerning rates which remained in place, until Rowland Hill's uniform penny postage reforms of 1840.

Withering's system instituted a pricing schedule based on the size of the letter and distance travelled. At the same time the Postmaster General chose London as the central clearing house or what is now called the hub and spoke system (*e.g.* Toronto's Gateway). Finally, Withering initiated a national system of post horses stationed on primary routes while foot-posts were established for secondary or rural routes.⁹ These reforms made the communication system more efficient which encouraged private citizens to use the State postal system rather than illegal private messenger systems. This was the intended effect for the State could monitor increased volumes of correspondence to detect subversive activity.

In addition to the practice mails surveillance, the Post Office developed a system of "farming" out (*i.e.* contracting out), delivery to locals rather than using postal employees from London. The State charged the locals to keep "a sharp eye upon people, especially travellers, and report any discontent or disaffection".¹⁰ These measures, justified on the basis of national security, were formally

recognized in an early *Post Office Act* passed by the Commonwealth in 1657. The preamble to the statute is extremely important for it confirmed with force of statute law, the rationale of national security. It stated,

That whereas it hath been found by experience that the writing and settling of one General Post Office . . . is the best means not only to maintain certain intercourse of trade and commerce betwixt all the said places to the great benefit of the people of these nations, but also to convey the public despatches and to discover and prevent many dangerous and wicked designs, which have been and are daily continued against the peace and welfare of this Commonwealth, the intelligence whereof cannot well be communicated, but by letter of escript".¹¹

In addition the statute confirmed the legal monopoly granted by the two Royal Proclamations (as have all subsequent postal statutes). With the re-establishment of the Monarchy after Cromwell, Parliament passed a new *Post Office Act* in 1660 which contained the substance of the 1657 Commonwealth statute including exemption to the monopoly in the 1657 statute. They were:

- letters as shall respectively concern goods sent by common known carriers of goods,
- letters of merchants and masters;
- commissions, affidavits, proceedings out of any court;
- letters sent by private friends or messengers to and from and concerning private friends [four exceptions listed in Section II and III].

In 1710, Parliament extended British postal authority to the colonies of North America.¹² The preamble to the statute provides an insight to the reasons for extension of service to the colonies,

...and whereas also posts have at great charges been established by packet boats between that part of Great Britain called England and the West Indies, and also on the mainland in North America, through most of her Majesty's plantations and colonies in those parts ... and whereas the several rates of postage may in many parts, with little burden to the subject be increased, and other new rates granted, which additional and new rates may, in some measure, enable your Majesty to carry on and finish the present war ... And to that end a general Post Office may be established for and throughout her Majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, her colonies and plantations in North America, and the West Indies, and all other her Majesty's dominions and territories, in such manner as may be most beneficial to the people of these kingdoms.¹³

This is a seminal statute, for Coase and Hemmion, argued that the original reason for the state postal monopoly was transformed by this statute into an instrument of taxation. This is superficially true, for the State did raise postal rates to support the war. But a deeper reading of this statute suggests that the State intended to use the Post Office as an adjunct of its expansion and creation of an Empire in the New World. Indeed the war for North America was an imperial war. The increase in postal rates did not represent an increase of general taxes for general purposes, for the policy makers viewed the Post Office as an instrument of its wars of expansion, revealing, the underlying rationale for a State owned monopolistic Post Office.

This interpretation is further validated by section XIV of the statute, which stated that only official postmasters were authorized to receive mail from ships in port towns, and section XXIV which insisted that foreign mail could not be carried by foreign ships. Finally, the statute abolished the right of postal officials to engage in partisan activity. This was the first time that political activities by

public officials were restricted in Britain or North America. The policy was adopted because of the crucial importance to the State of the Post Office, due to the power granted to postal officials by the 1710 statute to open and read mail (Section XL). Postal officials could not therefore be seen to be partisan. The statute could not have been more explicit:

That no postmaster or postmasters general, or his or their deputies, or any person employed by or under him or them, in the receiving, collecting, or managing the revenue of the post office, or any part thereof, shall, by word, message, or writing, or in any manner whatsoever, endeavour to persuade any elector to give or dissuade any elector from giving his vote for the choice of any person to be a knight of the shire, citizen, burger, or baron of any county, city, borough, or cinque port, to serve in parliament ... (Section XLIV)

Professor Coase argued that the 1710 revisions to the *Post Office Act* (and subsequent revisions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), gradually narrowed exemptions to the monopoly. Coase argued that with the 1840 adoption of uniform pricing and a breakeven policy, the monopoly was used to extract higher than market prices from the urban users in order to make a profit to cross subsidize rural users.¹⁴ In making this argument Coase suggested that the national security argument supporting a State owned monopolistic Post Office no longer prevailed.

However this assumes what it attempts to prove. That is, Coase assumed that the policy makers were rational economic men who were trying to maximize economic profits. Although he previously admitted that the original reason for

the monopoly was political, he concluded that the reason for the monopoly had been transformed with a uniform pricing and breakeven policy into a technique for State profit maximization (Public Choice theorists later termed this "budget maximizing" behaviour).

Yet both policies can be taken in support of the political reason advanced for the monopoly. The uniform pricing policy which radically reduced postal charges to a penny a letter, drew into the postal system a great increase in letters which had previously circulated illegally, thus giving the State greater control over correspondence. The breakeven policy is *ipso facto* proof of the absence of any rational economic man assumption, because rational economic man would not be satisfied with merely breaking even but would seek a profit.

UNITED STATES

We must now turn to the United States where at the end of the seventeenth century the British Government established a colonial Post Office in the Thirteen Colonies.¹⁵ This Post Office in turn became the basis of the Post Office in Canada. The establishment of this colonial Post Office was not however a singular action but represented the culmination of a series of related events, which we will now briefly examine.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made by local state governments during the seventeenth century to establish a messenger system. For example, in 1672 New York attempted to develop a communications service between New York and Boston in order to warn of a Dutch attack on New York (occasioned by the war between the English and the Dutch).¹⁵ Again in 1684, due to pressure from the French and their Indian allies, the New York Governor proposed a network of posthouses from Canada to the Carolinas, to link the colonies.¹⁷ A third unsuccessful attempt was made in the 1680s to link the New England colonies, New Jersey and New York, again due to outside pressure.¹⁸ Each attempt was based on the need for national security rather than the rationale of market failure.

With the crowning of William and Mary, there was a change in British postal policy possibly due to the increasing threat from the French and their Indian allies.¹⁹ In 1691, the British government authorized a private citizen, Thomas Neale, to establish a postal service from Virginia to the Canadas. The patent granted a monopoly for twenty-one years; however it contained an exemption (as did the 1660 British statute) for merchants who employed a messenger. Upon its inception this postal service steadily lost money, so in 1699 Neale approached the British government for a subsidy arguing that there were substantial benefits to be gained by Britain and the colonies - primarily the "rapid diffusion of intelligence in time of wars and the facilities afforded for the delivery of public letters".²⁰ The British Government declined the request. Notwithstanding the losses, in 1706 Neale's successors asked for a renewal of the patent for a

further twenty-one years.²¹ However British postal officials recommended to the British Government that the patent rights be purchased and in 1707 the colonial postal system was acquired by the British Post Office.²²

The act of 1710 which consolidated the postal systems in all British colonies under one imperial system, was passed at the dawn of the British Empire. As Innis argued in *Empire and Communications*, an empire requires an efficient communication system to bind the periphery to the center; the 1710 statute was the policy response to the needs of the nascent British Empire. With the exception of Virginia, the colonies welcomed the Imperial postal expansion. (The state of Virginia argued that it represented taxation without consent foreshadowing an argument of the Revolutionaries against the *Stamp Act* some sixty years later).

An important development in the 1730s in the Americas witnessed Postmasters becoming publishers of newspapers. As the Post Office statute was silent concerning the delivery of newspapers, the Postmasters possessed a prerogative right to accept them.²³ Frequently Postmasters permitted the franking of their own newspapers while excluding that of their competitors. Thus by appointing supporters the State could insidiously control the dissemination of information.

Benjamin Franklin was appointed Postmaster of Philadelphia in 1739; the position carried only a meagre salary but provided him considerable benefits as a

publisher of *The Gazette*. Franklin made the following statement in his autobiography:

I accepted it readily and found it a great advantage; for tho' the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improv'd my newspaper, increas'd the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. My old competitor's newspaper declin'd proportionately.²⁴

In 1753, Franklin was appointed Deputy Postmaster General²⁵ of the Thirteen Colonies jointly with a John Hunter.²⁶ In 1758, Franklin made an important policy change by authorizing the transmission of all newspapers at a fixed rate of postage.²⁷ The rationale for the policy was best expressed by a Rufus Putnam, a public servant stationed in the Northwest Territory:

I hope nothing I have said or any other circumstance will operate as a discouragement sufficient to prevent the sending a Mail by this rout, for it is considered in a Political light only, the information by this means obtained of the measures of Government on the one hand & State of the people on the other, the knowledge diffused among the people by Newspapers, by correspondence between friends and other communic[a]tions with those remote parts of the American Empire may be of infinite consequence to the government. Nothing can be more fatal to a Republican government than Ignorance among its Citizens, as they will be made the easy dupes of designing men & insted of supporting the laws, the reason and policy of which they are ignorant, they will flock in thousands after a Demagogue...²⁸

In Franklin's words, the aim was to "remedy those inconveniences and yet not discourage the spreading of newspapers which are on many occasions useful to Government and advantageous to Publick".²⁹ In addition, Franklin set out to

improve the system's efficiency. For example, he commissioned surveys to determine shorter routes, and he established night mail transport between the larger cities *e.g.* Philadelphia and New York, to produce next day service. These reforms produced profits for the first time in the colonial postal service.

In the *Seven Years War* between the English and the French the mail boats were an integral part of the military effort. Smith noted that the mails were of such strategic importance that the mail boats were armed; if they were unable to escape an attack, postal officials were instructed to sink the mails with a heavy weight.³⁰ Poor communications contributed significantly to a military defeat in 1755 at Fort Duquesne, and this prodded the British to recognize the necessity for a regular mail service between England and the colonies. In seeking approval for the new mail service, the British colonial department stated that the "king should have early and frequent intelligence of what is in agitation".³¹ The involvement of the postal service in the war again illustrates the strategic military importance of the postal system to the British Government during this period.

Due to England's victory over France, Canada and Florida were added to the British colonies in 1765. This vastly increased territory required improvement to its management. British postal officials responded by dividing the North American colonies into two divisions: a northern division which encompassed Quebec to Virginia with the balance forming a southern division. Franklin and Foxcroft were appointed to the northern division thus making Franklin Canada's

first Deputy Postmaster General. According to Fuller the effects of these reforms were,

a sign and in its own way, a cause of the growing unity among the English colonies in America. ... Moreover, the newspapers, which Franklin had admitted to the mails and safeguarded with equal postage rates for all, were moving by way of the improved postal system to areas farther and farther away from their places of publication to smash old barriers, substitute an American view for local prejudices, and so help convert Englishmen into Americans.³²

In 1765, the British Government amended the *Post Office Act*³³ to increase the rates of postage in Great Britain and the colonies to defray the additional cost of the enlarged empire. The preamble to this important statute is worth examining for it reveals that national security was still the paramount consideration:

Whereas the security and improvement of correspondence, throughout your Majesty's dominions, is a matter of great concernment, and highly necessary for the preservation and extension of trade and commerce . . . And, to that end, more easy and equal rates of postage may be settled and established, and the benefit of posts in time to be extended to every part of the British dominions in America...³⁴

One other little noted change in this act was the introduction of free franking privileges for the Pay Master General of his Majesty's forces as well as the "clerk of the Parliaments" and the clerk of the House of Commons (section XXVI). (Free franking for members of both Houses of Parliament had been confirmed by the statute of 3 *George III*, c. 24 in 1764). Franking for State

institutions again reveals the political importance of the postal system. It also suggests a further reason for State ownership as during this period, State revenues were limited. State ownership and monopoly was thus essential on the twin grounds of government economy and national security.

The increase in colonial postage rates became the *casus belli* of the American Revolution. The American colonists responded with "no taxation without representation" and Franklin was called before a committee of the British House of Commons to explain the reaction of the Americans. The House of Commons committee argued that the colonies had not previously objected to the high rates of postage. In addition the committee suggested that the surpluses which Franklin had achieved, were a form of taxation to which no one objected. However Franklin distinguished between a stamp for postal services rendered and a stamp tax imposed without consent.

The issue was not immediately resolved by policy decision but by the pragmatic reaction of the colonials. As revolutionary fervour increased, revolutionary literature was distributed throughout the colonies. To avoid British surveillance of the mails a private *Constitutional Post* was established in 1774. This replaced what was labelled the "unconstitutional post", an epithet given to the British Post Office because the British were opening the mail to monitor treasonous activity and because it had raised postage rates without their consent. As Fuller noted, this was the first attempt by the revolutionaries to overthrow the old order³⁵ and it confirms what every modern revolutionary knows - it is

necessary to seize control of the communication system before the revolution commences (today radio and television stations have replaced the postal system as the first target).

In 1774, the British Government terminated Franklin and appointed Hugh Finlay as the first Canadian Deputy Postmaster General. Shortly thereafter, the Second Continental Congress took control of the *Constitutional Post* in 1775 and appointed Franklin the first Postmaster General of the United States. Although the postal revenues of the Constitutional Post were minimal, members of Congress and the Continental Army were nonetheless granted franking privileges, indicating the extraordinarily important role of the Post Office to the revolutionary government. The *Constitutional Post* immediately extended its service throughout the American colonies and by the end of 1775 the British Post Office in New York was receiving no further mail. It thereupon withdrew from the American colonies. Subsequently the British Government could not effectively monitor revolutionary activity as its most important form of intelligence gathering was eliminated.

The final "act" in the *dénouement* of British-American postal relations was the passage of a statute by the British Parliament in 1778 entitled "An act for removing all doubts concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the West Indies ..."³⁶ It stated that any future colonial taxes passed by the British Parliament had to be ratified by the local legislature in order to be lawful. The policy decision was too late to prevent the American Revolution, to which it was directed

(although it was phrased in general terms so as to apply to all the colonies). However the act was very important for the future development of the Canadian postal system, for it was later invoked by the residents of Upper Canada, as an argument against continued British control of the postal system. We will return to this below.

Some scholars have pointed to this act as further proof that the Post Office had become an instrument of taxation. Yet the statute contradicts this interpretation,

Whereas taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, for the purpose of raising a revenue in his Majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations, in North America, has been found by experience to occasion great uneasiness and disorders among his Majesty's faithful subjects, who may nevertheless be disposed to acknowledge the justice of contributing to the common defence of the empire . . .³⁷

The statute did not state that the postal rate increases legislated in the 1765 statute, were in fact taxes. Nevertheless whether the increases were regarded as taxes or merely fees for services, the British Government viewed postage revenue as essential for the defence of the empire. Taxation implies a general tax (applying to all people) imposed to raise general revenues but the postal rate increase of 1765 was imposed specifically to defray the cost of expanding the British postal system in North America, which in turn was undertaken to expand the empire. Empires and nations require an efficient communication system and Britain with its postal system was no exception.³⁸

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

Before analyzing this period (1775 - 1850), it must be noted that a fire in 1841 in the Quebec Post Office ("head office" from the beginning until 1841) destroyed all the records of the Post Office in Canada. Thus data provided below will be found to be intermittent. Data relied upon were obtained from returns tabled irregularly in the British House of Commons and the Houses of Assembly in both Upper and Lower Canada.

In 1763, excluding natives, there were approximately 70,000 inhabitants in Quebec, composed mainly of French speaking peasants most of whom were illiterate. Yet immediately after seizing Quebec in 1760, the British Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces issued new authorities to the *maîtres de poste* and established new rates at which they were to be compensated.³⁹ By this decision the British Government established a Post Office in Canada,⁴⁰ notwithstanding the evident lack of "demand". This policy decision infers that the State required a communication system in British North America in order to administer the Canadian colonies. Smith and Hendy,⁴¹ argued it was established due to strong pressure from English speaking merchants immediately after the *Conquest*. This can be rejected on two grounds. First, immediately after the *Conquest* there were very few English speaking merchants in Canada. Second, the British Government

certainly possessed the power, capacity and willingness to reject any pressures. As will be discussed below, much greater pressure was placed on the British Government by a significantly larger population in Upper and Lower Canada sixty years later and it was vigorously resisted for approximately 30 years. Pressure from merchants there may have been, but it was not the causal factor in establishing a postal system in Canada.

Franklin and Foxcraft, the first Deputy Postmasters General of Canada in 1765, appointed Hugh Finlay as Postmaster of Quebec; he immediately established postal delivery service between Quebec and Montreal. Finlay was also given the title of Controller of Posts in Canada, which carried the authority to grant monopoly licenses to individuals called *maîtres de poste*, to supply horses and *caleches* to travellers. In exchange for the grant of monopoly, the *maîtres de poste* were to provide Finlay's messengers with horses at a reduced price of 2 cents per mile (one half the price charged to the public).^{42 43} The *maîtres de poste* were located approximately every nine miles on the post road between Montreal and Quebec (built by the French in 1734).⁴⁴ Finlay confirmed the 1760 military ordinance in 1767 in issuing a public notice that the post house system (*i.e.* *maîtres de poste*) was to be regulated by the rules and regulations as existed in England.⁴⁵ The first statutory provision for the *maîtres de poste* occurred in 1780; however we will examine the 1795 statute for it is the first statute which could be found in the Archives. The statute granted two important rights. In Section II, the monopoly rights of the *maîtres de poste* were ensured by giving them the

right to refuse "to furnish a horse or horses to any person or persons brought to his stage by other horses than post horses".⁴⁶ Section III provided an absolute exemption from militia duty. It must be remembered that in those days militia duty was a responsibility of the highest order; yet the *mattres de poste* were so important to the State that they were exempted from further duty to the State.⁴⁷

Subsequent to the establishment of a mail route between Montreal and Quebec City, Franklin established a regular mail route from New York to Quebec. The route was scheduled to ensure that the courier would transport the Canadian bound mail from New York to Quebec and return to New York with the outbound mail for the return packet boat. This efficiently and effectively bound the interior of British North America to Britain by a communications link, at a time when a direct route from Britain to Quebec operated less frequently at greater expense.

A related policy decision was adopted in the 1765 Act of the British Parliament which reduced rates of postage for the colonies.⁴⁸ By way of explanation the 1710 act extended English postage rates (based on distance) to North America. As a result, the rates were exorbitant in North America due to the much greater distances. Thus in 1760, Governor Murray of Quebec City and Governor Gage of Montreal petitioned the British Government to reduce postage rates to a maximum of one shilling and six pence, on distances over 100 miles, on the basis that the extant rates discouraged communication. The Governors' request was granted in part and rates dropped dramatically on distances over 100 hundred miles.⁴⁹

In 1774, Franklin was dismissed and Finlay was appointed Deputy Postmaster General. Finlay immediately proposed improving postal communications between Canada and the colonies to the south. However the war intervened and the plan was not immediately implemented. Indeed the British Governor of Quebec was so suspicious of the English merchants of Quebec (frequently former Americans) during the war, that all incoming and outgoing mail was opened and read in order to detect plots and subversive activity.⁵⁰

During the American Revolution there was a tacit agreement by the British and Americans to allow commerce between the two parties to continue without interruption by the respective armies or navies. Yet there were numerous attempts by both sides to capture or sink mail boats (so called "packet boats"), due to the recognition of the crucial military importance of postal communications. Between 1779 and 1782, nine British packet boats were captured while seven were damaged.⁵¹ This suggests in the strongest terms that the Post Office was not viewed as a "business", but was seen as an important instrument of the State.

With the conclusion of a treaty between Britain and the United States in 1783, the Post Office in North America (*i.e.* the United States) was formally dissolved and Finlay was made Deputy Postmaster of Canada reporting to the Deputy Postmaster General of Great Britain. At the same time the British Government restored the monthly service between Falmouth, England and New York (known as the "sailing packets"). Due to intermittent hostilities along the Canadian-American border which prevented the re-establishment of the Montreal-

New York route, Finlay petitioned the British Post Office⁵² to authorize a direct postal route with Britain (Montreal-Quebec-Halifax-England).⁵³ The British Government responded affirmatively and in 1788 the Falmouth packet service route was changed to sail to New York via Halifax. In 1799, Finlay was dismissed from office and replaced by George Heriot as the Deputy Postmaster General for Canada.⁵⁴

LOWER AND UPPER CANADA

The Post Office in British North America from the beginning in 1765 until devolution in 1850, was a single entity and constituted a part of the British Post Office. This is important because we will discuss the evolution of postal policy in conjunction with the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, even though they represented separate jurisdictions and notwithstanding that the local legislature in each province frequently and separately investigated the administration of the Post Office. However, by the time of postal devolution in 1850, the two provinces had been joined by the *Act of Union of 1841* and thus the Post Office remained as a single entity when it was given to the Province of Canada by the British Government. Thus the British Post Office in Canada formed the nucleus of the Province of Canada Post Office and later the Post Office Depart-

ment of Canada after 1867 (Professor Hodgetts central thesis concerning the Pioneer Public Service).⁵⁵

Examination of the statutes passed by Lower Canada between 1791 and 1837 reveals a hitherto undisclosed concern with communications. As mentioned above, the system of *maitres de poste* which was the postal system in its infancy, was provided for by the British military authorities immediately after defeating France. This was renewed and subsequently legislated on several occasions. But the concern with communication did not end with the *maitres de poste*. In 1803, an act was passed "for the more ample Publication of certain Acts of the Provincial Parliament". It is worth quoting for it reveals a newly developing government communications system whereby government laws and regulations were transmitted to the hinterland. The statute stated,

Whereas it is necessary that more general information should be given of certain laws passed in the Provincial Parliament ... And it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act, each and every Rector, Curate, Vicar, or other Priest or Minister during the Parochial or Clerical duty of any Parish or other Church in this Province shall publicly read after Divine Service in the morning, at the Presbytere or other usual place, where the legal assemblies of each Parish are held, all Acts and Proclamations or any part thereof, when and so often as he shall be thereunto required by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government of this Province for the time being.⁵⁶

The law or proclamation was delivered by post to the local priests across the Province. The statute, as a written medium was thus transported by a second

medium and was then transformed to an oral medium *i.e.* the announcement of the local priest (Innis termed the phonetic alphabet a medium). The Post Office was the instrumentality whereby the center *i.e.* the provincial capital, (which was a periphery to London) reproduced and extended authority to the hinterland.

In 1813, the first of a series of statutes was passed entitled *An Act to appropriate and authorize the application of a form of money therein mentioned towards improving the communication by land, between the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada*.⁵⁷ These acts are significant as they throw light obliquely on the thinking of the Government of the day. At this period of development in Upper and Lower Canada, commerce between the two provinces did not play a large part in their economic life. In addition, such transportation of goods as did occur relied heavily on water transportation; shipments were transported relatively rapidly. This was in marked contrast to travel by land, which was slow and difficult. Yet it was by means of the roads that Government communications were effected. Hence the very wording of these acts suggests that the improvement of roads was seen as a benefit to Government rather than commerce. If so, the traditional scholarly focus on transportation in the development of Canada reversed reality; transportation was developed and improved initially more in order to improve communications. In the early years there was far greater interest in communicating messages and Government policy than in the transportation of things.⁵⁸

This argument is validated by a series of statutes passed later in Lower Canada, all of which were entitled, *An Act to improve the Internal Communications of this Province*.⁵⁹ All these statutes were acts passed to appropriate monies to improve the roads. Yet the statute was not entitled 'an act to improve transportation' for the policy makers viewed road improvements as improving communications rather than transportation.

In 1825, a statute was passed entitled, *An Act for the more expeditious distribution of the Printed Acts of the legislature of this Province*.⁶⁰ Whereas the 1803 Act dealt with the "more ample publication", this Act correctly identified the problem as one of distribution *i.e.* communication. This statute made the Clerk of the Legislative Council accountable for printing and distributing copies of the statute to the Clerks of the Peace throughout the Province. The Clerks of the Peace were in turn required to distribute the newly passed statutes to the local parishes. But this statute went beyond the statute of 1803. It imposed a duty on church wardens (*marguilliers en charge*) of the parishes to attach a public notice to the front door of the church advising that printed copies of laws were available from the parsonage. In addition the Act imposed a duty on the Provincial Secretary to provide the Clerk of the Executive Council with a listing of the names of all the Clerks and Justices of the Peace. A similar duty was imposed on the Adjutant-General of militia, requiring that he transmit a list of the names of all officers in the militia, who were also entitled to printed copies of the laws passed.

These statutes established the core features of a nation-state by effectively integrating the legislature, legal system and military into a seamless web via the medium of the Post Office. The key point is that due to the de-centralized nature of the State an efficient communications system was essential in order for it to function. The instrumentality of Weber's rationalization process *i.e.* the spread of legal-rational bureaucracy, was the Post Office.

The following year the legislature validated its expressed desire to disseminate newly passed statutes, by passing an Act providing money for the printing and distribution of those Acts.⁶¹ However authority was granted in an unusual fashion. Then, as now, Parliaments jealously guarded their right to vote supply and the annual budget and it is rare for a statute to grant the right of spending by warrant. Yet this is precisely what the legislature authorized, granting the "Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of the Province for the time being ... to advance annually by a Warrant or Warrants ... out of the unappropriated monies". The use of warrants was necessary as printing and distribution of the statutes occurred after the session was over. Parliaments regularly vote monies some of which are spent when Parliament is in recess. This seemingly insignificant detail whereby funding was in this instance specifically annotated in the warrant, reveals that the Legislators viewed the printing and distribution of acts as a most important function. Even though provincial parliaments of the nineteenth century were

chronically short of funds, the legislature nonetheless thought it important enough to allocate scarce resources for the purpose of improving communications.

In Upper Canada the nascent Post Office performed a similar function as an important instrument in linking together all regions of the province. As Professor Craig noted,

During its first half-century Canada grew from a few scattered pioneer settlements into a relatively complex and mature community ... On this ground British and American settlers, ideas, and ways of doing things both clashed and joined, and the result eventually was a people who were Canadian with a Canadian point of view.⁶²

As early as 1789, post offices were opened at Lachine, Cedars, Côteau du Lac, Charlottenburg, Cornwall, New Johnston, Lancaster, Osnabruck, Augusta, Elizabethtown and Kingston.⁶³ As early as 1808,⁶⁴ the House of Assembly of Upper Canada requested that a regular service be established during the winter to ensure year round postal service. This evidences the parliamentarians' desire to bind the hinterland to the centre. However it was difficult to implement year round service for the roads were in terrible condition. Because there was no government money to finance road improvements, Heriot instructed the Postmaster at York (the most profitable post office in the province), to withhold the annual surplus so that it could be spent on road repair, which would otherwise be remitted to the British Government. Heriot's instructions were immediately overruled by the British Government. However this provides an insight into the

emerging nationalism of the pioneer public officials, who although loyal to British officials were increasingly Canadian in outlook. Professor Hodgetts' remarks were equally applicable to Heriot:

When, in the course of official duty, they traversed our vast hinterland and caught a glimpse of its natural potential, such officials became convinced exponents of early Canadian nationalism.⁶⁵

Due to the requirements of the military in the war of 1812, Sir George Provost demanded that postal service between Montreal and Quebec be increased from twice per week to a daily service (the threat of war or outbreak of war provided a periodic impetus to the improvement of postal service). In order to ensure daily postal service the military governor agreed that postal officials would be exempt from military duty.⁶⁶

Shortly after the war, in 1816, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada requested further improvements to the postal service, so that better communications would be established between the various courts in the province.⁶⁷ Once again the political necessity for the Post Office is evident. The courts are an integral component of the State but to have an expressive value it is crucial that their decisions be disseminated rapidly and efficiently.

The same year, 1816, the military once again complained of the inadequacies of postal communication between Lower and Upper Canada and suggested that in the absence of improvements military expresses would be

established, emphasizing again the strategic military importance of a timely and reliable communications system. In response to the military pressure Heriot provided horses to the couriers (they previously traveled on foot) and extended regular service beyond York to the hinterland *i.e.* Niagara. The governor was completely unsatisfied and pressured the British Government to terminate Heriot whereupon he resigned.⁶⁸

Sutherland was appointed to replace Heriot in 1816 and proceeded to extend service to settlements which "lay far off the beaten lines"⁶⁹ *e.g.* Perth. At the time of Sutherland's appointment there were only nine post offices in Upper Canada and ten in Lower Canada. By the end of his tenure in 1827, the Post Office included the Deputy Postmaster General, two assistants and 58 Deputies *i.e.* Postmasters (of whom only 35 were in Lower Canada).^{70 71}

Throughout his tenure Sutherland was under pressure to increase the speed of communication between the center in England and the periphery in Canada. For example, in 1819, Governor General Dalhousie complained of the time it required for his dispatches to arrive in London. At this time the Halifax-Quebec trip required a month.^{72 73}

Before reviewing the struggle between the British Government and the Radicals for control of the colonial Post Office, we must distinguish between competing political reasons for State ownership of the postal system. Following Sir Isaiah Berlin's distinction between positive and negative freedom (freedom to and freedom from), it is useful at this point to make a distinction between

'positive' and 'negative' State-building and nation-building. The two have been traditionally understood by scholars in the positive sense. However there is a 'negative' aspect to nation-building and State-building which can be based on Foucault's notion of coercion and policing. Military and covert intelligence activities are manifestations of 'negative' State-building for force or coercion is used to develop or extend the boundaries of the State. 'Policing' by the State to coerce or induce a sense of belonging is negative nation-building.

Applying these distinctions to Canada, the British Government only authorized new postal routes and post offices when the proposed office was able to cover its costs. While at first this seems to be an economic rather than a political explanation, the Post Office in North America primarily served a political role by providing a communications system, for the military administration. A long, "narrow" communications system was required to link together the nodal points, the major cities and ports, to police the empire. This can be termed 'negative' State-building. Beyond that, the British Government had only a nominal interest in postal matters in Canada.

The individual colonies *e.g.* Upper Canada, had differing but always political motivations concerning the Post Office. The Radicals wanted to seize power from the British Government in order to build a Canadian identity and a State, and they recognized at an early stage that control over the communication system was the requisite instrument. The colonials required a 'short but deep' postal system. This system would extend from the nodal points and eventually reach all the lesser and

more distant areas, thus linking together the province's inhabitants. The center established the periphery and bound it to the center with the communications system. In turn a center was constituted within the periphery.⁷⁴ The Post Office was the medium by which the political, legal, religious and military elites were integrated and by which provincial inhabitants were bound to the center. This can be termed positive State and nation-building.

William Smith, in the *History of the Post Office in British North America*, argued that Deputy Postmaster General Sutherland chose to ally himself with the Governor representing the British Government and thus exposed the Post Office to attack from the Radicals. However, this is simplistic and converts into personality clashes the serious policy differences that existed between them. Sutherland, as with all Deputy Postmasters General in Canada until 1850, reported to the Deputy Postmaster General of the British Post Office. Successive British Governments wanted a minimal postal system in Canada sufficient to support military and governmental communications, for it was engaged in empire-building, not nation and State building.

Because the Canadian postal system was administered directly by the British Post Office, the Deputy Postmaster General of Canada was required to submit to London all requests for new routes or post offices. The British Government's policy concerning such extensions was quite simple - each had to be profitable on its own. The British Post Office repeatedly rejected the colonials' request to cross-subsidize new routes to the hinterland with profits from the larger post

offices, because cross-subsidization would have reduced postal profits which were being used to finance the military and communication costs of the empire in North America and elsewhere.

The first recorded inquiry into the Post Office was held by the House of Assembly of Upper Canada in 1820 concerning excessive rates of postage. A comparison of the 1765 statute with rates charged revealed that the Post Office was charging considerably more than permitted by the statute. Consequently the House adopted a resolution asking the Lieutenant Governor of the Province to forward the evidence to London in order to rectify the mistake.⁷⁵ However the British Government took no action.

In 1821, a further inquiry was undertaken by a committee chaired by Dr. Baldwin (father of Robert Baldwin), in the House of Assembly of Upper Canada. They chose to investigate "rates of postage charged and the authority under which the same have been directed to be charged".⁷⁶ The Committee determined that there were thirty-five post offices in the province⁷⁷ and extrapolating the evidence that the York Post Office remitted £800 to £900 annually to the British Post Office,⁷⁸ the Committee estimated that the postal system in Upper Canada remitted £2500 annually. It concluded that "the rates of postage charged in Upper Canada for several years past for the conveyance of letters have exceeded the charges authorized by law".⁷⁹

The Committee also discovered that Allan had not been provided with written authority, suggesting that the British Post Office was aware that it

possessed no authority over the Canadian Post Office. The Committee cited the 1778 and 1791 statutes to document that the British Parliament relinquished postal authority in the colonies at that time. The Committee also noted that the Constitution Act provided that any duties collected by the British Parliament in the colonies, "must be applied for the use of the colony". They constructed a convincing argument that the British Post Office had no authority to administer the Post Office in Upper Canada. The Committee concluded that postal rates within the province were set arbitrarily and much more importantly,

Your Committee respectfully beg leave to report that not considering the Post Office a Commercial regulation, or in any wise within the exception of the 46th clause of the 31st George III [Constitution Act], and that its revenue is applied to purposes of general expenditure of the United Kingdom, and not in any way, to the knowledge of your Commissioners, applied to the use of this Province, nor hath this Legislature in any wise authorized the levy, nor applied the proceeds thereof to any use whatever, are of opinion "that the present system of levying rates on the Post and carriage of letters throughout this Province is not sanctioned by Law".⁸⁰

The Committee at its conclusion provided the following resolution,

Resolved, That the present system of Public Post for the Conveyance of Letters within this province has grown into use without the sanction of law, and it is therefore expedient a Bill be brought in, establishing Public Posts and fixing rates and postage of letters and packets, for the purpose of raising a permanent revenue, applicable solely to the improvement of the Post Roads throughout the Province, in such manner as may from time to time be directed by any Act or Acts of the Legislature of this Province, hereinafter to be passed for this purpose.⁸¹

Deputy Postmaster General Freeling ignored the evidence, arguing that the packet service between Britain and the colonies was of "the greatest political importance, as ensuring despatches against passing through foreign hands".⁶² While this was true, it did not address the issue; yet no further action was taken.

In 1825, William Lyon MacKenzie petitioned the House of Assembly to again investigate the Post Office. A committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Captain John Mathews which reported that the Post Office was mismanaged.⁶³ It also found that letters were opened and read by the authorities. In addition the Committee reported that a great number of new post offices were required and recommended that government mail be given the franking privilege. The final recommendation was that postal profits be spent to improve post roads and bridges.

The 1826 session of the Upper Canada House of Assembly again dealt with postal issues. A resolution was passed (initiated by Charles Fothergill, the King's Printer and Postmaster of Port Hope) confirming that the present Post Office was unconstitutional pursuant to the 1791 statute and once again stated that the Post Office was mismanaged.⁶⁴ On the advice of the Governor the British Government ignored the petition. According to Smith, the Governor and the Family Compact were completely opposed to postal reform for they saw the requests as a threat to their interests.⁶⁵

In 1829, the act to provide for the distribution of printed acts was amended once again.⁶⁶ The act imposed an additional duty on the Clerks of the Peace to

publish a notice in the local newspaper that copies of recently passed statutes were available in the Clerk's office. It will be recalled that copies of statutes were distributed to Clerks of the Peace who were now required to publish notice of this fact in the local newspaper which was also delivered by the Post Office. In 1832, the act was amended again to extend its reach to a new, lower level (each successive amendment extended the reach or distribution of authority into the hinterland and into lower levels of the citizenry). The 1832 amendments required the local Clerk of the Peace to post newly passed statutes to the local Senior Captain of the militia in every township who in turn was required to give public notice at "the most public place in every such Township, at the time when such place is usually the most frequented, and in the manner the most usual there for giving publicity".⁸⁷ In the communication of State law to every corner of the province the Post Office performed the central role in Weber's "rationalization and modernization" and Foucault's "governmentalization".

In 1827, the House of Assembly in Lower Canada entered the postal debate for the first time with a resolution⁸⁸ arguing that the profits of the Post Office should be shared between England and the colonies in Canada.

In 1828, Stayner was chosen as the new Deputy Postmaster General.⁸⁹ To this point investigations by the two Assemblies had not achieved any changes, for as Smith argued, the ordinary person did not use the Post Office. It was used only by government and business. However commencing in 1828 a powerful new lobby group arose to press for postal reform - the newspaper publishers. In that

year William Lyon MacKenzie, publisher of the *Colonial Advocate*, was elected to the House of Assembly and became a powerful critic of the Post Office. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis one may speculate that the cause of MacKenzie's subsequent radicalism can be located in his failed efforts to effect postal reform from within the system. It is certain that the turning point in the dispute for control of the Post Office can be dated to the involvement of the newspapers at this time.⁹⁰

In 1828, another committee (comprising Fothergill, Mathews, Ingersoll and Beardsley) was appointed by the House of Assembly of Upper Canada to investigate the Post Office. The Committee did not disclose any new information, for it again argued that the Post Office was unconstitutional and recommended provincial control. It also recommended that postal routes be established between every court house and that postal rates be reduced.⁹¹

In 1829, a Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada chaired by William Lyon Mackenzie was appointed to "inquire into the state of the post office department in Upper Canada".⁹² To that end the committee undertook an examination of postal operations in Upper Canada. They noted the vast increase in correspondence between Britain and the United States and Upper Canada. The Committee noted an increase in letters through Queenston and Lewiston (the entry points for letters from the United States and Britain) from 2,799 letters in 1821 to 17,871 in 1828.⁹³ The committee argued that the increase in mail volumes made it increasingly difficult for British postal authorities

to "legislate to the satisfaction of a country 3 or 4000 miles distant" and that this accounted for the longer delivery times in Upper Canada, relative to similar distances covered by the American postal system. This, in conjunction with excessive postal rates,⁹⁴ led to a renewed demand that the Legislature assert control of the postal system. But the real reason became apparent in the body of the report. It stated:

Your Committee recommend the appointment of a Postmaster General for Upper Canada, with a competent salary. The details of the system they think most suitable for the Province in its present state, are as follows:

1. Establishing post roads by law.
2. Authorizing the Post Master General to establish post offices and appoint Post Masters as he may deem it expedient on said post roads.
6. Requiring the Post Master General to establish a mail route from the nearest post office, on any established post road, to the court house of any district, which is now or may hereafter be established within this Province, and also to the shire-town of any county, which is without mail.
19. Authorizing the Post Master General to enter into an arrangement with the head of the Post Office Department at Quebec, and with the head of the same Department in the United States, by which letters can be received from and sent to, Lower Canada and the United States, through the Frontier offices, whether paid or unpaid...

But this was not all,

23. Allowing printers to exchange newspapers free of postage; as also with foreign printers, in countries where the same privilege is or shall be extended to the Upper Canada Press...

24. Enacting that the following public officers of Upper Canada shall have the privilege of franking their own letters or those on the business of their offices, if mailed to places within the Colony, or free of inland postage if addressed to places abroad, and of receiving those addressed to them, free of such rates of inland postage as are otherwise imposed by this act.

Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada; Post Master General; Auditor General; Receiver General; Attorney General; Provincial Secretary; Members of the Legislative Council; Members of the House of Assembly; Provincial Agent; Surveyor General; Inspector General; Post Masters

29. Exempting Post Masters, Post Riders and Drivers from Militia Duty and serving as Jurors.⁹⁵

This is an important Committee Report, for it is the first time we are provided with fully developed ideas concerning the Radicals' insistence on control of the postal system. The reasons are those of sovereignty, power and the state's ability to reproduce itself *i.e.* "extend its control over space" (Innis). For example, those who were to receive the franking privilege were the emerging political elite. Virtually unlimited franking, backed by free mailing of newspapers, would give an impetus to the articulation and amplification of an emerging Canadian consciousness. The written word, conveyed by the Post Office, was the only medium of communication and thus control of the Post Office would greatly facilitate nation-building.

The committee also recommended that postal employees be exempt from militia and jury duty. These duties were regarded as very important functions and yet postal employees were granted a privileged status above and beyond other State functions. This provides another insight into the minds of the policy makers concerning the importance of the postal system.

In 1832, a Select Committee of the House of Assembly investigated the Post Office Department in Lower Canada.⁹⁶ The investigation was occasioned by a complaint made in 1829 by Robert Arnour, publisher of the *Montreal Gazette* and some other publishers in Lower Canada. In that year they approached Deputy Postmaster General Stayner and requested that the Post Office change its payment policy. At that time, the Post Office demanded quarterly pre-payment from the

publishers for delivery of newspapers whereas it collected the postage due on letters from the recipient. The publishers wanted this practice extended to newspapers. Subsequent to Stayner's rejection of their demand, the publishers demanded that the policy in England of free transmission of newspapers be applied to Canada. The request was rejected and Armour appealed to Deputy Postmaster General Freeling in London⁹⁷ whereupon the request was again rejected.

The decision provided the basis for the public lobbying campaign subsequently undertaken by the publishers. The publishers' cause was assisted by the suspicion (subsequently confirmed) that the Deputy Postmaster General's compensation included postal revenues received from newspaper mailings. The publishers' resentment was also motivated by the steadily increasing postal charges for newspaper delivery.⁹⁸

Armour appealed to the Legislature and a committee was struck to investigate the complaint. The Committee conducted a survey of newspaper publishers in Lower Canada.⁹⁹ In addition Deputy Postmaster General Stayner resprovided his letter of appointment, oath of office and exchanges of correspondence between Armour, Stayner and Freeling.^{100 101} Stayner also disclosed that 50 of the 103 post offices in existence in Lower Canada at that time had been authorized between 1828 and 1832.¹⁰²

The close relationship between Post Office and military was illustrated by Stayner comment that "a great means of support [for the Post Office] has

uniformly been afforded by the military Departments".¹⁰³ Although the statement and the following table was made in the context of revenues, the true import lies in the fact that the Post Office provided important support to the military. This is evidenced by the volume of military mail for which the military was reimbursed.

TABLE 1 ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵

POSTAL REVENUES AND REIMBURSEMENTS (£)
1822 - 1827

YEAR	ANNUAL REVENUES	REIMBURSED TO MILITARY	% OF TOTAL
1822	£5,800		
1823		£4,550	
1824		£5,050	
1825	£17,223	£5,826	33.8
1826	£18,829	£5,633	30.0
1827	£18,005	£5,200	28.8

The committee recommended that the Post Office "be regulated by enactments of the Provincial Legislature" on two grounds: "that the establishment has not heretofore provided sufficient means of communication by post throughout the Country and that it has opposed every endeavour to give publicity to the Receipts and Expenditure of the Department".¹⁰⁶ In a report to his superiors in England, Stayner explained the colonials' demand to control the Post Office,

The object of the [Dominant] Party to whom I allude is to keep the Country French: - to prevent the introduction of anything English into it, and finally to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of throwing off the Connexion, or as they term it the Yoke ... I am now speaking of Lower Canada exclusively where 9/10ths of the Population are French, the Leaders of whom are opposed in every feeling of their hearts to the English and their institutions, and will never be satisfied until they can establish a French Republic here - a thing which I am fully assured they are aiming at.¹⁰⁷

These comments indicated that early French Canadian nationalists were acutely aware of the power obtaining from control of the postal system. Indeed one of the publishers responded to the survey by stating that,

Doubtless the Postage upon Papers in this Country, as in every other, is calculated in a great degree, to prevent the diffusion of knowledge through the Press; as the requirement of knowledge by the people, must doubtless be in proportion to the facility and ease of obtaining it within their reach.¹⁰⁸

While this was not the dominant view, it reflected a view that government was attempting to suppress the flow of information. This is to be contrasted with the arguments of Upper Canadian Radicals based on legal and constitutional grounds.

In 1832,¹⁰⁹ and again in 1833,¹¹⁰ the House of Assembly of Lower Canada presented addresses to the Governor General, demanding provincial control of the Post Office, with the latter re-presenting the same arguments as before. Interest in the issue continued unabated in Upper Canada as well.^{111 112} In 1832-33, an address was presented requesting the free distribution of newspapers, franking for

members of the legislature, tabling of an annual report of revenues and expenditures and a reduction of postal rates or an investment of the profits in improving the post roads.

In 1832, the British Postmaster General requested a legal opinion from the Law Officers of the Crown concerning constitutional authority to administer the colonial Post Office. A clear response was given,

The Case appears to us to involve practical considerations of the highest Political importance bringing directly into question the principle of the declaratory law of the 18 George III respecting internal taxation of the colonies by the Mother Country. We are of the opinion that the Rates of internal postage cannot be considered as within the exception of duties imposed for the regulation of commerce, and indeed, if they could, they would then lie to be applied within the Province instead of constituting a part of any Revenue for the general purposes of the Empire or to be sent home.

The law officers then went to the root of the issue,

The Act of the 5 George III having been in operation at the time of declaratory Act of the 18 George III the legal question may arise whether, notwithstanding that act, the rates of internal postage levied by the 5 George III are not still in force - the language of the 18 George III being, not that rates then existing shall be no longer levied, but that after the passing of that act the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty tax etc. - subsequent acts of the British Parliament have certainly been passed which seem to have proceeded upon the ground, of Parliament having still a right to legislate upon the internal postage of the colony ... Under all circumstances we are of the opinion that it would not be safe to agitate the question as a question of law with the Colony; and if it could be so discussed, we think that it would not succeed and that it could not be enforced.¹¹³

In response, the British Government reversed its policy of non-cooperation with the legislatures of the two provinces, and legislation was passed in 1834 repealing the act of 1765.¹¹⁴ The statute was to come into effect upon the passage of enabling legislation in each Canadian province. As well, the statute divided profits among the colonies in proportion to their gross provincial postal revenues.

The law officers provided draft enabling legislation to each provincial Legislature. The draft bill proposed a Deputy Postmaster General for each province (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Lower Canada, Upper Canada) each of whom was to report to the British Deputy Postmaster General. Importantly, one uniform rate was scheduled and the executive and legislative bodies were to be given the privilege of franking. Provincial newspapers were to be charged a half penny each but newspapers from Britain were to be transmitted free. Except for the remission of profits to England, the draft bill would have continued the old system. However the proposed Deputy Postmaster General of each province was to be accountable to the provincial legislature for revenues and expenditures and proposed postal routes and offices, while appointed by and reporting to the Deputy Postmaster General concerning other postal policy issues. The bifurcated reporting system was proposed in order to maintain a unified communication system between London and the colonies.

The legal opinion which precipitated the change in government policy was not disclosed to the provinces and when the draft bill was presented to the House

of Assembly of Upper Canada¹¹⁵ a Grievance Committee was struck with William Lyon MacKenzie as Chairman. The Committee rejected the bill in the following words,

but its provisions are so inapplicable and absurd that no benefit could be derived from their enactment. A change for the better must be that which will give the Colonists the entire control of this Department in Upper Canada.¹¹⁶

Accordingly the Assembly passed its own postal bill which was immediately rejected by the Legislative Council, for the Council viewed the Post Office as "eminently calculated to strengthen the ties which connect the several portions of Your Majesty's Dominions".¹¹⁷ The Council argued that control in provincial hands would lead to a fragmented communication system; instead the Legislative Council asked the British government to intervene to resolve the issue. However, as the Act of 1834 had relinquished authority, the Postmaster General of England refused and the issue lay unresolved.

The draft British bill was presented to the House of Assembly in Lower Canada the same year.¹¹⁸ Another Committee chaired by Dr. O'Callaghan (a leader in the Rebellion the following year) was constituted to examine the draft bill. However it rejected the draft bill and once again investigated the Post Office in Lower Canada.¹¹⁹ The Committee provided the most exhaustive information of any of the committees of either Upper or Lower Canada, because for the first time Stayner cooperated and provided extensive information because of the 1834

statute. It is for these reasons that this committee report is crucial for Canadian scholars. The 139 page report contains a wealth of detail pertaining to this period concerning policies towards the opening of new postal routes and post offices, payment policies, mailing policies, transportation policies etc.

The Committee judged that the remittance of postal profits was an "illegal violation of the plainest principles of constitutional law and the fundamental rights of the good people of this colony".¹²⁰ The Committee also found that Stayner had "illegally and improperly applied to his own private use and advantage large sums of the Public Revenue to which he had no right"¹²¹ (postal revenues from newspaper delivery). The Committee determined that there was an immediate need for 500 new post offices in addition to the 371 post offices then in Upper and Lower Canada; they also concluded that separate provincial post office establishments were necessary. To that end the Assembly passed its own bill legislating provincial control of the Post Office.

Of interest to intergovernmental scholars was the degree of cooperation between the two legislatures concerning their respective investigations of the Post Office (between 1832 and 1836). For example, William Lyon MacKenzie¹²² was the first witness to testify before the 1835 Special Committee of Lower Canada. MacKenzie discussed the conclusions of the House of Assembly Committee of Upper Canada and tabled a copy of the Address passed Feb. 21, 1835, which demanded further information. The Lower Canada committee requested the same information and on this occasion Stayner complied.

In 1836, the Financial Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, chaired by Dr. Duncombe, investigated the Post Office and made recommendations which differed substantially from the draft British bill. The House of Assembly then passed resolutions¹²³ similar to those passed by the House of Assembly of Lower Canada.

We will review the efforts of the two legislatures between 1825 and 1835. As has been documented elsewhere,¹²⁴ there was a struggle for power between two competing groups during this period. The British Government, colonial governor and the Legislative Council represented the center while the Houses of Assembly in the two provinces represented the views of the periphery. These views were not completely contrary for the Radicals wanted to effect local control albeit modelled on the British Post Office. The Radicals realized that control of the communications system - rates, routes and post offices - was essential in order to achieve local control. Thus in one sense, the agitation and Rebellion can be characterized as a struggle for control over the communications system. This is supported by the participation of members of postal committees in the Rebellion. As well, a substantial number of postmasters were implicated in the Rebellion,¹²⁵ suggesting that they recognized the importance of provincial control of the postal system.

In 1837, the Legislative Council of Upper Canada appointed its own committee to investigate the Post Office.¹²⁶ Not surprisingly it recommended that "the interests of the several Provinces could be maintained only by preserving to

the post office its character as an imperial institution".¹²⁷ Its recommendations were similar to those of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada in 1836 when it rejected the bill passed by the House of Assembly. Both argued that local provincial control would lead to exorbitant interprovincial postage rates detrimental to the interests of the British empire.

The suppression of the Rebellion eliminated the Radicals in the Assembly leaving members favourable to the government. Consequently the House of Assembly passed an address to the King which endorsed the ideas of the Legislative Council¹²⁸ and one month later a joint address was passed by both Houses.¹²⁹ The joint address argued that it was unrealistic to assume (as did the 1834 British statute) that all provincial legislatures would pass identical legislation and future identical amendments, in order to maintain a uniform system.¹³⁰ Therefore they argued that the British should retain jurisdiction with change effected by passage of a joint resolution of the legislatures to the British government, which would then pass amendments in the Parliament (similar to the amendment method later adopted for the *B.N.A. Act*). The British Postmaster General rejected the advice on the basis of the 1778 and 1834 statutes.

In 1837, the two Houses of Upper Canada passed an act authorizing the franking privilege for all members of the two Houses. Because government postal expenditures represented such a large portion of Post Office revenues Deputy Postmaster General Stayner convinced the British Government to disallow the act. Yet this statute merely confirmed past practice for neither of the legislatures had

paid their postage accounts for some time. As a compromise Governor General Gosford suggested that the franking privilege be limited to the Governor General and the Civil Secretary (the government). But this was rejected as well.

In 1838, the first "annual account" of the Post Office was laid before the Legislature of Upper Canada,¹³¹ (due to twenty years of agitation by people no longer present). It presented a consolidated statement of the operations of Upper and Lower Canada and revealed a net profit of £11,264 for the years 1837-38. A committee of the House recommended¹³² that postal profits be retained in Upper Canada and the recommendation was accepted by both houses of the legislature.¹³³

Once again the Postmaster General of England refused to comply until the provinces passed the enabling legislation required under the 1834 statute of the British Parliament. This was no longer possible as the Legislature of Lower Canada had been dissolved.

By the late 1830s steamship technology had become commercially viable. The British Government immediately recognized the importance of this technology for imperial communications, for in 1838 the first steamship sailed from Britain to New York (in fifteen days). This represented a doubling of the speed of communication, for messages now required only 30 days round trip - slightly less than the former one way trip. The Canadians also recognized the importance of the transportation technology and asked the British Government to authorize a mail steamer route between Halifax and Britain. The arguments were familiar - "the fostering of common interests among the provinces, and the desirability of

an interchange within the empire of news and correspondence, uncontaminated by passage through a foreign channel".¹³⁴ No reference was made to economic reasons of cost minimization, for steamer mail ships required larger subsidies.

Another reason was provided by the Rebellion. News concerning the Rebellion, carried in American newspapers sent to England by steamer, arrived before colonial government communications travelling by packet boat. For a short time British Government policy concerning the Rebellion was informed by American newspapers rather than British diplomats. Consequently the British Government authorized a London-Halifax route and awarded the contract to the *Cunard Company* (which was the genesis of a commercial empire).

The dissolution of the Legislature of Lower Canada did not eliminate concern with communications. In 1839 an ordinance was passed by the Governor and the Special Council to improve the post roads between Montreai and the hinterland of the province.¹³⁵ In the same year the Special Council passed yet another act for the improvement of internal communications¹³⁶ which required improvement to roads not designated as post roads. At this time roads were viewed largely as a medium of communication and less as a mode of transportation. In the same year, 1839, the Legislature of Upper Canada passed an act to improve the post road between Cornwall and L'Orignal. This otherwise local statute had national significance for,

the repair and improvement of the Post road between Cornwall and L'Original, is highly important for the defence of that section of the Province, in case of insurrection or invasion, as well as for advancing the peaceful objects of internal communication.¹³⁷

Again the intimate relationship between defence and communication is observed. Recall that defence is the most extreme form of State-building and nation-building.

It was at this time that Durham arrived to investigate the causes of the unrest in the colonies. His comments concerning the Post Office although brief were incisive,

The Assembly made it a matter of great complaint¹³⁸ that an important internal public institution of the Provinces should be entirely regulated and administered by the rulers and servants of an English public office, and that so large an amount of revenue, raised entirely without the consent of the colonies, in a manner not at all free from objections, should be transmitted to the mother country. I cannot but say that there is great justice in these complaints, and I am decidedly of opinion that if any plan of a unified government of these provinces should be adopted, the control and revenue of the Post Office should be given to the colony.¹³⁹

These remarks indicate that the 'radical' idea of local control of the Post Office subsequently acquired legitimacy with the 'mainstream', notwithstanding the defeat of the Rebellion. The Legislative Council had opposed these ideas a few short years before. Yet as a Canadian consciousness gradually developed, the efficacy of the Radicals' demand for control of the Post Office became apparent

to the provincial political elite. At a later point Durham made the following critical remarks,

Their internal relations furnish quite as strong motives for union. The Post Office is at the present moment under the management of the same Imperial establishment. If, in compliance with the reasonable demands of the Colonies, the regulation of a matter so entirely of internal concern, and the revenue derived from it, were placed under the control of the provincial legislatures, it would still be advisable that the management of the Post Office throughout the whole of British North America should be conducted by one general establishment.¹⁴⁰

Eventually the provinces obtained control of the Post Office in 1850, and in 1867, the Post Office was placed under federal authority. This suggests that provincial control of the postal system was a necessary step on the road Confederation and subsequent federal control of the postal system was a necessary condition for its continued survival. This is the thrust of Weber's remarks quoted at the outset of Chapter 1.

PROVINCE OF CANADA

Durham's Report led to the *Act of Union* and on February 10, 1841 the Province of Canada was created. However, approximately three months before the birth of the Union of the Canadas, on October 26, 1840 a commission was appointed by Governor Poulett Thomson (subsequently known as Lord Sydenham) with a broad mandate to investigate the Post Office in British North America. It

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was an extraordinarily thorough report foreshadowing future Royal Commissions.¹⁴¹

The Governor's interest in postal policy arose from his membership on the 1837 British House of Commons Committee which investigated Rowland Hill's proposals for the penny post.¹⁴² (Hill's reforms took effect in Britain the same year as the Commission's appointment in Canada). Its mandate was,

to embrace in your inquiry every matter connected with Post Office communication in these Provinces which appears of importance, - the number and situation of existing offices and the necessity for new establishments, - the improvement of internal communications whether by land or water, - the rates of inland postage, - the expense of the different lines as compared with the revenue, and the manner in which that expense is defrayed, - the emoluments of the different officers of the Department, whether arising from fixed salary, from agency, or from perquisites, - and the means of facilitating communication between the respective Provinces and the United States. To all these and to any other points which may appear to you of importance, your attention will of course be directed.¹⁴³

This most extraordinary report, like the Post Office, is a microcosm of Canada and the cleavages described therein continue today *e.g.* regionalism, French-English, intergovernmental conflict, Canadian-American relations, transportation issues etc. The Commission was composed of E. Dowling, J. Davidson and Deputy Postmaster General Stayner. (As is often the case one of the commissioners was a public official). The Commission conducted a survey of and advertised for submissions from users, Postmasters and publishers, which culminated in a 576 page report¹⁴⁴ that was largely ignored (a not uncommon event). It was the first major study in Canada to establish the principles of a modern bureaucracy¹⁴⁵ and

a modern Post Office recommending forwarding offices (which are now called mail processing plants). The central thesis of the report was as follows,

The Post Office Department in British North America is marked by two leading defects in its constitution; the want of uniformity in the principles upon which it is conducted by two Deputy Postmasters General of co-ordinate and independent authority; and the absence of not only responsibility to the Executive or Representative authorities in the Colonies, but of all real responsibility to the Head of the Department in England.¹⁴⁶

As evidenced by these remarks the report had a two-fold concern with control. First, it was concerned with the authority that would control the communications medium, and second, it was concerned with the medium's control over space. In the first instance it recommended that the center *i.e.* Britain, should continue to control the medium. In the second instance the Commission provided a series of recommendations that would more efficiently extend the medium's control over space.

The Commissioners noted that a few large offices accounted for a very large share of the mail while the vast number of post offices accounted for small volumes (which still occurs today in the Post Office). For example, only 47 offices of the 405 offices open in 1840 collected more than £100 *per annum* while 142 offices remitted less than £30 *per annum*.¹⁴⁷ Evidently then as now, a large number of offices were losing money. But the report did not suggest that the money losing offices be closed.¹⁴⁸

The Commissioners noted the importance of the Post Office in the individual community. They noted the low salaries received by Postmasters (only 23 of 409 received more than £100 while most received less than £30 *per annum*). However the Committee noted Postmasters received intangible benefits because,

the position of the Postmaster is prized by those who hold it, much beyond its mere value in money. A Postmaster in the country is in a position, generally, of considerable influence, from the many opportunities he has of obliging his neighbors. He gets his letters earlier, and can write later, than anyone else [post offices were closed one hour before the mail was picked up]; and this to a man in business, as country Postmasters generally are; to say nothing of the unfair one of knowing where and with whom the correspondence of other men.¹⁴⁹

The quotation indicates that the local postmaster performed the role of the journalist responsible for the dissemination of news from the outside world. As well the postmaster was the local symbol of authority, for he represented the government in the hinterland.¹⁵⁰ This channel of information was a two way channel, for the postmaster provided local intelligence to the center. Indeed this system performed a very efficient intelligence service for the local Postmasters knew everyone in the community.

The Commission determined that mail volumes and revenues had increased substantially since the 1837 Rebellion; this was attributed to the large increase in military postage (it requires communication to repress a Rebellion). In the Commission's words, "the advance of 1838-39 is attributable altogether to the

great amount of official postage paid in that year on account of the large Military force then newly arrived in Canada".¹⁵¹ The Commissioners calculated that approximately 1,400,000 letters at the single rate were mailed during 1840 of which "official" *i.e.* government and military postage accounted for approximately 50%.¹⁵² These figures suggest that the Post Office was indeed an instrument of the State used in developing the new country.

The Commission also investigated the Post Office in the lower provinces *i.e.* Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Commission argued that "there is no General Post Office Establishment, properly so called, in the Lower Provinces"¹⁵³ for the Maritime postal system was managed in a haphazard, unstructured manner. There were few policies and procedures and those that did exist were irregularly applied. Service was irregular and schedules non-existent. Different rates were charged for the same route at different times by the same people. Private and public funds were regularly co-mingled. There was no uniformity in payment, appointment or control concerning the couriers. The Commissioners' description portrayed a quasi-feudal structure which operated in lieu of a legal-rational Post Office which had not yet penetrated the Maritimes. This possibly accounted for the Maritimes' retarded political development.¹⁵⁴ It also exemplifies Weber's argument that the emergence and development of the modern Occidental State is not possible without State ownership of the postal system.

The final recommendation of import concerned the headquarters location of the Deputy Postmaster General and the accountant. The Commission recog-

nized the desirability of keeping it at Quebec but nonetheless argued that it should be located at the seat of government in Canada. This argument was predicated on the "easy communication of the Head of the Department with the Governor General and his Secretaries ... Such communications cannot be too prompt, frequent or unreserved".¹⁵⁵ Government, the center of authority, requires immediate access to its communication system. As well, the communications function symbolized the center.

Finally the Commission directly confronted the issue of provincial control as envisaged in the draft bill provided in 1834,

To erect a Post Office which in each particular Colony would be the creature of its own Legislative Act would have been an admission that the paramount authority is invested in the Provincial Government.¹⁵⁶

The Commission noted that while the legislatures would have been solely responsible for the provincial Post Office, the requirement for an "unbroken uniformity" would have prevented the legislatures from exercising effective control. However this assumed what it attempted to prove *i.e.* that the postal system must be uniform. This indicates once again the views of policy makers (for this view was widely accepted) concerning the crucial importance of a unified, central communications system for the center.

In 1844, the British Government responded to the Report of the Commissioners by restricting the powers of the Deputy Postmaster General in Canada in

order to make the position more accountable to the government of the Province of Canada. His power of appointment of Postmasters was removed and given to the Governor General. As well, the revenues received by the Deputy Postmaster General from the transmission of newspapers were abolished and newspapers were to be charged a half penny per paper as recommended by the Commission.

Although the Commission's recommendations for a lowering of postal rates was initially ignored, the popularity of Rowland Hill's reforms in England spread to Canada and the United States. In 1846, the United States reduced its charge to five cents for a letter delivered under 3000 miles. In 1846, the legislature presented an address to the King requesting similar rates to those now enjoyed in the United States.¹⁵⁷ When there was no immediate response the House passed another resolution on June 30, 1847 repeating the arguments of the previous address and adding one more,

That it is the opinion of this House, that such consentaneous views and measures would result in the establishment of an uniform and harmonious system of management of inter-colonial Post Office affairs, that would not present the possibility of any collision of the Colonial or inter-Colonial authorities with the Imperial Functionaries charged with the management of the General Post Office, nor interfere with the interests of the Empire in connection with that Department...¹⁵⁸

The Deputy Postmaster General of England was confronted with the idea that either the British or the Canadians would have to subsidize anticipated postal deficits in light of the proposed large reductions in rates. With the defeat of Sir

Robert Peel a month later (June, 1846) a new government came to power in Britain under Lord John Russell. The new government immediately abolished the Corn Laws and Postmaster General Lord Clanricarde, believing that tolerance of large postal deficits was the equivalent of surrender, acquiesced and proposed to relinquish to the Canadians all control over the Post Office in British North America.

Smith argued that the British finally recognized that,

In any new country a postal system was expected to afford the means of extending civilization, and to advance with equal step with settlement, whereas in a long settled country, the postal system followed in the train of civilization.¹⁵⁹

While it is true that the British recognized that their interests in the colonial postal system differed from the interests of the Canadians, it can be argued that the British Government realized they no longer needed to own or manage the postal system in the colonies to continue to maintain control (telegraphs and railroads were by now available).

Lord Elgin carried the news to Canada upon his appointment as Governor General in January, 1847. However the British Government did not relinquish its interests in Canada for it made the devolution of postal authority contingent on the following conditions. First, the Canadians were to agree to guarantee Britain's communications with the colonies at the old or new rate, whichever was the lower of the two. Second, the Canadians had to guarantee that intercolonial

correspondence was not subject to additional charges beyond the intraprovincial charge. Finally, the British Government demanded that the provinces hold a conference to negotiate a proposed provincial postal system(s). In 1848 Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick held a Conference (which foreshadowed the later Confederation Conferences) in Montreal. There were two alternatives: one common postal system for all the provinces or a separate Post Office establishment for each province. They rejected the former on the same basis that continued control by England was rejected. As well, it was believed that separate postal systems were in the best interests of each province. This can be explained in light of the thesis contained herein. As the federal government did not yet exist, there was not one but four "centers" *i.e.* Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, each of which required its own communications system.

The language used by the Conference is instructive,

the most efficient practical security against an imprudent excess in postal accommodation will be found in the consideration that undue encroachments on the general revenue for that service would abridge the means of other and not less valued benefits. But this motive, powerful when confined within the limits of a single province, might lose much of its force were the postal revenues of the four provinces gathered into one fund, and the Post accommodation dispensed from one common centre ...¹⁶⁰

As indicated by Innis' remarks quoted at the outset of Chapter 1, "the communications system occupies a crucial position in the organization and

administration of government". Control of the system is extremely important to any central government (even today all coups and insurrections aim to capture and control the communications system as a first priority). To have created a common postal system would have created Confederation in 1849 and the time was not yet ripe.

The Governor General presented the agreement to the British Government¹⁶¹ and on July 28, 1849 the British Parliament passed a statute entitled, *An Act for enabling Colonial Legislatures to establish Inland Posts*.¹⁶² The British Government reserved the right to disallow any postal legislation passed by the colonies. In addition the Act specifically exempted any "post or postal communication actually established by the Postmaster General" of England (section II) thus excluding military expresses and Royal messengers.

One would think that having achieved control of the postal system, the policy makers would no longer concern themselves with the Post Office. However as the next chapter documents, Canadians debated postal policy more extensively in the subsequent period than during the period of British control.

CONCLUSION

The following data table provided in order to summarize the changes in the Post Office between 1765 and 1838.

TABLE 2 ¹⁶³
POST OFFICES AND ANNUAL REVENUES (£)
1765 - 1838

YEAR	POST OFFICES		LETTER REVENUE		NEWS. REV	
	U.C.	L.C.	U.C.	L.C.	U.C.	L.C.
1765	-	2				
1791	7	5				
1803	8	5				
1804	9	5				
1816	9	10				
1817	12	13				
1820	19	20				
1821	35					
1827	61	42	4,959	8,627	235	368
1828	62	51	5,300	8,834	250	397
1829	75	55	6,698	9,022	374	444
1830	91	61	8,029	9,900	574	516
1831	101	76	9,870	10,494	790	566
1832	227	109	14,008	13,735	1335	737
1833	251	118	16,509	13,427	1433	833
1834	254	117	17,679	13,333	1230	852
1837			24,637	18,110		
1838			22,640	19,585		
1850	601					

N.B. Data from 1838 to 1850 could not be found.

At the beginning of this chapter we argued that the British (and not the French) established the Post Office in North America; evidence was introduced to validate this hypothesis. It was argued that a struggle developed between the British Government and the emerging indigenous elite known as the Radicals, concerning control over the communications function, because of a difference in policy objectives between the Imperial Government and the provincial legislatures. The British Government used the Post Office as an adjunct or instrument of empire maintenance. This required a long, narrow communications link between Britain and Canada. The Radicals demanded control of the Post Office for they wished to use it as an instrument of State-building and nation-building. This required an extensive network of post offices in Canada necessitating much larger expenditures. In response to the Radicals' argument that British control of the Post Office in Upper and Lower Canada was unconstitutional, the British Government obtained an opinion from the law officers which confirmed that view. The British Government reversed its policy and agreed to relinquish control to the colonial governments; however it was another eighteen years before this occurred.

As indicated by the chart above, the number of post offices increased substantially after the British Government decision to relinquish control. This suggests that *de facto* control was achieved with the British decision to relinquish control in 1834 and that the local elites used the Post Office from

that time as an instrument of State and nation-building. *De jure* control was finally achieved in 1850.

CHAPTER 2: END NOTES

1. Great Britain. *Commonwealth Statutes, 1656, c.30.*
2. Wayne Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*, p. 3.
3. The foregoing account is drawn from Fuller, pp. 4-6.
4. J.C. Hemmeon, *The History of the British Post Office*, p. 3.
5. J.C. Hemmeon, p. 4.
6. *Secret Commission on the Post Office*, Great Britain, House of Commons, p. 44, 1844. (contains a reprint of the Proclamation.).
7. Professor Priest, an economist, argued that this was not the real reason, for the State could have granted itself the right to inspect private mails and thus the real reason was to lower inspection costs. But this is to read the logic of rational economic man backward to a time when men did not think in economic terms. The employment of auditors or inspectors was utterly foreign to a time when bureaucracy was very small, primitive and undifferentiated by today's rationalized, specialized standards.
8. Quoted by Ronald Coase in "The Postal Monopoly in Britain: An Historical Survey", p. 26, which in turn was taken from the *Public Record Office S.P.* 16, Vol. 94, No. 82.
9. J.C. Hemmeon, p. 13-15.
10. J.C. Hemmeon, *The History of the British Post Office*, p. 23.
11. Great Britain. *Commonwealth Statutes, 1656, c. 30.*

12. Great Britain. Statutes. 1710, *9 Anne c. 10*
13. Great Britain. Statutes. 1710, *9 Anne c.10*
14. Ronald Coase. "The Postal Monopoly in Great Britain: An Historical Survey", p. 37.
15. The following is a synthesis of Wayne Fuller, *The American Mail*; Gerald Cullinan, *The United States Postal Service*; Wesley Rich, *The History of the United States Postal Service to the Year 1829*.
16. Wayne Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*.
17. Wayne Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*.
18. Wayne Fuller: *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*.
19. Wayne Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*.
20. William Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America*, p. 15.
21. William Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America*, p. 17.
22. The population of the Thirteen Colonies at this time was approximately 275,000. Rich, p. 23.
23. Wesley Rich, *The History of the United States Postal Service to the Year 1829*.
24. Benjamin Franklin, Autobiography quoted by Fuller, p. 25.

25. Several of the American publications concerning the history of the United States Postal Service *e.g.* Fuller refer to Franklin as the Postmaster General and not the Deputy Postmaster General. Yet according to the 1710 and subsequent statutes, there was to be only one Postmaster General who resided in England and reported to the Crown. Thus I conclude the American authorities referred to, erred and Franklin was in fact a Deputy Postmaster General for he reported to the Postmaster General in England.
26. Hunter died in 1761 and was replaced by John Foxcraft.
27. Rich, p. 37.
28. August 10, 1794, *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, p. 394, quoted by Leonard D. White, *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History*, p. 175.
29. Rich, p. 37.
30. Smith, p. 34.
31. Quoted by William Smith at p. 34.
32. Fuller, p. 29.
33. Great Britain. Statutes. 1765, *5 George III c.25*.
34. Great Britain. Statutes. 1765, *5 George III c. 25*.
35. Fuller, p. 33
36. Great Britain. Statutes. 1778, *18 George III c. 12*
37. Great Britain. Statutes. 1778, *18 George III c. 12*.

38. Innis captured this notion in *Empire and Communications*.
39. Smith, p. 39.
40. According to Smith, post offices were opened at Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec City. This figure was confirmed by the *Report of the Special Committee of the House of Assembly on the Post Office Department in Lower Canada*, Feb. 11, 1832 at p. 58-60.
41. J.G. Hendy, "Hugh Finlay: Pioneer of Canadian Posts", *Empire Review*, Vol. 4, 1903-04.
42. Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America*, p. 175.
43. Smith, p. 43.
44. Smith, p. 40.
45. Smith, p. 46.
46. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1795. 35 *George III c. 7*
47. Smith at p. 90, states that due to a longstanding custom (presumably in England) postmasters were exempt from the practice of billeting of troops. He stated that it was granted by law in several of the colonies and by the *Continental Congress*. However I was unable to substantiate this claim in any of the statutes examined.
48. Great Britain. Statutes. 1765, 5 *George III c. 25*.
49. Smith, p. 43-44.

50. Smith, p. 70.
51. Smith, p. 72-73.
52. We must keep in mind that Finlay was an official of the British Post Office reporting directly to London and not to the local Governor. However as with future early Deputy Postmasters General a secondary loyalty or concern for the interests of the colony gradually emerged. This is the way in which the center reproduces itself in the periphery. Eventually a center is reproduced in the periphery which in turn constitutes mini-centers i.e. the local post office in the rural community. This is the essence, albeit stated in less theoretical terms, of the argument put forward recently by Rural Dignity. The center establishes a link to the periphery which then becomes seen as essential by the periphery. They become the unwitting accomplices to their own homogenization to the values and culture of the center.
53. Smith, p. 80-81. Smith notes that the elapsed time between Quebec and Halifax was seven weeks - this was considered an excellent time. This suggests that speed of communications is a function of one's expectations. Thus Canada Post Corporation's difficulties with same day delivery suggest it is a perceptual rather than a technological problem.
54. See Gerald Finley, *George Heriot: Postmaster General-Painter of the Canadas*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.
55. *Pioneer Public Service*. The Departments were: Crown Lands Department, Natural Resources, Public Works, Indian Affairs, Agriculture, Immigration).
56. Lower Canada. Statutes. 43 George III c. IV
57. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1813, 53 George III c. IV
58. Although as Kroker noted, a staple i.e. a material object, contains its own bias of communication, - its own "message" and to study communications is to study transportation.

59. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1815, 55 *George III c. VIII*
60. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1825, 5 *George IV c. V*
61. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1826, 6 *George IV c. XXII: An Act to appropriate a Sum of Money therein-mentioned, to enable the Clerks of the Peace to distribute the printed Copies of the Acts of the Legislature, as by Law provided.*
62. Gerald Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, p. xiii.
63. Smith, p. 89.
64. Unfortunately there are very few copies of the Journals of Upper or Lower Canada in existence and they have not been microfilmed. To compound the problem the sets at the *National Library* and *Public Archives* are incomplete. Finally because the records of Upper and Lower Canada are deemed to be rare, limited access is provided with no photocopying permitted. Consequently I was unable to locate all Smith's references. However I was able to locate some committee reports which Smith did not cite. Thus with those accounts I was unable to locate, I will refer to them as "according to Smith". For this reference see Smith, p. 102.
65. J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*, p. vii.
66. Smith, p. 109.
67. Smith, p. 109.
68. Smith, p. 110-112.
69. Smith, p. 114.

70. Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Volume 6, *Returns Relating to the General Post Office in the North American Provinces*, pp. 193-196 Reprint of a Return to the House of Commons, Feb. 21, 1828.
71. Irish University Press Series of *British Parliamentary Papers*, Volume 6, pp. 193-196. Reprint of a Return tabled in the British House of Commons, Feb. 21, 1828.
72. Today Canadians complain if a letter requires three days between Vancouver and Halifax. As Innis argued, efficiency is a culturally determined value i.e. values are determined *a priori* within the culture and only later does an economic value attach.
73. The cost of a letter, expressed in Canadian currency, between London and Quebec was \$.92 while London to York was \$1.12. Smith, p. 122. Approximately 150 years and a substantial increase in inflation later, the same letter costs 60 cents.
74. For those Canadian nationalists who use the language of core-periphery and who believe that nationalism thereto was invented in the 1960s, it is instructive to read the answer to the questionnaire of Mr. Silas Horton Dickerson, the publisher of the *British Colonist* and *St. Francis Gazette*: "[I] have frequently remonstrated with the ...Deputy Post Master General, upon the injustice of taxing Colonial Papers, and at the same time allow United States Papers to circulate throughout the Province, without being subjected to any charge for such distribution by means of the mail".
75. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*, February 29 and March 1, 1820.
76. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*, Dec. 10, 1821.
77. According to Allan's testimony in *House of Assembly, Journals*, Dec. 10, 1821, p. 62, the 35 post offices were located at: York; and East of York; Port Hope; Gananoque; Hamilton; Bastard; Cramahe; Richmond; Murray; Perth; Hallowell; Brockville; Adolphustown; Prescott; Napanee; Matilde;

Belleville; Cornwall; Bath; Hawksburgh; Kingstan [sic]; Lancaster. West of York: Nelson; Raleigh; Dundas; Sandwich; Burford; Amherstburgh; Vittoria; St. Catherines; Port Talbot; Grimsby; Oxford; Niagara; Delaware; Queenston.

78. Allan also provided fascinating testimony concerning approximate delivery times: "the time from Halifax to Quebec overland is ten days ... occasioned by late improvements made by the Post Office at Quebec on this route, before which it usually took three weeks. From New York to Montreal I believe three days in Summer and five days in Winter. From Montreal to York in six days. From New York, via Queenston and Dundas, to York about eight days". *House of Assembly, Journals*, Dec. 10, 1821, p. 62.
79. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*, Dec. 10, 1821.
80. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*, Dec. 10, 1821, p. 56-57.
81. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*. Dec. 10, 1821, p. 60.
82. Smith, p. 141.
83. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*, March 9, 1825.
84. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals*, Dec. 16, 1825.
85. Smith, 145-149.
86. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1829. 9 George IV c. XXI, *An Act to provide for the more certain and expeditious Distribution of the printed Acts of the Legislature of this Province*.
87. Lower Canada. Statutes. 1832. 12 George IV c. XXXIII, *An Act to repeal a certain Act therein mentioned, and to provide for the more certain and expeditious distribution of the printed Acts of the Legislature of this Province*.

88. Lower Canada. 1827. *House of Assembly. Journals.*
89. A copy of Stayner's Letter of Appointment, Public Notice and Oath of Office are reproduced in *Report of the Special Committee of the House of Assembly on the Post Office Department in the Province of Lower Canada*, Feb. 11, 1832. Appendix 1, 2 and 3, p. 52-56. A copy of Stayner's Letter of Authority can be found in the *Second Report of a Special Committee of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower Canadian the Subject of the Post Office Department*, March 8, 1835. Appendix 56, p. 105.
90. And not much has changed. It can be argued that much of the hostility towards *Canada Post Corporation* today, is due to a failure to explain its decisions to the public e.g. rate increases.
91. Smith, p. 156.
92. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals.* First Session, Tenth Parliament. Appendix. Feb. 11, 1829.
93. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals.* First Session, Tenth Parliament. Appendix. Feb. 11, 1829. at p. 1.
94. The Committee noted that "The United States Government has wisely ordered that no single letter, even if carried in the mail 1800 or 2000 miles, shall be charged more than 15 pence. Thus they contrive to bring distant parts of their Republic closer together by a good mail establishment and moderate charges". See footnote 26 at p. 1.
95. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Journals.* First Session, Tenth Parliament. Appendix. Feb. 11, 1829, p. 1-2.
96. Lower Canada. 1832 *House of Assembly. Journals. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly on the Post Office Department in the Province of Lower Canada.* Feb. 11, 1832.

97. A copy of Stayner's letter which accompanied Armour's petition to Freeling can be found in the *Second Report of a Special Committee of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada on the Subject of the Post Office Department*, March 8, 1835. Appendix 54, p. 104.

98. For example, in 1790 the publisher was charged one shilling a year for each weekly paper while by 1830 it had increased to four shillings (or approximately 25% of the subscription price).
Smith, p. 160 and confirmed by evidence adduced to the *Special Committee of the House of Assembly on the Post Office Department in the Province of Lower Canada*, Feb. 11, 1832. See Irish University Press Series of *British Parliamentary Papers*: Volume 7, p. 19. Reprinted from Great Britain. House of Commons, July 10, 1833. Statement showing the Gross Amount of Newspaper Postage paid by each printer or Proprietor of Newspapers in the Canadas, in Each of the Years 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831, showing in What Manner and to Whom the Proceeds have been Appropriated.

99. The questions provided at p. 7, were:
1st. From the period at which you became Proprietor and Publisher of your present Newspaper, what have been the nature and amount of the demands or exactions made upon you by the Deputy Post Master General or his Deputies; for what objects have such demands been made, and how have they been generally settled for?
2nd. Have you ever objected or refused to pay such demands; and what have been the replies received by you to such objections or the consequences following such a refusal?
3rd. Do you not consider the charge made by the Deputy Post Master General for the transportation of your Newspapers through the Mail, as injurious to the circulation of Newspapers in general, and as preventing the diffusion of knowledge through the means of the Press?
4th. Are you not aware that Newspapers are free of Postage in England? [Apparently bias in the questionnaire is not a recent phenomenon].

100. Stayner's comments before this committee are remarkably similar to remarks made by President Lander before a similar committee in 1986. In the Committee Report at p. 10 Stayner stated, "I am [not] too well paid for conducting the important and responsible charge with which I am entrusted, - a charge probably the most laborious and irksome, as I sincerely believe, it is the most thankless that is held in this or any other country". Compare that statement with the following taken from the *Standing Committee on*

Government Operations (Issue No. 6, p. 20) 154 years later on May 21, 1986: (Mr. George Baker) "Mr. Lander, do you not agree you have been handed an impossible task by the Government of Canada? Before this is over, you are going to be perhaps the most disliked person in Canada".

101. It was revealed that newspapers paid 4 shillings per annum per weekly paper and five shillings per annum per twice weekly paper.

102. As it is difficult for many researchers to obtain access to the Journals of Lower Canada, the names of the offices open at that time are provided. This information may be of use to historians.

OFFICE	YEAR OPENED
Abbotsford	Prior to 1826
Aylmer	Jan. 6, 1832
Baie Chaleur	Previous to 1816
Babyville	Oct. 6, 1831
Beauharnois	April 6, 1829
Bedford	Jan. 6, 1830
Berthier	Previous to 1816
Berthier Eu Bas	Jan. 6, 1832
Bic	Jan. 6, 1832
Bolton	Previous to 1826
Boucherville	Previous to 1826
Brome	April 6, 1831
Brompton	July 6, 1831
Buckingham	Jan. 6, 1832
Cap Santé	Previous to 1823
Cascades	July 6, 1830
Chambly	Previous to 1820
Chateauguay	April 6, 1829
Chatham	May 6, 1829
Churchville	April 6, 1831
Cacona	Oct. 6, 1831
Compton	July 6, 1830
Côteau du Lac	Previous to 1820
Danville	Jan. 6, 1832
Drummondville	Previous to 1820
Dundee	July 6, 1830
Dunham	Previous to 1828

Eaton	Previous to 1828
Freligsburg	Previous to 1826
Gaspé	Previous to 1816
Gentilly	July 6, 1831
Georgeville	Previous to 1828
Granby	Previous to 1828
Grenville	Previous to 1823
Hatley	Previous to 1820
Henryville	Previous to 1828
Hemmingford	Oct. 6, 1831
Hereford	Oct. 6, 1831
Huntingdon	July 6, 1830
Isle Aux Noix	Previous to 1823
Isle Verte	Oct. 6, 1831
Kamouraska	Previous to 1820
La Baie	Previous to 1820
La Beauce	Oct. 6, 1831
La Chine	April 6, 1820
La Prairie	Previous to 1823
L'Assomption	Previous to 1811
Lennoxville	April 6, 1831
Lotbiniere	July 6, 1831
La Valtrie	Jan. 6, 1831
Manningville	Oct. 8, 1831
Montreal	About 70 years
Nicolet	Previous to 1827
North George Town	July 6, 1830
Norton Creek	Oct. 6, 1831
Petite Nation	Previous to 1826
Philipsburg	Previous to 1820
Port Neuf	Previous to 1820
Potton	April 6, 1821
Quebec	About 70 years
Rawdon	Oct. 6, 1831
Richmond	Previous to 1820
Rimouski	Oct. 6, 1831
Rivière du Loup	Previous to 1820
Rivière du Loup En Bas	Oct. 6, 1831
River Ouelle	Previous to 1820
Russell Town	Oct. 6, 1831
St. André	Oct. 6, 1831
St. Andrews	Previous to 1823
Ste. Anne de la Parade	Previous to 1823

Ste. Anne de la L'Ocatière	May 6, 1831
St. Antoine	July 6, 1831
St. Cesaire	Previous to 1828
St. Charles	Previous to 1823
Ste. Croix	July 6, 1831
St. Denis	Previous to 1820
St. Eustache	Previous to 1823
St. Francis	July 6, 1831
St. George	July 6, 1831
St. Hilaire	Previous to 1827
St. Hyacinthe	Previous to 1823
St. Jean Port Joli	Previous to 1827
St. Johns	Previous to 1820
Ste. Marie de Monnoir	July 6, 1831
St. Mathias	July 6, 1831
St. Nicholas	July 6, 1831
St. Ours	Previous to 1828
St. Pierre les Béquets	July 6, 1831
St. Remi	July 6, 1831
St. Roc des Aulnets	Previous to 1827
St. Roc L'Achigan	Jan 6, 1832
St. Thomas	Previous to 1820
Shefford	Previous to 1826
Sherbrooke	Previous to 1820
Stanstead	Previous to 1820
Terrebonne	Previous to 1823
Three Rivers	About 70 years
Trois Pistoles	Oct. 6, 1831
Varennas	Previous to 1828
Verchères	Previous to 1828
William Henry	Previous to 1820
Yamaska	Previous to 1827
Yamachiche	July 6, 1831

103. Report of the Select Committee, p. 13.

104. *Public Archives*, MG 44B, Volume 4, Document No. 113, dated Feb. 10, 1832.

105. Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Volume 6, p. 195.

Also see Irish University Press Series of *British Parliamentary Papers*, Volume 7, p. 10 from which the following table is constructed.

GROSS AMOUNT OF POSTAGE IN LOWER CANADA

	Letter Postage			News./Pamphlets		
	Pounds	s.	d.	Pounds	s.	d.
1827	8627	13	1	368	7	2
1828	8834	17	4	397	13	7
1829	9022	17	4	444	4	4
1830	9900	16	1	516	11	7
1831	10494	19	1	566	15	11
1832	13735	15	3	737	19	11
1833	13427	13	8	833	6	8
1834	13323	3	5	885	16	6

The data for the years 1832, 1833 and 1834 were obtained from the *Second Report of a Special Committee of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada on the Subject of the Post Office Department*. March 8, 1835. Session 1835-36.

106. Report of the Select Committee, p. 6.
107. *Public Archives*, MG 44 B, Volume 4, p. 28, Feb. 28, 1832 and March 6, 1832.
108. Report of the Select Committee, p. 29.
109. Lower Canada. 1831-32. *House of Assembly. Journals*, p. 415.
110. Lower Canada. 1832-33. *House of Assembly. Journals*, p. 561.
111. Upper Canada. 1831-32. *House of Assembly. Journals*, p. 201.

112. Upper Canada. 1832-33. *House of Assembly. Journals*, p. 137.
113. *Public Archives*, MG 44 B, Volume 4, Part II, Document No. 000262 and 000263, dated Nov. 5, 1832.
114. Great Britain. Statutes. 1834, 4 *William VII* c. 7.
115. Upper Canada. 1835. *House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix 21. Seventh Report of the Committee on Grievances.*
116. Upper Canada. 1835. *House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix No. 21. Seventh Report of Select Committee on Grievances.*
117. Lower Canada. 1836. *Legislative Council. Second Session, Twelfth Parliament. Journals*, p. 99 and Appendix I, pp. 40-41.
118. Lower Canada. 1835. *House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix X.*
119. *Second Report of a Special Committee of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada on the Subject of the Post Office Department*, March 8, 1835. Session 1835-36. Smith incorrectly identified the actual date of this committee as March 8, 1836 at p. 199.
120. Second Report of a Special Committee ..., p. 1.
121. Second Report of a Special Committee ..., p. 3.
122. William Lyon MacKenzie was the grandfather of MacKenzie King who was also involved in postal policy. King's involvement will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.
123. Upper Canada. 1836. *House of Assembly. Journals*, p. 320-321 and Appendix 52.

124. For example see Gerald Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*. Also see Fernand Ouellet, *Lower Canada: Social Change and Nationalism, 1791-1840*.
125. Smith, p. 213.
126. Upper Canada. 1837. *Legislative Council. First Session, Thirteenth Parliament. Journals*, Feb. 17, 1837, p. 189 and Appendix N.
127. Smith, p. 207.
128. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. First Session, Thirteenth Parliament. Journals*, Jan. 24, 1837, p. 337 and Feb. 22, 1837, p. 531-532.
129. Upper Canada. 1837. *Journals*, p. 580.
130. The ideas expressed in the resolution were quite similar to those provided to support retention of authority for the *B.N.A. Act* by the British Parliament, and by those ideas expressed by subsequent critics of patriation throughout the twentieth century.
131. Upper Canada. *House of Assembly. Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament. Journals*. Appendix, p. 397-398.
132. Upper Canada. 1838. *House of Assembly. Journals*. Appendix, p. 387-388.
133. Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Volume 10, p. 48-50. Correspondence Relative to the Post Office, 1838.
134. Smith, p. 217.
135. Lower Canada. Ordinances. 1839, 2 *Victoria*, c. XXXIV

136. Lower Canada. Ordinances. 1839, 2 *Victoria*, c. *LIII*.
137. Upper Canada. Legislature. Statutes. 1839, 2 *Victoria* c. *LII*.
138. Presumably Durham was referring to yet another address of the Legislature of Upper Canada. See Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Volume 13, pp. 8, 10, 20.
139. Gerald Craig, ed., *Lord Durham's Report*, p. 76.
140. Craig at p. 163-164.
141. Although technically not a Royal Commission it can be characterized as Canada's first Royal Commission, for it was given authority to summon witnesses, investigate public records and question government officials. As with future Royal Commissions it attracted a large number of submissions (1500).
142. See Rowland Hill, *Post Office Reform: Its Importance and Practicability*, Third Edition. London, 1837.
143. Canada (Province). *Legislative Assembly. Second Session, Second Provincial Parliament. Journals. Appendix*. 1846. Sessional Papers. Appendix F.
144. Although it was submitted Dec. 31, 1841 to Sydenham's successor, Sir Charles Bagot. because the report was classified it was not published until six years later. The report contains approximately 525 pages of appendices which possess a great deal of information. For example Appendix A of the report contains copies of the circulars and surveys circulated. Appendix D contains 40 different returns or exhibits including the names of all post offices in Upper and Lower Canada and New Brunswick as of 1840 (No. 16), the State of the Post Office establishment from 1828 to 1840 (No. 33), returns of civil and military postage (No. 35), a return showing the names of all newspapers and pamphlets published in the Canadas (No. 38). Appendix L includes a return from 1828 to 1840 showing the progressive increase in the Department against the progressive increase in the

population for the same period. In addition the Commission reproduced every written submission in the appendices.

145. It contained recommendations which embodied many of the ideas later developed by Weber in his writings on bureaucracy.
146. Report of the Commissioner ... p. 25 (the pages of this Report from the Sessional Papers are not numbered and so this is the 25th page with page 1 commencing with the reproduction of the "Letter of Appointment of Commissioners" dated Oct. 26, 1840.
147. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 9.
148. Coase cannot adequately explain the presence of these notorious money-losers. In fact each post office represented the government presence as the the center in the periphery, and it was via this instrument that the center bound the periphery to it. Thus losses were completely irrelevant in this view.
We will argue in the last chapter, that economic theory explains the behaviour of the Post Office after 1945, for the Post Office became superfluous to the State (with the advent of television). This in part explains franchising, contracting out, reduced service as the typical behaviour of a commercial(ized) profit maximizing firm.
149. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 12.
150. Former President Lyndon Johnson, a political strategist of the highest calibre, once said that for most citizens the government is the post office and the tax department, and if the people are happy with those services the politician will be re-elected.
151. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 18.
152. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 19.

153. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 20.
154. See Dalton Camp, a native of New Brunswick, for his descriptions of politics in that province and Nova Scotia between the 1940s and 1960s, in *Gentlemen, Players and Politicians*. This book validates my comments. For example, vote purchasing was widely practiced even in the 1960s.
155. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 28.
156. Report of the Commissioners ... p. 27.
157. Canada (Province). 1844-45. *House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix P.P.P*
158. Canada (Province). *Legislative Assembly. Journals*, June 30, 1847, p. 86.
159. Smith, p. 264.
160. Canada (Province). *Legislative Assembly*. 1849. Third Session, Second Parliament. Appendix B.B.B., third page.
161. Canada (Province). *House of Assembly*. 1849. *Journals*. Appendix B.B.B.
162. Great Britain. Statutes. 1849, 12-13 Victoria c. 66.
163. The information in this table was summarized from annual reports tabled in the British House of Commons and from the Royal Commission.

CHAPTER 3:

ORIGINS AND NATION-BUILDING, 1851-1887

Every portion of the civilized world is as it were covered by a vast network of postal routes, the extent and importance of which it is difficult to appreciate. Conveyed by swift and powerful steamships, by rapid railway trains, in stages, in waggons, in sleds, in dog trains, on the backs of horses, of camels, and of men; traversing nearly every sea, lake and river, every highway, travelling through smiling fields, through pathless forests, through deep snows, across arid deserts, along undulating plains and over rugged mountains, onward the mails of the world ceaselessly continue their course, spreading intelligence, facilitating commerce, connecting mind with mind and heart with heart, and promoting everywhere the civilization, the brotherhood and the happiness of man.

Canadian Postal Guide, 1867 ¹

INTRODUCTION

As documented in Chapter 2, the first great struggle for control over the Post Office was complete when the British Government ceded legal control over the Post Office to the Province of Canada in 1850. The second struggle involved the attempt by elected and public officials to extend the Post Office's control over space (a manifestation of State-building) by expanding the number of Post Offices between 1850 and 1914. Whereas during the British administration the Post Office was the first great instrument of negative nation-building used to monitor the mails mails to detect subversive activity or policing, it was now used positively

to bind the nation together and to assist trade and commerce (which itself is also an important form of nation-building).

Thus it will be argued that the first great instrument of nation-building was not the *Canadian Pacific Railroad*, as scholars and later popularizers have argued² but rather it was the Post Office. The CPR was indeed used as an instrument of nation-building; however the CPR figuratively and literally followed the path of the Post Office. As well, it will be argued that the needs of the Post Office for more rapid communications were partly responsible for the development of the railroads, for railway companies were largely financed in the early years by lucrative long term mail contracts, which in turn encouraged venture capitalists to fund development of the technology. The chapter will also explore the adoption of emerging communications technologies such as the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone and their ambiguous relationship with the Post Office.

In the first section of this chapter we will analyze the evolution of the Post Office and the postal policies adopted by the Province of Canada between 1850 and 1867. The second section will document and analyze the period from Confederation until 1887. The year 1887 is chosen because in that year the First Colonial Conference (forerunner of the Commonwealth Conferences) was held to discuss postal and telegraphic policies. This was the first time the policy makers dealt explicitly with communications policies in a comprehensive way, and the recognition of the importance of electronic communications and the eventual decline of the Post Office can be dated from this point.

THE POST OFFICE AND STATE-BUILDING, 1850-1867

In this section it will be documented and argued that elected officials (who were the policy makers at that time), established policies which relied upon the Post Office as an instrument of State and nation-building. As well, these policies produced the necessary conditions for the emergence of Confederation at the end of this period. It is extremely doubtful that Confederation would have emerged without the development of a communications system. This system overcome the isolation and provincialism engendered by the sheer size of the country. It offered two way transmission of official matters, general news via newspapers, and economic information. Also this linked the hinterland and helped foster a Canadian consciousness.

In preparation for the devolution of the Post Office from British control to that of the Province of Canada, the latter passed a bill entitled "An Act to make provision for the Management of the Post Office Department whenever it shall be transferred to the Provincial Government".³ The statute confirmed the agreement made by the three provinces at the Montreal conference. The statute confirmed the agreement made by the three provinces at the Montreal conference. It included a uniform rate of three pence throughout British North America; prohibition of transit postage charges between the provinces; the right of each province to retain the postage collected for inter-provincial mail; right of choice of prepayment of postage; newspaper rates to be retained albeit with the right of

each province to amend that rate; abolition of franking privileges; and continued remittance of British Packet postage to Britain (the Britain-colonies mail route).

The British Government did not suggest all of the policies which emerged from the Montreal Postal Conference. The British Government merely wished to ensure continued Canadian participation in the Empire, whereas the provinces agreed upon policies which bound them together, and in so doing provided the ground for the emergence of Confederation seventeen years later.

The most significant clause in the agreement of the Montreal Conference concerned a uniform low rate of postage which bound the provinces tightly to the British Empire and to one another by creating a 'common communications union'. Although each province maintained control of its own postal system, the effect of a uniform rate throughout British North America, was to foster a common Canadian identity through the communications system. This was the original policy which became the foundation of all subsequent policies charged with creating a Canadian identity *e.g. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. With the uniform postal rate the center bound the periphery to it and simultaneously reproduced the center within the periphery.

In 1850, a bill was introduced in the legislature of the Province of Canada to provide for the transfer of management of the Inland Posts to the Provincial Government.⁴ This is an important constitutional document for it was only the second⁵ (and much larger) department to receive its independence from Britain. (The first was Customs and Excise which received its independence in 1844).

The bill proposed to reduce postal letter rates from 9d per half ounce to 3d per half ounce (a 66% reduction throughout British North America). The proposal was not controversial but the proposed pricing of newspaper delivery generated extensive debate.

In promoting the free transmission of newspapers, the member from Brockville stated, "what was of advantage to the press was also of advantage to the country".⁶ (In fact he reversed causality for he viewed the press as the independent variable when in fact the State constitutes the nation, through, among other vehicles, the press and the postal system). Inspector General Hincks' (the Department of Finance) agreed that "the exaction of postage was an obstacle to the free interchange of intelligence".⁸ However in light of the substantial decrease in letter postage rates, the Government postponed the decision until the impact of letter rate reductions was manifest. But the legislature did authorize the free delivery of exchange papers. These were single copies sent by one publisher to another publisher and the policy created a media network within the larger postal communications network.

The second major issue during debate on the bill concerned the appointment and remuneration of postmasters. Boulton, the member from Norfolk, argued that,

The bill opened up a wide range of patronage, of salaries of all amounts under £500; none of which were defined. The Government could appoint any number of clerks at sums not exceeding £500 a year, and call them Head Clerks. It would give the Government the control of a patronage of tens of thousands of pounds,

if there were no other checks on them than those proposed by the bill. ... This bill opened up a larger amount of patronage than any other which had been before the House during the Session.⁹

This was confirmed by Assembly Member McNab who stated that, "through his [the Postmaster General] instrumentality they, the Government, must exercise a great influence throughout the land".¹⁰ These quotations reveal another facet of postal policy during the era of nation-building. Patronage, always unpopular with intellectuals and public officials in Canada, is unquestionably the most efficient (albeit inequitable) method to ensure accountability. The checks and balances of legal-rational bureaucracy were not yet perfected in Canada, which during this period was in the formative years of a frontier society. By contrast the direct, political accountability to a Cabinet Minister or the Cabinet is highly effective in frontier societies. Thus the Post Office - as the largest single employer within government - with its vast network could accomplish its role as the primary instrument of nation-building much more effectively as a patronage machine.

The third issue of import raised during the debates concerned the issue of service versus efficiency.¹¹ Papineau made the argument that,

he hoped it was not intended to make the Post Office a source of revenue, as it ought to be looked on solely as a grand means for the diffusion of knowledge. Every encouragement should be given to the newspaper press; and they should go free, for the purpose of disseminating instruction. Letters also should be carried for a low sum. And the government should rather pay to support the department than get any revenue from it.¹²

Hincks, representing the Government, stated that "the government has not the slightest intention of deriving a revenue from the Post Office [and] had adopted the rate of postage proposed in the bill merely in order to defray expenses".¹³ This again demonstrates that the Post Office was not viewed by government as a business or instrument of taxation during this period.

Section III of the statute stated that, "all commissions or appointments of any Officers or persons employed in managing the said Inland Posts . . . shall continue and remain in force". By this clause the Post Office in British North America was transformed into the Canadian Post Office. In addition, provision was made to allow provincial postmasters to be employed simultaneously as officers or servants in the British Government. Section V expressly prohibited postmasters from participating or even voting in provincial elections. This indicates once again the extreme sensitivity which the policy makers expressed towards Postmasters because they were frequently exposed to valuable local "intelligence".

Section VIII authorized the establishment of a money order system (a postal employee was sent to study the workings of the system in England). This was very important for it introduced a provincial clearing system and a money economy which extended far beyond those cities large enough to have banks. In rural areas during this period, there must have been a great deal of barter, for in the absence of banks as intermediaries, money tends to be hoarded. By transforming the Post Office into a financial institution with its formidable

network throughout the province, the government incorporated the periphery into the center through a financial network as well as through a communications network (a financial network is nothing other than a specialized communications network).¹⁴ The binding of the periphery to the center, via the financial system, is illustrated by the following remarks,

By this means the centres of trade are continually receiving large sums which, under a different state of things, would be kept for personal journeys to the towns, and other favourable opportunities¹⁵

The registration system (primarily for the transmission of valuable securities) extended still further the reach of the Post Office in the hinterland, for it engendered confidence in the postal system thereby encouraging higher usage by citizens. In addition because it was used primarily for the mailing of valuable securities, it represented a *de facto* further extension of the clearing-payment system. At the same time the postal system was made more accessible with the authorization of prepaid postage stamps. Before this time, the sender had to attend the post office to pay immediately or send the letter "collect" whereupon the receiver had to visit the post office during public hours in order to pay the amount due. With the introduction of stamps, the user could purchase them in advance and inventory them for use at a later date. This of course increased mail volumes thus assisting the development of the society.

Finally, the monopoly provision was introduced (section IX) with the same exceptions as those contained in the British statute. On a related matter the statute pronounced theft, embezzlement or destruction of post letters (section XVI), subject to a jail sentence of a maximum of 14 years upon conviction while the theft of a post letter containing a valuable security, or theft of a post letter bag or robbery of a postman of his mails, was subject to life imprisonment, upon conviction. Allowing for the longer penal sentences imposed during the nineteenth century, these penalties were draconian even by the standards of the day, indicating the premium the state placed on the integrity of the communications system.

In 1851, a private member's bill was introduced to abolish Sunday labour in the Post Office; however it was defeated on the basis that it would impede the operations of the postal system. This provides another insight into the views of the policy makers. Notwithstanding the religiosity and piety of the era, the communications system was seen as so important to the government that it would not allow the strongly held religious views of all parties ("61 petitions signed by many thousands" advocating the abolition)¹⁶ to interfere.

In the same session, another private member's bill was introduced allowing for the free transmission of those newspapers that at no cost advertised the passage of statutes during the session. William Lyon MacKenzie stated that he "wished to see newspapers as widely circulated as possible, as the worst of them did good, like the thieves' lantern which gave more light than was intended".¹⁷

However this was defeated as well because the government was uncertain of the impact on postal revenues.

In the same session a government bill was introduced containing several important amendments to the *Post Office Act*. It made mandatory the advertising in the local newspaper of all mail contracts in excess of £50 (sections II - XI). As well, it imposed a duty on the Postmaster General to provide an annual written report to the Legislature.¹⁸ Section XII demanded extraordinary detail in the annual report, which explains why the annual reports of the Postmaster General contain such extensive information.¹⁹ As well, letter carrier delivery was introduced in the cities for the first time.²⁰

The net effect of these reforms was to integrate the Post Office into the State in order to extend control over the hinterland. This was an astute policy for the Post Office was by far the largest department of government measured by employees or number of offices. Thus in every community throughout the country someone was employed by the Post Office in some capacity either as Postmaster, mail contractor, landlord, or provider of stationery and advertising. By this instrument relatively vast numbers of citizens were integrated and bound to the State. Those not rewarded could always hope for patronage benefits upon a change in government.

The final policy of import in the statute concerned the determination of postal routes,

That every Post Route which, hereafter within the term of three successive years, shall fail to yield one-fourth of the expense incident to its establishment, shall be discontinued by the Postmaster General, unless in cases where it may be necessary as a connection or continuance of post or routes: Provided always, that this section shall not be so construed as to deprive the Seat of Justice in any Circuit or County of one Mail going to and from the same (section XIII)

The policy announced in Section XIII does not invalidate the hypothesis of nation-building, for the policy makers were perfectly willing to generate only one quarter of expenses in at least one of three years (the Post Office could earn less than 25% of costs in the other two years). This confirms that the Post Office was not run as a business according to economic principles: profitability was of lesser importance than effectiveness in running the nation's postal service.

The formal transfer of control of the Post Office from the British Government to the Province of Canada took place on April 6, 1851.²¹ At that time there were 601 post offices in the Province of Canada with 7,595 miles of post roads (it was another 4 years before the railroad was used for the transmission of the mails). A survey taken coincident with the transfer revealed that 86,000 letters and 101,000 newspapers were delivered during the week of the survey equating to approximately 4.5 million letters and 5.25 million newspapers annually. These figures represented a doubling of letter correspondence over the previous year (when rates were three times higher) and a 10% increase in newspaper circulation. The Postmaster General concluded his first annual report by stating,

The advantages to the public welfare attendant upon the transmission of correspondence at the lowest self-sustaining Postal charge are so obvious, and have been so ably noticed in the various publications of late years, devoted to this subject, that in various ways, the measure might to be expected to exert, as well upon the moral and social as upon the commercial progress of the inhabitants of this Province; and it is therefore with much satisfaction that I express, the opinion, that the financial condition and prospects of the Department at the close of another year, will be such as to induce Your Excellency at the next session of the Legislature, to recommend the adoption of a Penny Rate, with a full assurance that the improvements may be sanctioned without requiring, as I have already stated, more than a moderate aid from the General Revenue to sustain the operations of the Department²²

In 1852, the *Post Office Act* was amended for a third time.²³ This amendment contained only one change of import: Section VIII provided authority for the Postmaster General or any Postmaster to "detain any post letter suspected to contain any contraband goods, wares or merchandize, or any goods, wares or merchandize on the importation of which into this Province any duties of Custom are by law payable, and to forward the same to the nearest Collector of Her Majesty's Customs". The amendment reveals that the Post Office continued to be used for policing; in addition to monitoring for subversive activity, the Post Office monitored for activity which subverted the law or public regulations. In explanation the Postmaster stated,

They [the Postmasters] form a chain of communication by which a gradual expansion of the post system is effected, and are constantly found to be most useful in aiding the Department to guard against the various accidents and hindrances which must occur in a new country embracing a Territory of thirteen hundred miles in length ... these officers frequently supply most efficiently the place of local Inspectors and confidentially communicate to the Department information of the most valuable character

In 1854, the Government exercised its authority under the legislation of 1850 and reduced postage rates on newspapers by approximately 50% while abolishing charges for the delivery of periodicals "devoted exclusively to the furtherance of the especial objects of Agriculture, Education, Science and Temperance".²⁴ This was the origin of the subsidy for second class mail and not the statute of 1875, as claimed.²⁵ It reveals the extent to which the policy makers viewed the Post Office as a medium for the spread of "civilization" through education communicated via the postal system. The policy goal was not profit maximization for the reforms produced a large postal deficit. The policy goal was simply to spread "civilization" to the hinterland. In more abstract terms, the center bound the periphery to the center with the communications function which were produced in the center and communicated to the hinterland via the postal system.

The official decision to reduce postal rates on newspapers and special purpose periodicals was confirmed and extended by statute the following year.²⁶

The preamble stated,

Whereas papers devoted to the advancement of education, Temperance, Science, Agriculture and other special objects, are now exempt from postage; And whereas it would further materially aid the diffusion of useful knowledge to remove all postal restrictions on the transmission of Newspapers in general, published within this Province, and of all documents printed by order of either House of Parliament...

As a consequence all newspapers published within Canada were given free mailing. As well, franking was given to members of both Houses and to the Speaker and Chief Clerk. The deficit occasioned thereby was approximately £30,000 annually, but this did not alarm the policy makers. While the importance of franking for members of the legislature was dealt with in the second chapter it is nonetheless illuminating to quote the Postmaster General on this subject,

But it is manifest that as the Legislature has deemed it to be expedient that no postage shall be taken on the Legislative or Government Correspondence, formerly contributing a large annual sum to the Revenue, nor on the circulation of Canadian Newspapers, it would be unreasonable to expect that items which remain of chargeable mail matter, should, for some time to come, suffice, unaided, to furnish a Revenue adequate to meet the heavy expenditures imposed upon the Department in the fulfillment of the task allotted to it, of supplying the Postal requirements of the country. With the progressive growth of the Province these requirements are constantly developing, as well in the commercial centres as in the rural districts and newly opened settlements, and they cannot be administered to in a parsimonious spirit without cramping in this important element of progress, the commercial prosperity and social advancement of the community²⁷

The annual report also noted for the first time expenditures for delivery by railroad. Although the first rail line was constructed in Canada in 1836 between Laprairie (near Montreal) and St. John, its purpose was to improve communications between Montreal and New York and the New England states.²⁸ It was not until 1847 that a line was built between Montreal and Lachine and another line Montreal and St. Hyacinthe. These were the only rail lines in existence at the time the province obtained control of the Post Office. Between 1851 and 1853 additional rail lines were constructed for the purpose of facilitating communication and transportation between Montreal and the north east United

States. This changed in 1853, with the formation of three separate Canadian railroad companies, founded to construct rail lines in Canada. The *Grand Trunk Company* constructed a route from Quebec to Sarnia while the *Great Western Company* constructed a line from the Niagara River to the Detroit River and the *Northern Company* built a line from Toronto to Georgian Bay.²⁹

As Smith noted, these lines connected by railway every "rising settlement in Upper and Lower Canada". This was a most important technological change in mail delivery; its impact was immediate and dramatic. For example, immediately prior to railway mail transportation, the average time for delivery of the mails between Quebec and Kingston was four days. By rail it was reduced to 31 hours. For Toronto, delivery time was reduced from seven days to 40 hours, while the mailing time between Quebec and Windsor was reduced from ten and one half days to 49 hours.³⁰ Indeed the technology was so fast, the mails could not be sorted quickly enough, necessitating the introduction of a new classification called Railway Mail Clerks, whose duties included mail sortation on the trains. The salaries of the new class of clerks cost £32,000 in the first year.

However railway mail transportation led to a paradox. While delivery times dramatically increased, costs did not reduce but increased. For example in 1854, the year prior to Post Office use of the railway, expenditures for the conveyance of mails by land (stagecoach, horseback and foot) were £34,411 while conveyance by steamboat amounted to a further £13,639. The following year, 1855, land conveyance costs increased to approximately £39,000 and steamboat

costs increased slightly to approximately £15,700 but railway costs went from zero to £95,530. Consequently the deficit increased to greater levels; yet there was no suggestion of curtailment of service or costs. Precisely the opposite occurred, for in the following years the cost of this mode of transportation rapidly increased. Railway mail transportation was far more efficient in connecting the periphery to the center than was the previous technology of stagecoach and horse.

As evidenced by the annual reports of this time, Post Office officials were dissatisfied with the compensation demanded by the railroads. But this was due to the belief that increased postal costs per railway mile would discourage the further extension of rail mail service to the hinterland. It was not until the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1865 that a payment structure was decided which, ironically, favoured the railroads.³¹ This is provided to reveal once again the political, and not market determination, of all facets of postal policy.

Almost simultaneous with the introduction of railroad technology, there occurred another technological discontinuity in terms of Canadian postal communications. As stated in Chapter 2, the Cunard line in 1839 commenced regular mail sailings between Great Britain and Halifax-New York, subsidized by the British Government. The mail route unexpectedly drew business away from the St. Lawrence Valley in favour of New York. Consequently the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada passed an Address in 1848 imploring the Imperial Government to subsidize a line of mail steamers between Britain and Quebec. The British Government declined and in 1851, John Young, the Chief

Commissioner of *Public Works*, recommended to Cabinet that the Province of Canada authorize a subsidy for a line of mail steamers to sail twice monthly to England.

Young, a farsighted politician, envisaged that a direct communications link would attract some of the 300,000 immigrants arriving annually in New York. If this were achieved he reasoned, ocean freight rates could be reduced. At that time the freight boats sailed empty from Britain to Canada and thus freight had to cover costs both ways whereas freighters to the United States carried emigrants on the outward voyage. Because of this, freight rates for Canada to Britain were double those of New York to Britain, and industrial development in Canada was consequently retarded.³² The Cabinet accepted and Canada promulgated its first "made-in-Canada" communications/transportation policy. The subsidy-contract, costing £19,000 *per annum* let to *McKean and McLarty and Company* of Liverpool, called for fortnightly sailings between Liverpool and Quebec/Montreal in the summer and to Portland, Maine in the winter months. Thus communications policy affected immigration policy, industrial policy and transportation policy.³³

The wisdom of the Canadian policy was validated by a British government decision a few years later. By 1852, the annual subsidy received by Cunard for the Halifax-New York route amounted to £173,000³⁴ while the annual cost of subsidizing steamship services throughout the entire empire amounted to £800,000 annually.³⁵ In 1855 the British Government proposed to reduce postal rates between Great Britain and the colonies from one shilling to six pence per half

ounce (excepting India and South Africa). In exchange the colonies had to agree to share the costs of the steamship mail subsidy. The Canadians rejected the proposal, because the Cunard line although stopping at Halifax, in fact carried much of its freight to New York, drawing business away from the St. Lawrence.

A third technological discontinuity occurred in 1852, with the passage of by the Province of Canada of the first statute to legislate telegraph service.³⁶ From the very beginning of "electric communications" (Innis' phrase), the policy makers were aware of its potential importance to the State.³⁷ This is revealed by Sections X and XII of the statute,

s. X: ... any message in relation to the Administration of Justice, arrest of criminals, ... and Government messages shall always be transmitted in preference to any other message ...

s. XII: Her Majesty may at any time, assume possession of any such telegraph line ... and may ... require the exclusive service of the operators ... and transmit and receive such despatches as they may be required ... by any duly authorized officer of the Provincial Government.³⁸

The quotation reveals that Canadian Government policy makers were accurately aware of the efficacy of the communications system in developing the Canadian nation.

In 1857, the *Post Office Act* was amended once again to require annual reporting on the money order system including usage figures. The center was monitoring the integrative effect of its reforms. Foucault argued that "statistics" are absolutely vital to the emergence of the modern state.³⁹ It is necessary to monitor, measure and calculate the population's "regularities, cycles of scarcity,

habits, activities etc."⁴⁰ According to Foucault this is one of the techniques which produces *governmentality*, and the Post Office was one of the principal technologies whereby this occurred.⁴¹

In addition, slight modifications to the unlimited mailing of newspapers were made. Consequent to the policy of free transmission of newspapers, advertisers availed themselves of free mailing. To prevent this, newspapers were now defined as periodicals published not less frequently than once per week and "which contained notices of passing events". These steps were taken to ameliorate the impact on the postal deficit which "corresponds very closely with the estimated amount of postage relinquished in according free transmission to newspapers and to the Executive, Legislative and Departmental correspondence".⁴² Notwithstanding the severity of the deficit (approximately 31% of revenues), the act did not restrict free transmission for legitimate newspapers and periodicals; it only prevented free transmission by advertisers.

In 1858, in an effort to further extend the reach of the Post Office, letter boxes or "street boxes" were introduced throughout the larger cities. For the first time, letters and newspapers were formally separated in the collection and delivery system in order to speed up delivery.⁴³ In 1859, the *Post Office Act* was amended again in order to introduce several significant policies. A nominal charge of one cent⁴⁴ was introduced for the transmission of newspapers. This was undertaken because the "pressure upon the financial resources of the Province which has prevailed for the last two or three years, made it a paramount duty, ... that

expenditure should be restricted".⁴⁵ The letter postage rate was changed from three pence to its decimal equivalent of five cents per half ounce and for the first time, a charge of two cents was introduced on letters not prepaid by stamp.⁴⁶ The population was being disciplined to accept and apply a self-policing self-applying payment system; this was unwittingly useful in providing a conditioning precedent for the subsequent successful introduction of the self-applying income tax system some seventy years later.

It was also made illegal to enclose a letter within a parcel. As well as producing more revenues, the policy forced letters into the government postal system where they were more easily monitored. A related provision mandated the importation of printed matter through the mails permitting the State to monitor and control foreign publications. The Post Office Censorship Branch subsequently used this to great effect against pornographic and 'communist' literature.

The *Post Office Act* was consolidated that year due to the numerous revisions made to the Act between 1850 and 1859;⁴⁷ this indicates the extent and importance of the Post Office to the State during this period.

In that same year, the Canadian Government opened negotiations with the *Hudson's Bay Company* for the right to construct a post road and a telegraph line across the vast interior to British Columbia. The decision to negotiate was based on issues of sovereignty. As there was no Canadian mail service in the west, the Red River settlers had established a private delivery service in 1853 which carried

the mail to Pembina (situated on the Canada-USA border) whereupon it entered the American postal system.⁴⁸ The government's immediate policy response was to establish a mail service between the Red River and Fort William by canoe and by steamer. The solution only temporarily resolved the issue, for the route failed after two years due to unreliability caused by the geography, and the refusal by the settlers to use the service (it was only 70 miles to the more reliable United States Post Office at Pembina compared to the much greater distance to Fort William).

As early as 1857, Canadians argued that the Province of Canada should assert its sovereignty by opening a post road and a telegraph line between Canada and British Columbia, crossing *Hudson's Bay Company* land. The failure to establish sovereignty thus provided the impetus for the discussions and ultimate acquisition of this land by Canada from the *Hudson's Bay Company*.⁴⁹ Initially the *Hudson's Bay Company* refused, for they correctly foresaw that the establishment of lines of communication would encourage settlement in their territories to the detriment of trappers and the fur industry. As this was their major export, the company recognized it would undermine their entire enterprise. The Province of Canada then demanded that the British Government grant to the province the *Hudson's Bay Company* territory by legislation. The correspondence of the Governor General correspondence with the British Colonial Office is illuminating,

The settlement of Red River itself has now its sole communication with Minnesota, and will naturally imbibe American principles and views unless brought into connexion with the British settlements. East and West Canada must look with some apprehension to the probable result that in a very few years the population lying to her west will be wholly foreign, and that unless facilities for settlement be afforded from Canada equal to those enjoyed from the United States, and unless efficient civil government be immediately established, British rule over this part of the continent will virtually have passed away ... The Government of Canada consider that, in connexion with the means of transport across the continent, a telegraphic communication should be established as especially necessary for Imperial interests, inasmuch as both the United States and Russia possess telegraphic lines to the Pacific ... The Canadian Government is also prepared to guarantee the construction of a telegraph line to the extreme western limits of the province⁵⁰

In 1863, a company called the *Atlantic and Pacific Transit and Telegraph Company* was incorporated for the purpose of constructing a post and telegraph road. However negotiations with the *Hudson's Bay Company* were delayed and Canadian officials become involved in the Confederation Debates. After Confederation, the negotiations concerning the *Hudson's Bay Company* lands resumed and eventually led to the acquisition of these territories by Canada. The proposed post road and telegraph line was then expanded during the next ten years to encompass the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. Although the tremendous undertaking of planning, financing, engineering and constructing of this railroad was made possible by the group of men mythologized in popular Canadian histories,⁵¹ the impetus for the entire effort was sparked by the foresight of the Province of Canada policy makers.

We will now summarize this period. The sixteen years between patriation of the Post Office and Confederation was a period of great change that required

vigorous interventionist policies by the Province of Canada. At the same time three technological transformations occurred which had a profound impact on the Post Office, namely the introduction of railroads, steamships and telegraphy. The most immediate change to postal operations was caused by the railroad, for it substantially decreased the time required to transmit a message binding the periphery to the center more efficiently. The steamship increased the speed of communications internationally and bound the (provincial) center more tightly to the empire. The third technological discontinuity was the invention of the telegraph (and its electric refinements *e.g.* telephone). Although the impact was not immediate, it would prove to have the most significant impact in the long run, for it abolished distance.

The financial effects of these technologies on the Post Office are revealed in the following table.

TABLE 3 ⁵² ⁵³

ANNUAL POST OFFICE TRANSPORTATION COSTS*
1852-1867

YEAR	COACH FOOT	RAILROAD	TO/FROM RR	SHIP
1852	28.4			12.2
1853	30.0			12.9
1854	35.4			13.6
1855	39.9	9.5		15.7
1856	39.9	10.7	3.3	12.1
1857	42.4	20.6	7.6	4.9
1858	45.0	24.6	8.5	3.0
1859	178.0	23.3	32.4	13.1
1860	174.6	110.6	33.1	14.6
1861	173.7	108.9	33.2	15.2
1862	170.8	109.9	33.1	17.6
1863	170.3	121.9	32.8	13.3
1864**	130.6	21.5	25.7	15.3
1865	176.1	13.6	33.3	19.8
1866	176.6	221.2	15.8	23.6
1867	180.9	229.8	12.0	23.3

* Cost expressed in British Pounds from 1852 to 1858 inclusive. Thereafter costs are expressed in Canadian dollars.

** 9 months

Prior to 1852, the Post Office used stagecoach and foot but with the emergence of the new technologies, the Post Office quickly adopted them. During this period there were erratic swings in the costs of railroad delivery.

These were occasioned by a very large reduction in payments imposed by the Post Office on the railroads. However because of the financial havoc it imposed on the railroads, a Commission was appointed; it recommended large increases which are reflected in the 1866 figures. The decision of the Commission reveals the important role played by government and the Post Office in assisting railroad development in Canada several years before the construction of the CPR. The table also illustrates the recognition by policy makers of the importance of this technology for the Post Office.

Between 1851 and 1867, the number of post offices increased from 601 to 2333 (an increase of approximately 400%). In the same period the number of letters processed annually increased from approximately 2 million to 14 million. The table immediately below, constructed from data in the annual reports, illustrates the large volume increases.

TABLE 4 ⁵⁴

KEY STATISTICS OF THE POST OFFICE, 1851-1867

YEAR	NO. OF OFFICES	LETTERS ANNUAL**	REV. ***	EXP ***	SURPLUS DEFICIT	% OF REV.

1851	601	2				
1852	840	4	231	276	(45)	20
1853	1016	4	279	301	(22)	8
1854	1166	5	320	380	(60)	19
1855	1293	6	368	512	(143)	39
1856	1375	7	374	568	(194)	52
1857	1506	8	462	652	(190)	41
1858	1566	9	541	680	(139)	26
1859	1638	8	578	657	(79)	14
1860	1698	9	658	692	(34)	5
1861	1775	9	683	719	(36)	5
1862	1858	10	723	750	(27)	4
1863	1974	11	759	753	(6)	-
1864	2055	11	622*	603*	(19)*	-
1865	2197	12	834	852	(18)	2
1866	2243	13	878	895	(16)	2
1867	2333	14	915	924	(9)	1

* 9 months

** millions

*** thousands

These figures clearly illustrate extraordinary growth which cannot be understood by conventional economic principles. The deficits experienced in some of these years were very large, reaching a high of 51.7% of revenues and 34% of expenditures in 1856. During the same period the number of post offices and

miles of post routes continued to expand in both the cities and the hinterland. Yet there was no sense of crisis at this time as occurred in the 1970s with relatively smaller deficits. This is because the deficits were accepted as a cost of nation-building.

We now turn to a momentous period in Canadian political and postal history, which involved a radical change in postal policy and the constitutional allocation of powers. As discussed in Chapter 2, in 1847 the provinces faced the choice of one pan-Canadian Post Office or separate provincial post offices. The provinces opted for the latter. Yet with Confederation the decision was reversed as jurisdiction for the Post Office was given to the federal government pursuant to s. 91 (7) of the *B.N.A. Act*. The theoretical and practical question concerns the reason for this shift in policy. The issue has never been analyzed before in the constitutional literature surrounding the division of powers. The provinces gave up a power which they already possessed - something that governments and legislatures rarely do. And there is no logical restriction which would prevent the maintenance of separate provincial post offices any more than separate departments of education. Indeed there were four provincial post office establishments between 1850 and 1867. We will now explore this change in an attempt to understand the logic of the policy makers of the time.

Between 1864 and 1866 the provinces met to discuss Confederation. As early as the Charlottetown Conference it was decided to assign the Post Office to

the federal level. After the Charlottetown Conference Lieutenant Governor Gordon wrote the following,

The result of the discussion roughly appears to the following apportionment of subjects as those to be dealt with by the Federal and local legislatures separately. To the Federal Government is given control of trade, currency ... post office⁵⁵

This was confirmed at the Quebec Conference in October, 1864 when MacDonald tabled a list of the division of powers that included federal government jurisdiction over the Post Office (and telegraphic communications).⁵⁶ Subsequent amendments to that list at the Conference did not alter the proposed federal status of the Post Office⁵⁷ nor was it amended at the London Conference.⁵⁸ The only Confederation debates which mentioned the Post Office occurred in the legislature of the Province of Canada. The Honourable Mr. Christie stated that,

In the distribution of powers between the Local, or State, and the Federal Government, the controlling or pervading idea should be to delegate to the Federal Government such authority only as would be essential to the objects of the Federation; and by necessary consequence to reserve to the subdivisions, powers as ample and varied as possible. The customs, the post office, the laws concerning patents and copyrights, the currency, and such of the public works as are of general interest to the whole province, would form the chief, if not the only subjects with which the General Government should be charged⁵⁹

A second reference was made by Solicitor General Langevin (a future Postmaster General after Confederation),

In defining the powers of the local and federal governments, those only must be delegated to the latter which would be absolutely necessary for the purposes of Confederation, and, as a necessary consequence, reserve to the subdivisions powers

as ample and as varied as possible. The customs, the mail service, the laws respecting the currency, patents and copyrights, the public lands, and such of the public works as possess an interest common to all parts of the country, ought to be the principal, if not the only objects which would be placed under the control of the Federal Government⁶⁰

In response to criticism of the proposed Confederation by a Lower Canadian, Mr. Rose stated,

Where is the interest affecting you that is imperilled? You have, in conjunction with a majority of your own race, power in the General Legislature to appoint the local governors, administer justice and name the judges, to control the militia and all other means of defence, and to make laws respecting the post office, trade, commerce, navigation; and you have all the great and important interests that centre in the community I represent - all matters that affect the minority in Lower Canada - within your control in the Federal Legislature⁶¹

Mr. Burwell stated the following,

The customs is a branch of the administration that has ramifications throughout the whole country ... So, too, with regard to the post office, which affects the whole country, and should be under the same control⁶²

These cryptic remarks are all that is available concerning the decision to grant to the federal government jurisdiction over the Post Office. However it is sufficient to develop a circumstantial case. First and foremost, the Post Office was seen as an important instrument of the State which therefore should be allocated to the federal level. Indeed it has been frequently noted that the federal government was assigned all important powers and institutions, while peripheral

or local powers were assigned to the provinces. Second, the quotations evidence awareness that the Post Office extended control over space ("ramifications for the whole country") and that this power was essential for the development of the new Canadian State.

Confederation constituted a new center whereby the previous center, the Province of Canada, expanded to encompass a larger territory. In support of this argument, many of the leaders of the Province of Canada continued in key positions at the federal level. The old center became the new center and transformed the old Post Office into the instrument of the new center. Because of their previous experience in nation-building, the Parliamentarians recognized the vital importance of the Post Office for the purposes of the State. Although it is very unusual for a level of government to willingly give up power, in this instance it can be explained on the basis that power was not really given up. The Province of Canada parliamentarians, in forming the nucleus of the federal State, also transferred the most important departments of government to the federal level. This was necessary for the fathers of Confederation recognized the role of the Post Office in the nation-building that lay ahead.

CONFEDERATION, 1867-1887

It was stated earlier that postal policy involves three interrelated subsets of policy. From this point on, it will be necessary to review each period under three sub headings: the influence of competing and complementary technologies; pricing and services policies; and labour policies. However before proceeding we will review the 1867 *Post Office Act*, for it is the originating document for all subsequent postal legislation.

The new federal Parliament met in 1867 and the tenth act passed by this Parliament, was a new *Post Office Act (31 Victoria c. 10)*, indicating its relative importance (financial management, revenue and customs acts preceding it). It was previously argued that the British Post Office became the basis of the Post Office in the Province of Canada. In turn the Post Office of the Province of Canada formed the Post Office of the Canadian Confederation. The new *Post Office Act* reflects and verifies this in several ways, as the Act was a faithful reproduction of substantial elements of the consolidated Act of the Province of Canada of 1859, including the monopoly provision (which had previously been introduced from the British statute).

An examination of the 1866, 1867 and 1868 annual reports reveals no substantive changes in the format, presentation or content. There is also no mention of a change in jurisdiction in the annual report. This is not surprising for the new Act stated,

all commissions or appointments of any officers or persons employed in managing the said posts and Post Communications ...in force at the time when this Act comes into force, shall continue and remain in force., and the nature of the duties ... and the salaries and emoluments of the Officer, shall remain the same as if such commissions or appointments had been granted or made under the authority of this act.⁶³

There were several other important provisions legislated in the new Act. The "superintendence and management of the Postal Service ... shall be at the seat of Government of Canada" (s. 7). The section not only expressed a symbolic value but was of practical importance for it allowed the policy makers instantaneous access to the administrative nerve-centre of the communications system of that period (the head of the CBC is also required to be located in Ottawa and coincidentally is located immediately adjacent to the Head Office of the Post Office).

That same year, the Post Office published its first set of policies and procedures. The following poetic introduction provided an insight concerning the views of the policy makers towards the mission of the Post Office,

Every portion of the civilized world is as it were covered by a vast network of postal routes, the extent and importance of which it is difficult to appreciate. Conveyed by swift and powerful steamships, by rapid railway trains, in stages, in waggon, in sleds, in dog trains, on the backs of horses, of camels and of men; traversing nearly every sea, lake and river, every highway, travelling through smiling fields, through pathless forests, through deep snows, across arid deserts, along undulating plains and over rugged mountains, onward the mails of the world ceaselessly continue their course, spreading intelligence, facilitating commerce, connecting mind with mind and heart with heart, and promoting everywhere the civilization, the brotherhood and the happiness of man.⁶⁴

This social and political vision of the 1867 Post Office can be contrasted with the prosaic mission statement of the 1982 *Canada Post Corporation*,

Canada Post Corporation is a Crown corporation engaged in the business of collecting, sorting, and delivering more than six billion pieces yearly⁶⁵

The one "spread intelligence" while the other is a "business".

A. EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES AND POLICY

In 1869, an *Act respecting Ocean Mail Service* was passed⁶⁶ to confirm an *Order-in-Council* which granted a subsidy to the Alan Steamship Line for the transmission of mail to Britain. The reasoning behind the statute is important. Postmaster General Alexander Campbell, introducing the bill in the Senate, stated that the Government had not imposed a maximum rate for passengers as a condition of the mail contract (mail steamships carried passengers and mail). In response Senator Macpherson stated that,

under ordinary circumstances, it would not be reasonable to propose such a condition, but by subsidizing the line we were creating a monopoly; and we must be careful that it would not work to the injury of the St. Lawrence route. Our real object in subsidizing the line was to bring trade to the St. Lawrence, and, therefore it would be quite proper to name a maximum rate ... Every inducement should be held out to immigrants to come by the St. Lawrence, and it must be remembered that the route has to contend with the sharp competition of unsubsidized lines to New York⁶⁷

The quote expressed a communications policy designed to nation-build, and which would attract immigrants and trade to Canada. It could be argued that this was not really a communications policy but an immigration policy. If that were so, the Government would have provided a direct subsidy to each immigrant. And, the line was transporting mail communications from Britain, which was important in itself.

In 1876, the first step towards a telegraph policy was taken with the establishment of an investigating committee of the House of Commons. Pursuant to that report Parliament voted a sum of \$200,000 in 1880 to purchase private telegraphic lines and construct new lines. In that year and the next two years the Government of Canada purchased or constructed almost 2600 miles of lines to found the *Government Telegraphic System*.⁶⁸

In 1880, a private member introduced a bill that was to have a momentous future impact on the Post Office. This bill incorporated the *Bell Telephone Company*, the first of the new triad of technologies,⁶⁹ and the first to exert a major challenge to the very concept of mail delivery. In the Senate the incorporation of the *Bell Telephone Company* was seen as an antidote to,

a fact beyond dispute that the telegraphic communication all over this continent, today, was in the hands of Americans, controlled by the Western Union Company [which] ... could charge what rates they pleased all over this continent.⁷⁰

Paradoxically it was proposed that the *Bell Telephone Company* be given a non-exclusive right to telephone transmission. Senators feared that if the *Bell Telephone Company* were granted a monopoly, *Western Electric* (an American company) would purchase it in order to obtain the monopoly. Senator Carvell's argument against this possibility, should be familiar,

It [the telegraph system] is under the management of foreigners. I do not know what the position of the government would be today if they had to make confidential communications with England. We all know what the secrecy of telegraphing amounts to; and if important political information that passes between this government and Mother Country has to be supervised by foreigners, who are not in sympathy with us, and who might take advantage of an emergency, it would be a matter very much to be regretted.⁷¹

This of course was the same argument used by the American Revolutionaries to establish their own postal system, and originally used by the Canadians to establish a direct mail route to England (distrust of Americans has a long history in Canada). Senator Carvell's amendment was defeated but some years later the act was amended to prevent foreign ownership of the *Bell Telephone Company*.

B. PRICING AND SERVICES POLICIES

Section 10 of the 1867 *Post Office Act* granted authority to the Postmaster General to establish rates of postage on all mailable matters. However this authority was undermined from the outset by a statutory provision in the Act

decreasing postal rates from five cents to three cents for letters and reducing the rate for newspapers to five cents, thus setting a precedent for Parliamentary approval of the setting of postal rates. This indicates the highly political nature of rate setting, for rates of communication fundamentally affect access to the communications system.

The reduction of newspaper postage rates mandated in the statute was in the interests of the State, for low transmission rates for newspapers reduced their cost, so that even the poorest individuals could afford to subscribe to a newspaper. In fact Parliamentarians frequently argued that postage rates on newspapers was a tax on knowledge. As evidence of this argument Senator Bourinot stated,

Many who never read books read the newspaper. Its cheapness, its popularity, the diversity of the matters upon which it treats, and especially the news which it necessarily contains, making it a welcome messenger to the backwoodsman. Often where no book is seen, a newspaper is to be found. To the poorer classes especially as a means of information the newspaper is invaluable.⁷³

The postal medium can be distinguished from radio and television as common carriers of information. While the State owned and used the postal medium to send information it was unable to control the content of messages sent by others.⁷³ Thus the State was "dependent" in part on newspapers for the dissemination of information throughout the country and therefore it was in the interests of the State to encourage the transmission of newspapers (in fact

dependency flowed both ways for newspapers were dependent on the state for postage rates, tax laws).

The 1867 Act introduced two significant new services: the *Post Office Savings Bank* and Parcel Post. The Savings Bank, aimed at small savers in rural Canada, attempted to integrate those individuals into the financial system. The integration of individuals on the margins of society binds the periphery to the center, for rural deposits represented an investment in the political and economic system. This suggests that marginality is not only a spatial but a social concept. The policy also provided the government with a stable supply of low cost funds analogous to the role played by the pool of Canada Pension Plan funds a century later.

In 1875, the *Post Office Act* was again amended⁷⁴ and due to the considerable number of previous amendments a consolidated version was produced. With these amendments the policing function once again came to the fore. It was made illegal to use the mails to transmit "any obscene or immoral book, pamphlet, picture ... or other publication of an indecent, immoral, seditious, disloyal, scurrilous or libellous character" (s. 72 ss. 27). 'Commercial' policing was provided by the prohibition of any scheme for obtaining remittances by mail by means of false or fraudulent pretenses.

A third expression of policing focused internally on Post Office operations. Henceforth every post office in the country was to be inspected each year. However this was not a mere financial audit, as one would expect. The Inspectors

were to ensure that "all contracts for the conveyance of mail were strictly complied with" and to "inspect every post office to see that it is properly kept". The latter part of the quote referred to duties and responsibilities beyond the mere financial. In many communities the Post Office was the only department of government. To that end Post Office regulations required prominent signs, and a certain internal architecture consistent with its role as the symbol of the federal presence.⁷⁵ It would be incorrect to view the Inspectors as mere auditors of financial transactions, for they were inspecting nothing less than the "federal presence" in the remotest parts of the country to ensure that the majesty of Her Majesty was suitably maintained. They were the "nightwatchmen" of *Leviathan*.

The bill proposed to again reduce postal rates for newspapers, from four cents to one cent per pound (s. 22-24). Once again the amendment attracted much debate which touched on several recurring policy issues. It was argued that postage revenue from newspapers was so low it was not worth collecting, and should be abolished.⁷⁶ Some objected on the basis that it was a tax on knowledge, while others objected to the decision that allowed American periodicals and newspapers to be transmitted free in Canada. This latter decision, it was argued, would bankrupt small Canadian papers and periodicals.

One convincing argument against free delivery suggested that many rural post offices would be forced to close due to the lack of revenue occasioned by free delivery. Similarly it was argued that as small town and rural Postmasters were compensated on the basis of revenues, they would suffer a decrease in

income. This illustrates the tension between pricing policies (used as an instrument of nation-building) and postal labour policies. The tenor of the debate was captured by Member of Parliament Dymond,

if ... the Government was to be commended, it was for taking a broad and liberal view with regard to the postal service of the country. It was perfectly absurd to spend \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 on building a great railroad, to spend hundreds of thousands in constructing telegraph lines, and in making and deepening canals in all directions, if we did not at the same time improve the channel for the current of free thought and information⁷⁷

The debates demonstrate the highly political nature of the rate setting process for the communications system. As well, it reveals the utterly arbitrary nature of postal deficits and surpluses if viewed solely from the perspective of economic theory. Rarely was there a reference to the cost of the service. While surplus/deficit figures are provided in this thesis for the 130 year period, this is not to indicate periods of relative efficiencies or inefficiencies. Postal deficits or surpluses are a barometer of postage rate and labour policies, which in turn produce deficits or surpluses. These debates reveal the complete irrelevance of economic principles to the communications system during the period of nation-building.⁷⁸

Free home delivery of mail delivery was implemented in 1875 in the cities of Montreal, Toronto, Quebec, Ottawa, Hamilton and St. John (Halifax had enjoyed free delivery since 1851). The rationale which supported the new policy was illuminating. It was not undertaken due to public demand but because postal

officials estimated it would lead to increased mail volumes by the public (even though it would lead to increased costs of \$45,000 annually).⁷⁹ The government incurred additional expenditure in order to increase participation in the communications system. (This is reminiscent of George Washington's remark that "we will bind these people to us with a chain that will never be broken").

To implement the new policy the Post Office increased its letter carrier complement from 61 to 117,⁸⁰ for the average weekly number of letters delivered in those cities increased from 40,000 to 119,000 or a 300% increase within six months⁸¹ of the implementation of free delivery. The additional number of letter carriers represented an increased cost, but provided a further benefit. They were analogous to the rural route carriers who were valued because of their intimate knowledge of the local community. As patronage appointees they were also very loyal.

Letter carriers were appointed by elected officials and thus were an extension of elected officials in obtaining local intelligence; no one travelled throughout the neighborhood or city or countryside more often and spoke to more citizens than postal officials. The Member of Parliament did not have to remunerate these individuals with his own funds for they were paid by the State. Indeed the Member of Parliament could boast at election that he had brought mail delivery to the citizens' doorstep. It was communications efficiency that could only be superseded by some mechanism that would actually bring the

surrogate, or even better the politician himself, into the homes of millions of citizens simultaneously.

In 1878, Postmaster General Huntington of the MacKenzie Liberal Government introduced a bill to amend the *Post Office Act* to extend the list of prohibited materials to include information concerning illegal lotteries. This was the first time that Parliament debated the powers of the Post Office to monitor the mails.

The debate centered on the extent to which the State should protect individuals from themselves in subscribing to fraudulent lotteries. MacDonald, Tupper and Blake objected to local Postmasters opening mail, and suggested a compromise, which would grant authority to the Post Office to place a notice on the envelope of mail suspected of containing fraudulent material. The government accepted their objections and the compromise. This once again indicates the close scrutiny of mail by the Post Office for State purposes. Although the monitoring of the mails was previously performed to protect the State from the citizen (subversion), now it was done to protect the citizen from himself. The State was shifting from the coercion of the early frontier days (negative State-building) to governmentality (positive State-building).

The shift from military force to governmentality was evident in the decision to send the Chief Inspector of the Post Office to Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in 1880 (shortly before Riel's Rebellion). The annual report stated that,

Constant attention has been given to the progress of settlement in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and to the measures necessary to provide such additional facilities for postal communication ...⁸²

And the Chief Inspector in the same report stated,

The growth of the Postal Service in Manitoba, Keewatin and the North-West Territory during the last nine years has been remarkable. In the year 1871, when I arrived at Winnipeg to arrange for the establishment of such a service ... I found in operation only six regular post offices ... There are now in Manitoba, Keewatin and the North-West Territory, 147 Post Offices, of which 79 have been established within the last fourteen months⁸³

However the attempt to integrate the local population into the Canadian identity by the establishment of postal service was too late to prevent the Rebellion. Remote areas are slow to develop a national consciousness and identity, and then only after their isolation is breached by communications. The establishment of most of the post offices a mere four years before the Rebellion gave insufficient time to assimilate the periphery and the State was required to use the traditional method of force (negative State-building).

In the 1880 Debate on *Post Office Supply*, it was revealed that Ontario was the only province which generated a postal surplus within the postal system⁸⁴ and this surplus was used in part off-set the deficit in the other provinces. This was a form of equalization payments before the term was created, as suggested by the remarks of the Postmaster General in discussing the hinterland of Canada,

So vast is the Territory, so large the area of settlements, and so great the distance as yet between them, that for some years to come the Postal Service must necessarily be attended with an outlay considerably in excess of the postage

collections, an outlay fully warranted, however, by the great convenience and encouragement afforded thereby to the pioneers of the remote districts, which no doubt, will ere long be inhabited by large and prosperous communities ... An outlay, therefore, which either for postal or for other purposes might at first sight seem extravagant, will be found not only justifiable in the present but in the future to yield ample returns⁸⁵

In 1882, another postage rates bill was introduced by Postmaster General O'Connor of MacDonald's Government, to grant the right of free transmission to all newspapers (but not periodicals) published in Canada. Other than to amend the bill to include Canadian periodicals, there was virtually no debate in either house which indicates the degree of consensus on this subject. The amount of foregone postage was \$47,500 or 2.6% of total revenues of \$1.770 million (the table at the end of this chapter reveals that the amount charged for postage throughout this period was insignificant). This seems to confirm the argument that the government crafted a communications policy predicated on dissemination of information through the press and itself (franking), the two beneficiaries throughout this period of low postage rates.

C. ORGANIZATION AND LABOUR POLICIES

At the time of Confederation the Post Office establishment was as shown in the table below:

TABLE 5 ⁸⁶

POST OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT AT CONFEDERATION

3638	Post offices and way offices*
180	Clerks and Letter Carriers
82	Railway Mail Clerks
7	Ocean Mail Clerks
2220	Mail Contractors
7	Post Office Inspectors
26	Clerks in the Inspectors Offices
<hr/>	
6160	Total Employees
*	Assumed 3638 Post Offices employed one person each

However these figures are somewhat misleading and do not support Table 4 (above), which shows 2,333 post offices in 1867. This is due to measurement problems which persisted from 1851 to the present. The first problem relates to the definition of a post office. "Way offices" which are analogous to today's postal franchise were usually excluded in the annual reports. The way office was located in a local store in very small (usually rural) communities, where it was not feasible to establish a conventional post office. The entrepreneur was paid a commission based on postal sales. However, periodically the annual reports provided data such as the table immediately above, which includes post offices, way offices and contractors. The second definitional problem relates to mail contractors. This group was usually not considered part of the Post Office

establishment and not normally provided in the annual reports. Thus the record shows two post office establishments. The more restricted definition excludes way offices and contractors (the civil service proper) while the more liberal definition includes all offices and people engaged on postal matters.

Using the more restricted definition of the Post Office yields the following:

TABLE 6 ⁸⁷

POST OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT (NARROWLY DEFINED)

2333	Post Offices
180	Clerks and Letter Carriers
82	Railway Mail Clerks
7	Ocean Mail Clerks
7	Post Office Inspectors
26	Clerks in Inspectors Offices
<hr/>	
2635	Total Employees (difference of 3525)

This may seem unduly pedantic; however the definitional problem which existed from the beginning lies at the core of the current policy issues of post office closings, contracting out and franchising. In the modern era the labour unions adopted the more restricted definition while management adopted the more liberal definition.

The 1867 Act provided the Postmaster General with a great deal of authority, and many of these powers had significance for postal labour policies. Section 10 granted authority to the Postmaster General to: open and close post offices and routes; appoint postmasters except those in the large cities; grant all mail contracts; and employ letter carriers. The most important power given to the Postmaster General was the power of appointment more commonly called patronage. This was the most efficient method of accountability in the nineteenth century. Weberian principles of legal-rational bureaucracy had not yet permeated Western bureaucracies and impersonal loyalty to abstract principles was yet to be developed. Patronage was the glue which bound the political realm together. The Post Office, employing the single largest and most dispersed group in the federal government, was especially in need of patronage as the most efficient system of accountability.

In 1868, the first *Civil Service Act*⁸⁸ was passed and it established an Inside Service and an Outside Service. The act also established levels and salaries of employees, which were the same for the Inside and Outside Service as shown in Table 7 below. It is important to note that no distinction was made at this point between the two "classes" in terms of money or tenure. The Final Report of the Civil Service Commissioners claimed this was due to an error in legislative drafting.⁸⁹ Note that this act applied to all postal employees excepting "rural postmasters".

TABLE 7 ⁹⁰**CLASSIFICATION & ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF CLERKS, 1869**

CLASSIFICATION	MINIMUM SALARY	MAXIMUM SALARY	ANNUAL INCR.
1st Class Clerk	1200	1800	50
Sr. 2nd Class	1100	1400	50
Jr. 2nd Class	700	1000	50
3rd Class	400	650	50
Messenger	300	500	30

In 1870, the first postal labour policy was announced by Postmaster General Alexander Campbell. It concerned postmasters, thereby demonstrating Parliamentary involvement in Post Office labour issues from the very beginning.⁹¹

At that time postmasters (including those in the very smallest offices called "way offices"), were not on salary but received a commission based on revenues. Under the new policy all post offices (excluding city post offices) were to be paid according to the following table. These scales were intended to be revised every two years although this did not happen.

TABLE 8 ⁹²

REMUNERATION FOR POSTMASTERS, 1870

ANNUAL REVENUES OF INDIVIDUAL P.O.	ANNUAL SALARY OF POSTMASTER
less than \$25	\$10
between \$25 and \$800	40% of revenues
greater than \$800	25% of revenues

In 1879, an extraordinary amendment to the *Post Office Act*⁹³ was introduced by Postmaster General Langevin of the MacDonald Government. Inspectors already had considerable authority but this bill granted them even greater authority. The Chief Inspector was granted

power in any part of Canada to inquire into and investigate complaints or suspected cases of misconduct or mismanagement on the part of any person employed in the Canada Post Office or performing duties in or in connection with any Post Office in Canada, and also into any complaints of the miscarriage or loss of letters or other mailable matter, or the contents thereof, and with power to suspend from his duties ... any person employed in any Post Office (s. 1)

This represented a large expansion of the authority of the Chief Inspector. But what was extraordinary was the following section which granted authority to the Chief Inspector to apply to any Superior Court,

for an order that a subpoena be issued from the court compelling any person therein named to appear before such Chief Inspector at the time and place mentioned ... and there to testify in all matters ... relative to any inquiry or investigation, and (if so desired) to bring with him and produce any document, paper or thing which he may have in his possession relative to any such inquiry ... and any such witness may be summoned from any part of Canada whether within or without the ordinary jurisdiction of the court ... Any Chief Inspector and any Post Office Inspector shall have full power and authority to examine any person on oath on any matter pertinent to such inquiry ... such oath may be administered by him to any person whom he may desire to examine (s. 2).

These are highly unusual powers to be conferred on any unelected official. The act effectively granted quasi-judicial powers to a bureaucratic official who was part of the senior management of a department of government. Moreover the usual safeguards of that time e.g. reasonable cause, were not imposed on the office. There need only be a "complaint" or "suspected case" and the Inspector could then summon "any person whom he may desire to examine". This further illustrates the central importance of the Post Office - not merely as a communications system - but as an instrument of social order.⁹⁴

In 1882, a bill⁹⁵ was passed which had far reaching consequences for the Post Office and the civil service at large. The bill, introduced by Sir Hector Langevin, was a response to the First Report of Commissioners appointed to investigate the Civil Service, who submitted their report the previous year.⁹⁶ The report recommended "that the Civil Service ought to be taken out of the hands of the Government and Parliament, and placed in the complete control of a body of commissioners appointed by the Crown". The Commission also recommended that promotions in the service should only be made by competitive examination (as in

England) with promotions decided on the basis of merit. However the government did not adopt these recommendations. Instead the Act formally divided the civil service into an inside and outside service. The inside service - the "elite" of the civil service - was defined as the officers at headquarters (i.e. Ottawa), while the outside service comprised all civil servants outside the capital.

The Act established a Board of Examiners to provide a preliminary examination and issue "certificates of qualification" to successful applicants. The candidate was then required to write a second examination for the particular classification e.g. Second Class Clerk. But these examinations only qualified the candidate; the government was then free to choose anyone who passed the qualifying exams. By contrast, with competitive examinations the candidate with the highest score must be chosen. In adopting qualifying exams rather than competitive exams, the government retained its power of partisanship appointment.

The act also reduced the civil service from five classes to four classes of clerks, namely Chief Clerks, and first through third classes.⁹⁷ Deputy Ministers and Chief Clerks were to be appointed by *Order-in-Council*. The annual salary ranges applicable to all members of the inside service were as follows:

TABLE 9 ⁹⁸

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF INSIDE SERVICE (OTTAWA), 1882

TITLE	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
Deputy Minister	O-I-C	O-I-C
Chief Clerk	1800	2400
First Class Clerk	1200	1800
Second Class Clerk	1100	1400
Third Class Clerk	400	1000

This salary structure is to be contrasted with that of the outside service for the Post Office (Schedule B of the Act):

TABLE 10 ⁹⁹

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF OUTSIDE POSTAL SERVICE, 1882

TITLE	MINIMUM	10 YR	20 YR
INSPECTORS			
Chief Inspector	2,800	2,800	2,800
1st Class Inspector	2,200	2,400	2,600
2nd Class Inspector	2,000	2,200	2,400
Assistant Inspectors	1,000	1,200	1,500

CITY POSTMASTERS

CLASS	SIZE OF POST OFFICE	SALARY
Class 1	Revenues greater than \$80,000	2,600
Class 2	Revenues between \$60,000-\$80,000	2,400
Class 3	Revenues between \$40,000-\$60,000	2,200
Class 4	Revenues between \$20,000-\$40,000	2,000
Class 5	Revenues less than \$20,000	1,400

ASSISTANT POSTMASTERS

CLASS	SALARY
Class 1	2,000
Class 2	1,800
Class 3	1,600
Class 4	1,400
Class 5	1,100 to 1,400

CLERKS IN CITY POST OFFICES

CLASS	MINIMUM SALARY	MAXIMUM SALARY
1st Class	1,200	1,500
2nd Class	900	1,200
3rd Class	400	800

 LETTER CARRIERS, SORTERS, MESSENGERS, PORTERS

	300	600		
RMCs	START	2 YEARS	5 YEARS	10 YEARS
1st Class	720/880*	800/1000	800/1100	960/1200
2nd Class	600/720	640/800	720/880	800/1000
3rd Class	480/660	520/640	560/700	640/800
4th Class	480	540	600	800**
5th Class	360	420	-	-

* The two annual salaries in each category represent respectively the day service and night service annual income figures.

** Fourth Class received \$1000 after 15 years.

These figures reveal that the letter carriers received substantially lower wages than all other categories. The considerable imbalance provides a reason for the founding in 1891 of the first workers association in the Post Office - the *Federated Association of Letter Carriers* (FALC).

In 1883, the *Civil Service Act* was amended again.¹⁰⁰ Of particular interest are two amendments. First, it increased the salary of the Chief Clerk to a salary range of \$1,800/\$2,400 *per annum*. Second, it revised the salaries for Railway Mail Clerks as shown in the following table.

TABLE 11 ¹⁰¹

ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS, 1883

CLERKS	NEW	2 YRS	5 YRS	10 YRS
Chief	1000	1200	1350	1500
First	720/880	800/1000	880/1100	960/1200
Second	600/720	640/800	720/880	800/1000
Third	480/600	520/640	560/700	640/800

In 1884, the *Civil Service Act* was again amended.¹⁰² It imposed preliminary examinations on letter carriers, packers, sorters and messengers. However these groups were exempted from the second or qualifying examination. As well, the Act amended the salary structure for Inspectors and letter carriers etc. as shown in the following table.

TABLE 12 ¹⁰³

**ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR
INSPECTORS, LETTER CARRIERS, PORTERS, 1884**

TITLE	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	ANNUAL INCR
Asst. Inspector	1200	1600	50
Mail Transfer Agents	400	600	40
Letter carriers, porters, messengers, box collectors	360	600	

These figures demonstrate the declining relative position of the letter carriers, sorters and packers. At this time the gap between one class of management (Inspectors) and a significant portion of the workers (letter carriers) had increased to approximately 4 to 1. In the modern Post Office internal auditors *i.e.* Inspectors, do not earn 400% more than the letter carriers (letter carriers today earn an average of \$30,000 *per annum* while internal auditors earn approximately \$50,000 *per annum*).

CONCLUSION

With the aid of archival data we will summarize this period as follows.

TABLE 13 ¹⁰⁴

POST OFFICES, REVENUES AND VOLUMES 1867-1887

YEAR	POST OFFICES	LTTRS*REV.*		EXP*	DEF**	% OF REV.
1867	2333	14	.9	.9	0	1
1868	3638	18	1.0	1.0	27	3
1869	3756	21	.9	1.1	06	11
1870	3820	24	1.0	1.2	45	14
1871	3943	27	1.1	1.3	2	18
1872	4135	31	1.2	1.4	76	15
1873	4518	34	1.4	1.5	47	10
1874	4706	39	1.5	1.7	219	15
1875	4892	42	1.5	1.9	337	22
1876	5015	42	1.5	2.0	475	2
1877	5161	41	1.5	2.1	574	38
1878	5378	44	1.6	2.1	490	30
1879	5606	44	1.5	2.2	633	41
1880	5773	46	1.6	2.3	638	39
1881	5935	48	1.8	2.3	565	32
1882	6171	56	2.0	2.5	437	22
1883	6395	63	2.3	2.7	423	19
1884	6837	66	2.3	2.9	601	26
1885	7084	68	2.4	3.0	697	29
1886	7295	71	2.5	3.4	912	37
1887	7534	74	2.6	3.5	855	33

* In millions

** In thousands

The table reveals phenomenal growth in all categories in conjunction with massive deficits which increased in the 20 year period from 3.4 million to 4.6 million or a 35% increase far beyond the increase in population. For example, there were 601 post offices in 1850 which increased to 2333 in 1867 or 400%. Between 1867 and 1888 the number of post offices increased still further from 2333 to 7671 for a 300% increase. This figure illustrates federal expansion into the hinterland to create a federal presence. The second important figure was the deficit which ranged from approximately 10% to 40% of revenues. These deficits, massive by the standards of the time, were embraced as a cost of nation-building. By contrast the alleged high deficits of the 1970s and 1980s were approximately only 15% of revenues.

The following table documents large increases in usage took place over the twenty year period reviewed.

TABLE 14 ¹⁰⁵

ANNUAL MAIL VOLUMES* BY TYPE, 1867-1887

YEAR	LTTR PAP	NEWS. LTTR	REGIS.	BKS	FREE MAIL	PARCELS 000s	POST CARDS
1867	14						
1868	18	19	.7		.7	25	
1869	22	19	.8		.9	39	
1870	24	20	1.0	1.0		52	
1871	27	22	1.1	1.2		64	
1872	31	24	1.3	1.1		95	
1873	34	25	1.4	1.1		112	
1874	39	29	1.5	1.4		103	
1875	42	31	1.7	1.3		131	
1876	42	38	1.7	4.0	1.0	71	4.6
1877	42	39	1.8	5.0	1.1	90	5.4
1878	44	10	2.0	5.0	1.2	108	6.4
1879	44	10	1.9	5.0	1.4	206	6.9
1880	46	10	2.0	5.0	1.5	217	7.8
1881	48	11	2.2	6.0	1.8	331	9.6
1882	56	12	2.4	7.0	2.4	394	11.3
1883	63	7	2.6	9.0	2.6	463	12.9
1884	66	8	3.0	10.0	2.8	541	13.5
1885	68	9	3.0	11.0	3.0	600	13.8
1886	71	9	3.4	15.0	3.3	640	15.1
1887	74	10	3.5	20.0	3.2	820	16.3

All classes except parcels in millions

The number of letters processed increased from 18 million to 80 million annually, an increase of approximately 450%. Although "books" as

a class were not recorded separately prior to 1875, it is apparent that the introduction of a Book Post policy was very effective. Newspaper volumes declined commencing in 1878 for reasons we were unable to document. Rates for newspapers did not increase in that year; while the annual report did not discuss the decline. Registered letters and government franked mail increased by approximately 500% while parcels increased three fold. As noted, the population only increased by 35% during this period.

The optimism of the policy makers is seen in the annual reports of this period. For Post Office officials the future appeared to hold more of the same. However the policy makers were gradually becoming aware of the power of the emerging communications technologies as instruments of nation-building. In the following year the first Colonial Conference was held in Ottawa to discuss postal and telegraphic communications. We will deal with this conference and its importance for postal policy in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: END NOTES

1. *Canadian Postal Guide*, 1867, p. 11.
2. For a scholarly account see Harold Innis', *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railroad* (his Ph.D thesis which was subsequently published by the University of Toronto Press). The best account by a popular historian was provided by Pierre Berton.
3. Canada (Province). Legislature. Statutes. 1849, *12 Victoria c. 34*
4. Canada (Province). Legislature. Statutes. 1850 *13-14 Victoria c. 17*
5. In *The Pioneer Public Service*, Hodgetts documented that the Customs Service devolved to the Province of Canada in 1849. See his Appendix: Chronological Perspective of Public Departments, 1841-1867. It can argued that Post Office devolution was prior, in that the British Government first decided to devolve authority over the Post Office in 1834, with the introduction of that statute.
6. George Sherwood. *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada*, Edited by E. Nish. Vol. IX, Part II, p. 1110.
7. The Post Office and the Customs Department reported to the Inspector General - which later became the Department of Finance. This does not invalidate the theory expressed in this book. The Post Office and Customs were placed under the Inspector General because they were major sources of revenue. Thus the two departments were lumped together. But that masked significant differences between the two. Notwithstanding that both departments had the largest number of offices throughout the province, the Customs Department was explicitly seen as the major source of revenue for the government. By contrast, policy makers did not see the Post Office as a source of revenue but as a vital medium of communications. To that end, postal deficits were often encouraged and sustained, as is documented in this chapter. Thus placing the two organizations under the same Minister, although superficially plausible, was belied by the policy makers' views towards the Post Office. And of course the organizational anomaly was corrected very shortly thereafter with the creation of the position of Postmaster General in the 1850 statute.

8. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 1111.
9. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the United Canadas*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 1114.
10. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the United Canada*, Book IX, Part II, p. 1112.
11. This is the essence of contemporary postal policy debates. Critics such as CUPW and Rural Dignity are opposed to the present management philosophy of the Canada Post Corporation on the basis that the latter emphasizes efficiency rather than service.
12. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Book IX, Part II, p. 1116.
13. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Book IX, Part II, p. 1116.
14. Cheques, money orders and currency are nothing more than a communication of information e.g. A owes B x units of value. This statement is even more evident with modern practice wherein an economic value is a magnetic particle on a corporate disk drive.
15. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1855, p. 5.
16. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Book X, Part II, p. 1233.
17. Nish, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Book X, Part II, p. 1322.
18. The requirement was imposed three years in advance of a similar requirement imposed on the British Postmaster General, thus validating Innis' argument that innovation often occurs in the periphery.
19. For example, the section required a list of fines imposed on all contractors, and the classification and salary of every employee. Tables of mean annual income by classification from 1850 to 1920 were derived from these data.

20. The citizen was required to pay one penny per letter and a half penny per newspaper. If instead the citizen wanted to pick up his mail at the post office, he was only required to pay one half penny for each piece of mail.
21. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General for the Year Ending 5th April, 1852*, p. 1.
22. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1852, p. 8.
23. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1855, p. 6.
24. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1854, p. 5.
25. The claim was made by a study for the Department of Communications: *Evolution of Canadian Concessionary Postal Tariffs and Their Classification Structure*, Ekos Research Associates, 1981.
26. Canada (Province). Legislature. Statutes. 1855, *18 Victoria c. 79*
27. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1856, p. 6.
28. Smith, p. 277.
29. Smith, p. 278.
30. These figures are provided by Smith, p. 278.
31. The payment structure decided was as follows:
Mail service with a travelling railway mail car
Grand Trunk Railroad - 10 cents/mile
Grand Western Railroad - 8 cents/mile
All other railroads - 8 cents/mile
And 2 cents/mile for mail carried without a railway mail car.

32. Young, p. 21-22.
33. It has been argued by some scholars that government became very complex in the 1970s with a great deal of overlapping jurisdictions and policy fields, such that policies adopted in one field impacted in unpredictable ways on other fields. This, it was argued, required central agencies to maintain control of "policy sprawl". Young's logic reveals that this problem was evident considerably prior to the 1970s.
34. This figure is provided in the *First Report of the Select Committee on Packet and Telegraphic Contracts*. *British Parliamentary Papers* No. 328, May, 1860.
35. Honourable John Young, *The Origin of the Ocean Mail Steamers Between Liverpool and the St. Lawrence and the Advantages of the Northern Route*, p. 6.
36. Canada (Province). Statutes. 1852, *16 Victoria c. 10*: An Act to provide by one General Law for the incorporation of Electric Telegraph Companies.
37. It is important to note that John Young, one of the principals involved in both telegraph companies established in 1859, was a former member of the Cabinet in the early 1850s and was responsible at that time for Canada's first "made-in-Canada" policy concerning transportation. He was the father of the policy proposal to establish a subsidized Canadian ocean mail steamship route between Canada and Great Britain, to compete against the British subsidized Cunard line. Young was very aware of the importance to the state, of advances in the speed of communications. For an elaboration see his excellent monograph, *The Origin of the Ocean Mail Steamers Between Liverpool and the St. Lawrence and the Advantages of the Northern Route* (1877). We may surmise that he repeated these views to the policy makers when pressing for a statute to incorporate the two telegraph companies.
38. Canada (Province). Statutes. 1852. *16 Victoria, c. 10*.
39. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality", *Ideology and Consciousness*, No. 6, pp. 5-21.

40. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality", p. 17.
41. There is a relationship between communications and statistics which has not been adequately explored.
42. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1857, p. 7.
43. This was subsequently confirmed by an 1866 amendment to the *Post Office Act*.
44. Not one "pence" for Canada had changed to a Canadian dollar decimal system in 1857.
45. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1859, p. 1.
46. This is analogous to the aborted policy of 1987 which proposed a fine for mail without a postal code.
47. Canada (Province). Statutes. 1859, 22 *Victoria* c. 31
48. Smith, p. 318.
49. The correspondence between the British Colonial Office (as intermediary) and the *Hudson's Bay Company* is reproduced in a Return to an Address of the House of Commons printed July 15, 1863. This correspondence is also reproduced in the Irish University Press Series of *British Parliamentary Papers*, Volume 24: Correspondence and Papers Relating to Government Postal and Rail Communications and Other Affairs in Canada, pp. 361-381. The Canadian correspondence is reproduced in Canada (Province) Sessional Papers Nos. 29 and 31, 1863.
50. Irish University Press Series, Volume 24, p. 364.
51. Pierre Berton provides the best example.

52. These figures were compiled from the *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General*, 1852-1867.
53. This table was constructed from data contained in the *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General* from years 1852-1867.
54. The data are found in the Annual Reports of the PMG for the years 1852-1867 and are also contained in a summary table on p. 4 of the 1867 Annual Report.
55. See G.P. Browne, *Documents on the Confederation of British North America*, p. 47-48.
56. G.P. Browne, p. 76-77.
57. G.P. Browne, pp. 81, 158, 163.
58. G.P. Browne, pp. 221, 226.
59. Canada (Province). Third Session, Eighth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of Confederation of the British North American Provinces*, p. 215.
60. Confederation Debates, p. 368.
61. Confederation Debates, p. 409.
62. Confederation Debates, p. 447.
63. Canada. Statutes. First Session, First Parliament. *31 Victoria c. 10*, s. 3
64. *Canadian Postal Guide*, 1867, p. 11.

65. *Canada Post Corporation Annual Report*, 1982-83, p. 1.
66. Statutes of Canada. 32-33 *Victoria c. 5*
67. 1867 *Senate Debates*, p. 365.
68. This information is contained in the *Annual Report of the Minister of Public Works for the Year Ending 1900. House of Commons Sessional Paper 19-1901*, pp. 24-28.
69. The other technologies in the triad are radio and television.
70. 1880 *Senate Debates*, p. 213.
71. 1880 *Senate Debates*, p. 269.
72. 1867 *Senate Debates*, p. 59.
73. With radio and television, the State not only influences the medium through regulation, but strongly influences the content through a State owned network and/or through "media management".
74. 1875. Second Session, Third Parliament. 38 *Victoria c. 7*
75. This is documented in Christopher Walker's M.A. Thesis, *Dominion Architecture: Fuller's Canadian Post Offices, 1881-1896*.
76. \$72,000 for all Canada before the reduction and \$10,000 *per annum* under the proposed bill.
77. 1875 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 483.

3

RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NBS 1963-A
10X 5.0 4.5 4.0 3.6 3.2 2.8 2.5 2.2 2.0 1.8 1.6 1.4 1.25 1.1 1.0

78. Innis argued that social and cultural values are prior to economic values and indeed the latter merely reflects or follows cultural values.
79. 1875 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 272.
80. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1875, p. 6.
81. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1875, p. 8.
82. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1880, p. viii.
83. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1880, p. viii.
84. 1880 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1910.
85. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1880, p. x.
86. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1868, p. 2
87. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1868, p. 2.
88. 1868. 31 *Victoria* c. 34
89. 1870 *House of Commons Sessional Paper* 64-1870, p. 3.
90. 1868. 31 *Victoria* c. 34
91. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1870, p. 3.
92. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General* for the Year Ending 1870, p. 3-4.

93. Statutes of Canada. *42 Victoria c. 20*
94. This foreshadowed a development which occurred after the Second World War. According to civil rights critics such as Clayton Ruby, governments granted greater powers to public officials than to the police. Foucault termed this governmentality - the policing and disciplinary function of bureaucracy to produce the safety and security of the citizen. This illustrates that the policing function exercised by government departments first took root in Canada in the late nineteenth century in the Post Office.
95. 1882. Fourth Session, Fourth Parliament. *Bill 161* passed into law as *45 Victoria, c. 4*
96. 1881 *House of Commons Sessional Papers* 113-1881.
97. The act created two additional categories of messengers, packers, sorters and Professional/technical officers.
98. 1882. *45 Victoria, c. 4.*
99. 1882. *45 Victoria, c. 4.*
100. 1883. First Session, Fifth Parliament. *46 Victoria c. 7*
101. 1883. *46 Victoria, c. 7.*
102. 1884. *47 Victoria c. 15*
103. 1884. *47 Victoria c. 15.*
104. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1867-1887.*

105. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1867-1887.*

CHAPTER 4:

CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY MAKERS, 1887-1914

The proposal is to bring all telephone lines, constructed and to be constructed, east and south of India, and west and south of Canada, eventually under government control ... I can scarcely think that the time has not arrived when the matter should be considered, not as a commercial question simply, but as a question of Imperial importance in a naval, military and political aspect.

Sir Alexander Flemming, 1888 ¹

INTRODUCTION

In this and subsequent chapters we will deal with postal policy under three themes: the policy response to emerging technologies: postal pricing and services; and postal organization and labour policies. First, the responses of the policy makers to emerging electronic communications technologies are examined. It will be argued that the Post Office continued to experience enormous expansion as the policy makers continued to use it as an instrument of nation-building. However during the same period, there was a qualitative change in their perceptions of the Post Office. This change in perception occurred because of the gradual realization and acceptance of the growing importance of electronic communications as an instrument of nation-building. In consequence the Post Office peaked during this

period and then suffered an almost imperceptible decline. We introduce evidence of this change in perceptions, although the actual decline, as measured by such key statistics as the number of post offices, did not become visible until after 1914. Thus the discussion commencing immediately below provides the foundation for the next chapter which analyzes the first evidence of the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building.

The second theme deals with postal pricing policies. Evidence will be introduced which documents that the policy makers continued to use pricing policies to facilitate communication as the technique of nation-building. This was achieved by setting and maintaining very low first class rates and a policy of free transmission for second class literature *i.e.* periodicals and newspapers. However by the close of this period postal policies were being re-examined, in light of the availability of alternative communications technologies.

The third theme dealt with in this chapter, concerns postal organization and labour relations policies. This issue is related to the changing perceptions of policy makers. We will argue that an antagonistic labour-management relationship first emerged in this period (1887-1914). It was indirectly set in motion by the government, which recognized the emerging communications technologies as a more efficacious medium of nation-building. Consequently they downgraded the role of postal workers and hence their status, as attested by government policy on remuneration. Thus the newer technologies gradually pushed the Post Office from

the center stage it had previously occupied and served so well as the pre-eminent vehicle of nation-building.

The three themes are brought together by arguing that the policy makers became aware that the emerging communications technologies could be used as instruments of nation-building. This insight caused a decline in the relative importance of the Post Office and the postal employees, in the view of the policy makers. Consequently a perceptible shift in pricing and labour policies occurred. The technological and policy changes caused a relative decline in status for postal workers, which in turn led to an antagonistic labour-management relationship. The impact of the new technologies is crucial to an understanding of the changing Post Office relations and it has therefore been dealt with at some length.

EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES AND POLICY

The year 1887 was a watershed for postal policy, for in that year the first *Colonial Conference* (the forerunner of the *Commonwealth Conference*) was held in London. It also was the first conference to be held concerning postal and telegraphic communications. Prior to that conference, there is no record of Canada's attendance at any such conference, in Canada or elsewhere, concerning postal or electronic communications policies. The conference was initiated by Lord Salisbury and Edward Stanhope, partly in celebration of Queen Victoria's

Jubilee. The Colonial Minister, Edward Stanhope, in announcing the Conference, quoted Queen Victoria who said,

I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorized communications to be entered into with the principle Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interests.²

Stanhope then provided the theme of the conference,

Second only in importance to this great question is one concerning in a special degree the interests of the Empire in time of peace. The promotion of commercial and social relations by the development of our postal and telegraphic communications could be considered with much advantage by the proposed conference ... It is obviously desirable that the question of Imperial intercommunications should be considered as a whole.³

Stanhope concluded with a prescient comment,

I am confident that your government will, as I do, feel deep interest in this first attempt to bring all parts of Her Majesty's Empire into joint deliberation. However modest the commencement may be, results may grow out of it affecting, in a degree which it is at present difficult to appreciate, the interests of the Empire and of the civilized world.⁴

There were three issues scheduled for discussion: a proposal for Imperial penny postage; the question of Australia and South Africa joining the postal union; and a renewal of arrangements for the carriage of mails to Australia. Canada, represented by Postmaster General Sir Alexander Campbell and Sandford

Flemming, upset the planned discussions and focused discussion on an issue not even on the agenda - the laying of a telegraphic line from Vancouver to Australia. To that end the Canadians proposed an alternative Imperial mail route between Britain and Australia. In place of the route from Britain to South Africa and across the Indian Ocean to Australia, the Canadians proposed a route across the Atlantic to Canada, across Canada via the *Canadian Pacific Railroad*, and then to Australia by subsidized ships belonging to the *Canadian Pacific Railroad*. The Canadians justified the route on the basis of national security, for Britain's enemies, it was argued, were in Europe and not in North America or the Pacific. By contrast the proposed route was not subject to enemy interdiction.

However this was a diversion designed to shift the focus of the conference to a discussion of communications following the Canadians' proposed route. The real goal became apparent in Fleming's eloquent address to the delegates. In language reminiscent of Hegel, Fleming said, "to reach the east the true path is to go west" and he provided a cogent argument for an underwater telegraph line between Vancouver and Australia. Fleming's justification for this policy proposal was,

Would not the establishment of such communications open the way for securing to the Empire in perpetuity a masterful hold on the Pacific? Prepared for the worst that may happen in Europe, would not England, occupied with her own people and pursuing her own noble aims, be in a position to regard the Eastern Question with comparative indifference? Is it not the duty of the British people scattered around the globe to set about putting their house in order? Is that not one of the main purposes of this Conference?⁵

Flemming provided a critical insight to the Canadian position. In his words, there are

leading circumstances which have brought Canada to realize her new position - a position not any longer at the far extremity of the colonial system, but midway between the British Islands on the one hand and her rich colonies and dependencies on the other.⁶

This provides an important understanding of the position of the Canadian policy makers. The recognition of "her new position" was not precipitated by the discovery or settlement of Australia - that had occurred much earlier. Canada's new position or new spatial sense was occasioned by the advent of electronic communications. With traditional communications/ transportation technologies, Canada was at the "extremity of the empire" - a 10 to 15 day voyage by ship. But with electronic communications, the spatial conceptions of the policy makers shifted from a flat world to a round world - with Canada in the middle. Flemming was literally correct in speaking of Canada's "new position" for Canada had moved from the end to the middle. The "global village" was emerging.

But of even greater significance was the fact that this was the first time that Canadian policy makers had adopted an interventionist, comprehensive electronic communications policy. Previously, electronic communications policies had been passive reactions to private initiatives. For example, the 1852 *Telegraph Act* merely provided enabling legislation for entrepreneurs to incorporate private

companies, while the *Bell Canada Act* of 1880 was introduced by a private member's bill rather than by government. But at this conference the Canadian Government actively promoted a policy to provide either subsidies for a private Pacific Telegraph Company or for a Pacific cable built, owned and operated by the State. By the end of the conference, it became clear that the Canadians preferred the second option. In Sir Alexander Campbell's words,

The proposal is to bring all telephone lines, constructed and to be constructed, east and south of India, and west and south of Canada, eventually under government control ... I can scarcely think that the time has not arrived when the matter should be considered, not as a commercial question simply, but as a question of Imperial importance in a naval, military and political aspect.⁷

This was a profound policy shift and we can date subsequent government involvement in electronic communications from this policy. The justification given, for State ownership of a telegraph company, was the same as that for State ownership of the Post Office. For the first time, the policy makers expressly viewed electronic communications rather than the Post Office as the medium of nation-building. Thus we can date the origin of the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building, from this seminal conference. But although the perceptions of the policy makers had changed, it would be another 25 years before the decline of the Post Office manifested itself. This was because the telegraph and telephone industries had not yet matured in Canada

In 1889, Postmaster General Haggart of the MacDonald Government tabled a bill that introduced several new policies.⁸ First, it eliminated subsidies for mail steamship lines and compelled all Canadian steamships to carry mail when required by the Post Office. In lieu of the subsidy a price according to a fixed principle of weight or distance was provided. This indicates the purely arbitrary nature of postal pricing and deficits, for a fixed cost (subsidy) was transformed into a variable cost increasing or reducing expenditures as volumes rose and fell (which in turn was partly occasioned by the political pricing of postage rates). The second change introduced a new policing function, whereby "immoral photographs" were excluded asailable material. Technological change was once more in the air, for this amendment was necessary to make allowance for the new technology of photography.

Another indication of the policy makers' emerging awareness of the new electronic communications technologies was provided by the 1893 *Special Commission to inquire into the most feasible means of completing the telegraphic system of the Empire*.⁹ The following remark by Flemming, is indicative of the thinking of the policy makers at this time,

in new countries such as Canada and Australia, the telegraph is not seldom the pioneer of settlements and railways. Everywhere the connection by telegraph and cable stimulates and facilitates commercial intercourse ... Both countries [Australia and Canada] have growing interests upon the Pacific; both are manifestly destined to become great powers bordering upon that ocean¹⁰

At a later point he stated,

But if we are to keep the Empire intact, if we are to combine all the parts into a lasting whole, we must connect the units by commerce and by cord of attachment. To extend, expand, strengthen, consolidate, build up and maintain the new united empire, we must without delay take means to obtain the freest intercourse between all the parts. In establishing the telegraph system of the united empire, we cannot do better than take for our model, the telegraph system of the United Kingdom.¹¹

Flemming concluded by stating,

The telegraph is the nervous system of commerce. A complete telegraph system will be as indispensable to the commerce of the new empire, which is being developed, as the nervous system is to the human body. No human being can remain in healthful life with a defective nervous system. If the nerve becomes seriously impaired to any one of us, who can tell what disaster may follow.¹²

Flemming's analogy to the nervous system was later made by Marshall McLuhan. The quotations reveal that the policy makers were no longer thinking of empire, nation-building and State expansion being accomplished through the Post Office but through the vehicle of electronic communications. But as these technologies had not yet matured, the dreams of the policy makers were ahead of capabilities and thus the Post Office continued to fill the role during this period.

The 1899 debates of the House of Commons revealed that the Post Office purchased its first automobiles for the Toronto Post Office. Once again the Post Office was at the forefront of adopting new technologies as they became available. It must be remembered that in those days the Minister was heavily involved in the

administration of the department,¹³ so we can assume that a purchase of this amount and type would have received his personal authorization. This supports the view expressed at the beginning of this chapter that the policy makers were cognizant of new technologies. Concerning the automobile the Postmaster General stated,

The adoption of the electric system in the collection of letters may yet produce a revolution in the mail service in large centres like Toronto, or wherever the automobile system may be adopted. I am in hope that we may be able before long to adopt that system, in some places, at all events where the climate will admit of the operation of automobile cars.¹⁴

On the last day of the nineteenth century, Canada's proposal at the 1887 Colonial Conference, became a reality with the inauguration of a State-owned cable between Australia and Vancouver. With this task completed, Flemming commenced a public campaign for a "state owned telegraph service girdling the globe". In response to Flemming's campaign the Canadian Government announced in 1901 that it was studying the establishment of a State-owned telegraph cable across the Atlantic (to compete with the ten privately owned American cables). In 1902 Flemming wrote an open letter to Postmaster General Mulock urging the nationalization of land telegraphs in Canada. His argument was based on the following reasons. First, every European nation as well as India, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand had nationalized their telegraph service. Second, there were "certain striking peculiarities of the electric telegraph which it is impossible

to turn to public advantage while the cables and telegraphs remain in private hands".¹⁵ The third argument was based on the equity of a uniform pricing policy. Whereas the telegraph companies charged by distance, Flemming proposed one low uniform price across Canada available to Canadians of all income levels. In support of this proposal Flemming cited the precedent of uniform postage pricing by the Post Office.

The policy proposal of public ownership was taken up in that same year by an Opposition Member. He wished to know whether "after those cables and telegraph lines that he speaks of are constructed, will they be controlled by the Department of Public Works or by the Post Office Department?"¹⁶ The response of the Minister of *Public Works* was most interesting: "the cables and telegraphs will be in charge of the Minister of *Public Works*, while the Postmaster General will have charge of the Marconi system".¹⁷ As will be evidenced shortly, Postmaster General Mulock, disagreed with this response, for he attempted to nationalize the telegraph and telephone system and place them under the Post Office.

In 1903, Postmaster General Mulock introduced a highly significant bill in the House of Commons.¹⁸ The bill proposed a subsidy to "maintain an independent and efficient service of telegraphic news from Great Britain". Previous to the bill, several Toronto and Montreal newspapers had formed the *Associated Press of Canada* with a view to sharing the costs of telegraphing news from Britain to Canada. However the service was too expensive, and the Association approached

the government for a subsidy. The Government acceded and Parliament passed the bill which authorized a subsidy of \$15,000 a year for three years. In one respect this was momentous for it was the first time that government became involved in the electronic distribution of news. In another sense it was not unusual at all, for the pre-Confederation policy of subsidizing the transmission of newspapers was seen as a logical, additional facet of that same policy.

The rationale provided for the policy by Minister of Finance Fielding is instructive,

We wanted the press generally to have the news of the motherland and we wanted a service which would not be tainted by the anti-British feeling which we found characterizing the news which came to us from time to time by way of the United States.¹⁹

Member of Parliament MacLean stated,

The association is absolutely non-political and non-partisan, and the papers connected with it are of both political parties. ... It was a matter of regret that previous to the establishment of this association the Canadian papers got most of their news through the American association. That news was often anti-British and anti-Canadian and especially intended for consumption in the American market.²⁰

This reveals a recurring theme found in debates concerning the newspaper and periodical postal subsidy and from this point on, concerning communications policy. This is the notion of government protection of Canadian culture from the overwhelming influence of American culture.

In 1905, an important bill was tabled providing for the regulation of wireless telegraphy.²¹ It provided that "no wireless telegraphic station may be established in Canada without a license from the Governor in Council". The policy of regulation was justified yet again on the basis of national security. Senator Scott, representing the government stated,

If a system is constructed in any province it may communicate with a foreign country, and secrets may be conveyed in that way. There are times when the government takes charge of all means of communication - in cases of tariff revision. They take charge of the telegraph system, so that information shall not be conveyed. How much more important is it in regard to wireless telegraphy outside of the province? The messages go through the air. The British government felt that it was of the first importance that they should control wireless telegraphy.²²

In that same year, 1905, Postmaster General Mulock moved that a Select Committee of the House of Commons be established to,

inquire into and report regarding the various public telephone systems in operation in Canada and elsewhere, as the committee shall determine; and to consider and report what changes, if any, are advisable in respect of the methods at present in force for furnishing telephone service to the public.²³

Mulock's justification for the committee is illuminating,

it seems that the time has arrived when we might study the question with the view, if possible, to making the telephone as widespread in its usefulness in connection with the people as the post office itself. I can conceive of no utility that more touches the people, leaving aside the post office, than the telephone ... I cannot see why it is not as much the duty of the state to take charge of the telephone as it is to conduct the postal service.

Members from both sides of the House agreed upon the wisdom of the resolution. Opposition Member Maclean stated,

I have no doubt that the committee will recommend some kind of public ownership; some kind of public control of the telephone system ... the statement of the Postmaster General that he regards the telephone system as a natural portion of the Post Office Department of this country is a good sound doctrine²⁴

Opposition Member Logan stated,

It is in the public interest that the government should enter into the ownership of the telephone system. It is even more important that they should own and control the telegraph system of this Dominion.²⁵

Finally Opposition Member Barr stated,

If we could have a telephone in every post office throughout the rural districts of Canada, it would confer a greater benefit upon the farmers than perhaps even a rural mail delivery would ... One advantage which the telephone has over the telegraph is, that the person in charge of a post office can attend to the telephone whereas the telegraph requires an expert operator ... I believe that a government owned telephone system in Canada, extended throughout the entire Dominion would ... be one of the greatest benefits that could be conferred upon the farming community ...²⁶

There was no opposition in the House of Commons concerning the proposed committee, for it mirrored the overwhelming public support for nationalization (the recommendation of the committee was seen to be a foregone conclusion). The committee held extensive hearings and received submissions

from across Canada from all major interests including the business community. Public opinion, including the Conservative Party and business, was strongly in favour of nationalization. However there were two groups opposed: the *Bell Telephone Company* and Sir Wilfred Laurier and his Cabinet. This was foreshadowed during debate on the appointment of the committee. when Opposition Member MacLean stated,

I think I can congratulate him also that he has converted the right honourable gentleman (Sir Wilfred Laurier). The right honourable gentleman, not very long ago was very much afraid of state ownership in any form, but now that he has consented to this motion being presented to Parliament, I suppose I am to assume that he has changed his mind.²⁷

The committee produced what was probably the most extensive committee report,²⁸ of any Parliamentary committee of that time; however it did not produce a final report, for Postmaster General Mulock was unexpectedly called to England. The committee agreed to produce the final report during the next session.

Between sessions, Mulock recommended to Cabinet that the Government nationalize the telephone system, but the proposal was rejected. Mulock then was either asked to resign or did so voluntarily, and was appointed to the bench.²⁹ What was more astonishing was the appointment of the new Postmaster General, Rudolphe Lemieux, who as Chief Legal Counsel headed *Bell Canada's* response to the committee. On behalf of the *Bell Telephone Company*, Lemieux told the committee that not only did Parliament not have a right to nationalize the

company, but "Parliament had no right to regulate a corporation, once it had called a corporation into existence".³⁰ In light of legislation introduced the following year subjecting Bell to regulation for the first time, it seems odd that Lemieux was appointed to the Cabinet (as Postmaster General) where he was required to support legislation he categorically rejected.

A seminal point of interest concerning this issue, was the position of the Post Office. Senior departmental officials and the Postmaster General were strongly in favour of the policy proposal, for if accepted, the telephone and telegraph companies would have been placed under the Post Office (as occurred in Britain that very same year). This suggests that these officials were aware of the declining relative importance of the Post Office, for they recognized that electronic communications represented a major challenge to the primacy of the Post Office. Thus it was crucial for the long-term future of the Post Office that it acquire control of the new communications technologies; Post Office ownership and management of telephone and telegraph would have ensured its future policy importance. Thus the role played by the Post Office and the Postmaster General is taken as evidence of the hypothesis that perceptions of the policy makers were changing, recognizing that electronic media would perform the policy role of nation-building in the future.

However the policy initiative failed, for the key policy makers (Cabinet) realized that control of the new electronic media could be achieved without ownership. The Cabinet recognized that State ownership of the Post Office

consumed an immense amount of the policy makers' time concerning patronage, new post offices and routes, pricing policies and labour compensation. They recognized that similar political demands would be made if the State acquired ownership of the telephone and telegraph systems. But by 1905 an alternative model had been available for some years, which would ensure control without the problems of ownership. Railways had been subject to the Board of Railway Commissioners, thus allowing the State to achieve its policy goals without the immense political problems of ownership. Consequently, Prime Minister Laurier chose regulation as the policy instrument.

Due to the public demand that something be done concerning the telephone companies, the government tabled an amendment to the *Railway Act* the following year, which proposed placing telephone companies under the jurisdiction of the *Board of Railway Commissioners*. After extensive debate the bill became law³¹ and for the first time the telephone industry became subject to federal regulation.

In 1908, the *Railroad Act* was amended to place telegraph companies under the jurisdiction of the Board of Railway Commissioners. As well the Act increased regulatory control of the telephone system.³² Opposition members once again argued for the nationalization of telephones and telegraphs. At one point Member of Parliament Lennon made a remark which revealed the thinking of some Parliamentarians,

My aim would be to deal with both the telephone and telegraph services as they are dealt with in European countries and in Great Britain, as a system closely allied with the postal service. The postal service, as honourable gentlemen recognize, comes into closer contact with and affects a greater number of our people than any other matter with which we deal in this House; it is essentially a monopoly. The telephone today, under the present system of living, is as essential, almost as much as a matter of every day life, as postal communication itself. In many instances where business has to be attended to rapidly, it is more essential than is the mail service. The telephone and telegraph are more and more displacing and superceding the ordinary mail communication. My belief is that these three great utilities can be worked advantageously side by side.³³

The Opposition Member continued,

the aim of the government should be in the direction of securing control of these three great monopolies which essentially, and so minutely, affect all classes of our people, that they can best be worked in conjunction, and that the aim of the government should be that in Canada, as in Sweden today and to a certain extent portions of the United States, the government by means of the telephone and the telegraph and the postal system should overcome the isolation of the farm, and that by a judicious management of these three great utilities, controlled and operated by the government, we shall rapidly approach the time when we will have an efficient telephone, telegraph and mail service reaching out to all our people.³⁴

While State ownership did not become a reality, the debates prepared the way for the 1929 Aird *Royal Commission on Broadcasting* and the subsequent creation of the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission* (which later later the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*).

In 1912, an *Act to regulate radio-telegraphy* was passed.³⁵ This Act brought under government control the second major communications technology, thus further undermining the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building. The Act gave authority to the federal government to grant radio licenses and make regulations thereto. As well, it ordered the "employment of British subjects as

operators on land stations" and required that those individuals complete a Declaration of Secrecy. A related section granted authority to censor signals and messages. Another important change granted authority to classify stations and prescribe the terms and conditions of licenses. On introducing the bill, Marine, Fisheries and Naval Service Minister Hazen stated,

wireless telegraphy is becoming such an important agency in the commercial life of Canada and all other countries. It is held by many persons that wireless telegraphy, so far as its usefulness is concerned, is at the present time but in its infancy, and there is reason for believing that in a comparatively short time wireless telegraphy will be used for the transmission of press despatches and commercial messages of all kinds, to an extent to which a few years ago was little dreamed of. I think this bill is necessary in order that Canada's control over the wireless telegraphy within its borders may be placed on a proper foundation.³⁶

Lest the reader think that commercial considerations were the exclusive focus of the act, Hazen stated,

The bill gives power to His Majesty's Government to assume possession of a station at any time and operate the same for the public service ... if it be found that they are being inefficiently managed or not properly carried on, or that messages of a confidential character are being communicated to people to whom they should not be communicated, or for reasons of that sort, power is given to the government, a very wise power, I think, to step in and operate them.³⁷

Once again the justification for government intervention in the communications field, as with all previous similar interventions, was that of national security. With each medium *i.e.* Post Office, telegraph, telephone and radio, the government

justified and extended its control on the basis of national security, which is a form of State-building. In each instance the policy makers were acutely aware of the revolutionary potential of the new technologies.

In that same session of 1912-13, a bill was introduced which produced a most remarkable debate concerning the nascent communications policy of the government. The bill dealt with the *Inter-Imperial Telegraph Service*. The reader will recall that at the 1887 Colonial Conference the Canadian Government promoted the development of a telegraphic line between Vancouver and Australia. The four countries - Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand - formed a partnership called the *Pacific Cable Board*, and in 1900 the line was successfully completed with ownership and management taken up by the Board.³⁸ It will also be recalled that a consortium of newspapers formed a cooperative - the *Associated Press of Canada* - to share the costs of telegraphing news from Britain to Canada. However the costs were so high that the Associated Press approached the Government for assistance and consequently Parliament agreed to subsidize the service. These two policies were joined in the 1913 debate now under discussion.

Because of the cost of the subsidy and more generally the high cost of telegraphic communications between Britain and Canada (all telegraphic lines between the two countries were owned by two American companies),³⁹ the Canadian Government realized that the policy solution lay in State ownership of a telegraphic line between Britain and Canada (obviating the need for a subsidy for rates would be charged at the breakeven point). The British Empire would

then own a telegraphic network from Britain to Canada, across Canada (the Pacific Cable Board had leased a line between Montreal and Vancouver from the CPR)⁴⁰ and between Canada and Australia, thus fulfilling the vision of the Canadian Government articulated at the 1887 Colonial Conference. Member of Parliament MacLean noted the importance of the proposal,

I do not at all like the idea that citizens of the United States should control the cable system of the Empire, the cable system of the world and the cable system in which Canada is interested. We are able, we are wealthy enough, to undertake a cable system of our own⁴¹

This again reveals the national vision of the policy makers, which was the primary force which underlay the decision to use communications technologies as instruments of State and nation-building. Modern Canadian nationalists do a great disservice to these early visionaries and distort history, in (implicitly) claiming to have discovered and articulated Canadian nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s. Canadian nationalism as a force in public policy long predates the *Canadian Radio-Television Commission* Canadian content regulations. Professor Bird's recent book, *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting*,⁴² is indicative of this "presentmindedness" (Innis) in failing to recognize the foundation and origins of communications policies. Contemporary scholars and policy makers do not recognize that, in the words of Sir Isaac Newton, they "stood on the shoulders of giants". In a similar vein, Professor Hodgetts has eloquently documented our debt to the Pioneer Public Service of the nineteenth century.

Britain was reluctant to participate in the financing of a Britain-Canada cable because British Postmaster General Samuel believed that telegraph would be made obsolete by the new radio technology. The British Postmaster General estimated that the cost of a cable would approximate five million dollars while a radio link between the two countries could be established for three to four hundred thousand dollars.⁴³ As an interim solution, the British Government suggested that negotiations be conducted with the two cable companies to reduce rates. The Canadian Government agreed; however the negotiations produced minimal reductions in cable rates.

This was unsatisfactory to the Canadian Government and it sought an alternative. About this time, a private group of investors⁴⁴ in Britain founded the *Universal Radiotelegraph Syndicate*. The Syndicate promised the Canadian Government to establish radio communications between Britain and Canada and set prices approximately 65% less than the rates charged by the telegraph companies (the proposed rates would be four pence a word for the public and two pence for government or media). The Canadian Government was not required to subsidize the enterprise.

Thus the bill proposed to grant the Syndicate a license whereupon it would become temporarily subject to the *Board of Railway Commissioners*. But the bill also proposed to regulate radio and telegraph companies through the establishment of a new *Ocean Telegraph Board*, which would assume jurisdiction from the *Board of Railway Commissioners*. The Board was to comprise the Postmaster

General, the Minister of *Marine and Fisheries*, the Minister of *Railways and Canals* and the Minister of *Public Works*. The rationale for this was provided by former Postmaster General Lemieux in the 1912-13 Debates,

The question of cable rates had always a special interest for me when I was Postmaster General because I considered myself to be the minister of communications as is the case in every other country in the world.⁴⁵

This is significant for it reveals that the policy makers recognized the diverse communications technologies as an ensemble within one policy field *i.e.* communications. It reveals that the idea of a *Department of Communications* (established approximately 55 years later by the Trudeau Government) is of much earlier vintage. The Canadian Government's interest in communications was also revealed by the following prescient remark,

If telegraphic communication is very cheap, it enables public opinion to be interchanged, and public opinion will be the new policeman of the world which will keep the nations from war⁴⁶

The remarks foretold of the modern age when the decisions of the superpowers and lesser powers are crafted in part to elicit support from the court of world public opinion.

The bill's most important proposal which would have affected the Post Office, was one that was defeated. The proposal to create an *Ocean Cable Board*

comprising the Postmaster General *et al*, was passed by the House of Commons, after considerable criticism. However the Senate amended the bill, and deleted the clause establishing the Board, on the basis that it was contradictory to grant jurisdiction for telephones and telegraphs to the Railway Board while granting jurisdiction for ocean cable companies to a political board. Senators argued that the politicians lacked the expertise to administer the ocean cable companies. Instead, permanent jurisdiction was granted to the *Board of Railway Commissioners* and the House accepted the amendment.

Thus the *Ocean Cable Board* never came into existence, and therewith the Post Office lost its last opportunity to be the major force in communications policy. The Postmaster General had envisaged that he would be the Chairman of the *Ocean Cable Board* with advice and support provided by the Post Office. The Postmaster General's proposal can be interpreted as an attempt to create, in essence, a Ministry of Communications with operational and regulatory roles. This failed as did the previous attempt by the Postmaster General to nationalize the telegraph and telephone systems and place them under the Post Office. From this point on the Post Office was to play an increasingly marginal role in communications policy.

PRICING AND SERVICES POLICIES

In 1889, Postmaster General Haggart of the MacDonald Government increased postage rates. The "drop" letter rate was reduced from two cents to one cent (this was a letter mailed to a local address). The registered letter rate was increased from two cents to five cents. Finally, the rates charged for mailing periodicals (the "slowest" mass communication for it is published weekly or monthly) was increased. This too is revealing for we are beginning to witness the earliest "resistance" by policy makers to certain preferential pricing. Postal prices had steadily decreased from 1850 to this point; this was the first significant increase. The rationale for the increase provided by the Postmaster General was "it does not pay to deliver it for one cent".⁴⁷ This was the first time that cost considerations entered a postal pricing policy. This is not to suggest that this became the rationale from this point on; yet the idea had entered the political calculus as one more factor.

Criticism of the increase by Opposition Member Sproule, illustrates a recurring theme in postal policy,

When we consider, moreover, that a very large number of people never write letters in the country districts and that those who do have to travel some distance to post them, it is entirely unreasonable to hold that those should pay a large share of the burden of maintaining the service ... in the country where the people are obliged to travel sometimes 5, 6 or 8 miles for a letter they have done a great deal towards paying for the cost when they reach the post office.⁴⁸

A related objection was made to the increased registration fees for it was argued that this would hurt the rural poor. Those individuals too poor to possess a bank account mailed currency for settlement of accounts via registered letter.^{49 50}

This reveals urban/rural and class cleavages which have existed as a subset of postal policy since Confederation. These tensions are still present in postal policy debates as evidenced by the claims of pressure groups such as Rural Dignity.

In 1898, Postmaster General Mulock tabled a bill, which introduced three important amendments. It provided for the free transmission of books for the blind. Second, it allowed for the decentralization of the dead letter branch from Ottawa to cities across the country. Third, it decreased the first class rate for letters from three cents to two cents and imposed a slight charge on newspapers known as second class mail.

The first amendment in effect is social policy expressed through postal policy and provides one more example of the Post Office as an instrument of public policy rather than a business managed according to economic principles. The second amendment reveals the very gradual decline of the Post Office as an important instrument of the policy makers. The Dead Letter Office, required by law to be located in Ottawa, was responsible for opening all mail that could not be delivered. Undeliverable mail was defined as incorrect or illegible addresses, or mail suspected by the local Postmaster of containing contraband, immoral or illegal (*e.g.* lotteries) material. The Parliamentarians considered this to be so

sensitive that the *Post Office Act* required the activity to be carried out in Ottawa under the supervision of senior departmental officials.

For example, in 1878 an extended debate occurred in Parliament⁵¹ concerning the opening of letters by local postmasters. However the idea was rejected on the basis of the confidentiality of the mails, for correspondence was viewed as so important that only senior officials were permitted to open mail. However, the 1898 amendment passed with minimal debate. This suggests that the policy makers no longer viewed the Post Office as carrying "important" messages - urgent or important communications were now telegraphed or telephoned. Senator Clemow confirmed this in debate on the bill,

They also have to consider the amount of business that is transacted through commercial circles through the medium of the telegraph and telephone systems ... that is increasing from day to day, and men find it easier to send a telegram than to write a letter. Another evil is in connection with the express companies. [They] monopolize a great deal of the business that ought to belong to the Post Office Department. They transmit money orders and do all sorts of things which legitimately belongs to the Post Office Department.⁵²

The third amendment concerning postage rates generated a protracted debate. The pragmatic rationale for the proposed one half cent per pound for newspapers (subject to a 10 mile free zone) was provided by the Postmaster General,

tonnage of newspapers carried free through the Canadian mails, since free transmission has been the law, has grown to enormous proportions, and the system has been, I think, in many respects, considerably abused ... In the year 1889 the weight of newspapers carried free through the mails amounted to

9,000,000 odd pounds; in 1891 it went up to 11,000,000 pounds; and in 1897 it had grown to 16,557,490 pounds; and new papers are constantly appearing on the scene, demanding free transmission - papers of more or less importance, and many of them questionable as being newspapers at all, but yet requiring with the requirements of the law, and therefore getting free transmission. The cost of the free transmission of newspapers is becoming a very serious matter for the revenues of the country. We have demands now for enormous increases in subsidies to railways, arising out of the tonnage of newspapers⁵³

The annual volume of newspapers had increased from 9.4 million pounds in 1889 to 16.5 million pounds in 1897. This weight represented 175 million newspapers annually which paid nothing, while 123 million letters were mailed that year representing a weight of only 5 million pounds (*i.e.* one third of the weight or 40% of the units); yet letters generated the entire Post Office revenue of \$4.2 million. Mulock noted that newspapers accounted for the majority of annual expenditures of five million dollars.⁵⁴ However these arguments were undermined by the policy introduced to solve the problem. The Postmaster General estimated that the proposed newspaper rate would raise \$80,000 which was 1.6% of expenditures or 10% of the annual deficit of \$800,000. At the same time he proposed to reduce letter rates from three cents to two cents reducing annual revenues by \$650,000. A member of the opposition captured the contradiction, by arguing as newspapers are a business they should be charged the full cost of carriage; if the policy was based on weight there should be no exemptions for local, religious and temperance newspapers.⁵⁵

The primary argument against the proposed increase on newspapers, was expressed by Sir Charles Tupper,

the enormously rapid increase in the number of newspapers carried through the mails ... I attribute ... to the anxiety of the great mass of the people of this country to obtain information. I regard the publication of newspapers as one of the most potent educational influences that the country possesses. I believe that the fact that Canada can boast today of having a better informed population among all classes throughout the country than almost any other country throughout the world, is attributable largely to the eagerness with which they look for the information which can only be conveyed to the great mass of the people by newspapers.⁵⁶

It was also argued the proposal discriminated against Canadian newspapers in favour of American newspapers, for they travelled free into Canada under a postal convention between the two countries and this was unfair competition.⁵⁷ An argument against the decrease in first class rates suggested that the wealthy and business classes, as the largest users of the mail, received a benefit not offset by increases in newspaper postage. Because a decrease in the letter rate would increase the postal deficit, the working class and the poor, as infrequent letter writers, would cross subsidize business, for the working class paid the largest share of taxes.⁵⁸ A related argument concerned the incidence of the second class mail subsidy (a constant theme of postal policy). Is the publisher or the subscriber the beneficiary of reduced postage rates and should government issue the assistance to the producer (publisher), the common carrier (Post Office) or the consumer (reader)? The same issue later confronted policy makers dealing with

the *Crow's Nest Pass* freight rates concerning subsidies to farmers, railroads or consumers.

But the real reason for the proposal became apparent from the following statistics. Approximately 8 million or 50% of the 16 million pounds of newspapers posted annually, were accounted for by three newspapers in Montreal (*Star*, *La Presse* and *Witness*) and three in Toronto (*World*, *Mail and Empire* and *News*).⁵⁹ By establishing a 10 mile free zone (amended to 20 miles during debate), the *Telegram* in Toronto and the *Gazette* in Montreal - both supporters of the Liberal Party - were only slightly affected (as most of their papers were distributed within that free zone) while other newspapers - largely supporters of the Conservative Party - bore the increase (because their distribution was largely beyond the free zone). Thus postal pricing, was used not only as an instrument of nation-building but for partisan purposes. This does not refute the hypothesis of this thesis, for it illustrates the political and not economic rationale for the Post Office.

Pursuant to a colonial conference in London a decision was made in 1898 to reduce postage rates between members of the Empire. The rate of postage between Britain and Canada was reduced from five cents to two cents. British policy makers learned that ownership of the communications system throughout an empire is not essential to empire maintenance, for control rather than ownership is the key. The proposal to reduce postage rates between Britain and the colonial governments was initiated by the British Government, in order that

British citizens could maintain links with British émigrés and thereby maintain the imperial connection.

In 1900, Postmaster General Mulock introduced a bill to reduce newspapers postage rates which had been imposed only two years before in 1898. The bill also proposed to establish different rate zones. The first zone would provide free transmission of newspapers within twenty miles (as before). The second zone would encompass the province of publication, charged at 1/8 cent per pound while newspapers transmitted to other provinces (third zone) would be charged 1/2 cent per pound. The opposition criticized the proposal on the familiar ground that it would produce inter-provincial barriers and create 'provincialism'. Mr. Foster (a frequent critic of Mulock) noted a contradiction within the government's postal policy. Foster argued that the government had recently introduced a low rate for imperial postage in order to "break down distances on the ground of the unifying effect it would have on the British Dominions".⁶⁰ The same government, he argued, supported "this petty provincialism". A more significant criticism was made by Sir Adolphe Caron (a future Postmaster General),

The press is the channel through which the people of one province learn of the doing of the people in another province. We mingle in Parliament here from different provinces and can interchange views and devise means for the welfare of our country, but the people generally have not that opportunity, and they can only avail of it by reading the press of the different provinces⁶¹

This view was echoed by Henri Bourassa,

We all want the different provinces to know each other better, we want the people of Quebec to know what is going on in Ontario, and the people of Ontario to understand the views that prevail in Quebec, and if we wish to create a really national spirit we should encourage instead of preventing newspapers circulating in the provinces other than those in which they are published.⁶²

Prime Minister Laurier justified postage on newspapers and the zones by arguing that,

[The opposition] have taken the view that all mail matter should be treated indifferently, whether it be newspapers or letters. [But] a newspaper is merchandise; a letter is not ... A letter simply conveys to somebody the views and thoughts of another. But newspapers are merchandise, and the publisher of a newspaper is a manufacturer of merchandise which he sells.⁶³

While this idea had been suggested previously, it was the first time a Prime Minister or Cabinet Minister made the argument. This suggests that the policy makers were shifting from using low newspaper postage rates (as a subset of postal policy) as a vehicle of nation-building.⁶⁴ Evidence of this was provided by Opposition Member Wallace who argued that if newspapers were merchandise they should pay in full and not merely 10% or 20% of the cost. The government did not respond to these arguments because there was no adequate answer.

The policy makers had not completely shifted to the emerging paradigm which used electronic media (telegraph, telephone, radio) as the vehicle of nation-building, for they retained vestiges of the old policy. Thus the policy makers

wanted to impose a charge for the mailing of newspapers - increasingly seen as merchandise - but did not want to charge the full cost of the service due to the vestigial influence.

It has been said that an idea burns brightest and reaches its apogee of clarity at the end of its life. The following lyrical remarks made during the debate illustrate this,

What is the object of this? [reduced newspaper rates]. It is simply the outcome of the progress of our civilization, the idea being that the different peoples of this world may exchange their ideas so that they may learn to live harmoniously together and avoid wars in future. And we here in Canada, among ourselves are working in the same spirit. Look at the amount of money we have spent in the attempt to unite the different provinces into one grand Dominion. Look at the millions upon millions we have spent on the Intercolonial Railway, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, in building our canals, in deepening our rivers - in every means of communication between the different provinces. Yet after all that work has been completed, after we have started a nation, after we have built up a nation even - at the very last moment we have put in a block in the wheels of progress by this measure⁶⁵

By the end of this era, Parliamentarians began to recognize a unity within the disparate policies of State and nation-building undertaken during the previous 40 years.⁶⁶ This came to the fore during a debate concerning communications policies and not transportation policies. In 1907, a bill was introduced by the Postmaster General to reduce the postage rate on drop letters (delivered locally) from two cents to one cent. This decision was made because of competition from express companies which delivered local mail for merchants at a lower rate than the Post Office. Not only was the Post Office experiencing "competition" from the

"high-technology" electronic media, but it was also subject to competition from "low-technology" media *i.e.* express companies (later called courier companies). This exposed a paradox which was raised by Postmaster General Lemieux. He noted that postal profits generated in the cities were justified on policy grounds, for the purpose of extending postal service to the rural communities; however a reduction in city postal revenues to meet urban competition would lead to a reduction in rural postal services. Thus resolving one policy problem produced another policy dilemma.

Commencing in the late 1800s, rural members of Parliament had demanded free delivery of mail in rural communities; on each occasion the government had rejected the demand on the basis of its prohibitive cost. However on the eve of an election in 1908,⁶⁷ the Liberal Government promised a modified ("star route") version, whereby each person whose home lay directly on an existing mail route, would be given home delivery. Although it can be argued that the policy was adopted due to election exigencies, this cannot explain why it was not adopted during a previous election. A better explanation is that the Post Office, having been defeated in its attempt to take over the telephone system (and place a phone in each rural post office), was forced to extend itself in a different direction. The rural communities were the foundation of the Post Office, for the greatest number of post offices, employees and political support came from the rural areas of Canada. Extension of rural free delivery can be interpreted as a retreat to that area of the country where it was still used as an instrument of nation-building.

Thus a dual-communications policy was emerging, whereby the urban areas increasingly relied upon telephone and telegraph, while the rural areas relied heavily on the Post Office for communications.

ORGANIZATION AND LABOUR POLICIES

During the period under review, 1887 - 1914, there were numerous employee classifications within the Post Office. These can be reduced to three conceptually discrete "groups", each of which contained several classifications. This is contrary to conventional wisdom which understood the Civil Service Act to recognize only two groups - the Inside and the Outside Service.

However this tends to ignore a distinct and palpable shift in the policy directing employee benefits and especially wages and salaries. Three separate policy decisions were made affecting the postal workers. First, some of the privileges of the "Inside Service" were extended to some (*i.e.* management), but not all, of the "Outside Service", creating a *de facto* management category (and consciousness). Second, legislation removed letter carriers, sorters and packers, from the Civil Service Act, and so transformed them from salaried civil servants to mere daily wage manual labourers. Thirdly, and of great importance, there were several upward revisions of remuneration for the salaried staff, entailing generous increases which took place over a total of 31 years. During the same

period, however, there was not a single increase authorized for the outside staff, the manual workers, despite many protestations on their behalf. The effect of these three policy changes was to induce a sense of aggrieved solidarity among the outside workers. Fuelled by resentment due to the discriminatory low wage policy, this group of workers finally became militant culminating in the 1919 and 1924 postal strikes. Contrary to conventional understanding, Post Office union militancy was not directly attributable to union leaders or workers or outside agitators. It was a by-product of policy decisions made by elected and departmental officials.

However, there was also an anomaly within the second category of manual labour - the Railway Mail Clerk. Because the railway mail clerk was viewed as a "postmaster on wheels", he was seen by the policy makers and departmental officials as separate and apart from letter carriers, sorters and packers.⁶⁸ During this period Parliamentarians expressed admiration for the railway mail clerks and the high standards achieved. For example,

But the railway mail clerk is, as has been said, a 'postmaster on wheels'. He has to command all the different branches of knowledge required of the postmaster of a large post office. Therefore, he must be better equipped mentally than the man who is merely given a certain piece of work to do during the day. Besides, more regard should be had for the railway mail clerk, who ... has to travel, with all that that implies of nervous strain and danger to health and absence from home, than to one who serves in the city post office from about eight in the morning to about four or five in the afternoon.⁶⁹

Another Member of Parliament stated, "The case for the railway mail clerks is a special one, and ought to be dealt with specially".⁷⁰ Indeed during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Post Office experienced difficulty in filling these positions. This was not due to the lack of applicants but because of the very high failure rate occasioned by a demanding examination necessary to obtain applicants of a sufficient calibre.

The third category is that of the rural postmasters. Although this group received even lower levels of compensation than the previous category, they were nonetheless different. First, they were partisan appointments. Second, it was a combination of the previous two categories, inasmuch as the rural postmaster performed the functions of both management and worker as the sole employee in the rural post office. The rural postmaster was neither fish nor fowl and in conjunction with his isolation and the 'natural' conservatism of rural communities, did not develop a militant consciousness.

At the end of this chapter, the proposed three group categorization will be related to Part II of this chapter (dealing with technologies), for it will be argued that a dual communications policy was developing. In urban communities electronic communications (telegraph and telephone) became increasingly dominant, while the Post Office retained its pre-eminence in rural communities, thereby providing status to the rural postmaster. By contrast, in the view of the policy makers, the importance, and therefore status, of the urban postal worker declined relative to the urban communications worker, and this accounted for the

low wage policy adopted towards urban post offices' manual labourers. They were regarded as "low men on the totem pole" and were rewarded accordingly. This in turn engendered the formation of the forerunners of LCUC and CUPW and the consequent militancy.

A. MANAGEMENT - INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SERVICE

In 1889, the *Civil Service Act* was amended to increase the salaries of city postmasters and assistant postmasters, as follows:

TABLE 15 ⁷¹

ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR CITY POSTMASTERS, 1889

CLASS SIZE OF POST OFFICE		1882	1889
1	Revenues greater than \$250,000 -		4000
2	Revenues from \$200,000 to \$250,000 -		3750
3	Revenues from \$150,000 to \$200,000 -		3500
4	Revenues from \$100,000 to \$150,000 -		3250
5	Revenues from \$80,000 to \$100,000	2600	2800
6	Revenues from \$60,000 to \$80,000	2400	2400
7	Revenues from \$40,000 to \$60,000	2200	2200
8	Revenues from \$20,000 to \$40,000	2000	2000
9	Revenues less than \$20,000	14-1800	14-1800

TABLE 16 ⁷²

ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR ASSISTANT POSTMASTERS, 1889

CLASS SIZE OF POST OFFICE		1882	1889
1	Revenues greater than \$80,000	2000	2000
2	Revenues from \$60,000 to \$80,000	1800	1800
3	Revenues from \$40,000 to \$60,000	1600	1600
4	Revenues from \$20,000 to \$40,000	1400	1400
5	Revenues less than \$20,000	1100	1100

From these tables it is evident that the management category was doing very well, for letter carriers, by contrast, were only receiving \$360 to \$600 *per*

annum at this time. It was only two years after this increase that the letter carriers formed the *Federated Association of Letter Carriers* (the forerunner of LCUC). Assuming a mean income of \$500 *per annum* for letter carriers, the most junior postmaster received three times the letter carriers' annual salary while the most senior postmaster received 800% more. Assistant postmasters earned from twice to four times as much. These are astounding differentials for people in the same office.

In 1891, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the Civil Service and to report on the reforms made pursuant to the 1881 Commission to investigate the Civil Service. The 1892 Report provided a useful report concerning working conditions, classifications and salaries in the civil service. With this report, we are able to obtain information which sheds further light on government postal labour policies. David Matheson, Superintendent of the *Post Office Savings Bank*, provided a wide ranging account of the Civil Service including working conditions and the cost of living in Ottawa at that time:

board \$30; clothing \$10; incidental expenses \$10, reach an aggregate of \$50 a month or \$600 a year as the absolute necessary requirements for the maintenance of a junior clerk entering the public service at Ottawa. ... It is said that inasmuch as clerks enter merchants' offices or banking houses at small salaries, say \$120 to \$240 a year, the same rule should apply to the public service. Such reason rests on a serious misconception. It assumes that such clerks are earning a living, while they are in reality only serving an apprenticeship in order that at a later period in life they may be able to earn a living. During the apprenticeship period in either shop or bank, the \$120 or \$240 is supplemented by parent or friend to the average extent of at least \$300 per annum. The merchant's clerk serves an apprenticeship at \$120 a year in order to qualify himself for earning an income of unlimited amount at some future day⁷³

At this time the starting salary for a letter carrier was \$360 *per annum* while rural postmasters were earning as little as \$12 to \$20 *per annum*.

In 1898, an interdepartmental Committee of the federal government was appointed by an *Order-in-Council*⁷⁴ to investigate Post Office Headquarters. The committee comprised the Deputy Postmaster General, the Deputy Minister of Finance and the Auditor General.⁷⁵ The report produced two significant findings. First, it found that express companies were making significant inroads in the sale of postal money orders; consequently the committee recommended a reduction in paperwork (postal notes which were low value streamlined money orders, were introduced the following year in response to this). Second, the Committee provided a "census" of all headquarters branches and from the data it was possible to reconstruct the following functional chart:

TABLE 17 ⁷⁶

POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS FUNCTIONAL CHART, 1898

BRANCH	YEAR CREATED	NO. EMP.	DUTIES
Postal Stores	187?	37	Supplies
Dead Letter	1890	34	Processing
Mail Contracting	1890	7	Administration
Railway Mail Service	1895	4	Administration
Stamps	185?	14	Distribution
Secretary's Branch	1850	24	Personnel
Savings Bank	1867	39	Banking
Money Order	1867	41	Money orders
Accountant's Branch	1835	46	Accounting
TOTAL HEADQUARTERS EMPLOYEES 246			

The authors concluded that "the staff of the Department could be reduced by a very large percentage without detriment to the interest of the Public Service".⁷⁷ This contrasts with conditions in the Outside Service, to be discussed shortly.

In 1902, Postmaster General Mulock introduced *Bill 106* to increase the salaries of city postal clerks. This category had last received a salary increase twenty years previous in 1882. The new wage rates were as follows:

TABLE 18 ⁷⁸

**CLASSIFICATIONS AND ANNUAL REMUNERATION
CITY POST OFFICE CLERKS, 1902**

CLASSIF.	MINIMUM ANNUAL		MAXIMUM ANNUAL		ANNUAL INCREASE	
	1882	1902	1882	1902	1882	1902
1st Class	1200	1200	1500	1500	N/S	N/S*
2nd Class	900	900	1200	1200	50	50
3rd Class	400	600	800	800	40	40
4th Class		400		600		50
Transfer agents	400		600		40	
Supt. LCs	N/S*	800		N/S*		

* N/S = Not stated in the statute

With this act the salary ranges for first and second class clerks remained unchanged. However the minimum for third class clerks was increased from \$400 to \$600 and a new fourth class was introduced. This reveals that city clerks were compensated at much higher levels than the letter carriers and sorters (excepting fourth class clerks).

In 1904, the Postmaster General tabled *Bill 153* amending the *Post Office Act*.⁷⁹ It granted authority to the Governor in Council (effectively the Postmaster General) to designate city post offices as subject to the *Civil Service Act* while those not so designated remained subject to the *Post Office Act*. This was a

roundabout way to place the wages and working conditions of those not designated under the jurisdiction of the Postmaster General. Senator Ferguson criticized this for,

This is a very sweeping change indeed. Gradually since the present Postmaster General assumed office he has been taking to himself, by the amendments we have passed from time to time, more and more power with regard to the employees of that regard. The power to deal with the post office employees has been gradually taken away from the Civil Service Act and put into the provisions of the Postal Act, bringing them under the control or power of the Postmaster General.⁸⁰

Senator Scott defended the government's position,

the Civil Service Act is not adapted to the Post Office Department as it is to other departments, because there are classes of officers there that are not found anywhere else ... It may apply to first, second and third class clerks, but when you come to a number of officials below that in the Post Office Department there are no corresponding positions.⁸¹

The quotation validates the hypothesis that a distinction between the "lower levels" and the officers was emerging at this time with a separate policy for each group.⁸²

In 1908, the *Civil Service Act* was extensively amended. For our purposes it increased the salaries of the Inside Service as follows:

TABLE 19 ⁸³

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF INSIDE SERVICE, 1908

CLASSIFICATION	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
First Division, A	2,800	4,000
First Division, B	2,100	2,800
Second Division, A	1,600	2,100
Second Division, B	800	1,600
Third Division, A	900	1,200
Third Division, B	500	800
Messengers, porters, sorters, packers	500	800

The First Division corresponded to the executive level of the government while the Second Division was the officer category and the Third Division comprised the clerical component. The table reveals that the minimum of the clerical category was equal to the upper end of the letter carrier category while the maximum for the clerks was more than double that of the maximum for the letter carrier.

The *Civil Service Act* was amended⁸⁴ once again by way of introduction of *Bill 187* in 1909, to provide an increase of \$150 to all members of the Inside Service.⁸⁵ This was a difference in kind, for the increases discussed in other wage bills, shifted the salary ranges without providing an immediate increase. The Bill

not only increased the salary ranges but granted all employees of the Inside Service (including all Post Office headquarters employees) an immediate increase of \$150. This prompted the following response from Opposition Member Crothers,

I understand it is the inside civil servants we are dealing with now, the servants of the government who are employed in the different departments at Ottawa. As I say, it occurred to me at the time that the government was treating these civil servants very generously⁸⁶

This is an important criticism because the opposition had repeatedly criticized the government for not paying the Outside Service enough. Now the criticism was reversed. It could be argued that Members of Parliament, most of whom were not from Ottawa, were prone to criticize the salary levels of Ottawa, while supporting increases for those Federal employees across the country (for they were constituents). However the following table supports the opposition's criticism,

TABLE 20 ⁸⁷

**CLASSIFICATION AND ANNUAL REMUNERATION
OF POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS, 1909**

CLASSIFICATION	NUMBER	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
First "A"	2	2,950	4,150
First "B"	1	2,250	2,950
Second "A"	23	1,750	2,250
Second "B"	48	950	1,750
Third "A"	144	1,050	1,350
Third "B"	155	650	950
Porters	2	500	800
Sorters	19	500	800
Packers	21	500	800
Messengers	14	500	800
TOTAL	<u>429</u>		

According to the *Civil Service Act* of 1908, the Third Division "shall consist of the other clerks in the service whose duties are copying and routine work, under direct supervision, of less importance than that of the Second Division" (defined in the Act as officer class). Thus the salary range of the clerical component in Ottawa ranged from \$650 to \$1350, which was considerably greater than the amounts paid to letter carriers. By contrast, letter carriers received from \$360 to \$600, although in the same session the range was increased from \$546 to \$858. Yet even after this substantial increase for the letter carriers (the first

since 1874), the maximum was 35% less than that paid to Headquarters clerks. And by most accounts the task of a letter carrier was far more onerous than the tasks of the lowest level clerks in Ottawa. This is supported by evidence of the Civil Service Royal Commissions of 1892 and 1912 wherein it was noted that a position in the Inside Service was seen as the most prestigious of any position in government. This was partly due to working conditions and partly due to the level of wages.

In the 1909-10 session of Parliament, *Bill 205* (Table 21 below) was introduced to amend the *Civil Service Act*,⁸⁸ to increase the salaries of Post Office inspectors, superintendents of the railway mail service and assistant postmasters. The most important policy change announced during debate on this bill, proposed placing under the ambit of the *Civil Service Act* inspectors, postmasters and superintendents located in the larger city offices. It will be recalled that Mulock had previously removed manual labourers from the *Civil Service Act*, placing them under the *Post Office Act*. The new proposal concerning the officers was a movement in the opposite direction in removing them from the jurisdiction of the Post Office Act and placing them under the *Civil Service Act*. A new two-class system was thus emerging within the Post Office based on status rather than geography. Previously those located in Ottawa and the sorters, letter carriers etc. were under the *Civil Service Act*, but officers in the Outside Service were not. Now it was proposed to bring all officers/managers under the *Civil Service Act*

granting them civil servant status, while removing the manual workers in the Post Office from the *Civil Service Act*.

The foregoing suggests that the "working class consciousness" extensively discussed by contemporary postal union leaders such as Jean Claude Parrot,⁸⁹ was originally motivated by a series of policy decisions. Thus we can date union militancy in the Post Office from two sets of decisions by the policy makers. The first was the refusal by the policy makers to substantially raise the wages of the letter carriers for a third of a century. The second decision segregated manual labourers into a separate class with a separate inferior status, for they were not classified as civil servants but as day wage workers. Taken together these decisions created a sense of solidarity, inferiority and resentment by the letter carriers, which eventually produced militancy and the strikes of 1919 and 1924.

TABLE 21 ⁹⁰

ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR POST OFFICE
OFFICIALS - OUTSIDE SERVICE, 1910

INSPECTORS AND SUPERINTENDENTS					
TITLE	MINIMUM		MAXIMUM		ANNUAL
	1882	1910	1882	1910	INCREASE
Inspectors	2000	2500	2800	3000	100
Asst. Inspectors	1000	1600	1500	2500	100
Supt. Railway Mail	1600		2500		100

 ASSISTANT POSTMASTERS

CLASS	SIZE OF POST OFFICE	1889	1910
1	Postage exceeds \$800,000 -		2800
2	Postage from \$500,000 and \$800,000 -		2600
3	Postage from \$250,000 to \$500,000 -		2400
4	Postage from \$150,000 to \$250,000 -		2200
5	Postage from \$80,000 to \$150,000 -		2000
6	Postage from \$60,000 to \$80,000	1800	1800
7	Postage from \$40,000 to \$60,000	1600	1600
8	Postage from \$20,000 to \$40,000	1400	1400
9	Postage less than \$20,000	1100	1100

The management categories were employed in the same offices as the letter carriers, sorters and packers. At this time the wage range for letter carriers was between \$546 and \$858 *per annum* (see below). Comparing the midpoint of \$700 for the letter carriers with the assistant postmasters midpoint of \$2000, produces a ratio of three to one in favour of the postmaster.⁹¹ This powerfully illustrates the low wage policy adopted towards the lowest level of employees in the Post Office at this time. The gap today is much less with the ratio approximately 1.5:1.

In 1912, the *Civil Service Act* was again amended to increase salaries for clerks in city post offices.

TABLE 22 ⁹²

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF CITY CLERKS, 1912

CLASSIFICATION	MINIMUM		MAXIMUM		INCREMENT	
	1902	1912	1902	1912	1902	1912
Chief Clerks	1200	1800	1500	2200	N/S	100
1st Class - A	1600		1200	1800	50	50
1st Class - B	900	1400		1600		50
2nd Class - A	1200	800	1400		40	50
2nd Class - B	600	1000		1200		50
3rd Class - A	800		600	1000	50	50
3rd Class - B	400	500		800		100

Although there were four classes in the 1902 Act there were no divisions within the classes. Pursuant to the 1912 amendment, the four classes were reclassified as Chief Clerk, First, Second and Third class clerks with two sub groups in each class. Thus the previous Fourth Class became Third Class while the previous First Class became Chief Clerk. In the above table, the minimum and maximum of the old categories were split out between the two subdivisions of each new class. For example, in 1902 the Fourth Class range was \$400 to \$600. As Fourth Class became the Third Class in 1912, the minimum of \$400 was placed at the lower level of Third Class B while the former maximum was placed beside the upper level of Third Class B.

The foregoing explanation is necessary to uncover the subterfuge of the reclassifications by the policy makers, which disguised the substantial increases given to this category. For example, the maximum income for a third class clerk increased from \$600 to \$1000. It is important to realize that although these positions were called clerks, in fact the higher levels represented the junior and middle management of the Post Office (each post office was a clearing system for all other post offices because centralized mail processing plants were not established until the 1960s).

The same Act increased the salary range of Assistant Post Office Inspectors and the Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service to \$1800/\$2500 with annual increments of \$100.

In 1914, the *Civil Service Act* was amended again to increase the salaries of all clerks in the Outside Service. *Bill 146* increased the minimum salary of a postal clerk from \$500 to \$600 *per annum* and increased the annual increment from \$50 to \$100.⁹³

The above changes in the "management" category are now summarized. Postmasters experienced a substantial increase in annual salaries as their range increased from \$1400/\$2600 *per annum* in 1882 to \$1400/\$4000 *per annum* in 1889. But even this underestimates the increases, because the grade assigned to a postmaster was a function of postal revenues. As individual post office revenues increased due to inflation and growth, the Postmaster rose automatically to the next grade level (with a corresponding higher salary). Not only were the salary

ranges increased, but the grades were also raised, so that Postmasters' incomes increased as overall postal revenues increased.

The assistant postmasters were in a similar position, as they too were graded by the size of the post office measured by revenues. The salary range for this classification was increased from \$1100/\$2000 *per annum* in 1882 to \$1100/\$2800 *per annum* in 1910, a 40% increase in the maximum level. As well assistant postmasters shifted to higher grades as the revenues of the post office increased. Thus the absolute increase, although not ascertainable, was even higher.

Inspectors increased from \$2000/\$2800 *per annum* in 1882 to \$2500/\$3000 *per annum* in 1910. Assistant Inspectors increased from \$1000/\$1500 *per annum* in 1882 to \$1600/\$2500 *per annum* in 1910. While these were more modest increases, they were already earning relatively high levels of salary, there were very few of them, and they were less visible to letter carriers and sorters.

City postal clerks experienced approximately a 50% salary increase for their range was increased from \$400/\$1500 *per annum* in 1882 to \$600/\$2200 *per annum* in 1912. Again due to "bracket creep" there were increasing numbers in the higher levels and thus the true increase is higher.

B. LETTER CARRIERS, POSTAL CLERKS AND RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS

In 1889, Postmaster General Haggart of the MacDonald government amended the *Post Office Act*⁹⁴ to define "decoy" letters as legal letters. In order to police the workers the Post Office developed "decoy" or marked letters to detect theft by postal workers. By defining a decoy letter as a legal letter within the ambit of the Act, it allowed the Post Office to prosecute workers who tampered with decoy letters (thus the legal system became part of the disciplinary-policing network). This is also significant, because in introducing this technique, the Post Office dealt with the employees as "workers". Previously postal employees were used by the State to monitor the mails; now the mails were used to monitor the employees. Before this change in policy, periodic remarks in Hansard and the annual reports used language appropriate to one of the same class or status level. With this policy, a difference in status is implicit - that of a superior class suspicious of the untrustworthy lower class worker. For example, in debate on this bill, Member of Parliament Landerkin stated, "in nearly every case where the letters have gone astray, I believe it has been owing to the dishonest conduct of those entrusted with the mails".⁹⁵ The change in attitude by Parliamentarians, was in part, due to their changed perceptions of the Post Office. What was formerly seen as a "state-of-the-art" communications system, was now seen as inferior to the new communications technologies.

In 1889, the *Civil Service Act* was amended to increase the wages of Railway Mail Clerks, although the day/night differential was abolished at the same time. The changes are as follows:

TABLE 23 *

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS, 1889*

CLASS CLERKS	NEW		2 YRS		5 YRS		10 YRS	
	1882	1889	1882	1889	1882	1889	1882	1889
Chief	800	1000	900	1200	950	1350	1080	1500
1st	660	720	720	800	800	880	900	960
2nd	570	600	580	640	630	720	720	800
3rd	480	480	540	520	600	560	800	640

* As there were separate income figures for day and night for 1882, the average of the two was provided in this table for each of the 1882 headings.

These figures are important for they reveal, as do the increases for management, that increases were granted in the late 1800s. There was not an insufficiency of federal revenues for, if there were, these groups would not have experienced periodic increases in salary. This is to be contrasted with the letter carriers and sorters, for they did not receive any increases between 1872 and 1903. We will now examine the very different policy adopted towards the letter carriers and postal workers.

First it is useful to review the successive labour policies adopted in the previous period concerning the letter carriers. In 1872, letter carrier salaries were legislated for the first time with the establishment of a salary range of \$300 to \$560 *per annum* with annual increments of \$40. In 1874, the MacKenzie Government increased the minimum to \$400 *per annum*. In 1878 Postmaster General Langevin of the MacDonald Government reduced the minimum salary from \$400 back to \$300. Then in 1882, Postmaster General O'Connor of the MacDonald Government reduced the annual increase from \$40 to \$30. In 1885, Postmaster General Carling of the MacDonald Government increased the minimum of the range from \$300 to \$360.⁷ Between 1885 and 1902 there were no changes in the salary structure of letter carriers. In summary, there were no substantive changes in the salary structure of the letter carriers for a period of 30 years.

Unfortunately there are no inflation indexes for this period; however the increase in the cost of living mentioned in the House of Commons during debates concerning salary levels in the Post Office, cited an increase of 50% during the previous 25 years. No matter how it is measured, the salaries of letter carriers did not increase between 1872 and 1902. No doubt largely due to these policies, the *Federated Association of Letter Carriers* was founded in Toronto on Sept. 15, 1891. Because employee associations were illegal at this time, there are very few records of union activity available (its successor LCUC has virtually no records of

the earlier years). It is recorded that in 1892 the Eighth Annual Session of the *Trades and Labour Congress* passed a resolution which stated,

That in the opinion of this Congress the minimum salary of letter carriers in the public service should not be less than \$600 per annum, and that it be an instruction to the executive committee of this congress to use its best efforts in pressing this view of the case upon the government.⁹⁸

This indicates an emerging dissatisfaction and illustrates the low salary policy of the government practiced towards the letter carriers.

However, working conditions and remuneration of the various classifications of postal employees were discussed in great detail in Parliament between 1882 and the 1919 strike. Thus extensive reliance will be placed on Parliamentary records, as the most important available source of information, concerning postal labour relations and postal labour policies.

In 1896, the Laurier Government was elected and William Mulock was chosen as Postmaster General, serving in that position for the next 10 years. Mulock, a wealthy lawyer,⁹⁹ was largely responsible for the crystallization of antagonistic labour-management relations in the Post Office. Upon his appointment, Mulock forced the retirement of the Deputy Minister and appointed a campaign official, Dr. Coulter, as the new Deputy Minister. Coulter was a medical doctor with no previous experience in government or the Post Office (this partially explains key policy errors made during the next ten years).

Upon assuming office in 1896, Postmaster General Mulock cancelled the statutory annual increases for letter carriers for that year and again for the years 1897 and 1898, notwithstanding the letter carriers' very low levels of remuneration.¹⁰⁰ Mulock's decisions produced a series of petitions which culminated in an extensive debate in 1899 in the House of Commons.

The first Mulock-inspired petition was passed In 1898 by the *Trades and Labour Congress*,

Whereas, the letter carriers and other postal assistants of Canada have frequently appeared before different trade councils of the Dominion and complained that the conditions under which they worked were not such as should exist among government employees; and whereas these trade councils have investigated and found that these men have a just grievance, in that they received insufficient wages, had no set hours of labour and had no definite system of promotion; therefore be it resolved that we urge upon the Dominion government the necessity of establishing a minimum wage of \$2 a day for eight hours work, and so regulating the department that letter carriers may depend upon promotion for faithful services¹⁰¹

In 1899, the letter carriers petitioned the Postmaster General,

On joining the civil service we were informed that statutory increases would be made in our salaries each year. The statutory increase was regularly granted until 1896, when the same was stopped without notice. A majority of us are married and have families to support and the discontinuance of the annual increase, which we were led to expect when joining the service, has caused great hardship amongst us. That the cost of living in cities is very great, and even had we received the expected increase it would be necessary for us to have exercised the strictest economy. That men who are thus insufficiently paid are compelled, against their will, to contract debts which place the civil servants in an unfavourable position with the business community. That the carriers entitled to their annual increase be placed on the same footing as they would have been had the same not been discontinued, and that back-pay be paid to them from the time it was stopped, so as to enable them to liquidate the debts that had to be incurred.¹⁰²

During the 1899 debate, Opposition Member Wallace provided valuable information concerning public opinion towards the letter carriers,

It is universally admitted that the letter carriers of Canada are not overpaid, and it is equally true that in these prosperous times they should not be asked to economize when no other class in the community is so asked. There has undoubtedly been an era of prosperity during these past three years. The general revenues of the government have been increasing, and the Post Office revenues have been so abundant that the Postmaster General has felt justified in reducing the postage from three cents to two cents ... Surely the Postmaster General himself sitting in luxury getting his \$7,000 a year and his ordinary expenses in addition ...¹⁰³

A comparison between 1899 and the present can be made by providing a ratio between the two salaries. In 1898, a letter carrier's salary represented 5% of a Cabinet Minister's salary (\$360 versus \$7,000) while today it is approximately 25% (approximately \$30,000 versus \$120,000). Mulock admitted the small salaries but defended the policy on the basis that "there is no compulsion upon any man to take such a position or to keep it if he finds it does not pay".¹⁰⁴ In addition the policy was defended on the basis that there was no shortage of applicants for letter carriers.

During Mulock's tenure the very large deficit experienced every year since 1850 was eliminated and a surplus of almost \$1 million was achieved. Mulock was so frugal that Opposition Member Ingram stated,

The usual practice of this house, in criticizing the expenditures of the different departments, is to find fault with the extravagance of the Postmaster General, [in fact] the complaint is that he is studying economy too much in his department.¹⁰⁵

This was a remarkable change in policy in a department that had been viewed as an instrument of nation-building since 1850 - a department that was expected to incur substantial deficits. It is more remarkable when one realizes that elected officials, both then and now, receive political credit for policy initiatives; such initiatives generally equate to spending and rarely to expenditure reduction.

However this unusual situation may be explained by the following. Only five years after the charge of frugality, Mulock persuaded the Cabinet and the House of Commons to establish a special committee with himself as Chairman, to investigate the feasibility of nationalizing the *Bell Telephone Company* and the telegraph system. The committee produced an 850 page report¹⁰⁶ and, echoing public opinion, overwhelmingly supported the idea that these firms should be nationalized and placed under the Post Office. In the absence of more direct evidence, it is not unreasonable to speculate that Mulock was a far-sighted visionary with a larger plan. It may have been his intention both to eliminate the postal deficit and then to produce a large surplus sufficient to afford the proposed nationalization thus deflecting any criticism on grounds of affordability. He did in fact eliminate the deficit (about \$1 million) and in addition produced a postal surplus of \$1 million. Although only circumstantial evidence, the above is in

accordance with the known facts and is another linkage between emerging communications technologies and postal policy.

In 1900, another petition concerning the salaries of letter carriers was presented to the Postmaster General, issued by a joint committee of the *Trades and Labour Council* of Toronto and the letter carriers of Toronto,

1. That on joining the service, prior to 1896, letter carriers were led to believe and informed that statutory yearly increases would be made in their salaries until the stated maximum was reached.
2. That all letter carriers from whom the statutory increases were stopped be now compensated and that they be placed on the same footing as if the annual increases had not been discontinued - the amounts due to the men varying from \$30 to \$180.
3. That owing to the general prosperity of the Dominion during recent years, the cost of living has increased very much; that wages in all branches of labour have also largely advanced, as they continue to advance, to meet the increased cost of living, higher rents, etc. The carriers therefore respectfully ask that 20 per cent be added to present salaries, and that the salaries be payable semi-monthly instead of once a month, as at present.
4. That by reason of the general increase in population in the several cities of the Dominion, and the consequent increase of mail matter, which has more than doubled in that time, the carriers are very much overworked, the present staff being no greater in most offices than it was in 1894, and in some cases the staff is even less; that for the last ten years there has not been a new route made in the City of Toronto, while the population has increased some 25 per cent, according to the city directory, within the past six years; that the carriers suffer very much through this condition of affairs, both physically and mentally - physically because of the often times very heavy loads to be carried; mentally from the strain consequent upon the performance of duties entailing both mental and physical force of no small amount; that in many cases men have to put in ten and a half to fifteen hours to complete a day's work.

The petition continued,

5. That an increase be made to the staff in the several offices in keeping with the present requirements prevailing in the service, so that every man would be allowed three weeks holidays, the carriers being the only persons in the service who suffer in this respect.
6. That all employees on the carriers' staff who have served the six months' probation be appointed to the permanent staff, so that they may be entitled to the regular increases and holidays. Many now in this service for years have been denied this privilege, and these men lose their pay in case of sickness or other disability.

7. It is respectfully submitted that reasonable living wages ought to be paid letter carriers. By 'living wages' is meant wages that will enable the recipient to live in a healthy, decent house, adequate in size for an average family; to supply his wife and family with sufficient food and clothing and a certain amount of domestic comfort.

They concluded by stating,

you are respectfully prayed to order that in cases of grievances complained of on the part of or on behalf of the letter carriers, and as to which it may be deemed necessary or expedient to make further inquiry or investigation, reasonable opportunity may be afforded them, personally or through representatives, to be heard in their own behalf, and that so appearing or being heard shall not operate to the personal detriment or ultimate loss of prestige or employment of any one speaking for or on any deputation on behalf of the letter carriers.¹⁰⁷

Given that associations of employees were illegal, the working conditions and remuneration of the letter carriers must have been terrible to cause them to submit the petition. Mulock was criticized by the opposition for these labour policies; however he dismissed them on the basis that "if every one on the outside staff had received every possible increase of salary [between 1896 and 1899] it would only have amounted to the gross sum of \$19,087 in excess of what they were actually paid".¹⁰⁸

In 1900, the Laurier Government created a new Ministry, the *Department of Labour*, which ironically, reported for the first ten years to the Postmaster General (after 1910 a separate Minister was appointed). Possibly sensitized by the demands of the new ministry and by repeated questions in the Commons concerning the letter carriers, Mulock introduced a bill in 1902 to amend the Post Office Act. It proposed to give to messengers, packers, sorters, porters (largely the

group that eventually became CUPW) and letter carriers, the right to opt out from the 1882 *Civil Service Act*, and become subject to the *Post Office Act*. (all those appointed after the passage of the bill were automatically subject to the *Post Office Act*). Those who opted out would no longer be subject to civil service examinations, instead they would become subject to less onerous departmental examinations; the affected employees would also be subject to an accelerated schedule of remuneration reducing the time required to achieve the maximum of \$600 per annum. Those who did not opt out of the *Civil Service Act* were subject to the old rules of civil service examinations, and slower rates of salary increase.

With these proposals, Mulock met several of the demands of the letter carriers, while simultaneously removing certain benefits. Removing this classification of employees from the ambit of the *Civil Service Act*, allowed Mulock to change their status from permanent civil service employees to hourly workers. Under the Bill, those who opted out would receive two weeks "leave of absence with pay" which was a combination of sick leave and vacation. Otherwise days absent were not remunerated regardless of cause. As the letter carriers were desperate for a salary increase (not having had one for three years due to Mulock's previous decision), most could not afford to refuse the offer, for those who refused to opt out received no increase. Mulock stated that the messengers, packers and porters supported the bill whereas the letter carriers did not. In explaining the policy, Mulock stated,

Experience has shown that those who are on yearly pay are absent very much more often than those who are on day's pay. It becomes necessary sometimes to engage persons to act as letter carriers, who are not eligible to be appointed under the Civil Service Act. They discharge the same duties as those appointed under the Civil Service Act and their pay is, perhaps, slightly less. Good men taken on in that position are allowed to continue and my information is that those who are on the civil service list are absent from duty three times as long per annum - over and above the statutory holidays - as those who are on by the day. The day's pay is an incentive to them to report for duty.¹⁰⁹

In addition, a new classification system was created and wages were increased for those who opted out (and for individuals employed after the passage of the Act). A table will better capture the changes.

TABLE 24 ¹¹⁰

**CLASSIFICATIONS AND ANNUAL REMUNERATION*
LETTER CARRIERS, SORTERS, STAMPERS,
MESSENGERS, PORTERS, 1902**

CLASSIFICATION	MINIMUM ANNUAL	ANNUAL INCREASE
Grade A (6 months)	390 (\$1.25/day)	30
Grade B (2 years)	468 (\$1.50/day)	30
Grade C (2 years)	547 (\$1.75/day)	30
Grade D	624 (\$2.00/day)	30
Grade E (exceptional)	702 (\$2.25/day)	30

* Annual income based on six day week

Excepting fourth class clerks, the minimum salary of all postal clerk categories was higher than the maximum letter carrier salary. As the highest Grade (E) was to be awarded only in exceptional cases, the effective maximum became \$624 or an increase of \$24 over the previous ceiling (which had existed since 1872).

Notwithstanding previous demands for increases for the letter carriers, the proposed increases provoked criticism concerning levels of remuneration. Opposition Member Heyd claimed that,

This whole thing originated because a petition was sent in by the letter carriers for an increase of pay ... I regard that [Grade E] as a very high rate of wages, higher than is paid in any manufacturing establishment in Canada to any class of employees no matter what years of apprenticeship they have to serve ... We have a right to compare these salaries with those paid in other walks of life ... Well, the salary of an Ottawa street car conductor is \$9 a week for ten hours work per day, whereas the pay of a letter carrier is \$12 a week for an average day's labour of eight hours twenty one minutes ... A tool maker works in Toronto fifty-five hours for \$14.70, and in Brantford fifty hours per week for \$12 ... Take the planners and shapers in an engine shop, also high class work, they get from \$10.30 to \$11 per week in Brantford and \$13 in Toronto¹¹¹

The second major criticism of the Bill was that it only removed a certain class of Post Office employees from the *Civil Service Act*. The opposition argued that if the *Civil Service Act* was flawed, that Act should be amended rather than by-passed. There was one other group opposed to the bill - the letter carriers. A meeting of the Toronto letter carriers held to discuss the bill,¹¹² passed and

submitted a petition to an Opposition Member of Parliament Ralph Smith which stated,

That, whereas the assembly petitioned the Postmaster General praying that the letter carriers be granted an increase of 20 per cent in salary, owing to the increased cost of living; and whereas the assembly has received from the Postmaster General an acknowledgment of said petition promising that said increase of salary would be considered, thereby leading us to believe that our prayer would be granted; be it resolved that we again reiterate our former prayer that the letter carriers be granted an increase of 20 per cent in their salary ... and be it further resolved that, as the Bill No. 106 ... in no way answered organized labour's prayers for an increase of salary for the letter carriers, we do hereby express our strongest disapproval of said Bill and trust that it will be altered or amended to conform with this and our former prayer.¹¹³

The important thing to note about this Bill is that it did not substantially change annual income for the letter carriers - the \$360/\$600 range was shifted to \$390/\$624. The bill did accelerate increases through the income range, thus allowing letter carriers to earn the maximum more rapidly. This benefited younger employees - largely those who started after 1896 (when the Liberals were elected), while it provided nothing for those already at the maximum (who were older employees appointed by the Conservative Party prior to 1896). Thus one explanation for the bill was that it provided a partisan advantage to patronage appointments of the government in power.¹¹⁴ Second, the Postmaster General believed it would introduce greater efficiency in the department, thus allowing a reduction in the postal deficit. As explained before, Mulock attempted to improve the financial position of the Post Office in order to be in a position to nationalize the Bell system.

During and after this period (1903), the government deliberately treated management (and the railway clerks) differently from the letter carriers and sorters. For example, Senator MacDonald stated,

The fact, I suppose, has dawned on the government that these clerks have very important positions to fill and that it is necessary they should receive somewhat larger remuneration¹¹⁵

In support of the idea that the Parliamentarians were increasingly critical of the lower echelons, Senator MacKenzie Bowell stated,

We know very well that it does not require much education - simply requires health - to be able to perform the duties of sorters and stampers. It requires little education, and the salary in that class is quite high enough.¹¹⁶

As evidenced by these quotations, a "secular" view of these employees emerged during this period. Previously, all postal employees were viewed in the light of an honoured profession providing a service considered vital to the nation. The tenor of Parliamentary debates had now changed, especially in discussions concerning the lowest levels of employees in the Post Office. This suggests that the mystique of the Post Office was being eroded.

The next year, 1903, the Postmaster General received yet another petition from the letter carriers, which stated,

Your favour of 6th instant with memorandum from your deputy regarding letter carriers salaries duly received and contents noted. In reply we ask you to consider the following; We submit that while the amendment which was passed at the last session of Parliament made the conditions for men entering the service better, that it made no provision for those already in the service who had reached the maximum salary. We think you must admit that it would be unreasonable to ask men who were drawing the limit under the Civil Service Act to accept the terms of the amendment, which only granted \$26 above what had been paid already, and no allowance made for sickness or accident. As the work of men necessitates being out in all kinds of weather, and as the average life of a letter carrier is very short in consequence thereof, it is to be expected that sickness will overtake him, and we think that if such did come, through no fault of his own, that he should receive some consideration.¹¹⁷

During this debate, Opposition Member Clarke stated that the Postmaster General had been "petitioned by letter carriers in almost every centre, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for an increase of wages."¹¹⁸ It was also disclosed in this debate that only fifteen members throughout Canada had opted out of the *Civil Service Act* to become subject to the *Post Office Act*, although the Postmaster General claimed 195 had opted out. Nonetheless this indicates an increasing militancy on the part of the letter carriers. Mulock rejected the demand for an increase in letter carriers salaries by arguing that,

the qualifications necessary to a successful letter carrier are simply physical strength and the ability to read the address on a letter. That class of men are not scarce. In the ordinary avocations of life they would regard themselves as receiving a princely salary were they getting \$626 a year.^{119 120}

In 1903, Mulock introduced a bill to increase the compensation of the railway mail clerks and to remove them from the *Civil Service Act*. Below is a

table of the increases granted to the railway mail clerks, and it can be favourably compared to the table of letter carriers' incomes discussed below.

TABLE 25 ¹²¹

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS, 1903

CLASS	MINIMUM		MAXIMUM		INCR	
	1899	1903	1899	1903	1899	1903
1st Class	1000	1200	1500	1500	N/S	N/S
Sr. 2nd Class		1000	960	1200	N/S	50
Jr. 2nd Class	720	900		1000	N/S	50
Sr. 3rd Class		800	640	900	N/S	50
Jr. 3rd Class	480	700		800	N/S	50
4th Class		400		700	N/S	50

In 1903, opposition members once again raised the issue of compensation for the letter carriers, and it was stated that the "memorials and petitions and representations sent to the Postmaster General have been numerous"¹²² appealing for a twenty-five cent a day increase. The following year, 1904, the plight of the letter carriers was once again raised in debates on *Supply*, and another petition from the letter carriers (of Montreal) was read into *Hansard*. It documented the very long hours worked and argued that overtime should be paid to the letter

carriers. Mulock denied that overtime was being demanded. He went further and introduced an argument which periodically resurfaced during subsequent years,

I am aware that there are some people engaged in always trying to make mischief amongst the letter carriers in the city of Toronto, and misleading them and making them feel they are down-trodden and abused. I heard this story that someone was endeavouring to coerce them.¹²³

This theme is introduced at this point in order to document the origins of the "conspiracy" theory of postal labour-management relations, which has been periodically raised during postal policy debates. This is the theory that outside "agitators" or "communist elements" were (are) behind worker militancy in the Post Office. In the next chapter evidence will be introduced that reveals a belief by the RCMP that the 1924 strike was inspired by communist elements.

All the evidence uncovered to date attests to unusually low pay and benefits for the lower categories of postal workers. Their cause, as shown, was often even championed by Parliamentarians. We were, however, unable to document any evidence of outside "agitators"; but if for the moment it is assumed to be true, it raises more questions than it answers. It cannot answer why this outside "force" chose to agitate in the Post Office and more importantly, why there was a receptive audience. Outside force or not, the critical variable was Mulock's low wage policy, which was heavily influenced by the fact that the Post Office no longer enjoyed a pre-eminent monopolistic position in the communications system. It thereby suffered a loss of status.

In 1909, Postmaster General Lemieux amended the *Post Office Act* by way of *Bill 136* to increase the annual income of the letter carriers. There was very little debate on this Bill, for the issue had been debated annually in supply since the last increase in 1902. The Bill, proposed increasing each grade of letter carrier by fifty cents per day as shown in the following table.

TABLE 26 ¹²⁴

CLASSIFICATIONS AND ANNUAL REMUNERATION
OF LETTER CARRIERS, MESSENGERS, PORTERS, 1909

CLASSIFICATION	1902 DAILY WAGE**	1909 DAILY WAGE	1902 ** ANNUAL INCOME**	1909* ANNUAL INCOME
Grade A	1.25	1.75	390	546
Grade B	1.50	2.00	468	624
Grade C	1.75	2.25	547	702
Grade D	2.00	2.50	624	780
Grade E	2.25	2.75	702	858

* Annual Income based on six day work week at eight hours per day.

** Previous wage established by the *Civil Service Act*, 1902

This may at first appear to be a substantial and generous increase. But it must be recalled that this was the first real increase since 1872 - 37 years previous. Also it will be recalled that the maximum grade (E) was an illusion for

it was virtually never granted. Thus the maximum increased from \$600 in 1872 to \$780 more than a third of a century later. It should not surprise anyone that the letter carriers and the sorters became militant in those early years.

In the same session *Bill 137* was introduced to amend the *Civil Service Act*,¹²⁵ to increase the salaries of fourth class clerks in city post offices and stampers and sorters (forerunners of CUPW). The Bill proposed to increase the minimum for fourth class clerks from \$400 to \$500; however the maximum remained unchanged while the annual increase was doubled from \$50 to \$100. Stampers and sorters whose former salary range was \$360/\$600 were increased to \$500/\$600 (*i.e.* no increase in the upper range. The stampers and sorters bore witness to salary increases in all other postal groups except their own. The increase in the minimum without an increase in the maximum hardly constituted an increase.

Finally, the theme of technological change within the Post Office was first introduced in 1911, with the passage of an amendment to the *Post Office Act*,¹²⁶ authorizing the use of "automatic stamp vending machines". The changes in communications technologies discussed in the first part of this chapter represented external threats. The introduction of a stamp vending machine was an internal threat, for it was a labour saving device, conceptually similar to the Automated Teller Machines of the banking industry in the 1980s. In the words of Postmaster General Lemieux, "it is really a remarkable invention". Post Office officials were impressed with its ability to ameliorate the heavy volumes experienced during

peak hours. As well, it eliminated the commission paid to stamp vendors. Both of these benefits can be seen as "labour saving". It is perhaps no coincidence that the *Dominion Postal Clerks Association* was formed the same year in 1911.

In 1912, Postmaster General Pelletier of the newly elected Borden Government, amended the *Post Office Act*¹²⁷ to permit the employment of "temporary" railway mail clerks who had not yet passed the qualifying examination. The amendment made legal the department's practice of employing workers before completion of the examination, so that the experience acquired would assist the applicant in writing the examination. This provides a second reason why a low wage policy was not adopted with the railway mail clerks as it was with other manual labourers.

In 1914, the *Post Office Act* was amended¹²⁸ to increase salaries for the railway mail clerks. As with the 1914 increases for postal clerks it increased the minimum salary from \$500 to \$600 *per annum* and doubled the annual increment from \$50 to \$100.

C. RURAL POSTMASTERS

In the 1891 Civil Service Royal Commission, George Everett, Superintendent of the Money Order branch inadvertently provided the rationale for the remuneration policy concerning the rural postmasters, when he stated,

There is one class of employees of our department that I consider badly treated. It is the postmasters of the small offices throughout the country. We have over 8000 post offices and we pay a ridiculously small amount annually to many of the men ... Some postmasters despatching daily a bag of mail matter and receiving another, sorting and delivering its contents piece by piece, furnishing office room, fuel, light and their own stationery, receive for all the work and facilities given to the public the miserable pittance of from 50 cents to a dollar per week. There is something wrong in increasing the number of offices to such an extent as to render it an excuse for not paying a worthy class a proper remuneration for their time and work.¹²⁹

The Commission then asked if there was competition to obtain new post offices. The answer is highly revealing,

Yes and they are usually created whenever the people in the neighborhood want one if backed with the recommendation of their member, I think seldom less than one hundred a year new offices are made. If a newspaper canvasser secures a dozen subscribers in a neighborhood where there is no post office within two or three miles, he will bring what influence he can bear to obtain a new post office. We get no revenue or a very small one, from such offices, as newspapers are now delivered and carried free from charge. This should not be. Over 5000 tons weight are carried and delivered, paper by paper, annually ... without the slightest remuneration. The department supplies the bags or sacks for transmission and pays the wear and tear on them, which alone is a significant charge.¹³⁰

This reveals several issues. It reveals the highly political nature of Post Office openings. It reveals a very close symbiotic relationship between politics and newspapers.¹³¹ It partially accounts for the high annual deficits brought about by free newspaper transmission. And it explains the very low levels of compensation for the rural postmasters. During the above discussion of the 1882 *Civil Service Act*, it was mentioned that the rural postmasters were not even considered part of the Outside Service. This partially explains why. The inclusion of rural

postmasters under the Act would have given them the much higher civil service wages. By excluding them they did not exist as a part of the official bureaucracy.

The policy was reinforced by the remuneration and accounting policies for rural postmasters. These offices subtracted their monthly compensation from postal receipts and submitted the net or residual to Headquarters. The practice reinforced the idea that rural employees were on commission and not salary; demands for increases were then dealt with individually and frequently rejected on the basis that the revenues for a particular office could not support an increase. As one of the instrumentalities of nation-building the State could not have afforded the necessarily vast network of offices and postmasters, if the rural postmasters were compensated at prevailing civil service wages.

It may be thought that this refutes the argument made above, that the Parliamentarians experienced a change in perceptions towards postal employees during this period. After all, rural postmasters were treated badly prior to any change in perception occasioned by new communications technologies. However it is necessary to distinguish (as was done in the *Civil Service Act*) between the rural postmasters (as a class by itself) and the employees of the Outside Service e.g. letter carriers. Rural postmasters were treated differently from the beginning.

A second reason is that they were partisan appointments and less prone to complain (as a group). Third, the position of rural postmaster, notwithstanding its low rates of pay, possessed social status in the rural community as the representative of the federal presence in the hinterland. By contrast, the urban

employees suffered a decline in social status during this period (1887-1914) because of the advent of 'electronic communications' (telephone and telegraph). But during this period electronic communications did not have a substantial impact in rural areas. Thus, ironically, rural postmasters, with far lower levels of remuneration, had a relatively higher status, than city postal employees. This partially explains why rural postmasters never became militant as did the urban postal workers. We will return to this below in a discussion of legislation concerning salary increases.

During debates on *Supply* in 1899, the opposition demanded that the salaries of rural postmasters be increased. This was the beginning of steadily increasing pressure on the government to raise the remuneration of these employees during this period (1888-1914). During these and subsequent debates, many individual cases were cited of rural postmasters earning as little as \$10 to \$20 *per annum* while, for example, letter carriers in the city earned \$330 *per annum* (and they were paid the least of city postal workers). However the Government repeatedly refused to act, on the basis that there were so many rural postmasters (over 14,000), that the Government could not afford to remunerate them at an adequate level.

In 1903, the Postmaster General finally relented to pressure from the opposition and granted an increase to rural postmasters raising their minimum remuneration from \$10 to \$25 *per annum*. It will be recalled that these postmasters were compensated by a percentage of the revenues of the local post

office. The rationale for such extremely low levels was provided by the Postmaster General,

There are many postmasters throughout Canada whose offices may serve ten, or a dozen, or twenty immediate neighbors, and these postmasters are only paid a nominal sum for the trouble of keeping the office. The scale of payment did not originate with the present administration, and I am not aware that it originated with the prior administration nor does it make it any difference. It has been acquiesced in by both parties, and without any blame to either side. The exigencies of the country, our sparse population compared with our vast area, made it necessary to adopt some means to give postal facilities¹³²

In the same session of 1903, petitions were received from accounting postmasters. This was a classification for small town offices which were larger than the rural non-accounting post offices, but not as large as city post offices. Accounting postmasters received an average of \$700 *per annum* but from this salary, they were required to absorb all office expenses including office rent and the cost of part-time assistants. As with the letter carriers, this salary had not been revised since the 1882 *Civil Service Act*.¹³³ However no action was taken in response to the petition.

From 1903 until 1911 there were periodic requests from members of Parliament to increase the level of remuneration of rural postmasters. It must be noted that there were approximately 15,000 rural postmasters by this time¹³⁴ and although this group was by far the largest of all the classifications it received the lowest remuneration. Thus it would have cost an enormous amount of money to increase 15,000 postmasters from an average of approximately \$100 per annum

to \$400 or \$500 *per annum*. Consequently each request was rejected due to lack of revenues. In 1911, the newly formed *Canadian Postmasters Association* submitted a petition to the Postmaster General requesting,

1. An increase in salary to meet the sharp advance in the cost of living.
2. An increase in the rent allowance, and the placing of it on the straight percentage basis.
3. Necessary supplies, such as twine, ink, pens, pencils, etc., to be furnished by the department.
4. The postmasters to be given greater protection in the purchase of good equipment for offices.
5. That offices be classified, and a system of promotion (optional for a time) be established, with a view to promoting greater efficiency and permanency.
6. Better newspaper labelling, with a view to greater despatch and accuracy.
7. Full recognition of the association by the government, that postmasters may establish a system of post relief and make suggestions from time to time.
8. That a copy of the Postmaster General's Report be sent to each accounting office.
9. That where safes are advisable, they be furnished by the department.
10. Throwing the civil service insurance open to postmasters.
11. A more adequate night service.¹³⁵

Indeed a few days after the petition was read into Hansard, a committee of the *Postmasters Association* met with the Postmaster General. But again no action was immediately taken.

In the 1912 debates on *Supply*, an excellent example of the practice of patronage with rural postmasters was provided by an Opposition Member who stated,

The Honourable Postmaster General is going at a very rapid rate in decapitating men known as Liberals. Not satisfied with evidence given by Honourable gentlemen who sit behind him, he has accepted the statements of irresponsible people, supposed to be Conservatives, who have written to him, and upon these statements has cancelled contracts and dismissed postmasters.¹³⁶

In addition numerous letters of dismissal of postmasters were read into Hansard validating the charge. Former Postmaster General Lemieux (of the Liberal Party) read into *Hansard* the names of all postmasters dismissed between October 1, 1911 and January 22, 1912.¹³⁷ The list filled four pages of *Hansard* and this represented only those terminated in the first 100 days of the administration. But this was the last gasp of retail patronage because, as will be seen in the next chapter, this type of patronage was largely abolished with the major reforms of the *Civil Service Act* of 1919 (occasioned by the *Murray Report* of 1912).

CONCLUSION

TABLE 27 ¹³⁸

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES OF THE POST OFFICE, 1887-1914

YEAR	NO. OF OFFICES	REVEN. *	EXPEND. *	DEFICIT **	% OF REVS.
1887	7,534	2.6	3.4	(855)	33
1888	7,671	2.8	3.5	(750)	27
1889	7,838	3.0	3.7	(762)	26
1890	7,913	3.2	3.9	(717)	22
1891	8,061	3.4	4.0	(646)	19
1892	8,288	3.5	4.2	(663)	19
1893	8,477	3.7	4.3	(647)	18
1894	8,664	3.7	4.4	(708)	19
1895	8,832	3.8	4.6	(802)	21
1896	9,103	4.0	4.7	(699)	17
1897	9,191	4.3	4.9	(586)	14
1898	9,282	4.7	4.7	(47)	-
1899	9,420	4.3	4.7	(398)	9
1900	9,627	4.3	4.8	(462)	11
1901	9,834	4.6	5.0	(415)	9
1902	9,958	5.1	5.1	5	-
1903	10,150	5.6	5.2	395	-
1904	10,460	6.3	5.9	394	-
1905	10,879	6.8	6.3	490	-
1906	11,141	7.7	6.7	1,011	-
1907	11,377	6.5	5.4	1,082	-
1908	11,823	9.5	8.4	1,102	-
1909	12,479	9.9	9.1	810	-
1910	12,887	11.0	10.3	744	-
1911	13,324	12.2	11.0	1,193	-
1912	13,859	13.8	12.5	1,311	-
1913	14,178	15.7	14.5	1,178	-
1914	13,811	16.9	16.7	134	-

* Millions

** Thousands

TABLE 28 ¹³⁹

ANNUAL MAIL VOLUMES IN MILLIONS OF UNITS, 1887-1914

YEAR	LETTER	NEWS.	REG.	BKS	FREE	PAR.	CARDS
1887	74.3	10.3	3.6	20	3.2	.8	16.4
1888	80.2	10.8	3.6	18	3.5	.8	16.6
1889	92.7	12.3	3.6	17	3.9	.5	19.4
1890	94.1	10.9	3.3	16	3.9	.4	19.5
1891	98.0	25.9	3.3	- *	4.1	.3	20.3
1892	102.8	34.0	3.3	-	4.6	.3	20.8
1893	106.3	24.2	3.3	-	4.7	.3	22.8
1894	107.1	22.3	3.2	-	4.9	.3	23.7
1895	107.6	22.7	3.2	-	4.4	.3	24.0
1896	116.0	24.0	3.5	-	4.7	.3	24.8
1897	123.8	22.9	3.5	-	5.5	.3	26.1
1898	135.0	26.6	3.5	-	5.7	.3	28.1
1899	150.3	34.8	3.7	-	5.4	2.5	27.4
1900	178.3	33.0	4.3	-	6.3	3.0	27.1
1901	191.6	34.5	4.5	-	6.8	3.1	26.8
1902	213.6	42.5	5.0	-	7.4	3.4	26.3
1903	235.8	46.7	5.5	-	8.1	3.8	26.6
1904	259.2	50.8	6.0	-	8.8	4.1	27.2
1905	285.5	55.8	6.6	-	9.7	4.6	29.9
1906	323.6	63.0	7.5	-	10.9	5.2	33.7
1907	273**	53.0	6.3	-	9.2	4.3	28.3
1908	396.0	74.5	9.0	-	13.2	6.3	40.6
1909	414.3	79.5	9.5	-	13.7	6.5	42.2
1910	456.0	87.2	10.5	-	15.0	7.1	45.1
1911	504.2	10.6	11.5	85	16.4	7.8	49.3
1912	566.1	12.0	13.0	95	18.2	8.6	54.7
1913	633.5	13.3	14.5	105	20.2	9.0	60.6
1914	673.1	14.1	15.5	680	21.4	10.2	64.5

* Book volumes were included with newspapers after 1890.

** 9 months

During this period the number of post offices almost doubled from 7,534 to approximately 14,000; yet the Canadian population only increased from 4.6 million to 7.9 million. Even the population increase is misleading concerning the number of post offices required, for the urban population was increasing much more rapidly but there was already a network of urban offices in place. A large number of post offices were opened in the newly settled areas of the Canadian West *i.e.* the hinterland. Thus the purpose of the policy of liberal post office openings was to establish a federal presence in rural and newly opened areas, in order to bind the periphery to the centre *i.e.* nation-building. However the final year of this period (1887-1914) witnessed the very first decline in the total number of post offices. The decline in post offices first witnessed in 1914, continued in the following years, and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

In this chapter we documented and analyzed the response of the policy makers to emerging communications technologies. Evidence adduced from Hansard and the corresponding legislation revealed an acute awareness of the possibilities of the new technologies for the Canadian State. To that end the *Bell Canada Act* was passed in 1880 and the *Government Telegraph System* was largely established by 1882. The *Colonial Conference* of 1887 revealed a willingness by the Canadian Government to aggressively pursue a State-developed inter-colonial cable system. In 1903, the Government legislated a subsidy to assist the *Associated Press* to telegraph British news to Canada. The *Wireless Telegraph Act*

of 1905 was passed bringing this technology under the control of the government. In 1906, the telephone industry was brought under federal regulation for the first time, and in 1908, telegraphs were made subject to regulatory control. In 1913, the *Radiotelegraph Act* was passed which brought the expanding realm of radio (as we now know it) under federal control.

By 1914, the federal government had established a comprehensive communications policy that encompassed all electronic communications technologies then known. It is clear that the policy makers recognized the implications of these new technologies for the State but electronic media had not yet matured. Thus the Government could not yet use them in support of State policy as for example, radio was used after the Aird Royal Commission and the creation of the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission*. The new technologies were used in only a limited way by the State, and their use in the same way that the Post Office had been used, would not occur until the following period (1914-1945).

It has been argued in this chapter, that the recognition of the electronic media by government policy makers caused them to view postal workers in a new light. Prior to the advent of the new technologies, the Post Office was the sole communications system. It was a high-status organization; Deputy Postmaster General Stayner was the only official who earned an income equal to the Governor - all other public officials earned vastly less. But with the advent of the new technologies the Post Office suffered a decline in importance and therefore status, by comparison with that which was newer, and which promised to be

infinitely faster, and so more efficient. Granted that radio, telegraph and telephone were in their infancies and enjoyed less than universal use. Nevertheless, they were already a "force-in-being", and indicated a clear potential for their increased use. And this would be at the expense of the Post Office. During the 1880s, there was a marked change in the language of the Parliamentarians towards the Post Office, and more precisely, towards the postal workers. This was manifest in the deliberate low wage policy adopted towards "the lowest levels".

Thus it is argued that the depreciation of the Post Office consequent upon the recognition of the importance of the new technologies, caused a shift in the attitudes of the policy makers towards the postal workers. While there is no one statement by a Postmaster General that explicitly linked the emergence of the new technologies to the low wage policy adopted, it is clear that the Post Office had slipped from the pre-eminent position it had previously enjoyed. There is a relationship between policy relevance and status within government. The *Privy Council Office*, an extremely important institution of the Government is far more prestigious than many other components of the public service. But the relative importance and status of the Post Office declined over time. The critical question is why.

It is necessary to imagine Canada as it once was, without any electronic communications technologies *i.e.* no television, radio, telephone, telegraph, telecommunicating computers or fax machines. During this era the Post Office was a unique communications system upon which the State was completely

reliant. The State's complete reliance on the Post Office, was captured in a biography of Lyndon Johnson describing his early years in Washington, D.C. as a Congressional aid,

For Lyndon Johnson, the mail possessed almost a mystique. At that time government programs touched the lives of few constituents, so the mail - the only means by which a Congressman could keep in touch with his district almost 2,000 miles from Washington - was a key to a Congressman's power ... For Lyndon Johnson the mystique of the mail went beyond the political. He had always done every job as if his life depended on it ... For such a man, congressional mail, which consisted so largely of minor details - of small unimportant requests - was a natural *métier*. Doing everything one could do with the mail meant answering every letter - and that was what he insisted his office must do. And ... it must be answered the very day it arrived.

The author continued,

There was no escape from the mail. Small bundles meant not less but more work ... "It was important to get mail ... You had to have people writing you. So if the mail got light we had to generate mail". At some point, Latimer recalls, the mail fell off to a point at which "we were receiving perhaps no more than double that of the usual member. This condition was intolerable for the Chief, and he decided that each boy and girl graduating from high school in the Fourteenth District that year should have a personal letter of congratulations from his Congressman. There were literally thousands of such graduates each year. So began the production of lists and concurrently the production of forty or fifty different letters, different, so the graduates would not receive the same letter."¹⁴⁰

The author, Robert Caro, documented that Johnson signed his own name instead of the Congressman's name on all correspondence and became so well known in this district that Johnson seized the nomination from his former employer, the Congressman and won the next election. Although this took place

in the 1930s after the communications revolution had commenced, Johnson's district as the poorest part of Texas had not yet electrified. At that time there were no electronic communications technologies in this part of the country. This example illustrates the crucial importance of the postal system to political power and the constituents in the remote districts. By contrast, it is difficult to imagine a Member of Parliament or Congressman today relying so completely on the postal system.

The foregoing was provided to illustrate the importance of the Post Office in the absence of efficient alternatives. Conversely the Post Office although still powerful, became far less important and thus far less prestigious with the advent of the new communications technologies. It is clear that in the nineteenth century a high aspiration for the working or middle class was to obtain a position in the Post Office. Today other occupations have usurped the position of the postal worker of the last century.

Consequent upon the transformation in the perceptions of the policy makers towards the Post Office, and especially towards the lowest levels, a low wage policy was adopted towards the letter carriers and sorters. Moreover Parliament passed legislation which removed letter carriers and sorters from the ambit of the *Civil Service Act*, and converted their status to that of day wage labourers. Thus the policy makers segregated the letter carriers and sorters into a separate lower class. In so doing a working class consciousness and solidarity was constituted which was then fuelled by resentment from the sense of injustice occasioned by

the low wage policy adopted.

CHAPTER 4: END NOTES

1. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. 77.
2. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. I.
3. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. 25.
4. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. 25.
5. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. 25.
6. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. 13.
7. 1888. Second Session, Sixth Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 76-1888*, p. 77.
8. 1889. *Bill 93* which was passed as *52 Victoria c. 20*
9. 1893. Third Session, Seventh Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 35-1893*.
10. 1893. Third Session, Seventh Parliament. *House of Commons Sessional Paper 35-1893*, at p. 4.
11. 1893 *House of Commons Sessional Paper 35-1893*, at p. 7.

12. 1893 *House of Commons Sessional Paper* 35-1893, at p. 7.
13. The Murray Report of 1912 made this criticism.
14. 1899 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6105.
15. *Postal Telegraph Service by Sea and Land*. Monograph addressed to the Honourable William Mulock from Sandford Flemming, January 1, 1902. Public Archives Catalogue of Pamphlets.
16. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3908.
17. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3908.
18. 1903. 3 *Edward VII* c. 70. This arrangement was renewed in 1908, 7-8 *Edward VII* c. 12 and again in 1912-13, 3-4 *George V* c. 52
19. 1907-08 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 12845.
20. 1907-08 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 12845.
21. 1905. 4-5 *Edward VII* c. 49
22. 1905 *Senate Debates*, p. 551.
23. 1905 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2681.
24. 1905 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2683.
25. 1905 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2684.

26. 1905 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2684.
27. 1905 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2683.
28. The report was 850 pages in length.
29. 1906. Second Session, Tenth Parliament. *House of Commons Debates*, p. 751-752, 758. Also see 1908. Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament. *House of Commons Debates*, p. 10625.
30. 1906 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 752.
31. 1906. 6 Edward VII c. 42
32. 1908. 7-8 Edward VII c. 61
33. 1907-08 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 10632.
34. 1907-08 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 10633.
35. 3-4 George V c. 43
36. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 780.
37. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 787.
38. The partnership was not equal. Britain and Canada held five shares each, while Australia held six shares and New Zealand held two shares. This information was provided by Postmaster General Pelletier in the 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9010.

39. The two companies were the *Commercial Cable Company* and *Western Electric*. This information is provided in 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9012.
40. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9011.
41. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9026.
42. Roger Bird, ed., *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988.
43. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9012.
44. The shareholders were: *Imperial Tobacco Company*; *Werner, Beit & Co.*; *Kleinwort*; Sir Robert Jardine; Lord Harris; Basil Montgomerie; and Fitzgeralds. Cited by Postmaster General Pelletier in 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9015.
45. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9021.
46. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9029.
47. 1889 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1131.
48. 1889 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1282.
49. 1889 *Senate Debates*, p. 558.
50. A somewhat similar complaint was voiced by a rural member of Parliament in 1899 concerning parcel post service. The *T. Eaton Company* obtained municipal voters lists to ascertain addresses to which catalogues were sent. Members in rural communities purchased the lower priced goods from the large department stores rather than from the small stores in the rural communities. Rural members argued that as the Post Office was losing

money parcel post constituted an unfair subsidy to large corporations at the expense of the small entrepreneur. This is a recurring theme in postal policy. The issue recurred as recently as 1982 when Canada Post Corporation under Parliamentary pressure from rural members, abrogated its agreement with *Consumers Distributing*, to mail merchandise to rural customers.

51. Concerning *Bill 17, Post Office Act Amendment Bill* in the House of Commons.
52. 1898 *Senate Debates*, p. 1093.
53. 1898 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2915.
54. 1898 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 5526.
55. 1898 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 5753.
56. 1898 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 2917.
57. 1898 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 5757-5759.
58. 1898 *House of Commons Debates*, at p. 5543.
59. 1898 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 5717.
60. 1900 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9694.
61. 1900 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 9695.
62. 1900 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9807.

63. 1900 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 9696.
64. The philosopher of science, Thomas Kuhn, calls this a paradigm shift.
65. 1900 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 9809.
66. The examples provided in the quote were physical media.
67. 1907-08. Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament. *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 334-380. Also see 1909, First Session, Eleventh Parliament. *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 2774-2801.
68. This continued in the modern period with the refusal by the *Public Service Staff Relations Board* to certify CUPW as bargaining agent for the Railway Mail Clerks. Instead the *Public Service Alliance*, which represented "white-collar" workers was granted jurisdiction.
69. 1910-11. Third Session, Eleventh Parliament. *House of Commons Debates* p. 4286.
70. 1910-11 *House of Commons Debates* p. 4287.
71. 1889. 52 *Victoria c. 12*
72. 1889. 52 *Victoria c. 12*.
73. 1892 *House of Commons Sessional Papers* 16c-1892, p. 120.
74. *Public Archives*, RG 2, Vol. 5237, *Report on the Post Office Department*.
75. The Auditor General was forced to resign due to other commitments before the report was completed.

76. *Public Archives. RG 2, Vol. 5237. Report on the Post Office Department.*
77. *Public Archives, RG 2, Vol. 5237, Report on the Post Office Department, at p. 20.*
78. 1902. 2 *Edward VII c. 28*
79. 1904. 4 *Edward VII c. 30*
80. 1904 *Senate Debates*, p. 1117.
81. 1904 *Senate Debates*, p. 1117.
82. This argument was later made by the unions and Post Office management in support of transforming the Post Office into a Crown Corporation in order to remove it from the jurisdiction of the *Public Service Staff Relations Act* and place it under the jurisdiction of the *Canadian Labour Relations Act*.
83. 1908. 7-8 *Edward VII c. 15*
84. 1909. 8-9 *Edward VII c. 7*
85. 1909. 8-9 *Edward VII c. 7*
86. 1909 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6341.
87. 1909. 8-9 *Edward VII c. 7 (Schedule)*
88. 1909-10. 9-10 *Edward VII c. 8*
89. "Why we Continue to Struggle", J.C. Parrot in Lowe and Krahn eds.,

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CORPORATION

Working Canadians. Also see "Interview with Jean Claude Parrot", *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol. II, 1984.

90. 1909-10. 9-10 *Edward VII c. 8*
91. Applying the same ratio today would suggest an annual income of \$90,000 for an assistant postmaster, assuming an average of \$30,000 for a letter carrier.
92. 1912. 2 *George V c. 14*
93. 1914. 4-5 *George V c. 21*
94. 1889. 52 *Victoria c. 20*
95. 1889 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1136.
96. 1889. 52 *Victoria c. 12*
97. The synopsis of changes to letter carrier remuneration was provided by Postmaster General Mulock in the 1902 debates on *Bill 106* at p. 4040.
98. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4062.
99. See 1903 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 14022, wherein an opposition member stated, "I think he should be called the Postmaster General and not the Minister of Labour, because his ample proportions do not fulfill the poetical idea of a Minister of Labour. I think a Minister of Labour should be thin and lank, and show the evidences of a laborious life. He should be lean and hungry looking like Cassius, rather than the robust gentleman he is, who seems to have been reared in the lap of luxury and to have lived there all his life".

100. 1899 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7332.
101. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4062.
102. 1899 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7337-7338.
103. 1899 *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 7338-7339.
104. 1899 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 7343.
105. 1899 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 7347.
106. 1905 *House of Commons Journals*. Appendix 1.
107. 1900 *House of Commons Debates on Supply*, p. 8754-8755.
108. 1900 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 8755.
109. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4041-4042.
110. 1902. 2 *Edward VII c. 28*
111. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 4052-4053.
112. At this time there were 140 letter carriers employed in Toronto according to Opposition Member Puttee who obtained the information from the Civil Service List see 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3885.
113. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4061.

114. 1902 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3867.
115. 1903 *Senate Debates*, p. 602.
116. 1903 *Senate Debates*, p. 713.
117. 1903 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6016.
118. 1903 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6017.
119. 1903 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6023.
120. Postmaster General Mulock in the 1904 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 5752 made a comparison with letter carriers in the United States. He argued that Canadian letter carriers were not underpaid and in providing data on American letter carriers inadvertently proved that Canadian letter carriers were relatively underpaid vis-à-vis American letter carriers. According to Mulock, U.S. letter carriers earned \$500 *per annum* in 1903 and in order to supplement their income, many letter carriers carried express parcels for which they were privately compensated. The express companies complained about the competition and Congress raised letter carrier wages in 1903 to \$750 *per annum*. By 1904 the U.S. letter carriers were demanding \$1000 *per annum*.
121. 1903. 3 *Edward VII c. 49*
122. 1903 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5672.
123. 1904 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5755.
124. 1909. 8-9 *Edward VII c. 30*
125. 1909. 8-9 *Edward VII c. 6*

126. 1911. *1-2 George V c. 19*
127. 1912. *2 George V c. 41*
128. 1914 *House of Commons Debates, Bill 147.*
129. 1892 *House of Commons Sessional Paper 16c-1892*, p. 143.
130. 1892 *House of Commons Sessional Paper 16c-1892*, p. 143.
131. Innis called the phenomenon *Empire and Communications* while Foucault called it *Power-Knowledge*.
132. 1903 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 14016.
133. 1903 *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 14027-14030. The petition is illustrative of working conditions at this time. It stated,
We, the undersigned, accounting postmasters of Manitoba and the North-West Territories beg to bring to your attention the following statement of facts regarding our work which goes to show that the remuneration is most inadequate, in the hope that you may be able to grant us substantial and immediate relief. We do this the more hopefully in view of the stand you have taken on the question of the hours of labour etc., of the working man.
1. The postmaster is responsible for the safehandling of many important letters, and valuable parcels. In this country large amounts of money formerly sent by express are now sent by registered mail to wheat buyers to enable them to carry on their business. In many places the branch banks remit to, or receive from, the head office large sums of money. This increases the postmaster's responsibility and where help is employed necessitates care in the selection. The money order business necessitates the handling of large sums of money for the miserable pittance of 25 cents per hundred. The amount of stamps kept on hand must always be large with the source of supply so far away. In no other line of work would persons be held responsible for the proper handling of such large amounts, with the same possibilities of irregularities and losses, without remuneration at least from five to ten times greater than the postmaster receives for his money order work. In many cases there is added responsibility through the

handling of customs parcels for which there is practically no remuneration. The postmaster is expected to provide a roomy, centrally located office without any regard to the rental which that office would command if leased for other purposes. The necessity for the correct and prompt despatch of all mails regardless of hours of arrival and departure is in many instances a grave responsibility. Understanding that the present basis of remuneration has been in vogue for a quarter of a century or more we would respectfully point out various increases in work which clearly show that, although it may have been sufficient then it is utterly inadequate now.

Firstly. In connection with newspapers and periodicals we think it a conservative estimate to assume that a family will now receive an average of six to eight times as many periodicals as a family would be receiving twenty-five years ago.

Secondly. The use of the mails as a means of distributing advertising material is a practice of recent years entirely and the quantity handled is simply enormous and constantly increasing. These increases affect both local distribution and the sorting of matter for forwarding to outside offices. Thirdly. The recent reduction in the rate of letter postage necessitates (in the matter of Canadian and United States postage) an increase of fully fifty per cent in the number of letters handled before an increase of revenue can accrue, or an increase of salary be hoped for. In the case of British, and some other lines of foreign postage, the increase in the number of letters must be 150 per cent before we have established a basis for any possible increase in salary. A working out of the figures in this connection will establish that the postmasters are bearing from thirty to forty per cent of the expenses of the reduction so appreciated by the public. This appears to be an altogether undue proportion. The introduction of the postal note system has increased the amount of labour out of proportion to the revenue attached. This method of remitting small amounts (chiefly to the city offices) has largely curtailed the sale of stamps which were formerly used. At offices where customs parcels are handled and distributed by mail to smaller offices, stamps are usually sent in payment of duty and cash is remitted to port of entry, again curtailing the sale of stamps received from the department.

2. An examination into the method of handling customs parcels and the remuneration (even where any is allowed) will reveal the fact that the work actually required to be performed which is considerable, is practically unpaid for. This is one of the points which we desire to bring to your attention, that unremunerative work of this sort is being multiplied while the revenue of the office is being held down by reduced rates of postage.

3. In a number of the offices, besides keeping the office open throughout the regulation hours, the postmasters are compelled to await the arrival of a late evening train and again in some instances have to get up at 5 or 6

o'clock in the morning to despatch a mail, thus imposing unduly long hours of service without any allowance for any class of assistance, to say nothing of a competent assistant. In some offices, owing to the arrival of several different mails the public is entitled to call and demand individual attention several times during the day, whereas the basis of remuneration makes no special provision for this. In places where tri-weekly trains carry the mails, the postmaster is compelled to remain eleven hours a day for six days a week and provide (if he would give the public anything approaching satisfactory service) for a portion of three days a week, one or more duly qualified assistants. His allowance is inadequate for his own support at present cost of living, thus providing nothing for the payment of assistants.

4. In view of the amount of mail matter to be resorted and forwarded the forwarding allowances do not begin to pay for the work done or the extra office room required. Another department with a deficit.

5. The allowance for rent, fuel and light is decidedly inadequate. In practically every town where the post office is kept in a separate compartment, the room occupied could be leased for a rental in excess of the full allowance for rent, for heating and for lighting. In the town of Morris, the postmaster is allowed \$100 for rent, fuel and light. For less space in the same building he receives from the Merchants Bank, \$350 a year for rent, alone. At Melita the postmaster cancelled a lease bringing him a net annual rental of \$180 to use the building for post office purposes on an allowance of \$125 for rent, fuel and light. Other similar examples could be cited. Fuel and light are costly here.

6. In the matter of securing proper assistants, we could point out that labour readily commands far larger remuneration in any market than it did a few years ago. To have experienced help available is a severe drain upon the limited exchequer of the postmaster who is unfortunate enough to require it as nearly all do. Even where help is not regularly required, competent assistance must be had if the postmaster is ever to seek recreation or relief from duty.

7. There is another matter which affects postmasters in the west more particularly, namely, the increased cost of living. This has frequently been brought to the attention of yourself and colleagues in various ways, and we note that already you have conceded the point as in the case of the 29 per cent increase allowed the letter carriers of Winnipeg. In our opinion this does not represent the actual amount of difference, but is a recognition of that difference. In all lines the cost of living has advanced during the past few years, while the postmasters are receiving less pay for more work.

8. A comparison with salaries paid in other departments of the public service and even in other departments of the postal service give an idea of our disadvantages. For example. First class railway mail clerks receive \$960 and mileage, second class clerks, \$800 and mileage. In the city of

Winnipeg the assistant postmaster gets \$2000, first class clerks, \$1500, second class, \$1320, third class, \$880, and letter carriers, \$720. We do not think these are too highly paid, but an office with a revenue of \$2000 not only absorbs all of one person's time, but requires an additional clerk at least a portion of the year. The postmaster of such an office receives for salary, commissions and allowances an average of less than \$700 or less than half the amount received by a first class city clerk, \$100 less than a second class railway mail service clerk, and a trifle less than is paid to the city letter carriers, and out of this modest income he must employ whatever additional help is required and furnish a suitable office and office equipment. In most cases his hours are longer and his responsibilities greater than those of any of the officials referred to. In one town where the train arrived late and departed early, the postmaster until recently received \$3.50 per month for overtime, while the railway agent received \$19 a month extra.

In view of the conditions and facts set forth above, we would respectfully suggest the following changes as tending to bring about a redress of our grievances. 1st. That the straight salary allowance be based on per cent on the first \$1000 worth of stamps sold, and 40 per cent on all additional sales. This would barely offset the losses resulting from the reduction of letter postage.

2nd. That in Manitoba a special increase of at least 20 per cent be allowed to cover extra cost of living. 3rd. That the allowance for rent, fuel and light be doubled so as to provide a reasonable rent for the office, and a provision for the cost of fuel and light in this country. 4th. That the money order system be simplified so as to lessen the amount of work performed for the small remuneration allowed and also to increase its popularity with the business public, who now object to the restrictions hedging it round [sic]. 5th. In addition to the regular and general scale of allowances we would request. That a special allowance be granted for each extra mail which tends to bring the public again before the wicket for individual attention during the day. That the forward allowance be materially increased to distributing offices. That a special allowance be given to postmasters who are compelled to work before 8 a.m., or after 7 p.m. Among the mechanical industries the special allowance for overtime is very marked. That in the case of offices where mails are so infrequent as to have large quantities of mail matter delivered at the office at one time, so that the public convenience really requires the employment of one or more assistants, an allowance be given towards the payment of such assistant or assistants. 6th. In addition to the above we feel that there are a number of cases of special, minor grievances which we cannot enter into in detail, but in which we think that a little investigation would show that redress could be effected so as to relieve the postmasters concerned without

in any way impairing the efficiency and safety of the public service, which grievances have probably continued to exist because they have not been brought to your honourable attention. And we would respectfully urge that the above matters be duly considered and that a large measure of redress be granted in the very near future. And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Supplementary Suggestions Passed by Executive

1. That all accounting offices be given an allowance for rent, fuel and light.
2. That twine, mucilage, pens, ink, pencils etc., for post office use be furnished by the department and not at the expense of the postmaster as at present.
3. That the department make it more clear to all publishers that newspapers must be suitably folded and that they must be addressed plainly. That where labels are used they must be in large clear type, and that if possible uniformity of colour in labels be secured.
4. That a full list of 'Suggestions to the Public' be printed by the department and supplied to all postmasters for display in their offices as tending to make it clear that certain regulations are found necessary by the department and are not based on the caprice or convenience of the postmaster. For instance that stamps or money orders may not be purchased during the distribution of a newly arrived mail, and that money orders and postal notes are not available for purchase after the registered mail closes for an outgoing mail. Also some suggestions as to the age of children who are to be considered as proper persons to receive mail from the wicket.
5. That when instructions are sent out for the weighing of all mails that facilities for such weighing be afforded by the department.
6. That in view of the large sums of money at times in the mails in this country and hence often stored in the post office, and in view of the value of the stamps and the importance of the books now to be kept that safes be provided for accounting postmasters or an allowance be granted to pay for use of same when provided by the postmaster.

134. 1910-11 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6064.

135. 1910-11 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4289-4290.

136. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6626.

137. 1912-13 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6636-6640.
138. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General*, 1887-1914.
139. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1887-1914.
140. *The Path to Power*. Robert Caro. New York: Vintage Books, 1983, p. 232-233.

CHAPTER 5:

STASIS

The potentialities of broadcasting as an instrument of education have been impressed upon us; education in the broad sense, not only as it is conducted in the schools and colleges, but in providing entertainment and of informing the public on questions of national interest ... It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of these [programs] has a tendency to mold the minds of the young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian. In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship.

1929 Royal Commission on Broadcasting¹

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, evidence will be introduced which will reveal that the tremendous growth of the Post Office, commencing in 1851 finally came to an end during the period 1914-1945. It will be argued that awareness of the usefulness of emerging electronic media caused a shift in the policy makers' perceptions and hence their policy. This shift was revealed by policies which emphasized a preference for the development of electronic media as instruments of the national communications system. There was a concomitant reduction in reliance on the Post Office to fulfil this role, as validated by the slight decline in the number of post offices during this period. However, as the number of post offices did not decline dramatically between 1914 and 1945, this period can be

seen as one of transition between the period of growth (1851-1914) and the period of decline (1945-1981) and can be characterized as a period of stasis.

Once again postal policy will be analyzed under the three headings of: emerging technologies; pricing and services; labour and policies. This ordering suggests that the category of emerging technologies is the independent variable which affected pricing and the introduction of new services, and these two categories in turn affected labour policies.

EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES AND POLICY

In 1925, automation was introduced to the internal administration of the Post Office with the purchase of two *Hollerith* card punching machines.² (*Hollerith* later became known as *International Business Machines* and these machines foreshadowed the computer). The machines were purchased because it was estimated that the two machines would perform the work of 100 employees involved in mechanical sortation and the audit of money orders and postal notes.³

Notwithstanding the increased efficiencies realized by the introduction of this technology, the Post Office Inside Service increased by twenty-five employees in the same year. The policy decision to automate was sufficiently important that it was discussed in the Annual Report wherein it was stated that it would be

necessary to "introduce equipment of this nature at several points in the near future".⁴

In 1930, the Post Office established the Postal Engineering Unit "due to the growing use of special equipment".⁵ The "special equipment" referred to the early automation program. The Post Office viewed this as an important program linked to the welfare of the postal workers. Postal officials argued that the improved methods generated by the Postal Engineering Unit produced the following benefits for the worker,

1. Brief rest periods are now enjoyed by the men between the different draws of mails. This is very much appreciated as the nature of this work requires speed, lacks variety and is very much of a repetitional character.
2. Congestion of men around facing-up tables is now eliminated, as the mail is mechanically distributed to the facing-up tables, spaced at distances conducive to good ventilation and ideal working conditions.
3. Lifting of heavy mail bags by the men is greatly lessened, and in many places entirely eliminated, the bags being mechanically conveyed to their destinations, where they are opened. The mail then flows over belts and through chutes to assigned conveying and distributing equipment.
4. Men engaged in separating and sorting are now free from the former dusty atmosphere, associated with the manual dumping of mail bags on the tables, cases and bag racks around which they are engaged.

It continued,

5. The cycle of night work, during which time the bulk of mail is handled, has been advanced by approximately one hour, this being a progressive step in eliminating as far as possible, midnight labour in large post offices.
6. A reduction has been made possible in the long hours of overtime always associated with the Christmas period, which while willingly borne by the postal employee, nevertheless exacted a toll from which it took considerable time to recuperate. Under present conditions the effect of this peak load has been greatly lessened.
7. Improved working conditions in large city post offices are still engaging the attention of the technical staff, and a machine is being designed for the cleaning of mail bags by a sanitary process. Where necessary, provision will be made for proper fumigation of mail bags and equipment.⁶

This reveals the relationship between technological change and labour policies. It confirms that the automation program commenced at a much earlier date than previously believed. It is also important as it reveals that the Post Office at this early date planned to substitute capital (automation equipment), for labour in the search for efficiency, a new emphasis which was replacing its previous objective of nation-building. However the program was not overtly justified on the ground of efficiency, but in the name of the "welfare of the postal worker".

In later years, the Depression did not curtail the automation program, for in 1931 the Post Office installed mechanical equipment in Toronto which accelerated by 50% the sortation of precancelled mail material, while a new mechanical distribution system was installed in Montreal.⁷

In 1926, a zoning system was introduced - the forerunner of the postal code - to "further speed up the delivery of mail in cities".⁸ Increasingly, mail in the cities (which accounted for approximately 90% of total mail volume) was originated by business, producing a gradual commercialization of the Post Office. The same year postage meter machines were refined and extended for commercial use. In the following year, 1927, the Post Office announced that it would study the adoption of air mail service following the successful implementation of this service by postal administrations in the United States, Europe and Australia.⁹ Accordingly, in 1928, air mail service was established between Toronto and

Buffalo, and Montreal and New York. In addition service was established to remote regions of the country such as Rimouski. In 1930 a western airmail service was developed between Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton, while in the east a similar service was established between Ottawa, Montreal and Rimouski and the northern parts of Quebec centering around Chibougamau. An eastern link was established between Montreal, Quebec City, St. John and Moncton. In the north an airmail service was developed between Fort McMurray and Aklavik.¹⁰ The air mail service was undertaken in response to demands from the business community to speed up the delivery of mail. As well, the development of air mail service can be seen as a response by the Post Office to the efficiency of electronic media. There was a third purpose which was articulated by Opposition Member Betts,

The airplane today is to the railway train what the railway train was to the oxcart one hundred years ago, and there never was a country on the face of the earth that needed a properly developed air service from coast to coast as this country does. It will do more to weld the west and the east together than anything else.¹¹

This indicates there were still vestiges of the Post Office's role as an instrument of nation-building, although it was receding in favour of commercialization. Subsequent to the establishment of *Trans-Canada Airline* (later renamed *Air Canada*), the Post Office signed mail delivery contracts very favourable to TCA that assisted the airline to establish itself. It will be recalled that the Post Office was used by the Government policy makers to grant generous long term mail

contracts to the railway companies during their critical start-up period. This provided the necessary early cash flow. Similarly in 1940, TCA received 69.5% of all revenues from the Post Office.¹²

In 1929, an event with momentous consequences for the Post Office occurred with the publication of the report of the *Aird Royal Commission on Broadcasting*. It set in motion a chain of events which led to the establishment of the *Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission* (which shortly became the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*). There is one crucial paragraph in the report which inadvertently explains the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building and its replacement by the CBC. In terms strongly reminiscent of language once used to describe the Post Office, the report stated,

The potentialities of broadcasting as an instrument of education have been impressed upon us; education in the broad sense, not only as it is conducted in the schools and colleges, but in providing entertainment and of informing the public on questions of national interest ... It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of these [programs] has a tendency to mold the minds of the young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian. In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship.¹³

This was the precise role envisaged for the Post Office by the nineteenth century policy makers. The Royal Commission recommended that broadcasting should be managed as a public service through a new agency of government which came to be known as the *Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission*. In 1932, the Bennett Government introduced the *Radio Broadcasting Bill* which

subsequently became law.¹⁴ Again, in language remarkably similar to that used by Parliamentarians in the nineteenth century to describe the role of the Post Office, Prime Minister Bennett eloquently provided the rationale for the new broadcasting policy,

Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals, and without such control it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened ... Furthermore, radio broadcasting, controlled and operated in this way, can serve as a dependable link in a chain of empire communication by which we may be more closely united one with the other in that enduring fellowship which is founded on the clear and sympathetic understanding which grows out of closer mutual knowledge.¹⁵

Just as the policy makers of the nineteenth century engaged in a political struggle to seize control of the Post Office from the British, the policy makers now engaged in a struggle to seize control of the broadcasting system from private American interests. Even at this early stage of radio broadcasting, the policy makers looked to the future of electronic media. Member of Parliament Malcolm asked the Prime Minister if the proposed bill would "cover television" and Bennett answered affirmatively.¹⁶ This is astonishingly prescient given that the first successful demonstration of television did not take place until four years later in 1936 in the United Kingdom.

All parties in the House of Commons and Senate supported the legislation. This reveals progress in the education of the political elites in Canada. Approximately 100 years earlier the elites had supported the British Government in their

attempt to maintain control of the Post Office, against the claims of the emerging elite known as the "radicals" *e.g.* William Lyon MacKenzie. One hundred years later, it was universally recognized by the political elites that Canadian control of communications was an essential ingredient for the development of the Canadian nation. Senator Lemieux (former Postmaster General) noted that the Bill would save radio from the fate of the cinema,

We shall be independent of American broadcasting, and this independence should be a very good thing, as radio plays an important role in education. We know what the cinema, for instance, has done in some parts of Canada. For many years the cinema in this country has been more an American than a Canadian institution.¹⁷

Senator Lemieux raised an important issue in communications policy,

Now I should like to ask ... an assurance that in the program of this radio business both languages will be respected, in accordance with the rights given to the minority by the constitution ... Let us lay down the rule that in the administration of this act there shall be no partiality, and that every regard will be paid to the constitutional rights of the minority.¹⁸

Lemieux, a francophone, was a former Postmaster General. Some analysts have suggested that a significant number of Postmasters General were francophone because the position controlled a great deal of patronage. Quebec politicians (so goes the argument) were attracted to the position because they were corrupt. However Lemieux's remarks point to a deeper and more profound explanation, which yet incorporates patronage. As was argued in earlier chapters, patronage

in the nineteenth century was the most effective method of ensuring accountability.

Direct accountability or patronage, coupled with control of the communications system ensured that French Canada would protect its cultural and linguistic interests. With the emergence of electronic media, French Canada was vitally concerned in ensuring that its interests were similarly protected in broadcasting. Indeed with broadcasting, French Canada was more successful than with the Post Office, for in effect two CBCs were ultimately established - the English CBC and the French *Radio Canada*.

In 1936, the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* was established "for the purpose of carrying on a broadcasting service in Canada" - again with all party consent.¹⁹ It was stated in Chapter 3 and 4 that the introduction of telegraph and telephone technology represented the first threat to the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building. The second such threat was the establishment of a national radio broadcasting service. The third, to be discussed in the next chapter, was television. The policy makers recognized that telephone and radio technologies could be harnessed as instruments of nation-building to bind the nation together, for radio brought Parliamentarians into the homes of the Canadian people in a vastly more efficient and intimate manner. With these emerging, more sophisticated technologies, the Post Office receded in importance in terms of the policy of nation-building. As the original role of the Post Office

receded, its role as a cheap purveyor of commercial communications came to the fore.

PRICING AND SERVICES POLICIES

As noted in the previous chapter, rural mail delivery was inaugurated in 1908 a short time after the failure by the Post Office to assimilate telegraph and telephone technology. In the following years rural mail delivery grew rapidly as indicated by the following statistics.

TABLE 29 ²⁰

RURAL MAIL DELIVERY IN CANADA SEPTEMBER, 1908 - SEPTEMBER, 1911

PROVINCE	ROUTES AUTHORIZED	COST PER ANNUM
P.E.I.	49	2,342
Nova Scotia	19	835
New Brunswick	50	3,871
Quebec	27	2,008
Ontario	389	12,578
Manitoba	29	2,027
Saskatchewan	12	382
Alberta	23	760
British Columbia	16	3,033
TOTAL	614	\$65,020

TABLE 30 ²¹

**RURAL MAIL DELIVERY IN CANADA
OCTOBER, 1911 - FEBRUARY, 1915**

PROVINCE	ROUTES AUTHORIZED	COST PER ANNUM
P.E.I.	107	29,396
Nova Scotia	78	19,810
New Brunswick	151	36,031
Quebec	372	184,326
Ontario	1391	772,269
Manitoba	36	18,218
Saskatchewan	23	6,967
Alberta	31	6,954
British Columbia	36	16,309
TOTAL	2,225	\$1,100,282

During the first seven years of rural mail delivery the Post Office inaugurated over 2000 routes representing an expenditure of more than one million dollars. By 1916, the number of routes had increased to 3337.²² Given that the Postmaster General and the Post Office Department controlled route authorizations, it is manifest that the Minister and the Department did not resist the new policy (although it had been rejected prior to 1908).

While it could be argued that 2,000 rural routes in a country the size of Canada is not a great number, the population of Canada was only eight million

at this time. As well, the establishment of the Post Office infrastructure necessary to serve remote locations across the country required considerable time because every rural mail courier's contract had to be sent to Ottawa for authorization.

The policy concerning the authorization of a rural route was enunciated by Conservative Postmaster General Casgrain,

When the demand is made for a rural route service the officer visits the district and if 50% of the inhabitants along the route ask for the establishment of a rural mail, it is given to them.²³

Rates were increased once again in 1915 with the passage of the *Special War Revenue Act*²⁴ which imposed a one cent tax on each cable and telegraphic message (section 8), a one cent increase in postal rates (section 13) and a one cent and a two cent tax respectively on each postal note and money order sold.

In 1920, the *Post Office Act* was again amended²⁵ to increase the rates of postage on daily newspapers from one quarter of a cent per pound to one cent per pound effective January 1, 1921 with a second increase boosting the rate to one and one half cents per pound effective January 1, 1922. Quarterlies were increased from one cent to two cents per pound, while weekly *i.e.* rural newspapers sent within a forty mile radius continued to be carried free. The increases were justified on the basis that the postal subsidy had become too expensive. The Postmaster General noted that 87 million pounds of newspapers or 54% of postal volume accounted for merely \$290,000 of the annual postal revenue of \$25

million, thus requiring a second class subsidy of \$5 million annually.²⁶ While this was true the second class subsidy had cost a great deal from the beginning. But in 1920 alternative electronic media were emerging that brought into question the postal subsidy.

The idea that the policy objective of subsidizing newspapers was largely complete was captured by Postmaster General Blondin when he stated,

In the first years after Confederation a privilege was granted to the newspapers, which at that time had to face a situation that does not now exist. Daily newspapers were small; they had to be distributed through a sparse and scattered population, and advertisements did not take the place they occupy in modern newspapers in assisting that business ... We are charging the people of Canada 2 cents an ounce for carrying their letters, which means \$32 for 100 lb., and for the carrying of third class matter \$8 for \$100 lb. ... but ever since Confederation we have been charging newspapers only 25 cents per 100 lb. In this we have been following rather the American Post Office system than the European or British system.²⁷

A second justification for the increase was that the United States Postal Service already charged one and one half cents per pound.²⁸ The increases were not only criticized by the opposition who characterized it as a tax on "freedom of thought"²⁹ but by the editor of *Saturday Night* who raised the issue of Canadian cultural protection,

At a time when Canada is struggling to express herself through her own distinctively Canadian periodicals, and is doing her youthful best to become something more than what the botanists might term an "obligate parasite" on the United States, it seems doubly unfortunate that the life of many of our native publications should be nipped out by a Postal Zone Bill which carries the threat of an increase of 400 per cent.

It continued,

We want to be something more than a backdoor neighbor of Uncle Sam. We want a voice of our own. To have these we must have those publications which remain less involved with the crowded events of the hour than is the daily press ... But postal impositions which tend to restrict the disseminations of thought to merely sectional dimensions is retrogressive, and governmental economies which are bound to hamper the diffusion of culture are going to prove repugnant to the open-minded Canadian.³⁰

However the Parliamentary opposition supported the increase on the basis of cultural nationalism. Some members argued that Canadian dailies solicited advertising from American based companies with products less expensive than Canadian manufactured goods, and thus low postal rates for newspapers subsidized the advertising of foreign goods to the detriment of Canadian business.³¹ A second argument made against low postage rates for dailies was that it allowed the dailies to compete in the rural markets, and thus drive out the rural weeklies. Member of Parliament Armstrong provided evidence that in 1918 there were 1,018 local weekly newspapers while only two years later 110 local newspapers had gone out of business.³²

But these critics failed to realize that the government was shifting its emphasis from physical media as instruments of nation-building to electronic media. The four fold price increase for newspaper transmission was one manifestation of this shift. The change in policy was captured in this debate by Member of Parliament Cockshutt who stated,

I have the privilege of agreeing with [the] principle laid down by the honourable member in financial matters, - that every public service that is rendered by this government, whether by the railways, ships, post office, telegraph or telephone, if we own one, should at least be self-sustaining.³³

This was the first time that a Parliamentarian repudiated the policy that the Post Office was expected and permitted to incur deficits. This does not suggest that the government stopped using physical media as instruments of nation-building because the postal subsidy for periodicals still exists today.³⁴ Instead this suggests that the primary focus of the policy makers was shifting to electronic media.

The newspaper industry countered by applying severe pressure to the government, which then amended the *Post Office Act*³⁵ in 1923 to reduce the rate on newspapers from 1 and 1/2 cents per pound to 1 and 1/4 cents per pound. The amendment was defeated by the Senate. It demonstrated the power of the newspaper lobby which attempted to prevent this shift.

In 1926, the *Special War Revenue Act* of 1915 was repealed³⁶ thereby eliminating the special war stamp tax (letter rates for North American letters reverted to two cents). The repeal also reduced the letter rate for Great Britain and the Empire from four cents to three cents.

Under intense pressure from the newspapers, the government again amended the *Post Office Act* in 1927,³⁷ to reduce the postage rate for newspapers from 1 and 1/4 cents per pound to 1 cent per pound. A letter addressed to the

Minister of Finance from the *Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association* is most revealing,

On behalf of the members of the Agricultural Press Association of Canada, the Magazine Publishers' Association of Canada and the Business Newspapers' Association of Canada, all of which are affiliated with this association, I wish to express our appreciation of this proposed legislation, which presages a welcome measure of financial relief and leads us to hope that when the whole case of the periodicals publishers has been dealt with by the government, we will have reached a parity of production costs with our foreign competitors.³⁸

Postmaster General Veniot of the King Government justified the bill on the basis that it would protect domestic publishers from the "influx of American newspapers and periodicals which are today flooding the whole country".³⁹ R.B. Bennett supported the policy in noting that,

The formation of national sentiment is influenced by factors which are sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious to the people themselves ... The result is that public opinion is being formed and the whole national sentiment of the country is being more or less wrongly influenced, and this in turn injuriously affects the creation of that strong feeling of Canadianism that we are all so anxious to encourage.⁴⁰

This reveals once again the preoccupation of the policy makers with nation-building which necessarily incorporates "consciousness-building" and the fostering of a Canadian identity. It does not suggest a re-emergence of physical media. The decrease is interpreted as a temporary aberration occasioned by a particularly

successful lobby at that time. This is borne out by the fact that the wrong policy instrument was chosen, given the stated objectives of protecting Canadian newspapers. The bilateral agreement between Canada and the United States which regulated the rates of postage between the two countries, could and should have been renegotiated if the objective was to impose higher rates on foreign media. The rate charged in Canada did not affect American periodicals. Admittedly a reduced rate for Canadian newspapers and periodicals provided them with a relative advantage over foreign media. However at one cent per pound, it was admitted by all concerned that such low postage rates did not affect the subscription price. The effect and motive for the bill was to produce greater profits for the newspapers and not the dissemination of information.

In 1928, a Private Member's Bill was introduced which mandated the disclosure of the names of owners and directors of newspapers. Although this would ordinarily fall under provincial jurisdiction, the Bill proposed that those newspapers which did not comply would be denied access to the mail system. It also required that paid editorials and other reading matter for which money was paid, had to be marked accordingly. Once again protection of Canadian identity and resources was given as the justification for the proposed Bill. The Bill's sponsor, Mr. Church, stated,

Canada today is the happy hunting ground for American millionaires and promoters who are seizing our forests, our timber reserves, our mines, our pulp wood, our water powers, and in the process enlisting the aid of a section of the press. The future of new Ontario is engendered by a small section of the press

which boosts the business interests of American millionaires ... It is a fact that many of the newspapers carry paid editorials whose sole object is to boost certain policies ... The American interests in this country are by no means lax in asserting themselves, and they do not hesitate to engage the assistance of a section of the press.⁴¹

It was revealed that England, Australia and the United States had passed similar legislation. A secondary objective was revealed by Mr. Church who noted a trend towards newspaper chains in Canada which tended to produce a loss of "individuality and their potency, and the local colouring and tireless aid which formerly they gave to the municipalities for good government and for legislation for the masses".⁴² The Bill was also supported by the organized farmers of Western Canada.⁴³ The Bill was not passed into law and was introduced in subsequent Parliaments where it was again defeated.⁴⁴ The defeat of the Bill is one indication that the Government's previous high regard for print media was declining

In 1931, Postmaster General Sauvé of the Bennett Government introduced an amendment to the *Post Office Act* which increased the rate on newspapers and periodicals to 1 and 1/2 cents per pound.⁴⁵ Unlike past debates the increase was not criticized as a tax on knowledge, nor was it suggested that it hindered the print media in spreading knowledge to the hinterland. Instead it was accepted on the basis that the government lost too much money in providing the service. This had been true from the beginning but had not prevented a postal subsidy for newspapers in the past. But in 1931 the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission*

was soon to be created, and in the role of nation-building it would be a major competitor to both the Post Office and newspapers. As the additional monies realized were slight, the increase can not be attributed to the Depression.

The government did respond to the Depression by virtually eliminating the air mail service and drastically curtailing railway mail service.⁴⁶ Both forms of transportation were replaced by buses and automobiles, or the service was reduced or eliminated.⁴⁷ This is significant for during previous recessions postal service was not curtailed but increased. The recessions of the 1870s and the 1890s were very deep, yet there was tremendous growth in postal services during that era. This again suggests that the policy importance of the Post Office was receding and being replaced by the new policy of efficiency and commercialization.

The curtailment of air mail service produced a vacuum into which American entrepreneurs entered. The Post Office received an application from an American air mail service company to establish a service between Boston, Bangor, St. Stephen, St. John, Moncton and Halifax.⁴⁸ Nationalist opposition members criticized the decision to curtail air service and the consequent application from the American company. For example, former Liberal Postmaster General Veniot stated,

The air mail service offers a means of encouragement to flying. We have today in Canada some of the best pilots in the world. These men made their mark not only during the war but after they returned from the war. American companies are offering higher salaries to our pilots than they receive here, but they showed themselves to be patriots during the war and they are again showing their

patriotism by refusing to go to the United States even at a higher salary. If Americans are permitted to establish an air mail service in Canada they will soon attempt to take over the commercial and civil air services and drive our own people out of the business.⁴⁹

In 1931, the *Special War Revenue Act* was amended and a special one cent tax on letters and postal notes was imposed while a two cent tax was imposed on money orders.⁵⁰ The following year, 1933, the *Post Office Act* was amended once more to increase the postage rate on newspapers and to introduce a new pricing policy, based on the amount of advertising. Newspapers or periodicals with space devoted to advertising between: 20% and 30% were charged 2 cents per pound; 30% and 50% advertising content were charged three cents per pound; and over 50% advertising content were charged four cents per pound.

In support of the bill, Prime Minister Bennett noted that the cost of the newspapers and periodicals subsidy was between five and six million dollars annually.⁵¹ This was true, but it had cost the government a great deal from the very beginning. At the time of Confederation postal deficits (incurred because of the newspaper subsidy) were as high as 42% of postal revenues. By 1933, the deficit (still largely caused by the subsidy) was approximately 16% of revenues. It was not the cost of the subsidy to newspapers that generated concern, but the changing attitude toward the Post Office and its national role. The subsidy, willingly borne in the past, now became an unnecessary expense. If the cost of the subsidy was truly the reason for increasing newspaper rates of postage, rates

would have been increased much higher, for the proposed 1/2 cent increase was estimated to yield only an additional \$100,000 or 1% of the postal deficit.⁵² The subsidy was maintained for rural newspapers, for it was believed that the transmission of rural newspapers continued to perform a policy role, suggesting that it was not cost but efficaciousness that was the decisive factor in the policy change.

The change in policy was captured by former Postmaster General Veniot,

Let me point out a policy and a principle which has been accepted by both sides of the house. In 1928, when I was in the position occupied by my friend opposite, it was pointed out that in the Post Office Department that year there was a heavy deficit. I undertook to justify that deficit by pointing out the necessity for the extension of the service, especially the air mail service; the need for new post offices and for the establishment of new public routes, and the fact that there were far flung sections of Canada that could not be reached except by air mail. At that time the expression of opinion on both sides of the house was to the effect that the Post Office Department was a department of public service. It was agreed that the department should give the best possible service to the people of Canada, that the better service given in the distribution of mail would add to the prosperity of the country. Deficits were not to be considered as serious. Of course it was understood that the minister and his officials would do the best they could to balance revenue and expenditure, but when the extension of service throughout the country conflicted with the expenditure of public money the minister was not to be condemned for a deficit. That policy was accepted by the house.⁵³

The statement reveals two shifts. Former Postmaster General Veniot stated that prior to 1933 deficits were not to be condemned, but that in itself was a change in policy from the nineteenth century. It will be recalled that evidence was introduced in earlier chapters that revealed an expectation of deficits. At that time surpluses were considered bad policy. By the 1920s the policy changed

to one of deficit avoidance (but not condemnation). By the late 1920s the policy had further shifted, so that deficits were now condemned as mismanagement. The postal deficit in and of itself did not change; however expectations were transformed. The reason for the transformation is due to the emergence of electronic media which the policy makers recognized as the new instruments of nation-building.

In 1933, during the depths of the Depression the Post Office produced a surplus for the first time in Canadian postal history (excepting a brief period during Mulock's tenure). The surplus was achieved through severe cost reductions in salaries (\$2.5 million), Post Office closings (500 in that year) and reductions in post office transportation services (\$4.1 million).⁵⁴ The reductions did not damage the communications system because in that same year the *Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission* was formed. This gave the government effective control of a more efficient communications system - the broadcasting system. This also explains the decline in the number of post offices, which has been accepted in this dissertation as a critical measure of the policy role of the Post Office.

ORGANIZATION AND LABOUR POLICIES

In 1911, there were 2208 postal headquarters and administrative employees and approximately 19,000 postmasters.⁵⁵ As of 1916, the number of postmasters remained at 19,000 but headquarters and supervisory staff across Canada had increased to 4,000.⁵⁶ This suggests a centralization of control and a shifting concern to issues of efficiency. Indeed it was about this time that economic rather than political considerations entered the vocabulary of the policy makers. For example, in 1916 Postmaster General Casgrain of the Borden Conservative Government stated,

Since I came into the department in 1914, up to the present day, I have tried to keep down the expenditure of the department as much as I can, and especially the number of employees, consistent with the public service; and in all the following cities except one - Montreal, Toronto, Quebec, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Victoria, Three Rivers, Sherbrooke, St. John and Halifax - I have been able to reduce the number of employees. In 1914 when I came into office, the total number of employees was 3,703, while the total now is 3,640, a decrease of 63, notwithstanding that the work has not decreased, and notwithstanding that the revenues have been increasing in all these offices, so that in normal times, not in times of stress like the present, there would be a very necessary increase in the number of employees.⁵⁷

This was the first time that a Postmaster General spoke of the necessity of expenditure restraint and it was the first time that postal staff were reduced. This was not a response to the war effort for the Postmaster General did not link the new policy of restraint to it. More importantly, the theme of expenditure

restraint was continued by future Postmasters General after the war was over. This suggests that the elite consensus concerning postal deficits was dissolving. In its place the idea arose that the Post Office was a 'business' subject to expenditure restraint.

This idea was increasingly supported by members of Parliament from urban ridings which were constituencies with electronic communications systems. However the argument for expenditure restraint was rejected by rural members from both parties. Member of Parliament Schaffner stated,

Deficits, of course, are always unfortunate, but if there is a deficit anywhere, it is a fair place to have it in the Post Office Department. The criticism from the other side of the House today has come almost entirely from gentlemen who live in cities, and who have their mail delivered to them every day, for which service the whole country has been paying. I think it is only fair that the farmers of this country and those who live at some distance from the towns, should have their turn, and that, even if there is a deficit, the people in the cities should be willing to pay in order that the people in the country may be accommodated ... One of the best ways to keep the boys and girls on the farm is to give them the daily press.⁵⁸

This was stated even more powerfully by Opposition Member Edwards,

We should take into consideration the fact that cities, towns and centres of population call upon the Government of Canada for the expenditure of money in many ways, such as the improvement of harbours, public works and so on. These are of course a benefit to the country, but they are especially beneficial to the particular town or city which obtains the grant. The strictly rural sections do not get such grants, and about the only way the government can really be of service to the people in the country districts is by giving them the very best possible postal facilities. I maintain that in so doing ... the Post Office Department should show a deficit ...⁵⁹

The quotations suggest that the emerging view of the Post Office involved a transformation in the views of the urban based elites. By contrast rural communities and their Members of Parliament continued to view the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building in remote areas.

The emerging emphasis on efficiency was strengthened by the appointment of the American consulting firm, *Griffenhagen and Associates* in 1920. The language of the *Order-in-Council* which appointed the firm is instructive,⁶⁰

The Committee after careful consideration is of the opinion that the services of Griffenhagen and Associates Limited, should be retained, and that the reorganization of the Department at Ottawa should be proceeded with, taking up for a commencement the two departments of Post Office and Customs, the former of which has some 24,000 employees, and the latter some 4,000 odd.⁶¹

Although Professor Wilson has suggested that Griffenhagen was appointed to introduce American management principles of efficiency⁶² into the federal government, the *Order-in-Council* makes clear that the Government intended the consulting firm to focus on the Post Office. The policy makers were beginning to view the Post Office as "inefficient" - which it was relative to electronic media - for expectations concerning communications efficiency *i.e.* speed, changed dramatically with the advent of electronic media. When the fastest method of communication was the Post Office, it was seen as a marvel of efficiency. With the advent of electronic media the several days required to transmit information was now seen as inefficient compared to the instantaneous communications of

messages by telephone or radio. Consequently policy makers and the public now viewed the Post Office as inefficient requiring remedial action.

Griffenhagen submitted its report in 1921. It determined that the total number of postal employees as of March 31, 1920 was 22,732. The figure excluded all rural mail contractors and the clerical employees of rural post offices (for they were paid out of the postmasters' share of revenues). The report listed the following branches (13) in the Inside Service: Secretary's Office; Staff [i.e. Personnel]; Rural Mail Delivery; Mail Service; Accountant's; Money Order; Annuities; Savings Bank; Postal Stores; Purchasing; Postage Stamps; Dead Letter; and Railway Mail Controller's Office. In addition there was an Assistant Deputy Postmaster General, a Law Clerk and a Financial Superintendent reporting directly to the Deputy. The total number of employees in the Inside Service i.e. headquarters at this time was 1040 representing a salary expenditure of \$1.181 million.⁶³

Griffenhagen noted that the Outside Service had two Chief Post Office Superintendents (responsible for all city post offices and 7,256 employees) and 19 Post Office Inspectors (responsible for nineteen rural regions and 12,251 rural postmasters). The total number of employees in the Superintendents' and Inspectors' offices was 385. The twenty-one Superintendents and Inspectors also reported directly to the Deputy Postmaster General. Finally, there were fourteen Railway Mail Superintendents reporting to the Controller of the Railway Mail Service in Headquarters. To summarize, the country was divided in three separate

ways: two regions for city post offices; nineteen regions for rural post offices and fourteen regions for railway mail service.

Because thirty-seven branches reported directly to the Deputy Postmaster General the report recommended a major reorganization of the Inside Service, this would consolidate the sixteen headquarters branches to four branches: Administrative Office; Postal Service Branch; Financial Branch; Equipment and Supply Branch. The Administration Branch was to encompass all headquarters functions, including annual reports, publications etc. The Postal Service Branch was to become the "Operations" group which included the Superintendents, Inspectors, Railway Mail Service, Mail Service, Dead Letter, and Rural Mail Delivery. This branch was to be divided into nine to twelve postal districts. The Financial Branch was to include the Accountant's, Savings and Money Order Branches. The branch of Equipment and Supply included the Postal Stores Branch and Purchasing Agent's Branch.

The recommendations were accepted and implemented. The result effectively centralized the management of the Post Office in Ottawa. Centralization is the by-product of the establishment of efficiency as the paramount value. Organizations which emphasize service are generally more decentralized while those that stress efficiency and functional excellence centralize activities. The reorganization provides further evidence that the policy makers chose to de-emphasize nation-building and to emphasize efficiency.

A. MANAGEMENT

In 1917, the *Civil Service Act* was amended to grant increases to the Second and Third Divisions of the Inside Service. The increases applied to all members of the Inside Service including Post Office Headquarters staff, as follows,

TABLE 31 ⁶⁴

ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF INSIDE SERVICE, 1917

	MINIMUM		MAXIMUM		INCREMENT
	1908	1917	1908	1917	1917
2nd Division					
Subdivision A	1600	1600	2100	2100	100
Subdivision B	800	1000	1600	1600	100
3rd Division					
Subdivision A	900	1000	1200	1300	50
Subdivision B	500	600	800	1000	50
Messengers, sorters, porters, packers	500	600	800	1000	50

In 1918, the *Civil Service Act* was revised to abolish patronage by integrating the Outside Service into the Inside Service. At the same time the Inside Service was reorganized and salary increases granted.

TABLE 32 ⁶⁵

RECLASSIFICATION OF INSIDE SERVICE, 1918

First Division		
Grade A and B	-	officers having the rank of deputy heads but not in charge of a department, assistant deputy heads, principal administrative, professional, technical and executive officers
Grade C	-	lesser administrative and executive officers
Grade D, E, F	-	clerks having administrative, executive, or other duties of same character but less importance and responsibility of higher grades
Second Division		
Grade A	-	clerks working under supervision performing duties of minor importance and responsibility
Grade B	-	clerks under supervision and, stenographers, typists
Grade C	-	clerks, stenographers and typists whose duties are copying and routine work
Third Division		
	-	messengers, packers, sorters and messengers

TABLE 33 ⁶⁶

REVISED ANNUAL REMUNERATION OF INSIDE SERVICE, 1918

CLASSIFICATION	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
First Division		
Grade A	3500	4000
Grade B	2900	3400
Grade C	2200	2800
Grade D	1700	2100
Grade E	1400	1600
Grade F	1000	1300
Second Division		
Grade A	1350	1500
Grade B	1050	1300
Grade C	600	1000
Third Division		
Messengers, sorters, porters, packers	600	1200

The only category in the Inside Service that did not receive an increase was the Third Division of messengers, porters, sorters and packers. This category corresponded to the manual labour category of letter carriers and sorters in the Outside Service (which was the forerunner of LCUC and CUPW). The wage restraint adopted towards messengers, sorters, porters and packers in the Outside Service was applied to the equivalent group in the Inside Service. To avoid

setting a wage precedent for the manual labourers in the Post Office in the Outside Service, Parliament restrained the wages of the equivalent category of workers in the Inside Service, immediately prior to the reorganization.⁶⁷

B. LETTER CARRIERS, SORTERS AND RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS

In 1917, there were approximately 5,000 persons in the entire Inside Service and 35,000 in the Outside Service.⁶⁸ In that year the Railway Mail Clerks were granted an increase by way of *Supply*⁶⁹ which increased the minimum salary of a railway mail clerk from \$500 to \$600 *per annum* and raised the annual statutory increase from \$50 to \$100 *per annum*.⁷⁰ As well, the *Supply Bill* provided a "provisional allowance of \$100 each to Civil Service employees of the Outside Service of the Post Office Department whose salaries are under \$1600".⁷¹ It was a one-time bonus which did not increase the annual salary but was designed to "put the lower salaried men in a better position to meet the increased demands upon them by reason of the high cost of living".⁷² Included in this category were the letter carriers, sorters and railway mail clerks. Notwithstanding the increase, the Outside Service was falling further behind the Inside Service creating discontent among the workers.

Immediately after the 1917 federal election, the abolition of patronage in the Outside Service necessitated major revisions to the *Civil Service Act*⁷³ for the Outside Service was brought under the *Civil Service Act*. These reforms provide

the background to two momentous events in postal policy - the 1919 and 1924 postal strikes - for the elimination of patronage had the greatest affect on the Post Office which accounted for approximately 80% of federal government employment.

The *Civil Service Commission* was given authority to reclassify all Outside Service positions so that they conformed with equivalent positions in the Inside Service (this will assume greater importance with the discussion of the 1924 strike). The Commission was also given authority to administer the competitive exams which were now required to enter the Outside Service. The Act also introduced the "veterans preference" which provided an absolute priority to veterans (upon completion of the entrance exam).⁷⁴

During debate on the Bill, the opposition criticized the new system of appointment. As the Bill contemplated the *Civil Service Commission* relying on the Post Office for advice concerning applicants for rural postmasterships, opposition members argued that the Bill did not abolish patronage but transferred it to another body. Other members of opposition argued that the proposed system was unworkable, suggesting that the patronage system had worked well.

The following year, 1919, witnessed the first major strike in the Post Office. Although this was the first, it was not a genuine postal strike for letter carriers and sorters in Western Canada went on a sympathy strike in support of the strikers in the Winnipeg General Strike. Nonetheless there was dissatisfaction

among postal workers concerning the low levels of compensation and treatment of the manual labourers within the Post Office.

To explain the participation by postal workers in this strike, it is essential to provide a chronology of events which led to the strike. On September 4, 5 and 6, 1918 the *Federated Association of Letter Carriers* (FALC) held a convention in the City of Hamilton. "Dissidents" at the convention urged the members to support the notion of "One Big Union" - an idea current in Western Canada. The same idea was current with the 'Wobblies' in the United States at the time. The dissidents argued that the various employee associations representing federal employees were too fragmented to be effective, and they argued for One Big Union of all federal employees which in turn would become part of an even larger union composed of employees from the private sector. The convention rejected the plan and the dissidents, who were a minority of delegates primarily from Western Canada, seceded from the association. The seceding group formed a union called the *Postal Service of Canada* headed by Fred Knowles. Knowles' followers attended the annual convention of the *Trades and Labour Congress* in Quebec City the following week, and again promoted the idea of One Big Union and proposed "64 resolutions of a radical, communist nature".⁷⁵ This convention rejected the proposals as well.

Knowles' *Postal Service of Canada* then held a convention the following year in February, 1919 in Calgary. The convention proposed a referendum of organized labour in Western Canada. As well, the convention members urged the

workers of all unions throughout Canada to abandon their membership in their respective unions and to join the One Big Union. The referendum vote was to be held May, 1919 with a convention scheduled for June 5, 1919 in Calgary to inaugurate the One Big Union. However the Winnipeg Strike occurred on May 12, 1919 and the referendum was never held. Knowles' breakaway union, the *Postal Service of Canada*, became the driving force behind the postal workers' participation in the Winnipeg Strike. (After the Winnipeg strike, the *Postal Service of Canada* attempted to affiliate with the *Trades and Labour Congress* in October, 1919 but was rejected. In 1921 the name was changed to the *Amalgamated Civil Service Organization* which ultimately in 1967 became the *Public Service Alliance of Canada*).⁷⁶

On May 15, 1919 in Winnipeg approximately 27,000 workers went on strike⁷⁷ which included approximately 600 letter carriers and sorters, packers etc.⁷⁸

In addition postal workers went on strike in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Calgary and some smaller cities in the West. In addition to the Postal Service of Canada, a second postal union in Western Canada called the Amalgamated Postal Workers (which was affiliated with the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council)⁷⁹ was involved in the 1919 Winnipeg Strike.

Media reports of a sympathetic strike of Calgary postal workers prompted Postmaster General Blondin of the Borden Government to send the Calgary employees the following telegram,

Regret to learn everything points to sympathetic strike with Winnipeg on part of postal workers. Government considers such action wholly unwarranted and in violation of the plain duty of postal employees. The prompt handling of His Majesty's mails and the maintenance of the public postal service at this time is the first obligation of every employee under the Post Office Department. For such employees to seek to embarrass or prevent the prompt handling of His Majesty's mails by a sympathetic strike is entirely incompatible with loyal service to the country and all postal employees joining in a sympathetic strike will be deemed to have resigned their positions in His Majesty's service and their places will be promptly filled. All loyal employees will be supported and protected by the Government. Make known to employees and keep department promptly informed.⁸⁰

The Calgary postal employees, 207 in number,⁸¹ ignored the telegram and struck, whereupon the Government promptly terminated and replaced the strikers (70% of the replacement workers were returned soldiers). Postal employees also went on strike in Saskatoon but returned within the deadline given. As well 110 Railway Mail Clerks struck but also returned within the deadline allowed.

On May 22, the Federal Government was approached for restoration of postal service by citizens of Winnipeg. The government responded by publishing a notice in the Winnipeg press on Saturday, May 24, advising the postal strikers to return to work by Monday, May 26, or risk termination. As well, personal notices were sent by the Winnipeg Postmaster to strikers on the same date. The notice stated,

Today voluntary workers are temporarily taking the posts these people have left. The government announces that those returning before 12 o'clock noon on Monday the 26th instant, will be accepted and that all failing to resume their duties by that hour will be definitely refused thereafter a place in the federal service. Commencing at the above stated hour new employees will be engaged on the usual permanent basis.⁸²

At this point the Postmaster General authorized the Winnipeg Postmaster General to hire replacement workers. In response the Winnipeg Postmaster advised the Postmaster General that most applicants were returned soldiers seeking permanent employment, and they were only interested in positions if they were guaranteed permanency. Subsequent evidence suggested this was untrue, and the unions later successfully argued for the termination of the Winnipeg Postmaster.

As the Government lacked statutory authority to promise permanency to replacement workers, a bill was introduced and passed into law on July 7, 1919⁸³ authorizing the *Civil Service Commission* to appoint permanent replacement workers without regard to age and examination requirements. On July 15, 1919 an *Order-in-Council*⁸⁴ was passed officially terminating all striking employees who had not returned to work.⁸⁵

During the following six months, representations were made to the government demanding leniency for terminated employees, for it was argued that many were returned soldiers who deserved better treatment. The Government responded by establishing a Cabinet subcommittee comprising Postmaster General Blondin and Minister of Labour Robertson. The committee was charged with the task of investigating the complaints and providing recommendations. The committee submitted a memorandum to Cabinet January 7, 1920 which was accepted the same day and given to the *Civil Service Commission*. It read as follows,

Many evidences have reached the Department of Labour from ex-postal employees that they now recognize they participated unwisely in the sympathetic strike in western Canada last May, and that they sincerely regret the action they then took. The gravity of their offence against the state being now realized, the government has given consideration to the possibility of removing the bar to their application through the Civil Service Commission for re-employment in the public service, and His Excellency the Governor in Council is disposed to exercise clemency so far as reasonably consistent with necessary discipline.

Ex-postal employees may therefore be considered as eligible to be appointed to positions for which they make application as vacancies occur, and to which, in the opinion of the commission, they are justly entitled under the regulations, subject to the following conditions:

Ex-postal workers must not be re-employed in the civil service, without the approval in each case of His Excellency the Governor in Council;

Inasmuch as a number of those affected have been a long time in the public service, and are now past the age limit fixed for new employees entering the service, it will be permissible for the commission to appoint them notwithstanding the age requirements.⁸⁶

The first *Order-in-Council* authorizing the re-employment of terminated postal workers was passed June 4, 1920.⁸⁷ It stated,

The committee of the Privy Council have before them a report, dated 31st May, 1920 from the Secretary of State, submitting that the Civil Service Commission has recently received applications for positions in the civil service from ex-postal employees who participated in the sympathetic strike in western Canada in the spring of 1919. In accordance with the understanding arrived at by the government, as embodied in a memorandum forwarded to the Civil Service Commission by Senator Robertson on the 7th January, 1920, ex-postal employees are to be considered eligible for appointment to positions in the civil service, subject to certain conditions therein mentioned. The ex-postal employees mentioned in the attached list have complied with the conditions of this memorandum. The minister, therefore, recommends that authority be granted for the appointment of these candidates to positions for which they are eligible. The committee advise that the requisite authority be granted accordingly.⁸⁸

The *Order-in-Council* continued,

The gravity of their offence against the state being now realized, the government has given consideration to the possibility of removing the bar to their application through the Civil Service Commission for re-employment in the public service, and His Excellency the Governor in Council is disposed to exercise clemency so far as reasonably consistent with necessary discipline.

Ex-postal employees may therefore be considered as eligible to be appointed to positions in the civil service for which they make application as vacancies, and to which, in the opinion of the commission, they are justly entitled under the regulations.⁸⁹

Attached to this was a copy of the above memorandum issued to the *Civil Service Commission* January 7, 1920. Importantly, the memorandum was amended by the addition of the following clause which stated,

In every case before being reappointed satisfactory assurance must be obtained that a repetition of the offence will not occur.⁹⁰

A total of 623 postal employees were dismissed because of their participation in the strike and failure to report to work by the deadline of Monday, May 26, 1919. Over the next ten years ninety-six former employees applied for reinstatement in the Post Office pursuant to the *Orders-in-Council* authorizing their re-employment.⁹¹ These former employees were rehired at the minimum entry level of postal helper and not at their previous positions and salaries.

In the following years the *Federated Association of Letter Carriers* and concerned individuals continued to lobby successive governments to compensate the 96 employees for the difference between the lower salaries received as postal helpers after the strike and the higher salaries they would have received had they not been terminated. The Association argued that although the former employees

were rehired at the lower level, they were assigned more senior tasks and responsibilities because of their postal experience. Thus the argument was made that these employees were not being compensated for the work actually performed after reinstatement.

In 1927, the *Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada* held a meeting to discuss the issue. The decisions taken at this meeting were summarized by President Fred Knowles in a letter to Senator Graham in 1929 as follows,

The Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada called a meeting of its postal adherents, comprising four classes of employees, namely: -

- (a) those who stayed on duty during the strike,
- (b) those who took the strikers' positions,
- (c) those who were re-employed after going on strike,
- (d) those who entered the service at a much later date.

After the principle of endorsation was unanimously passed, a committee comprising all sections was struck off, and this committee brought in a resolution which would ensure full right to the employees who took the strikers' places, safeguard the interests of all present employees and yet satisfy the re-employed strikers on the matter of pay. Re-instatement was ruled out definitely. Through the various stages of ratification this resolution was brought to the point where it is now endorsed by the whole National Council of our organization and is part of our platform.⁹²

King's Liberal Government finally accepted the argument and in 1928 Postmaster General Veniot introduced retroactive increases (in the Estimates) for the 96 workers who had been rehired after the 1919 strike.⁹³ However the opposition in Parliament and the country was so intense that the government

withdrew the provision. An editorial in the *Winnipeg Free Press* on April 8, 1929 was typical of public criticism,

This matter cannot be considered without reopening the whole question of the Winnipeg strike of 1919. This is something which considerations of prudence and public welfare should suggest leaving alone; for the passage of time has not in the least led to any adjustment in the points of view of those who have disagreed as to the original motives and purposes of the strike. Last year, in a brief but bitter debate which followed the submission of the vote to the house, Mr. Bennett said the strike was, in the minds of its promoters, a consciously revolutionary movement intended to subvert the government of the country ... while Mr. Woodsworth took the line that it was a comparatively innocent development, the character of which had been grossly misrepresented ... [Mr. Woodsworth] talked about dastardly conspiracies, travesties of justice, farcical trials.

This interchange of views illustrates what is bound to happen whenever the Winnipeg strike of 1919 comes up for discussion. All the old bitternesses revive. By an agreement entered into by common consent the issue is left alone pretty much in Winnipeg on the principle of letting sleeping dogs lie ...⁹⁴

However the following year a determined Government introduced an amendment to the *Post Office Act* granting retroactive salary increases to those workers. Once again this generated a great deal of criticism in Parliament and the country. In Parliament the bill was challenged by Opposition Leader R.B. Bennett, who argued that the bill would reward those who participated in an illegal strike, at the expense of those who did not. Bennett eloquently argued this would set a dangerous precedent. In his words,

[The bill] offends a principle which we think should govern legislation of any character having to do with public servants who are re-employed in the service of the country after they have been dismissed from that service for good cause, or have left the service. This bill retroactively grants, in its terms, increases in pay to certain men on the basis of the employment which it is alleged they

undertook when they re-entered the service ... Their salary was fixed; the compensation they were to receive was a matter of contract between them and the state. That compensation was not as much as the compensation they enjoyed before they left the service and this measure seeks, whether successfully or not, to provide that these men shall now receive pay on another basis than that of the contract which they made with the state when they were reemployed. We cannot get away from that fact.⁹⁵

Bennett continued,

The effect of it will be that some of them - not all, but some of them - are already saying that they have vindicated their position and that the postmaster at Winnipeg is to go. That is the next thing. They say: We have got the government to do this and now we are going to drive the postmaster out; we have got it started now. Thereby they are saying to the world that in the great struggle for the supremacy of law and order in this country against the forces of revolution and rebellion, this parliament is going to put the imprimatur of its approval upon the latter and not upon the former.⁹⁶

The Government argued that the bill did not deal with the propriety of the strike and therefore did not legitimate the strike. The retroactive compensation merely recognized and compensated those men for tasks actually performed subsequent to their re-employment. In support of this argument Prime Minister King, in a remark reminiscent of his later conscription remark, stated, "men should get what they earn and earn what they get".⁹⁷ A Government backbencher named Thorson, noted that the railway companies re-employed strikers from the Winnipeg strike at the same position and salary enjoyed before the strike. Thorson also indicated that other companies dealt with former Winnipeg strikers in a manner similar to that of the railway companies. Only the Federal Government adopted

the more draconian course of action and then only against the postal workers. This is significant for it demonstrates that the Government view of postal workers had so far depreciated from earlier periods that it would now take a punitive action totally at variance with that of the private sector e.g. the railway companies.

The bill under discussion introduced by the Government does not negate this interpretation, for the action was taken ten years later, and it only affected ninety-six employees. In addition it could be seen as a politically astute policy adopted by the King Government, designed to earn the gratitude of labour towards the government. This interpretation was confirmed in an unpublished article discovered in the *Public Archives*. It was written by Prime Minister King and entitled, *Industry and Humanity as Applied to the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 and the Reinstatement of the Striking Postal Workers*.⁹⁸ In a platitudinous fashion King argued that a settlement would produce loyalty and gratitude by the labour movement.

We return to 1920 in order to deal with events leading up to the postal strike of 1924. In 1920, the *Civil Service Commission's* reclassification of civil servants, required by the 1918 *Civil Service Act* abolishing patronage, was ratified by an amendment to the *Civil Service Act* of 1920.⁹⁹ Simultaneously the *Civil Service Commission* recommended new wage levels for the various classifications in the 1920 *Civil Service Act*.¹⁰⁰ We will now deal with the compensation for letter carriers.

Formerly the salary range for the letter carriers was \$636/\$939 which had been augmented since 1915 by an annual cost of living bonus of \$297 *per annum*. Thus the salary range including the bonus was \$933/\$1236 *per annum*. The *Civil Service Act of 1920* increased the range for letter carriers to \$780/\$1260 annually exclusive of the cost of living bonus or \$1285/\$1557 including the bonus. The salary range for postal clerks was \$1100/\$1558 including the annual cost of living bonus.

However, the salary increase was offset by the *Civil Service Commission's* decision to phase out the cost of living bonus over a three year period. The decision effectively reduced salaries to a level below that previously established for letter carriers and postal clerks in the lower levels. At the same time more senior positions such as Postmasters and Assistant Postmasters received net increases even after allowing for the cancellation of bonuses.¹⁰¹ This again validates the evidence of a dual wage policy within the Post Office, whereby management were treated liberally while a policy of wage restraint was adopted towards the manual labour group. The new wage policy so infuriated the letter carriers and postal clerks that they threatened to strike.¹⁰² The Conservative Opposition Leader, Arthur Meighen, noted the disparity between management and the postal workers when he stated,

I think that the facility with which they have yielded to the demand of the higher officials of the country for larger salaries year after year has had very considerably to do with increasing the unrest among those who are more moderately paid. The government, in so far as salaries have been within their supervision and decision,

have almost in every case yielded to pressure; and such salaries have now reached a scale very perceptibly above where similar salaries were at a time when the cost of living was virtually where it is today. This accentuates a situation which causes unrest and invites disturbance.¹⁰³

The government believed that the salary revisions were acceptable because the letter carriers and postal clerks had been brought back into the Civil Service by the *1918 Civil Service Act* which consolidated the Inside and Outside Service. Pursuant to this and the reclassification, the letter carriers and postal clerks were granted permanency, a forty-four hour work week, two weeks sick leave with pay and three weeks of annual leave each year.¹⁰⁴ Previously, as hourly employees, they were not permanent and received only two weeks per year for both sick leave and/or annual leave. The government argued that the *Civil Service Commission* and the *Department of Labour* had conducted a survey of equivalent positions and determined that with the new rate they "would be paid at a higher rate than any others doing a similar character of work under similar conditions in this country".¹⁰⁵

These were the circumstances which led to the first major strike that dealt specifically with postal issues - the postal strike of 1924. The immediate cause of this strike was the *Civil Service Commission's* decision to implement a revised salary structure. This increased salaries but abolished the cost of living bonus, the net result being an overall decrease in annual income for the letter carriers and postal clerks. The King government refused to overturn the decision arguing that the government lacked the authority to overturn a decision of the *Civil Service*

Commission. This was a specious argument for the opposition cited numerous instances where the government routinely passed votes in the *Estimates* with a clause that stated "notwithstanding the decision of the *Civil Service Commission*".

The opposition increased in intensity during the next three years, for the cost of living bonus was scheduled to end in 1924. With the abolition of the bonus in 1924, salaries for letter carriers were scheduled to reach a maximum of \$1440 ¹⁰⁶ *per annum* which was \$158 less than the maximum earned four years previous (including bonus) and this was during a period of high inflation. Early in April, 1924 the government met with the *Postal Workers Federation* in order to forestall a threatened strike set for April 15. The government promised the union that the *Civil Service Commission* would be asked to re-examine postal salaries immediately. Simultaneously the government sent a notice to all employees advising that postal salaries were to be re-examined, and warning employees that a strike would not be tolerated.¹⁰⁷ The government then asked the *Civil Service Commission* to reinvestigate the salaries of letter carriers and suggested to the Commission that they deserved an annual salary of \$1500. The *Civil Service Commission* responded with a report¹⁰⁸ on April 14 which established a salary of \$1260 *per annum* and a bonus reduced to \$108 *i.e.* \$1368 *per annum* in total representing an overall decrease from the previous levels.¹⁰⁹ Prior to this decision the letter carriers earned a salary of \$1261 and a bonus of \$297.¹¹⁰ Thus the Commission reduced the maximum level of their salaries by \$129 *per annum*. The Postmaster General and the unions objected to the decision. The government

then passed an *Order-in-Council* instructing the Commission to re-examine postal salaries of both letter carriers and postal clerks. It stated,

The committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the President of the Privy Council, advise that, in accordance with the announcement made by him in the House of Commons on the 19th March, 1924, (copy of which is submitted), the Civil Service Commission be directed to undertake immediately a revision of the salaries of the Civil Service of Canada and to report thereon to His Excellency in Council at as early a date as may be possible.¹¹¹

The *Civil Service Commission* reported May 8, 1924 rejecting the requested increase and the request that the Commission deal separately with the postal workers. Their reasoning was very important for future postal labour policies,

The importance of this revision in the postal service will be apparent when it is considered that increases in basic rates of compensation and consequent increased cost of the service would not be confined to the postal service, but must necessarily be also applied to the whole public service as the work of salary revision is proceeded with.¹¹²

In essence, the *Civil Service Commission* argued that postal workers' compensation would not be examined separately but would be treated as one with the entire civil service. Presumably the Commission's salary decision concerning postal workers was seen as an interim decision pending the final decision for the entire civil service. However this was a spurious argument, because the *Civil Service Commission* had previously classified letter carriers and postal clerks as separate and apart from the Civil Service, and had relied upon worker classifications outside the Civil Service for comparative purposes, on the

basis that there were no comparable positions within the Civil Service. The Commission stated that the postal salary

schedules recommended were based upon the rates of compensation obtaining in commercial and industrial concerns in Canada ... a maximum salary of even \$1550 for Postal Clerks who may never go higher is in excess of the yearly earnings of most of the skilled artisans and workers in manufacturing industries in Canada and the United States.¹¹³

Upon receipt of the Commission's decision the government referred the decision to the *Audit Board* as provided for under the *Civil Service Act*, whereupon the *Audit Board* substantially upheld the decision of the *Civil Service Commission*.¹¹⁴ For a third time the government asked the Commission to re-examine postal salaries (the government now recommended an increase to \$1800 *per annum*)¹¹⁵ and in the third report the Commission upheld its own previous decision. The third and final report of the Commission was submitted to the government June 9 and was approved by *Order-in-Council*.¹¹⁶ A copy was given to the *Postal Workers Federation*.¹¹⁷ On June 16, 1924 the Secretary of the *Dominion Federation of Postal Employees* gave the government forty-eight hours notice of a strike unless the decision was overturned by the government. King denied that the government had received the notice, which although technically correct, was not accurate for the notice had been widely reported in the media. On June 17 President Jackson of the *Postal Workers Federation* telegraphed the government to advise that the mood among the workers was very militant. In a telephone conversation, the Minister of Labour discussed the situation with the union leaders. It ended with

the suggestion by the Minister of Labour that they come to Ottawa immediately to discuss the matter with the government.¹¹⁸

In the House of Commons that day (June 17), the Opposition Leader, Arthur Meighen, scathingly criticized King's actions,

if ever a government invited a strike this government has done so with its vacillation, its pusillanimity, by its determination to avoid every responsibility and not even to stand by the officials of the country. The government's course from the beginning has been an effort to incite the service against the Commission; never has the Prime Minister risen that there has not fallen from his lips ... an effort to show that the government's goodwill knows no bounds but that the Commission sits over there holding fast the government's beneficent hands.¹¹⁹

The government publicly advised the unions to wait until the final report of the *Civil Service Commission* was rendered concerning the salary revisions for the entire Civil Service.¹²⁰ But this was accurately criticized by the opposition on the basis that the *Civil Service Commission* had already rendered judgment on postal salaries and that the remainder of the report which was to deal with other classifications, would change nothing concerning postal salaries. Opposition Member Irvine stated,

I was rather amused to hear the Minister of Railways (Mr. Graham) a moment ago suggesting that the postal employees should wait until the complete report of the commission comes down; that is to say, they should wait until they know what some other class of civil servants are to get before they go on strike ... What difference would it make to the postal employees if the report should give twice as much in the way of salaries to some other class, or half as much, or put them on a similar basis? What difference in the world would that make? Would it put any more money into the pockets of the present employees of the postal department?¹²¹

Evidence was introduced during debate that the minimum amount required to maintain a family of five was \$2000 annually; at this time the majority of letter carriers and postal clerks were receiving less than half that amount.¹²² As well, the increase offered, in conjunction with the reduction of the bonus, produced an overall decrease in the annual salary of the lower levels (producing an overall savings to the government of \$470,000 *per annum*).¹²³

An emergency debate was held in the House of Commons June 17 concerning the pending strike. The following day, June 18, 1924, the postal workers' committee arrived and met with the Minister of Labour. At this conference the government discovered that the Federation had authorized a strike the previous evening. The government learned this when it was given an official notice from Secretary Archer of the *Canadian Federation of Postal Employees*.¹²⁴ It stated,

Acting on the wishes of the membership of the organization concerned, as expressed in a Dominion-wide ballot, a general strike in the postal service has been called to commence at five o'clock this afternoon.

It is regretted that the late hour at which this decision was arrived last night, and the necessity for haste in entraining for Ottawa in response to a call from the government made it impossible to convey this information to you sooner.

The necessity for the action taken is deplored by all our officers and members who trust that immediate favourable consideration by the government may yet enable us to assist in averting the move called for by the postal employees.¹²⁵

On behalf of the Cabinet, acting Postmaster General Stewart (Postmaster General Murphy was gravely ill during the entire period) provided the postal workers' committee the following document,

This acknowledges receipt of a copy of your letter of even date addressed to the Right honourable the Prime Minister advising him that: ...

After discussion of this matter with the government, I am authorized to state that we regret the decision arrived at by your committee, and it is a matter of additional regret that your committee have not prior to this date officially indicated to the government your dissatisfaction with the recent salary revision for postal workers as authorized by the Civil Service Commission and the government.

Since the receipt of your letter of even date, a sub-committee of the cabinet has had the opportunity of discussing these matters at some length with your committee and have heard the views of your committee that further consideration should be given to the claims of the postal workers by the government.

The letter then quoted Prime Minister King's remarks made in the House of Commons the previous day,

We are prepared when the Civil Service Commission has submitted its report upon the salaries of the entire civil service, to consider that report carefully in the light of all the material which we have before us and to make to parliament, if we think it advisable to do so, recommendations supplementing those which are contained in the report of the Civil Service Commission. But we do not feel we are in a position to make any recommendation to parliament at the present time with respect to the postal employees; and I hope that the employees of the Post Office department will see that the position which the government is taking is one which is in the interests of the entire civil service of the country and in the interests of the taxpayers as well.

Postmaster General Stewart then continued in his own words,

We also in discussion of this date learned of the dissatisfaction of the postal employees due to the fact that in certain cases the present salary plus 1924 bonus was higher than certain rates proposed by the Civil Service Commission for the same class of employees, and I am authorized to state that in the case of employees whose revised rates, as determined by the Civil Service Commission are less than the former rate plus 1924-25 bonus, such bonus shall be continued until salary revision for the entire service has been consummated.

I am further authorized to say that in carrying out the plan and action proposed by the Prime Minister in the above quoted paragraph, the government policy is that when the Civil Service Commission has submitted its report upon the salaries for the entire civil service, that opportunity will be given to the representatives of the employees in the postal, department, or in other departments of the government who have objections to file against salary revisions proposed by the commission to fully present their views to a sub-committee of the government, and to discuss such matters of differences as fully as may be necessary to ensure a thorough understanding, and it is hoped, a final and satisfactory agreement on the points in dispute.

I trust that your committee will at once take the necessary action to see that continuous operation of the postal service is maintained.¹²⁶

By the end of the day (June 18) the postal workers' committee agreed to postpone the strike by 24 hours, but it was too late to communicate this to the postal workers. That evening most Toronto employees went out on strike, while some postal workers went on strike throughout Southern Ontario (Windsor, St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, London, Galt, Hamilton, Brantford, Kitchenor, Belleville, Peterborough, Ottawa and Moncton)¹²⁷ and about half the workers in Montreal.^{128 129}

¹³⁰ The government immediately announced that all striking employees who had not returned to work by 10.00 A.M. the following morning, Thursday, June 19, would be terminated. On that day Archer resigned as Secretary of the *Postal Workers Federation* and recommended that the membership return to work. The same day President Jackson advised the workers that the strike officially commenced that day.

After the government deadline of June 19 passed, postmasters were instructed to hire replacement workers, while striking employees were given a second deadline (for positions not yet filled by replacement workers) of 8.00 A.M. Saturday, June 21. A third deadline was given (June 23) and at the same time individual postmasters were granted discretion to re-employ those workers who went on strike under duress from other workers; however the postmasters were not to re-employ undesirable workers. A second emergency debate was held in the House of Commons June 26. Another deadline was offered to all remaining strikers to return to work by 4.00 P.M. June 29, Sunday on condition they be re-employed as postal helpers.

An agreement was finally reached on June 29 between Minister of Labour Murdock and the *Federation*. The agreement allowed all striking employees to return to their original positions. In addition the Minister of Labour promised to meet the postal unions at a later date. When the formal offer was released July 14 (which was to confirm the verbal agreement) the government altered certain of the terms and conditions. Contrary to the verbal agreement, all employees who participated in the strike were to be penalized by a reduction in wages to the minimum level (postal helpers rate) from July 1 until Sept. 1, whereupon they would revert to their former salary levels. Also contrary to the verbal agreement, part-time employees who participated in the strike were terminated.

Employee involvement in the strike is shown in the following table.

TABLE 34 ¹³¹

EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT IN 1924 STRIKE

EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION IN STRIKE	
Supervisory	44
Postal Clerks	556
Letter Carriers	453
Miscellaneous	417
TOTAL	1470

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES REINSTATED	
As of July 1, 1924	59
As of Sept. 1, 1924	1369
TOTAL	1428

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES TERMINATED	
Permanent employees	24
Temporary Employees	23
Replacement workers	571

In addition two supervisory officers (Senior Letter Carriers) were demoted. The number of days lost due to the strike was 9,569. There were approximately 3,000 letter carriers and 1700 mail clerks at this time employed in the Post Office.¹³² As noted above, 1470 workers or approximately one third of the total Post Office force participated in the strike (primarily employees located in

Southern Ontario). Workers in Eastern and Western Canada, Quebec (excepting Montreal) and the smaller towns, did not take part. The above figures suggest the deadline for striking employees to return to work was extended several times because very few of the men returned to work before July 1, 1924. The balance of the striking workers returned in July and August. The reason the government ultimately did not rely on the replacement workers was that the new workers could not be trained to an adequate level of efficiency in a short period of time. This was the period prior to the introduction of automation and the postal code, when the postal workers possessed substantial sorting skills based on memorization of the addresses of entire cities and regions.

There were two further factors that caused the government to compromise. Public opinion largely supported the striking employees, for the government was viewed as being unfair in offering net salary reductions while publicizing them as increases. Numerous interest groups came forward to support the workers. For example the Reverend Spence of *St. Jude's Church* in Toronto corresponded directly with the Prime Minister on the issue, urging compassion. The *American Civil Liberties Union*, the *American Association for Labour Legislation*, the *National Child Labour Committee of New York*, and the *Department of Industrial Studies* at the *Russell Sage Foundation* in New York were some of the more unusual interest groups that wrote to the Prime Minister urging the government to treat the workers fairly.¹³³

A second force which came to the fore in this strike, and became increasingly powerful in modern postal labour relations, was the business community which put pressure on government to keep the mail moving. Contemporary analysis has inadequately dealt with the business lobby concerning the Post Office, suggesting its opposition to postal strikes is ideologically inspired. In fact in modern times the postal system formed a parallel "clearing system" of monies. The primary clearing system is operated by financial institutions whereby negotiable instruments are "cleared" between them for payment. But in the twentieth century with the expansion of commerce and the concomitant increase in trade credit, the Post Office provided a secondary "clearing" system which facilitated the exchange of payments between non-financial institutions. Thus a strike caused a serious decline in company cash flows, for accounts receivable could not be billed and accounts payable could not be paid by mail. This foreshadows the argument, made in the final two chapters, that the Post Office became increasingly commercialized providing a service to business, as its role as an instrument of nation-building receded.

The government met officials from the *Canadian Federation of Postal Employees* on Sept. 11, 1924 and as a consequence of that meeting the Postmaster General promised the Federation that the *Civil Service Commission* would re-investigate postal salaries. On February 24, 1925 Post Office officials met with the *Civil Service Commission* with documentation supporting the salary increases. On March 13, 1925 the Commission once again ruled that the previous salary

rates would still prevail. The postal unions were notified of this and were offered an interview with the Postmaster General which had been promised as part of the strike settlement.

On June 4, 1925 Postmaster General Murphy as well as the Ministers of Interior, Public Works and Labour, as members of a Special Sub-Committee of Council, met with all postal associations. Those which attended the meeting were: *Federated Association of Letter Carriers*; *Amalgamated Civil Servants*; *Dominion Postal Clerks Association*; *Dominion Mail Porters and Chauffeurs Association*; and the *Dominion Railway Mail Clerks Association*. Each association presented written and oral briefs to the sub-committee. The position of each association was remarkably similar in format, while the arguments and examples were three fold.

First, it was argued that the cost of living had increased 52% between 1913 and 1924 and the only compensation was the annual cost of living bonus introduced during the war. That bonus, which had not increased each year, was being phased out by 1925. The second argument was that the *Civil Service Commission* had compared the salaries of letter carriers and postal clerks to store clerks in industrial and commercial concerns. Each association argued that the letter carriers and postal clerks should be compared to certain municipal employees - specifically policemen and firemen. The representatives of the associations provided comparisons to these groups which revealed that the postal workers were underpaid. For example Vancouver firemen earned \$1800 *per annum*. The third argument was that the Commission had undervalued the wages

of artisans and skilled workers, who had been chosen as the basis of comparison in the private sector. For example, bricklayers and plasterers earned approximately \$2800 *per annum*.¹³⁴

The department once again agreed with the salary proposals offered by the union. The report of the meeting was submitted to Cabinet which approved submission of the transcript of the meeting to the *Civil Service Commission* "with the view of having that body make an upward revision of the salaries in question".¹³⁵ However a memorandum of that meeting prepared by the department recognized that the only solution lay in the government introducing legislation overriding the Commission's decision.¹³⁶

While this decision was pending, the postal unions continued to lobby for the repayment of the lost wages for the period July 1 to September 1, 1924 when the striking workers had been re-employed at the lowest level. This campaign was successful for in 1926 the Postmaster General announced that those workers would be compensated for the difference between the lowest salary level and what they ordinarily would have received.¹³⁷

In 1927, three years after the strike the letter carriers and postal clerks earned a maximum of \$1500 *per annum*, for the bonus had been reduced to \$18 *per annum*. Thus the postal workers earned less than they did in 1923. This prompted the following incisive remark from J.S. Woodsworth, the most consistent supporter of the postal workers,

I venture to assert that greater consideration is constantly being given to the more highly paid officials, and I would urge that we attempt to deal fairly with those lower paid men who have not the same opportunity of making their influence felt.¹³⁸

It will be recalled that the leader of the *Conservative Party*, Arthur Meighen, made the same argument during the 1924 strike. This validates the argument that a dual wage policy was adopted in response to the decline in the relative status of the Post Office and more accurately, of the postal workers, who were now seen as unskilled or semi-skilled technicians. The change in status was occasioned by the development of the newer more complex electronic media.

Indeed the 1924 strike was the seminal event that formally recognized the transformed, depreciated status of the postal workers from skilled, state-of-the-art communications workers to the status of blue collar manual labourers employed in a relatively low-technology organization. This is the significance of the 1924 strike. Not only the policy makers recognized this transformation but the militancy of the workers reflected this understanding as well. Indeed militancy in labour-management relations in the Post Office can be dated from this strike and NOT the 1965 strike as has been believed by Post Office management, union leaders and journalists.¹³⁹ This suggests that the labour-management problem is more deeply rooted than is commonly recognized.

In 1928, the Postmaster General announced the establishment of a "secret service in order to protect the [postal] revenues of the Dominion"¹⁴⁰ Although the

sheer volume of business now made this step desirable, it was also probably heavily influenced by the lower esteem in which the postal workers were then held. In the previous century, faith and trust between Government and postal workers was of a much higher calibre. As a footnote, in the early 1980s, the activities of this branch, now known as Security and Investigations, became sufficiently questionable to warrant an investigation by a Royal Commission headed by Judge Marin.

In 1928, the *Civil Service Commission* again rejected the Postmaster General's request for an increase of \$60 *per annum*¹⁴¹ for the letter carriers and postal clerks.¹⁴² Worker discontent, as reflected in the House of Commons Debates, continued until 1930.¹⁴³ In that year Postmaster General Veniot of the King Government asked Chairman Roche of the *Civil Service Commission*, to increase salaries for the letter carriers and postal clerks. Veniot's letter of March 30, 1930, which was released to Opposition Member Heaps and tabled in Parliament, is worth quoting for it revealed the real culprit in postal labour policies,

The government has again considered the question of increasing salaries of letter carriers, postal helpers, et cetera. I would be pleased if you would let me know if your board are willing to reconsider the decision reached in this matter, so that I can make arrangements for placing an item in the supplementary estimates.¹⁴⁴

The Secretary of the Commission responded April 4, 1930,

I am further directed to advise you that if, notwithstanding the representations made by the commission in its letter to the Secretary of State of May 23, 1928, it is the desire of the government to provide higher compensation for postal and other related classes, the commissioners would be pleased to receive directions on this matter as were given in 1925 under the provisions of Order-in-Council P.C. 1944, a copy of which is also attached hereto.¹⁴⁵

The document revealed that the Commission acted on the instructions of the government in refusing to increase postal wages after 1923. Throughout this period the King Government claimed that the *Civil Service Commission* was the final arbiter of civil service compensation levels. This was now exposed as completely false, for it was the Cabinet that had chosen the dual wage policy while the *Civil Service Commission* was the mere instrument of execution. Once again this validates the argument of the depreciated status of postal workers in the view of the Government policy makers.

At the time of the financial crash in 1929, there were 2,710 letter carriers, 3,009 postal clerks, 1,364 railway mail clerks, and 2,922 postal chauffeurs.¹⁴⁶ The total number of employees in the Post Office at this time was 38,750.¹⁴⁷ The Great Depression which followed the crash ultimately resolved the compensation issue due to the deflation experienced during these years, for the Consumer Price Index of 1929 was not equalled again until 1945. Deflation effectively granted real wage increases of approximately 50% to the postal workers during this period. This was recognized by the Bennett Government for Parliament passed

the *Salary Deduction Act*¹⁴⁸ which imposed a 10% decrease in civil service salaries as part of the government's expenditure restraint program.

In addition to the 10% decrease in salary that all civil servants suffered, the postal workers were required to make further financial sacrifice, beyond that of the civil service. Postal Services Branch Circular 196 dated April 11, 1932 indicated this,

The postmaster is advised that the item which for some years appeared in the estimates to cover overtime and statutory holiday pay, has been deleted from the estimates for 1932-33. Moreover, the amount provided for salaries for 1932-33, even outside of the ten per cent deduction, has been greatly reduced. These facts leave the department no alternative but to modify the regulations governing overtime, hours of duty and compensation for work performed on statutory holidays.¹⁴⁹

In response J.S. Woodsworth (the postal workers most consistent supporter during the 1920s and 1930s) tabled the following document provided to him by the *Amalgamated Civil Servant Union*,

Mass meeting of Winnipeg postal group, Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada, strongly protest circular P.S.B. 196, which proposes increased hours of labour, reduction of staff, elimination of all overtime pay, especially statutory holidays, extension of hours worked at night and Sundays, all owing to drastic cuts made in post office estimates. This circular is direct violation of past agreements made between departments and staff side representations, and will undoubtedly aggravate unemployment. Passed unanimously.¹⁵⁰

The government provided no justification for requiring additional sacrifice from the postal workers, other than that the Depression required restraint. Yet during the depressions of the 1870s and 1890s (which were far worse) Post Office expenditures were not decreased but increased. The impact of restraint on the Post Office was highly visible, for within a two year period Post Office Estimates were reduced to 34.4 million, which represented a \$4.7 million reduction.¹⁵¹ This was the first time in Canadian postal history that postal expenditures declined.

The letter carriers and postal clerks did not receive an increase for the duration of the Depression. In 1942, the carriers and clerks, as with all civil servants, did receive a wartime annual bonus of 11%¹⁵² to compensate for the increased cost of living. As the table below reveals letter carriers and postal clerks received approximately the same salary in 1944 as in 1914. The range for letter carriers was \$1020/\$1500 *per annum* in 1944, while the maximum for postal clerks was \$1740.¹⁵³ A raise in the base salary ranges was finally granted August 8, 1944 by *Order-in-Council*.¹⁵⁴ The details are as follows,

TABLE 35 ¹⁵⁵

ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR POST OFFICE LABOURERS, 1944

CLASSIFICATION	MINIMUM		MAXIMUM	
	1914	1945	1914	1945
Letter carriers	1020	1200	1500	1620
Sr. Letter carrier	1560	1620	1680	1800
Postal clerks		1200		1800
Mail porters	1020	1200	1500	1620
Sr. Mail porters	1500	1620	1620	1800
Postal chauffeurs	1140	1200	1500	1620
Postal garage repairmen	1440	1500	1620	1740
Postal garage foremen	1440	1500	1620	1740
Railway mail clerk	1080	1200	1800	1860

In the third of a century between 1914 and 1944, the postal workers received two small increases. The inadequacy of the first increase led to the 1924 postal strike. Further strikes during this period were prevented in part due to the repression of the 1924 strike and partly due to the Depression followed by the war. Notwithstanding an apparently docile labour force after 1924, the militancy of the workers did not dissipate but continued beneath the apparent calm.

C. RURAL POSTMASTERS AND RURAL CARRIERS

In 1917, a Member of Parliament received a petition from a rural postmaster that summarized the essence of the rural postmaster labour policy. The petition was called, *Compensation of Rural Postmasters*.

After Confederation the scale of commission on which postmasters' salaries was fixed in offices such as Almonte, Carleton Place, Clayton, Appleton, Pakenham etc., was forty per cent on first \$800 of postal revenue, and twenty-five per cent on amount of revenue in excess of \$800.

Some years ago (probably ten or fifteen) it was felt that this scale ought to be made more favourable to the postmasters, so a new scale was adopted under which the postmaster received fifty per cent on first one thousand dollars of postal revenue and thirty per cent on amount of revenue in excess of \$1000. This scale was used, without any suggestion that the postmasters were being overpaid, until the introduction of the war tax on letters. Then the department thought that the increased revenues by reason of war stamps would give the postmasters too much, on that scale. So, some Inside Service man, who finds he cannot live on his 1914 salary, figured that the proper thing to do was to go back to the Confederation scale of forty per cent to \$800, and twenty-five per cent on excess above \$800, and this has been done. Please note that the postage rates today (including war stamps) are still lower than at Confederation; please note that the cost of living today is about double what it was at Confederation; please note that the country postmaster does a much greater volume of work today which does not produce revenue to the credit of his office than he ever did; and please note that the scale on which the country postmaster is being paid is the same as at Confederation.

The petition continued,

I say that the country postmaster does a greater volume of work today which does not produce revenue to the credit of his office, than he ever did. The enormous increase in the circulation of daily newspapers of late-years and especially since extension of rural mail system, involves a burden of daily work, 310 days in the year, which does not increase his office revenue by a cent, and the extension of the parcel post system has had the effect of bringing into his

office for distribution the departmental store shipments which pay their postage to the city officers; and his work in the distribution of parcels, which produces no revenue in his office, is out of all proportion to what he collects on parcels despatched from his office.

The petition concluded with an example,

A single illustration will show the weakness and shortsightedness of the action taken in pitchforking us back into the old Confederation scale. Take Packenham post office as an example. I have not the exact figures, but approximately the postal revenue used to be about \$1000, which gave the postmaster a salary of \$500 a year under the old higher scale. In order that he may get a salary of \$500 under the present scale, he has to increase his office revenue to \$1520, and he can then meet the increased cost out of the savings he has laid aside out of his salary in previous years.

It was quite right that the scale should have been modified to make adjustments for the war stamp addition to revenue, but rule-of-thumb way they jumped at the thing was inexcusable. Confidentially, I may say that my own salary warrant is \$214 per month, out of which I pay three assistants. I have had girls in my employ, who are now in the Civil Service. Those in this Post Office are just as intelligent and industrious and work longer hours.¹⁵⁶

This petition reveals that the issues and policies concerning rural postal service had not changed since Confederation. In 1915 the percentage of postal revenue allowed to the revenue (largely rural) postmasters was amended for post offices which had revenues greater than \$10,000. as shown in the following table.

TABLE 36 ¹⁵⁷**POSTMASTER REMUNERATION - OFFICES OVER \$10,000, 1915**

Revenues less than \$800	40%
Revenues between \$800 and \$10,000	25%
Revenues over \$10,000	15%

Two years later it was amended for offices with less than \$10,000 as shown below.

TABLE 37 ¹⁵⁸**POSTMASTER REMUNERATION - OFFICES UNDER \$10,000, 1917**

Revenues less than \$1000	40%
Revenues between \$1000 and \$10,000	25%
Minimum salary of \$60 for offices with annual revenue less than \$120	

Commencing the same year, 1917, complaints were raised by Members of Parliament concerning compensation for rural carriers. Traditionally rural carriers tendered for each rural route. Due to the absence of economic opportunities in rural communities, carriers submitted extremely low bids in order to obtain the

tender. The system was made worse, for the Post Office would frequently contact those who had tendered and suggest that a lower bid (quietly resubmitted) would obtain the contract. Some did, and thus the price was driven down still further.¹⁵⁹

Complaints were also occasioned by the introduction of parcel post in 1914 which represented an increase in duties without additional compensation.

Thus by 1917 Members of Parliament were receiving numerous complaints from rural carriers. Opposition members throughout this period (1914-1945) pressured the government to change from the tender system to a mileage system similar to the system used by the *United States Postal Office*, which compensated rural carriers at \$70 per mile per year. The tender system in Canada was estimated to approximate an average \$41 per mile per year in 1922 but the pressures of the tender system described above, drove this down to an average \$32 per mile per year by 1937.¹⁶⁰ (By 1937 there were approximately 4,500 rural route carriers).¹⁶¹ The government refused the demand, arguing that to achieve parity with American rural route carriers, (as demanded by the opposition) would double the costs. Thus the issue remained outstanding to the end of the period under review.

In 1920, pursuant to the reclassification of the civil service and recommendations thereto, the Government passed an *Order-in-Council* to increase the compensation of rural postmasters. This altered the compensation levels passed in 1917 (discussed above) as revealed by the table below.

TABLE 38 ¹⁶²

REMUNERATION FOR RURAL POSTMASTERS, 1920

Revenues less than \$1000	50%
Revenues between \$1000 and \$10,000	30%
Revenues over \$10,000	20%
Minimum salary per annum	\$60

This was again amended in 1928 as shown by the table below.

TABLE 39 ¹⁶³

REMUNERATION FOR RURAL POSTMASTERS, 1928

Revenues less than \$1000	70%
Revenues between \$1000 and \$10,000	30%
Revenues over \$10,000	20%
Minimum salary per annum	\$100

There were no further changes in the compensation for rural postmasters or rural carriers until the Second World War. In 1942 with the announcement of a wartime bonus for all civil servants (excluding rural postmasters and carriers), rural Members of Parliament demanded that a committee of the House of

Commons be established to investigate the plight of these employees.¹⁶⁴ During the period a large number of rural route carriers resigned, for the compensation did not cover their expenditures.¹⁶⁵ The government relented and granted a bonus to this group pursuant to an *Order-in-Council*,¹⁶⁶

Whereas by Orders-in-Council P.C. 2311 of the 24th March, 1942 and P.C. 5833 of the 7th June, 1942, authority was given the Postmaster General to negotiate with contractors for the performance of mail services in the dominion, who are operating under contracts not equitable from their standpoint in view of the changed conditions owing to the war;

And whereas the Postmaster General reports that the power thus granted involves the cancellation of each contract so dealt with and the carrying on of the service under a temporary arrangement to cover the period up to the termination of the War Measures Act, at which time tenders must be invited to place the contract arrangements on a regular basis;

That the action taken under the power granted by these orders in council shows that the rates negotiated represent a smaller percentage increase in operation costs than is shown in the cases of tenders invited, and is therefore economically sound;

That from the outset, and since this system has been in operation, many contractors who require increased remuneration to carry on the services have stated they would very much like to revert to their present contract terms after the war;

That the terms of the contracts which have been dealt with have been very favourable indeed from the standpoint of the Post Office Department, and possibly much more favourable than will be obtained immediately after the war; and

That, after careful study, it is considered that it would be decidedly advantageous to classify any increases granted under this authority as in the nature of war-time bonus, retain the original contracts in operation, and revert to the actual contract terms upon termination of the War Measures Act.

Therefore, His Excellency the Governor General in council, on the recommendation of the Postmaster General, is pleased to order and doth hereby order that whenever possible the contracts which have been dealt with or which may be dealt with be retained in full force and effect and that any increases granted under authority of said orders in council P.C. 2311 or P.C. 5833 be discontinued when the War Measures Act is rescinded.¹⁶⁷

The *Order-in-Council* is important, for it reveals that by this time, the policy makers exclusively focused on efficiency and cost rather than service issues.

During debate and in the *Order-in-Council*, discussion of service issues was non-existent. This never have happened in the pre-electronic era.

CONCLUSION

For the purposes of review, the statistics for this period are shown below.

TABLE 40 ¹⁶⁸

REVENUE AND EXPENSE, 1914-1945

YEAR	POST OFFICES	REVENUES *	EXPEND. *	DEFICIT SURPLUS
1914	13,811	16.9	16.7	.2
1915	13,348	16.8	19.7	(2.9)
1916	13,057	22.7	19.9	2.8
1917	12,772	25.2	20.6	4.6
1918	12,622	26.8	23.5	3.3
1919	12,290	27.6	25.3	2.3
1920	12,256	29.7	26.0	3.7
1921	12,252	32.3	30.7	1.6
1922	12,247	32.3	33.8	(1.5)
1923	12,288	35.0	33.6	1.4
1924	12,370	35.0	34.3	(.7)
1925	12,376	34.6	35.9	(1.3)
1926	12,439	37.1	36.6	.5
1927	12,440	35.4	37.0	(1.6)
1928	12,478	36.6	38.4	(1.8)
1929	12,430	37.9	40.2	(2.3)
1930	12,409	40.0	42.1	(2.1)
1931	12,427	37.5	43.3	(5.8)

1932	12,133	39.5	41.4	(1.9)
1933	12,074	36.9	36.2	.7
1934	12,035	36.4	35.2	1.2
1935	12,069	37.6	35.3	2.3
1936	12,156	39.2	36.8	2.4
1937	12,272	41.2	37.4	3.8
1938	12,421	43.0	39.7	3.3
1939	12,514	42.9	43.0	(.1)
1940	12,557	44.2	44.2	-
1941	12,477	48.1	46.4	1.7
1942	12,410	55.5	51.0	4.5
1943	12,313	59.2	55.0	4.2
1944	12,234	73.0	60.4	12.6
1945	12,169	79.5	68.1	11.4

* In millions

Unfortunately the second table of annual mail volumes could not be provided for this period as the Post Office did not provide these figures in the annual reports after 1917.

The above figures are most illuminating. They attest to the end of the previous dramatic growth in the number of Post Offices, and their subsequent gradual decline from approximately 14,000 to about 12,000. This is the first critical indicator of the declining importance of the Post Office in the eyes of the policy makers after the emergence of electronic media. The deficit figures are equally revealing. The Post Office experienced deficits between 1850 and 1933.¹⁶⁹ (The "surplus" between 1916 and 1921 was artificially created by the *War Revenue Tax* which increased postal revenues by approximately 35%; the elimination of the

deficit due to the war tax was explicitly acknowledged in the annual reports of the Post Office for those years).

The Post Office experienced continuous deficits for a period of approximately 80 years - the years of nation-building, for the Post Office was a key instrument used to achieve this purpose. Post Office deficits were regarded as a cost of achieving the overarching goal of building the Canadian nation. The goal did not recede, but the policy makers' reliance on the Post Office for the achievement of that goal dissolved. This occurred because the policy makers increasingly depended on electronic media such as the public broadcasting system to achieve the goal.

During the depths of the Depression, the policy makers adopted a new postal policy predicated on efficiency rather than service. Large surpluses had never been experienced in the Post Office until 1933. This is the second critical indicator that the Post Office was no longer regarded as an instrument of nation-building.

In the next chapter we will document and analyze a dramatic decline in the number of post offices after 1945, which coincides with the emergence of television broadcasting.

CHAPTER 5: END NOTES

1. 1929 *Aird Royal Commission on Broadcasting*, p. 3.
2. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 156/2521, Dec. 24, 1923.
3. 1925 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 225.
4. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1924-25, p. 7.
5. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1929-30, p. 7.
6. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1929-30, p. 7.
7. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1930-31, p. 7.
8. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1925-26, p. 7.
9. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1926-27, p. 7.
10. *Report of the Deputy Postmaster General*, 1929-30, p. 5-6.
11. 1936 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2149.
12. 1940 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2574.
13. 1929 *Aird Royal Commission on Broadcasting*, p. 3.
14. 1932. 22-23 *George V c. 51*

15. 1932 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3035.
16. 1932 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3044.
17. 1932 *Senate Debates*, p. 485.
18. 1932 *Senate Debates*, p. 485.
19. 1936. 1 *Edward VIII c. 24*
20. 1915 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1379.
21. 1915 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1379.
22. 1916 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2017.
23. 1916 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2018.
24. 1915. 5 *George V, c. 8*
25. 1920. 10-11 *George V c. 64*
26. For example, the *Montreal Star* paid \$24,000 annually while the *Montreal Gazette* paid \$1739 annually. The *Toronto Globe* paid \$13,000 annually while the *Toronto Mail and Empire* paid \$7500 annually. These figures represented the distribution of the entire circulation of these newspapers (this was prior to the advent of paperboys). The above figures are provided in 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3348.
27. 1920 *Senate Debates*, p. 667.

28. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3348.
29. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3350.
30. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3350.
31. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3749.
32. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3756.
33. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3759.
34. Indeed as of 1988 it was approximately \$300 million; however it is now justified on the basis of support for Canadian culture.
35. 1923 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4436, 4528, 4535.
36. *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1925-26, p. 5.
37. 1927. 17 *George V c. 66*
38. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2031.
39. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2031.
40. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2032-2033.
41. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p.. 456.
42. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 456.

43. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 457.
44. 1930 *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 59, 270-271.
45. 1931. 21-22 *George V c. 45*
46. 1931 *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 3862-3866.
47. 1931 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4164.
48. 1931 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4171.
49. 1931 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4171.
50. *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1931-32, p. 5-6.
51. 1933 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4747.
52. 1933 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4747.
53. 1933 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3589.
54. 1933 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4843 and pp. 3590-3595.
55. 1916 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2037.
56. 1916 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2018.
57. 1916 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2029.

58. 1916 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2055.
59. 1917 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3634.
60. *Order-in-Council* 1238.
61. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3735.
62. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3738. Once again nationalist issues intruded when the former Liberal Postmaster General Lemieux in opposition criticized the Government for appointing an American rather than a Canadian consulting firm.
63. *Council Sub-Committee of Reorganization and Efficiency*, Report #16, p. 100.
64. 1917. 7-8 *George V c. 9*
65. 1918. 8-9 *George V c. 12*
66. 1918. 8-9 *George V c. 12*
67. Responsibility for the reorganization was given to the *Civil Service Commission*.
68. 1918 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 702.
69. Although salary increases for the various occupational groups were usually granted by an amendment to either the *Post Office Act* or the *Civil Service Act*, on several occasions the government legislated increases via the annual *Supply Bill*.

70. This applied to railway mail clerks whose income was greater than \$800 *per annum*. Previously the annual increase of \$100 *per annum* was granted to those whose salary was greater than \$1000. 1917 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6051.
71. 1917 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6052.
72. 1917 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6052.
73. 1918. 8-9 *George V c. 12*
74. 1918 *House of Commons Debates*, April 12, 1918, p. 695.
75. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 261.
76. 1929 *House of Commons Debates* at p. 261.
77. 1919 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2508.
78. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2250.
79. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4082.
80. 1919 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4346.
81. 1919 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4354.
82. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2258.
83. 1919. 9-10 *George V c. 65*.

84. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 89-1474
85. A second *Order-in-Council* P.C. 89-2224 was passed Nov. 3, 1919 which terminated those striking employees whose names were overlooked by the first *Order-in-Council*. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2258.
86. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2250.
87. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 1152
88. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2259.
89. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2283.
90. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2250.
91. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2260. The number of ex-postal workers re-employed by year: 1920 - 35; 1921 - 11; 1922 - 10; 1923 - 14; 1925 - 6; 1926 - 1; 1927 - 1; 1928 - 1.
92. 1929 *Senate Debates*, p. 260.
93. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4082.
94. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2251.
95. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2576.
96. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2581.
97. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2280.

98. RG 3, Volume 1007.
99. 1920. 10-11 George V c. 41
100. 1920 *House of Commons*, pp. 1232, 1276-1284.
101. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3283.
102. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2670.
103. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3289.
104. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3425.
105. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3425.
106. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2508.
107. RG 3, Volume 1136, Circular letter to all employees dated April 14, 1924.
108. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3970.
109. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2511.
110. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2511.
111. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3279.
112. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3279.

113. Quoted in memorandum to a Special Sub-Committee of Cabinet, by the postal clerks of Toronto not affiliated with any postal union, June 1, 1925.
114. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3971.
115. This figure is contained in a memorandum to the 1925 Sub-committee of Cabinet (discussed below) written by the postal clerks of Toronto not affiliated with any postal union. RG 3, Volume 1137, dated June 1, 1925.
116. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 962.
117. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3971.
118. The transcript of this important telephone call is in RG 3, Volume 1136. The ill-will between the parties is succinctly captured.
119. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3290.
120. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3296.
121. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3297.
122. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3298. The "Cost of Living Figures" document prepared by the *Department of Labour* is in RG 3, Volume 1136. It revealed an average cost of living for food, fuel and rent of approximately \$23 per week (the figures were provided by city) for a family of five.
123. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3300-3301.
124. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3702.

125. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3702. The original document is in RG 3, Volume 1136.
126. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3702. The original document can be found in RG 3, Volume 1136.
127. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3703.
128. 1924 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3700. The names of the smaller cities were not provided in this reference but were provided by the *Canadian Union of Postal Workers*.
129. Literature provided by the *Canadian Union of Postal Workers* state that postal workers struck on June 24, 1924; however this is inaccurate. The *House of Commons Debates* extensively documents the dates provided in the account in this dissertation.
130. A memorandum in RG 3, Volume 1136 dated June 23, 1924 states that 585 of 1315 employees went out on strike. By June 23, 74 strikers had returned to work and 546 replacement workers were hired.
131. RG 3, Volume 1136, Memo dated February 27, 1925
132. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2510.
133. See RG 3, Volume 1136 for copies of the testimonials and interventions on behalf of the various unions.
134. RG 3, Volume 1137, Memo June 1, 1925, p. 16.
135. RG 3, Volume 1137, *Order-in-Council* P.C. 1644, September 14, 1925.
136. RG 3, Volume 1137, memorandum dated June 18, 1925.

137. RG 3, Volume 1136, memorandum dated March 22, 1926.
138. 1927 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2512.
139. Professor Reid made this argument in *The Intelligent Citizen's Guide to the Post Office*.
140. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3231.
141. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2173.
142. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3241.
143. 1930 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1959.
144. 1930 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1963.
145. 1930 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1963.
146. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1739.
147. 1929 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2136.
148. 1932. 22-23 George V c. 52
149. 1932 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2475.
150. 1932 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2002.
151. 1932 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2468.

152. 1943 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3815.
153. 1943 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5263.
154. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 1/6268.
155. 1944 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6359.
156. 1917 *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 3642-3643.
157. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1915-16.
158. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1917-18.
159. 1919 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2531.
160. 1937 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4511.
161. 1939 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4511.
162. 1920 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4526.
163. 1928 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3431.
164. 1943 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5259.
165. 1944 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2025.
166. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 4960 quoted in 1943 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5262.

167. 1943 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5265.
168. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General*, 1914-1945.
169. It will be recalled that the Post Office experienced continuous deficits from 1851 until 1902. A surplus was achieved between 1902 and 1914. However it could be argued that the surpluses experienced during those years were misleading for the *Department of Public Works* absorbed all property costs affiliated with the rental or ownership of all accounting post offices. As well, the costs of the civil service superannuation were not attributed to the Post Office. Thus the minimal surpluses experienced in those years were misleading.

CHAPTER 6:

DECLINE AND COMMERCIALIZATION, 1945-1981

There have been commissions, task forces, inquiries, delegations, and white papers galore. Once considered a minor and relatively quiet department of government, the Post Office Department has become one of the most controversial. Why is this so? Accident? Coincidence? Have technological developments made the transportation of mails uniquely difficult, while other forms of communication and transportation have become infinitely more swift? Has there been an obsolescence in this area? ... It would seem, therefore, that there are other reasons. Why since June 25, 1968, has this department been so contentious, its services so frequently disrupted and its users so deeply dissatisfied? Why do turmoil, tension and uncertainty triumph eternally in this department? In what other department of government, in any level, municipal, provincial or federal, have we ever seen a case where the workers in that department insert paid advertisements in the press apologizing for the poor service they are giving?

Heath Macquarrie, M.P., 1970 ¹

He wants to wash his hands of it and say that it cannot be run as effectively as it should be. There is uproar. The Minister says, "We cannot do the job", hence his recipe of a crown corporation.

Heath Macquarrie, M.P., 1970 ²

But most importantly corporate status frees the enterprise from detailed accountability. Stated another way, one of the principal reasons [for a Post Office Crown Corporation] is to give [it] enough autonomy so that their day-to-day activities will not be subject to question and debate in the Commons.

Postmaster General Côté, 1971 ³

INTRODUCTION

In the modern period we will document the decline and demise of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building. It will be shown that Government viewed the emergence of television as a profoundly powerful tool. Simultaneous with this recognition, the policy makers increasingly ignored the Post Office as a policy instrument. This does not suggest that successive Postmasters General were less involved, for the dramatic decline of the Post Office coupled with the automation program brought about a resurgence of militancy in the employee associations, thus requiring even greater political involvement. Nonetheless, the Post Office continued to decline in policy relevance.

Indeed it will be argued that the militancy after 1965 was partly due to the recognition by letter carriers and postal workers that they were increasingly unimportant units of labour for which units of capital could be substituted. The automation program was an attempt by the policy makers to rid themselves of an institution which was no longer useful in policy terms yet required political capital. Previously the political costs were worthwhile when the Post Office was the dominant medium; these costs gradually became unacceptable after electronic media displaced the Post Office as the primary instrument of nation-building.

Thus it will be argued that the transformation of the Post Office Department to a Crown Corporation was the logical, inevitable, lagged response to the

emergence of electronic communications media as documented in previous chapters.

In this chapter we will once again deal with postal policy under the headings of technology; pricing and services; and organization and labour policies.

EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES AND POLICY

During the period under review Parliamentarians increasingly made reference to the very large subsidies given the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* while the policy makers attempted to eliminate much smaller (for most of the period) postal deficits. Indeed during this period successive Postmasters General demanded that the Post Office generate a surplus. The relationship between the Post Office and electronic media was made explicit in the debate on Post Office *Supply* in 1947 when Opposition Member Gibson made the following remarks concerning the second class periodicals subsidy,

I think it is about time we quit subsidizing these newspaper millionaires in Canada. It may have been an excellent plan in 1882, before we had the radio⁴

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While the foregoing remark could be construed as the disgruntled remarks of a backbencher the following year Postmaster General Bertrand made a very similar statement in the House of Commons, criticizing the postal subsidy,

I understand that when this arrangement was established it was a good thing for the people receiving newspapers, but today there is a change. For one thing, the radio provides people in the country with a good deal of news, and the different political parties have since begun to broadcast and are teaching many things to certain provinces ... As I say, I admit that the deficit of \$7,500,000 on newspapers is too high.⁵

This remark reveals that the once sacrosanct postal subsidy for periodicals was subjected to criticism because the electronic media was performing the role previously undertaken exclusively by the Post Office and newspapers.

Only three years later Postmaster General Rinfret of the King Government introduced amendments to the *Post Office Act* to substantially increase the postage rate for periodicals, on the ground that the periodical subsidy was too high.⁶ At this time the cost of second class mail was \$15 million annually, while only \$3 million in revenue was received from newspapers and periodicals. However Conservative Opposition Leader Drew, in his criticism of the amendments, noted the real reason,

When the Postmaster General places so much emphasis upon the necessity for meeting these deficits, it is interesting to note that the government apparently proposes to adopt a very different attitude toward the distribution of news by radio. Because while the government is ready to accept the proposition that

deficits are necessary in connection with the distribution of radio news, evidently a different attitude is to be adopted toward the distribution of news by the written word ...⁷

In challenging the reasons put forward by the Postmaster General, Drew revealed that the policy makers recognized that the pervasive reach of radio had largely negated the need for a periodical subsidy. This view was confirmed in a different way by opposition criticism. For example Opposition Member Howe stated that,

It has long been recognized in the development of any country, and that is especially true of this young country, that transportation, immigration and education are features that should be divorced from what you might call a profit and loss balance sheet of government administration. If there is anything in the life of any young country, and especially the life of Canada, that is of importance it definitely is the freedom of the press, and that is traditional in our way of life ... I know we have the bureau of publicity here in Ottawa which is growing like a mushroom. We have the C.B.C. and the other means of disseminating news for the government.⁸

This merely proves the point that the "traditional way" was being overturned by electronic media. It also suggests that "profit and loss" considerations were becoming increasingly important in postal policy because the Post Office was commanded to reduce its deficit (incurred in part by the periodical subsidy). This is taken as additional proof that the Post Office was increasingly irrelevant in terms of the policy of nation-building, for the C.B.C. was now fulfilling that role.

Opposition Member Hatfield provided further reinforcement of this conclusion by stating,

I think this increase is going to put the newspapers practically out of business. The radio has practically put them out of business. The C.B.C. do not pay their own way. Why should the Post Office Department and the postal services do so? I consider them as a service to the country.⁹

These remarks illustrate that the linkage between postal policies and radio/television policies was clearly recognized during debate on the 1951 Post Office amendments. While price increases have previously been dealt with in this dissertation in the section concerning Pricing and Services, in this instance it was dealt with under the section on Technologies because of the linkage made with electronic communications media. The linkage explicitly established the relationship between emerging technologies policies (*e.g.* C.B.C.) on the one hand, and postal pricing and services policies on the other. The policy decision to subsidize the C.B.C. thus brought into question the subsidy policy for periodicals.

We have argued that postal policy is composed of three components - Technology, Pricing, and Labour - all of which are interconnected. In previous chapters the relationship between Pricing and Services and Labour Policies was established. Now it will be shown that policies adopted toward emerging technologies such as the C.B.C. caused changes to postal pricing policies.

The automation program discussed in the previous chapter continued in this period. Indeed the program subsequently implemented in the late 1960s can be traced to research efforts undertaken in the 1950s. In 1956, Postmaster General Lapointe stated,

We are doing very advanced research work with a view to developing and installing machines in the larger post offices for sortation, for quicker and more efficient service. Any development work of that kind is not done simply and cheaply ... We also told my honourable friend that we expected that the machine would possibly be installed in the Ottawa post office at the end of the year.¹⁰

Further insights into postal automation efforts were provided by Postmaster General Hamilton of the Conservative Government,

The primary difficulty in mechanizing and modernizing mail handling operations is, first, that large volumes of mail are found only in a limited number of locations and then only at relatively short peak periods, so that the installation of costly and complicated machinery to deal with such situations requires economic calculations and decisions of considerable complexity. ... As a result, while highly qualified research technicians have been at work in a number of countries, including Canada, the United States and Great Britain, for a number of years trying to develop machinery which will handle mail more effectively and more expeditiously than at present, it is only in recent months that anything has begun to appear which, when put into operation in a post office in the regular mail stream, operates in a satisfactory manner.¹¹

It is significant that during the 1950s criticism of the automation program was made by Opposition Members of Parliament and not by the employee

associations. Opposition members criticized the policy year after year on the basis that it contributed to unemployment. Yet the employee associations viewed the automation program in benign terms as evidenced by the following remarks in the *Postal Tribune* in April, 1958,

Postal employees need not fear automation providing the authorities and the workers use the benefits of automation for the improvement of working conditions as well as the service. While the machine may replace much manual sortation, it will create many higher technical positions. Some employees now manually sorting mail must be prepared to change over to new duties.¹²

In 1959, an important decision was made by postal management; in order to facilitate the more rapid development of the automation program it was decided to create an Engineering and Development Branch responsible for all facets of research and development concerning postal operations. Previously the automation program, and more generally all research and development, had been distributed throughout the four major branches and thus lacked a focus.

The following year, 1960, Postmaster General Hamilton announced that the automated mail sortation equipment was in the final stages of modification at *Canadair Limited* and was to be tested at the Montreal post office.¹³ He also announced that a British designed and manufactured unit was to be tested in Winnipeg in the near future. The British technology separated letters from

parcels, placed the envelope face up and cancelled the stamp. During the same discussion the Postmaster General made an announcement of crucial significance,

I must emphasize again, as I do each year when discussing these developments, that the programs on which we are working are not designed, and will not be allowed, to throw existing full-time postal employees out of work. However, they will bring about more efficient handling of our ever increasing mail volume without corresponding increases in staff.¹⁴

This was the first time that a Postmaster General announced a policy guaranteeing job security for postal workers. However, it was not followed up and enacted into legislation by the Government of the day and in fact appeared to have gone unnoticed. It would appear that postal management and the postal unions were unaware of the policy announced by the Government in Parliament in 1960. (Discussions with the major postal unions and the Labour Relations Division of Canada Post with the author did not disclose any knowledge of Postmaster General Hamilton's statement). Thus it would appear that the postal strikes of the 1970s and 1980s concerning job security (which finally produced the job security clause in the collective agreements of LCUC and CUPW), were probably unnecessary.

In 1964, the relationship between the postal deficit and the annual subsidy for the C.B.C. was again debated. Postmaster General Nicholson of the Pearson Government stated,

The [Glassco Royal Commission discussed below under Organization and Pricing policies] favour the fixing of postal rates at levels that will permit the total recovery of costs, except in one field and that is in the field of newspapers and periodicals. The value of these newspapers and periodicals as distributors of news and cultural instruments is recognized there in the report. If we are going to pay a subsidy of \$70 million or \$80 million a year for the C.B.C., it might not be unreasonable to suggest we should pay a subsidy to other news media of approximately \$20 million a year¹⁵

In drawing this parallel between broadcasting policy and postal policy, the Postmaster General unwittingly demonstrated that the government placed far more emphasis on the C.B.C. than on the Post Office. As will be revealed below, the relationship between the electronic media (primarily the C.B.C.) and the Post Office was frequently invoked by the opposition in the following years.

The linkage was made even more graphic in 1966 by Member of Parliament Godin,

Before the advent of radio, television and telephone, the work of the Post Office employees represented a service indispensable to the moral and cultural life of the Canadian villages very remote from each other.¹⁶

The quote yet again indicated the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of national policy. The commercial threat to the Post Office was noticed for the first time,¹⁷ by Member of Parliament Thompson,

We urge modernization of equipment, procedures and administration beyond what has been achieved so far. In this regard the Post Office is in the same position as the telephone companies were a few years ago before they made their operations as automatic as possible. It is possible to end the physical distribution of old age pension and family allowance cheques, totalling scores of millions of letters a month, by using an electronic mail service, with the value of the cheques being deposited in the banks by electronic impulse.¹⁸

This was further illustrated by Member of Parliament Downey,

When telephones were first introduced into the United States you could mail something over 13,000 letters for the cost of one telephone call across the continent. Although I forget the exact figures, today you can only mail several hundred letters for the cost of one telephone call, giving a ratio of something like 20 to 1 ... but it does make one wonder where one is going in view of the way costs between these two methods of communication have increased inversely.¹⁹

This is redolent of Reagan's remark during the 1980 Presidential campaign. He stated that in 1900 it cost \$50 to make a one minute phone call via ATT from New York to Los Angeles while a stamp only cost two cents. Eighty years later the stamp had increased twelve times to twenty-five cents while the phone call had decreased one hundred times to fifty cents and, Reagan caustically noted, the Carter Administration wanted to break up ATT instead of the Post Office.

Further evidence of the policy decline of the Post Office was provided by Member of Parliament Peters in discussing amendments to the *Post Office Act*,

Are we going to get out of this never-never land of the Communications Department which is more interested in space vehicles, satellites and new types of communication rather than in the Post Office? Is any member of the government interested in the simple business of writing a letter, putting a stamp on it and mailing it to someone in the expectation of eventually receiving a reply

to it? Are we to anticipate the establishment of a separate free enterprise organization which would handle our mail? This possibility is not so remote any longer.²⁰

This quotation captured the priorities of the policy makers and validates the argument that due to changing technologies the Post Office was increasingly irrelevant in terms of national policy. The same argument was echoed by Opposition Member Dinsdale,

In this day and age of electronic communication the government quite happily subsidizes CBC to the tune of \$200 million and nobody raises the argument that broadcasting services in Canada should operate at a profit. As a matter of fact, since I have been a Member of this House of Commons we have removed the radio and television licenses which used to be more of a nuisance value than a revenue raising operation. We accepted the principle that the state should sponsor electronic means of communication.²¹

The most profound explanation of changes in mass media (and by inference the Post Office) was provided by Postmaster General Kierans in testimony before the *Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*. He stated,

the mass media in the form we now know them, are, I believe, a dying institution ... All of this is because our mass society is becoming a society of individuals. The mass media reflect the society of yesterday ... Technology is making an era of individual communications possible. Satellites are important because they shrink the world to a village and because they are the only effective way of bringing the benefits of communications to all people no matter how isolated.²²

Kierans then discussed the Post Office and newspapers,

Is a daily newspaper really a daily newspaper if it has to rely on the mails for its system of distribution, because obviously there is going to be a twenty-four hour delay? While this was acceptable in the thirties or even the forties, let's say, during the forties, during the war and probably up until 1950, the advent of television increased reliance on radio. ... In other words, there is a good deal of feeling among people that the postal service was a lot better two or three decades ago than it is today. Well, this is just sheer nonsense.²³

Kierans concluded,

the point I want to make is that the kind of pressure - and newspapers are judging themselves by this - that's on them is not from the Post Office. It's just from other means of information distribution that are instantaneous you know, half-hour news programmes every half hour on radio stations, television and all the rest.²⁴

These are important insights for it reveals that the Post Office did not become "inefficient and mismanaged". Rather the public's expectations were transformed due to the speedup of communications. This partially explains the second decline - the commercial decline - of the Post Office.

In 1970, Post Office automation policy was discussed by Postmaster General Kierans,

Mechanization is not a Frankenstein; it is not a Baal; it is not a demon. On the other hand, it is not an idol. ... The purpose of mechanization is, quite simply, to eliminate the drudgery and routine of work. Mechanization is a productive force. It should be productive of leisure. It should be productive of that affluence that will enable society to pursue its objectives ... Mechanization is not a threat to the job security of anyone who is presently working in the Post Office ... It will reduce to some extent the rate of growth in the work force, the rate we have experienced in the past and which we would continue to experience at an accelerated pace in the future.²⁵

This reveals the government's intention to substitute capital for labour in order to reduce costs. The policy also had the effect of limiting the growth of postal workers which, would adversely effect the postal unions.

The problem of the change in expectations brought about by instantaneous electronic media was discussed by Postmaster General Blais,

You recall the term "post haste", a term that indicates speed and urgency, and it really related to the post office. But those were the days when the post office was the means of communication - you got on a horse and rode the behind off that horse until you got onto the next horse, or whatever the system of delivery was.

The Postmaster General continued,

All I am saying is that post haste is now competing with telecommunications, and in that context the post office cannot compare as being an immediate, instant communication mode, and that is one of the difficulties we are having. The expectations of the Canadian public, in terms of communication, are very high. The Post Office cannot compete with Bell Canada. The daughter who writes to her grandmother in Victoria, and if the letter is one day late the lady might have called the next day over the telephone and made instant communications. That is the sort of comparison we are subjected to, and I think that comparison sometimes tends to be unfair.²⁶

This once again corroborates the idea expressed in the dissertation that the perceived inefficiency of the Post Office was a function of public expectations conditioned by electronic communications media.²⁷ This perception also affected

the policy makers and contributed to the sense of crisis in the late 1970s concerning the Post Office.

Evidence of the decline of the Post Office as a commercial instrument was provided by Postmaster General Blais in 1977,

We are a commercial enterprise and where we can make money, we will make money. We want to maintain the service to all Canadians. The unfortunate circumstance is that it is not administration, it is not labour relations, it is the state of the art. ... In the communications world we [Canada] are ahead of everybody else, in satellites and so on, and that is bound to affect the Post Office. What has resulted is that we have not had the increase in volumes that we expected. Therefore, we have not had the increase in revenues. We are vulnerable in terms of pricing because as soon as we increase our rates, our volumes go down ... We have to get more mail, but if we encourage more mail at today's rates we lose more money, and we cannot increase our rates because then the volumes go down.²⁸

This revealed a dilemma that confronted the Post Office in the late 1970s. As the cost and price of electronic communications continued to decline, the cost and price differential between electronic and physical transmission narrowed. This in turn reduced the flexibility of postal managers to establish prices that would allow the Post Office to break even.

PRICING AND SERVICES POLICIES

In 1952, the Post Office reduced twice daily delivery for residential customers to delivery once per day. The government argued that the twice daily service was both unnecessary and too expensive. The decision coincided with the arrival of television. Twice daily mail delivery was unnecessary with radio and television broadcasting available throughout the day. The decision to reduce delivery was another in a series of policy decisions that revealed the policy makers' increasing reliance on electronic media for the communication of timely information, and the simultaneous depreciation of the Post Office for policy purposes. Opposition Member Hosking argued that postal employees recognized the signal that this decision transmitted,

The postal department has always been very proud of its record and of the tradition that "the mail must go through" ... I cannot help but feel that in the last year it has been greatly jeopardized. In fact I do not think that I would be very far wrong in suggesting that the instigation of one delivery a day gave all employees across the board a feeling that it did not matter if the mail did not go through. To me that is one of the serious objections to this one delivery a day. If that change has broken down the high spirit, the integrity, and the strong feeling of urgency all employees should have that the mail must be delivered, that they must get it out, that it is not theirs, that they are handling it for the Queen and it must go out; if the feeling that they need not bother delivering the mail today has permeated those delivering the mail, then I think we have done a great disservice to this country.²⁹

Hosking's remarks captured a central argument of the dissertation (although the opposition member focused on the symptom *i.e.* one day delivery, rather than the cause). The efforts of postal workers were depreciated by this decision and their status reduced because of the increasing reliance on electronic media. This also suggests that the militancy of postal labour in the post war period was in part due to their reduced social and political status.

In late 1953, Finance Minister Abbott delivered an important policy statement regarding the Post Office,

It is the view of the government that the people of Canada expect the post office to pay for its operations out of postal revenues and not out of taxes.³⁰

The Finance Minister's statement was implemented a few days later when Postmaster Côté of the St. Laurent Government introduced an amendment to the *Post Office Act* to increase first class postage rates from three cents to four cents. The Postmaster General claimed that the increase was necessary because,

we are faced with certain heavy expenditures which the department has to meet. The five-day forty-hour work week will cost the Post Office Department \$5 million. The salary increase which went into effect on December 1 will cost the Post Office Department \$7 million. The improvements authorized by parliament for rural mail carriers will cost the Post Office Department \$1,500,000. These three items alone amount to \$13 million. Expected net revenues from the increase in postage rates will be approximately \$14 million, leaving only \$500,000 to take care of possible normal increases in the price of basic materials and services which are essential for the operation of the postal service.³¹

The Postmaster General's remarks were significant because it was the first time that increases in wages required increases in postal rates which were predicated on breaking even or earning a surplus. This corroborated the argument that the policy supportive of postal deficits incurred for nation-building changed to a policy that viewed the Post Office as a commercial entity which was required to balance its books.

Opposition Member Hamilton captured the change in postal policy,

We find that from 1869 to 1901 the department had a clear record - a deficit every year. From 1902 to 1932 it had twenty-two surpluses totalling \$30,979,000, and nine deficits totalling \$21,480,000. In other words, in this intermediate period in the second thirty years of its operation it was coming somewhere near breaking even. From 1934 to 1953, the last twenty years, the department has had eighteen surpluses, totalling \$94,658 000 and it has had two tiny deficits totalling \$1,495,000.³²

Opposition Leader Drew in criticizing the price increase inadvertently provided a rationale for it when he stated,

Throughout the years the speeding up of business communication, the speeding up of personal communication, the speeding up of human contacts, whether it be by mail, telephone, telegraph or any other means of communication, has in itself been an essential part of the material advancement of society.³³

He continued,

[reductions in service] tends to persuade people to use other services such as the radio and the telephone. Who knows but that may be one of the reasons so many millions of dollars have been added to the costs of telegrams sent by this government.³⁴

In drawing parallels to electronic media and the speedup of communications Drew provided the explanation for the depreciation of the Post Office by the policy makers. Opposition members also criticized the policy by arguing that other departments were not required to break even, notwithstanding the increased costs due to the forty hour work week and salary increases. For example Opposition Member Noseworthy argued,

I do not see why the Post Office, for instance, any more than the Department of National Health and Welfare should be on a paying basis. It is a service department. I have not heard anyone suggesting that the Minister of National Health and welfare should collect enough revenue to offset all the expenses of his department. The Mines Branch of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys is rendering a service to the mining operators in all parts of this country. I have never heard any suggestion that that department should collect from these mining companies enough fees to offset the expenses of the department.³⁵

This argument unwittingly provided an explanation for the new postal policy. Other departments fulfilled various policy roles while the Post Office no longer fulfilled any important policy role (as determined by the policy makers). Finally Member of Parliament McIvor provided a precise explanation for the declining importance of the Post Office,

I do not think I wrote a letter this year that did not get to its destination, but we want to do everything in such a hurry; we want a letter to get to its destination just a few minutes after we write it.³⁶

Due to the speedup occasioned by electronic media, individuals and businesses were less inclined to write letters, for it was much easier to use the telephone. Changed expectations also accounted for the increasing numbers of complaints concerning efficiency in the Post Office.

One other important argument dealing with pricing policy was made by Opposition Member Roland Michener (subsequently Speaker of the House of Commons and later Governor General), for he was the first person on record to suggest the establishment of a Crown Corporation and a postal review board,

This form of communication [telephone and telegraphs] is in close parallel to communication by letter, and we all know that the rates are fixed on evidence as to the cost of doing business plus a fair charge for the service rendered. If the minister is serious in wishing to apply cost accounting principles to the department over which he has the honour to preside, it appears to me that the means of doing so are available. It may be that he should now reconsider whether the Post Office Department should be disentangled from other departments of government and established as a separate agency or utility whose rates would be fixed on cost principles by a board capable of handling that kind of proposition.³⁷

In 1957, a further diminution of postal service occurred with the announcement of a policy decision to substitute group boxes in place of letter carrier

delivery in new housing developments.³⁸ This reveals that the policy was not initiated by *Canada Post Corporation* President Warren in 1982, as was alleged in the media at the time, but pre-dates him by 25 years.

In 1961 the O'Leary *Royal Commission on Publications* reported. It found that the second class periodicals deficit was steadily increasing as shown by the following,

TABLE 41 ³⁹

SECOND CLASS PERIODICALS DEFICIT

1948	\$ 7,460,680
1952	\$13,603,326
1956	\$17,193,444
1960	\$22,703,608

The Commission discovered that much of the deficit was caused by foreign periodicals (mostly American), for pursuant to the *Universal Postal Convention*, all foreign mail was handled free by the country of destination. Thus they recommended that Canada initiate discussions with the United States for compensation. The Commission believed that if the United States were required to compensate Canada, the American Government would pass on the increase to American publishers and this would result, they argued, in a decrease in the number of

American periodicals mailed to Canada. In addition the Commission recommended that cultural and "little" magazines be given special assistance similar to that provided to rural newspapers. Thus the Commission advocated free delivery for the first 5000 copies for magazines carrying less than one-third advertising content.⁴⁰ The policy was subsequently adopted in a modified form.

The clearest enunciation of the government's changing views towards postal service was provided by Postmaster General Nicholson in 1964,

Now, 55 per cent of our mail is first class mail ... I feel the time has come for us to take a firm position that the general taxpayer of this country should not be asked to subsidize the Post Office to the tune of \$10 million for the benefit of the people who are using first class mail or any other class mail that is largely commercial. We have already taken steps to correct the situation in the case of third class mail. ... If 55 per cent of the mail of this country goes first class, and a very high percentage of that is commercial mail sent out by business firms who are in business to make a profit, why should they not pay their share of the cost for using the mails?⁴¹

The Postmaster General's remarks clearly illustrate the change in government postal policy. It also provides confirmation that the Post Office, no longer an instrument of government policy, was increasingly providing a commercial service to industry *i.e.* "a very high percentage of that is commercial mail".

The Opposition Conservatives went even further when Opposition Member Scott stated,

I want to mention second class mail, because in some ways the minister has not really met our objections. He was frank enough to admit that a large deficit occurs in this area of second class mail, some \$20 million or perhaps slightly more, and that this is justified on the grounds of economic policy, really.

Mr. Nicholson: Political.

Mr. Scott: ... It is political policy. I do not say that this is necessarily a bad policy. It started one hundred years ago when newspapers were very small. There was very little advertising so that it was necessary in some way to subsidize them. No one would quarrel with that at that time, but as we have tried to point out to the government times have changed and the newspapers are no longer necessarily the struggling little county papers which required this sort of assistance.⁴²

After 1950, successive Postmasters General expressed concern in the House of Commons concerning the rapidly increasing cost of the second class periodicals subsidy. In this instance the opposition articulated the reason for the concern. Indeed Opposition Member Scott expressed the policy dilemma and solution (ultimately adopted ten years later),

But by forcing these deficits upon the post office, which deficits are based on political considerations, we are forcing the post office to carry out economic and political decisions of this house. This is not something which should be forced upon a public utility. The post office as a public utility should give maximum service at cost and should not have perpetual deficits forced upon it merely to carry out economic and political decisions of this parliament. If we decide in our wisdom that we are going to subsidize periodicals -and I am not one of those who think we should - it should be by means of some above the table grants, so that they are out in the open, everyone knows what they are for, and the politicians have to justify them, not the civil service.⁴³

A decade later the government transferred responsibility for the second class periodical subsidy to the *Secretary of State*, who then became responsible for providing an annual subsidy to the Post Office.

In 1966, the Government established the practice of providing an itemization of government services provided "free" to the Post Office. Opposition Member Cowan argued,

If honourable members will turn to the blue book for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1967, they will find on page 365 a paragraph setting out the various approximate values of major services not included in the estimates of the department. They include contributions to the superannuation account by the Department of Finance, \$9,438,700; contributions to the Canada Pension Plan account from the same department, \$2,856,500; employees' surgical-medical insurance premiums, by the Department of Finance, \$1,137,000. Take these three items alone and they will come to a total of approximately \$13 millions. Include them in the Post Office figures and you can come up with a deficit of \$11 million and tell the employees: We cannot raise your pay because we have an \$11 million deficit.⁴⁴

The Government provided these figures in order to develop public support for the policy of commercialization (including reductions in postal services). These figures were also provided in the expectation that opposition members would use the information to criticize the Post Office. The policy makers would then justify subsequent reductions in postal services on the basis of opposition criticism of waste and mismanagement. For example, Opposition Member Scott in 1964

criticized the second class periodicals subsidy; his critique was later adopted as government policy by 1967. In the words of Postmaster General Côté,

One hundred years ago when newspapers were the only means of communication it was important to establish second class mailing privileges to help those newspapers. These conditions do not exist anymore. Before making changes we must know exactly how much every item of mail that is being delivered or put through the post office costs the department. We have made that study and we now know exactly how much everything that goes through the mail costs the department. As a result of that study we have started to draft a change in the legislation.⁴⁵

During the same year, 1967, a Crown Corporation for the Post Office was again discussed. Postmaster General Côté announced that a study was being carried out to determine the efficacy of the proposal.⁴⁶ This is significant for it was widely reported that Postmaster General Kierans appointed the first study - *Blueprint for Change* - in 1969 to examine the feasibility of a Post Office Crown Corporation. By converting the Post Office into a Crown Corporation the Government would be able to create political distance from an organization that was increasingly troublesome politically, and which no longer produced tangible political benefits. Thus the policy proposal can be seen as the delayed response by the policy makers to the obsolescence of the Post Office for policy purposes, and the Government's increasing reliance upon electronic media (primarily the C.B.C.).

In 1968, Postmaster General Kierans (also Minister of the newly created *Department of Communications*) introduced a Bill to amend the *Post Office Act* to abolish the local delivery or "drop" rate and to increase first class rates by one cent. This was the first time that the Postmaster General dealt with the Post Office as a subset of communications media. In all previous Parliamentary debates the Post Office was dealt with separate and apart from other communications media. Postmaster General Kierans was acutely aware of this,

Our function is communication, the transmission at low cost of items of business and personal information from one place to another. In this function we complement, we duplicate, but to an increasing extent are being superceded by other systems of communication, telephone, teletype machines, telegraph, television, radio and the cloud that appears no bigger than a hand, satellites. Nearly all of the important innovations in communications are taking place outside the post office and indeed outside the existing governmental structure.

Postmaster General Kierans continued,

What effect, for example, will such developments as television-telephones, telephones linked to computers for information retrieval or even the payment of household bills, newspaper delivery direct to homes via television or teletype, what effect will these technical possibilities and soon to be economically feasible changes have on the traditional function of the post office, the transmission of information? These developments are taking place outside the post office and outside of the government ... For now we are to have a department of communications of which the post office will be an integral part.⁴⁷

The unspoken answer to the Postmaster General's rhetorical questions indicated no future policy role for the Post Office. Kierans' statement bluntly

validated the central argument of the thesis that the Post Office was replaced by newer communications technologies.

In discussing the Post Office deficit Kierans provided an excellent insight,

Now there has been for many years one instance of non-users subsidizing the users of the postal services which has given me considerable concern. ... [it] has assumed its present critical proportions only within the last several years. The principal reason for this is that wages, salaries and fringe benefits for the 48,000 post office employees now amount to 63.9 per cent of our total annual costs; in other words, 64 per cent of our total costs are labour. The settlement of last summer's dispute alone amounted to over \$30 million. Other collective agreements signed recently for supervisors, and only last Friday for postmasters, raise the figure to over \$40 million. In other words, post office employees want wages and salaries commensurate with the services they render to the users of postal services. They refuse to subsidize those users through their wages, and I agree with them.⁴⁸

This is an important remark for it emphasizes another key argument. Kierans' statement suggested that in the past, below market value postal wages subsidized lower postal rates than would have been possible with market value postal wage rates. The question then arises why postal workers subsidized users in the past, or alternatively what was the change that caused the workers to no longer accept the subsidization of users through lower wages? A simplistic answer would point to the advent of collective bargaining. But that merely begs the question. What prompted the resurgence of militancy among postal workers that led to the 1965 strike? (that in turn was partly responsible for the introduction of collective bargaining in the public service). The answer provided is grounded

upon social status. Employment in the Post Office provided high social status in the nineteenth century when the postal system was the dominant communications system, notwithstanding the relatively lower wages compared to equivalent positions in the private sector. But with the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of national policy, there was a concurrent decline in the status of employment in that institution. Certainly the Post Office workers were keenly aware that most other sectors were better paid, and so naturally they wanted a larger share. But there was also the gradual realization that the former prestige (which had compensated for lower wages) had dissolved, and so the workers wanted increased material compensation.

This is borne out by Kierans' statement,

About 75 per cent of first class mail originates from commercial concerns and only 25 per cent from private citizens. So that the bulk of the burden will fall on business, which can bear it, rather than on the man on the street.⁴⁹

Kierans implied that the Post Office no longer served either the State or the private citizen, for it was now an instrument of commerce providing a service to the private sector. In the words of Professor Molot, it had become commercialized; it was no longer an instrument of public policy used for nation-building. This explains the new postal policy with its emphasis on economy, announced by Kierans,

In our approach to this problem we have utilized a combination of three well known techniques for bringing deficits into line. We have improved and will improve even more our efficiency; we have cut unnecessary services so the public is no longer charged for a service it neither needs nor uses; and finally we have increased our rates. ... We have instituted a program to close down smaller post offices where expenditures clearly are much more than revenues. We are amalgamating rural routes whenever it is clearly more economical to do so. ... We are establishing distribution centres across Canada which will make the handling of mail more economical and more efficient. As new post office buildings are erected new mechanized mail handling equipment is installed, providing for easier and faster movement of mail within postal installations while facilitating the work of our employees.⁵⁰

This stated the new postal policy which guided the administration of the Post Office after 1968. The transformation to a Crown Corporation in 1981 merely accelerated and accentuated the new policy of commercialization - the decision did not alter the course of events. Thus the creation of a Crown Corporation for postal services was the lagged response by policy makers to the emergence of electronic media and the accompanying decline of the Post Office.

Indeed the one area of postal policy which had proved most resistant to the new policy of commercialization - the second class periodicals subsidy - was criticized in ominous terms by Postmaster General Kierans in 1968,

The merit, need and purpose of the subsidy to the publishing industry might, at some other time, be the subject of debate by this house. That is a long term concern; our immediate concern is not the subsidy itself - it exists, it always has and I suppose it will continue to exist for a short time - but the amount of that subsidy. That amount, I have to report, is reaching a staggering size. ... By next year, fiscal 1969-70, assuming no change in rates, we estimate a deficit or subsidy to the publishing industry of \$54 million. But note this, Mr. Speaker: this time the doubling of the size of the subsidy has taken place over a span of only four years, not 15 years. This rate of progression cannot be allowed to continue.⁵¹

The opposition while accepting the argument disagreed with Kierans' policy of commercialization. While the policy had gradually developed since the Second World War, Kierans was the first to provide a rational, comprehensive account of the new policy - thus we have called it Kierans' policy. In response to Kierans' policy, Opposition Member Orlikow stated,

First, Mr. Chairman, I want to disagree completely with the principle that the minister has enunciated as if it were one of the ten commandments, namely that all of a sudden after 100 years or more the Post Office Department must operate in the black, and that there is something immoral or illegal about subsidizing postal service. I do not say that we must subsidize postal rates, or must subsidize them to the extent which we are doing at the moment, but the minister seems to have come to the conclusion that there must be no subsidy.⁵²

Opposition Member Nesbitt stated,

There are forms of communication which presently enjoy heavy subsidies, as my honourable friend from Hillsborough indicated. I refer to the C.B.C. and the C.N.R., to mention only two. People who live in the far north receive news and information by radio and telegram via the C.B.C. This certainly costs plenty, but nobody objects to it. ... It is true that in modern days radio and television constitute a greatly improved method of communication.⁵³

Opposition Member Macquarrie stated,

We spend millions trying to establish a national radio and television network for good and worthy purposes. We all recall the splendid words of then Prime Minister Bennett when the Canadian Radio Commission, as it was then called,

was set up, and its worthy purposes, the development of national unity and a national consensus. But what of other media? If by these rates we are preventing a Canadian newspaper becoming a worthy organ of national opinion, are we not taking a course directly opposed to that which we are following in dealing with our radio and television services?⁵⁴

At another point in the debate Macquarrie argued,

In discussing the various forms of communication it would be unfair to attempt to separate post office communication from other forms of communication such as the telephone, telegraph, radio, television, etc. To some extent the post office has competed with other forms of communication, and I think this is more evident with the telephone especially. ... If the five day week promotes the use of alternative means of communication, particularly in the business world, the post office may lose business that it may never recover.⁵⁵

The quotations reveal that the policy makers recognized that the Post Office was becoming technologically obsolete as an instrument of commercial policy. Thus the policy of commercialization was gradually transformed into a policy of incremental privatization called franchising and contracting out. Opposition Member Dinsdale further criticized the new policy,

I suppose, that in democratic nations post office services were the first to come under a public utility operation because of the importance of communications in holding nations together. We subsidize the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's electronic communication to a substantial extent. We subsidize our railroad system. In some years we have subsidized Air Canada. We subsidize the operations of Canada Council. In fact, the grant to the Canada Council is being increased this year over last year. We do all this in the interest of broader communication and understanding, in the interest of development toward nationhood in Canada.⁵⁶

Dinsdale's quotation indirectly illustrated that the Post Office was no longer subsidized for these reasons because the policy makers no longer believed that it fulfilled this role.

The government's policy was stated even more forcibly the same year by Senator Langlois on introducing the Bill in the Senate on behalf of the government,

it is intended from this point on to consider the Post Office not as an institution but as a function - that is, not so much as an organization in the business of moving mail but as an organization in the business of communications and, therefore, as one arm of the overall communications industry. Perhaps the most immediate effect of this change in outlook will be in the field of research and in the prevention of possible overlapping of communication services and hence of waste.⁵⁷

The policy concerning post office closings was explained in the Commons three years later in 1971 by Postmaster General Côté,

Upon the death of a postmaster in an area where there are only 25 or 30 families it is sometimes not possible to find someone to take the job. Upon the death of a postmaster we sometimes have to close the post office because we cannot find another postmaster. Many times no one wants to take over the post office and it must be closed. Sometimes there is a shortage of post office funds and revenue. On these occasions the people in the field have the authority to close the post offices concerned.⁵⁸

Although the Postmaster General seemingly provided a non-economic rationale for post office closings, the reasons provided were in fact economic in

nature. The failure to attract replacement postmasters was due to the policy to limit postmaster salaries to an uneconomic level, thereby forcing the closing of small post offices. The policy was adopted due to the low revenues in rural post offices, which is a commercial rather than a "policy" consideration.

This view is confirmed by Opposition Member Harding who stated,

It seems to me that one of the tragedies of the over-all closing program carried out a number of months ago was the fact that the Post Office Department viewed it strictly as a business venture. The criterion used was whether this small post office paid and whether it was in a certain category. The department did not look into the entire background of the community to find why the office was set up in the first place, the role played by the post office or how essential it was to other services in the area.⁵⁹

The new mandate of the Post Office was presented by the Postmaster General during debate on the 1974 *Estimates*.

To provide postal services to the people of Canada at reasonable rates and at a standard of service adequate to meet their needs without incurring subsidization from general taxation.⁶⁰

This formally established the Post Office as a mere provider of minimal services within an economically viable framework. We have argued that this transformation in postal policy gradually evolved after the Second World War. It

is nevertheless important to note that this process was largely complete several years before the decision was finally taken to convert the Post Office to a Crown Corporation. More importantly, labour militancy, strikes and Post Office deficits were not the cause of the decision to create a Crown corporation *i.e.* a commercialized entity. They were contributory factors. The decline of the Post Office as an instrument of national policy was already well established and its reduction in status produced a more militant labour force which demanded and obtained dramatically higher compensation. Higher salaries were granted because the political costs of confrontation on the issue were not justified in the view of the policy makers. In turn this substantially increased the deficit. The general criticism of labour unrest, large deficits etc. represented the final impetus for the Government policy makers to get rid of the Post Office by making it a Crown Corporation.

Another signal indicating the decline of the Post Office was the decision in 1979 to transfer responsibility for the second class periodical subsidy from the Post Office to the *Secretary of State*.⁶¹ The *Secretary of State* thus became responsible for providing an annual subsidy to the Post Office to compensate it for the reduced rates for periodicals. As the periodicals policy was one of the most important justifications for the early Post Office, this change of responsibility was a profoundly important decision; it eliminated one of the major *raison d'être* on which the Post Office was originally based.

That same year another important practice was brought to an end. From the earliest days of the British Post Office and the Canadian Post Office, increases in first and second class postage rates were authorized by an Act of Parliament. This two hundred year custom was brought to an end in 1976 by the Liberal Government. From 1976 until 1979 the government increased first and second class postage rates by *Orders-in-Council* pursuant to section 13 (b) of the *Financial Administration Act*. However, in 1976 the *Standing Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Regulations and Other Statutory Instruments* determined that the practice was *ultra vires* section 6 of the *Post Office Act*. As postal rate increases made by *Orders-in-Council* were challenged in the courts, the government introduced legislation⁶² to legalize and authorize the setting of postal rates by regulation. In overturning a 200 year convention, it revealed that the Government no longer viewed the postage rate setting process as a policy process requiring the authority of Parliament; it was now viewed as a technical decision made by regulation. This was because the Post Office was no longer regarded as an instrument of policy.

ORGANIZATION AND LABOUR POLICIES

Look at William Houle [President of CUPW] in the Post Office Department. One evening, recently, I was watching television. One would have sworn one was hearing the future President of the new Crown Corporation announced by the Minister. He is the one who decides if, tomorrow, my mail will reach me or not. He is the one who decides if, tomorrow, the letters I send out will be delivered

or not. The decision does not rest with me nor with the worker, but with Mr. Houle.⁶³

Réal Caouette, 1970

In previous chapters we dealt with Organization and Labour Policies under three the subheadings of: Management, Letter Carriers/Postal Clerks; and Rural Postmasters. In this chapter we will not continue those subheadings because after 1945 postal wage increases were granted by *Order-in-Council*, and thus there was no debate in Parliament. (The wage increases for the major occupational categories after 1945 were obtained from *Canada Post Corporation* and can be found in the Appendices). Thus the following discussion will deal with all three categories in chronological sequence.

The dual wage policy (high wages for management and low wages for workers) discussed in previous chapters was once again criticized after the end of the war. Opposition Member Noseworthy noted that,

when the department recently did give some increases in salary, those increases were granted only to those in specialized fields and those in the higher salaried categories, and were not granted to those who were doing the day to day work of clerk or letter carrier.⁶⁴

At about the same time the Government finally dealt with the complaints of rural postmasters. From the very beginning, rural postmasters and Members of Parliament from rural constituencies, had demanded that rural postmasters be brought under the *Civil Service Act*. Rural postmasters were finally brought under

the *Civil Service Act* by an *Order-in-Council* in 1948.⁶⁵ The official biography⁶⁶ of the *Canadian Postmasters Association* claimed that the change in policy was due to the efforts of the new Deputy Postmaster General, Walter Turnbull (previously Principal Secretary to Prime Minister King). This explanation is based on personality rather than fundamental changes which were occurring.

A more valid assertion is that the decision was made because the rural postmasters had greatly declined in importance. It was previously argued that letter carriers were the primary vehicle of urban political "intelligence" prior to the development of electronic media. The counterpart which provided rural political "intelligence" was the rural postmaster. The positions were patronage appointments for this ensured accurate intelligence (the loyalty was owed personally by the appointee to the elected official rather than to the "rule of law" or the "public interest"). But by 1948, political intelligence was available from electronic media which conducted investigations, man-on-the-street interviews, discussion panels, talk shows etc. The political value of the rural postmaster was rendered obsolete; he was now a mere bureaucrat, which was the precise intent of the *Order-in-Council*.

The rural postmasters were graded and given salaries as follows.

TABLE 42 ⁶⁷

REVISED ANNUAL REMUNERATION FOR RURAL POSTMASTERS

ANNUAL P.O. REVENUES	GRADE	PREVIOUS INCOME	NEW SALARY
0 - 142	1	120	132
143 - 200	2	180	198
201 - 300	3	300	330
301 - 400	4	360	396
401 - 500	5	420	462
501 - 600	6	480	528
601 - 700	7	540	594
701 - 800	8	600	660
801 - 900	9	660	726
901 - 1,000	10	720	792
1,001 - 1,100	11	780	864
1,101 - 1,200	12	840	924
1,201 - 1,300	13	900	996
1,301 - 1,400	14	960	1,056
1,401 - 1,500	15	1,020	1,128
1,501 - 1,600	16	1,080	1,188
1,601 - 1,700	17	1,140	1,260
1,701 - 1,800	18	1,200	1,320
1,801 - 1,900	19	1,260	1,392
1,901 - 2,000	20	1,320	1,464
2,001 - 2,100	21	1,380	1,536
2,101 - 2,200	22	1,440	1,596
2,201 - 2,300	23	1,500	1,668
2,301 - 2,400	24	1,560	1,740
2,401 - 2,500	25	1,620	1,812
2,501 - 2,600	26	1,680	1,884
2,601 - 2,700	27	1,740	1,956
2,701 - 2,800	28	1,800	2,028
2,801 - 2,900	29	1,860	2,088
2,901 - 3,000	30	1,920	2,160
3,001 - 5,000	31	1,980 - 2,280	2,232 - 2,508
5,001 - 10,000	32	2,280 - 2,580	2,568 - 2,904
10,001 - 20,000	33	2,580 - 2,880	2,904 - 3,240
20,001 - 50,000	34	2,880 - 3,180	3,240 - 3,576

In 1951, for the first time in the history of Canadian postal policy, a management consulting firm was appointed, to examine the Post Office (the 1920 *Griffenhagen Report* dealt with the entire civil service). The decision suggested that the government increasingly viewed the Post Office as a management rather than a policy problem. The terms of reference confirm this, for the firm was to examine "Administration and Organization". In 1952 the *Woods Gordon Survey of Organization and Administration* was tabled. It was highly critical of Post Office management, suggesting that it was "poorly organized, poorly run, inefficient in many cases, and that savings of hundreds of thousands per year could be made".⁶⁴ The report recommended a massive reorganization including the decentralization of routine tasks, with district management responsibility delegated to the district directors. At the same time it recommended the centralization of strategic decisions. For example it recommended more senior officials in head office (such as a Comptroller and a Director of Personnel and a research and planning staff in the Transportation Branch).

The inefficiencies were symptomatic of a deeper problem as revealed by Postmaster General Côté,

In the last few years there has grown up in all parts of this country a most deplorable antagonism between the staff and management of the Post Office Department. In fact I do not know of any other department of the

government where such antagonism exists, certainly not to the degree that it does in the Post Office Department.⁶⁹

In turn the deep antagonism can be traced to the declining importance of the Post Office as an instrument of policy. The announcement by the Postmaster General in 1954 is most important, not only because it corroborates the central argument herein, but because it invalidates the assumption made by virtually all contemporary postal critics that labour-management relations degenerated only after 1965.

The deteriorating relationship was detailed by Opposition Member Ellis who stated,

It will be recalled that at the last session holidays were used as an instrument of policy on the part of the post office to bring about certain desired effects so far as staff was concerned ... we find that this year the Post Office Department ... is determined to use the annual holidays as a weapon to achieve certain results in the administration of the department. Mention was made this afternoon of the rather humiliating proposal that civil servants who are late a certain number of hours shall have their holidays docked. I suggest to the acting minister that that is not the way to deal with the question of habitual lateness. The government is treating civil servants as parents might treat children.⁷⁰

It was during this period that departmental officials gradually assumed *de facto* control over the Post Office as political officials withdrew. Elected officials - responsible for policy - withdrew because the Post Office no longer played a policy role. This withdrawal from direct involvement is indicated

by the 1945 decision to grant postal wage increases through *Orders-in-Council* and the 1948 decision to bring the rural Postmasters under the *Civil Service Act*. This interpretation is also confirmed by the emerging practice of the assignment of junior ministers to the portfolio for short periods of time. This was validated indirectly by Opposition Member Dufresne in quoting a *Le Droit* editorial which dealt with the resignation of Postmaster General Côté,

they finally wore down this incumbent as they did his immediate predecessors. For it is obvious that the Post Office Department, formerly a realm of peace and quiet, can only be thought of now in terms of insoluble problems, while the ministers, one after the other, not only come to their wits' end but lose face, however strong they may be physically and politically ... Now, it so happens that from that time on [from the appointment of Walter Turnbull as Deputy Minister in 1945], exactly, the history of that department has ceased to be that of the minister in charge of that portfolio to become that of the deputy minister whose hand has never ceased to appear in every intrigue, every plot, every difficulty which has beset the representatives of the department in the federal cabinet.

The editorial continued,

Such an opposition, hidden but unmistakable, between the deputy minister and the minister was in no manner helpful to the latter and, both under the administration of Mr. Rinfret and that of Mr. Côté, there were debates during which the postmaster general, hedged in all around, had to fight off not only all three opposition parties, which is normal, but also his own administration (which is less normal) and even some of his colleagues who under the pretence of help threw banana peels under his feet. In other words, blows came not only from the front and from below but also from behind.

But the editorial came to a different conclusion,

What would Mr. Turnbull be hoping for besides his present position? What purpose was he following in all these intrigues? Could it be that, as former secretary to Mr. MacKenzie King, as was, from 1924 to 1926, Mr. Ralph Campney (now Minister of National Defence), as was from 1937 to 1952 Mr. John Pickersgill (now Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, as well as acting Postmaster General) as was Mr. Lester Pearson, former deputy minister of the former Prime Minister himself (now Secretary of State, that is, Minister, for External Affairs), just as his former colleagues who lived within the orbit of the former master, Mr. Turnbull was hoping to see himself some day appointed Postmaster General?⁷¹

The editorial's conclusion is based on the North American media's emphasis on personality. What was stated may be true but nonetheless does not explain the decline of the Post Office. *Le Droit's* hypothesis can be tested in the following manner. If most postal problems of the day were due to Mr. Turnbull's tenure as Deputy Minister, then it logically follows that the situation would improve and the problems would eventually disappear when he was no longer the Postmaster General. The Diefenbaker Government terminated Mr. Turnbull's appointment in 1957; yet postal problems were not eliminated. This suggests that the answer lies elsewhere. On the evidence the long term decline of the Post Office is attributable to the transformation of communications media, and not to the intrigues of one possibly ambitious deputy minister.

Postal labour relations were raised again the following year in 1956 by Opposition Member Ellis who stated,

I wish at this time to draw to the attention of the house some of the unfair labour practices engaged in by the government of Canada. ... At that time [1955 debate to raise first class rates to fund raise increases] he replied that the government policy was to give the workers a 40-hour work week and if they worked over 40 hours they would then be paid at their regular rates of pay. As a matter of fact, it was much worse than that at the time. We were told that the regular postmen who agreed to work a sixth day would be paid at the rate offered to temporary or casual help, which would mean in effect that they would be working at a rate less than their regular rate of pay. Then, after a great deal of confusion on the part of the minister, we did get the impression that the government policy in this regard was to require that the employees work 40 hours and then to ask them if they would work a sixth day.⁷²

This further documents rapidly deteriorating labour relations occasioned by labour policies adopted by the policy makers. It also validates the argument that the aggressive development of the automation program in the 1960s was a consequence of the lesser esteem for the postal labour force. Prior to the development of electronic communications, policy makers viewed postal workers as skilled workers. Now postal workers were seen as unskilled units of labour which were intersubstitutional with units of capital. Yet the collecting, sorting and delivering skills of postal workers had not substantially changed since the beginning. What changed was that "postal technology" was superseded by newer more efficient technologies, and this realization by the policy makers in turn led to a denigration of postal workers.

In 1957, Opposition Members raised the issue of the low salaries paid to letter carriers and postal clerks. Opposition Member Enfield stated,

A letter carrier begins at a salary of \$2640 a year and after four years reaches a maximum of \$3360. Postal clerks start at \$2640 and after six years can reach \$3660. I simply do not know, Mr. chairman, how a married man raising a family can exist on \$2640 a year ... I have to pay a good legal secretary at least \$60 a week, even to start, in order to get anyone in Toronto. That works out around \$3100 a year. Yet here we have postal clerks and letter carriers who have the responsibility of dealing with your mail and mine who are working hard, and starting at \$2640 in both cases. ... At \$3660 a year a letter carrier can hardly qualify under the National Housing Act to purchase a house in which to make a home.⁷³

The remarks indicate that the low wage policy practiced prior to the Second World War continued in the 1950s. In addition to the low wage policy, other policies were adopted which revealed a breakdown of trust between management and labour (foreshadowing the complete breakdown of labour relations in the 1960s). For example, in 1956 the decision was taken to place television cameras throughout the Peterborough post office on an experimental basis in order to detect dishonesty.⁷⁴ Needless to say postal workers were hostile to the practice and this contributed to worsening labour relations.

In 1960, discontent among the postal workers was again discussed by Opposition Member Denis,

It is a well-known fact that, throughout the country, civil servants, letter carriers, postal employees, are dissatisfied with the little concern shown for their claims and requests. ... If we compare the morale of postal employees today with that prevailing at the time [mid 1950s], we note there is a great difference⁷⁵

These difficulties were compounded by the increasing emphasis on efficiency as the Post Office commercialized. Opposition Member Regier noted that,

Ever since the end of the last war we have noticed a tendency for the officials responsible for administering the postal service in our larger urban areas to express a desire to take over post offices in the smaller communities around those urban areas, to absorb them. The Minister mentioned in his report that more and more post offices have been opened within the last year. I notice, however, in his latest annual report, at page 31, that in Canada on March 31, 1958 there were in operation 11,768 post offices. One year later, on March 31, 1959 there were in operation 11,634. ... However, I feel that many of these offices were closed in order to enlarge the operations of urban post offices which had already exceeded their peak of efficiency in relation to size.⁷⁶

This partially accounts for the dramatic reduction in the number of post offices after the Second World War. This statistic has been used herein as a proxy to measure the importance of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building. The reduction in post offices also partially explains the worsening labour-relations, for the postal workers recognized that the Post Office was becoming less and less important as an instrument of policy, and this meant a reduction in status, and of course fewer jobs.

In the same year Opposition Member Dupuis focused on another contentious issue regarding postal labour policies,

I ask the Postmaster General to give some thought to the human aspect of his department, because post office employees are in a sad plight and are clamouring for salary increases. ... He refers to machinery and electronic mail sorting or automatic segregator machines but he completely overlooks the salary increases which he had promised the postal employees. I find for instance, that postal workers did not get a single increase since the Conservative party has been in office ... postal workers are the least paid employees in the whole civil service, in relation to their duties and the work they perform.⁷⁷

In 1963, the *Royal Commission on Government Organization* (Glassco) tabled its report. The section that dealt with the Post Office further corroborates the central argument made herein. The Commission stated,

While some departments are engaged to a major degree with the shifts of public policy as the country develops and must equip themselves to deal with the diverse factors by which such policy is influenced, the task of the Post Office is almost wholly operational. For this reason it lends itself more than most departments of government to the application of modern techniques, such as are employed by industry, to improve service and increase productivity. As an operating organization in search of efficiency, its main handicap is that it has to behave like a department of government - which of course, it is. ... The review made by your Commissioners discloses that a commendable degree of efficiency has been achieved, in spite of the disabilities the Post Office suffers in the form of its organization and the control techniques to which it is subject.⁷⁸

This is a revealing statement which provides an insight to the views of postal policy makers. It states in the clearest language that the Post Office no longer played an important policy role for it is "wholly operational". The Commissioners also stated that its primary goal is efficiency

and not nation-building. The Commissioners even suggested that the Post Office had more in common with private industry than with government, thus foreshadowing the arguments subsequently made in favour of converting the Post Office to a Crown Corporation.

The deteriorating labour relations culminated in 1965 with the third major strike in Canadian postal history. It is necessary to provide factual details surrounding the event because it has been poorly documented (it is the only major postal strike not debated in the House of Commons, because the Commons was in summer recess for the duration of the strike). Notwithstanding the poor documentation and the resultant confusion, most journalists, union leaders and postal officials date poor postal labour-management relations from this strike. The reader is reminded that the central argument herein repudiates the claim. Nonetheless the 1965 strike, brought about by the workers' declining status, is important for it reinvigorated the union.

It will be recalled that in 1944 the *Federated Association of Letter Carriers* (FALC) (8,000 members), *Canadian Postal Employees Association* (CPEA, which changed its name in 1966 to CUPW) with 13,000 members), and the *Canadian Railway Mail Clerks Federation* (CRMCF with 500 members) formed a common front called the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*. The postal workers (and the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*) were promised a salary increase for October 1, 1964 but the President of the *Treasury Board*, Charles

Drury, overruled the proposed increase on the basis that the government could not afford it at that time. On March 30 1965, President Roger Décarie of the Montreal local of FALC, held a news conference to publicize the union's upcoming national convention. The media raised the issue of compensation, including the association's position. Décarie replied that "we want a raise of \$900 [*per annum*] to bring our wage in line with industry, the right to strike included in a collective bargaining contract, a 35 hour work week with no work on Saturdays, and a revision to our work load".⁷⁹

The media reported the demand, citing Décarie as the President of FALC. Upon receipt of this information the National President of FALC, Jack Cooper, demanded that Décarie repudiate the statement; Décarie refused. Décarie's act immediately raised his stature among postal workers throughout the country.

On June 21 the *Postal Workers Brotherhood* met with the *Civil Service Commission*. Based on figures provided by the Pay Research Bureau of the *Civil Service Commission*, the *Postal Workers Brotherhood* demanded an increase of \$660 *per annum* and not the \$900 demanded by Décarie. However the *Civil Service Commission* only recommended an increase of \$360 for postal workers and \$300 *per annum* for letter carriers. In disclosing the recommendation to the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*, the *Civil Service Commission* asked the PWB to maintain secrecy concerning the

recommendation. Décarie was told of the negotiations including the promise of secrecy, which he then used to foment resentment among local members.

Décarie and the Montreal local responded by arranging a July 12 meeting of the membership in order to hold a strike vote. Laberge, President of the QFL, and Houle, President of the Montreal local of CPEA (later CUPW), were asked to be guest speakers. The media reported the event, and the Vancouver local immediately promised its support for a strike. Houle promised the support of the CPEA (even though the CPEA strike vote was not scheduled until July 20, 1965) while Laberge promised the support of the QFL. A resolution was passed at the meeting rejecting the \$300 offered by the government and demanding \$660 *per annum*.

The next day, July 13, Décarie, Houle (who was also Vice President of the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*), and Adrien Matte, (Secretary-Treasurer of the Montreal local of FALC but also Regional Vice President of the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*), visited Ottawa to present the demand to the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*. They met with Belland, President of the PWB (and Vice President of the *Canadian Railway Mail Clerks Association*), Les Hood, Vice President of PWB (and National President of CPEA), Otto (National Secretary), Côté (General Secretary Treasurer) and Leduc. The Montreal group demanded that the Brotherhood organize a national strike. In the event that the Brotherhood or the government refused to negotiate, Décarie advised that the Montreal local would go on strike July 22, 1965.

The executive of the Brotherhood were paralyzed by the demand, and took no action other than to advise Post Office management. In response the Post Office arranged a meeting between the *Postal Workers Brotherhood* and Postmaster General Tremblay. The Postmaster General advised that the *Treasury Board* possessed sole authority to grant wage increases. The next day, July 16, the government publicly announced an increase of \$360 *per annum* for postal clerks and \$300 for letter carriers. The *Postal Workers Brotherhood* then scheduled a special meeting for the same day as the date scheduled for a strike vote by the Montreal local of CPEA. According to Griffin, this was designed to isolate the Montreal locals.

On July 17, 1965 there was an emergency meeting of Cabinet to deal with the situation. After the meeting, Prime Minister Pearson announced that Mr. Benson, Minister of *National Revenue*, and Mr. Drury, President of the *Treasury Board*, were granted authority to deal with the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*. Benson then announced that the Postmaster General possessed authority pursuant to the *Civil Service Act* to terminate striking employees. He also announced that the government had no intention of granting an increase greater than the one already announced.

On July 22 Montreal, Vancouver and 28 other centres in Quebec, Southern Ontario and British Columbia went on strike. The following day 8000 postal workers were on strike in 70 centres in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. That same day, Prime Minister Pearson announced the

appointment of Judge Anderson as a special commissioner to examine the issue of compensation, and urged the strikers to return to work. The Cabinet held another emergency meeting at which, repeating the action taken at the outset of the 1924 strike, it formed a special committee of Cabinet. The committee comprise Revenue Minister Benson as Chairman, Postmaster General Tremblay and Solicitor General Pennell. Benson announced that the government would not legislate the striking employees back to work, nor would they order in the military to sort mail. Instead he urged the workers to return to work.

Resource Minister Laing then announced that the government was preparing back to work legislation; Prime Minister Pearson acknowledged that it was being considered by the government, contrary to the government's previous assurance by Revenue Minister Benson. On July 26 a committee of the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*,⁸⁰ as well as three members from the striking regions⁸¹ and three members from non-striking regions⁸² met with Judge Anderson and the government special Cabinet committee. But they ignored Décarie, the President of the Montreal local who had planned, organized and brought about the strike. On July 28 the group negotiated a compromise whereby the government promised that no disciplinary action would be taken against striking employees, and the employees would return to work pending Judge Anderson's report which was promised within 14 days. If the report was not submitted within 14

days, or should it prove unacceptable, the *Postal Workers Brotherhood* were to conduct a nation-wide strike vote. In return the Brotherhood recommended that the striking employees return to work. By July 30 all regions of the country had returned to work, except Montreal and the Lac St. Jean area. On August 5 the Montreal strikers held a meeting and voted to continue the strike. Under Décarie's leadership, they had gone on strike to achieve parity with the postal clerks and as Décarie was not a party to the settlement, and because it did not provide for parity, they chose to remain on strike.

Judge Anderson indicated on July 28 that he would recommend an across the board increase of \$360 retroactive to October 1, 1964, for postal clerks and letter carriers. However on August 2 he recommended increases of \$360 (postal clerks) and \$300 (letter carriers) retroactive to October, 1964 and the balance of \$190 and \$250 respectively *per annum* to be given August, 1965. On August 4, 1965 the Cabinet approved the recommendations.

Montreal continued its strike, and in response the government employed strike breakers and the army (contrary to the earlier promise made by Revenue Minister Benson). On August 6, 1965 Revenue Minister Benson met with Laberge, Décarie, Houle, Matte and Dallaire. The foregoing individuals met with the subcommittee of Cabinet and Judge Anderson. Anderson refused to grant parity but compromised by recommending that the

boot allowance be increased from \$38 *per annum* to \$60 *per annum* which effectively eliminated the disparity.⁸³ As well Revenue Minister Benson committed the government to an annual salary review instead of every two years as was then the practice. On August 7 the striking employees of Montreal returned to work and the strike was over. Pursuant to the agreement between the government, the Postal Workers Brotherhood and striking employees, a vote on the final offer was held by mail on August 7. On August 24 it was announced that 8,608 supported the new agreement while 2,113 rejected it.

The consequences of this strike were highly significant. First, it reinvigorated postal employees across the country with a sense of solidarity, a quality which had diminished since the 1924 strike. Second, the strike re-politicized postal labour relations, and in so doing it weakened Post Office management (this was the first important instance of the *Iron Triangle* i.e. cabinet/media/interest group, in Canadian politics). This occurred as government was attempting to create distance between itself and the Post Office, (the most junior minister in the government - National Revenue - was assigned responsibility, and not even the Postmaster General was involved in the negotiations).

Third, the credibility of the government was seriously damaged, for it had reversed its own promises made at key points to leaders of the striking employees. The government actions depressed still further the

regard of postal employees towards government, who were already held in low esteem due to past government actions. Fourth, it forced the government to deal with the workers on a collective level, and probably hastened the adoption of the Heeney Report⁸⁴ (which had been tabled July 10, 1965), which advocated collective bargaining in the public service. Fifth, Prime Minister Pearson announced the resignation of the Chairman (R.G. MacNeill) of the *Civil Service Commission* and the appointment of John Carson as the replacement (Carson had been involved with the Glassco Royal Commission), which foreshadowed the removal of the *Civil Service Commission* from wage negotiations (pursuant to the 1967 reforms to the *Public Service Commission Act* and the *Financial Administration Act*).

Sixth, the *Postal Workers Brotherhood* lost any semblance of credibility with the postal workers. Seventh, Houle replaced the National President of CUPW while Décarie replaced the National President of the Letter Carriers, thus rewarding militancy. Finally, the *Canadian Labour Congress* which supported the *Postal Workers Brotherhood*, lost credibility with the postal workers, while the *Quebec Federation of Labour* gained credibility, for it had vigorously supported the strike.

A secondary issue of the strike was the poor working conditions in the Post Office. These issues were raised by the representatives of CPEA,⁸⁵ FALC⁸⁶ and the CRMCF⁸⁷ during negotiations with the government and Judge Anderson. Indeed they requested a commission of inquiry. On September

1, 1965, the government appointed a *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Working Conditions in the Post Office Department*, headed by Judge Monpetit. The *Order-in-Council*⁸⁸ stated that the Commissioner was,

to inquire into the Post Office Department concerning grievances relating to work rules, codes of discipline and other conditions of employment applying to non-supervisory operating employees, exclusive of salaries; in doing so, to consult with officers of the Department and of organizations representing employees; and, keeping in mind both the welfare of employees and the efficient operation of the postal service, to report thereon and to recommend such changes in existing practices as may be in the public interest.⁸⁹

Before discussing the conclusions of the report it is necessary to briefly discuss Royal Commissions. Royal Commissions were designed as extra-parliamentary, extra-bureaucratic advisory bodies which would examine, study, analyze and recommend from the objective perspective of an outsider. This is why judges of superior courts are so frequently appointed as Royal Commissioners. However the Montpetit Royal Commission was unique because the Commissioner crossed the line that separates objective analysis from subjective involvement. Given this charge it is best that the Commissioner speak in his own words,

During an interview with the Deputy Postmaster General, in September 1965, the latter stated that the Department had undertaken in recent months, or would soon undertake, a review of a number of specific problems affecting working conditions of employees. ... We discussed among other things, the implementation of new policies dealing with examinations, discipline and the grievance procedure. The Commission enthusiastically welcomed these proposals and fully supported, beforehand, the adoption of

any reform which would result in the improvement of the employees' working conditions.⁹⁰

This is a remarkable statement for the Judge-Royal Commissioner had become actively involved in policy making and implementation of his policy recommendations before the report had even been submitted to the government for decision. This is astonishing. But Judge Montpetit went even further. Contrary to custom, he discussed legislation before Parliament at that time: *Bills C-170 (Public Service Staff Relations Act); C-181 (Public Service Employment Act); C-182 (An Act to amend the Financial Administration Act);* and *S-35 (Canada Labour Safety Code)*. The Commissioner stated,

We obviously cannot ignore these Bills. On the other hand, at this time, we must admit openly that these Bills leave us rather perplexed. It is very unlikely they will be adopted as submitted.⁹¹

It is astonishing that a Judge and Royal Commissioner would comment, let alone criticize, bills before Parliament for debate. The Royal Commissioner had become too involved as a participant, to the detriment of his role as an impartial investigator. This was most unfortunate for his position as an active participant diminished the authority of the report. Both LCUC and CUPW subsequently argued that the failure to implement much of the Montpetit Report contributed to the further deterioration of postal

labour-relations in future years. This may have been because the policy makers viewed the report as suspect due to Montpetit's active involvement.

The Commission made 282 recommendations. We will deal only with the most important. It was recommended (No. 1) that the staff organizations "willingly agree to give a fair trial" to the collective bargaining regime envisaged in *Bill C-170*.⁹² It was not recommended that the workers commit themselves to the process, but "agree to try" implying that if, in the view of the unions, it did not work, they need not support it. It was also recommended (No. 3) that separate local joint management-labour committees for letter carriers and postal clerks be established in every Staff Post Office. These committees were to discuss and agree upon local working conditions. In addition there were to be separate national joint committees for the letter carriers and postal clerks (No. 14). The Commissioner also recommended that non-supervisory employees be given the right to engage in partisan work for political parties (No. 140). The other major recommendation suggested a commission to investigate the advisability of converting the Post Office to a Crown Corporation (No. 2).

The *Montpetit Report* can be seen as the first "institutional" policy document to explicitly and unequivocally support postal workers. The *Canadian Union of Postal Workers* and the *Letter Carriers Union* embraced the report. Unfortunately the report raised the expectations of postal workers, and may have exacerbated future labour relations in the Post Office.

In 1967, legislation was passed which granted collective bargaining to public servants. Pursuant to the newly passed *Public Service Staff Relations Act*, the *Public Service Staff Relations Board* (P.S.S.R.B.) certified the *Association of Postal Officials of Canada* (APOC), to represent supervisory officials in the postal operations group.⁹³ In a seminal decision in 1968 the P.S.S.R.B. determined that, excluding supervisory employees, there were three bargaining units within the Post Office Department postal operations group.⁹⁴ Unit 1 was composed of letter carriers and postal clerks, Unit 2 was comprised workers who were employed less than 30 hours per week *i.e.* part-time employees (excluding railway mail clerks), and Unit 3 was composed of the railway mail clerks.

In part, this decision was taken in order to exclude the *Council of Postal Unions* from representing Units 2 and 3. The Council was established as an umbrella union solely for collective bargaining representing CUPW and LCUC. However CUPW (and its predecessor CPEA) had a history of very poor relations with the railway mail clerks. It also had a poor record concerning part-time workers, for they were excluded from membership. Thus the P.S.S.R.B. did not want the Council (which included CUPW) to represent railway mail clerks or part-time employees. After an early P.S.S.R.B. decision expressed concern, CUPW amended its practices. One and a half years later the P.S.S.R.B. relented, and certified the Council as the representative of the part-time employees.

In the January, 1968 decision cited above, the P.S.S.R.B. certified the *Council of Postal Unions* to represent Unit 1.⁹⁵ At that time the *Council of Postal Unions* comprised 12,000 postal clerks and 10,000 letter carriers.⁹⁶ On April 18, 1968 the P.S.S.R.B. certified the *Canadian Postmasters and Assistants Association* (CPAA) as bargaining agent for all non-supervisory rural postmasters.⁹⁷ On July 24, 1968 the P.S.S.R.B. certified the *Public Service Alliance of Canada* (PSAC) to represent the program administration group (largely head office and regional office managers).⁹⁸ On October 18, 1968 the P.S.S.R.B. certified the PSAC to represent Unit 3 *i.e.* railway mail clerks.⁹⁹ On June 25, 1969 the *Council of Postal Unions* was certified by the P.S.S.R.B. as bargaining agent for part time employees.

Negotiations for the first collective agreement between the Council of Postal Unions and the *Treasury Board* (employer), broke down in early 1968 over the issue of wages. The *Council of Postal Unions* demanded 75 cents per hour over a 14 month contract *i.e.* 29% increase. At that time, the salary range for postal clerks was \$4,685 to \$5,735 *per annum* while the range for letter carriers was \$4,735 to \$5,485.¹⁰⁰ The Council applied for conciliation and the conciliator (Professor Desgagné) reported on July 11, 1968 having resolved many of issues concerning working conditions; however wages were the central issue and they were not resolved. The Council rejected the conciliation report and called for a strike on July 18 which was the earliest legal strike date possible. The strike lasted for three

weeks until August 8, 1968 when the two sides agreed upon a 39 cent per hour increase over a 26 month contract *i.e.* 15.9%.¹⁰¹

In 1968, Postmaster General Kierans appointed a number of management consulting firms to investigate various aspects of the Post Office (see bibliography under the heading Royal Commissions, Task Forces, Inquiries). Most of these reports were tabled in 1969; the most important for our purposes was the summary report entitled, *Blueprint for Change* by Kates, Peat, Marwick and Co. The report articulated the central problem in the clearest of terms,

Down one road, unless fundamental changes are effected, lie steadily increasing services to the public and a mounting annual deficit which by 1980 could exceed \$500 million.¹⁰²

It recommended in the strongest terms, that a culture of "managerial excellence and commercial orientation"¹⁰³ be pursued within a Crown Corporation to be established by the government. In addition it recommended that an automation program be aggressively pursued.

In 1969, the first *White Paper* on postal policy was produced by the Post Office. The document formally recognized the evolution and development of postal policy since the Second World War. Its principal recommendations were,

- (1) The Post Office Department be dissolved and replaced by a Crown Corporation, and
- (2) The Postmaster General be responsible to Parliament for the Corporation proposed, and
- (3) Postal finances be established on an accounting basis consistent with sound commercial practice, and
- (4) Postal service be in accord with the economic and social needs of Canada within the framework of a commercial organization, and
- (5) Existing conditions of service for employees continue to apply until varied by negotiation or arbitration.¹⁰⁴

The *White Paper* openly recognized the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of national policy,

the Post Office has been the prime medium of national and international communication. For the rural dweller it was almost the only link with urban life while, to the city businessman, the mail was his main line to the world of commerce. Today this is no longer the case and, if the impression lingers that despite some internal improvements the Post Office has stagnated, it is partly true. ... This lack of sensitivity to alternate means of communication was of little concern when the Post Office provided a monopoly service for all classes of mail. But active competition has benefited greatly from modern technology and telex, for example, has been increasingly available from private industry. In the quarter century which has seen this development the Post Office has made but little advancement while millions of Canadians changed from a government service to commercial communication.¹⁰⁵

This illuminating quotation reveals an error which permeates all analyses of the Post Office in the post war years. The policy makers' decreasing reliance on the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building is confused with increasing commercial competition from electronic communications technologies. The two concepts overlap yet are analytically distinct.

The former represents a decline in political and policy importance. The latter represents erosion of its commercial importance. The former preceded the latter. The policy makers recognized the efficacy of electronic media as instruments of nation-building as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, whereas the decline of the Post Office as a commercial instrument did not occur until the late 1960s and 1970s.

Indeed Kierans' policy of commercialization, which replaced the postal policy of nation building, gradually evolved into a policy of "incremental privatization" when the policy makers realized in the early 1980s that the Post Office was becoming technologically obsolete. Rather than face the relocation costs - economic and political - of dealing with 60,000 redundant employees, the government adopted a policy of incrementally "shedding" employees over the 10 years of the *Strategic Plan* (1985-1995). This was to be achieved by franchising every post office in the country, freezing new letter carrier routes, and contracting out major aspects of postal operations.

The next major postal strike began May 26, 1970 as a series of rotating strikes and continued until September 4, 1970 when the *Council of Postal Unions* obtained a 55 cent per hour increase over a 30 month contract *i.e.* 6.8%.¹⁰⁶

The next major labour dispute occurred on April 10, 1974. According to the Labour Relations Branch of the Post Office, it had a "great influence upon the future militancy of the CUPW".¹⁰⁷ The strike was precipitated by

the refusal of seven postal clerks in the Montreal post office to work for a particular supervisor. The postal clerks on that shift stopped working in support of the clerks. The employees refused to return to work, and the union local refused to discuss the issue with management. Consequently Post Office management suspended 96 employees; whereupon they refused to leave postal premises. The issue quickly became politicized with the involvement of the Postmaster General. Two days later on April 12, a court injunction was obtained and served on the union, ordering the workers back to work. On April 13 the Postmaster General met with the CUPW executive and offered to waive the suspensions if the employees would return to work.

At this point a difference developed within the CUPW leadership. National President J.B. McCall favoured the Minister's proposal, while the Montreal local as well as the National Vice-President, Joe Davidson, were against it. McCall resigned and Davidson became National President of CUPW. Sympathy strikes occurred in Toronto, Hamilton, Brockville, Ottawa and Western Quebec. By this point, strike issues expanded to include pay, and classification concerning mechanization. The strike spread to Nova Scotia and Winnipeg; at the height of the strike postal operations in 45 cities were suspended. On April 19 CUPW issued a national strike order to all members.

In response the P.S.S.R.B. appointed Dr. Eric Taylor as a special mediator. Taylor reported April 25 with wage recommendations to end the

dispute. As well he agreed to chair a committee which would examine the automation issue. Taylor subsequently recommended that postal coders be classified at the same level as letter sorters. The government accepted both reports, and agreed that no reprisals would be taken against the Montreal employees who initiated the strike. The government's acceptance of the report finally brought the strike to an end.¹⁰⁸

The *Council of Postal Unions* existed based on an uneasy compromise between the *Letter Carriers Union* and the *Canadian Union of Postal Workers*, but this compromise fell apart in 1974. On July 23, 1974, the *Canadian Union of Postal Workers* held a referendum concerning CUPW's withdrawal from the *Council of Postal Unions*. The vote was 12,607 in favour with 1,902 opposed, while approximately the same number favoured CUPW as the exclusive bargaining agent.¹⁰⁹ (Joe Davidson was also confirmed as National President at that convention). In consequence, in late 1974 the *Letter Carriers Union*, headed by President Décarie, applied to the P.S.S.R.B. for revocation of the 1968 decision which certified the *Council of Postal Unions*. The Post Office Department opposed the revocation on the ground that letter carriers and postal clerks were part of an undivided whole.^{110 111} In October, 1974 the P.S.S.R.B. granted the revocation.¹¹² In early 1975 the P.S.S.R.B. certified as separate bargaining units LCUC to represent 16,000 letter carriers and CUPW to represent 20,000 postal clerks.¹¹³

On January 16, 1975 and January 20, 1975 respectively, LCUC and CUPW commenced bargaining for separate collective agreements. On May 27, 1975 LCUC signed its first collective agreement with the government; it included the first cost of living allowance in any federal public service collective agreement. However CUPW was unable to conclude an agreement before the imposition of wage and price controls October 14, 1975. The wage and price controls decision imposed a wage ceiling well below the demands of CUPW. On October 21, 1975 CUPW called a national strike which lasted until December 2, 1975. The strike did not end until cabinet agreed to exempt the postal workers from the wage and price controls freeze. In addition Postmaster General MacKasey agreed to negotiate issues pertaining to technological change.¹¹⁴

Political distance between the Post Office and the policy makers was further provided by the passage of *Bill C-45* in 1978 which prohibited postal strikes during the pending election.¹¹⁵ Although a strike had not even been called, Parliament passed the *Postal Service Operations Act* which was a "measure to ensure continuation of regular postal operations" during an election period. Labour Minister Munro, in tabling the bill, argued that "should a strike occur during an election campaign it would be most disruptive and costly as far as the election process is concerned".¹¹⁶ During debate on this bill cogent remarks were provided by Senator Marchand,

How can you strike a balance between a government that represents the population as a whole and has the right to collect taxes, and a particular union which only represents its members? Equality is not possible. A while ago, the teachers on strike were saying: The government does not want to bargain with us as equals. Of course, it could not do so. Either you have a government in a country or you do not, and if you have a government, those with the constitutional authority have priority over any given union. Therefore, there cannot be equality. What would be the penalty in such a case? The penalty against government employees is the same as in the industrial sector: there would be what we call a lockout, the employees lose their wages, and that is all right. I mean this is easy to understand. But for the government, what can the penalty be? There is only one action that can be taken against the government besides the legal sanctions provided in the statutes or the Constitution. The only sanction which can be taken on the political scene is that of public opinion, or an election.¹¹⁷

Marchand's remarks indirectly support a central argument. Unions, he argued, could rely on public opinion to force a change in government policy. However public opinion by the late 1970s did not favour the postal unions, and therefore the last possible reason for political support of the Post Office dissolved. The passage of the bill foreshadowed the decision to legislate a Post Office Crown Corporation three years later.

Indeed the policy subsequently adopted of franchising and contracting out was discussed at this time. Liberal Member of Parliament David Collenette made the following criticism of these suggestions,

One of the proposals that has emanated from a number of individuals, and certainly from the Conservative Party, is privatization, the selling -off of parts of the postal service. ... I would like to know, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, whether or not the Minister has any particular comments on the whole concept of privatization in the Post Office.¹¹⁸

Postmaster General Lamontagne made the following astonishing remark,

As you mentioned yourself, every one of the propositions given by Mr. Ritchie we already are implementing; we are looking into a Crown Corporation, we are trying to get our salaries in line with private enterprise, we are trying to have as much private contracting as we can.¹¹⁹

This reveals that the policy of commercialization was evolving towards a policy of incremental privatization - before the establishment of a Crown Corporation and the franchising and contracting out policies of the early 1980s.

The next confrontation occurred October 12, 1978 when CUPW went out on strike. Due to tremendous pressure from the private sector during and after the 42 day strike in 1975, the government announced that it would not permit lengthy postal strikes. Thus on October 18, 1978 Parliament passed *Bill C-8* ordering CUPW employees back to work.¹²⁰ Some union locals did not return to work and this became the basis of court injunctions in Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. As the CUPW executive refused to encourage its membership to return to work, the government successfully prosecuted the National President, Jean Claude Parrot under Section 115 of the Criminal Code. As a condition of his release pending trial, Parrot was required to instruct his membership to return to work and to apologize to

the Canadian people. Both conditions were met. On April 15, 1979 Parrot was convicted and sentenced to three months in jail.

On December 11, 1978 the government finally tabled a bill which would transform the Post Office into a Crown Corporation. However an election was called and the bill died with the dissolution of Parliament. The Liberal Government was defeated May 22, 1979 and replaced by the Clark Conservative Government. Postmaster General Fraser announced that a study would be conducted before tabling a new bill, but before the government completed its study it too was defeated in the House of Commons.

The Liberals were returned to office in February 1980, and André Ouellette was appointed Postmaster General. With the passage of *Bill C-45*, the Post Office underwent a mutation from a government department to that of a crown corporation. As a commercialized corporation, although of importance, its previous eminence as a vehicle of national policy was formally brought to an end. This decision was made by the policy makers to create distance from what was by now a political liability.

CONCLUSION

We will now review the key statistics for the period under review.

TABLE 43 ¹²¹

POST OFFICES, REVENUES AND EXPENSES*

YEAR	POST OFFICES	REVENUES	EXPEND	SURPLUS/ (DEFICIT)
1945	12,169	79.5	68.1	11.4
1946	12,105	83.8	72.9	10.9
1947	12,033	86.4	77.6	8.8
1948	11,982	91.6	81.8	9.8
1949	11,930	95.9	93.0	2.9
1950	12,414**	101.3**	99.4**	1.9
1951	12,390	105.5	106.8	(1.3)
1952	12,305	122.3	115.6	6.6
1953	12,259	129.4	122.9	6.4
1954	12,202	129.9	132.4	(2.5)
1955	12,138	151.7	144.0	7.7
1956	11,996	158.6	148.3	10.3
1957	11,879	167.9	162.0	5.8
1958	11,768	177.5	177.9	(.4)
1959	11,634	183.4	183.5	(.1)
1960	11,497	193.7	191.8	1.8
1961	11,421	202.0	206.7	(4.7)
1962	11,401	213.6	214.8	(1.2)
1963	11,336	222.4	218.9	3.5
1964	11,260	235.9	242.0	(6.1)
1965	11,255	263.8	243.8	20.0
1966	11,172	276.0	315.8	(30.7)
1967	11,059	295.5	353.1	(47.7)
1968	10,838	327.2	404.2	(67.2)
1969	10,450	374.9	463.1	(88.2)
1970	9,575	444.1	497.0	(52.0)

1971	9,000	432.9	533.5	(100.6)
1972	8,564	504.2	581.2	(77.0)
1973	8,684	563.2	654.1	(90.9)
1974	8,710	591.1	768.3	(177.2)
1975	8,665	617.7	938.7	(321.0)
1976	8,506	568.2	1,114.4	(546.2)
1977	8,392	774.8	1,353.6	(578.7)
1978	8,289	945.8	1,505.0	(559.3)
1979	8,230	1,108.5	1,594.1	(485.6)
1980	8,257	1,483.2	1,762.7	(279.5)
1981	8,275	1,529.8	2,017.0	(487.1)

* Revenues, Expenditures and Surplus/Deficit in millions

** Newfoundland joined Confederation increasing these numbers.

In 1945 there were 12,169 post offices servicing 12 million Canadians. By 1981 the number of post offices had declined to 8,275 servicing 24.3 million Canadians. The number of post offices fell by 50% while the Canadian population doubled. This vividly demonstrates that the Post Office was no longer used as an instrument of nation-building. During the period when the Post Office was an instrument of nation-building, the policy makers ensured that the federal presence was made visible by the construction of post offices in cities, towns and villages throughout the land. As the CBC replaced the Post Office it was no longer necessary to maintain a visible federal presence in the hamlets and villages of the nation. Henceforth policy makers established commercial viability as the criterion for maintaining a post office.

The deficit figures are also revealing. Paradoxically, in the early years and the twilight years of the Post Office, large deficits were experienced. There is a logical relationship between the two. In the early years of the Post Office, deficits were not only tolerated but encouraged as part of the policy makers' efforts to build the Canadian nation. In the twilight years the Post Office was no longer an instrument of nation building and the deficits were caused by increasing commercialization and labour militancy.

The very low wage policy was reversed during the modern period subsequent to the workers' decline in status. As the Post Office and the postal workers became far less important for policy purposes, paradoxically they became materially better off. Previously postal workers were participants in the building of the Canadian nation and were compensated richly with psycho-social rewards but poorly with material rewards. After World War II postal workers sorted and delivered advertising flyers, because important news was broadcast by radio or television, and for this they received generous material compensation and low psycho-social rewards. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century a Postmastership conferred high social status ranking only slightly below a doctor or lawyer while in the modern era positions in radio and television acquired that status. Whereas postal employees accepted low salaries during the periods when the Post Office was an important policy instrument, they no longer tolerated low incomes with the decline in social status occasioned by the decline in the

Post Office. Thus they demanded much higher wages which could not be offset by substantially higher rates (because of competition from electronic media) thus causing large deficits in the 1970s.

CHAPTER 6: END NOTES

1. 1970 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7221.
2. 1970 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7224.
3. Speech given by Postmaster General Côté in 1971 entitled *Crown Corporation Status: Political Considerations*. Provided by *Canada Post Corporation* Corporate Communications.
4. 1947 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4802.
5. 1948 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4794-4795.
6. 1951 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3509.
7. 1951 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3932.
8. 1951 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3530-3531.
9. 1951 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3561.
10. 1956 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7547.
11. 1958 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2717.
12. 1959 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6265.
13. 1960 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4281.

14. 1960 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4281.
15. 1964 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5632.
16. 1966 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5335.
17. The decline of the Post Office as an instrument of policy has been dated to the early twentieth century. A policy of commercialization gradually evolved after the Second World War to replace its original role or mission. However its mandate as a commercialized entity became threatened by increasing commercial reliance on electronic media in the late 1960s and 1970s. "Policy efficiency" and "commercial efficiency" are analytically distinct. In this context "policy efficiency" refers to the utility of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building while "commercial efficiency" refers its utility as a communications medium for trade and commerce.
18. 1971 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6230.
19. 1971 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6234.
20. 1971 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6262.
21. 1971 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6759.
22. *Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*, p. 86-87.
23. *Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*, p. 89.
24. *Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*, p. 89.
25. 1970 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7236.

26. *House of Commons Standing Committee on Transport and Communications*, Issue No. 13, April 28, 1977 and May 5, 1977, p. 16.
27. Professor Reid in *The Intelligent Citizen's Guide to the Post Office*, argued that productivity figures for the Post Office reveal a decline after 1965. Thus he traces the decline of the Post Office to the 1965 strike and worsening labour-management relations. Although this may be true, it fails to recognize the cogency of Kierans' and Blais' remarks. For example, the United States Post Office does not have a record of militancy and poor labour-management relations; yet it is seen as 'inefficient', moribund and archaic.
28. 1977 *House of Commons Standing Committee on Transport and Communications*. Issue No. 14, May 12, 1977, p. 16.
29. 1952 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4210.
30. 1953 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 691.
31. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1102.
32. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1116.
33. 1953 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 692 quoted again in 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1102.
34. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1152.
35. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1786.
36. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1113.
37. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1804.

38. 1957 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1779.
39. *Report of the Royal Commission on Publications*, p. 86. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961.
40. *Report of the Royal Commission on Publications*, pp. 87-91.
41. 1964 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5632.
42. 1964 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5637.
43. 1964 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5638.
44. 1966 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5339.
45. 1967 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1098.
46. 1967 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1114.
47. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 928.
48. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1602.
49. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1604.
50. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1602.
51. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1605.
52. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2000.

53. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 945.
54. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1612.
55. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1623.
56. 1968 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1658.
57. 1968 *Senate Debates*, p. 369.
58. 1971 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6755.
59. 1971 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 6754.
60. 1974 *House of Commons Standing Committee on Transportation and Communications*, Issue No. 1, October, 9, 1974, p. 27.
61. 1979 *House of Commons Standing Committee on Transport and Communications*, Issue No. 1, November 16, 1978 and March 5, 1979, p. 11.
62. 28 *Elizabeth II c. 1*.
63. 1970 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 7231.
64. 1953 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 5312.
65. *Order-in-Council P.C. 4156*, September 22, 1948.
66. *The Canadian Postmasters, 1902-1982*, pp. 47-49.
67. 1951 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 3909.

68. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1172.
69. 1954 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4724.
70. 1955 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4153.
71. 1955 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4160.
72. 1956 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 949.
73. 1957 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 1789-1790.
74. 1958 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 2723.
75. 1960 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4285.
76. 1960 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4296.
77. 1960 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4702-4703.
78. *Royal Commission on Government Organization*, Volume 3, p. 309.
79. Quoted in an unpublished manuscript by Herb Griffin, former Director General, Labour Relations, Post Office Department, p. 3. of a chapter tentatively entitled "The Big Strike: Outline of the 1965 Postal Strike".
80. It was composed of Jo Belland, President of the PWB (from the railway clerks), Jim Cox (from the letter carriers) and Les Hood (from the postal clerks). Herb Griffin, unnumbered chapter called The Big Strike, p. 34.
81. The three were Willie Houle, Bill Kay and Charlie McQuire. Herb Griffin, The Big Strike, p. 34.

82. The three were Bill Kidd (from the postal clerks in Northern Ontario), Don Mowat (from the letter carriers on the Prairies) and P.F. Mahoney (from the Atlantic provinces). Herb Griffin, *The Big Strike*, p. 34.
83. In his final report Judge Anderson also recommended that the Post Office be transformed into a Crown Corporation.
84. *Report of the Preparatory Commission on Collective Bargaining in the Federal Public Service*, 1965.
85. It changed its name to CUPW at the triennial convention on Sept. 22, 1965.
86. It changed its name to LCUC in 1966.
87. The railway mail clerks were taken over by PSAC in 1968 pursuant to a P.S.S.R.B decision.
88. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 1965-1590.
89. *Order-in-Council* P.C. 1965-1590.
90. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Working Conditions in the Post Office Department*, p. vi.
91. *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Working Conditions in the Post Office Department*, Foreword.
92. *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Working Conditions in the Post Office Department*, p. 325.

93. *Public Service Staff Relations Board*, Postal Operations Case 2, File 146-2-13, Report K64, October 25, 1967.
94. P.S.S.R.B. *Council of Postal Unions and Treasury Board et al.* Postal Operations Group - Operational Category. Postal Operations Case No. 3. File 146-2-83. January 4, 1968.
95. P.S.S.R.B. Postal Operations Group - Operational Category. *Postal Operations Case No. 1 and 3*. Report K120. File 146-2-83. January 4, 1968.
96. *Labour Relations in the Post Office: A Chronology*, p. 12. Post Office Department, Labour Relations Branch, October 31, 1980.
97. P.S.S.R.B. *Canadian Postmasters Association, Applicant, and Her Majesty as Represented by the Treasury Board, Employer*. File 146-2-18. April 18, 1968.
98. P.S.S.R.B. *Canadian Postmasters' Association, Applicant, and Her Majesty as Represented by the Treasury Board, Employer, and Association of Postal Officials of Canada and Public Service Alliance of Canada, Interveners and a Group of Employees*. File 144-2-19. July 24, 1968.
99. P.S.S.R.B. *Council of Postal Unions, Applicant, and Her Majesty as Represented by the Treasury Board, Employer, and Public Service Alliance of Canada, Intervener, and a Group of Employees*. File 146-2-83. October 18, 1968.
100. *Labour Relations in the Post Office: A Chronology*, p. 12. Post Office Department, Labour Relations Branch, October 31, 1980.
101. 1968 *Labour Gazette*, Vol. LXVIII, p. 635-638.
102. *Blueprint for Change*, Kate, Peat, Marwick and Co., p. 1. Ottawa: 1969.
103. *Blueprint for Change*, Kate, Peat, Marwick and Co., p. 16. Ottawa, 1969.

104. *White Paper: The Post Office*. Post Office Department, Ottawa, 1969.
105. *White Paper: The Post Office*, p. 5.
106. *Labour Relations in the Post Office: A Chronology*, p. 19. Post Office Department, Labour Relations Branch, October 31, 1980.
107. *Labour Relations in the Post Office: A Chronology*, p. 27. Post Office Department, Labour Relations Branch, October 31, 1980.
108. The account of the 1974 strike relies upon *Labour Relations in the Post Office: A Chronology*, pp. 27-29. Post Office Department, Labour Relations Branch, October 31, 1980.
109. P.S.S.R.B. File 150-2-4 and File 150-2-5, October 8, 1974.
110. P.S.S.R.B. File 146-2-151, p. 33.
111. The same argument was successfully made by Canada Post Corporation in 1988 and the C.L.R.B.ordered the two unions to merge.
112. P.S.S.R.B. File No. 150-2-4 and 150-2-5, October 8, 1974.
113. P.S.S.R.B. File 146-2-151, January 16, 1975.
114. 1978 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 194.
115. 26-27 *Elizabeth c. 23*.
116. 1978 *House of Commons Debates*, p. 4389.
117. 1978 *Senate Debates*, p. 680.

118. 1978 *House of Commons Standing Committee on Transport and Communication*, Issue 33, June 7, 1978, p. 19.
119. 1978 *House of Commons Standing Committee on Transport and Communications*, Issue 33, June 7, 1978, p. 19.
120. 27 *Elizabeth II c. 1*.
121. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster General*, 1945-1981.

CHAPTER 7:

CONCLUSION

We will now summarize the primary arguments of and then draw conclusions concerning postal policy, the role of the postal system and its future prospects. We will close by noting issues which require further research concerning this subject.

A review of the literature concerning the British, American and Canadian postal systems indicates that scholars and journalists have viewed the Post Office as a commercial enterprise, formed in response to demands from citizens for the purpose of delivering their mail. This is a false assumption as it does not account for State ownership or the legal monopoly granted by the State to the Post Office. Private firms in these three countries have encroached on the Post Office's legal monopoly from the beginning, which indicates that they could have fulfilled the demands of citizens if that had been the criterion. The very presence of private firms in the postal business also invalidated the argument of natural monopoly, for this theory states that high fixed and low variable costs drive out all competitors but one.

This indicated that there was another undiscovered reason for State ownership and the provision of the legal monopoly. In all three countries the State assumed responsibility for the postal system at the very beginning, prior to

the rise of a free market or capitalist system. At the same time, in all three countries, the State granted the Post Office a legal monopoly which forced citizens to use the State Post Office. The policy was adopted so that the State could monitor private communications in order to detect treasonous or subversive activities. This was one of the most important policy decisions ever taken by the modern Occidental State, for it served, in Weber's words (quoted on page 1 of the dissertation), as the "pacemaker of bureaucratization" which allowed for the "possibility of bureaucratic administration". This in turn allowed the "modern Occidental State to be administered the way it is" because of State ownership of the Post Office. Contrary to previous scholarship, the State did not found the postal system as a convenience for the citizens.

State involvement in communications policy in Canada did not originate with the establishment of the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission* in 1932, nor with the 1905 passage of the *Radio Telegraphy Act*, as argued by Canadian communication scholars. We have traced State involvement in communications to the very beginning of British government in Canada, for the British Government established a Post Office in Canada in 1765 as an adjunct to the military presence which was an integral part of colonial government. Thus in addition to the role of the Post Office as an instrument of "intelligence gathering", the policy makers relied upon it as a system of support for the military. Both these policy roles are manifestations of "negative nation-building" for the Post Office was used in a coercive mode.

Intelligence gathering and the military are generally understood as coercive instruments for they are grounded on the principle of subterfuge and force.

The political struggle which developed between Canadian radicals and the British Government concerning control of the Post Office. Because the British Government viewed the Post Office as the communications system for the military, it was opposed to extending postal service to hinterland civilian communities which served no military purpose. Thus the British Government was unwilling to subsidize the losses which would have occurred with post routes to the remote areas of Canada, not for reasons of pure economy but because they had no strategic military value. By contrast the Radicals, who were early Canadian nationalists, viewed the Post Office as an instrument of "positive nation-building". Rather than use the Post Office as an instrument of coercion, Radicals such as William Lyon MacKenzie, wanted to use the Post Office as a positive instrument to bind the periphery or hinterland to the emerging centers of York and Montreal.

The nation-state must necessarily precede projects such as the construction of the national railroad. The Post Office was the earliest instrument which linked and bound diverse, autonomous, isolated and unrelated communities into a cohesive province and subsequently into a sovereign Canadian nation.

Evidence was also introduced which revealed that leaders such as MacKenzie, were acutely aware of the power and efficacy of the Post Office as the vehicle whereby a Canadian consciousness was to be created. Thus the struggle between the British Government and the colonial Radicals was a political struggle

of the highest order, for it was a dispute over the very existence and governance of the emerging Canadian State. It was the necessary step for responsible government and the subsequent emergence of the Canadian State. As documented, *de facto* control was achieved after 1832 when the British Government announced its intention to relinquish control to the provinces; however formal control was not achieved until 1850.

Analysis of postal policies adopted by the Province of Canada upon obtaining control of the Post Office showed that deficits as large as 47% of postal revenues were incurred because of a policy decision to open post offices in small or rural communities throughout the province. These policies established a Canadian sense of identity by connecting the hinterland to the center. This was achieved primarily by the application of second class periodicals subsidy policy, which granted extremely low rates to publishers for the transmission of newspapers, the only source of information at that time. Equally important, the postal system connected to the hinterland allowed the government to communicate laws, regulations, edicts, policies. In Weber's words, it was the pacemaker of bureaucratization which allowed for the possibility of bureaucratic administration.

The postal policies adopted represented the condition of possibility for Confederation - without Canadian control of the postal system the formation of the Canadian State is unthinkable, and indeed Canadian control of the Post Office occurred before Confederation. Any nation-state is untenable without a

communications system. As Innis indicated in the title of his book, *Empire and Communications*, the two terms are virtually synonymous.

During the Confederation Debates the policy makers universally accepted the proposal to transfer authority for the Post Office from the province to the federal government. The decision was taken because it was recognized that the State required control of the Post Office to engage in nation-building. This was subsequently borne out by the increase in the number of Post Offices from 2,333 to 14,000 during this period.

It was also during the period immediately prior to Confederation that the Post Office was used by the policy makers to subsidize the initial construction of railroads. This was heavily influenced by granting favourable contracts to the railway companies for the transportation of the mails between cities. This provided the struggling railroads with an assured and generous revenue which permitted them to remain in business and expand. The policy makers insisted on rail lines not only between the large cities but with hinterland communities. Thus the price paid by the railroads for generous postal remuneration was the extension of rail service to the small or rural communities in the province. The Post Office as the original instrument of nation-building was now used as a policy instrument to lever or influence further nation-building.

Another seminal development occurred during the period immediately prior to Confederation when in 1852 the Province of Canada passed the first *Telegraph Act*. This was the first time that government legislated communications policy

for electronic media. The Act granted an absolute priority to government telegraph messages and, in addition, granted the government the right to assume possession of any telegraph line. This became the precedent for the 1932 *Canadian Broadcasting Commission Act*.

A third major decision in this period was to negotiate with the *Hudson's Bay Company* to build a post road and telegraph line across Prince Rupert's land to the Pacific. This was undertaken as a defensive reaction against the expansion of the American government in this region. Negotiations between the Province of Canada and the *Hudson's Bay Company* failed and the idea was not resurrected until after Confederation. By that time the idea of a post road had been transformed to that of a national railroad.

The emergence of electronic communications changed the perceptions of policy makers. In 1887 the first Colonial Conference (forerunner of the Commonwealth Conference) was held to discuss postal and telegraphic communications. For the first time the policy makers recognized that nations throughout the world could be interconnected with virtually instantaneous communications. The Post Office could be replaced by electronic communications as instruments of nation-building. The global village was emerging.

This realization and the increasing reliance by the policy makers on electronic media led to a subtle depreciation of the Post Office. This was evidenced by the introduction of a dual wage system adopted in the Post Office during this period. The wages of the postal clerks, letter carriers and other

manual labourers were suppressed, while Post Office management continued to receive increases in salary. In order to redress the imbalance, the four major employee associations (predecessors of the unions) were formed in this period. As a consequence worker militancy in the Post Office originated in this period. The dual wage policy was brought about by the changing perceptions of the policy makers caused by their recognition of the efficacy of emerging electronic media.

The interwar years were a period of stasis for the Post Office. The phenomenal increase in the number of post offices came to an end, and the number of post offices stabilized at approximately 14,000. Reliance on the Post Office as the primary instrument of nation-building declined as the policy makers increasingly viewed the role as one appropriate for radio. It was during this period that the Conservative Government established the *Canadian Broadcasting Commission* in 1932 and charged it with responsibilities that had once been assigned to the Post Office.

It was also during this period that the first wave of worker militancy, occasioned by the low wage policy, culminated in the 1919 and 1924 strikes. The federal government instructed the Post Office to continue to function during the strikes by using strike breakers (this policy was resurrected during the 1987 postal clerks and letter carrier strikes).

There was a dramatic decline in the number of post offices (down from approximately 14,000 to 8,000 between 1945 and 1981). The reduction in offices was taken as a key measure of the termination of the policy which had used the

Post Office as an instrument of nation-building. At the same time a policy of commercialization was imposed, evidenced by the demands of the policy makers that the Post Office break even or produce a surplus. The transformation in policy from one of nation-building to one of commercialization coincided with the arrival of television. Evidence was introduced to reveal that the policy makers understood the inverse relationship between the Post Office and the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. As the policy makers became more and more critical of Post Office deficits, they authorized deficits to the newer communications medium by providing ever larger grants to the C.B.C.

By the 1960s the depreciation of the Post Office became obvious to the employee associations, and this led to a resurgence in militancy which culminated in the third major illegal strike in the Post Office. This hastened, or possibly caused, the government to introduce collective bargaining in the Public Service. The automation program adopted by the government, the continuation of the low wage policy, post office closings and the demand by policy makers that the Post Office produce a surplus were characteristics of a policy of commercialization.

The recognition of the new policy caused the workers (not the employee associations) to become more militant. Contrary to statements made by elected officials, postal management and pundits, the postal militancy was not caused by radical left wing labour leaders or by outside agitators. A radicalized work force, recognizing its depreciated status, demanded a more radical position from the

union leadership. When the leadership refused to respond, they were replaced by more radical leaders.

Paradoxically, postal unions were largely successful in the late 1960s and 1970s in reversing the low wage policy, because the Post Office was no longer an important institution for policy makers. Junior Cabinet Ministers were assigned the portfolio - because it was unimportant - and each attempted to minimize negative publicity in order to be promoted from the position as rapidly as possible. The Cabinet as a whole, led the Prime Minister, attempted to minimize its involvement for postal "policy" no longer held policy implications. The Post Office was no longer an instrument of nation-building for it had been commercialized by the decisions of the policy makers. It was for these reasons that Parliament frequently passed back-to-work legislation. Professor Panitch, although for different reasons, termed it "permanent exceptionalism".

Through the use of strikes and work stoppages the postal unions attempted to re-politicize postal policy and make it 'policy relevant' for the policy makers. The strategy succeeded in the short run; however it hastened the passage of legislation transforming the Post Office into a Crown Corporation. *Bill C-242* which created *Canada Post Corporation* was the logical, lagged response by the policy makers to the decline of the Post Office as an instrument of nation-building and its replacement by electronic media.

Finally it was suggested in that the policy of commercialization gradually adopted after the Second World War was in turn increasingly threatened by

commercial substitutes such as electronic funds transfer systems, facsimile transmission devices and telecommunications more generally. It was suggested that the policy of commercialization is being replaced in the 1980s by a policy of incremental privatization in recognition by the policy makers of the eventual technological obsolescence of the Post Office. This subject was not investigated for it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Several important areas have been exposed which require further research. The dissertation assumed that the British established the first Post Office in the New World. Although researchers at the *National Postal Museum* have suggested that the French Government established a postal system in New France, the type and nature of the French communications system is not completely understood.

In terms of the the British administration of the Canadian postal system, the nature of the relationship between the British military and the Canadian Post Office requires greater elaboration. In addition to more fully explore the political struggle between the British Government and the Canadian Radicals concerning control of the Post Office in British North America needs to be more fully explored. Canadian historians have assumed that colonial governments attempted to develop a transportation infrastructure. It was suggested in the dissertation that the Upper and Lower Canadian emphasis on the development of a transportation infrastructure was for the purpose of communicating messages and not transporting goods. The interplay of these complementary themes requires further development.

More research is required to determine the precise extent of Post Office support for the construction of railroads, and to determine the precise influence of the initial proposal to build a post road to the Pacific and the subsequent decision to build a national railroad. The full extent of provincial resistance, if any, to the proposal to transfer jurisdiction for the Post Office from the provinces to the federal government requires further investigation. Likewise the similarities and differences between the postal periodicals subsidy and the Crow's Nest Pass transportation subsidy.

In the period concerning the emergence of electronic media it is necessary to determine more fully communications policy. For example, why did the Cabinet reject the Post Office proposal to nationalize the telephone and telegraph system after Great Britain had successfully adopted the policy?

In the modern period was the policy of commercialization fully thought out from the beginning or was it the result of "muddling through"? Was the policy of commercialization replaced in the 1980s by a policy of incremental privatization as hypothesized in the dissertation? The most important question of all concerns the future viability of *Canada Post Corporation*. This will require an empirical analysis and comparison of postal volumes by class over a ten or twenty year period with the transmission of electronic messages over the same period.

All the foregoing require further research. The results will add depth to the analysis of an institution which has played a key role in the development of

the country. And which has perhaps, not been accorded the place in history which it deserves.

THE CANADIAN POSTAL SYSTEM:
ORIGINS, GROWTH AND DECAY OF
THE STATE POSTAL FUNCTION, 1765-1981

BY

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Department of Political Science

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Ottawa, Ontario

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APPENDIX 1

POSTMASTERS GENERAL AND

DEPUTY POSTMASTERS GENERAL

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, PROVINCES AND CANADA, 1753-1984

1. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1753-1784

Deputy Postmasters General

Benjamin Franklin	Aug. 10 1753 - Jan. 31 1774
(Joint DPMG with William Hunter until 1761)	
(Joint DPMG with John Foxcroft from 1761 to 1774)	
Hugh Finlay	Jan. 31, 1774 - July 7, 1784
(Joint DPMG with John Foxcroft until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War)	

2. CANADA, 1784-1851

Deputy Postmasters General

Hugh Finlay (1)	July 7, 1784 - Oct. 18, 1799
George Heriot	Oct. 18, 1799 - 1816
Daniel Sutherland	April 25, 1827 - Nov. 19, 1827
Thomas Allen Stayner(2)	April 5, 1828 - April 5, 1851

1. In 1784, Finlay was given a commission as Deputy Postmaster General for the "Province of Canada." In 1788, a new commission appointed him Deputy Postmaster General of the "Province of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick."
2. Stayner was appointed Deputy Postmaster General of the Province of Canada and New Brunswick, but the responsibility for New Brunswick was removed effective January 6, 1829, and given to John Howe, DPMG of Nova Scotia.

3. NOVA SCOTIA, 1786-1867

Postmaster General 1851-1867

Arthur Woodgate	July 6, 1851 - July 1, 1867
-----------------	-----------------------------

Deputy Postmasters General or Agents

Joseph Peters (DPMG)	Jan. 18, 1786 - 1800
John Brittain (Agent)	April 5, 1800 - 1803
John Howe (Agent)	July 5, 1803 - 1818
John Howe, Jr. (Agent/DPMG)	1818 - 1843
Arthur Woodgate (DPMG)	Jan. 5, 1844 - July 5, 1851

4. CAPE BRETON, 1755

Deputy Postmaster General

Thomas Uncle	June 22, 1785 -
--------------	-----------------

5. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND. 1845-1872

Postmasters General

Thomas Owen	July 23, 1851 - 1858
Benjamin Davies	Aug. 3, 1858 - 1860
L.C. Owen	April 10, 1860 - 1867
Thomas Owen	April 30, 1867 - 1869
John A. McDonald	Jan. 15, 1869 - 1872

Deputy Postmaster General

Thomas Owen	Nov. 29, 1845 -
-------------	-----------------

6. NEW BRUNSWICK, 1785-1867

Postmasters General

John Howe	July 6, 1851 - May 29, 1856
Francis McPhelin	May 29, 1856 - July 6, 1857
John M. Johnson	July 7, 1857 - Oct. 31 1858
Chas. Connel	Nov. 1, 1858 - May 19, 1860

6

MicroD

James Steadman
J.H. Odell
John McMillan

May 22, 1858 - March, 1865
June 1, 1865 - April 16, 1866
April 17, 1866 - June 30, 1867

Deputy Postmasters General

Christopher Sower
William Campbell
Thomas Allen Stayner
John Howe, Jr.
John Howe

Jan. 5, 1785 - 1795
1795 -
April 5, 1828 - Jan. 5, 1829
Jan. 6, 1829 - Jan. 18, 1843
July 6, 1843 - July 5, 1851

7. PROVINCE OF CANADA, 1851 - 1867

Postmasters General

James Morris
Malcolm Cameron
Robert Spence
Sydney Smith
Michael H. Foley
John A. Macdonald
Sydney Smith
Michael H. Foley
Oliver Mowat
Michael H. Foley
Oliver Mowat
William P. Howland
Hector-Louis Langevin

April 5, 1851 - Aug. 16, 1853
Aug. 17, 1853 - Sept. 10, 1854
Sept. 11, 1854 - Feb. 1, 1858
Feb. 2, 1858 - Aug. 1, 1858
Aug. 2, 1858 - Aug. 6, 1858
Aug. 6, 1858
Aug. 7, 1858 - May 23, 1862
May 24, 1862 - May 15, 1863
May 16, 1863 - Mar. 29, 1864
March 30, 1864 - June 29, 1864
June 30, 1864 - Nov. 16, 1864
Nov. 17, 1864 - Nov. 2, 1866
Nov. 3, 1866 - June 30, 1867

Deputy Postmaster General

William Henry Griffith

April 5, 1851 - July 1, 1888

8. CANADA

Alexander Campbell
John O'Connor
Donald A. Macdonald
Vacant
Telephore Fournier
Vacant

July 1, 1867 - June 30, 1873
July 1, 1873 - Nov. 6, 1873
Nov. 7, 1873 - May 17, 1875
May 18, 1875
May 19, 1875 - Oct. 7, 1875
Oct. 8, 1875

Lucius Seth Huntington	Oct. 9, 1875 - Oct. 16, 1878
Vacant	Oct. 17, 1878 - Oct. 18, 1878
Hector-Louis Langevin	Oct. 19, 1878 - May 19, 1879
Alexander Campbell	May 20, 1879 - Jan. 15, 1880
John O'Connor	Jan. 16, 1880 - Nov. 7, 1880
Alexander Campbell	Nov. 8, 1880 - May 19, 1881
John O'Connor	May 20, 1881 - May 22, 1882
John Carling	May 23, 1882 - Sept. 24, 1885
Alexander Campbell	Sept. 25, 1885 - Jan. 26, 1887
Archibald W. McLean	Jan. 27, 1887 - July 9, 1888
Vacant	July 10, 1888
John Carling (Acting)	July 11, 1888 - Aug. 2, 1888
John Graham Haggart	Aug. 3, 1888 - Jan. 10, 1892
Vacant	Jan. 11, 1892 - Jan. 24, 1892
Adolphe Caron	Jan. 25, 1892 - Apr. 30, 1896
Louis-Olivier Taillon	May 1, 1896 - July 10, 1896
Vacant	July 11, 1896 - July 12, 1896
William Mulock	July 13, 1896 - Oct. 15, 1905
Allen Bristol Aylesworth	Oct. 16, 1905 - June 3, 1906
Rodolphe Lemieux	June 4, 1906 - Aug. 10, 1911
Vacant	Aug. 11, 1911 - Aug. 18, 1911
Henri-Severin Béland	Aug. 19, 1911 - Oct. 9, 1911
Louis-Philippe Pelletier	Oct. 10, 1911 - Oct. 19, 1914
Thomas Chase Casgrain	Oct. 20, 1914 - Dec. 29, 1916
Vacant	Dec. 30, 1916 - Jan. 7, 1917
Pierre-Edouard Blondin	Jan. 8, 1917 - Sept. 20, 1921
Louis-de-Gonzague Belley	Sept. 21, 1921 - Dec. 28, 1921
Charles Murphy	Dec. 29, 1921 - June 28, 1926
Robert Manion (Acting)	June 29, 1926 - July 12, 1926
Robert James Manion	July 13, 1926 - Sept. 24, 1926
Peter John Veniot	Sept. 25, 1926 - Aug. 6, 1930
Arthur Sauvé	Aug. 7, 1930 - Aug. 13, 1935
Vacant	Aug. 14, 1935 - Aug. 15, 1935
Samuel Gobeil	Aug. 16, 1935 - Oct. 22, 1935
John Campbell Elliott	Oct. 23, 1935 - Jan. 22, 1939
Norman Alexander McLarty	Jan. 23, 1939 - Sept. 18, 1939
Charles Gavan Power	Sept. 19, 1939 - May 22, 1940
James Ilsley (Acting)	May 23, 1940 - July 7, 1940
William Pate Mulock	July 8, 1940 - June 8, 1945
Vacant	June 9, 1945 - Aug. 28, 1945
Ernest Bertrand	Aug. 29, 1945 - Aug. 23, 1949
Vacant	Aug. 24, 1949
Gabriel-Edouard Rinfret	Aug. 25, 1949 - Feb. 12, 1952

Alcide Côté	Feb. 13, 1952 - Aug. 7, 1955
Vacant	Aug. 8, 1955 - Aug. 15, 1955
Roch Pinard (Acting)	Aug. 16, 1955 - Nov. 2, 1955
Hugues Lapointe	Nov. 3, 1955 - June 20, 1957
William McLean Hamilton	June 21, 1957 - July 12, 1962
Vacant	July 13, 1962 - July 17, 1962
John MacLean (Acting)	July 18, 1962 - Aug. 8, 1962
Ellen Louks Fairclough	Aug. 9, 1962 - April 21, 1963
Azellus Denis	April 22, 1963 - Feb. 2, 1964
John Robert Nicholson	Feb. 3, 1964 - Feb. 14, 1965
René Tremblay	Feb. 15, 1965 - Dec. 17, 1965
Jean-Pierre Côté	Dec. 18, 1965 - July 5, 1968
Eric William Kierans	July 6, 1968 - April 28, 1971
Jean-Pierre Côté (Acting)	April 29, 1971 - June 10, 1971
Jean Pierre Côté	June 11, 1971 - Nov. 26, 1972
André Ouellette	Nov. 27, 1972 - Aug. 7, 1974
Bryce Stuart Mackasay	Aug. 8, 1974 - Sept. 13, 1976
Jean-Jacques Blais	Sept. 14, 1976 - Feb. 1, 1978
J.-Gilles Lamontagne	Feb. 2, 1978 - June 3, 1979
John Fraser	June 4, 1979 - Mar. 2, 1980
André Ouellette	March 3, 1980 - Oct. 15, 1981

Deputy Postmaster General

William Henry Griffin(1)	April 5, 1851 - July 1, 1888
William White	July 1, 1888 - Aug. 1, 1897
Robert Miller Coulter	Aug. 1, 1897 - Aug. 16, 1923
Louis-Joseph Gaboury	Aug. 17, 1923 - Aug. 13, 1935
John Alexander Sullivan	Aug. 14, 1935 - June 9, 1945
Walter J. Turnbull	June 9, 1945 - Dec. 1, 1957
George Andrew Boyle	Dec. 1, 1957 - June 19, 1961
William Hugh Wilson	June 20, 1961 - Oct. 2, 1968
Paul-André Faguy	Oct. 3, 1968 - Aug. 12, 1970
John Alexander Mackay	Aug. 12, 1970 - Jan. 24, 1977
James Caldwell Corkery	Feb. 3, 1977 - Oct. 15, 1981

1. In 1851, when the Province of Canada assumed control of the Provincial Post Office, the Office of Deputy Postmaster General was temporarily abolished. Griffin was appointed Secretary of the Department and was given most of the duties of the Deputy Postmaster General. The Office of the Deputy Postmaster General was revived in 1857 and Griffin received the appointment.

9. CANADA POST CORPORATION

Ministers Responsible for the Canada Post Corporation

André Ouellet	Oct. 16, 1981 - Sept. 16, 1984
Perrin Beatty	Sept. 17, 1984 - Aug. 19, 1985
Michel Côté	Aug. 20, 1985 - Feb. 8, 1987
Harvie Andre	Feb. 9, 1987 - present

President

R. Michael Warren	Oct. 16, 1981 - Aug. 23, 1985
Donald Landers (Acting)	Aug. 23, 1985 - Feb. 17, 1986
Donald Landers	Feb. 17, 1986 - present

Chairman

René J. Marin	Oct. 16, 1981 - Oct. 16, 1986
Sylvain Cloutier	Oct. 16, 1986 - present

Source: RG 3: Records of the Post Office Department published by the Public Archives

APPENDIX 2

MACROECONOMIC DATA

YEAR	GNP BILL. \$	CDN POP MILL.	ANNUAL CPI %	COMM. SECTOR MILL. \$	P.O. REV. % of COM. SECTOR
1852				.2	100
1853				.3	100
1854				.3	100
1855				.4	100
1856				.4	100
1857				.5	100
1858				.5	100
1859				.6	100
1860				.6	100
1861				.7	100
1862				.7	100
1863				.7	100
1864				.6	100
1865				.8	100
1866				.9	100
1867		3.5		.9	100
1868		3.5		1.0	100
1869		3.6		1.0	100
1870	.4	3.6		1.0	100
1871	.4	3.7		1.1	100
1872	.4	3.8		1.2	100
1873	.5	3.8		1.4	100
1874	.5	3.9		1.5	100
1875	.5	4.0		1.5	100
1876	.4	4.0		1.5	100
1877	.4	4.1		1.5	100
1878	.4	4.1		1.6	100
1879	.4	4.2		1.5	100
1880	.5	4.3		1.6	100
1881	.6	4.3		1.8	100
1882	.6	4.4		2.0	100

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981
 Historical Statistics of Canada, Statistics Canada

YEAR	GNP BILL. \$	CDN POP MILL.	ANNUAL CPI %	COMM. SECTOR MILL. \$	P.O. REV. % of COM. SECTOR
1883	.6	4.4		2.3	100
1884	.6	4.5		2.3	100
1885	.6	4.5		2.4	100
1886	.6	4.6		2.5	100
1887	.6	4.6		3.1	83.2
1888	.6	4.7		3.5	84.4
1889	.7	4.7		3.6	82.4
1890	.7	4.8		4.0	81.2
1891	.7	4.8		4.2	79.8
1892	.7	4.9		4.5	79.4
1893	.7	4.9		4.9	76.1
1894	.7	5.0		4.9	76.3
1895	.6	5.0		5.0	76.6
1896	.6	5.1		5.1	77.3
1897	.7	5.1		5.5	78.8
1898	.8	5.2		6.2	75.6
1899	.8	5.2		5.9	73.0
1900	.9	5.3		6.2	70.5
1901	1.0	5.4		6.8	67.8
1902	1.1	5.5		7.7	66.8
1903	1.2	5.7		8.6	65.5
1904	1.2	5.8		9.7	64.7
1905	1.4	6.0		10.9	62.0
1906	1.5	6.1		12.6	61.3
1907	1.7	6.4		14.8	44.3
1908	1.7	6.6		18.3	51.8
1909	1.8	6.8		19.2	51.6
1910	2.0	7.0		21.5	51.6
1911	2.2	7.2		23.6	51.7
1912	2.5	7.4		27.2	50.6
1913	2.7	7.6		31.5	49.8
1914	2.5	7.9	12.2	34.4	49.1
1915	2.7	8.0	12.4	34.4	49.0
1916	3.2	8.0	13.4	42.9	53.0
1917	4.0	8.1	15.9	47.7	52.8

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981
Historical Statistics of Canada, Statistics Canada

YEAR	GNP BILL. \$	CDN POP MILL.	ANNUAL CPI %	COMM. SECTOR MILL. \$	P.O. REV. % of COM. SECTOR
1918	4.3	8.2	18.0	52.2	51.4
1919	4.4	8.3	19.8	59.6	46.3
1920	5.0	8.6	22.9	60.7	48.9
1921	4.1	8.8	20.2	66.5	48.6
1922	4.3	8.9	18.5	66.7	48.4
1923	4.6	9.0	18.5	70.5	49.7
1924	4.6	9.1	18.2	72.3	48.5
1925	5.1	9.3	18.4	74.4	46.5
1926	5.4	9.5	18.6	83.8	44.3
1927	5.6	9.6	18.3	69.8	50.7
1928	6.0	9.8	18.3	76.4	47.9
1929	6.1	10.0	18.6	81.5	46.5
1930	5.7	10.2	18.4	83.7	47.8
1931	4.7	10.4	16.6	78.5	47.8
1932	3.8	10.5	15.1	70.1	56.1
1933	3.5	10.6	14.4	64.4	57.3
1934	4.0	10.7	14.6	67.3	54.0
1935	4.3	10.8	14.7	66.8	56.3
1936	4.6	10.9	15.0	70.1	55.9
1937	5.2	11.0	15.4	74.7	55.1
1938	5.3	11.2	15.6	75.3	57.1
1939	5.6	11.3	15.5	77.9	55.1
1940	6.7	11.4	16.1	82.9	53.3
1941	8.3	11.5	17.0	92.1	52.2
1942	10.3	11.7	17.9	101.9	54.4
1943	11.1	11.8	18.2	110.5	53.6
1944	11.8	11.9	18.3	118.1	61.8
1945	11.9	12.1	18.4	127.9	62.2
1946	11.9	12.3	19.0	138.7	60.4
1947	13.6	12.6	20.8	153.4	56.3
1948	15.7	12.8	23.7	169.9	53.9
1949	17.0	13.4	24.5	191.4	50.1
1950	18.7	13.7	25.2	222.7	45.5
1951	21.9	14.0	27.9	269.9	39.1
1952	24.8	14.5	28.5	312.1	39.2

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981
 Historical Statistics of Canada, Statistics Canada

YEAR	GNP BILL. \$	CDN POP MILL.	ANNUAL CPI %	COMM. SECTOR MILL. \$	P.O. REV. % of COM. SECTOR
1953	24.1	14.8	28.3	347.8	37.2
1954	26.2	15.3	28.5	378.8	34.2
1955	28.9	15.7	28.5	416.0	36.5
1956	32.4	16.1	28.9	463.1	34.2
1957	33.9	16.6	29.8	512.5	32.7
1958	35.2	17.1	30.6	555.3	31.9
1959	37.3	17.5	31.0	635.2	28.8
1960	38.8	17.9	31.4	686.5	28.2
1961	40.2	18.2	31.6	743.4	27.2
1962	43.6	18.6	32.0	804.7	26.5
1963	46.8	18.9	32.6	861.0	25.8
1964	51.3	19.3	33.2	938.9	25.1
1965	56.5	19.6	34.0	1034.3	25.5
1966	63.3	20.0	35.2	1139.3	23.1
1967	67.8	20.4	36.5	1268.4	23.3
1968	74.2	20.7	38.0	1385.1	23.6
1969	81.8	21.0	39.7	1530.9	22.0
1970	87.8	21.3	41.0	1705.7	26.0
1971	95.8	21.6	42.2	1871.7	23.1
1972	107.2	21.8	44.2	2088.0	24.1
1973	125.6	22.0	47.6	2239.4	23.6
1974	149.9	22.4	52.8	2745.0	21.5
1975	169.0	22.7	58.5	3313.8	18.6
1976	194.4	23.0	62.9	3763.7	15.1
1977	213.3	23.3	67.9	4264.4	18.2
1978	235.7	23.5	73.9	4931.7	19.2
1979	268.9	23.7	80.7	5751.6	19.3
1980	302.1	24.0	88.9	6617.6	22.4
1981	344.7	24.3	100.0	7872.7	19.4

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981
Historical Statistics of Canada, Statistics Canada

APPENDIX 3:

KEY POST OFFICE STATISTICS, 1828 - 1981

YEAR	OFFICES	REV. MILL. \$	EXP. MILL. \$	PROFIT/ LOSS 000s \$	LABOUR EXPENSE MILL.\$	LABOUR AS % OF EXP.
1828	101					
1838	380					
1848	539					
1851	601					
1852	840	.2	.3	- 45		
1853	1016	.3	.3	- 22		
1854	1166	.3	.4	- 60		
1855	1293	.4	.5	- 144		
1856	1375	.4	.6	- 194		
1857	1506	.5	.7	- 190		
1858	1566	.5	.7	- 139		
1859	1638	.6	.7	- 79		
1860	1698	.6	.7	- 34	.2	35.6
1861	1775	.7	.7	- 36	.3	37.7
1862	1858	.7	.7	- 28	.3	39.0
1863	1974	.8	.7	6	.3	39.3
1864	2055	.6	.6	19	.2	38.1
1865	2197	.8	.8	- 18	.3	37.4
1866	2243	.9	.9	- 17	.3	37.3
1867	2333	.9	.9	- 9	.3	37.7
1868	3638	1.0	1.0	- 29	.4	40.4
1869	3756	1.0	1.1	- 107	.4	40.3
1870	3820	1.0	1.2	- 144	.5	38.8
1871	3943	1.1	1.3	- 191	.5	41.9
1872	4135	1.2	1.4	- 176	.5	39.8
1873	4518	1.4	1.6	- 147	.6	41.2

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

KEY POST OFFICE STATISTICS, 1828 - 1981

YEAR	OFFICES	REV. MILL. \$	EXP. MILL. \$	PROFIT/ LOSS 000s	LABOUR EXPENSE MILL.\$	LABOUR AS % OF EXP.
1874	4706	1.5	1.7	- 219	.7	41.3
1875	4892	1.5	1.9	- 336	.8	42.3
1876	5015	1.5	2.0	- 475	.8	43.1
1877	5161	1.5	2.1	- 575	.9	42.7
1878	5378	1.6	2.1	- 490	.9	43.3
1879	5606	1.5	2.2	- 633	.9	43.8
1880	5773	1.6	2.3	- 639		
1881	5935	1.8	2.3	- 565		
1882	6171	2.0	2.5	- 437	1.0	41.8
1883	6395	2.3	2.7	- 423	1.1	41.9
1884	6387	2.3	2.9	- 600	1.3	43.5
1885	7084	2.4	3.1	- 698	1.3	42.8
1886	7295	2.5	3.4	- 911	1.4	41.3
1887	7534	2.6	3.5	- 855	1.5	42.7
1888	7671	2.9	3.5	- 567	1.5	43.6
1889	7838	3.0	3.7	- 762	1.6	43.0
1890	7913	3.2	3.9	- 717	1.8	45.9
1891	8061	3.4	4.0	- 646	1.8	45.6
1892	8288	3.5	4.2	- 663	1.9	44.9
1893	8477	3.7	4.3	- 648	2.0	45.5
1894	8864	3.7	4.4	- 708	2.0	46.0
1895	8832	3.8	4.6	- 802	2.1	45.8
1896	9103	3.9	4.7	- 747	2.2	46.7
1897	9191	4.3	4.9	- 586	2.2	45.0
1898	9282	4.7	4.7	- 46	2.2	45.7
1899	9420	4.3	4.7	- 400	1.2	24.4
1900	9627	4.3	4.8	- 462	2.2	46.5
1901	9834	4.6	5.0	- 415	2.3	46.1
1902	9958	5.1	5.1	5	2.4	46.3
1903	10150	5.6	5.3	395	2.5	47.1
1904	10460	6.3	5.9	394	2.8	47.8
1905	10879	6.8	6.3	490	3.0	48.3
1906	11141	7.7	6.7	1011	3.2	48.3

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

KEY POST OFFICE STATISTICS, 1828 - 1981

YEAR	OFFICES	REV. MILL. \$	EXP. MILL. \$	PROFIT/ LOSS 000s	LABOUR EXPENSE MILL.\$	LABOUR AS % OF EXP.
1907	11377	6.5	5.5	1052	2.6	47.5
1908	11823	9.5	8.4	1102	4.0	48.2
1909	12479	9.9	9.1	810	4.7	51.3
1910	12887	11.0	10.3	744	5.3	51.0
1911	13324	12.2	11.0	1193	5.7	51.7
1912	13859	13.8	12.5	1311	6.3	50.4
1913	14178	15.7	14.5	1178	8.1	56.2
1914	13811	16.9	16.7	134	9.4	56.4
1915	13348	16.8	19.7	- 2914	10.4	52.8
1916	13057	22.7	19.9	2850	10.9	54.7
1917	12772	25.2	20.6	4601	11.3	54.7
1918	12622	26.8	23.5	3298	13.0	55.3
1919	12290	27.6	25.3	2328	14.7	58.3
1920	12256	29.7	26.0	3676	15.0	57.6
1921	12252	32.3	30.7	1670	18.5	60.2
1922	12247	32.3	33.8	- 1566	17.4	51.3
1923	12288	35.0	33.6	1468	17.7	52.7
1924	12370	35.0	34.3	796	19.3	58.2
1925	12376	34.6	35.9	- 1292	16.7	46.5
1926	12439	37.1	36.6	525	20.6	56.2
1927	12440	35.4	37.0	- 1629	21.0	56.7
1928	12478	36.6	38.4	- 1850	22.1	57.5
1929	12430	37.9	40.2	- 2312	23.4	58.2
1930	12409	39.9	42.0	- 2068	24.2	57.6
1931	12427	37.5	43.3	- 5877	23.7	54.7
1932	12133	39.3	41.2	- 1972	23.5	56.9
1933	12074	36.9	36.2	657	17.7	48.8
1934	12035	36.3	35.2	1164	20.7	58.8
1935	12069	37.6	35.3	2274	20.7	58.6
1936	12156	39.2	36.8	2407	22.0	59.8
1937	12272	41.2	37.4	3736	22.3	60.3
1938	12421	42.9	39.7	3249	24.2	61.0
1939	12514	42.9	42.9	0	26.2	61.0

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

KEY POST OFFICE STATISTICS, 1828 - 1981

YEAR	OFFICES	REV. MILL. \$	EXP. MILL. \$	PROFIT/ LOSS 000s	LABOUR EXPENSE MILL.\$	LABOUR AS % OF EXP.
1940	12557	44.2	44.2	0	26.5	59.9
1941	12477	48.1	46.5	1683	26.0	56.1
1942	12410	55.5	51.0	4492	28.5	55.9
1943	12313	59.2	55.0	4127	30.5	55.5
1944	12234	73.0	60.4	12586	32.5	53.9
1945	12169	79.5	68.1	11427	35.1	51.6
1946	12105	83.8	72.9	10883	37.9	52.0
1947	12033	86.4	77.6	8765	44.6	57.4
1948	11982	91.6	81.8	9816	47.2	57.7
1949	11930	95.9	93.0	2961	52.3	56.3
1950	12415	101.3	99.4	1871	59.9	60.3
1951	12390	105.5	106.9	- 1338	62.6	58.6
1952	12305	122.3	115.6	6637	71.6	61.9
1953	12259	129.3	122.9	6352	74.0	60.2
1954	12202	129.7	132.4	- 2629	80.5	60.8
1955	12138	151.7	144.0	7669	90.7	63.0
1956	11996	158.3	148.3	9992	93.9	63.3
1957	11879	167.8	162.0	5780	105.2	64.9
1958	11768	174.4	177.9	- 460	114.5	64.4
1959	11634	183.3	183.5	- 262	118.4	64.5
1960	11497	193.6	191.8	1770	122.0	63.6
1961	11421	201.9	206.7	- 4778	134.4	65.0
1962	11401	213.5	214.8	- 1324	141.6	65.9
1963	11336	222.3	218.9	3428	145.2	66.3
1964	11260	235.8	242.0	- 6178	165.1	68.2
1965	11255	263.7	243.7	19976	164.0	67.3
1966	11172	263.7	273.5	- 9718	189.2	69.2
1967	11059	295.5	310.6	- 15065	215.6	69.4
1968	10838	327.2	347.3	- 20080	242.1	69.7
1969	10450	337.0	404.2	- 67191	286.9	71.0
1970	9575	444.1	497.0	- 52948	298.3	60.0
1971	9000	432.9	533.5	-100592	332.8	62.4
1972	8564	504.2	581.2	- 76993	374.0	64.3

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

KEY POST OFFICE STATISTICS, 1828 - 1981

YEAR	OFFICES	REV. MILL. \$	EXP. MILL. \$	PROFIT/ LOSS 000s	LABOUR EXPENSE MILL.\$	LABOUR AS % OF EXP.
1973	8684	563.1	654.1	- 90897	426.3	65.2
1974	8710	591.1	768.3	-177172	534.4	69.6
1975	8665	617.7	938.7	-320939	653.7	69.6
1976	8506	568.2	1114.4	-546202	788.0	70.7
1977	8392	774.9	1353.6	-578750	995.2	73.5
1978	8289	945.8	1505.0	-559283	1145.9	76.1
1979	8230	1108.5	1594.1	-485563	1189.5	74.6
1980	8257	1483.2	1762.6	-279459	1345.7	76.3
1981	8275	1529.8	2017.0	-487147	1520.7	75.4

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

APPENDIX 4

POST OFFICE TRANSPORTATION COSTS, 1860 - 1981

YEAR	LAND COST MILL. \$	LAND % OF T/C	WATER COST MILL. \$	WATER % OF T/C	RR COST MILL. \$	RR % OF T/C	AIR COST MILL. \$	AIR % OF T/C	\$
1860	.2	83.2	.01	6.1	.02	10.7			
1861	.2	58.4	.01	5.0	.1	36.6			
1862	.2	57.2	.02	6.0	.1	36.8			
1863	.2	55.7	.01	4.2	.1	40.0			
1864	.1	89.7	.01	10.3					
1865	.2	83.8	.02	9.5	.01	6.7			
1866	.2	41.9	.02	5.7	.2	52.4			
1867	.2	41.7	.02	5.3	.2	53.0			
1868	.3	53.1	.05	9.7	.2	37.2			
1869	.3	54.2	.03	5.8	.2	40.0			
1870	.3	50.6	.04	7.1	.3	42.3			
1871	.3	49.0	.1	9.4	.3	41.6			
1872	.3	49.2	.1	8.0	.3	42.7			
1873	.4	51.2	.1	7.0	.3	41.8			
1874	.5	53.2	.1	7.7	.3	39.0			
1875	.5	52.9	.1	7.6	.4	39.5			
1876	.5	53.9	.1	6.8	.4	39.3			
1877	.5	52.3	.1	5.7	.4	42.0			
1878	.5	50.4	.1	5.7	.5	43.9			
1879		Not provided							
1880		Not provided							
1881		Not provided							
1882	.5	48.7	.1	5.0	.5	46.3			
1883	.6	47.1	.1	4.8	.6	48.0			
1884	.6	46.8	.1	5.3	.6	47.8			
1885	.7	46.8	.1	5.3	.7	47.9			
1886	.7	45.3	.1	6.4	.8	48.3			
1887	.7	44.4	.1	5.3	.8	50.3			
1888	.7	44.0	.1	5.2	.8	50.8			
1889	.7	41.8	.1	6.1	.9	52.1			
1890	.8	41.5	.1	4.4	1.0	54.1			

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1860 - 1981

POST OFFICE TRANSPORTATION COSTS, 1860 - 1981

YEAR	LAND COST MILL. \$	LAND % OF T/C	WATER COST MILL. \$	WATER % OF T/C	RR COST MILL. \$	RR % OF T/C	AIR COST MILL. \$	AIR % OF T/C
1891	.8	40.7	.1	4.1	1.0	55.2		
1892	.8	37.3	.1	5.4	1.2	57.2		
1893	.8	38.2	.1	3.3	1.2	58.5		
1894	.8	38.8	.1	3.6	1.2	57.6		
1895	.8	39.0	.1	3.6	1.2	57.3		
1896	.8	38.3	.1	3.6	1.3	58.1		
1897	.8	37.1	.1	3.7	1.4	59.2		
1898	.8	34.8	.1	3.9	1.4	61.4		
1899	.7	34.2	.1	3.8	1.4	62.0		
1900	.7	34.1	.1	4.0	1.4	61.9		
1901	.8	35.1	.1	3.8	1.4	61.1		
1902	.8	35.8	.1	3.9	1.4	60.3		
1903	.8	36.3	.1	3.7	1.4	59.9		
1904	.9	37.9	.1	3.6	1.5	58.5		
1905	1.0	39.2	.1	3.6	1.5	57.2		
1906	1.1	40.5	.1	3.6	1.5	55.9		
1907	.9	41.7	.1	3.8	1.2	54.5		
1908	1.3	41.4	.2	6.8	1.7	51.8		
1909	1.5	44.1	.2	4.7	1.7	51.1		
1910	1.7	45.4	.2	4.3	1.8	50.3		
1911	1.8	46.3	.2	5.0	1.9	48.7		
1912	2.2	48.2	.2	5.4	2.0	46.4		
1913	2.5	51.4	.2	5.1	2.1	43.5		
1914	3.2	55.4	.2	3.2	2.4	41.4		
1915	3.9	51.6	.2	2.5	3.4	45.9		
1916	4.1	53.8	.2	2.4	3.4	43.7		
1917	4.3	54.9	.2	2.4	3.3	42.6		
1918	4.5	55.0	.2	2.1	3.5	42.9		
1919	4.8	56.9	.2	2.3	3.4	40.8		
1920	5.3	58.0	.2	2.1	3.6	39.9		
1921	5.8	56.5	.4	3.6	4.1	39.9		
1922	6.2	42.5	.6	4.0	7.8	53.5		
1923	6.2	43.5	.6	3.9	7.5	52.6		

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1860 - 1981

POST OFFICE TRANSPORTATION COSTS, 1860 - 1981

YEAR	LAND CO MILL. \$	LAND % OF T/C	WATER COST MILL. \$	WATER % OF T/C	RR COST MILL. \$	RR % OF T/C	AIR COST MILL. \$	AIR \$ % OF T/C
1924	6.2	43.8	.6	4.0	7.3	52.1		
1925	6.2	43.9	.6	4.1	7.3	51.9		
1926	6.1	43.8	.5	3.7	7.3	52.4		
1927	6.2	44.2	.5	3.5	7.3	52.3		
1928	6.3	44.2	.4	3.0	7.4	52.3	.1	0.4
1929	6.4	43.6	.5	3.6	7.5	51.0	.3	1.8
1930	6.5	42.2	.5	3.4	7.8	50.3	.6	4.9
1931	6.7	41.1	.5	2.9	7.7	47.4	1.4	8.6
1932	6.5	43.7	.3	1.7	7.2	47.9	1.0	6.7
1933	6.3	46.7	.2	1.9	6.7	49.9	.2	1.5
1934	6.1	46.4	.3	2.1	6.6	49.9	.2	1.6
1935	5.9	45.6	.3	2.1	6.6	50.6	.2	1.7
1936	5.9	45.0	.3	2.0	6.7	50.9	.3	2.1
1937	5.9	44.8	.3	2.0	6.9	51.0	.3	2.1
1938	6.1	44.6	.3	2.0	6.9	50.6	.4	2.7
1939	6.2	42.2	.3	1.9	6.9	47.0	1.3	8.9
1940	6.3	39.7	.3	1.8	7.0	43.9	2.3	14.6
1941	6.4	34.9	1.0	5.5	7.1	38.6	3.8	21.0
1942	6.7	34.7	1.6	8.4	7.4	37.8	3.7	19.1
1943	7.1	34.0	1.9	9.2	7.6	36.3	4.3	20.5
1944	7.8	33.2	2.3	9.6	8.0	34.1	5.4	23.0
1945	8.4	30.8	2.7	9.9	8.2	29.9	8.0	29.3
1946	8.9	31.5	2.3	8.2	8.1	28.7	8.9	31.5
1947	9.6	35.0	2.4	8.6	8.3	30.3	7.1	26.1
1948	10.6	37.1	2.9	10.2	8.5	29.9	6.5	22.7
1949	11.6	37.9	2.5	8.2	8.8	28.4	7.8	25.5
1950	12.9	40.1	2.2	6.6	8.9	27.5	8.3	25.8
1951	13.7	35.7	2.2	5.7	14.0	36.5	8.5	22.1
1952	14.5	38.0	2.4	6.2	11.8	31.1	9.4	24.6
1953	15.6	38.1	2.6	6.2	12.9	31.6	9.8	24.0
1954	16.9	38.1	2.4	5.4	15.1	33.9	10.1	22.6
1955	17.8	39.1	2.3	5.1	14.5	31.9	10.9	23.9
1956	18.5	40.2	2.2	4.8	14.3	31.0	11.1	24.0

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1860 - 1981

POST OFFICE TRANSPORTATION COSTS, 1860 - 1981

YEAR	LAND COST MILL. \$	LAND % OF T/C	WATER COST MILL. \$	WATER % OF T/C	RR COST MILL. \$	RR % OF T/C	AIR COST MILL. \$	AIR \$ % OF T/C
1957	21.1	43.1	2.3	4.7	13.9	28.4	11.6	23.8
1958	23.3	43.7	2.4	4.5	15.0	28.0	12.7	23.8
1959	24.9	46.6	2.5	4.7	13.1	24.4	13.1	24.4
1960	26.6	44.8	2.8	4.7	16.6	28.1	13.3	22.4
1961	29.0	47.1	2.8	4.5	16.1	26.1	13.8	22.3
1962	30.1	48.5	2.7	4.3	15.6	25.1	13.7	22.1
1963	31.3	49.4	2.6	4.0	15.0	23.8	14.4	22.7
1964	32.7	49.9	2.3	3.5	14.7	22.4	15.8	24.2
1965	34.4	50.1	2.4	3.5	14.4	21.0	17.4	25.4
1966	37.0	51.3	2.4	3.4	13.7	19.0	18.9	26.3
1967	40.9	52.1	2.3	3.0	14.1	17.9	21.2	27.0
1968	45.7	52.7	2.4	2.8	14.9	17.2	23.6	27.3
1969	48.4	54.7	1.9	2.2	13.6	15.4	24.5	27.7
1970	53.9	55.8	1.6	1.7	13.2	13.7	27.8	28.8
1971	51.2	56.0	1.5	1.6	11.6	12.7	27.1	29.7
1972	51.9	56.3	1.3	1.4	10.8	11.7	28.2	30.6
1973	43.0	50.0	1.1	1.3	11.4	13.2	30.6	35.5
1974	46.9	50.7	1.1	1.1	12.3	13.3	32.4	34.9
1975	53.4	49.6	1.3	1.2	16.2	15.0	36.9	34.2
1976	57.7	50.5	.8	0.7	17.4	15.3	38.1	33.4
1977	68.0	49.6	.7	0.5	22.0	16.1	46.3	33.8
1978	76.7	50.7	.7	0.5	22.1	14.6	51.7	34.2
1979	84.1	51.7	.7	0.4	22.9	14.1	54.8	33.7
1980	90.5	50.9	.8	0.4	25.1	14.1	61.4	34.5
1981	97.3	48.8	.7	0.3	26.9	13.5	74.5	37.4

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1860 - 1981

APPENDIX: 5

POST OFFICE MAIL REVENUE STATISTICS 1852 - 1981

YEAR	1ST CLASS	1ST AS % OF MILL. REV \$	2ND CLASS	2ND AS % OF MILL. REV. \$	3RD CLASS	3RD AS % OF MILL. REV. \$	4TH Class	4TH AS % OF MILL. REV \$
1902	4.5	87.1	1.2	2.3				
1903	5.2	91.2	.1	2.5				
1904	5.6	89.3	.1	1.9	.05	0.9		
1905	6.1	90.4	.1	1.7	.05	0.6		
1906	7.0	90.4	.1	1.6	.06	0.7		
1907	5.9	89.6	.1	1.4	.1	1.5		
1908	8.6	90.2	.1	1.3	.1	1.5		
1909	8.9	90.1	.1	1.3	.2	1.5		
1910	9.8	88.2	.1	1.1	.3	2.3		
1911	11.0	89.8	.2	1.3	.4	3.1		
1912	11.9	87.1	.2	1.4	.4	3.2		
1913	13.5	85.9	.2	1.4	.5	3.4		
1914	14.4	85.3	.3	1.5	.5	2.8		
1915	14.6	86.7	.3	1.7	.4	2.6		
1916	20.6	90.7	.3	1.1	.4	1.9		
1917	22.6	89.8	.3	1.1	.5	1.9		
1918	23.7	88.2	.3	1.1	.5	1.9		
1919	24.4	88.5	.3	1.1	.6	2.1		
1920	26.1	88.0	.3	1.1	.6	2.1		
1921	28.1	87.0	.5	1.5	.7	2.2		
1922	28.4	87.9	.9	2.7	.6	1.8		
1923	30.4	86.7	1.3	3.8	.6	1.7		
1924	30.6	87.3	1.4	3.9	.7	2.0		
1925	29.5	85.4	1.4	4.0	.9	2.5		
1926	30.2	81.2	1.5	4.1	1.1	2.7	1.0	2.8
1927	26.2	74.1	1.7	4.9	1.1	3.1	2.8	7.8
1928	26.2	71.6	1.5	4.0	1.2	3.2	3.7	10.2
1929	26.5	69.9	1.6	4.4	1.3	3.3	3.9	10.2
1930	27.1	67.8	1.7	4.3	1.2	3.0	4.1	10.1
1931	25.8	68.7	1.6	4.3	1.1	3.0	3.8	10.2
1932	27.2	69.4	1.6	4.2	.9	2.3	3.7	9.5

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

POST OFFICE MAIL REVENUE STATISTICS 1852 - 1981

YEAR	1ST CLASS MILL. \$	1ST AS % OF REV	2ND CLASS MILL. \$	2ND AS % OF REV.	3RD CLASS MILL. \$	3RD AS % OF REV.	4TH Class MILL. \$	4TH AS % OF REV
1933	26.0	70.5	1.4	3.8	.8	2.3	3.1	8.5
1934	25.5	70.3	1.4	3.9	.8	2.1	3.1	8.6
1935	26.3	70.0	1.6	4.3	.8	2.2	3.0	8.1
1936	27.3	69.7	1.7	4.3	.9	2.2	3.2	8.2
1937	28.2	68.4	1.8	4.4	.9	2.1	3.4	8.2
1938	28.8	67.0	1.9	4.5	.9	2.0	3.3	7.7
1939	28.8	67.2	1.9	4.4	.9	2.1	3.0	7.1
1940	29.5	66.8	1.8	4.2	.9	2.0	0	0.0
1941	31.4	65.2	1.9	4.0	1.1	2.2	0	0.0
1942	35.7	64.4	2.0	3.6	1.1	2.0	0	0.0
1943	39.0	65.8	2.1	3.5	1.1	1.7	0	0.0
1944	50.0	68.6	2.1	2.8	1.0	1.3	0	0.0
1945	53.3	66.9	2.0	2.6	.9	1.2	0	0.0
1946	52.6	62.8	2.3	2.7	1.1	1.3	.1	0.1
1947	56.2	65.1	3.0	3.5	1.3	1.5	.03	0.03
1948	57.0	62.3	3.3	3.7	1.6	1.8	0	0.0
1949	56.9	59.3	3.8	3.9	2.1	2.2	0	0.0
1950	57.4	56.7	4.0	3.9	2.4	2.4	.2	0.2
1951	57.3	54.3	4.3	4.0	2.6	2.5	.4	0.4
1952	65.3	53.4	5.2	4.2	3.6	2.9	.4	0.3
1953	67.4	52.1	5.4	4.2	4.0	3.1	.4	0.3
1954	64.7	49.9	5.9	4.5	4.9	3.8	.3	0.2
1955	74.8	49.3	5.9	3.9	5.1	3.4	.3	0.2
1956	75.8	47.9	6.0	3.8	5.2	3.3	.3	0.2
1957	78.2	46.6	6.3	3.8	6.1	3.6	.2	0.1
1958	83.2	46.9	6.3	3.5	7.3	4.1	.2	0.1
1959	84.1	45.9	6.2	3.4	7.4	4.0	.2	0.1
1960	86.4	44.6	6.6	3.4	8.7	4.5	.2	0.1
1961	88.1	43.6	6.6	3.3	8.9	4.4	.3	0.1
1962	90.9	42.6	8.0	3.8	9.0	4.2	.2	0.1
1963	94.2	42.4	8.4	3.8	9.4	4.2		
1964	94.9	40.2	8.2	3.5	11.1	4.7	3.3	1.4
1965	104.5	39.6	8.4	3.2	13.5	5.1	7.2	2.7

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

POST OFFICE MAIL REVENUE STATISTICS 1852 - 1981

YEAR	1ST CLASS	1ST AS % OF MILL. REV \$	2ND CLASS	2ND AS % OF MILL. REV. \$	3RD CLASS	3RD AS % OF MILL. REV. \$	4TH Class	4TH AS % OF MILL. REV \$
1966	106.8	40.5	8.8	3.3	14.2	5.4	7.9	3.0
1967	112.1	37.9	9.2	3.1	15.0	5.1	7.9	2.7
1968	120.2	36.7	9.6	2.9	16.1	4.9	8.7	2.7
1969	175.2	52.0	9.8	2.9	61.0	18.1	83.1	24.7
1970	213.7	48.1	14.5	3.3	70.2	15.8	89.6	20.2
1971	215.3	49.7	13.8	3.2	54.2	12.5	96.5	22.3
1972	247.2	49.0	14.2	2.8	74.6	14.8	116.9	23.2
1973	321.8	57.1	14.9	2.6	65.4	11.6	103.6	18.4
1974	349.5	59.1	15.0	2.6	71.8	12.1	90.8	15.3
1975	358.6	58.0	15.0	2.4	70.7	11.4	89.7	14.5
1976	338.8	59.6	15.3	2.7	65.2	11.5	77.9	13.7
1977	454.6	58.7	19.3	2.5	98.5	12.7	99.8	12.9
1978	563.3	59.6	22.7	2.4	144.6	15.3	106.2	11.2
1979	659.7	59.5	29.0	2.6	155.5	14.0	122.3	11.0
1980	834.2	56.2	35.7	2.4	205.0	13.8	119.2	8.0
1981	820.6	53.6	35.5	2.3	219.0	14.3	116.8	7.6

Source: Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, 1851 - 1981

TOTAL POST OFFICES OPEN

AT FISCAL YEAR END

CANADIAN POPULATION

AND POST OFFICES

POST OFFICE REVENUES

AS A PER CENTAGE OF GNP

POST OFFICE REVENUES

AS % OF COMMUNICATION SECTOR

POST OFFICE REVENUES

1851-1986 (in Constant 1986 \$)

NUMBER OF POST OFFICES OPENED

1867-1988

NUMBER OF POST OFFICES CLOSED

1867-1988

1st CLASS POSTAGE RATES FOR LOCAL MAIL

CONSTANT 1986 \$ (1867-1987)

VOLUME OF FIRST-CLASS MAIL HANDLED

1851 - 1987

FIRST AND SECOND CLASS REVENUES

AS % OF TOTAL REVENUES

EXPENDITURES IN CONSTANT DOLLARS

(1986 DOLLARS)

TOTAL TRANSPORTATION COSTS

1852-1985 (In Constant 1986\$)

NON-RAIL LAND SERVICES

1852-1981 (Thousands of Dollars)

LAND COSTS AS A PER CENTAGE OF TRANSPORTATION COSTS

RAILWAY MAIL SERVICES COSTS

1855-1981 (In Constant 1986\$)

RAILROAD COSTS AS PER CENTAGE

OF TRANSPORTATION COSTS

TRANSPORTATION COSTS—AIRMAIL SERVICES

1928—1981 (In Constant 1986\$)

COST OF AIR AS PER CENTAGE OF TRANSPORTATION COSTS

WATER COSTS AS A PER CENTAGE OF TRANSPORTATION COSTS

COST OF LABOUR AS A PER CENTAGE

OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES

CANADA POST HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION CHART, 1841

Source: Canada Post Office: An Organizational History, 1841-1974

TABLE 100—NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY DISAGGREGATION 1940 BY SEX, AGE, AND RACE

	White		Negro		Hispanic		Total		Total	
	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.
Exec. Insp.	4	250	7	204	2	170	1	250	15	1045
Exec. Insp. 1	7	153	15	122	2	140	2	140	15	2113
Exec. Insp. 2	23	946	38	999	4	101	5	1000	38	1261
Exec. Insp. 3	22	196	23	738	4	652	4	705	52	943
Exec. Insp. 4	62	347	36	397	17	393	17	445	50	708
Exec. Insp. 5	16	1040	14	1197	1	897	1	897	109	410
Exec. Insp. 6	47	140	27	812	7	800	8	827	50	1068
Exec. Insp. 7	7	347	8	282	1	698	3	632	90	606
Postmaster	8	209	4	230	2	100	3	100	30	393
Letter Car.	54	449	54	422	10	411	9	416	21	1900
Messenger	5	304	5	361	3	493	1	400	12	415
Inspector	15	109	10	199	3	112	1	33	14	405
Phys.	9	311	6	504	4	342	2	336	31	366
Total	238	616	270	707	10	627	55	707	3	1417
Post Offices	377	16	483	61	707	44	527	44	674	685
Registries									473	65

Source: Annual Report of the Director General, Year 1940.

Data collected and supplied by R. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee.

Data entered and corrected by Robert Johnson.

CANADA POST OFFICE TYPICAL MAJOR POST OFFICE ORGANIZATION CHART, 1869

Source: Canada Post Office: An Organizational History, 1841-1974

CANADA POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION CHART, 1892

CANADA POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION CHART, 1946

CANADA POST ORGANIZATION CHART, 1947

Source: Canada Post Office: An Organizational History. 1841-1974

CANADA POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS OPERATIONS BRANCH ORGANIZATION CHART, 1947

Source: Canada Post Office: An Organizational History, 1841-1974

CANADA POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS FUNCTIONAL CHART, 1952

CANADA POST HEADQUARTERS OPERATIONS ORGANIZATION CHART, 1952

Assistant
Deputy Postmaster
General

- Conducts the normal field operation of the postal service to the public;
- responsible for the formulation of policies, procedures and regulations pertaining to the establishment, management, operations, maintenance and closing of post offices, postal stations, postal agencies, sub-post offices and postal routes;
- ensures that postal authorities in the field , operate within these policies, procedures and regulations and that assistance is provided when required.

CANADA POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION CHART, 1966

Source: Canada Post Office: An Organizational History, 1841-1974

CANADA POST OFFICE HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION CHART, 1969

Source: Canada Post Office: An Organizational History, 1841-1974

PERMANENT ADJUSTED AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES OF THE CORPORATION FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN 31, 1930

	Under 100		100 to 200		200 to 300		300 to 400		400 to 500		500 to 600		600 to 700		700 to 800		800 to 900		900 to 1000		Total	
	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days
Executive																						
Legal																						
Plant																						
Office																						
Office 1	5	900	10	900	4	900	4	900	13	900	13	900	13	900	13	900	13	900	13	900	13	900
Office 2	21	619	9	514	4	650	4	650	14	650	14	650	14	650	14	650	14	650	14	650	14	650
Office 3	11	449	9	403	2	375	2	375	13	403	13	403	13	403	13	403	13	403	13	403	13	403
Office 4	13	606							13	606	13	606	13	606	13	606	13	606	13	606	13	606
Office 1	10	177							10	177	10	177	10	177	10	177	10	177	10	177	10	177
Office 2	15	416							15	416	15	416	15	416	15	416	15	416	15	416	15	416
Office 3	7	170	4	170					7	170	7	170	7	170	7	170	7	170	7	170	7	170
Office 4	6	363	9	407					6	363	6	363	6	363	6	363	6	363	6	363	6	363
Office 1	3	307	3	307	2	250	2	250	8	250	8	250	8	250	8	250	8	250	8	250	8	250
Office 2	33	190	3	176	6	231	6	231	42	231	42	231	42	231	42	231	42	231	42	231	42	231
Office 3	6	134	4	247	9	491	9	491	19	491	19	491	19	491	19	491	19	491	19	491	19	491
Office 4	14	521	51	603	31	576	31	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576
Office 1	14	521	51	603	31	576	31	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576
Office 2	14	521	51	603	31	576	31	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576
Office 3	14	521	51	603	31	576	31	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576
Office 4	14	521	51	603	31	576	31	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576	230	576

Note: 1. Under 100 and Under 200 data combined

Source: Annual Report of the Rubber General, Year 1930

Data collected and compiled by Rubber General, Year 1930

Data collected and compiled by Rubber General, Year 1930

FIGURE 1. THE NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS BY DISSEMINATION METHOD, FOR THE YEARS 1990-1994, IN D. D.

	Ordinary		Special		Break		Total	
	No.	Qty	No.	Qty	No.	Qty	No.	Qty
Insp. & H.A.								
Clerks 1	5	753	11	107	4	163	20	160
Clerks 2	19	545	9	124	4	545	32	503
Clerks 3	17	372	24	291	2	471	43	307
Clerks 4	14	165					14	165
Pres. Clks 1	18	671					18	671
Pres. Clks 2	31	760					31	760
Pres. Clks 3	8	1454	5	1121			13	1136
Letter L.A.	7	316	9	481			16	414
Messenger	2	714	3	331	4	151	9	299
Temp.	27	125	11	123	9	139	47	142
Exec.	6	138	4	174	8	165	18	155
Total	149	500	76	445	37	563	262	413
Post Offices	175	76					175	76
Qty Offices								

Note 1: Under and Under data added

Source: Annual Report of the Minister General, Year 1994

Data collected and compiled by H. Richard Lee and Keith Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert Richard

REIN FORCEMENT QUANTITIES AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY JURISDICTION AND BY INSTANT, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN 30, 1952

	Ontario		Quebec		Inside		Total	
	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg
Insp & Hist								
Clerks 1	4	1050	11	1023	4	1004	15	1018
Clerks 2	15	610	9	722	5	690	30	653
Clerks 3	15	491	30	518	2	500	37	506
Clerks 4	11	936					11	936
Reg. Clls 1	18	779					18	779
Reg. Clls 2	32	521					32	521
Reg. Clls 3	8	1450	4	1700			12	1540
Postmaster	8	307	14	478			22	416
Letter Carr.	2	238	4	271	1	171	7	234
Messenger	11	43	6	173	7	304	24	122
Traps	3	843	3	229	11	307	17	323
Misc.	139	621	60	808	40	661	236	624
Totals	177	78	See Note 1				177	78
Post Offices								
Reg. Offices								

Note 1: Quebec and Ontario data combined

Source: Annual Report of the Minister General, Year 1952

Data collected and compiled by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and arranged by Robert Foubert

FROM 1941 TO 1944: NUMBER OF DELETED BY CURFEW ENFORCEMENT AND BY FIREARMS, FOR THE YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1944

	October			November			December			Total		
	No.	Day	No.	No.	Day	No.	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	No.
Irregular Post												
Clarks 1	6	275	7	270	5	253	6	135	6	145	70	473
Clarks 2	29	474	11	515	3	400	37	400	37	400	37	400
Clarks 3	16	254	15	360	4	310	35	310	35	310	35	310
Clarks 4	12	852					12	852	12	852	12	852
McC. Clks 1	27	521					27	521	27	521	27	521
McC. Clks 2	26	342					26	342	26	342	26	342
McC. Clks 3	8	106	4	106			12	106	12	106	12	106
Postmaster	6	251	10	309			16	309	16	309	16	309
Letter Carr.	3	200	4	196	1	230	9	230	9	230	9	230
Messenger	11	99	9	232	5	183	25	183	25	183	25	183
Trucks	12	100	2	344	5	238	19	238	19	238	19	238
Misc.	100	400	64	406	31	534	244	534	244	534	244	534
Totals	307	50	See note 1				307		307		307	
Post Offices												
Day Offices												

Note: 1: Clarks and McC. data not included

Source: Annual Report of the Postmaster General, May 1944

Data collected and supplied by H. Richard Lee and H. H. Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert (Bob) Lee

TABLE 1000000: SUMMARY OF INFORMATION FOR ISSUANCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING IN '00, ETC.

	October		November		December		Total	
	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days
Inc. # 1	10	95	7	106	5	100	22	301
Inc. # 2	16	70	21	69	6	47	43	186
Inc. # 3	15	36	8	30	10	45	33	111
Inc. # 4	11	90					11	90
Inc. # 5	41	66					41	66
Inc. # 6	21	41					21	41
Inc. # 7	9	107	4	170			13	107
Inc. # 8	9	54	10	54			19	58
Inc. # 9	4	102	3	52	6	27	13	80
Inc. # 10	27	46	16	30	10	12	53	107
Inc. # 11	6	14	5	23	2	35	13	59
Inc. # 12	171	94	73	54	46	55	290	503
Inc. # 13	236	173	See Note 1				236	75

Note 1: Dates and times are indicated

Source: Bureau Report of the National Bureau, Year 1907

Data collected and supplied by National Bureau of Labor and Statistics

Data entered and corrected by Robert (1907)

PERSONNEL SERVICES AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY JURISDICTION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 31, 1958

	Ontario		Quebec		N.C.		N.B.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay
Insp. & Det.												
Clerks: 1			1	1200	2	3000	3	1418	6	1236	11	1736
Clerks: 2	10	1017	6	1100					2	1227	3	1218
Clerks: 3	24	662	23	725					3	1006	19	1041
Clerks: 4	23	369	12	308	11	406	15	483	4	750	50	707
Wks. Cks. 1	12	1004							6	410	67	377
Wks. Cks. 2	70	780									12	1034
Wks. Cks. 3	38	424									32	790
Postmaster	10	1254	4	1310	1	600	10	549			30	424
Letter Car.	8	332	11	340	7	301					26	364
Messenger	4	256	3	268	1	410	1	100	8	327	17	256
Temps	22	119	14	290					18	163	54	179
Phys.	7	157	5	313					2	214	16	239
Totals	104	569	79	588	22	541	30	578	43	546	363	566
Post Offices	271*	70	See Note 1	87	368	524	30				2923	72
Wky Offices												

Note 1: Quebec and Ontario combined

Source: Annual Report of the Auditor General, Year 1958

Data collected and aggregated by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and checked by Robert Dufault

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS OF THE UNITED STATES POST OFFICE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 30, 1920

	Mails		Registered		Insured		Total	
	No.	Val.	No.	Val.	No.	Val.	No.	Val.
Reg. Post								
Letters 1	15	944	1	1,000	1	1,000	3	3,944
Letters 2	24	655	34	656	3	657	61	1,968
Letters 3	30	412	11	300	1	405	42	1,117
Letters 4	17	1,032					17	1,032
Reg. Mails 1	47	744					47	744
Reg. Mails 2	23	416					23	416
Reg. Mails 3	13	1,212	4	1,530	1	811	18	3,553
Postpaid	16	237	18	331	6	405	40	1,073
Letter Car.	6	291	1	240	1	405	8	936
Messages	24	81	5	74			29	155
Reg. Mails	3	232	8	237	1	59	12	528
Totals	230	5,701	60	514	27	965	317	7,180
Post Offices	120	214	See Note 1	93	157	244	267	551
Reg. Offices				982	720	440	1,194	1,194

Note 1: Mails and Mails so contained

Source: Annual Report of the Post Office General, Nov. 1920

Data collected and supplied by the Post Office General and the Post Office

Data collected and supplied by the Post Office General

TABLE 1000000. NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FROM THE FOREIGN, FOR THE YEAR ENDING, JAN. 31, 1871

	United States		Mexico		Hawaii		Hawaii		Hawaii		Total	
	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days
Chart, Map,												
Map of West	2	160	7	96	2	143	1	140	1	140	1	140
Charts 1	12	149	9	101	2	106	1	104	2	110	10	519
Charts 2	19	54	30	50	1	103	1	104	3	104	14	525
Charts 3	29	54	30	50	1	54	1	43	14	54	34	431
Charts 4	30	54	13	38	0	33	0	40			23	374
ATL. CHS. 1	17	112									17	112
ATL. CHS. 2	53	219			1	54	1	46			55	135
ATL. CHS. 3	35	114			5	104	3	116			43	172
Postmaster	10	141	4	147			1	140			17	416
Letter form.	13	270	15	342	0	111			4	110	37	921
Messenger	6	137	4	271	1	400	1	140	4	110	16	1540
Temp.	12	67	7	68	1	51	0	140	4	110	32	396
Misc.	2	91	6	153	2	36	2	140	4	110	16	641
Totals	231	944	96	536	33	513	16	524	38	756	432	3382
Post Offices	260	55	103	101	60	236	14	294			232	716
Way Offices					627	1501	431	1457			1118	2103

Source: Annual Report of the Postmaster General, Year 1871

Totals collected and aggregated by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Totals entered and averaged by Robert Leland

PERMANENT SOURCES AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY DISSEMINATION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 30, 1972

Order no.	Order		R.		M.		H.		H.		H.		H.		Total	
	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day
Quest Insp.																
Insp. R. H. A. I.	3	1967	5	1965	2	1970	2	1966					2		1565	
Checks 1	3	1966	9	1963	2	1960	1	1960					12		1780	
Checks 2	29	1966	9	1966	4	1960	4	1965					15		1097	
Checks 3	25	1977	26	1966	6	1965	0	1968					41		979	
Checks 4	46	1977	21	1977	6	1974	11	1968					67		506	
HRG files 1	13	1964											16		294	
HRG files 2	53	1974			2	1974							19		1008	
HRG files 3	33	1961			5	1964							38		728	
Postmaster	10	1963	2	1960	1	1967	3	1967					19		1540	
Letter L. A. T.	26	1961	29	1965	2	1960							50		258	
Res. Group	7	1965	4	1961	2	1960	1	1960					14		353	
Large	41	1965	5	1965									2		250	
Small	5	1977	9	1963									15		311	
Totals	284	2004	114	1960	32	1960	45	1967			4	1966	5	1967	494	669
Post Office	203	64	See Note 1		130	1963	53	1964	32	1965			2045		76	
Way Office					627	1965	904	1974								

Note 1: Order, and other data obtained

Source: Annual Report of the National Bureau, Year 1972

Data collected and supplied by H. Richard Lee and H. H. Lee

Data entered and corrected by H. H. Lee

TABLE 1000H. QUANTITIES AND VALUES OF MATERIALS IN CARRIAGE LUBRICATION MATERIALS ACCOUNT, FOR THE YEAR ENDING, 1915.

Description	Grease		Oil		Lard		H		Fuel		Lubricants		Total
	No.	Qty.	No.	Qty.	No.	Qty.	No.	Qty.	No.	Qty.	No.	Qty.	No.
Short Ings.													
Imp. B. H. 1	4	200	3	144	1	142	1	200					1, 100
Grease 1	7	1136	12	144	1	100	1	812					2, 133
Grease 2	25	970	30	48	3	1013	5	940					91 940
Grease 3	23	679	27	648	5	976	4	636	2	72			91 627
Grease 4	61	372	25	414	13	477	14	446	1	40			122 403
Gre. Oils 1	46	1042											46 1042
Gre. Oils 2	69	608			7	779	9	600					86 608
Gre. Oils 3	26	556			2	605	1	61					29 523
Produce	11	1573	4	232	3	1403	6	1240	2	100	2	1007	29 1573
Lard	56	215	59	256	6	406	8	41					129 256
Message	6	268	5	361	3	500	1	490					15 48
Leaps	23	136	31	144	5	243	8	277	2	229	5	144	22 169
Misc.	11	302	12	352	2	232	1	40			1	100	26 32
Totals	474	642	193	531	53	635	59	935	8	631	9	741	211 614
Non Hxty H's					911	31	651	30			3	143	103 143
Qty H's													
Total H's													454 45

Note 1: Grease and Oil in data contained

Source: Annual Report of the Rubber General, Year 1915

Data collected and aggregated by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert Johnston

HOW MANY VOUCHERS AND NOTES IF ENTERED BY DISPOSITION AND BY FREQUENCY, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUN 30, 1926

	Ontario		Quebec		R.		M.		Man.		B.		P.E.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug	No.	Aug
Grand Total	4	2240	7	2114	2	1200	1	1300			1	2700			2	1125	15	2113
Dep. & Asst.	7	1856	15	1322	2	1400	2	1500			1	1100					36	1361
Clerks 1	23	946	48	993	4	1001	5	1003			2	782					52	993
Clerks 2	22	646	23	733	4	652	4	705					2	640			50	706
Clerks 3	62	337	36	397	17	393	17	445					6	330			133	400
Clerks 4	46	1050	14	1157	1	857											50	1088
Dep. Clls 1	47	800	27	802	7	800	8	857					1	755			90	806
Dep. Clls 2	7	347	8	282	1	693	3	632					1	990			20	393
Dep. Clls 3	8	2149	4	2300	2	1000	3	1240	1	1400	1	1000	2	1360			21	1900
Postmaster	54	409	59	422	10	411	9	416									132	415
Letter Car.	5	304	5	361	3	493	1	400									14	405
Messengers	15	104	10	198	3	112	1	332	1	15	2	145			1	600	33	194
Traps	9	361	6	504	4	342	2	336									21	366
Phys.	28	646	232	707	60	627	55	707	6	745	7	803	12	640	3	1417	674	695
Totals	207	16	933	61	787	44	557	44	41	23	49	89	200	18			4833	65

Source: Annual Report of the Public General, Year 1926

Data collected and aggregated by Richard Lee and Ridd Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert Rutland

TABLE 100000. CATCHES AND NUMBER OF CHARTERS OF CRABBOATS IN 1930 (BY SECTOR), FOR THE STATE OF TEXAS, FOR 30, 1937

	Indian		Cotton		Rice		W		Rice		H		HJ		Break		Total	
	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days
Grand Total	1	2000	1	1000	2	1200	1	1200	1	1200	1	1200					5	3000
Block 1	11	400	11	1100	2	1200	1	1200	1	1200							15	3000
Block 2	25	1000	25	1000	4	1000	4	1000			3	1000			1	1000	27	1100
Block 3	15	1200	20	1500	6	1200	4	1200	4	1200			2	1000			59	1000
Block 4	15	400	6	400	12	1200	11	1200					5	400			40	400
Block 5	24	1000	14	1200	1	1200							1	200			26	1100
Block 6	50	1000	29	1000	11	1200							1	200			100	1200
Block 7	10	500	6	600	4	700	4	700	1	1000			2	1000			21	1000
Block 8	10	1000	4	1000	2	1000	3	1200					2	1000			22	1100
Block 9	10	400	10	400	9	400	9	400									36	400
Block 10	5	4	5	300	3	300	1	400									14	400
Block 11	10	1200	11	1200	6	1200	2	1200									39	1200
Block 12	10	1200	22	1200	4	1200	2	1200									21	1200
Block 13	10	1200	22	1200	10	1200	12	1200							3	1200	27	1200
Block 14	10	1200	10	1200	11	1200	11	1200									44	1200

Source: Bureau of the United States, War, 1937.

Data collected and supplied by Richardson Lee and Balthus.

Data collected and supplied by Robert L. Ladd.

MINIMUM SUPPLY, AND NUMBER OF CHAIRS, IN DISSEMINATION FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1930-31, DEC.

Division	Books		R.		M.		N.		H.		U.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.	No.	Boq.
U.S.A.M.																
Chief Insp.	10	1208	6	1948	2	1200	1	2062	2	1000	1	1900				
Inspector	1	1238	6	1310	1	1113	5	1001								
Clerk 1	30	947	24	946	2	1000	6	876	6	976	1	1000	1	753	70	906
Clerk 2	6	608	41	673	11	686	12	659	11	346	1	700	5	633	143	619
Clerk 3	64	641	36	341	11	472	6	463	2	494	1	400	6	311	119	372
Clerk 4	41	910	16	813	1	880	1	900							50	930
Off. Clks. 1	64	657	47	676	9	662	14	722	1	76	3	639			133	664
Off. Clks. 2	17	642	0	340	8	573	5	162	7	313					46	259
Off. Clks. 3	16	1301	2	1200	2	1000	3	1267	1	1000					24	1441
Postmaster	115	400	67	469	16	440	12	469	5	172					215	421
Letter Car.	10	473	4	304	2	476	1	440	1	100					21	370
Messenger	17	41	2	910			4	64	11	106	1	366			6	123
Large	14	310	5	511			1	400	1	425			4	603	24	418
Miss.													8	3088	8	2088
Div. 1A													9	137	9	1367
Div. 1B													20	1044	20	1044
Div. 2A													43	492	43	492
Div. 2B													23	537	23	537
Div. 3A																
Div. 3B																
Div. 4A																
Div. 4B																
Total	475	591	591	626	15	612	71	673	41	439	6	1013	14	916	1076	640
Net Office	551	90	1127	101	1061	41	836	4	194	31	61	79	244	24	1121	64
Net Office																

Source: Annual Report of the United States, Year 1930.

Books ordered and supplied by National Book and Bulletin

Books ordered and supplied by National Bureau

TABLE 1000000 - SUMMARY OF THE NUMBER OF INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900, BY SEX, AGE, AND COLOR

Color	White		Black		Indian		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Total	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100
Male	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50
Female	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50
Under 10 years	10,000	10	10,000	10	10,000	10	10,000	10
10 to 19 years	15,000	15	15,000	15	15,000	15	15,000	15
20 to 29 years	20,000	20	20,000	20	20,000	20	20,000	20
30 to 39 years	25,000	25	25,000	25	25,000	25	25,000	25
40 to 49 years	30,000	30	30,000	30	30,000	30	30,000	30
50 to 59 years	35,000	35	35,000	35	35,000	35	35,000	35
60 to 69 years	40,000	40	40,000	40	40,000	40	40,000	40
70 to 79 years	45,000	45	45,000	45	45,000	45	45,000	45
80 to 89 years	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50
90 to 99 years	55,000	55	55,000	55	55,000	55	55,000	55
100 years and over	60,000	60	60,000	60	60,000	60	60,000	60
Under 10 years	10,000	10	10,000	10	10,000	10	10,000	10
10 to 19 years	15,000	15	15,000	15	15,000	15	15,000	15
20 to 29 years	20,000	20	20,000	20	20,000	20	20,000	20
30 to 39 years	25,000	25	25,000	25	25,000	25	25,000	25
40 to 49 years	30,000	30	30,000	30	30,000	30	30,000	30
50 to 59 years	35,000	35	35,000	35	35,000	35	35,000	35
60 to 69 years	40,000	40	40,000	40	40,000	40	40,000	40
70 to 79 years	45,000	45	45,000	45	45,000	45	45,000	45
80 to 89 years	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50	50,000	50
90 to 99 years	55,000	55	55,000	55	55,000	55	55,000	55
100 years and over	60,000	60	60,000	60	60,000	60	60,000	60

Source: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1900.

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of the Census.

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 1000011 - OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1933.

	Administration		Inspection		R.		M.		Gen.		U.		FBI		Inmate		Total	
	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay
U.S.A.M.																		
Chief Insp.																		
Insp. 1	30	1035	7	1500	2	125	1	250	3	112	1	300	1	300	1	300	1	300
Clerk 1	15	1202	7	1446			4	1113							2	2013	2	2013
Clerk 2	30	1034	25	1010	1	90	0	100	5	408	2	100	1	100	25	1538	26	1538
Clerk 3	104	575	103	534	19	102	22	565	30	537	5	453	9	606	103	536	103	536
Clerk 4																		
INS. Div. 1	32	902	12	1056	2	1250	1	1065	2	1109					53	944	53	944
INS. Div. 2	16	700	40	730	0	727	15	747	7	564	1	300	2	720	16	700	16	700
INS. Div. 3	50	431	15	444	10	416	13	451	8	423					105	440	105	440
Inspector	17	1527	4	2340	2	3000	3	1013	2	1275	1	2400			29	1700	29	1700
Letter Car.	156	444	90	452	13	511	16	446	14	373					109	455	109	455
Reception	9	431	7	571	3	314	2	530	1	700			1	102	22	483	22	483
Temp.	6	103	15	221	3	122	4	34	5	307	13	277	1	102	4	247	101	336
Pres.	11	433	3	512	3	501									29	421	46	451
Ins. 14															9	249	9	249
Ins. 15															9	1001	9	1001
Ins. 16															33	1107	33	1107
Ins. 17															101	643	101	643
Ins. 18															103	167	132	658
Ins. 19															14	240	24	7
Total.	101	123	42	1070	21	130	10	129	10	511	23	556	14	723	103	167	132	658
Restoration	306	106	130	75	100	46	1019	1	403	16	106	101	24	27	236	7	236	7

Source: Annual Report of the Federal Bureau, May 1933.

Data collected and supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Data collected and supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF FISHES OF EACH SPECIES COLLECTED IN THE 100-MEASURED PLOTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDING IN 1933

Lakes	Lakes 10		Lakes 11		Lakes 12		Lakes 13		Lakes 14		Lakes 15		Lakes 16		Lakes 17		Lakes 18		Lakes 19		Lakes 20		Lakes 21		Lakes 22		Lakes 23		Lakes 24		Lakes 25		Lakes 26		Lakes 27		Lakes 28		Lakes 29		Lakes 30		Lakes 31		Lakes 32		Lakes 33		Lakes 34		Lakes 35		Lakes 36		Lakes 37		Lakes 38		Lakes 39		Lakes 40		Lakes 41		Lakes 42		Lakes 43		Lakes 44		Lakes 45		Lakes 46		Lakes 47		Lakes 48		Lakes 49		Lakes 50		Lakes 51		Lakes 52		Lakes 53		Lakes 54		Lakes 55		Lakes 56		Lakes 57		Lakes 58		Lakes 59		Lakes 60		Lakes 61		Lakes 62		Lakes 63		Lakes 64		Lakes 65		Lakes 66		Lakes 67		Lakes 68		Lakes 69		Lakes 70		Lakes 71		Lakes 72		Lakes 73		Lakes 74		Lakes 75		Lakes 76		Lakes 77		Lakes 78		Lakes 79		Lakes 80		Lakes 81		Lakes 82		Lakes 83		Lakes 84		Lakes 85		Lakes 86		Lakes 87		Lakes 88		Lakes 89		Lakes 90		Lakes 91		Lakes 92		Lakes 93		Lakes 94		Lakes 95		Lakes 96		Lakes 97		Lakes 98		Lakes 99		Lakes 100		Lakes 101		Lakes 102		Lakes 103		Lakes 104		Lakes 105		Lakes 106		Lakes 107		Lakes 108		Lakes 109		Lakes 110		Lakes 111		Lakes 112		Lakes 113		Lakes 114		Lakes 115		Lakes 116		Lakes 117		Lakes 118		Lakes 119		Lakes 120		Lakes 121		Lakes 122		Lakes 123		Lakes 124		Lakes 125		Lakes 126		Lakes 127		Lakes 128		Lakes 129		Lakes 130		Lakes 131		Lakes 132		Lakes 133		Lakes 134		Lakes 135		Lakes 136		Lakes 137		Lakes 138		Lakes 139		Lakes 140		Lakes 141		Lakes 142		Lakes 143		Lakes 144		Lakes 145		Lakes 146		Lakes 147		Lakes 148		Lakes 149		Lakes 150		Lakes 151		Lakes 152		Lakes 153		Lakes 154		Lakes 155		Lakes 156		Lakes 157		Lakes 158		Lakes 159		Lakes 160		Lakes 161		Lakes 162		Lakes 163		Lakes 164		Lakes 165		Lakes 166		Lakes 167		Lakes 168		Lakes 169		Lakes 170		Lakes 171		Lakes 172		Lakes 173		Lakes 174		Lakes 175		Lakes 176		Lakes 177		Lakes 178		Lakes 179		Lakes 180		Lakes 181		Lakes 182		Lakes 183		Lakes 184		Lakes 185		Lakes 186		Lakes 187		Lakes 188		Lakes 189		Lakes 190		Lakes 191		Lakes 192		Lakes 193		Lakes 194		Lakes 195		Lakes 196		Lakes 197		Lakes 198		Lakes 199		Lakes 200		Lakes 201		Lakes 202		Lakes 203		Lakes 204		Lakes 205		Lakes 206		Lakes 207		Lakes 208		Lakes 209		Lakes 210		Lakes 211		Lakes 212		Lakes 213		Lakes 214		Lakes 215		Lakes 216		Lakes 217		Lakes 218		Lakes 219		Lakes 220		Lakes 221		Lakes 222		Lakes 223		Lakes 224		Lakes 225		Lakes 226		Lakes 227		Lakes 228		Lakes 229		Lakes 230		Lakes 231		Lakes 232		Lakes 233		Lakes 234		Lakes 235		Lakes 236		Lakes 237		Lakes 238		Lakes 239		Lakes 240		Lakes 241		Lakes 242		Lakes 243		Lakes 244		Lakes 245		Lakes 246		Lakes 247		Lakes 248		Lakes 249		Lakes 250		Lakes 251		Lakes 252		Lakes 253		Lakes 254		Lakes 255		Lakes 256		Lakes 257		Lakes 258		Lakes 259		Lakes 260		Lakes 261		Lakes 262		Lakes 263		Lakes 264		Lakes 265		Lakes 266		Lakes 267		Lakes 268		Lakes 269		Lakes 270		Lakes 271		Lakes 272		Lakes 273		Lakes 274		Lakes 275		Lakes 276		Lakes 277		Lakes 278		Lakes 279		Lakes 280		Lakes 281		Lakes 282		Lakes 283		Lakes 284		Lakes 285		Lakes 286		Lakes 287		Lakes 288		Lakes 289		Lakes 290		Lakes 291		Lakes 292		Lakes 293		Lakes 294		Lakes 295		Lakes 296		Lakes 297		Lakes 298		Lakes 299		Lakes 300		Lakes 301		Lakes 302		Lakes 303		Lakes 304		Lakes 305		Lakes 306		Lakes 307		Lakes 308		Lakes 309		Lakes 310		Lakes 311		Lakes 312		Lakes 313		Lakes 314		Lakes 315		Lakes 316		Lakes 317		Lakes 318		Lakes 319		Lakes 320		Lakes 321		Lakes 322		Lakes 323		Lakes 324		Lakes 325		Lakes 326		Lakes 327		Lakes 328		Lakes 329		Lakes 330		Lakes 331		Lakes 332		Lakes 333		Lakes 334		Lakes 335		Lakes 336		Lakes 337		Lakes 338		Lakes 339		Lakes 340		Lakes 341		Lakes 342		Lakes 343		Lakes 344		Lakes 345		Lakes 346		Lakes 347		Lakes 348		Lakes 349		Lakes 350		Lakes 351		Lakes 352		Lakes 353		Lakes 354		Lakes 355		Lakes 356		Lakes 357		Lakes 358		Lakes 359		Lakes 360		Lakes 361		Lakes 362		Lakes 363		Lakes 364		Lakes 365		Lakes 366		Lakes 367		Lakes 368		Lakes 369		Lakes 370		Lakes 371		Lakes 372		Lakes 373		Lakes 374		Lakes 375		Lakes 376		Lakes 377		Lakes 378		Lakes 379		Lakes 380		Lakes 381		Lakes 382		Lakes 383		Lakes 384		Lakes 385		Lakes 386		Lakes 387		Lakes 388		Lakes 389		Lakes 390		Lakes 391		Lakes 392		Lakes 393		Lakes 394		Lakes 395		Lakes 396		Lakes 397		Lakes 398		Lakes 399		Lakes 400		Lakes 401		Lakes 402		Lakes 403		Lakes 404		Lakes 405		Lakes 406		Lakes 407		Lakes 408		Lakes 409		Lakes 410		Lakes 411		Lakes 412		Lakes 413		Lakes 414		Lakes 415		Lakes 416		Lakes 417		Lakes 418		Lakes 419		Lakes 420		Lakes 421		Lakes 422		Lakes 423		Lakes 424		Lakes 425		Lakes 426		Lakes 427		Lakes 428		Lakes 429		Lakes 430		Lakes 431		Lakes 432		Lakes 433		Lakes 434		Lakes 435		Lakes 436		Lakes 437		Lakes 438		Lakes 439		Lakes 440		Lakes 441		Lakes 442		Lakes 443		Lakes 444		Lakes 445		Lakes 446		Lakes 447		Lakes 448		Lakes 449		Lakes 450		Lakes 451		Lakes 452		Lakes 453		Lakes 454		Lakes 455		Lakes 456		Lakes 457		Lakes 458		Lakes 459		Lakes 460		Lakes 461		Lakes 462		Lakes 463		Lakes 464		Lakes 465		Lakes 466		Lakes 467		Lakes 468		Lakes 469		Lakes 470		Lakes 471		Lakes 472		Lakes 473		Lakes 474		Lakes 475		Lakes 476		Lakes 477		Lakes 478		Lakes 479		Lakes 480		Lakes 481		Lakes 482		Lakes 483		Lakes 484		Lakes 485		Lakes 486		Lakes 487		Lakes 488		Lakes 489		Lakes 490		Lakes 491		Lakes 492		Lakes 493		Lakes 494		Lakes 495		Lakes 496		Lakes 497		Lakes 498		Lakes 499		Lakes 500		Lakes 501		Lakes 502		Lakes 503		Lakes 504		Lakes 505		Lakes 506		Lakes 507		Lakes 508		Lakes 509		Lakes 510		Lakes 511		Lakes 512		Lakes 513		Lakes 514		Lakes 515		Lakes 516		Lakes 517		Lakes 518		Lakes 519		Lakes 520		Lakes 521		Lakes 522		Lakes 523		Lakes 524		Lakes 525		Lakes 526		Lakes 527		Lakes 528		Lakes 529		Lakes 530		Lakes 531		Lakes 532		Lakes 533		Lakes 534		Lakes 535		Lakes 536		Lakes 537		Lakes 538		Lakes 539		Lakes 540		Lakes 541		Lakes 542		Lakes 543		Lakes 544		Lakes 545		Lakes 546		Lakes 547		Lakes 548		Lakes 549		Lakes 550		Lakes 551		Lakes 552		Lakes 553		Lakes 554		Lakes 555		Lakes 556		Lakes 557		Lakes 558		Lakes 559		Lakes 560		Lakes 561		Lakes 562		Lakes 563		Lakes 564		Lakes 565		Lakes 566		Lakes 567		Lakes 568		Lakes 569		Lakes 570		Lakes 571		Lakes 572		Lakes 573		Lakes 574		Lakes 575		Lakes 576		Lakes 577		Lakes 578		Lakes 579		Lakes 580		Lakes 581		Lakes 582		Lakes 583		Lakes 584		Lakes 585		Lakes 586		Lakes 587		Lakes 588		Lakes 589		Lakes 590		Lakes 591		Lakes 592		Lakes 593		Lakes 594		Lakes 595		Lakes 596		Lakes 597		Lakes 598		Lakes 599		Lakes 600		Lakes 601		Lakes 602		Lakes 603		Lakes 604		Lakes 605		Lakes 606		Lakes 607		Lakes 608		Lakes 609		Lakes 610		Lakes 611		Lakes 612		Lakes 613		Lakes 614		Lakes 615		Lakes 616		Lakes 617		Lakes 618		Lakes 619		Lakes 620		Lakes 621		Lakes 622		Lakes 623		Lakes 624		Lakes 625		Lakes 626		Lakes 627		Lakes 628		Lakes 629		Lakes 630		Lakes 631		Lakes 632		Lakes 633		Lakes 634		Lakes 635		Lakes 636		Lakes 637		Lakes 638		Lakes 639		Lakes 640		Lakes 641		Lakes 642		Lakes 643		Lakes 644		Lakes 645		Lakes 646		Lakes 647		Lakes 648		Lakes 649		Lakes 650		Lakes 651		Lakes 652		Lakes 653		Lakes 654		Lakes 655		Lakes 656		Lakes 657		Lakes 658		Lakes 659		Lakes 660		Lakes 661		Lakes 662		Lakes 663		Lakes 664		Lakes 665		Lakes 666		Lakes 667		Lakes 668		Lakes 669		Lakes 670		Lakes 671		Lakes 672		Lakes 673		Lakes 674		Lakes 675		Lakes 676		Lakes 677		Lakes 678		Lakes 679		Lakes 680		Lakes 681		Lakes 682		Lakes 683		Lakes 684		Lakes 685		Lakes 686		Lakes 687		Lakes 688		Lakes 689		Lakes 690		Lakes 691		Lakes 692		Lakes 693		Lakes 694		Lakes 695		Lakes 696		Lakes 697		Lakes 698		Lakes 699		Lakes 700		Lakes 701		Lakes 702		Lakes 703		Lakes 704		Lakes 705		Lakes 706		Lakes 707		Lakes 708		Lakes 709		Lakes 710		Lakes 711		Lakes 712		Lakes 713		Lakes 714		Lakes 715		Lakes 716		Lakes 717		Lakes 718		Lakes 719		Lakes 720		Lakes 721		Lakes 722		Lakes 723		Lakes 724		Lakes 725		Lakes 726		Lakes 727		Lakes 728		Lakes 729		Lakes 730		Lakes 731		Lakes 732		Lakes 733		Lakes 734		Lakes 735		Lakes 736		Lakes 737		Lakes 738		Lakes 739		Lakes 740		Lakes 741		Lakes 742		Lakes 743		Lakes 744		Lakes 745		Lakes 746		Lakes 747		Lakes 748		Lakes 749		Lakes 750		Lakes 751		Lakes 752		Lakes 753		Lakes 754		Lakes 755		Lakes 756		Lakes 757		Lakes 758		Lakes 759		Lakes 760		Lakes 761		Lakes 762		Lakes 763		Lakes 764		Lakes 765		Lakes 766		Lakes 767		Lakes 768		Lakes 769		Lakes 770		Lakes 771		Lakes 772		Lakes 773		Lakes 774		Lakes 775		Lakes 776		Lakes 777		Lakes 778		Lakes 779		Lakes 780		Lakes 781		Lakes 782		Lakes 783		Lakes 784		Lakes 785		Lakes 786		Lakes 787		Lakes 788		Lakes 789		Lakes 790		Lakes 791		Lakes 792		Lakes 793		Lakes 794		Lakes 795		Lakes 796		Lakes 797		Lakes 798		Lakes 799		Lakes 800		Lakes 801		Lakes 802		Lakes 803		Lakes 804		Lakes 805		Lakes 806		Lakes 807		Lakes 808		Lakes 809		Lakes 810		Lakes 811		Lakes 812		Lakes 813		Lakes 814		Lakes 815		Lakes 816		Lakes 817		Lakes 818		Lakes 819		Lakes 820		Lakes 821		Lakes 822		Lakes 823		Lakes 824		Lakes 825		Lakes 826		Lakes 827		Lakes 828		Lakes 829		Lakes 830		Lakes 831		Lakes 832		Lakes 833		Lakes 834		Lakes 835		Lakes 836		Lakes 837		Lakes 838		Lakes 839		Lakes 840		Lakes 841		Lakes 842		Lakes 843		Lakes 844		Lakes 845		Lakes 846		Lakes 847		Lakes 848		Lakes 849		Lakes 850		Lakes 851		Lakes 852		Lakes 853		Lakes 854		Lakes 855		Lakes 856		Lakes 857		Lakes 858		Lakes 859		Lakes 860		Lakes 861		Lakes 862		Lakes 863		Lakes 864		Lakes 865		Lakes 866		Lakes 867		Lakes 868		Lakes 869		Lakes 870		Lakes 871		Lakes 872		Lakes 873		Lakes 874		Lakes 875		Lakes 876		Lakes 877		Lakes 878		Lakes 879		Lakes 880		Lakes 881		Lakes 882		Lakes 883		Lakes 884		Lakes 885		Lakes 886		Lakes 887		Lakes 888		Lakes 889		Lakes 890		Lakes 891		Lakes 892		Lakes 893		Lakes 894		Lakes 895		Lakes 896		Lakes 897		Lakes 898		Lakes 899	
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TABLE 2200000 - SUMMARY OF THE 1951-1952 CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: POPULATION IN THE 1951-1952 PERIOD

	1951		1952		1953		1954		1955		1956		1957		1958		1959		1960	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Total	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
White	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Black	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Hispanic	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Other	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Male	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Female	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Married	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Single	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Divorced	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Widowed	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Never married	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Married	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Single	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Divorced	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Widowed	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Never married	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Married	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Single	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Divorced	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Widowed	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Never married	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100

Source: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of the Census.

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 10.—NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, BY SEX, AGE, AND COLOR, IN 1900

	Under 10		10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65-69		70-74		75-79		80-84		85-89		90-94		95-99		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent		
Total	13	147	8	16.1	4	10.5	1	12.7	4	17.4	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0
Male	10	115	115	100	27	67.1	94	96	23	94.1	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100
Female	3	32	27	72.9	1	6.6	1	12.7	1	17.4	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0
White	12	136	5	10.5	2	10.5	3	12.7	2	17.4	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0
Colored	1	11	3	6.1	2	10.5	1	12.7	2	17.4	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0
Foreign born	4	44	4	8.1	1	2.6	1	12.7	1	17.4	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0
Irish	11	121	5	10.5	1	2.6	6	19.3	1	17.4	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0
English	24	264	42	61.9	16	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4	10	26.4
Other	83	891	30	40.0	21	26.4	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0	13	33.0
Non-Hispanic	240	2,640	40	10.0	22	10.5	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4	19	20.4
Total PPS	300	3,300	176	176	56	17.3	57	17.3	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0	40	12.0

Source: Annual Report of the District Council, Year 1900.

Data collected and supplied by H. A. J. and L. C. and B. H. Lee.

Data entered and corrected by Robert L. Smith.

TABLE 1000000 - SUMMARY OF THE NUMBER OF SPECIES OF BIRDS COLLECTED BY THE BUREAU OF BIRDS, 1900-1901

BIRDS	United States		Mexico		Central America		Caribbean		South America		Africa		Asia		Australia		Europe		Total	
	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days
Albatrosses	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Birds	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100
Condors	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Geese	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Golden Pheasants	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Guinea Fowls	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Indians	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Kingbirds	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Macaws	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Parrots	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Peacocks	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Robins	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Shrikes	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Swallows	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Toucans	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Wrens	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Yucca	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Total	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100
Non-Birds	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Total	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100	11	100
By Office	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100

Source: Bureau Report of the Bureau of Birds, May 1901

Data collected and supplied by H. B. Howard, U.S. and British

Data collected and supplied by H. B. Howard

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FROM 1900 TO 1916: QUARTERS AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY CLASSIFICATION AND BY PAYMENT, FOR THE YEARS ENDING IN 30, 1916

Position	Wages		RC		RB		Ran.		B		FBI		Inside		Total	
	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.	No.	Mo.
Full.																
Chief Clerk	13	1900	8	1077	3	1011	3	1900	4	1909					34	1903
Clerk & H. et	55	206	149	815	24	900	35	795	51	790	31	746	17	1427	201	819
Clerks	190	778	66	776	25	704	35	804	43	669	27	596			410	737
W. C. file	11	366	5	2973	2	2900	3	1933	2	1000	4	2150			29	2946
Postmaster	319	617	191	603	29	590	35	145	37	552	33	557			624	607
Letter Car.	8	619	3	613	1	600	2	534	2	578	4	650	16	621	36	613
Message	40	25	11	151			4	14	11	16	7	67	6	1494	29	156
Temp.	13	611	19	505	3	535	4	349	5	521					38	531
Phac.	859	714	479	730	65	660	111	777	160	681	109	691	12	1060	701	3096
Totals	1073	45	630	257	353	949	149	349	365	523	147	362	36	232	2752	378
Not in 1916	2308	46	1401	41	1613	31	1152	29	1049	36	250	39	404	29	6807	77
Total 1916's	3461	161	2169	107	1676	75	1255	62	1314	134	417	156	417	44	10079	116
May Offices																

Source: Annual Report of the Postmaster General, Year 1916

Data collected and organized by H. R. Sanford Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and analyzed by Robert Fordault

MEMORANDUM DATED FEBRUARY 1946 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY OCCUPATION AND BY PAYMENT, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 31, 1946.

Occupation	Notes		R.		Rd		Hrs.		B		HET		Holds		Inmate		Total	
	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day
Chief Clerk	15	1994	10	1312	4	1043	3	305	4	1672	4	1743	1	1513			41	1465
Clerk 3 Next																		
Chief Clerk	30	297	142	815	36	906	33	902	49	701	34	306	10	941	17	1219	596	839
Clerks 1															181	946	181	946
Clerks 2															90	594	90	594
Clerks 3																		
Clerks 4																		
WPS Clerk 1	115	783	93	800	25	806	70	880	56	637	28	1490	6	740			423	
WPS Clerk 2																		
WPS Clerk 3																		
Postmaster	9	359	5	2990	2	2400	3	2503	2	3000	4	2150	7	1750				
Letter Car.	38	612	192	611	26	615	24	675	46	585	34	576					609	609
Messenger	6	576	4	627			2	575	3	579	2	600			16	936	33	780
Temps	84	24	42	38	5	13	4	13	3	139	7	149			4	414	149	46
Phys.	52	967	16	542	18	60	1	473	7	469	1	538	1	340			98	469
Totals	919	608	504	674	106	674	104	664	169	715	114	900	19	947	319	919	257	741
Field PW's	1045	411	716	246	1619	17	162	112	106	411	158	316	33	253			307	241
Non-Field PW's	2461	40	1385	41	273	106	1143	30	406	36	271	42	418	29			637	44
Total PW's	7906	106	2000	110	1070	76	1366	63	621	148	499	108	441	44			1104	114

Source: Annual Report of the Postmaster General, Year 1946.

Data collected and accepted by R. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee.

Data entered and corrected by Robert Bennett.

MEMORIAL TABLES: NO. NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY CLASSIFICATION AND BY SEX, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUN 30, 1937

	Clerical		Master		RS		RU		Man.		W		HJ		HHA		Inmate		Total	
	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day
U.M.																				
Clerk Clerk																				
Clerk H Head	14	146	10	161	4	1053	3	1546	4	1343	4	1463			1	1538			78	1437
Clerks	284	627	149	605	38	568	8	644	56	591	29	618	11	631	4	76	19	1319	618	637
RHS Hls	189	547	93	625	25	613	30	606	61	535	31	433	6	619					446	508
Postmaster	8	220	6	160	2	1000	2	1000	1	300	4	1965	2	1313					25	1953
Letter Car.	116	446	116	440	25	400	27	404	58	415	40	424							672	469
Messengers	6	452	3	416	1	400	1	400	3	500	1	400					17	416	6	402
Traps	76	103	1	416		688		688			1	309					16	107	53	125
Misc.	29	478	14	417	1	300	4	403	7	207			1	314					56	418
Totals	100	512	40	572	65	604	104	652	190	543	110	591	31	600	5	704	318	757	1193	555
Actg H's	100	361	706	300	301	360	168	276	190	330	165	303	30	106					3621	291
No. H's	2912	31	1415	30	1097	30	1144	22	443	31	253	32	412	22					1166	27
Total H's	3532	172	2421	17	2179	51	1310	49	633	119	458	130	445	34					10277	91
Day Offices																				

Source: Annual Report of the Auditor General, Year 1937

Data collected and supplied by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data collected and supplied by Robert L. Leland

MINIMUM SAFETY AND NUMBER OF COPIES OF CERTIFICATION FOR RE-ENTRY, FOR THE PERIODS IN 30, 1949

	Indonesia		Malaya		M.		M.		B.		B.		F.		F.		H.		H.		S.		S.		I.		I.		T.		
	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	Total
(a)																															
Chief Clerk	17	150	11	102	4	300	3	900	5	150	4	300	5	150	4	300	5	150	4	300	5	150	4	300	5	150	4	300	5	150	172
Clerk & Clerk	412	780	55	786	36	622	40	637	91	677	18	641	12	609	12	609	12	609	12	609	12	609	12	609	12	609	12	609	12	609	765
Clerks	231	796	107	840	31	700	10	385	66	662	21	771	6	918	6	918	6	918	6	918	6	918	6	918	6	918	6	918	6	918	794
Mr. Ellis	10	384	5	353	2	365	3	300	2	300	4	211	2	330	4	211	4	211	4	211	4	211	4	211	4	211	4	211	4	211	563
Postmaster	48	927	48	647	24	615	28	620	62	629	57	669	6	410	6	410	17	460	17	460	17	460	17	460	17	460	17	460	17	460	605
Letter Carriers	6	619	2	761	1	600	1	600	2	700	1	700																			
Message	55	540	34	441	1	301	3	400	17	491	10	367																			
Tele. Room	119	712	63	706	104	835	90	1198	265	680	167	701	26	848	130	606	23	740	23	740	23	740	23	740	23	740	23	740	23	740	536
Totals	1127	403	740	311	405	400	174	391	216	906	190	900	33	316	135	539	108	685	108	685	108	685	108	685	108	685	108	685	108	685	308
By Day Office	2517	10	1471	51	1651	40	123	40	471	46	367	57	432	40	424	46	673	44													
Total P.O.	3634	40	233	140	1900	100	1397	84	607	190	547	214	465	60	600	148	661	104													
Day Offices																															

Source: Annual Report of the Customs General, Year 1949

Data collected and supplied by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and organized by Robert Ireland

NEW HONOLULU JAILING AND NUMBER OF DETAINES BY DISPOSITION FOR BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN 30, 1911

	Hawaii		Maui		Kauai		Niihau		Laysan		Midway		Laysan		Inland		Total	
	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days	No.	Days
10	19	206	11	129	4	200	4	140	5	193	4	231	7	105	1	181	57	314
100	40	851	25	800	36	96	44	982	103	604	67	702	50	697	10	702	97	65
1000	52	794	114	865	76	797	40	660	76	674	30	630	43	573	3	401	640	764
10000	11	315	5	310	2	315	3	240	4	363	4	363	2	175	4	295	38	318
Letter Car.	514	715	36	738	37	724	35	700	100	733	112	622	23	513	9	668	1230	714
Message	6	637	4	755			1	794	3	705	1	661	1	635			16	792
Large	110	634	25	918	5	461	6	634	29	633	30	455	41	560			276	597
Small																	276	597
Law 14																	10	253
Law 18																	5	200
Law 24																	23	190
Law 28																	49	1524
Law 34																	154	1046
Law 36																	163	1046
Law 38																	63	674
Law 40																	63	674
Law 42																	72	76
Law 44																	542	47
Law 46																	370	115
Law 48																	140	510
Law 50																	910	47
Law 52																	1130	114

Source: Bureau of the Census, Bureau of the Census, 1911

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of the Census, Bureau of the Census

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of the Census, Bureau of the Census

MEAN ANNUAL SALARIES AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY CLASSIFICATION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN 30, 1917

	Ontario		Quebec		N.B.		Man.		B.C.		P.E.I.		Alta.		Sask.		Ireland		Total			
	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg		
D.M.																						
W.D.M.																						
Clerk & Hist																						
Temp & Hist	22	2089	26	2111	7	2534	3	2749	6	2441	7	2538	1	3000	8	2520	9	2127	89	2253		
Clerks	1010	1016	853	946	56	1128	74	1134	25	896	25	879	16	1151	194	1089	190	827	2899	950		
W.D. Clks	165	887	223	868	55	966	59	946	130	787	78	847	11	881	112	787	132	664	955	838		
Postmaster	18	2625	3	2610			3	2567	4	2875	6	3636	1	1900	4	3040	6	2463	46	2633		
Letter Carr.	882	853	579	858	76	849	55	866	200	772	212	855	9	911	167	833	97	783	2277	848		
Messenger	16	832	10	919			4	833	1	939	4	936			6	838			41	886		
Temps	670	79	108	23	46	34	31	164	208	49	190	11		236	15	184	78		1730	30		
W.D.	351	827	357	910	7	976	7	932	18	917	22	863			14	900	18	746	614	869		
Div 1-4																			14	3460		
Div 1-8																			29	2410		
Div 2-8																			53	1762		
Div 2-8																			65	987		
Div 3-8																			127	1065		
Div 3-8																			130	539		
Mess. Centers																			163	634		
Temps																						
Totals	3114	751	2119	1077	247	818	236	904	602	649	754	679	38	1074	601	926	576	574	712	1027	9159	765
By P.O's	1730	624	1114	371	316	511	220	449	336	465	406	465	46	449	418	533	522			4946	516	
Non P.O's																						
Total P.O's																						

Source: Annual Report of the Public Service, Year 1917

Data collected and compiled by H. B. B. Lee and H. B. Lee

Data collected and compiled by H. B. B. Lee

NEW YORK VALUE AND NUMBER OF PRIZES BY DESCRIPTION AND BY SEX, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 30, 1919

Unders		Males		Females		Totals		Inside		Total	
No.	Prize	No.	Prize	No.	Prize	No.	Prize	No.	Prize	No.	Prize
U.S.											
W.D.M.											
Fun. Capt.											
W.D.M.											
Clerk & Post											
Low Clerk											
25	2500	23	2271	5	2500	4	2419	8	2579	1	3050
1219	1064	652	1048	77	1077	92	1126	219	1077	7	2550
355	957	229	1014	53	1018	57	1040	123	916	200	1077
47	2001	8	2573	6	2217	5	1934	5	2740	67	934
874	651	901	910	66	655	52	666	102	677	7	2432
16	650	5	959	5	959	4	945	3	866	227	663
953	441	47	70	127	309	77	127	59	362	1	939
205	683	255	956	8	667	10	932	42	644	12	308
Temp.											
Div 1-A											
Div 1-B											
Div 2-A											
Div 2-B											
Div 3-A											
Div 3-B											
Mass. Sorters											
Temp.											
3024	157	100	970	348	782	301	800	145	1210	784	927
Totals											
Act. Pr.											
Non Act. Pr.											
Total Pr.											

Source: Report of the Public Library, New York

Prizes collected and approved by Mr. Richard Lee and Mr. Lee

Prizes collected and approved by Robert L. Lusk

MEMORANDUM SUMMARY OF EXPENSES OF COLLECTION AND OF PAYMENTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN. 10, 1921

Indicator	Under 10		10		15		20		25		30		35		40		45		50		55		60		65		70		75		80		85		90		95		100																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq	No.	Boq																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														
D.R.	44	550	24	2668	7	2741	13	2780	12	3512	2	1075	17	2764	10	2594																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				

NEW HANDEL SOURCES: 1941 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY CATEGORIZATION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN 30, 1942

	Ontario		Quebec		N.S.		N.B.		Man.		B.C.		P.E.I.		Alta.		Sask.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg	No.	Avg
U.N.																						
Off. H.																						
Clerk & Asst	50	2298	29	3377	7	2654	4	2948	6	2694	12	2761	2	2500	14	2382	10	2757			174	2554
Trapp & Asst	133	1275	901	1338	93	1310	110	1298	253	1154	250	1308	13	1416	242	1121	198	1173			487	1337
Clerks	488	1160	241	1090	70	1299	70	1280	128	1400	78	1300	12	1138	103	1199	126	1067			1316	1178
Off. Clks	50	2556	10	2590	6	2648	6	1824	6	2622	9	2753	2	2490	8	2769	8	2893			105	2575
Postmaster	939	1146	514	1169	63	1060	55	1059	159	902	244	1084	9	1065	193	1066	108	1046			2314	1133
Letter Carr.	1	626	3	1307																	4	1137
Messenger	246	1918	48	4157	69	778	47	840	70	3109	40	2617	5	807	115	713	146	756			678	1632
Temp.	319	1089	211	1128	12	1117	22	1066	44	930	19	952	1	1031	26	1018	18	921	15	3306	15	3306
Div 1-H																			14	3106	14	3106
Div 1-B																			6	2662	6	2662
Div 2-H																			60	2167	60	2167
Div 2-B																			175	1547	175	1547
Div 3-H																			488	988	488	988
Div 3-B																			15	1117	15	1117
Mess., Sorters																			90	914	90	914
Temp.	3538	1253	1967	1734	746	1171	312	1307	666	1362	660	1376	44	1288	701	1090	614	1070	865	1381	9713	1275
Totals																						
Actg. PO's																						
Non Actg. PO's																						
Total PO's																						

Source: Annual Report of the Auditor General, Year 1942

Data collected and aggregated by H. Farber of Lee and Math Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert G. Gault

MAIN ANNUAL SALARIES AND BONUS OF EMPLOYEES BY CLASSIFICATION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING IN 30, 1923

	Ontario		Quebec		N.S.		N.B.		Man.		B.C.		P.E.I.		Alta.		Sask.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay
C.N.																						
AGENTS																						
Clerk & Rect.	16	225	55	242	11	240	7	217	17	246	19	214	1	300	17	230	21	247			234	238
Clerks	194	1363	846	1486	110	1300	117	1278	267	1120	253	1147	16	1420	246	1165	188	1250			3066	1300
APC Clks	447	1308	246	1197	75	1103	71	1361	131	1304	88	1118	15	1136	98	1362	136	1274			1318	1316
Postmaster	52	2404	10	2397	7	2406	5	2346	5	3118	8	2783	2	1440	7	2669	8	2923			104	2630
Letter Carr.	1055	1155	536	1221	80	1090	62	1109	180	1058	277	1177	9	1250	207	1136	111	1091			2516	1157
Messenger			1	1400					1	600											2	1000
Traps	193	624	18	2015	3136	8	31	916	30	4112	14	4419	2	697	59	683	103	744			3066	179
Misc.	279	1219	210	1181	17	1105	21	1146	66	977	24	1200			28	1053	30	948			675	1160
Div 1-A																			9	3597	9	3597
Div 1-B																			7	3322	7	3322
Div 2-A																			17	3943	17	3943
Div 2-B																			10	2152	10	2152
Div 3-A																			168	1565	168	1565
Div 3-B																			461	1022	461	1022
Mess., Sentries																			29	926	29	926
Traps																			125	355	125	355
Totals	3446	1230	1917	1791	3406	121	314	1270	697	1316	683	1375	45	1328	662	1191	596	1188			878	1195
Wtg PU's																						
Non-Wtg PU's																						
Total PU's																						

Source: Annual Report of the Auditor General, Year 1923

Data collected and aggregated by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert Barfield

TABLE 10001—NUMBER OF PERSONS BY OCCUPATION FOR WHITE, BY SEX, IN U. S., 1901

Occupation	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
U. S.						
White.						
Prof. & Bus.						
Clerks	1413	8.1	1300	16.1	2713	22.9
Prof. & Bus.	490	13.1	279	13.2	769	10.6
Business	51	2.04	10	2.03	61	1.05
Letter Car.	1111	10.6	542	13.9	1653	14.7
Messages			1	0.01	1	0.00
Service.						
Tramps	36	10.2	204	12.5	240	2.0
Inv. 1-4						
Inv. 1-8						
Inv. 2-4						
Inv. 2-8						
Inv. 3-4						
Inv. 3-8						
Man. & S. Ind.						
Tramps	140	13.5	1439	13.2	1579	13.7
Totals	410	13.5	1439	13.2	1849	16.4
White 10's						
White 10's						
Total 10's						

Source: Bureau Report of the National Bureau, Nov. 1901

Table collected and arranged by the Bureau of the Census, Nov. 1901

Table collected and arranged by the Bureau of the Census, Nov. 1901

REVENUE RECEIPTS, AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY DISPOSITION FOR THE YEAR ENDED JAN 31, 1927

	Indians		Cadees		M.		H.		H.I.		Mts.		Totals		Totals	
	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day
U.S.																
W.D.N.																
Clerk & Rec'd	97	1,550	68	2,530	17	5,520	21	5,800	17	5,330	1	5,000	20	5,000	21	3,000
Clerks	105	1,700	80	1,900	107	1,900	57	1,900	54	1,600	16	1,400	204	1,700	347	1,500
Mts. files	48	1,000	57	1,600	75	1,700	151	1,900	14	1,600	14	1,600	10	1,700	125	1,700
Postmaster	59	1,570	10	2,000	7	2,500	6	3,150	2	2,500	8	2,500	8	2,500	104	2,700
Letter Carriers	115	1,900	567	1,900	74	1,900	107	1,900	10	1,400	10	1,400	194	1,400	300	1,400
Non-emp.																
Temp.																
Rec'd	70	1,100	40	1,100	30	1,100	146	1,400	3	1,100			63	1,100	111	1,100
Inv 1 H															9	5,000
Inv 1 H															14	3,000
Inv 2 H															27	2,700
Inv 2 H															40	2,500
Inv 3 H															20	1,400
Inv 3 H															40	1,400
Postmaster															40	1,400
Total															120	1,400
W.D.N.															14	1,400
Rec'd by W.D.N.															14	1,400
Total W.D.N.															14	1,400

Source: Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, Year 1927

Indians and their families supported by U.S. Government and B.I.B. Inc.

Indians and their families supported by B.I.B. Inc. and B.I.B. Inc.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF PRISONS, FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU OF PRISONS, JAN. 30, 1939

Division		Males		Females		Total		Soc.		Inmate		Total	
No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day
INM.													
W.D.M.													
Clerk & Head													
104	514	48	538	12	248	11	550	22	242	21	507	1	357
134	155	106	140	130	174	115	144	33	115	25	146	15	144
427	163	237	164	78	141	66	175	151	178	75	171	104	171
57	371	14	374	11	523	6	383	5	344	9	345	2	240
136	141	623	141	77	152	74	146	30	148	115	141	9	149
Messengers													
751	151	440	154	41	100	41	100	193	136	16	124	3	90
Boys													
140	140	440	140	41	100	41	100	193	136	16	124	3	90
Messengers													
140	140	440	140	41	100	41	100	193	136	16	124	3	90
Totals													
140	140	440	140	41	100	41	100	193	136	16	124	3	90
W.D.M.													
140	140	440	140	41	100	41	100	193	136	16	124	3	90
Total W.D.M.													
140	140	440	140	41	100	41	100	193	136	16	124	3	90

Source: Bureau Report of the Institute of Social Studies, New York

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of Social and Health

Data collected and supplied by the Bureau of Social and Health

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERSONS OF DIFFERENT RACES OR ETHNICITIES, BY SEX, AGE, AND PLACE OF BIRTH, 1990-1999

	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian		Native Hawaiian		Other		Total	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Male														
Under 18	100	290	10	290	12	330	24	290	5	290	5	290	29	290
18-24	170	92	17	160	10	170	28	170	30	170	24	170	376	170
25-34	35	240	24	240	63	240	140	240	70	240	162	240	191	240
35-44	22	16	16	16	6	16	6	16	9	16	10	16	134	16
45-54	144	694	69	144	60	144	37	144	41	144	16	144	308	144
55-64														
65-74	110	110	54	120	58	120	152	120	101	120	15	120	192	120
75-84													10	482
85-94													19	304
95-104													8	303
105-114													60	208
115-124													321	168
125-134													372	1179
135-144													10	102
145-154													147	470
155-164													106	154
165-174													1513	1513
175-184														
185-194														
195-204														
205-214														
215-224														
225-234														
235-244														
245-254														
255-264														
265-274														
275-284														
285-294														
295-304														
305-314														
315-324														
325-334														
335-344														
345-354														
355-364														
365-374														
375-384														
385-394														
395-404														
405-414														
415-424														
425-434														
435-444														
445-454														
455-464														
465-474														
475-484														
485-494														
495-504														
505-514														
515-524														
525-534														
535-544														
545-554														
555-564														
565-574														
575-584														
585-594														
595-604														
605-614														
615-624														
625-634														
635-644														
645-654														
655-664														
665-674														
675-684														
685-694														
695-704														
705-714														
715-724														
725-734														
735-744														
745-754														
755-764														
765-774														
775-784														
785-794														
795-804														
805-814														
815-824														
825-834														
835-844														
845-854														
855-864														
865-874														
875-884														
885-894														
895-904														
905-914														
915-924														
925-934														
935-944														
945-954														
955-964														
965-974														
975-984														
985-994														
1000-1009														

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1990-1999

Data collected and reported by the Bureau of the Census

Data collected and reported by the Bureau of the Census

MANPOWER SUPPLY, AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYED, BY CLASSIFICATION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUN 30, 1953

	Ontario		Quebec		N.S.		N.B.		Man.		B.		P.E.I.		Alta.		Sask.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg	No.	Reg
(1)																						
1949																						
Temp & Hired	40	240	66	2,094	11	2,901	12	2,409	24	2,749	24	1,549	2	2,000	21	2,331	25	2,335			1	900
Clerks	1,004	1512	400	1,465	108	1,507	104	1,530	275	1,525	277	1,523	15	1,449	239	1,532	230	1,515			352	1,509
Offs. Clks.	401	3,000	239	1,936	71	2,110	63	2,213	147	2,156	76	2,011	15	1,870	105	2,119	157	2,109			135	2,057
Postmaster	67	2347	18	1,551	9	2,346	6	2,340	6	3,003	9	2,002	2	2,255	8	2,555	10	2,510			15	2,453
Letter Car.	140	1,713	635	1,106	76	1,309	61	1,335	210	1,321	337	1,329	9	1,256	209	1,319	141	1,304			304	1,314
Temp.																			99	505		
Phys.	20	1,212	504	1,115	41	1,176	60	1,304	145	1,336	94	1,142	1	1,051	111	1,152	123	1,100			1915	1,176
Div 1-H																			8	415		
Div 1-B																			14	2,538		
Div 2-H																			29	2,797		
Div 2-B																			56	2,164		
Div 3-H																			22	1,553		
Div 3-B																			404	1,127		
Totals	4126	19,094	8,411	14,076	1,636	18,107	3,035	16,222	8,110	15,594	8,117	14,142	45	16,335	633	15,493	605	15,393	942	1,333	11,213	1,127
Reg. P.O.'s																						
Non Reg. P.O.'s																						
Total P.O.'s																						

Source: Annual Report of the Minister General, May 1954

Data collected and interpreted by H. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data collected and interpreted by Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

PERSONNEL SOURCES HANDLED BY EMPLOYEES BY CLASSIFICATION AND BY PROVINCE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING IN 30, 1936

	Ontario		Quebec		N.B.		Man.		B.		P.E.		Alta.		Sask.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.	No.	Reg.
WM																				
Admin	89	2446	57	2469	9	2736	13	2446	25	2466	21	2590	31	2578	24	2503			259	2474
Corp & Hist	1414	979	660	1579	103	1639	94	1654	27	1640	94	1720	233	1749	216	1615			346	1363
Clerks	353	2317	304	2168	68	2146	61	2305	150	2137	70	2316	96	2381	149	2212			1168	2300
Mfg Oils	56	2447	12	2612	8	2419	5	2524	5	2568	9	2567	7	2728	8	2811			112	2536
Postmaster	1254	1410	650	1336	84	1362	55	1392	186	1422	322	1399	307	1400	134	1330			2500	1404
Letter Carr.																	152	660		
Tramps																				
Misc.	686	1266	441	1259	54	1229	91	1325	149	1306	91	1235	103	1364	114	1273	27	1047	1711	1273
Div 1-A																	8	4616	8	4616
Div 1-B																	19	3466	19	3466
Div 2-A																	23	2777	23	2777
Div 2-B																	44	2236	44	2236
Div 3-A																	367	1621	367	1621
Div 3-B																	336	1203	336	1203
Totals	3652	1356	2224	1616	323	1693	282	1771	766	1679	757	1652	42	1747	646	1731	878	1414	10497	1542
Regd PU's																				
Non Regd PU's																				
Total PU's																				

Source: Annual Report of the Auditor General, Year 1936

Data collected and aggregated by R. Richard Lee and Keith Lee

Data entered and averaged by Robert Nuttall

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTAL OF EMPLOYEES BY DISPOSITION AND BY PAYMENT, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JAN 31, 1937

Division	Code		R.		N.		M.		R.		H.		H.		S.		I.		T.	
	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day	No.	Day
Inf.	93	232	69	232	10	2309	12	2316	75	2405	29	2311	1	2351	0	2333	36	2463		
Inf.	146	1935	674	1571	106	1584	99	1594	20	1600	35	1601	15	1533	236	1601	22	1619		
Inf.	42	2175	202	2173	66	2380	60	2361	144	2214	70	2187	15	1936	97	2382	149	2239	352	1994
Inf.	59	1940	12	2513	10	2408	5	2348	4	2402	9	2402	2	2508	7	2769	8	3004	1164	2208
Letter Car.	135	1389	700	1374	89	1372	66	1338	105	1381	99	1401	9	1414	218	1371	136	1396	116	2332
Temp.																			3124	1383
Inf.	481	3088	362	1340	36	1291	39	1305	139	1318	40	1303			61	1310	100	1252	20	1126
Div 1-A																			127	1911
Div 1-B																			6	4093
Div 2-A																			15	746
Div 2-B																			27	2946
Div 3-A																			46	2367
Div 3-B																			272	1634
Totals	365	1901	2339	1689	316	1735	201	1796	746	1737	756	1736	42	1940	639	1717	640	1769	936	1312
Actg. PO's																			301	1312
Non-Actg. PO's																			10409	1755
Total PO's																				

Source: Annual Report of the Building General, Year 1937

Data collected and aggregated by R. Richard Lee and Ruth Lee

Data entered and corrected by Robert L. Lusk

TELEPHONE SERVICE: NO. NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY DISPOSITION AND BY FUNCTION, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUN 30, 1939

	Outside		In		Mk.		Mn.		H		FET		Files		Sack.		Inside		Total	
	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.	No.	Av.
D.H.																				
R/D.H.																				
Clerk & Asst																				
Temp & Asst	114	2861	68	2594	12	2862	17	2796	17	2796	1	3150	26	2336	25	2748			303	2516
Clerks	1315	2042	948	1668	117	1640	109	1705	302	1666	17	1454	235	1637	246	1675			3576	1805
R/S Clks	361	2303	207	2037	73	2339	63	2468	141	2341	70	2272	97	2369	147	2348			1173	2335
Postmaster	64	3623	12	2563	9	2419	3	3003	9	2666	2	2576	6	2600	6	3150			118	2673
Letter Carr.	1417	1460	766	1465	69	1425	65	1481	222	1449	377	1447	216	1440	146	1468			3007	1447
Messengers																				
Temp.																				
Misc.	704	1469	233	1391	23	1369	28	1406	67	1408	26	1309	49	1397	66	1288			832	1414
Div 1-A																	6	5360	6	5360
Div 1-B																	24	3798	24	3798
Div 2-A																	34	2900	34	2900
Div 2-B																	58	228	58	228
Div 3-A																	238	1731	238	1731
Div 3-B																	408	1205	408	1205
Mess., Sorters																	6	760	6	760
Totals																	176	499	176	499
Actg R/S	3094	1940	2204	1818	77	1940	229	1949	753	1879	804	1824	44	1906	649	1840	992	1314	1001	1854
Non Actg R/S																				
Total R/S																				

Source: Annual Report of the Harbor Bureau, Year 1939

Data collected and supplied by H. Richard Lee and H. H. Lee

Data entered and arranged by Robert L. Hunt

ANNUAL REMUNERATION - LETTER CARRIERS, 1944-1980*

YEAR	MAIL SERVICE		SUPERVISORY	
	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
July, 1944	1200	1620		
Apr., 1946	1320	1800		
Oct., 1947	1620	2160		
Oct., 1948	1800	2340		
Dec., 1950	1920	2628		
Oct., 1951	2028	2628		
Dec., 1951	2220	2850		
Dec., 1953	2400	3060		
July, 1957	2850	3600		
July, 1960	3270	4020		
Oct., 1962	3630	4380		
Oct., 1964	3990	4740		
Aug., 1965	4155	4905		
Oct., 1965	4215	4965		
Oct., 1966	4735	5485		
Aug., 1967	5427	5922		
Oct., 1968	5751	6246	6204	6741
Aug., 1970	6386	6866	6824	7367
Sept, 1970	6678	7158	7116	7659
Mar., 1971	6908	7388	7346	7889
Feb., 1973	7701	8181	8139	8682
Dec., 1973	7993	8473	8431	8974
May, 1974	8264	8744	8702	9245
June, 1975	10,247	10,727	10,780	11,332
July, 1975	10,873	11,353	11,416	11,958
Jan., 1976	11,708	12,188	12,459	13,002
July, 1976	12,334	12,814	13,085	13,628
Sept, 1977	13,544	13,878	14,421	14,400
Oct., 1978	14,442	14,776	15,214	15,402
July, 1979	15,005	15,339	15,986	16,174
Apr., 1980	18,032	18,365	19,012	19,200

* After 1939 the Annual Report of the Auditor General ceased providing individuals' names, classifications and annual salaries. Unfortunately neither the Postmaster General or the Auditor General commenced providing aggregate information of this type. Thus only minimum-maximum data is available since 1944 from Canada Post Corporation, Labour Relations, Industrial Relations Research

ANNUAL REMUNERATION - POSTAL CLERKS, 1944 - 1981

YEAR	POSTAL CLERK 1		POSTAL CLERK 2		SUPERVISORY		DESPATCH	
	MIN.	MAX.	MIN.	MAX.	MIN.	MAX.	MIN.	MAX.
July, 1944			1,200	1,860				
Apr., 1946			1,320	2,040				
Sept., 1946			1,644	2,280				
Oct., 1947	1,200	1,800	1,740	2,400				
Oct., 1948			1,800	2,580				
Dec., 1950	1,536	2,232	2,028	2,904				
July, 1951	1,812	2,364						
Dec., 1951	1,860	2,560	2,220	3,130				
Dec., 1953	2,010	2,760	2,400	3,360				
Apr., 1955	2,010	3,060						
Apr., 1956	2,310	3,360	2,640	3,360				
May, 1957	2,550	3,600	2,850	3,990	3,570	3,720	3,720	4,020
July, 1960	2,970	4,020	3,270	4,320				
Aug., 1960					4,050	4,200	4,200	4,500
Oct., 1962	3,330	4,380	3,630	4,680	4,410	4,560	4,560	4,860
Oct., 1964	3,690	4,740	3,990	5,040	4,770	4,920	4,920	5,220
Aug., 1965	3,855	4,905	4,165	5,215	4,940	5,090	5,100	5,400
Oct., 1965					5,000	5,150	5,160	5,460
Oct., 1966	4,375	5,425	4,685	5,735	5,350	5,511	5,680	5,980
Oct., 1968	5,355	5,811	6,030	6,546	5,751	6,246	6,204	6,741
Aug., 1970	5,989	6,428	6,657	7,179	6,386	6,866	6,824	7,367
Sept., 1970	6,281	6,720	6,949	7,471	6,678	7,158	7,116	7,659
Mar., 1971	6,511	6,949	7,179	7,701	6,908	7,388	7,346	7,889
Feb., 1973	7,304	7,742	7,972	8,494	7,701	8,181	8,139	8,682
Dec., 1973	7,596	8,035	8,264	8,786	7,993	8,473	8,431	8,974

May, 1974	7,868	8,306	8,535	9,057	8,264	8,744	8,702	9,245
Dec., 1975	10,915	11,114	11,114	11,666	11,144	11,666	11,311	11,854
Jan., 1976	11,520	11,958	11,979	12,501	11,979	12,501	12,146	12,689
July, 1976	12,355	12,973	12,605	13,127	12,605	13,127	12,772	13,315
Jan., 1979	14,275	14,567	14,734	15,089	14,734	15,089	15,110	15,298
July, 1979	14,838	15,131	15,298	15,652	15,298	15,652	15,673	15,861
Jan., 1980	18,073	18,365	18,324	18,679	18,324	18,679	18,699	18,887
Jan., 1981	20,327	20,619	20,578	20,933	20,578	20,933	20,953	21,141

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There exists no bibliography concerning the Canadian Post Office or postal policy. Oddly, Canada Post Corporation does not even have a list of all postal statutes passed from the beginning. The following attempts to cite every primary document concerning the Canadian postal system including Parliamentary debates, Parliamentary committees, statutes, annual reports, monographs and major speeches. In addition an attempt has been made to cite all books and journal articles which pertain to the British and American postal systems. It is not claimed that all citations have been read. While normal practice dictates that an author only lists documents used, it is a secondary objective of the dissertation to produce a comprehensive bibliography on the postal system, because of the absence of any on record. The reader will discover the sources actually relied upon by examining the end notes of the thesis.

CROWN AND PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

- 1545 Royal Patent issued by 37 Henry VIII, November 12, 1545 granting the office of Master of the Messengers, Runners or Posts, to William Paget and John Mason.
- 1567 Royal Patent issued by 9 Elizabeth, May 4, 1567 granting the office of Master of the Messengers and the Runners, commonly called the Queen's Posts, to Thomas Randolph.
- 1590 Royal Patent issued by 32 Elizabeth, June 20, 1590 granting the office of Master of the Messengers and Runners, commonly called the Queen's Posts, to John Stanhope.
- 1591 Royal Proclamation granting monopoly over foreign Mail to the Master of Messengers and Runners. April 26, 1591
- 1603 Royal Orders for Thorough Posts and Couriers riding in post on the Kings' Affairs, 1603.

- 1607 Royal Patent issued by Queen Elizabeth to John Stanhope surrendered to James I. Royal Patent issued by 5 James I, July 26, 1607 granting the office of Master of the Messengers and Runners, commonly called the King's Post to Lord John Stanhope.
- 1609 Royal Proclamation against the unauthorized conveyance of inland letters. Greenwich, May 15, 1609.
- 1619 Letters patent of King James I, granting the office of Postmaster-General of England for Foreign Parts out of the King's Dominions, to Mathew de Quester and Mathew de Quester his son. April 30, 1619.
- 1623 Royal Proclamation confirming Mathew de Quester, and Mathew de Quester, his son, in the office of Postmaster-General of England for Foreign Parts. Westminster, December 19, 1623.
- 1627 Order of Council restricting the liberty given by the Order (November 22, 1626) to all Companies of Merchants to convey their despatches by messengers of their own choosing, to the Company of Merchants Adventurers, October 24, 1627.
- 1632 Royal Proclamation concerning the Postmaster of England for Foreign Parts, July 19, 1632
- 1635 Royal Proclamation for the settling of the Letter-office of England and Scotland, July 31, 1635
- 1637 Royal Proclamation concerning the carrying and recarrying of Letters as well within his Majesty's Realms and Dominions as into and from Foreign Parts, Feb. 11, 1637.
- 1640 Royal Proclamation concerning the Sequestration of the office of Postmaster for Foreign Parts and also of the Letter-office of England into the hands of Philip Burlamachy, August 6, 1640.
- 1640 House of Commons Special Committee [appointed February 10, 1640] for postmasters to consider all petitions that every way concern the complaints of the inland posts, foreign carriers, and foot posts [both Houses of Parliament voted September 8, 1642 that the Royal appointment of Philip Burlamachy was illegal and void].

- 1644 House of Commons Message to the Lords, to make Mr. Prideaux Master of the Posts, September 9, 1644.
- 1649 Council of State [Interregnum] Ordered, That Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Heveningham, Mr. Holland, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Alderman Wilson, or any two of them, be a Committee to consider how the posts for letters, both within england and out, may be best managed for the service of the Commonwealth, March 29, 1649.
- 1650 Council of State Ordered, That the paper given in to the Councell by Mr. Attorney-Generall, concerning the posts, be reported to the Parliament; and that it is the opinion of this Councell that, as affaires now stand, they conceive it safe and fitt that the office of Postmaster shall be in the sole power and disposeall of the Parliament, March 14, 1650. Printed in House of Commons Journals, March 21, 1650.
- 1653 House of Commons. Resolution of the House of Commons concerning the Post-office, May 7, 1653.
- 1653 Council of State Ordered, That power be given to the Committee appointed for the business of the posts, to dispose both of the Inland and Foreign Post-offices, for the best advantage of the Commonwealth, June 13, 1653.
- 1653 Council of State Order to the postmasters on the road to Yarmouth, to hold themselves in readiness during the fleet's being upon the northern coast, to have always ready in the stable a convenient number of horses, August 8, 1653.
- 1655 Colonel Jones presents a Report from the Committee of Council for consideration of the whole business of the Post-office; ordered, that the management of the Post-office be performed by Mr. Secretary Thurloe, giving security for the present rent of 10,000 l per annum, April 24, 1655.
- 1656 Ordinance concerning the Post-office.
- 1657 An Act for the settling the Postage in England, Scotland and Ireland [Passed June, 1657], Chapter 30.

- 1659 House of Commons Ordered, That it be referred to the Council of State forthwith to take the office of post-master into their hands, and to take care that the said office be managed for the best advantage of the Commonwealth; and to call the persons who have received the profits of the said office, to an account, and report the matter to Parliament, with their opinion therein, January 7, 1659.
- 1660 An Act erecting and establishing a post-office. Passed December 20, 1660.
12 Car II c. 35
- 1660 Royal Patent issued by 12 Charles II, August 14, 1660 granting the office of Master of the Messengers and Runners, commonly called the King's Posts, to Henry Bishopp.
- 1663 Royal Patent issued by 15 Charles II, April 29, 1663 granting the office of Master-General of the Messengers and Runners, commonly called the office of Postmaster-General, to Daniel O'Neile.
- 1663 Royal Proclamation for better quieting the Postmaster-general in the Execution of his Office. Whitehall, May 25, 1663.
- 1667 Royal Proclamation for quieting the Post-Master-General in the execution of his Office. Whitehall, July 16, 1667.
- 1683 Royal Proclamation for enforcing the due Execution of the Act of Parliament, intituled, An Act for Settling the Profits of the Post-office on His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and his Heirs Males, and for prevention of Treasonable Correspondences and other Inconveniences arising by the Infringement of the said Act. Windsor, August 25, 1683.
- 1685 Royal Proclamation for enforcing the due execution of the Acts of Parliament for erecting the Post-office, and for settling the profits thereof on His Majesty, his heirs and successors. Windsor, September 7, 1685.
- 1695 House of Commons Journals. State of the Revenue of the General Post-office from Michaelmas, 1693 to Michaelmas, 1694; with the loans, debts, and charges upon the revenue; together with an account of the establishment. January 15, 1694-95.

- 1710 An act for establishing a general post office for all Her Majesty's dominions, and for settling a weekly sum out of the revenues thereof, for the service of the war, and other of Her Majesty's occasions.
9 Anne c. 10
- 1717 *3 George I c. 7*
- 17?? An act ... for ascertaining the rates payable for the postage of certain letters.
26 George II c. 13
- 17?? *3 George II c. 25*
- 1762 An act for preventing frauds and abuses in relation to the sending and receiving of letters and packets free from the duty of postage.
3 George III c. 24
- 1763 An Act to authorize franking for certain of His Majesty's Officers.
4 George III c. 24
- 1765 An act to alter certain rates of postage, and to amend, explain, and enlarge federal provisions and in other acts relating to the revenue of the post office.
5 George III c. 25
- 1778 An act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America . . .
18 George III c. 12
- 1783-4 An Act for establishing a Post-Office within this Kingdom.
23-24 George III c. 17
- 1785 An Act to amend the Post Office Act
25 George III c. 19
- 1786 An Act to amend the Post Office Act
26 George III c. 12
- 1795 An act for further regulating the sending and receiving letters free from the duty of postage; for allowing non-commissioned officers, seamen and private men, in the army and navy, whilst on service,

to send and receive letters at a low rate of postage; and for permitting patterns and samples of goods to be transmitted by the post an easier rate than is now allowed by law; the sum of one penny.

35 George III c. 53

- 1795 An Act to enable His Majesty's Postmaster- general to open and return certain Letters contained in the Mails made up at the General Post-office in London, for the United Provinces, on the 13th, 16th, and 30th days of January, 1795, and now remaining in the said General Post-office.

35 George III c. 62

- 1805 An act for granting certain additional rates and duties in great Britain, on the conveyance of letters.

45 George III c. 11

- 1812 An Act for granting to His Majesty certain additional rates of postage in Great Britain [and the colonies].

52 George III c. 88

- 1828 House of Commons. A Return of the Establishment of the General Post Office in Upper and Lower Canada, and in each of other the colonies in North America; stating the number of Postmasters in each Province, the Name of every Person receiving more than £.50 sterling, in salary, Allowances and Fees, and whether resident and performing the Duties of the Office in Person or by Deputy, and by whom these Officers are appointed. Feb. 21, 1828.

- 1833 House of Commons. Returns to an Address to His Majesty, dated 6th February, 1833, for, A Return of the Establishment of the General Post Office in Upper and Lower Canada, and in each of the other colonies in North America, stating the number of Postmasters and Deputy Postmasters in each Province, the amount of Salary, Allowances and Emoluments, and the Name of each Person Receiving more than 50 l. sterling in Salary, Allowances and Fees, with the Amount of such Income in each Year, and from what Sources derived; distinguishing also whether Resident and performing the Duties of the Office in Person, or by Deputy, and if by Deputy, what Salary and Allowances are paid to each such Deputy; stating also whether those Persons hold any other Office, and what Office, of Emolument, in those Provinces, and by whom these Officers are appointed; also the whole Expense of the Establishment at each Place, distinguishing the Amount of Salaries above and the Amount under 50 l., the Expense of Conveying the Mails, and all contingent Expenses, during each of the Years 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831.
And, A Return of the Gross Amount of Postage in Upper and Lower Canada, and in each of the other Colonies in North America, distinguishing each, during each of the Years 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831; distinguishing also the amount of Newspaper and Pamphlet Postage Charge from the Amount of Letter Postage received at each Office, and showing in what Manner the Proceeds have been applied under the several Heads.
And, A Statement showing the Gross Amount of Newspaper Postage paid by each Printer or Proprietor of Newspapers in the Canadas, and other Colonies in North America, in each of the Years 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831, showing in what Manner and to Whom the Proceeds have been Appropriated. July 10, 1833.
- 1834 An Act to repeal, at the period within mentioned, so much of an act passed in the Fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, King George the Third, intituled An Act to alter certain Rates of Postage, and to amend, explain, and enlarge several Provisions in an Act made in the Ninth Year of the Reign of Queen Anne, and in other Acts relating to the Revenue of the Post Office, as authorizes the taking of certain Rates of Inland Postage within His Majesty's Dominions in North America.
4-5 George IV c. 7

- 1837 **An Act for the Management of the Post Office.**
7 William IV and 1 Victoria c. 33
- 1837 **House of Commons. British Parliamentary Papers Vol. XVIII.**
Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of Lower Canada,
Paragraph 1001-1004. March 11, 1837.
- 1839 **House of Commons. British Parliamentary Papers Vol. XVII.**
Report on the Affairs of British North America, pp. 51-52, 113.
- 1839 **House of Commons. Copies or Extracts of Correspondence**
Relative to the affairs of British North America [Post Office], No.
34. February 11, 1839.
- 1840 **House of Commons. British Parliamentary Papers Vol. XXXI, pp.**
19-21. Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Canada.
- 1840 **An Act for the Regulation of duties of Postage.**
3-4 Victoria c. 96
- 1844 **House of Commons. Sessional Papers. Report of the Secret**
Committee to Investigate the Post Office. August 5, 1844.
- 1846 **House of Commons. Return to an address of the Honourable**
House of Commons dated 18th March, 1846;- for, a copy of the
Memorandum of the Board of Trade of Toronto to the British
Government regarding cheap postage, and the answer of the Lords
to that memorial. May 4, 1846.
- 1844 **An Act for the better regulation of Colonial Posts.**
7-8 Victoria c. 49
- 1848 **Convention between her Majesty and the United States of**
America, for the improvement of the communication by post
between their respective territories, signed at London, Dec. 15,
1848. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of
Her Majesty, 1849.
- 1849 **An Act for enabling Colonial Legislatures to establish Inland Posts**
12-13 Victoria c. 66

- 1857 House of Commons. British Parliamentary Papers. Report of the Select Committee on the State of the British Possessions in North America which are under the Administration of the Hudson's Bay Company [see testimony of March 2, 1857, Paragraph 1873 to 1963 concerning the extant postal system]. 1857.
- 1859 House of Commons. Return to an order of the House of Commons, dated March 31, 1859, for, Copies of all Applications, Reports, Papers, or Communications made to any Department of the Government relating to Proposals for new Contracts to establish Steam Communication, for Postal Purposes, between Great Britain, or Ireland, and North America, since the 1st day of January, 1858; and the Replies thereto; And, of Reply given by the Government, dated the 9th day of November 1858, to the Liverpool, New York and Philadelphia Company, on the same subject. April 15, 1859.
- 1859 House of Commons. Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated 5 April 1859, for, Copy of all Correspondence on the subject of the intended Mail Service between Galway and America. April 15, 1859.
- 1859 House of Commons. Return to an order of the House of Commons, February 21, 1859, for, the Actual or Estimated, of the Gross Amount of Postage on Letters conveyed by the Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company's Vessels between Liverpool and Canada, Outwards and Homewards, whether via Quebec or via Portland, for each year separately, since they commenced carrying mails; distinguishing the Proportion accruing to the Post Office Revenue of Great Britain; And, of the Gross Postage on any United States Mails conveyed by the above vessels between Portland and Liverpool, or vice versa, and of the Proportion of the same accruing to the Imperial Post Office. April 19, 1859.
- 1859 House of Commons. Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 29 March 1859, for, Copies of the Address from Both Branches of the Legislature of Canada to Her Majesty, relative to Postal Subsidies and the Intercolonial Railway; And, of the Correspondence between the Delegates from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and Her Majesty's Government, relative to the Intercolonial Railway from Halifax to Quebec. July 22, 1859.

- 1859 House of Commons. Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 7 July 1859, for, Copies of all Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Provincial Government of Canada, in reference to the Conveyance of Mails between this Country and British North America; Of an Address to Her Majesty, voted by the Parliament of Canada, on the same subject; And, of all Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company or Sir Samuel Cunard, Baronet, on the subject of the Prolongation or Renewal of the Contract made with that Company for the Conveyance of the Mails to and from North America. August 11, 1859.
- 1859 House of Commons. Sessional Papers No. 22. Return concerning Canadian ocean mail service.
- 1860 House of Commons. Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 17 February 1860, for, Copies of Any Correspondence since the 1st day of June last between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and any Member of the Canadian Government, respecting the Conveyance of Mails between Canada and the United Kingdom, and the Contract now existing for the Conveyance of Mails from the United Kingdom to the United States. February 29, 1860.
- 1860 House of Commons. Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated 16 July 1860, for, Copies of the Proposed Assignment of the Galway Packet Contract to the Government of Canada, and any Communications stating the conditions or Modifications on which the Sanction of Her Majesty's Government is sought to that Transfer. August 3, 1860.
- 1860 House of Commons. Parliamentary Papers No. 328. First Report of the Select Committee on Packet and Telegraphic Contracts. May 22, 1860.
- 1861 House of Commons. Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated 4 June 1861, for, A Return, Actual or Estimated, of the Gross Postage accruing to the Post Office Revenue of Great Britain during the years 1859 and 1860 respectively, on Letters, Newspapers, and other Mail Matter, conveyed by the Canadian Mail Line of Steamers; separating the Outward from the Inward Receipts, and distinguishing the Proportion accruing on International Letters, etc., passing between the United Kingdom on the

one side, and the United States and Canada respectively on the other, from the Proportion accruing on Letters etc., passing between Foreign countries or British Colonies and the United States and Canada respectively, in transit through the United Kingdom. July 15, 1861.

- 1863 House of Commons. Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 10 July 1863, for, Copy of all Correspondence, from the 1st day of January 1862 to the present Time, between the Colonial Office and the Hudson's Bay Company or other Parties, relative to a Road and Telegraph from Canada to British Columbia, and the Transfer of the Property and Rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to other Parties. July 15, 1863.
- 1867 Convention between the General Post Office of Great Britain and Ireland, and the General Post Office of the United States of America, signed at London June 18, 1867.
- 1884 Convention between Her Majesty and the President of the French Republic for the exchange of postal money orders between the Dominion of Canada and France, signed at London June 20, 1884. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty, 1884.
- 1887 Colonial Conference 1887. Proceedings of the Colonial Conference at London, England, 1887, in relation to Imperial Postal and Telegraphic Communications throughout Canada.

PRIMARY SOURCES - CANADIAN PARLIAMENTS

PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT OF LOWER CANADA 1791-1841

- 1780 An ordinance for Regulating all Such persons as keep Horses and Carriages to let and hire for the accommodation of Travellers commonly called and known by the name of *Maîtres de Poste*.
20 George III

- 1793 Session, Provincial Parliament. An Act to continue and amend an act passed in the twentieth year of His Majesty's reign intituled an Ordinance for regulating all such persons as keep Horses and Carriages to let and hire for the accommodation of Travellers commonly called and known by the name of *Maitre de Poste*.
33 George III c. VI
- 1795 Session, Provincial Parliament. An Act to amend and make perpetual an Act passed in the twentieth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Ordinance for regulating all such persons as keep Horses and Carriages to let and hire for the accommodation of travellers commonly called by the name of *Maitre de Poste*."
35 George III c. VII
- 1799 Session, Provincial Parliament. An Act for granting further encouragement, and a more ample allowance to the *Maitres* and *Aides-de Poste* in this Province.
39 George III c. VIII.
- 1802 Second Session, Third Provincial Parliament. An Act to continue for a limited time and amend an act passed in the thirty ninth year of His Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for granting further encouragement, and a more ample allowance to the *Maitres* and *Aides de Poste*, in this Province."
42 George III c. IX
- 1803 Third and Fourth Sessions, Third Provincial Parliament. An Act to continue, for a limited time, an Act passed in the thirty ninth year of His Majesty's reign, intituled, " An Act for granting further encouragement and a more ample allowance to the *Maitres* and *Aides de Poste* in this Province" and to continue for a limited time, an Act passed in the forty second year of His Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act to continue for a limited time and amend an Act passed in the thirty ninth year of His Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for granting further encouragement and a more ample allowance to the *Maitres* and *Aides de Poste* in this Province."
43 George III c. VI
- 1803 Third and Fourth Sessions, Third Provincial Parliament. An act for the more ample publication of certain acts of the Provincial Parliament.
43 George III c. IV

- 1812 Second Session, Seventh Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Petition from the *Mattres* and *Aides de Poste*, pp. 136-136. Report of Committee to Investigate Petitions, pp. 170-172. 1812.
- 1813 Third Session, Seventh Provincial Parliament. An Act to appropriate and authorize the application of a sum of money therein mentioned towards improving the communications by land between the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada.
53 George III c. IV
- 1814 Fifth Session, Seventh Provincial Parliament. An Act to establish Post-Houses in the different parts of this Province.
54 George III c. VII
- 1815 First Session, Eighth Provincial Parliament. An Act to improve the Internal Communications of this Province.
55 George III c. VIII
- 1816 Second Session, Eighth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Committee to Enquire into the state of the Post Office, and the Causes of Delays in the Arrival of the Mails, pp. 94, 246-248. 1816.
- 1817 First Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. An Act to make more effectual provision for the improvement of the Internal Communications of this Province.
57 George III c. XIII
- 1817 First Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. An Act to continue for a limited time, an Act passed in the fifty fourth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Act to establish Post-Houses in the different parts of this Province."
57 George III c. XXV
- 1818 Second Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. An Act to authorize the appointment of Commissioners for the improvement of the communication by Water, with Upper Canada.
58 George III c. X

- 1825 First Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. An Act for the more certain and expeditious distribution of the Printed Acts of the Legislature of this Province.
5 George IV c. V
- 1825 First Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. An Act relating to the Improvement of the Communications with Upper Canada.
5 George IV c. VI
- 1826 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. An Act to appropriate a Sum of Money therein-mentioned, to enable the Clerks of the Peace to distribute the printed copies of the Acts of the Legislature, as by Law provided.
6 George IV c. XXII
- 1829 Second Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act to make more effectual provision for the improvement of the Internal Communications.
9 George IV c. XIII
- 1829 Second Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act to provide for the more certain and expeditious Distribution of the printed Acts of the Legislature of this Province.
9 George IV c. XXI
- 1831 First Session, Fourteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act to appropriate certain sums of Money therein mentioned, for the Improvement of the Internal Communications of the Province.
11 George IV c. VIII
- 1831 First Session, Fourteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Report of the Special Committee of the House of Assembly on the Post Office Department in the province of Lower Canada. Mar. 26, 1831.
- 1832 Third Session, Fourteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act to repeal a certain Act therein mentioned, and to provide for the more certain and expeditious distribution of the printed Acts of the Legislature of this Province.
12 George IV c. XXXIII

- 1832 Third Session, Fourteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Report of the Special Committee of the House of Assembly on the Post Office Department in the Province of Lower Canada. February 11, 1832.
- 1833 Third Session, Fourteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act to make further provision for the improvement of the Internal Communications of this Province.
13 George IV c. XXVI
- 1835 First Session, Fifteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix X: Bill for the Management and Regulation of the Post Office in Lower Canada. March 11, 1835.
- 1836 Second Session, Fifteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Second Report of a Special Committee of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada on the Subject of the Post Office Department. March 8, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Fifteenth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Report of the Special Committee of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada on the Bill entitled "*An Act to Establish a Post Office in this Province etc.*" March 15, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Fifteenth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Appendix I, pp. 40-42. 1835-36. Communication from the Speaker of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada on the subject of the Post Office Department.
- 1838 An Ordinance for preventing mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing Newspapers, Pamphlets and Papers of like nature, by persons not known, and for other purposes.
1 Victoria c. XX
- 1839 An Ordinance to provide for the improvement, during the winter season, of the principal Post Roads from various parts of the Province to Montreal, and for other purposes.
2 Victoria c. XXXIV
- 1839 An Ordinance to provide for the completion of certain Public Works, for the improvement of the Internal Communications, and for the encouragement of Agriculture, and for other purposes.
2 Victoria c. LIII

- 1839 An Ordinance to provide for the Distribution of Printed Copies of the Ordinances passed by the Governor of this Province and the Special Council for the affairs thereof.
2 Victoria c. LXIII
- 1840 An Ordinance to make provision for defraying the Civil Expenditure of the Provincial Government, for the year ending on the tenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and forty; for the support of certain Charitable Institutions; for the promotion of Education; for certain Public Works; for the improvement of Internal Communications; for the encouragement of Agriculture, and for other purposes.
3 Victoria c. XXII
- 1841 An Ordinance to make further provision for the effectual improvement of the internal communications between this Province and New Brunswick.
4 Victoria c. XXIX

PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA

- 1819 Fifth Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Report of the Committee into Rates of Postage Charged and Authority under which the same have been Directed to be Charged.
- 1821 Session, Seventh Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals, pp. 56-63. Report of the Committee to Inquire into the State of the Public Posts for the Conveyance of letters throughout this Province. Dec. 10, 1821.
- 1825 First Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. An Act to regulate the conveyance of printed Votes and Proceedings in Parliament and printed Newspapers, by packet boats between Great Britain and Ireland, and the British colonies, and also in the United Kingdom.
6 George IV c. LXVIII

- 1825 First Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Report of the Select Committee into Abuses Existing in the Post Office Department. March 9, 1825.
- 1825 Second Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. December 16, 1825.
- 1826 Second Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Address to his Majesty Concerning the Post Office Department. Jan. 12, 1826.
- 1826 Second Session, Ninth Provincial Parliament. An Act to grant to His Majesty a Sum of Money for the Encouragement of Manufacturing Paper in this Province.
7 George IV c. XXIV
- 1829 First Session, Tenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix. Report of the Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the State of the Post Office Department in Upper Canada. Feb. 11, 1829.
- 1835 First Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix No. 8. Message from His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, with documents relative to the Post Office Department [including draft bill For the Management and Regulation of the Post Office in Upper Canada]. Jan. 20, 1835.
- 1835 First Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix, Vol. 1, No. 9. Second Report of the Select Committee on Grievances ... concerning the Secret and Irresponsible Character of the Post Office Department; by which the People were taxed without their consent and the Proceeds remitted to London to be applied to the purpose of the nation, while an extravagant income was allowed to the head of the department at Quebec, and in some cases insufficient remuneration given to his deputies. Feb. 20, 1835.
- 1835 First Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix no. 8, 1835. Communication from the Secretary of State for the Colonies respecting the Post Office Department. 1835.

- 1836 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Speaker Reported having Received a letter from the Clerk of the Assembly of Lower Canada, communicating a Resolution of that House and a printed Bill for the establishment and regulation of the Post Office Department in that Province. Feb. 12, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix, Vol. 1, No. 52. First Report of the Committee on Finance - Post Office Department, with an Appendix ... containing documents transmitted by the Deputy Postmaster General, at Quebec, to his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor in compliance with the address of the House, Last Session, ... March 18, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Appendix I, pp.40-41. Communication from the Speaker of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada on the subject of the Post Office Department. March 19, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals, pp. 320-321. Committee of the Whole House on Six Resolutions on the Post Office Department. Mar. 21, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix, Vol. 3, No. 73, 12 pages. Third Report of the Select Committee on Finance on the subject of the Post Office Department. March 29, 1836.
- 1836 Second Session, Twelfth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix. Volume 3, Number 154, pp. 13-14. Message from the Lieutenant Governor with communication from the Deputy Postmaster General, enclosing a copy of a Bill passed by the Assembly of Lower Canada to His Majesty. April 12, 1836.
- 1837 First Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Committee of the Whole House on Seven Resolutions Relative to the Management of the Post Office, pp. 334-337. Jan 23, 1837; Amendment by Legislative Council, pp. 530-532. Feb. 22, 1837.

- 1837 First Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Appendix K, pp. 71-76. Report of Select Committee of the Legislative Council of the Province of Upper Canada upon the Post Office. February 17, 1837.
- 1837 First Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Appendix N, pp. 88-90. Thirteenth Parliament, First Session. Address to the King on the Post Office Department. Feb. 27, 1837.
- 1837 First Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act to authorize the Members of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of this Province, to Frank letters by the General Post, during the sessions of the Legislature.
7 William IV c. XXI
- 1838 Third Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Appendix D, pp. 24-25. Copy of a despatch transmitted by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor on the subject of the Post Office within the North American provinces. 1837-38.
- 1838 Journals. Third Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Appendix, pp. 387-388. Fifth Report of the Committee of Finance - Post Office. Feb. 27, 1838.
- 1839 Fourth Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. An Act granting to Her Majesty a sum of money for the Improvement of the Post Road between Cornwall and L'Orignal. [re insurrection or invasion].
2 Victoria c. LII
- 1839 Fourth Session, Thirteenth Provincial Parliament. House of Assembly. Journals. Appendix 2, Part 1, pp. 429-430. Post Office Revenue Accounts of Lower and Upper Canada for the year 1838. 1839.

PARLIAMENT OF PROVINCE OF CANADA, 1841-1867

1845

First Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Appendix I. Return to an Address of the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, dated Oct. 17, 1843, praying that He would be graciously pleased to direct that the correspondence which has passed between the home and provincial government, respecting the Post Office Department in this province, or of British North America, relative thereto; or any other information upon the same subject which His Excellency may deem necessary and pleased to communicate, may be laid before the House; and also, quarterly statements, shewing the gross amount of receipts and expenditures of the said department of this province, from the 5th day of January, 1841, to the 5th day of January, 1843, the amount of receipts derived from letter postage, and also the amount of newspaper and pamphlet postage stated separately, with the amount of perquisites arising from the latter description of postage, during the same period, to the Deputy Postmaster General of this province, or to his deputies, separately stated, and also the amount of postage charged to and paid out of the Provincial Funds of this Province, stating the amount paid by each department separately, during the same period; also any information relative to the Commission of Post Office Enquiry referred to from the Throne in the opening speech of the first session of the present Parliament, and further a statement of salaried officers in the said Post Office Department of this Province, the amount thereof separately, and from what part of the funds thereof paid - whether from the aggregate of letter or newspaper and pamphlet postage, naming the officers in each office, and the amount actually paid to each, or any other allowance to each for office rent, stationery or otherwise; and further, if any thing has been done to alter, augment, or reduce the present rate of postage, and if so, what the nature of such alterations is, and the grounds or authority by which the same has been done.

- 1845 First Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Appendix P.P.P. 1844-45. Report of the Select Committee on the Post Office to which was referred the Petition of J.H. Maitland and J.C. Becket of the Canada Sunday School Union praying that measures be adopted to establish a cheap and uniform rate of postage and various other documents, petitions and matters connected with the Post Office Department. Mar. 28, 1845.
- 1845 First Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Message from the Governor General, with copies of correspondence relating to the post office in British North America. 1845.
- 1846 Second Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Post Office. to Which was Referred the Petition of Robert Bruce and others, inhabitants, residing on the Grand River, in the County of Haldimand.
- 1846 Second Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Copies of Certain Documents laid before the House on the Subject of the Post Office Department [including copy of a Resolution passed by the New Brunswick House of Assembly concerning reduction of postage and a uniform postal rate].
- 1846 Second Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Address to Her Majesty upon the Subject of the Post Office Department [petitioning for provincial control of the Post Office in Canada].
- 1847 Third Session, Second Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Six Resolutions of the House [requesting uniform postage rates and a reduction in rates and provincial control of the Post Office]. June 30, 1847.
- 1849 Second Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, dated the 22nd June, 1847, praying that His Excellency would cause to be laid before them, "copies of the quarterly returns made by the deputy postmaster general to the postmaster general in England, shewing the receipts and expenditure of the Post Office Department in this province, from the 5th July, 1844, to the latest period to which the returns have been made up ..." 1849.

- 1849 Second Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. pp. 107-108 and Appendix B.B.B. Message from His Excellency the Governor General communicating a correspondence with the Imperial Government and with that of New Brunswick relative to the establishment of a General Post Office system in British North America including the report of the Intercolonial Commissioners from the different provinces etc. Feb. 27, 1849.
- 1849 Third Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Message from His Excellency the Governor General communicating a despatch from the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia enclosing copies of resolutions of the Assembly of that Province relative to the Post Office Department. June 30, 1847.
- 1849 Third Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals, pp. 323-324. Report of the Committee of the Whole on His Excellency's Message Relative to the Establishment of a General Post Office in British North America. 1849.
- 1849 Third Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals, p. 329. Three Resolutions Passed by the Committee of the Whole Pursuant to His Excellency's Message Relative to the Establishment of a General Post Office in British North America. 1849.
- 1849 Second Session, Third Parliament.
An Act to make provision for the management of the Post Office Department whenever it shall be transferred to the Provincial Government
Assembly: 1st R 329; 2nd R 335; 3rd R 336-337
Council: 350
Royal Assent May 30, 1849
12 Victoria c. 34
- 1850 Third Session, Third Parliament
An Act to provide for the transfer of the management of the Inland Posts to the Provincial Government, and for the regulation of the said Department.
Assembly: 1st R 44; 2nd R 58; 3rd R 154
Council: 182
Royal Assent August 10, 1850
13-14 Victoria c. 17

- 1851 Fourth Session, Third Parliament
An Act to Amend the Post Office Act
Assembly: 1st R 155; 2nd R 216; 3rd R 331
Council: 345
Royal Assent August 30, 1851
14-15 Victoria c. 71
- 1851 Fourth Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly, to his Excellency the Governor General, dated the 9th June praying His Excellency to cause to be laid before the house "a return containing the name of each post office in Canada, the county and township or seigniori where situated, and the name of the postmaster and the salary, where fixed . . .". 1851.
- 1851 Fourth Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address from the Legislative Assembly the Governor General, dated the 14th July praying His Excellency to cause to be laid before the house, "a return shewing that net revenue of the Post Office Department in Canada, after paying all charges of management, for the year ended July 5th, 1849: - and copies of the quarterly returns made by the deputy postmaster general to the Post Office Department in England, shewing the receipts and expenditures of the Post Office Department in Canada, from the 5th July, 1850 to the 5th April last, or to the latest period to which the returns have already been made up, also, a statement shewing the amount of the net revenue of the Post Office Department in Canada, after deducting all charges of management since the 5th, July 1844, and informing this house of the purposes to which the net or surplus revenue, raised from the people of Canada, have been applied". 1851.
- 1851 Fourth Session, Third Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals, 85. Resolution setting forth the advantages of a Canadian ocean mail route between Canada and Great Britain.
- 1852 First Session, Fourth Parliament
An Act to Make Further Provision for the Management of the Post Office
Assembly; 1st R 336; 2nd R 346; 3rd R 445
Council: 461
Royal Assent November 10, 1852
16 Victoria c. 8

- 1852 First Session, Fourth Parliament.
An Act to provide by one General Law for the Incorporation of
Electric Telegraph Companies
Royal Assent November 10, 1852
16 Victoria c. 10
- 1853 First Session, Fourth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals.
Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, to
whom were referred the several petitions on the subject of
Sabbath labour in the Post Office Department. 1853.
- 1855 First Session, Fifth Parliament
An act to abolish postage on newspapers published in Canada.
Royal Assent May 19, 1855
18 Victoria c. 79
- 1857 Third Session, Fifth Parliament
An act to amend Post Office laws
Royal Assent June 10, 1857
20 Victoria c. 25
- 1857 Third Session, Fifth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals.
Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly of the 11th May
for certain detailed information relating to the Post Office Depart-
ment, during the year commencing 31st March, 1856; and also
certain details relative to the Money Order Office. 1857.
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament
An Act to amend the Post Office Laws
Royal Assent May 4, 1859
22 Victoria c. 17
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament
An Act Respecting the Provincial Post Office
22 Victoria c. 31.
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals.
Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly of the 2nd March
for papers relative to irregularity in post office service, at Quebec.
1859.

- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals, v.17, Appendix 3. Message. Edmund Head the Governor General transmits for the information of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, copies of despatches from Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, and other documents relating to the mail service. 1859.
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament. Address from both Branches of the Legislature of Canada to Her Majesty relative to Postal Subsidies and the Intercolonial Railway, July 22, 1859.
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers No. 26. Papers concerning a proposal by Great Britain for a low and uniform rate between Great Britain and all her dependencies and a sharing of the costs of the ocean mail packet service.
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament
An Act to incorporate the Transmundane Telegraph Company
Royal Assent May 4, 1859
22 Victoria c. 100
- 1859 Second Session, Sixth Parliament
An Act to Incorporate the Canadian and British Telegraph Company
Royal Assent May 4, 1859
22 Victoria c. 101
- 1860 Third Session, Sixth Parliament
An Act to grant additional aid to the Canadian Line of Steamers, and for the extension of the Line of Telegraph to Belle-Isle
Royal Assent April 23, 1860
23 Victoria c. 5
- 1860 Third Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Five Messages from His Excellency the Governor General, on the subject of the transport of foreign mails by the Canada line of steamships. 1860.
- 1860 Third Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Appendix 14. Report of the committee to investigate the loss of the ocean mail ship, "Hungarian".

- 1860 Third Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers No. 8. Papers containing all negotiations concerning ocean mail service.
- 1861 Fourth Session, Sixth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers No. 21. Papers concerning Canada's request to Great Britain for subsidy for the Canadian ocean mail route.
- 1862 First Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Council. Journals. Return to an address from the Honourable the Legislative Council of 31st March, 1862, for copy of correspondence respecting Ocean Steamship Company. 1862.
- 1862 First Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals, p. 145. Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a return of the number of post offices and miles of post road in 1791, 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851 and 1861 and the number of registered vessels . . . May 1, 1862.
- 1863 Second Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, dated 27th February, 1863, for copies of correspondence respecting ocean mail service. 1863.
- 1863 Second Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, dated 2nd March, 1863, praying for a copy of the documents relating to the postal services by the Grand Trunk Railroad Company. 1863.
- 1863 Second Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, dated 2nd March, 1863 "for information respecting payments made for conveyance of trans-Atlantic mails". 1863.
- 1863 Second Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers No. 29 and 31. Return of correspondence between the Canadian Government and the Hudson's Bay Company concerning a post road and telegraph across the continent.

- 1863 Second Session, Seventh Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Paper (February Session) No. 97. Return to an address from the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, Mar. 16, 1863, praying His Excellency to cause to be laid before the House, "A Copy of the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Management of the different city post offices in Upper Canada". May 1, 1863.
- 1864 Second Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, dated 7th March, 1864, for copies of papers connected with Grand Trunk Railway mail service, since 1863. 1864.
- 1864 Second Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly to His Excellency the Governor General, dated the 10th March, 1864, praying His Excellency to cause, to be laid before the House, "copies of all despatches, correspondence, and other official documents in possession of the government in relation to the claims of Canada within, or the establishment of postal or commercial intercourse with the Northwest Territory, since the date of the last return before this House". 1864.
- 1864 Second Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return in part (ocean service), to an address for all correspondence and documents and reports connected with the ocean mail service. March 18, 1864.
- 1864 Second Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers No. 28. Copy of Postmaster General's Report to Council, Dec. 7, 1863.
- 1864 Second Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers No. 62. Return of correspondence with the British Government concerning the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to establishing a post road and telegraph across said territory.

- 1865 Third Session, Eighth Parliament. Executive Council. Report of a committee of the Honourable the Executive Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 8th April, 1865, concerning railway postal service contracts in this province. 1865.
- 1865 Third Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Journals. Return to an address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of the 14th August, 1865, asking for copies of all papers connected with the postal subsidy to Grand Trunk and other railway companies. 1865.
- 1865 Third Session, Eighth Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Report of the Railway Postal Service Commissioners, Chairman: W.H. Blake. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency the Governor General. 1865.
- 1865 Third Session, Eighth Parliament
An act respecting Ocean Mail Service
Royal Assent March 18, 1865
28 Victoria c. 5
- 1866 Fifth Session, Eighth Parliament
An act to amend the Post Office Act
Royal Assent August 15, 1866
29-30 Victoria c. 11

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- 1867 First Session, First Parliament
Bill for the regulation of the Postal Service (from the Senate)
H. of C. Debates: 1st 102; 2nd 125; 3rd 129
Senate Debates: 1st 62; 2nd 129; 3rd 133.
Royal Assent Dec. 21, 1867.
31 Victoria c. 10

- 1868 Second Session, First Parliament
 Bill respecting the Civil Service
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 449; 2nd 677; 3rd 693
 Senate Debates: 1st 307; 2nd 318; 349
 Royal Assent May 22, 1868
31 Victoria c. 34
- 1869 Second Session, First Parliament
 Bill concerning Ocean Mail Service
 H. of C. Debates: 1st, 2nd and 3rd 800.
 Senate Debates: 1st 342; 2nd 365; 3rd 370.
 Royal Assent June 22, 1869.
32-33 Victoria c. 5
- 1869 Second Session, First Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 430, 594-595, 872.
- 1870 Third Session, First Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 964, 1049, 1106, 1110, 1391, 1403, 1405.
- 1871 Fourth Session, First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional
 Papers No. 20. Report concerning the postal system in Assiniboia.
- 1875 Second Session, Third Parliament
 Bill 11 to consolidate and amend the Post Office Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 139; 2nd 266; 3rd 639
 Senate Debates: 1st 435; 2nd 436; 3rd 486.
 Royal Assent April 8, 1875
38 Victoria c. 7
- 1875 Second Session, Third Parliament
 Bill to regulate Marine Telegraph Companies
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 28; 2nd 241; 3rd 426
 Senate Debates: 1st
 Royal Assent April 8, 1875
38 Victoria c. 26
- 1875 Second Session, Third Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, p. 303.
- 1876 Third Session, Third Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 832-839.

- 1877 Fourth Session, Third Parliament
Bill 96 to amend Post Office Act concerning wilful delay of mail
H. of C. Debates: 1st 977; 2nd 1063; 3rd 1084
Senate Debates:
Royal Assent April 28, 1877
40 Victoria c. 34
- 1877 Fourth Session, Third Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
Post Office Supply, pp. 1590-1595.
- 1878 Fifth Session, Third Parliament
Bill 17 to amend Post Office Act concerning mailable matter
H. of C. Debates: 1st 386; 2nd 1258; 3rd 1511.
Senate Debates: 1st 271; 2nd 308; 3rd 323.
Royal Assent April 16, 1878
41 Victoria c. 2
- 1878 Fifth Session, Third Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
Post Office Supply, pp. 1170-1180, 2212-2219, 2483.
- 1879 First Session, Fourth Parliament
Bill 39 to amend Post Office Act concerning Inspectors
H. of C. Debates: 1st 222; 2nd 1249; 3rd 1249
Senate Debates: 1st 271; 2nd 308; 3rd 323.
Royal Assent May 15, 1879
42 Victoria c. 20
- 1879 First Session, Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
Post Office Supply, pp. 1673, 1729, 1861-1865.
- 1880 Second Session, Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
Post Office Supply, pp. 1839-1840, 1848, 1909-1913.
- 1880 Second Session, Fourth Parliament
Bill 17 to incorporate Bell Telephone
H. of C. Debates: 1st 151; 2nd 218; 3rd 761
Senate Debates: 1st 202; 2nd 213; 3rd 267
Royal Assent April 29, 1880
43 Victoria c. 67

- 1881 Third Session, Fourth Parliament
 Bill for Marine Telegraph between Canada and Asia
 H. of C. Debates:
 Senate Debates:
 Royal Assent March 21, 1881
44 Victoria c. 33
- 1881 Third Session, Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 1269-1270, 1276, 1427-1428.
- 1882 Fourth Session, Fourth Parliament
 Bill 36 to amend Civil Service Act, concerning inter alia, salaries
 of Post Office employees
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 69; 2nd 790; 3rd 1256
 Senate Debates: 1st 589; 2nd 622; 3rd 675
 Royal Assent May 17, 1882
45 Victoria c. 4
- 1882 Fourth Session, Fourth Parliament
 Bill 161 to amend Post Office Act to abolish postage on newspapers
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1419; 2nd in Comm. and 3rd 1550
 Senate Debates: 1st, 2nd and 3rd 714
 Royal Assent May 17, 1882
45 Victoria c. 9
- 1882 Fourth Session, Fourth Parliament
 Bill 166 to declare meaning of word "telegraph"
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1455; 2nd 1569; 3rd 1571
 Senate Debates: 1st 644; 2nd 669; 3rd 670
 Royal Assent May 17, 1882
45 Victoria c. 40
- 1882 Fourth Session, Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 655-657, 1506.
- 1883 First Session, Fifth Parliament
 Bill 90 to amend the Civil Service Act concerning, inter alia,
 railway mail clerks
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 282; 2nd 931; 1060
 Senate Debates: 1st 106; 2nd 116; 3rd 125
 Royal Assent May 25, 1883
46 Victoria c. 7

- 1883 First Session, Fifth Parliament
 Bill 92 to amend Post Office Act banning mailings of obscene literature and illegal lotteries
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 283; 2nd 1037; 3rd 1037
 Senate Debates: 1st 106; 2nd 116; 3rd 125
 Royal Assent May 25, 1883
46 Victoria c. 18
- 1883 First Session, Fifth Parliament
 Bill 116 to amend Marine Telegraph Act, 1881
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 791; 2nd 860; 3rd 935
 Senate Debates: 1st 388; 2nd 410; 3rd 448
 Royal Assent May 25, 1883
45 Victoria c. 56
- 1883 First Session, Fifth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 748, 752, , 952, 1079-1084, 1123-1125, 1198.
- 1884 Second Session, Fifth Parliament
 Bill 130 to amend Civil Service Act concerning, inter alia, sorters, letter carriers
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1169; 2nd 1360; 3rd 1422
 Senate Debates:
 Royal Assent April 19, 1884
47 Victoria c. 15
- 1884 Second Session, Fifth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 842, 1319-1320, 1336, 1383, 1458-1459.
- 1885 Third Session, Fifth Parliament
 Bill 31 to amend Civil Service Act concerning inter alia, salaries of postal employees
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 101; 2nd 1097; 3rd 1282
 Senate Debates: 1st 760; 2nd 825; 3rd 927
 Royal Assent July 20, 1885
48-49 Victoria c. 46
- 1885 Third Session, Fifth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 902-906, 2764, 3308-3311, 3397-3398.

- 1886 Fourth Session, Fifth Parliament
 Bill 77 concerning Post Office Savings Bank
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 437; 2nd 519; 3rd 711
 Senate Debates: 1st 57; 2nd 78; 3rd 96
 Royal Assent June 2, 1886
49 Victoria c. 21
- 1886 Fourth Session, Fifth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 690-693, 863, 1547-1550.
- 1887 First Session, Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post
 Office Supply, pp. 614, 1135-1136, 1196-1197.
- 1888 Second Session, Sixth Parliament
 Bill 116 to amend Civil Service Act, concerning inter alia, salaries
 of letter carriers, porters, messengers
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1062; 2nd 1433; 3rd 1472
 Senate Debates: 1st 840; 880; 901
 Royal Assent May 22, 1888
51 Victoria c. 12
- 1888 Second Session, Sixth Parliament
 Bill 127 Post Office and Government Savings Banks
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1332; 2nd and 3rd 1401
 Senate Debates: 1st 773; 2nd 796; 3rd 808
 Royal Assent May 22, 1888
51 Victoria c. 8
- 1888 Second Session, Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 1633-1635, 1684-1685.
- 1889 Third Session, Sixth Parliament
 Bill 93 to amend the Post Office Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 369; 2nd 1133; 3rd 1283
 Senate Debates: 1st 543; 2nd 559; 3rd 604
 Royal Assent May 2, 1889
52 Victoria c. 20

- 1889 Third Session, Sixth Parliament
 Bill 100 to amend Civil Service Act concerning, inter alia, Post Office Inspectors
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 523; 2nd 669; 3rd 763
 Senate Debates:
 Royal Assent April 16, 1889
52 Victoria c. 12
- 1889 Third Session, Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 1234-1240, 1461, 1596-1597.
- 1890 Fourth Session, Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply. pp. 176-179, 472-474, 2288-2306, 4153-4154, 4794-4795.
- 1891 First Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 254, 439-440, 1744-1745, 4705-4725.
- 1892 Second Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 274-278, 2845-2917, 4470-4472.
- 1893 Third Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 290-293, 3395-3413.
- 1893 Third Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 35-1893. Return to an Address of the House of Commons dated Feb. 6, 1893 for all correspondence, documents, reports and Orders in Council concerning a Special Commission to inquire into the most feasible means of completing the Telegraphic System of the Empire.
- 1894 Fourth Session, Seventh Parliament
 Bill 167 to amend newspaper rates (from the Senate).
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 6154; 2nd 6379; 3rd 6379
 Senate Debates: 1st 692; 2nd 704; 3rd 705.
 Royal Assent July 23, 1894
57 Victoria c. 54
- 1894 Fourth Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 4167-4189.

- 1895 **Fifth Session, Seventh Parliament**
 Bill 130 to amend Civil Service Act concerning, inter alia, salaries of messengers, packers and sorters
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3190; 2nd 3742; 3rd 3920
 Senate Debates: 1st 612; 2nd 677; 3rd 718
 Royal Assent July 22, 1895
58-59 Victoria c. 15
- 1895 **Fifth Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
 Post Office Supply, pp. 2505-2506, 2719-2721, 3922, 4312-4347.
- 1896 **Sixth Session, Seventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
 Post Office Supply, pp. 863-868, 961, 1028-1032, 7031-7032, 7133-7139, 7145.
- 1897 **Second Session, Eighth Parliament**
 Bill 130 to amend Civil Service Act concerning railway mail service
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3677; 2nd and 3rd 5539
 Senate Debates: 1st and 2nd 995; 3rd 997
 Royal Assent June 20, 1897
60-61 Victoria c. 14
- 1897 **Second Session, Eighth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
 Post Office Supply, pp. 1721-1730, 2066, 5077-5079, 5083-5113, 5431-5434.
- 1898 **Third Session, Eighth Parliament**
 Bill 110 to reduce letter rates of postage.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2913; 2nd 5520; 3rd 6121
 Senate Debates: 1st 871; 2nd 955; 3rd 1106.
 Royal Assent June 13, 1898
61-62 Victoria c. 20
- 1898 **Third Session, Eighth Parliament**
 Bill 167 concerning Special Delivery
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 7408; 2nd and 3rd 7579.
 Senate Debates: 1st 1255; 2nd and 3rd 1275.
 Royal Assent June 13, 1898.
61-62 Victoria c. 21
- 1898 **Third Session, Eighth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
 Post Office Supply, pp. 4581, 4857-4922, 7038-7041, 7482-7483.

- 1899 Fourth Session, Eighth Parliament
 Bill 155 to alter newspaper rates of postage.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 5095; 2nd 6102; 3rd 6118
 Senate Debates: 1st 575; 2nd 664; 3rd 691.
 Royal Assent August 11, 1889
62-63 Victoria c. 29
- 1899 Fourth Session, Eighth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 5032-5041, 5052-5055, 5068-5071, 5798-
 5830, 7330-7389.
- 1900 Fifth Session, Eighth Parliament
 Bill 191 reducing newspaper postage
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 9332; 2nd 9689; 3rd 9836
 Senate Debates: 1st 1037; 2nd 1090
 Senate rejected Bill at p. 1113
 Bill not passed
- 1900 Fifth Session, Eighth Parliament
 Bill 156 to amend Civil Service Act concerning second class clerks,
 Inside Service [including Post Office]
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 5226; 2nd 6996; 3rd 8161
 Senate Debates: 1st 786; 2nd 854; 3rd 938
 Royal Assent July 18, 1900
63-64 Victoria c. 14
- 1900 Fifth Session, Eighth Parliament. House of Commons. Mulock,
 William. "The Administration of the Post Office" Speech delivered
 in the House of Commons, June 29, 1900.
- 1900 Fifth Session, Eighth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 6102-6135, 8057, 8081, 8657-8775,
 10264-10278.
- 1901 First Session, Ninth Parliament
 Bill 121 to define post letter.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2878; 2nd 4241; 3rd 4341
 Senate Debates: 1st 339; 2nd 367; 3rd 414.
 Royal Assent May 23, 1901
1 Edward VII c. 19

- 1901 **First Session, Ninth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
Post Office Supply, pp. 188-189, 191-194, 435-486.
- 1902 **Second Session, Ninth Parliament**
Bill 106 concerning letter carriers
H. of C. Debates: 1st 2482; 2nd 4036; 3rd 4075
Senate Debates: 1st 385; 2nd 400; 3rd 441.
Royal Assent May 15, 1902
2 Edward VII c. 28
- 1902 **Second Session, Ninth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
Post Office Supply, pp. 179-198, 3867-3918, 4313-4327, 4925-4947.
- 1902 **Second Session, Ninth Parliament. House of Commons Sessional Papers 51a-1902. Memorandum of Agreement between the Marconi Companies and the Canadian Government, March 17, 1902.**
- 1903 **Third Session, Ninth Parliament**
Bill 208 to amend Post Office Act concerning salaries and reduction of newspaper postage.
H. of C. Debates: 1st 5240; 2nd 5657; 3rd 5871
Senate Debates: 1st 537; 2nd 600; 3rd 713.
Royal Assent August 13, 1903.
3 Edward VII c. 49
- 1903 **Third Session, Ninth Parliament**
Bill 220 respecting the Post Office Savings Bank
H. of C. Debates: 1st 6353; 2nd 6814; 3rd 6815
Senate Debates: 1st 675; 2nd 697; 3rd 715.
Royal Assent August 13, 1903.
3 Edward VII c. 62
- 1903 **Third Session, Ninth Parliament**
Bill to establish telegraphic news from Great Britain
H. of C. Debates:
Senate Debates:
Royal Assent October 24, 1903
3 Edward VII c. 70

- 1903 Third Session, Ninth Parliament
 Bill 257 to amend Civil Service Act concerning salaries of Inside Service
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 10410; 2nd 13808; 3rd 13942
 Senate Debates: 1st 1500; 2nd 1711; 3rd 1733
 Royal Assent October 24, 1903
3 Edward VII c. 9
- 1903 Third Session, Ninth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 5921-5959, 6004-6069, 6136-6166, 13994-14041.
- 1904 Fourth Session, Ninth Parliament
 Bill 153 to amend Post Office Act re letter carriers
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 6541; 2nd 8029; 3rd 8048, 8265, 9052
 Senate Debates: 1st 967; 2nd 1076; 3rd 1200
 Royal Assent August 10, 1904
4 Edward VII c. 30
- 1904 Fourth Session, Ninth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 5654-5677, 5685-5733, 5744-5759, 9011-9013.
- 1904 Fourth Session, Ninth Parliament. House of Commons Sessional Papers 21-1902. Report of the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Appendix 11: Marconi Wireless Telegraph System.
- 1905 First Session, Tenth Parliament
 Bill 186 to regulate Wireless Telegraphy
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 8178; 2nd 9031; 3rd 9033
 Senate Debates: 1st 517; 2nd 550; 3rd 554
 Royal Assent July 20, 1905
4-5 Edward VII c. 49
- 1905 First Session, Tenth Parliament
 House of Commons Debates: Rural Mail Delivery, pp. 2067-2097.
- 1905 First Session, Tenth Parliament
 Senate Debates: Postal Anomalies and their Effects, Feb. 22, 1905, pp. 48-56.
- 1905 First Session, Tenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 138-149, 165-187, 194-222, 9609-9614.

- 1906 Second Session, Tenth Parliament
 Bill 62 to amend Railway Act and place telephone companies under its jurisdiction
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 760; 2nd 1584; 3rd 7116
 Senate Debates: 1st and 2nd 1095; 3rd 1134
 Royal Assent July 13, 1906
6 Edward VII c. 42
- 1906 Second Session, Tenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 525-558, 2823-2825, 3582-3583, 3795-3796.
- 1906-07 Third Session, Tenth Parliament
 Bill 113 to amend Post Office Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 4610; 2nd 7020; 3rd 7030
 Senate Debates: 1st 832; 2nd 870; 3rd 905
 Royal Assent April 27, 1907
6-7 Edward VII c. 34
- 1906-07 Third Session, Tenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 3141-3159, 6620-6626, 6636-6640.
- 1907-08 Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament
 Bill 118 to place telegraphs and telephones under jurisdiction of Railway Commissioner
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 4658; 2nd 10625; 3rd 10777
 Senate Debates: 1st 1391; 2nd 1410; 3rd 1467
 Royal Assent July 20, 1908
7-8 Edward VII c. 61
- 1907-08 Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament
 Bill 162 to amend Post Office Act concerning rates of postage
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 7931; 2nd 10703; 3rd 10716
 Senate Debates: 1st 1221; 2nd 1291; 1377; 3rd 1378
 Royal Assent July 20, 1908
7-8 Edward VII c. 53

- 1907-08 **Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament**
 Bill 189 to consolidate and amend Civil Service Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 10707; 2nd 11315; 3rd 12189
 Senate Debates: 1st 1453; 2nd 1516; 3rd 1624
 Royal Assent July 20, 1908
7-8 Edward VII c. 15
- 1907-08 **Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament**
 Bill 201 to assist telegraphic news service from Great Britain for
 publication in the Canadian Press.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 12408; 2nd 12644; 3rd 12851.
 Senate Debates: 1st 1511; 2nd 1548; 1549.
 Royal Assent July 20, 1908.
7-8 Edward VII c. 12
- 1907-08 **Fourth Session, Tenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
 Post Office Supply, pp. 3159-3172, 7257-7278.
- 1909 **First Session, Eleventh Parliament**
 Bill 19 concerning registered letters and parcels.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 241; 2nd 738; 3rd 882
 Senate Debates: 1st 49; 2nd 67; 3rd 150.
 Royal Assent April 7, 1909
8-9 Edward VII c. 29
- 1909 **First Session, Eleventh Parliament**
 Bill 136 to increase salaries re Post Office Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 6313; 2nd 6313; 3rd 6324.
 Senate Debates: 1st 511; 2nd and 3rd 607.
 Royal Assent May 19, 1909.
8-9 Edward VII c. 30
- 1909 **First Session, Eleventh Parliament**
 Bill 137 to amend Civil Service Act concerning Post Office salaries
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 6324; 2nd and 3rd 6330
 Senate Debates: 1st 511; 2nd and 3rd 607
 Royal Assent May 19, 1909
8-9 Edward VII c. 6

- 1909 First Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 187 to amend Civil Service Act concerning, inter alia, salaries of inside employees of Post Office
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 6330; 2nd 6346; 3rd 6822
 Senate Debates: 1st 671; 2nd and 3rd 686
 Royal Assent May 19, 1909
8-9 Edward VII c. 7
- 1909 First Session, Eleventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 720-726, 1649-1685, 1714-1716, 2774-2802, 3423-3433.
- 1909-10 Second Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 104 to amend Railroad Act to control rates of Ocean Cable Companies
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2136; 2nd 6007; 3rd 6012
 Senate Debates: 1st 463; 2nd 568; 3rd 705
 Royal Assent May 4, 1910
9-10 Edward VII c. 57
- 1909-10 Second Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 105 to amend the Telegraphs Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2138; 2nd 6011; 3rd 6012
 Senate Debates: 1st 463; 2nd 568; 3rd 705.
 Royal Assent May 4, 1910.
9-10 Edward VII c. 55
- 1909 First Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 136 to amend Post Office Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 4254; 2nd 6314; 3rd 6324
 Senate Debates: 1st 511; 2nd and 3rd 607
 Royal Assent May 19, 1909
8-9 Edward VII c. 30
- 1909-10 Second Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 197 to amend Post Office Act repealing section dealing with Inspectors' salaries as now regulated by Civil Service Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 6389; 2nd 7313 3rd 7330
 Senate Debates: 1st 621; 2nd 663; 3rd 705
 Royal Assent May 4, 1910
9-10 Edward VII c. 47

- 1909-10 Second Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 205 to amend Civil Service Act to include railway mail clerks
 H. of C. Debates: 1st and 2nd 6962; 3rd 7528
 Senate Debates: 1st 653; 2nd 669; 3rd 872
 Royal Assent May 4, 1910
9-10 Edward VII c. 8
- 1910-11 Third Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 221 to amend Penny Bank Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st, 2nd and 3rd 9220-9221
 Senate Debates: 1st 2nd and 3rd 717
 Royal Assent May 19, 1911
1-2 George V c. 18
- 1910-11 Third Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 104 concerning stamp vending machines
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2736; 2nd 8065; 3rd 8078.
 Senate Debates: 1st 605; 2nd 626; 3rd 634.
 Royal Assent May 19, 1911
1-2 George V c. 19
- 1910-11 Third Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 216 to amend Post Office Act concerning salaries
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 8954; 2nd 9567; 3rd 9580.
 Senate Debates: 1st, 2nd and 3rd 750.
 Royal Assent May 19, 1911
1-2 George V c. 20
- 1910-11 Third Session, Eleventh Parliament
 Bill 217 to amend Civil Service Act to reclassify postal workers
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 8955
 Bill died on order paper
- 1910-11 Third Session, Eleventh Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 5752-5759, 6650-6663, 6675-6715, 7863-7865.
- 1911-12 First Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 105 concerning railway mail clerks
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3155; 2nd 3349; 3rd 3364
 Senate Debates: 1st 284; 2nd 307; 3rd 367
 March 12, 1912
2 George V c. 41

- 1911-12 First Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 124 to amend Civil Service Act concerning salaries of assistant Postmasters
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 4584; 2nd and 3rd 4787
 Senate Debates: 1st 424; 2nd 473; 3rd 571
 Royal Assent April 1, 1912
2 George V c. 13
- 1911-12 First Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 106 to amend Civil Service Act concerning salaries of Post Office clerks and Railway Mail Service
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3156; 2nd 4782; 3rd 5263
 Senate Debates: 1st 593; 2nd 625; 3rd 671
 Royal Assent April 1, 1912
2 George V c. 14
- 1911-12 First Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 179 to amend Civil Service Act to establish Rural Mail Delivery Branch
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 5922; 2nd 6083; 3rd 6114
 Senate Debates: 1st 2nd and 3rd 830
 Royal Assent April 1, 1912
2 George V c. 16
- 1911-12 First Session, Twelfth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 4280-4298, 6068-6089, 6178-6184.
- 1912-13 Second Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 248 to amend Post Office Act concerning mailable matter and salaries
 H. of C. Debates: 1st; 2nd 11906; 3rd 11921
 Senate Debates: 1st 1000; 2nd; 3rd 1059
 Royal Assent June 6, 1913
3-4 George V c. 38
- 1912-13 Second Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 26 regulating Radiotelegraphy
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 778; 2nd 2419; 3rd 8742.
 Senate Debates: 1st 448; 2nd 468; 3rd 632.
 Royal Assent June 6, 1913.
2-3 George c. 43

- 1912-13 **Second Session, Twelfth Parliament**
Bill 188 for better telegraphic communication with the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire.
H. of C. Debates: 1st 9009; 2nd 11655; 3rd 11668.
Senate Debates: 1st 1000; 2nd 1011; 3rd 1067.
Royal Assent June 6, 1913
3-4 George V c. 52
- 1912-13 **Second Session, Twelfth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
Post Office Supply, pp. 6278-6304, 6615-6646, 6909-6936, 11268-11294, 11398-11459, 12095-12106.
- 1914 **Third Session, Twelfth Parliament**
Bill 146 to amend Civil Service Act concerning Post Office salaries in city post offices
H. of C. Debates: 1st 2380; 2nd 3173; 3rd 3222
Senate Debates: 1st 414; 2nd 453; 3rd 508
Royal Assent June 12, 1914
4-5 George V c. 21
- 1914 **Third Session, Twelfth Parliament**
Bill 147 to amend Post Office Act concerning salaries of railway mail clerks
H. of C. Debates: 1st 2384; 2nd 3173; 3rd 3219
Senate Debates: 1st 436; 2nd 491; 3rd 681
Royal Assent not granted
- 1914 **Third Session, Twelfth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
Post Office Supply, pp. 3632-3636, 3638-3650, 3840-3859, 5129-5146, 5245-5267.
- 1914 **Fourth Session, Twelfth Parliament. No Debates on Post Office Supply.**
- 1915 **Fifth Session, Twelfth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
Post Office Supply, pp. 1360-1394, 2295-2298.
- 1916 **Sixth Session, Twelfth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.**
Post Office Supply, pp. 2016-2057, 2716-2741.

- 1917 Seventh Session, Twelfth Parliament
 Bill 68 to amend Civil Service Act concerning salaries of Inside Service
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2024 2nd 2149; 3rd 2285
 Senate Debates: 1st 142; 2nd 159; 3rd 185
 Royal Assent July 25, 1917
7-8 George V c. 9
- 1917 Seventh Session, Twelfth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2352-2354, 3633-3654, 6051-6060.
- 1918 First Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 53 to consolidate and amend Civil Service Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 723; 2nd 1721; 3rd 2141
 Senate Debates: 1st 589; 2nd 589; 3rd 626
 Royal Assent May 24, 1918
8-9 George V c. 12
- 1918 First Session, Thirteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2513-2515, 2527-2536.
- 1919 Second Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 31 to amend Civil Service Act concerning Postmasters and Assistant Postmaster Salaries
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 993; 2nd 1223; 3rd 1915
 Senate Debates: 1st 202; 2nd 220; 3rd 222
 Royal Assent Nov. 10, 1919
10 George V c. 11
- 1919 Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 18 to amend Civil Service Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 661; 2nd 748; 3rd 994
 Senate Debates: 1st 192; 2nd 197; 3rd 412
 Royal Assent Nov. 10, 1919
10 George V c. 10
- 1919 Second Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 151 to enable permanent appointment of post office employees in certain Western cities.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3809; 2nd 4345; 3rd 4355.
 Senate Debates: 1st 832; 2nd and 3rd 867.
 Royal Assent July 7, 1919.
9-10 George V c. 65

- 1919 Second Session, Thirteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1435-1437, 2016-2042, 2079-2096, 2926-2929, 3194-3195.
- 1920 Second Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 53 to amend Civil Service Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1112; 2nd 3128; 3rd 3161
 Senate Debates:
 Royal Assent July 1, 1920
10-11 George V c. 41
- 1920 Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 167 to amend Post Office Act concerning registration, franking and rates for newspapers and periodicals.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3358; 2nd 3732; 3768.
 Senate Debates: 1st 635; 2nd 667; 3rd 691
 Royal Assent July 1, 1920.
10-11 George V c. 64
- 1920 Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1231-1233, 1276-1283, 2670, 3421-3425, 4518-4532.
- 1921 Fifth Session, Thirteenth Parliament
 Bill 57 concerning insurance for registered parcels (from the Senate).
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1619; 2nd 2120; 3rd 2944.
 Senate Debates: 1st 142; 2nd 156; 3rd 178.
 Royal Assent June 4, 1921.
11-12 George V c. 41
- 1921 Fifth Session, Thirteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3003, 4514-4533.
- 1922 First Session, Fourteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 691-692, 1711, 2799-2802.
- 1922 Statement by the Honourable Charles Murphy, Postmaster General to the Dominion Postal Conference, Ottawa, Oct. 2, 1922. PAC Catalogue of Pamphlets 2-5128.

- 1923 Second Session, Fourteenth Parliament
 Bill to amend newspaper and periodical rates
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 4436; 2nd 4528; 3rd 4535
 Not passed
- 1923 Second Session, Fourteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1778-1809, 1814-1834.
- 1924 Third Session, Fourteenth Parliament
 Bill 189 concerning registration of mail matter.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3230; 2nd 4169; 3rd 4179
 Senate Debates: 1st
 Royal Assent July 19, 1924.
14-15 George V c. 61
- 1924 Third Session, Fourteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 4682, 4839-4848.
- 1924 Third Session, Fourteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates on 1924 Postal Strike, pp. 1485-1487, 310, 3277-3301,
 3459, 3556, 3696-3706, 3757, 3805, 3861, 3970-3972.
- 1925 Fourth Session, Fourteenth Parliament
 Bill 168 to amend Civil Service Act concerning designation of Post
 Office employees as civil servants
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3744; 2nd 3900; 3rd 4015
 Senate Debates: 1st 439; 2nd 468; 3rd 470
 Royal Assent June 27, 1925
15-16 George V c. 35
- 1925 Fourth Session, Fourteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 225-234, 4995-4997.
- 1926-27 First Session, Fifteenth Parliament
 Bill 259 to amend postage rates on newspapers and periodicals.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st and 2nd 1776; 3rd 2039.
 Senate Debates:
 Royal Assent April 14, 1927.
17 George V c. 66
- 1926-27 First Session, Sixteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 2289-2308, 2498-2499, 2508-2512.

- 1928 Second Session, Sixteenth Parliament
 Bill amending Post Office Act concerning newspaper ownership
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 228; 2nd 454; 3rd 457
 Not passed
- 1928 Second Session, Sixteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3086, 3215-3246, 3430-3440,
 4069-4084.
- 1929 Third Session, Sixteenth Parliament
 Bill 252 respecting certain employees of the Postal or Railway
 Mail Service of Canada (re 1919 strike)
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2480; 2nd 2509; 3rd 2576.
 Senate Debates: 1st 244; 2nd 248; 3rd 275.
 Royal Assent June 14, 1929.
19-20 George V c. 52
- 1929 Third Session, Sixteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 1612-1621, 1627-1642, 1679-1749, 1757-
 1762, 1799, 1806-1857, 1862-1879, 2068-2094, 2096-2113,
 2127-2143, 2148-2222, 2228-2241, 3758-3759.
- 1930 Fourth Session, Sixteenth Parliament
 Bill 2 to amend Post Office Act concerning newspaper ownership
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 59; 2nd 270; 3rd 271
 Not passed
- 1930 Fourth Session, Sixteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1730-1735, 1959-1968, 2867-
 2874.
- 1931 Second Session, Seventeenth Parliament
 Bill 107 to increase the rate on newspapers and periodicals.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st, 2nd and Comm. 3325; 3rd 3326.
 Senate Debates: 1st 309; 2nd 368; 3rd 383.
 Royal Assent August 3, 1931.
21-22 George V c. 45
- 1931 Second Session, Seventeenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 506-512, 3767 3769, 3862-3876,
 3909-3925, 4159-4174.

- 1932 Second Session, Seventeenth Parliament
 Bill 94 respecting Radio Broadcasting
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2980; 2nd 3035; 3rd 3347
 Senate Debates: 1st 479; 2nd 484; 3rd 490
 Royal Assent May 26, 1932
22-23 George V c. 51
- 1932 Third Session, Seventeenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1674-1675, 2465-2489, 3112-
 3131, 3142-3170.
- 1932-33 Fourth Session, Seventeenth Parliament
 Bill 98 concerning newspaper postage based on space occupied by
 advertisements.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st and 2nd 4749; Comm. 4813; 3rd 4813.
 Senate Debates: 1st 484; 2nd 519; 3rd 526.
 Royal Assent May 23, 1933.
23-24 George V c. 46
- 1932-33 Fourth Session, Seventeenth Parliament
 Bill to amend Radio Broadcasting
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 2980; 2nd 3035; 3rd 3347
 Senate Debates: 1st 540; 2nd 553; 3rd 554
 Royal Assent
23-24 George V c. 35
- 1932-33 Fourth Session, Seventeenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 4772-4787, 4843-4852, 4917-
 4924, 4954-4990.
- 1934 Fifth Session, Seventeenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3446, 3543-3579, 3583-3598.
- 1935 Sixth Session, Seventeenth Parliament
 Bill 50 to amend Post Office Act concerning newspaper ownership
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 309; 2nd 325; 3rd 333
 Defeated on third reading

- 1935 Sixth Session, Seventeenth Parliament
 Bill 100 renewal of mail contracts.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3553; 2nd and 3rd 3842.
 Senate Debates: 1st and 2nd 412; 3rd 413.
 Royal Assent June 28, 1935.
25-26 George V c. 46
- 1935 Sixth Session, Seventeenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1438-1439, 1712-1729.
- 1936 First Session, Eighteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates.
 Post Office Supply, pp. 1376-1380, 2129-2159.
- 1936 First Session, Eighteenth Parliament
 Bill to establish Canadian Broadcasting Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3718; 2nd 3940; 3rd 3944
 Senate Debates: 1st and 2nd 602; 3rd 609
 Royal Assent June 23, 1936
1 Edward VIII c. 24
- 1937 Second Session, Eighteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 505-507, 609-629, 848-867,
 1271-1295, 2164-2165.
- 1938 Third Session, Eighteenth Parliament
 Bill to amend Post Office Act concerning newspapers and period-
 icals
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 316; 2nd 1356; 3rd 1361
 Not passed
- 1938 Third Session, Eighteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 715-722, 842-858, 1025-1032,
 1268-1284, 3431, 3435-3458.
- 1939 Fourth Session, Eighteenth Parliament
 Bill 4 to prohibit sending communist literature through mails
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 11; 2nd 1175.
 Not passed
- 1939 Fourth Session, Eighteenth Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 4497-4523, 4560-4569.

- 1939 Fifth (Special War) Session, Eighteenth Parliament. No debate on Supply concerning Post Office.
- 1940 Sixth Session, Eighteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 698-700, 2572-2578.
- 1940 Sixth Session, Eighteenth Parliament. Sessional Paper 137-1940. Return showing action taken to prevent circulation of pamphlet re Jews by Dr. P E. Lalanne, through His Majesty's mails.
- 1940 Sixth Session, Eighteenth Parliament. Sessional Paper 167-1940. Return showing data re certain publications denied use of mail.
- 1940-42 Second Session, Nineteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2155-2157, 2719, 3092-3113, 3640-3645.
- 1940-42 Second Session, Nineteenth Parliament. Sessional Paper 253-1940-42. Return showing data re newspapers and periodicals banned under provisions of Defence of Canada Regulations [including Life Magazine].
- 1942-43 Third Session, Nineteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1020, 4760-67, 4889-4904, 4957-4970, 4986-4991.
- 1942-43 Third Session, Nineteenth Parliament. Sessional Paper 210-1942-43. Return showing data re Japanese employed as postmasters and government telegraph operators.
- 1943-44 Fourth Session, Nineteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1715, 2542, 3814-3823, 4887-4891, 5258-5265.
- 1943-44 Fourth Session, Nineteenth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 133-1943-44. Return to an order of the House of July 13, 1942, showing data re rural mail routes in Canada.
- 1944-45 Fifth Session, Nineteenth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 946-958, 2021-2026, 6358-6368, 6388-6392.

- 1944-45 Fifth Session, Nineteenth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 44a-1944-45. Order in Council P.C. 1/6268 of August 8, 1944 re increases in the basic wage rates of certain employees of the Post Office Department.
- 1945 First Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2815-2824, 3713-3715.
- 1945 First Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 184a-1945. Return showing data re status of Post Office Department employees involved in the general strike in Winnipeg in 1919 with respect to salary, superannuation etc.; also re returned soldiers of World War I.
- 1946 Second Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 407, 1939, 4386-4409, 5739-5740.
- 1946 Second Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 195f-1946. Return showing data re letter carrier delivery service in towns of 6,000 or less.
- 1946 Second Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 195e-1946. Return showing data re appointments made to Railway Mail Service Branch since Jan. 1, 1944; number of veterans, etc.
- 1947 Third Session, Twentieth Parliament
Bill 17 respecting supplemental payments on rural contracts
H. of C. Debates: Res. 205; 1st 366; 2nd 635; 3rd 1370
Senate Debates:
Royal Assent March 28, 1947
11 George VI c. 8
- 1947 Third Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3715, 4789-4810, 5892.
- 1947 Third Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 149-1947. Return to an order of the House of April 17, 1946, showing data re mail delivery by postmen in cities, towns or municipalities.

- 1947 Third Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 93d-1947. Statement re rural mail and other contracts on which bonuses are given, since the inception of the bonus system.
- 1947-48 Fourth Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2589-90, 3805, 4772-4783, 4789-4803, 6203.
- 1947-48 Fourth Session, Twentieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 89f-1947-48. Return showing data re rural mail service discontinued.
- 1949 First Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1079, 2905-2922.
- 1949 First Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 140e-1949. Return showing revenues and expenditures, Department of Posts and Telegraphs in Newfoundland.
- 1950 Second Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2333-2343, 4195-4219, 4435-4440.
- 1950 Second Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 146c-1950. Return showing revenue of the Post Office Department in Newfoundland for eleven-month period ending February, 1950.
- 1951 Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament
 Bill 322 to codify, consolidate the Canada Post Office
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 398; 2nd 431; 3rd 434; Senate amdmts
 concurred in 616.
 Senate Debates: 1st 537; 2nd 561; 3rd 661.
 Royal Assent June 30, 1951
 15 George VI c. 57
- 1951 Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. Senate. Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce: Report on Bill 322, June 1951.

- 1951 Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1510, 4315, 4950-4962, 5005-5007.
- 1951 Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 84d-1951. Return for copy of schedules of postal rates issued from year to year since 1914; also statement showing profit or loss yearly on the handling of second class mail since 1939.
- 1951 Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 84d-1951. Return for copy of schedules of postal rates issued from year to year since 1914; also statement showing profit or loss yearly on the handling of second class mail since 1939.
- 1951 Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 84f-1951. Return showing data re employees of Post Office, laid off since January, 1951; number of permanents, veterans etc.
- 1952 Sixth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 928-929, 2582, 3068-70, 4204-4225.
- 1952 Sixth Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 113a-1952. Return showing data re application of recent pay increases for revenue postmasters, semi-staff postmasters and assistants, etc.
- 1952-53 Seventh Session, Twenty-First Parliament
Bill 107 concerning rural mail service
H. of C. Debates: 1st 197; 2nd 313; 3rd 461.
Senate Debates: 1st 359; 2nd 397; 3rd 425.
Royal Assent May 14, 1953.
1-2 Elizabeth II c. 45
- 1952-53 Seventh Session, Twenty-First Parliament. Senate. Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce: Report on Bill 107 (rural mail service), April, 1953.
- 1952-53 Seventh Session, Twenty-First Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3805, 5307-5323.

- 1953-54 First Session, Twenty-Second Parliament
 Bill 168 to increase postage rates.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 1183; 2nd 1764; 3rd 1921.
 Senate Debates: 1st 236; 2nd 251; 3rd 309.
 Royal Assent March 4, 1954.
2-3 Elizabeth II c. 20
- 1953-54 First Session, Twenty-Second Parliament
 Bill 473 enlarging distribution of newspapers and periodicals
 (from the Senate)
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 710; 2nd 720; 3rd 725.
 Senate Debates: 1st 518; 2nd 526; 3rd 530.
 Royal Assent June 10, 1954.
2-3 Elizabeth II c. 39
- 1953-54 First Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. Senate Special Committee on Sale and Distribution of Salacious and Indecent Literature.
- 1953-54 First Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3432, 4114, 4722-4767, 6611-6627.
- 1953-54 First Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 94d-1953-54. Return showing data re representations for amendments to the Post Office Act to permit newspapers or periodicals mailed in a postal area other than the one in which it is published to get the benefits of reduced rates.
- 1953-54 First Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 215-1953-54. Correspondence of a general nature exchanged since January 1, 1948, between the International Bible Students, the Watch Tower and Tract Society, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the National Defence, Justice and Post Office Departments, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
- 1955 Second Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2873, 4126-4148, 4149-4163, 4169-4186, 4194-4209.

- 1955 Second Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 200-1955. Return showing data re discontinuance of "O.H.M.S." and use of "G" in lieu thereof, on government letters etc.
- 1956 Third Session, Twenty-Second Parliament
Bill 351 to amend Post Office Act concerning transfer of contracts (from the Senate)
H. of C. Debates: 1st 4870; 2nd 5590; 3rd 7098.
Senate Debates: 1st 25; 2nd 547; 3rd 568.
Royal Assent August 14, 1956.
4-5 Elizabeth II c. 43
- 1956 Third Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. Senate. Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce: Report on Bill C [Bill 351], May, 1953.
- 1956 Third Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 7529-7552.
- 1957 Fifth Session, Twenty-Second Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1779-1811, 1913-1913, 1948-1952, 1968-1987, 2010, 2043, 2205-2213, 2424-2425, 2849-2852, 3170-3171, 3190-3197.
- 1957-58 First Session, Twenty-Third Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2713-2725, 2726-2754, 4300-4391, 4557-4563.
- 1957-58 First Session, Twenty-Third Parliament
Bill to amend Broadcasting Act
H. of C. Debates: 1st 3766; 2nd 4044; 3rd 4158
Senate Debates: 1st 682; 2nd 684; 3rd 772
Royal Assent September 6, 1958
7 Elizabeth II c. 22
- 1959 Second Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 6246-6272.
- 1960 Third Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 2582-2583, 4277-4306, 4690-4705, 4958-4992.

- 1960 Third Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 122c-1960. Return re regulations governing establishment of rural mail delivery.
- 1960 Third Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 122d-1960. Return re thefts, in each fiscal year 1953-59 and to Feb. 1, 1960, articles stolen, value, complaints laid, amounts recovered.
- 1960 House of Commons. Standing Committee on Public Accounts
- 1960-61 Fourth Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 3464, 3629, 3653, 3660-3693, 3832-3862.
- 1960-61 Fourth Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Papers 119k-1960-61. Return re number of points of call for letter carrier in average day's work, cost of extending house to house delivery to towns and villages, additional jobs, percentage increase in postal rates.
- 1962 Fifth Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. No debate on Post Office Supply.
- 1962-63 First Session, Twenty-Fifth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. No debate on Post Office Supply.
- 1963 House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Accounts
- 1963 First Session, Twenty-Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 6070-6104.
- 1964-65 Second Session, Twenty-Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. Post Office Supply, pp.
- 1964-65 Second Session, Twenty-Sixth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 121D-1964-65. Return to order of House, dated Dec. 18, 1963, re directive to effect that "unknown checks" or "spying" be done on letter carriers, petty and unintentional discrepancies resulting in salary reductions, right of appeal.
- 1965 Third Session, Twenty-Sixth Parliament. House of Commons Debates. No debate on Post Office Supply.

- 1966-67 First Session, Twenty-Seventh Parliament
 Bill S-55 from Senate for Postal Services Interruption Relief.
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 11446; 2nd 13510; 3rd 13513.
 Senate Debates: 1st 1264; 2nd 1293; 3rd 1300.
 Royal Assent March 1, 1967.
14-15-16 Elizabeth II c. 77
- 1966-67 First Session, Twenty-Seventh Parliament. Senate. Standing
 Committee on Banking and Commerce: Report on Bill S-55,
 December, 1966.
- 1966-67 First Session, Twenty-Seventh Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1738-41, 5330-5352, 5369-5374,
 10415, 14386.
- 1967-68 Second Session, Twenty-Seventh Parliament
 Bill C-163 to amend the Broadcasting Act
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 3197; 2nd 3746; 3rd 6468
 Senate Debates: 1st and 2nd 820; 3rd 913
 Royal Assent March 7, 1968
16-17 Elizabeth II c. 25
- 1967-68 Second Session, Twenty-Seventh Parliament. House of Commons
 Debates. Post Office Supply, pp. 1083-1116, 3844, 8108.
- 1967 House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Accounts
- 1968-69 First Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament
 Bill C-116 affecting rates, administration, savings bank
 H. of C. Debates: 1st 109; 2nd 164; 3rd 173.
 Senate Debates: 1st 367; 2nd 367; 3rd 398.
 Royal Assent October 31, 1968.
17-18 Elizabeth II c. 5
- 1968-69 First Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. Senate. Standing
 Committee on Transport and Communications: Report on Bill C-
 116, October, 1968.
- 1968-69 First Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. House of Commons.
 Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the
 Arts: No.

- 1968-69 First Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 153N-1968-69. Return showing periodicals or publications with second class mailing privileges, criteria applied etc.
- 1968-69 First Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 153O-1968-69. Publications formerly with second class mailing privileges now obliged to use third or fourth class mail.
- 1969-70 Second Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications Committee: No. 15 - Respecting Estimates 1970-71 - Post Office, March 10, 1970.
- 1969-70 Second Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Volume I and II [especially Report No. 18, pp. 80-109], Queen's Printer, Ottawa, December, 1970.
- 1970-72 Third Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament.
Bill C-240
H. of C. Debates: 1st 5215; 2nd 6216; 3rd 6848
Senate Debates: 1st 1158; 2nd 1169; 3rd 1235.
Royal Assent June 30, 1971.
19-20 Elizabeth c. 53
- 1970-72 Third Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. Senate. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications: Report on Bill C-240, June, 1971.
- 1970-72 Third Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications Committee:
No. 6: Respecting Main Estimates 1971-72 - Post Office, March 16, 1971.
No. 18 Respecting Bill C-240, An Act to amend the Post Office Act, June 10, 1971.
- 1972 Fourth Session, Twenty-Eighth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications: NO. 1 Respecting Main Estimates 1972-73 - Post Office, March 14, 1972.

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- 1973-74 First Session, Twenty-Ninth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications: No. 8 Estimates 1973-74 - Post Office, May 15, 1973.
- 1974 First Session, Twenty-Ninth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 291-2/3060-1973-74. Return re contracts awarded by DSS for mechanization equipment, tenders submitted, specifications, cost of delays etc.
- 1974 First Session, Thirtieth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications: No. 1 Respecting Main Estimates 1974-75 - Post Office, October 15, 1974.
- 1974-76 First Session, Thirtieth Parliament
Bill to establish the CRTC
H. of C. Debates: 1st 28; 2nd 3760; 3rd 5037
Senate Debates: 1st 803; 2nd 829; 1007
Royal Assent June 19, 1975
23-24 Elizabeth II c. 49
- 1974-76 First Session, Thirtieth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications: No.
- 1974-76 First Session, Thirtieth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications Committee: No.
- 1974-76 First Session, Thirtieth Parliament. House of Commons. Sessional Paper 301-2/3073-1974-76. Return re National Facilities Program, automation equipment, LSM's, CFC's, OCR's, costs, CUPW staffing estimates etc.
- 1976-77 Second Session, Thirtieth Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Transport and Communications:
No. 13 Respecting Main Estimates 1977-78 - Post Office, April 28 and May 5, 1977.
No. 14 Respecting Main Estimates 1977-78 - Post Office, May 12, 1977.

- 1977-78 Third Session, Thirtieth Parliament.
 Bill C-45 Postal Services Operation Bill
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