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Union Jack and Maple Leaves: Identity Politics During the 'Great Canadian Flag Debate' of 1964-1965.

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Union Jack and Maple Leaves: Identity Politics During the 'Great Canadian Flag Debate' of 1964-1965.

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Contents

Introduction

Union Jacks and Maple Leaves

"You must consider every man your enemy who speaks ill of your king:
and…
you must hate a Frenchman as you hate the devil."

Horatio Nelson, First Viscount Nelson (1758-1805)[1]

"*The task of those today is the development of the heritage already secured by those who went before.*

King George VI speaking in Canada (1939)[2]

Canada's roots are colonial. Like many modern states, it was heavily influenced by imperialism, colonialism and conquest. This has left a lasting impression on the country and its people, historically descent from what is referred to as Canada's "founding races": the French and those of the British Isles. Their institutions and symbols thus became widespread across the country, as settlers from Europe sought to create communities and a society that reflected their homelands. This took the form of place names, heraldry and Canada's national flag prior to 1965, the Red Ensign. It primarily glorified the British population, with minuscule representation allotted to the French. Following the decline of the British Empire, trends of decolonization, and burgeoning French-Canadian regionalism, an emblem which projected Canada as a British nation-state began to hinder internal unity and perception abroad, something its globalist Prime Minister identified as the biggest issue of the time.

[1] Ratcliffe, Susan. 2016. Oxford Essential Quotations (4 ed.). Accessed April 11, 2023. https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780191826719.001.0001/q-oro-ed4-00007801;jsessionid=03C85C436153BED3793C0A531E5C4951.
[2]Christian Paul Champion. 2010. The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. Pg. xi.

To what extent was the Great Canadian Flag Debate of 1964-65 determined by desires to develop a more inclusive Canadian national identity/nationalism? Canada had been founded by the union of settlers of two major ethnic groups, the British and French. Speaking unique languages, following different creeds, and harbouring centuries of animosity, they were far from friends in the Old or New Worlds. These two groups would find themselves sharing a country, one that began to welcome in a myriad of different peoples that did not have a place in Canadian founding myths. French Canadians found solace in an identity independent from France and Canada, while British Canadians would prove far more reluctant to fully patriate to their new environment and lamented the loss of "British Canada". Furthermore, a growing catalogue of Canadians not of these former identities began to take root; having no ancestral ties to British imperial romanticism or Québec's unique identity, Canadian identity was becoming entrenched in non-congruent "hyphenated" heritages (British Canadian, French Canadian, Chinese Canadian, etc.). Furthermore, global trends of decolonization and declining British prestige created a climate in-which Canadian leadership viewed the British Canadian patriotism as inhibiting a pan-Canadian nationalism, while French Canadian nationalism threatened to render the state null. The former sought preservation by reasserting Canada's Britannic fabric, in the form of its most overt symbol: the national flag. The latter, meanwhile, disinterested with the politics of Canada, focused on redefining Québec's identity and place within, or perhaps outside of, Confederation. This left a third group was largely lumped into "English Canada", a

[Figure 1] Advertisement, Globe and Mail, January 6, 1965.

term in reference to language rather than heritage. They existed in a sort of limbo, not belonging to one of Canada's two "founding races". These immigrants could not truly belong to British or French circles. To avoid national disunity and potential fracture, the solution was deemed that a broader, "Canadian" identity should be encouraged, equally incorporating the British, French, and third immigrant estates. To render a solution, what exactly it meant to be "Canadian" had to be deciphered. The chief figure was anglophone Lester B. Pearson whose role as Liberal Prime Minister would influence the course of the debate. He viewed the goals of Confederation as being to create a multicultural country founded on the co-equal partnership of its British and French populations. Viewing that ideal as only partially fulfilled, new factors meant that a modern redefinition of Canada required a much broader lens. He rallied against the Conservative Party, proponents for Canada's imperial, British heritage, juxtaposed by a more homegrown, multicultural future. The debate over Canada's most prominent symbol was not decided by ratifying a revolutionarily new "Canadian" symbol but by compromise between disillusioned British Canadians who concocted a banner that retained its recognizable British bedrock yet widened the scope of Canadian nationalism. Not as overt as the Union Jack, but the maple leaf boasted precedent steeped in British heraldic traditions. The romanticism and passion that sustained British Canadian nationalism had to be projected onto a Canadian nationalism, just as it had to reel back drifting Québecois and those awaiting true Canuck enfranchisement.

Historiographical Debate

Changing Nationalisms

There exist differing interpretations over Canadian nationalism and its differing sects. French Canadian nationalism is the most famous, largely confined to the Province of Québec. Contemporary English Canadian nationalism is assumed to be inherently pan-Canadian in nature, forming the linguistic majority. "British" Canadian nationalism is therefore a term fallen out of fashion; with British Canadians assimilated into a pan-Canadian persuasion. When defining it, rival interpretations arise. Some historians view it as inherently imperialist and only lost its purpose following the decline of the British Empire,

where others argue British Canadians failed to ever develop the hallmarks of a nation state entirely yet continue to view themselves as a distinct group of "Canadians".

Alistair B. Fraser, author of *The Flags of Canada,* contends that Canadian nationalism had previously been decidedly imperialistic in nature. Canadian history was an environment in which nationalism and imperialism had not "pulled in separate directions but were fused to the benefit of the country".[3] It hosted many facets that influenced society (commercial, political and religious) and "it was the romantic vision of imperialism which came first and it was this vision which held suzerainty over Canadian flags until 1965."[4] Fraser asserts that this gave these settlers a passion for all things British that "amounted almost to a religion"; a "quasi-religious belief in things British served as a talisman to protect Canadians against the quasi-religious belief held by Americans that theirs was the manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence."[5] The many colonies and peoples that would unify to form Canada therefore did so out of distaste for the American Republic and a belief in the romantic rhetoric that Canadians were British, merely settled on a different continent. Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, expressed these sentiments aptly, stating "A British subject I was born – a British subject I will die."[6] Fraser considers the many wars of the twentieth century, starting first in South Africa and later European theatres, to be the end of true imperial "Britishness" in Canada. The Great War, having killed the "political programme of Canadian imperialism" left only the romantic ideal, "and began to work to the disadvantage of the nation."[7] This resulted in Arthur Lower's assessment of the existence of "Canadians who are actually just 'half-way Canadians,' men who insist upon presenting themselves to American visitors as if they were really British who had the misfortune to live in Canada."[8] These two stances were

[3]Alistair B. Fraser. 1990. "A Canadian Flag for Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Études Canadiennes* 64-80. Pg. 65-66.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] [Macdonald quoted in] Ibid.
[7] Fraser. 66.
[8] [Lower quoted in] Fraser. 66.

best exemplified by the leading figures of the debate, Diefenbaker and Pearson. Fraser argues "both epitomize a legion of nationalists and imperialists", likewise were ardent *Canadian* patriots who adhered to differing "visions of Canada", of which centred around the politics of its symbols. The former saw the Union Jack and/or Red Ensign *as* Canada's flag, while the latter viewed them as honouring "Britain first and Canada second", something unacceptable; the result was "not a trivial spat over the choice of a commercial logotype; rather, it was a fundamental and inevitable battle between two powerful but disparate cultural views of the nation… a battle waged on the deepest possible level, that of the individual's personal symbolic sense of identity."[9] Forrest Pass concurs with this notion of the Flag Debate being more than "a conflict between Conservatives and Liberals, nostalgic imperialists and 'modern' nationalists."[10] The Red Ensign's significance was as representing more than "sentimental Britishness and respect for past military service", but also "Christian- and white nationalism, anti-communism and anti-globalism…"[11] It provided a nostalgic past to Canadian enterprise and industry, and a romantic memento of the nation building process. This same sense of comfort did not exist within Canada's top politicians. Many had experienced the flaws in the British war machine first-hand and had begun to see Canadian reliance on Britain as culturally and politically flawed.

Andrew Ives, Canadian lecturer at the University of Caen Basse-Normandie, disagreed on descriptions of Canadian nationalism as "romantic", instead referring to it as "drab". [12] Characterized as following a narrative of "resource extraction and liberal capitalist acquisitive conquest" it failed to develop a

[9] Ibid., 67.
[10] Forrest D. Pass. 2023. Is the Canadian Red Ensign an extremist symbol? February 15. Accessed March 13, 2023. https://activehistory.ca/2023/02/is-the-canadian-red-ensign-an-extremist-symbol/?fbclid=IwAR1GZ7BhtBJk8c5TqdKjCT4Fbr0hvcG8njY42l8vZK35Y_Td7Eif6XJ3HOg
[11] Ibid.
[12]Andrew Ives. 2018. "Pan-Canadian nationalism since 1867: precarious nation-building revisited in light of the writings of George Grant and Eric Hobsbawm." Études canadiennes / Canadian Studies 93-103. Pg. 102.

"romantic nationhood".[13] To Ives, Canada needed to emerge from "the shadow of two Empires [American and British] and proactively engage in a nation-building project that could resist "imperial hegemony".[14]

Ives puts forth that a nation, irrespective of territory, is comprised of a social group that is defined by a common language, a common religion, shared folklore, and a shared historical narrative,[15] and that these factors to qualify as a nation are particularly difficult for Canada and other colonial nations. The legacy the Red Ensign highlights is of colonial westward expansion and an anti-American disposition that took the form of a pro-British one, aspects that hindered its ability to evolve into a multicultural polity and quell the growing separatist movement in Québec.[16] Ives posits that the Quiet Revolution evoked the desire to integrate Québec into the "nascent pan-Canadian nationalism", but this project required the consent of English Canada. Canadian philosopher and political commentator, George Grant's view of British Canadian nationalism is of one "constructed on shaky ideological foundations" that were "little more than an empty shell useful to capitalist development."[17] British and French Canadians did not, to varying degrees, share language, religion, or folklore, and certainly not a shared historical narrative. By differing degrees of consent, they did share a code of laws, head of state, and national symbols; the latter boasting basis in British and French iconography alike.

Nineteenth century historian and British constitutional expert, Walter Bagehot's wrote that "[W]e know what [nationalism] is when you do not ask us, but we cannot very quickly explain or define it."[18] Michael Billig, in *Banal Nationalism,* argues that settled nation-states "are being threatened by the search for

[13] Ibid., 94.
[14] Ibid., 101-102.
[15] Ibid., 95.
[16] Ibid., 100.
[17] Ibid., 94.
[18] Ibid., 95.

'identities'", with "identity politics" thus being a "[R]eaction to a crisis of modern 'identity'".[19] Billig argues "'identity' is not a thing" but rather shorthand for interpreting the self and community, understood as a form of talking, or an overall "form of life". The imperial nature of British Canadian nationalism did not serve to create a Canadian identity, but rather to maintain a British way of life, by making Canada a bastion of British might and life in the New World. Keith Jeffrey argues that belief in the ideals and power of the British Empire sustained its existence for many years. Furthermore, that many were content under British imperial rule due to attraction to promised ideals of a "peacetime free press, civil rights, habeas corpus, cultivation of elites" and vague promises of eventual self-government.[20] Canada had obtained independence without revolution and thus enjoyed a level of autonomy many contemporary colonies could scarcely imagine, all while retaining access to British markets and might. Jeffrey puts forth that "[T]he British Empire was sustained in large measure by the convenient belief held by non-British people that armed forces could be summoned up at will for immediate deployment in any part of the world." Furthermore, that this situation was "indeed a fantasy" and "certainly so in times of peace"[21], but the romantic ideals of *Pax Britannica* endured. Ashley Jackson argued that years of British rule had built-up enough goodwill and political allies to ensure enough "simple acquiescence" to the Empire's continued existence.[22] This provided the British Empire a level of stability and rebellion-free governance that was the exception, not the rule for imperial powers.[23]

In *A Very British Coup*, Christian Paul Champion, who had advised the Canadian government on citizenship, multiculturalism, and heritage policy, argued that the Great Canadian Flag Debate serves as the "other quiet revolution" with the maple leaf acting as its standard. Furthermore, the events of 1964

[19] Michael Billig. 1995. "National Identity in the World of Nations." In *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Pg. 2.
[20] Keith Jeffery. 1999. "*The Second World War*." In The Oxford history of the British Empire: Volume III: The nineteenth century, by W.M. Roger Louis, Judith Brown, 306-328. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 307.
[21] Jeffrey. 306.
[22] Jackson, Ashley. 2006. *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continuum. pp. 26.
[23] Ibid., 34.

represented the emergence of a post-British Canada, "the dismantling of a 'British and Christian Canada'", and "a triumph of the Canadian present over the Canadian past."[24] Champion views the debate as cultural, a declining British identity coming to terms with a modern Canadian one that fixated on the large English-speaking population, who themselves did not agree on which direction Canada should take. Just as the Ensign represented a "British" past, a new flag had to represent "Canadians who had no ties with Britain", who, "could not have the sentiments nor share the loyalty of those of British stock"[25], according to Brooke Claxton.

André Bourassa argues that symbols and literature likewise influenced Québec's Quiet Revolution. Bourassa, Professor of Québec Literature at Université du Québec a Montréal, recounts this symbol as being a manifesto, the *Refus global*, that had become a rallying point for the socialist left in September of 1948 during his first year at Collége Sainte-Marie. It was feared as "[A]n anarchist credo" and that "[N]othing good will come of it"[26], with students facing expulsion for associating with its authors and their organized events. The movement was "a revolt against rationalization, mechanization, and other restraining influences, including the church"[27], a break with the past and confidence in a secular future. Québec, disassociated with its most influential factor, the church, replaced this passion for religion with a growing regionalism that was burgeoning into nationalism.

Québec strove to "decolonize" itself from Canada, having been ceded from France to Britain and still subjugated under an Anglo-Protestant yolk. It had institutions enforced upon it, David Meren's interpretation of "forced interdependence".[28] Meren likens the "entangled histories of Canada, Québec,

[24] Christian Paul Champion. 2006. "A Very British Coup: Canadianism, Québec, and Ethnicity in the Flag Debate, 1964-1965." Journal of Canadian Studies 68-99. Pg. 68-69.
[25] Champion. 73.
[26] André Bourassa. 1984. *Surrealism and Québec Literature.* Toronto: University of Toronto. Pg. xii.
[27] Ibid., Cover.
[28] David Meren. 2012. *With Friends Like These: Entangled Nationalisms and the Canada-Québec-France Triangle*, 1944-1970. UBC Press. 119.

and France" to a "Canada-Québec-France Triangle"[29], with a great deal of historical, institutional, and linguistic overlap. Despite overlap, both major Canadian groups did not see their cultures as compatible. French Canadian identity had begun its patriation process long before, with English Canada's imperialist nationalism only recently fracturing. Therefore, while Québec's task was to decouple itself from Canada and France and reinforce a sole Québecois narrative, an English Canadian "Quiet Revolution" had to secure further legal independence from Westminster and cultural distance from Great Britain. The difficulty lay in that many still held the United Kingdom in great esteem but viewed Canada's interdependence on the British nexus as increasingly irrelevant, to the point that prioritizing relations with Britain was detrimental to national unity with Québec. This rival revolution was, according to Champion, usurped by "a small cadre of Anglo-Canadians" who produced a new national symbol that "rebrand[ed] the British scarlet"[30] and created a new flag that represented a continuation of the British past, albeit a subtle one.

Champion argues that the English Canadian Quiet Revolution was not as successful as it might have been, however a rival interpretation is that, while an Anglo-Quiet Revolution occurred, its intent was never to decouple Canada from its British background, rather to reorient these nationalist energies into a Canadian national identity. To Donald Akenson, it was "only a short step from being 'British' to being a Canadian".[31] Akenson views many Commonwealth identities as being emblematic to the melding of the Anglo-Celtic cultures that formed to become the wider "British" culture. These peoples, of varying English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish descent settled new homelands and with them attempted to emulate a "British" lifestyle that would be incompatible should it be transplanted to the British Isles.[32] Many Canadians still felt at home in the British world with Pearson himself being described as "one of us" by

[29] Ibid., 6.
[30] Champion. 69.
[31] Donald Akenson. 1995. "The Historiography of English-Speaking Canada and the Concept of Diaspora: A Sceptical Appreciation." *The Canadian Historical Review* 377-409. Pg. 397.
[32] Ibid., 396.

British Liberal and fellow Oxford alumnus and diplomat Gladwyn Jebb[33]. These Canadians fit into Benedict Anderson's definition of a "community", in which despite "actual inequality and exploitation" they still perceived a "deep, horizontal comradeship" with those of Great Britain, Australia, South Africa, and the wider Commonwealth[34]. John Edwards states that "languages is still commonly taken to be *the* central pillar of ethnic identity [emphasis in original]".[35] British Canadian nationalism, rather than purely relying on a shared language, owed its longevity to the symmetrical perception that modern Canadians relate to their Britannic forebears. Wartime experiences, the decline of empire, and immigrant communities from outside the English-speaking world, had drastically shaped Canada's socio-politico landscape. The Flag Debate's goal was redefining "British Canadian" as a one of many Canadian backgrounds, rather than as Canada's ruling caste and no more affluent than any other.

What exactly could serve as a non-partisan flag for all Canadians was difficult to ascertain. Gregory A. Johnson wrote in a "ground-breaking" essay that the Flag Debate represents "the last gasp of empire" and that if the Maple Leaf was to be an elixir of unity, it failed in this regard and "must be judged a failure"[36] as large groups rejected it, in favour of the familiar. Contemporary historiography in 2005 had ignored Johnson's hypothesis as it deviated from nationalist consensus.[37] He further disputes claims that Pearson assumed that "the old-style British connection was gone and with it British-Canadian nationalism"[38] but argues that this view was misguided. Champion corroborates, arguing the difficulty in differentiating the "ingrained Britishness of his Canadianism, an amalgam of multiple identities" [39], from the 'Britishness' which was still very ingrained in 'Canadianism'.

[33] Champion, 71-72.
[34] Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso. Pg. 7.
[35] Michael Billig. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Pg. 3.
[36] Ibid., 70.
[37] Ibid., 70.
[38] Ibid., 71.
[39] Ibid., 71.

Where Diefenbaker claimed the government sought to dismantle Canadian traditions, through a three-leaf symbol that critics described as "instant heritage"[40], Pearson insisted the symbol was long overdue and a homegrown Canadian symbol. Johnson supported the idea that the new Maple Leaf flag would "support and foster the Canadian nation-state" with a new "hegemonic nationalism" that could replace Champion's view of a dying British connection that Jose Igartua argues was "no longer deem[ed] essential" to "representations of themselves as a nation."[41] Blair Fraser, author of *The Search for Identity: Canada 1945-1967*, describes the issues as laying "[B]etween those who wanted Canada's symbols to be British and those who wanted them to be Canadian", thus the Maple Leaf, utilizing a symbol repeatedly coined as distinctly "Canadian" but resplendent in traditional British colours and inspired by the Royal Military College's flag, resulted in a flag that was congruent in the "British Empire and the Anglo-Celtic diaspora." Furthermore, those responsible for its design and promotion were not only ethnically British but their formative influences: their "youth, education, Anglophilia, religion, service in war, sense of tradition, equivocal attitude to the United States, and paternalism towards others not of Anglo-Saxon stock" were all "derived from the British background" and thus provided the "quiet Anglo-Canadian heartbeat of the supposedly new Canada."[42] Siniša Malešević in *Grounded Nationalism* asserts that "[I]t is weak not strong nationalisms that are noisy and brazen." Whereas "[W]ell established, take-for-granted nationalisms do not require relentless and instant mobilisation."[43] Indicative of a British Empire trend identified by Benedict Anderson: The "English English"[44] populated imperial centres of government and the upper classes and possessing immediate natal connection to England, irrespective to Great Britain as a whole. These anglicized societies yield communities where, despite shared upbringing and values, those not of direct English stock were excluded.[45] Opportunities in these countries would be segregated based largely on one's familial relation to England rather than operating as a meritocracy. While highly

[40] Winnipeg Tribune. 1963. *"Leave our flag alone." Weekend Magazine*, March 7: 6.
[41] Champion. 70.
[42] Ibid., 70-71.
[43] Siniša Malešević. 2019. *Grounded Nationalisms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 142.
[44] Anderson. 94.
[45] Ibid., 93.

noticeable in imperial holdings such as India, Hong Kong, and the Gold Coast, Anderson highlights that these issues very much existed in the "*white* colonies" – Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. Those not of direct English stock did not hold office "in Dublin or Manchester, and not even in Ottawa or Capetown. [sic]"[46]

Canada, founded on the belief those of French or English persuasions should be equal, struggled to incorporate the former in the institutions that governed both. Canada, becoming increasingly open to immigration from lands distinct from the British Isles and France, was beginning to strain against the established English class. Where Champion views the Flag Debate as "dismantling" the British past, Ives believes this "past" was nothing more than colonial enterprise without a "romantic nationhood". This thesis argues that Canada, as a British state with a British nationalism, did once thrive and exist but a climate of weakened British prestige, improved ties to the United States, decolonization, and threats to Confederation emanating from Québec, meant that perpetuating the "old-style" British connection would only hinder aspirations for a Canadian nation state. Its "Anglo-Celtic" leaders were largely disillusioned with the British world and began to see Canada as distinct from it. Eric Hobsbawm writes, regarding Québec during the Quiet Revolution, that the drastic cultural shift it endured left a "disoriented generation hungry for new certitudes to replace the collapsing old ones" and further posits that "the rise of militant separatism was a surrogate for the lost traditional Catholicism", citing that Québecois church attendance fell from over 80% to 25% in the 1960s.[47] The decline of a strong British identity in English Canada mirrors many of the same beats of that of Québec. A prominent vestige of its colonial past, its flag, was held up for extreme public scrutiny and ultimately discarded with, just as the previously highly religious Québecois shed their enthusiasm for papal institutions.

[46] Ibid., 93-94.
[47] Eric Hobsbawm. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 172.

The Great Canadian Flag Debate's success, rather than diminished by subversive "English English" elite, was only as successful as it was because it maintained the support of many of its members. They reflected individuals who recognized the end of empire and the threats Canada faced domestically. If the Maple Leaf flag was complacent in the British world, it was because the most lasting vestige of British nationalism was its romantic history. The maple leaf, with royal sanction and military history, incapsulated the imperial fervor of British Canadians, had symbolic and physical presence in Québec, and could not be deemed to prioritize any specific group. The Union Jack and fleur-de-lys clearly referenced individual ethnicities, but the Maple Leaf flag succeeded in shedding these symbols entirely and allowing the passion they inspire for Britain and France to be projected unto Canada.

Lester B. Pearson's Legacy

Pearson has been cast as being on the "right side of history", "entirely reasonable" and "correct", by Jack Granatstein, a specialist on Canadian politics and military history. Pearson had successfully presented himself as a level-headed English Canadian, who would be capable of reconciling the country. In contrast, his opponents became branded as "virtually francophobe", "full-throated" bigots and a "hardline crew of Red Ensign supports"[48], as Granastein describes. Champion concludes that "Pearson, of course, was on the right side of history",[49] the benefit of hindsight bolstering his image. Meanwhile, Diefenbaker "held tight to the past, while Pearson transcended his limitations"[50], according to Norman Hillmer who echoes Peter Newman's verdict that "the Tory chief remained a prisoner of his heritage … inflamed by issues that no longer animated the majority of Canadians".[51]

[48] [Granatstein quoted in] Ibid., 76.
[49] Ibid., 76.
[50] [Hillmer quoted in] Ibid., 76.
[51] [Newman quoted in] Ibid., 77.

John W. Holmes, former director of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and close friend of Pearson, praised his "ability to see the other man's perspective", although this "could sometimes lead him to be too understanding."[52] This gave the nature of his politics a distinctively conciliatory tone. It required "a man who can work out a strategy and take command"[53] as well as convincing a public who do "not see beyond the satisfaction of standing up to be counted."[54] In practice, Holmes recalls Pearson as a great listener, mediator, and team player who pitched novel ideas many viewed as "heresies" as "ideas for consideration rather than firm conviction."[55]

Robert Greenhill and Marina Sharpe argue that Pearson's motivation behind his conciliatory style of diplomacy lay with his belief that there was "no problem more important to the future of ... peace and stability of a world becoming increasingly divided into rich and poor, developed and underdeveloped". Pearson further believed that this climate was "not likely to promote peace in the family of man [since the] … [a]nimosities that will arise from it are incalculable and explosive".[56] Through a career that had him begin as an "Atlanticist and ended it as a globalist", Pearson was exposed to the imperial hey-day and its swansong. He witnessed as a myriad of developing countries across Africa and Asia came into being and, through travel, subsequently believed the United Nations to be the perfect vessel to aid in the difficulties technological change and decolonization were providing to these newly independent states.[57] He further bore witness as many post-colonial states were quick to abandon signs of their colonial past and present a far more domestic image on the world stage.

[52]John W. Holmes. 2007. "The Unquiet Diplomat - Lester B. Pearson." *International Journal* 291-309.
[53] Ibid., 301.
[54] Ibid., 309.
[55] Ibid., 303.
[56] Robert Greenhill and Marina Sharpe. 2019. "Lester B Pearson's road to development." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 19-38. Pg. 21.
[57] Ibid., 21.

Pearson was personally highly invested in aiding these fledgling countries abroad. According to Barbara Ward, Pearson was "one of the most consistent and convincing advocates of worldwide economic assistance"[58] which Greenhill and Sharpe argue held multiple purposes. Firstly, as Cranford Pratt posits, a positive image of Canada abroad would allow the country to maintain its standing within the "US-led anti-communist alliance".[59] In addition, Pearson believed "in the role of financial aid in promoting and maintaining global security".[60] Furthermore, that humanitarian projects abroad was a tool for domestic harmony in Canada. Greenhill and Sharpe explain this by the drastic increase in aid budget in only a few years. The 1963-64 budget for francophone Africa was USD$300,00 but by 1964-65, Pearson had succeeded in "engaging Québec" and the budget grew to USD$4,000,000. Thus, through financial generosity and fostering positive diplomatic favour with allies, Pearson was ensuring Canada "[kept] up with peers" while jointly promoting Canada's national interest and global security, all as a possible "tool to promote national unity."[61]

Pearson was the most influential individual in the Flag Debate and post-war Canadian politics. He exceeded expectations of being yet another anglophone product of the British world and was capable enough to assert Canadian influence abroad and foster unity at home. Historians commonly implicate him in helping guide Canada through events that pitted it at odds with not only its closest neighbour, the United States, its paternal countries: the United Kingdom and France, but also soothing relationships between provinces, the federal government, and Canada's increasingly diverse population. Pearson also remarkably had the grace to excuse himself from the Flag Debate, unlike Diefenbaker's consistent meddling behind-the-scenes, and freely abandoned the Pearson Pennant after opponents negatively associated him with it. Humble yet passionate, Pearson was well suited to mediate polarly opposed groups without insult and begin the process for reconciliation.

[58] [Ward quoted in] Greenhill and Sharpe. 29.
[59] [Pratt quoted in] Greenhill and Sharpe. 28-29.
[60] [Chapnick quoted in] Greenhill and Sharpe. 29.
[61] Ibid. 29.

Sources and Methodology

Many sources employed for this thesis follow the narrative of the debate. This is done by primarily employing news organizations, biographies, letters, and reports acquired from Library and Archives Canada, in Ottawa. By the nature of these sources, a timeline is gleamed and therefore possible to trace opinion from the flag debate of William Lyon Mackenzie King to Lester B. Pearson. Given the cyclical nature of the flag question in Canada, the goal is to determine how the Flag Question was perceived and evolved over time. The public had always been keenly interested, newspapers having conveyed every bit of gossip that escaped Parliament and its closed-door meetings. Public interest frequently blossomed whenever the topic arose, as it threatened the sensibilities of the British establishment, before fading back into obscurity. The primary vehicle to identify these public trends is that of news organizations, largely published in print but increasingly portrayed in photo and video. That the Flag Debate maintained its consistent presence in the national media, correlates to Pearson's belief that the topic had to be exposed in a way that would "ensure maximum attention."[62]

This success is observed in the methods, they interacted with the debate. This took the forms of a mass written campaign, resulting in a myriad of joint petitions and personal testimonies. Many flagged the nation, indicated their personal narratives in its formation, and their proud heritage that anti-British forces sought to subvert. The catalogue of sources I personally viewed during visits to Library and Archives Canada indicate a far more sustained effort by Red Ensign supporters, vis-à-vis proponents of an alternate national flag, to have their voices known; a major exception found within Québec. The sheer volume of pro-Ensign letters retained in Ottawa may indicate this group's heightened passion, yet may also indicate different tactics employed by opponents, or simply differing levels of preservation.

[62] Lester B. Pearson. 2015. *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Volume Three: 1957-1968*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pg. 67.

Parliamentary records are also widely used. This includes those digitized online as well as others recovered from the archives. Specific published reports were found in both sources, but some acquired in the archives further boast handwritten notes and other correspondence, such as between the Special House of Commons Committee on a Canadian Flag and A.R. Winship, that I did not find elsewhere, providing further insights into the factors that influenced their ultimate decision. Biographies, such as those belonging to Lester B. Pearson and John Matheson likewise provide further testimonial and context to the actions of these key figures.

The intended outcome is to provide a nuanced view of the Flag Debate and the considerations the Flag Committee were ultimately exposed to. The sources indicate that, despite wide public demonstrations, it was the opinions of a few key experts, including George Stanley, that influences these fifteen Members of Parliament (M.P.s) the most. They deliberated between the rival interpretations of Canadian nationalism through pragmatic lens, one intended to yield a non-partisan result.

Structure

The first chapter examines Canada's political and cultural relationship to Britain and the Commonwealth in the years preceding the Debate. It establishes Canadian desire for agency and wresting further autonomy from Westminster. Furthermore, it provides context for Canadian demographics as of the 1961 census, identifying declining, yet still dominant, British and French ethnic populations, as well as the rising support from urban communities for a new flag. Additionally, the major political parties and their persuasions as they were elected in 1963 is examined; indicating on one level how Parliament was composed and provincial leanings.

Chapter two is concerned with the establishing the cynical and cyclical nature of the Flag Debate. It debunks notions of a British population unwilling to part with British symbols, although many during the Flag Debate of 1946 doubted this. It follows a contemporary publication by D.F. Stedman who identifies the qualities that were most reoccurring and required in considering a new Canadian flag.

Chapter three relates to two of the most influential individuals. First is Lester B. Pearson, who was critical to the success of the debate. It examines his background, motives, aims and overall tactics employed by the Prime Minister to ensure an outcome that would not render Canada more divided. The Maple Leaf flag's designer, George Stanley is also examined. Despite not playing a political role, his perception as a British Canadian of good standing amongst skeptical Québecois and British Canadians alike allowed his flag to succeed where Pearson's failed.

Chapter four examines the jingoistic hot nationalism that burst forth following Pearson's speech in Winnipeg. He had provoked British Canadian nationalists and subsequently captured the attention of the public and politicians alike. The deadlock in Parliament is further examined, as the political parties became embittered and entrenched, leading to a situation where filibusters threatened likelihood for a new flag.

Chapter five relates to the Flag Committee, a group of M.P.s who were tasked with finding a new flag. The public debate, having failed, the matter was relegated to a select group of cross-party members to examine Canada's symbols and put forth an option that could secure Parliament's approval. Intended to be non-partisan, the opinions of its members and leading historians were weighed with far more value than the now, twice, sidelined public. Discarding Pearson's flag, featuring rival leaves for rival

ethnicities; flags featuring British and French iconography; and many options given less weight, the single leaf-ed Maple Leaf flag was selected for its representation of Canadians as one people.

Chapter One: Post-British Canada

Relationship to the United Kingdom and Commonwealth

The Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867 from a collection of British colonies in a process dubbed "Confederation". Canada had become the first country to achieve a measure of political independence and self-governing capacity within the British Empire, when it became a "Dominion", a name chosen over "Kingdom" to avoid provoking the American Republic. Argument over the mishandling, of Commonwealth forces during the Great War led to the Dominions jostling for more autonomy, resulting in the *Balfour Declaration of 1926*, which instilled far more legislative power for Dominion capitals. Later came the *Statute of Westminster of 1931*, which redefined their relationship with Britain, which recognized them as co-equal.[63] It was passed with a degree of regret and hesitation by London. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey, described the bill as a "new ideal" and recognized increasing Dominion desire "to be more self-reliant and to sue the restrictions placed upon their legislative capacity removed."[64] Further, future Dominion Secretary, Viscount Cranborne would not rise to object to the Bill, but "regret[ed] the introduction of this Bill and the necessity of passing it", adding that no "measure proposed to Parliament and the country, indeed I may say to the Empire, … was received with so little enthusiasm."[65] He believed the British government was out of step with the "common sense of the world"[66] and repents "that this bill had ever become necessary."[67] This redefined relationship would allow for growing Canadian participation within Empire-wide policy for years to come, wedding its prosperity as a joint-venture.

[63] United Kingdom Parliament. 1931. *Statute of Westminster*, 1931. Westminster: His Majesty's Stationery Office.
[64] UK Parliament. 1931. *"STATUTE OF WESTMONSTER BILL*. (Hansard, 26 November 1931)." HANSARD 1803-2005. November 26. https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1931/nov/26/statute-of-westminster-bill.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

Demographics and Support for a New Flag

British Canadians were most likely to view the Red Ensign as intrinsic to their perception of what it meant to be "Canadian". *Statistics Canada* records that, in 1961, British Canadians accounted for 43.8% of the nation's population, amounting to just shy of 8 million people. Those identifying as being "Other European" amounts to 53% of the contemporary population, with the vast majority of this group being French at 30.4%, or 5.5 million. Meanwhile, other ethnic backgrounds struggle to return numbers as vast, with the runner-up position falling to the German population, at a comparatively minuscule 5.8%, or just over 1 million. It was furthermore comprised of only 0.7% "Asiatic" inhabitants and 1.2% "Native Indian and Eskimo" but Canada in 1961 was still 96.8% European.[68] It was institutionally governed by practices and represented by symbols and a language that reflected the biggest majority, The United Kingdom. The cultural and governmental dominance by British Canadians meant that the French language lacked official status and thus limited use outside of Québec, with only 12.2% of the 1961 population reporting as bilingual, a number that drops to 6.9% should Québec be excluded from the population.[69] Canadians outside of Québec spoke 76.8% English, while only 6.6% spoke French as their mother tongue. The

[Figure 3] The Canadian Red Ensign, National Archives and Library, Ottawa.

[68] Statistics Canada. 2009. *Distribution of the population, by ethnic group, census years 1941, 1951 and 1961.* 17 August. https://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb02/1967/acyb02_19670197014-eng.htm.
[69] Jean-François Lepage and Jean-Pierre Corbeil. 2013. *The evolution of English–French bilingualism in Canada from 1961 to 2011.* May. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-006-x/2013001/article/11795-eng.htm.

mother tongue of the Québecois themselves was 81.2% French with only 13.3% reporting English in 1961.[70] Canada by the years of 1964-1965 and the outbreak of the Great Canadian Flag Debate was therefore majority English-speaking, but this majority no longer boasted heritage from the English-speaking world. Polls found that only 23% of the Maritime provinces supported "a new national flag" over the Union Jack or Red Ensign, the number only rising to 35% in Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia.[71] Within these figures, Champion notes that large urban areas showed greater enthusiasm for a new flag, areas with the most recent immigration.

The British effort, by the Great War's end in 1918, had a tally of 619,636 men and women enlisted directly from Canada with another 8,826 Canadians sailing in the Royal Navy or the Royal Canadian Navy. Further "several thousands" enlisted directly in the United Kingdom with the Canadian Expeditionary Force, with casualties numbering 234,741 at the war's end.[72] These staggering recruitment numbers are ascribed by to the many Canadians who "believed in the justness of the war – as a means of defending liberal ideas or supporting the British Empire."[73]

As Canada evolved amidst conflict, its people became increasingly labeled as different from fellow Commonwealth troops. The maple leaf, Union Jack, and Red Ensign became proud symbols during the World Wars, fondly remembered by those who fought under both conflicts. Forrest Pass argues, English Canadian nationalism was "largely a variant of imperialism; its proponents did not seek independence from the British Empire, but rather autonomy within the empire".[74] It was this enthusiasm for Canadians

[70] Statistics Canada. 2018. *The evolution of language populations in Canada, by mother tongue, from 1901 to 2016.* February 21. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2018001-eng.htm.
[71] Fraser., 71.
[72] Cook, Tim. 2014. *"The Canadian Great War Soldier."* The Canadian Encyclopedia.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Pass, Forrest D. 2014. "Something occult in the science of flag-flying." *The Canadian Historical Review* 321-351. Pg. 323.

to be represented under a flag of their own that elevated the mercantile Red Ensign to unofficial national status on both land and sea. While the First World War saw an explosion of hot nationalism across the British Empire, it was expressed as both jingoistic patriotism for British values and resistance against imperial rule.

Political Parties

Canada inherited its political system from the United Kingdom, dubbed the "Westminster System". Akin to the latter, Canada is a constitutional monarchy as well as a parliamentary democracy. The government of Canada "acts in the name of the Crown", which in turn, "derives its authority from the Canadian people."[75] While the names of each branch of government varies between countries, Canada's Parliament consists of the Crown, the Senate, and the House of Commons, located in the Canadian capital of Ottawa. Laws are only enacted once they receive assent from all respective branches. Canada's Head of State during (and after) the Great Canadian Flag Debate was Queen Elizabeth II. As the Monarch's official residence laid outside of Canadian borders, the monarchy was instead represented by a Governor General, who performed these ceremonial duties on its behalf.

Progressive Conservative Party of Canada

The Progressive Conservatives, commonly abbreviated to "Conservatives" or "Tories" were a centre to centre-right party that merged into the modern Conservative Party of Canada in 2003. Headed by John Diefenbaker since 1956, it held office between 1957 to 1963. In 1963, they secured the popular vote in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and Alberta, along with full political dominance of Saskatchewan's seventeen seats and the sole seat the Yukon and the Northwest Territories were individually allotted.

[75] House of Commons Canada. n.d. *Canadian Parliamentary System.* https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/our-procedure/parliamentaryFramework/c_g_parliamentaryframework-e.html.

Going into the 1960s, the Conservative mindset was fixated on economic growth and resting on their track record since 1957[76], making no new promises. They lauded their accomplishments, focusing largely on their record of social justice for "the aged, the blind, the disabled, the unemployed, the veterans, the farmers, the small businessmen, and the provinces and municipalities" as well as the progress made in "rolling back the vast frontiers of our rich North."[77] Diefenbaker's encouragement for research "into the sky, the seas, and previously untapped mineral lodes, in search of new wealth and scientific advancement" was praised.[78] Overall their focus was on economic development, rather than cultural.

Liberal Party of Canada

The Liberal Party, a centre to centre-left party, was headed by Lester B. Pearson since 1958. In the election of 1963, the Liberals secured the popular vote in Ontario, Québec, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador. The Liberal Party would administer as a minority government and relied on the New Democratic Party to pass legislations.

The Liberal Party manifesto of 1963, writing from the Opposition, "is the same as we put forward last year"[79] and stated their first priority "will be to restore confidence in Canada by putting our affairs in order and restoring sound and steady management of the nation's business."[80] The manifesto further pledged to promote a 'Positive Canadianism', an "identity that creates unity without uniformity", a partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians… enriched by contributions of people who have come to Canada from many other lands." It pledged that "[W]ithin two years of taking office" a

[76] Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. 1962. *Getting Things Done for Canada and Canadians: An Outline of Progressive Conservative Government Action 1957-1962.* Ottawa: The Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. Pg. 15.
[I] Ibid., 8.
[78] Ibid., 3.
[79] Liberal Party of Canada. 1963. *"The Policies of the Liberal Party."* In Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968, by D. Owen Carrigan, 294-302. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company. Pg 294.
[80] Ibid., 295.

new flag would be submitted to Parliament "which cannot be mistaken for the emblem of any other country." It further elaborated that "The Union Jack will be flown on appropriate occasions as a symbol of our membership in the Commonwealth"[81], predicting the backlash the Liberal Party doubtless assumed would follow.

New Democratic Party

The New Democratic Party (N.D.P.) is a left to centre-left party that was headed by Tommy Douglas during the election of 1963. The party returned seventeen M.P.s to Ottawa. They did not secure the popular vote in any province but held nine of British Columbia's possible twenty-two seats along with two in Manitoba and six in Ontario.

The N.D.P. called for Canada to create its own constitution, "embodying guarantees for the civil rights of all Canadians and the assurance that no one will suffer because he speaks just one of our two major languages." "The crisis of Confederation", the N.D.P. identify, "flows from the *many* solitudes – cultural, regional, social and economic – that are Canada."[82]

Social Credit Party of Canada

Social Credit, known as the "Socreds", was a populist party in Canada between 1935 and 1993. Their leader was Robert N. Thompson from 1961 to 1967. In 1963 the party would split into English and French factions, known as Social Credit and the Ralliement des créditistes (Creditiste) respectively.[83]

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[81] Ibid., 295.
[82] New Democratic Party. 1963. *New Democratic Party Program.* Regina: Service Printing Company. Pg. 1.
[83] Christopher Riches and Jan Palmowski. 2019. "Social Credit Party of Canada." *A Dictionary of Contemporary World History.* https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/display/10.1093/acref/9780191870903.001.0001/acref-9780191870903-e-2165?rskey=ZGSSvc&result=1.

On April 8, 1963, Social Credit returned twenty-four M.P.s to Ottawa. Two were in British Columbia along with another two in their historic heartland of Alberta, while Québec returned an astonishing twenty M.P.s for the party. This placed them as the third largest party in the House of Commons but did not possess the same sway as the N.D.P. due to the latter's support for the Liberals.

Chapter Two: Pre-History to the Flag Debate

Pre-1960s Discourse

The Red Ensign, in-place for Canada's early history, was a symbol that Pass states, "seems to many Canadians a colonial emblem inappropriate for an autonomous nation",[84] but was viewed by its early supporters as a symbol of Canadian sovereignty. It was originally provided to the newly formed Dominion in 1892 by the British Admiralty to help distinguish Canadian naval vessels from fellow fledgling dominions. Furthermore, the Canadian Red Ensign, which took various forms over the years, became a particularly popular patriotic symbol during the First World War.[85] This original Ensign featured the quartered coats of arms of Canada's founding provinces, later updated to display Canada's Great Seal, utilizing the royal arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France. Some French Canadians did not share the perspective that a new national flag would unite Canada. The *Chevaliers de Champlain*,

[Figure 4] The Canadian Red Ensign as it was authorized from 1892-1922.

[84] Forrest D. Pass. 2014. "Something occult in the science of flag-flying." *The Canadian Historical Review* 321-351. Pg. 321.
[85] Government of Canada. 2023. *The history of the National Flag of Canada.* February 9. https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/flag-canada-history.html.

a patriotic secret society[86], under the motto of "religion, fraternity, discretion"[87] did not support a new Canadian "national flag" on the basis that "une majorité anglaise [The English majority]" were not, by definition, able to usher in a new flag that could be inclusive enough to placate both major groups. In addition, many in Québec saw their provincial flag as their *de facto* "national" flag, leaving the deliberations on the national flag instead perceived as English Canadian external politics.

Flag Debates of 1925 and 1946

The Flag Question predated the debate the 1960s, as a booklet titled *A Distinctive National Flag for Canada*, written by D.F. Stedman and published by *The Ottawa Evening Citizen,* indicates. These "educational" features were published to contribute to a running series known as "[A] Discussion of The Flag Problem" throughout December 1946. Praised by publisher H.S. Southam, as "stimulating and informative and of wide reader interest"[88], the articles, written in the context of a recent "Canadian Flag Competition" and reflected a clear display "that the Canadian public is highly interested in the subject of a distinctive Canadian flag". It likewise showcased "that there are several schools of thought on the subject, which have in some cases quite opposite views."[89] Stedman admits that "[U]nfortunately—or perhaps fortunately-- Canada can have **only one national flag**" and that in order to agree on one flag these various opposing groups "**must** get together somehow and work out a compromise to which **all** Canadians can look with pride and pleasure. [emphasis in original]"[90] Therefore, he believes that the best solution to Canada's "183-year" flag problem was to make a new design, in-which "nobody is committed or has expressed any public opinion."[91] Referenced within the collection is a 1945 Joint Parliamentary Flag Committee as well as Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's 1925 effort to settle the flag

[86] James Trepanier. 2012. "Fraternal goals or nationalist priorities: the Ordre de Jacques Cartier's campaign against the Knights of Columbus, 1945-1960." *American Council for Québec Studies.*
[87] Alain Saintonge. 2016. *The flâneur's notebook.* July 8. http://www.lecarnetduflaneur.com/2016/07/les-chevaliers-de-champlain-et-la.html.
[88] D.F. Stedman, 1947. A Distinctive National Flag for Canada. Ottawa: The Ottawa Evening Citizen. Pg. 1.
[89] Ibid., 3.
[90] Ibid., 3.
[91] Ibid., 3.

question, reflecting the repetitious nature of the issue in Canada's politics. The total number of entries flags during this period totalled 2409s[92], with many lacking "historic or heraldic basis" and suffered from being "too new" lacking reference to established flags and thus a "father to son inheritance from one flag to another."[93] Stedman owes this early failure to the difficulty "to recgonise such designs as being made of Canadian elements [sic]", as well as balancing the symbols of different ethnic groups. This left the Red Ensign as the only flag "with any heraldic significance … which was consequently the natural choice of the Committee."[94]

[Figure 5] A Petition in Favour of the Ligue du drapeau national's proposed Canadian flag.

One such attempt to find a compromise flag came from the Ligue du drapeau national. Praised for its attempts at compromise, it featured a prominent green maple leaf along with scarlet and white, it lacked clear homage to any major Canadian group. *The Canadian Heraldic Authority* records that this flag "[does] not have symbolism that has been formally recorded",[95] leaving interpretation intentionally ambiguous. Nonetheless, strong support for this flag came from Québec, a recorded 18,000 "signatures favouring this design all from the Province of Québec." These petitions reflect the widespread support for this new flag, with signatories from Dolbeau, Québec's *École Superieure St-Tharcisius* being as young as

[92] Ibid., 5.
[93] Ibid., 4.
[94] Ibid., 4.
[95] The Canadian Heraldic Authority. 2008. Proposed Flag for Canada: Ligue du drapeau national, c. 1943. March 20. https://www.gg.ca/en/heraldry/public-register/project/1265.

thirteen. The petition asks for a new flag “pour le Canada dans un delai que nous voulons le plus bref possible [for Canada within a delay that we want as briefly as possible]”.[96] As this flag gave equal treatment to each ethnic element, Stedman concluded that it “unfortunately treats all alike mostly by excluding everybody, consequently nobody recognizes it. However it is a good start.”[97]

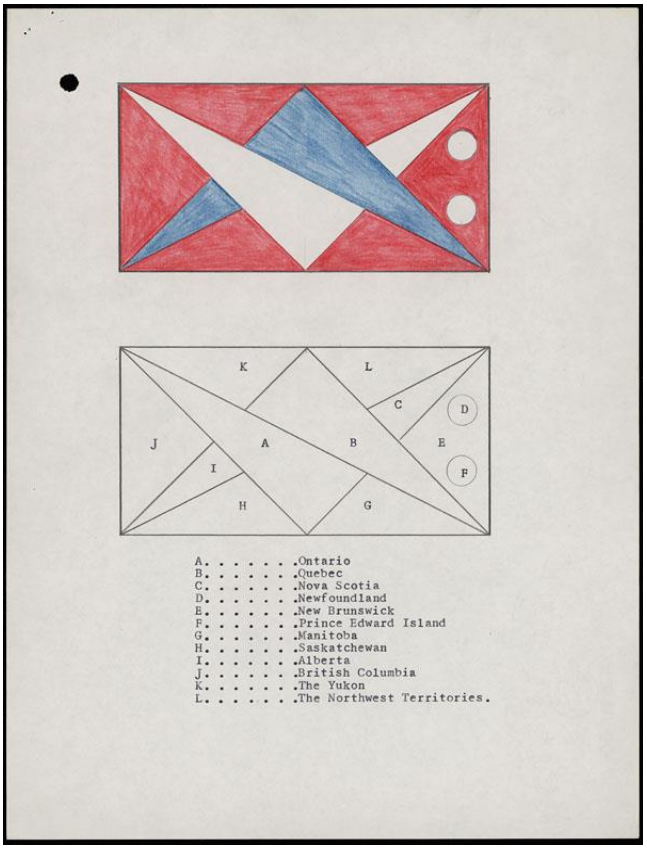
A commonly recorded opinion was that the British “will have their Union Jack” but Stedman argues that this is not the attitude of the British Canadian, stating that “[O]f 2409 entries only 383 had a Union Jack”, less than 16%, the remainder of entries from those who “freely offered compromise designs.” With this spirit in mind, Stedman suggested his own “compromise design”, featuring marks “which in herald language **most** nearly expresses Canada.”[98] Using the Union Jack itself as inspiration, due to its composition being the cohabitation of various banners from the British Isles. The British flag represents a “father to son” lineage from its constituents, the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. Canada, the “son” to Britain and France, should therefore be emblematic of its “fathers”. Modern British and French flags were different from those used

[Figure 6] D.F. Stedman’s “Canadian Union Flag”.

[96] Club 4-H Ste-Agath-des-Monts. 1953. "Requete en faveur d'un drapeau canadien." *Petition of 4-H Clubs For Adoption of a New Flag.* Ste-Agath-des-Monts: Library and Archives Canada, September 28.

[97] Stedman. 5.
[98] Ibid., 5-6.

during Canada's exploration and founding, with the republican Tricolor having no historic use in Canada, but Stedman justified its use, as French Canadians "retained their interest in their French origin, of which this flag is the only present heraldry." As the "two flags are remarkably similar and if Canada is to have a flag of heraldic significance the best flags which can be combined are clearly the Union Jack and Tricolor."[99] These modern flags likewise avoid being "the flags of conquest as far as this is possible."[100] Using the Union Jack as its base, he incorporated elements from the three flags of British and Irish persuasion. The Cross of St. George is repurposed to be the Tricolor of the French Republic and the stripes of red and white in the centre are redefined not as representing Scotland and Ireland but rather the 'Canadian Northlands' and the 'Canadian Indian', a rare reference as the Flag Committee of 1965 made little attempt to represent Canada's Indigenous population. This resulted in Stedman's "Canadian Union Flag", "of which all groups of Canadians may be proud, with offence to none, and which is developed by methods very similar to those used in developing the 'British Union Flag'".[101] Stedman exemplifies that British Canadians were not entirely wedded to the symbols of the past. Compromise was widely viewed as necessary, but any new flag required enough nostalgic elements to exemplify Canadian heritage and history. Stedman would return in 1964 to propose a far more



[Figure 7] D.F. Stedman's 1964 Flag Proposal.

[99] Ibid., 15.
[100] Ibid., 14.
[101] Ibid., 49.

aesthetically modern design[102] but lacks heraldic significance. Many flags that would emerge throughout the Flag Debate would follow the duality seen in Stedman. Canada did not yet have a clearly defined collection of national symbols to draw upon. Thus, artists were left to decide for themselves which icons, colours, and orientations felt most "Canadian", leading to a wide range of proposals including shades of red, white and blue along with depictions of fleur-de-lys, beavers, Union Jacks and maple leaves. Through Stedman, national symbols were not as integral to a flag as producing a recognizably "Canadian" flag that incorporated its entire population.

[102] D.F. Stedman. 1964. "Flag Design [D.F. Stedman] / Suggestion de drapeau [D.F. Stedman]." Library and Archives Canada. *MIKAN 3025792.* Ottawa.

Chapter Three: Ensure Maximum Attention

Lester B. Pearson

Motives

Lester Bowles "Mike" Pearson was born in Newtonbrook (now Toronto), Ontario on April 23, 1897. A graduate of the University of Toronto and Oxford University alike, Pearson received education at leading institutes in both Canada and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, Pearson was a member of the Canadian military from 1915-1918. Having served on the Salonika front as well as the British Royal Flying Corps, he received the nickname "Mike" from a British instructor, as "Lester" was considered too effeminate. He was told "[T]hat's a sissy's name. You're Mike", a name he would continue to use with friends and family.[103] Pearson learned to pilot at a school in Hendon, United Kingdom, surviving a crash during his first flight. Ultimately it would be a bus accident during a London blackout that would end his time in the military. He returned to Canada and received a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Toronto. Subsequently, he would receive a scholarship that brought him back to Britain to complete both a Bachelors in modern history and a Master of Arts at St. John's College, Oxford. Later serving at the High Commission of Canada to the United Kingdom and colloquially referred to as Canada House, Pearson continued a career that fixated on negotiating Canada's role in the British Empire. The High Commissioner during the Second World War was Vincent Massey, whom Pearson aided in coordinating military supply and refugee problems.

Pearson records in his diary that he only ever attended one meeting during the early periods of the Second World War, concerned the defense of the Pacific, on November 20, 1939. He recounts first, that Winston S. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, stressed the need for two British navy fleets, one for Europe and another for Asia and to "not fall again for any [of Germany's] disarmament nonsense". Secondly, Churchill ended the meeting by telling the High Commissioners to "never forget that during our lifetime

[103] John English. 2023. *"Mike" Pearson.* https://parli.ca/mike-pearson/?_thumbnail_id=1565.

and our children's lifetime our only security would be the British navy and the French army." To this final pledge, Pearson recorded a disaffected "What nonsense!"[104] Pearson records similar instances of disillusionment with British command. In the war's early days, Canadian Air Force officers were "not impressed by the reports they received on the strength and effectiveness of the [Royal Air Force]."[105] Pearson himself had his own faith "somewhat shaken" by the Air Marshal, Sir Frederick Bowhill's remark "that there was not a single American aeroplane that was any good, hence they could not expect any effective help from the United States, even if Congress were to change the Neutrality Act." Pearson recalls hearing this comment from both a senior British civilian official and "was no more impressed when it came from the Chief of the Royal Air Force."[106] His displeasure continued as he recalls Ottawa asking Canada House to keep secret the arrival of Canadian troops to Britain so reports would appear in Canadian press ahead of American publications. Pearson recounts his confidence in keeping the secret yet having been undermined by Churchill "who gave the entire story in a broadcast on the very day of the arrival."[107]

Despite playing a more background role during his time at Canada House, Pearson acquired a unique sense of diplomacy that would "sometimes bend too far backwards" as he sought to consolidate opinions and bridge gaps. During the climate of an increasingly frigid Cold War, Pearson successfully reconciled Washington and Paris, who began to assert different interpretations for Europe's post-war rearmament. The French feared plans for a domestic European Defence Community (E.D.C.), a potential first step for a united Europe, might be usurped by a Washington-led NATO and result in an Anglo-American dominance over the continent. Pearson stressed the importance of maintaining the E.D.C. to U.S. secretary of state, John Foster by threatening an "agonizing reappraisal" of American policy should it

[104] Lester B. Pearson. 2015. *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Volume One: 1897-1948.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pg. 158.
[105] Ibid., 158.
[106] Ibid., 158.
[107] Ibid., 159.

collapse. By standing up to the Americans, Pearson earned the trust of French foreign minister, Georges Bidault, who found it "moving that a Canadian of British origin should express the French position with such clarity, understanding and good will."[108]

However, a factor holding Canada back internationally was the unfortunate ignorance that Canada was not merely an extension of Britain, or Britain itself. During the 1956 *Suez Crisis*, in which Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt, Canada's role was part of the United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF), established "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities, including the withdrawal of the armed forces of France, Israel and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory and, after the withdrawal, to serve as a buffer between the Egyptian and Israeli forces."[109] Canadian troops flew the Red Ensign during the operation and due to its highly prominent Union Jack, were mistaken by Egyptians to be the flag of an enemy nation. The Government of Canada lists "this misunderstanding" helped to "reinforce the call for a distinctive and unique Canadian national flag."[110] Pearson, who won a Nobel Peace Prize for organizing the UNEF and resolving the crisis itself, received backlash in Canada as "some but not all of the Tory leaders" claimed that Pearson had "stabbed the Mother Country in the back" and acted as a tool for the United States. He recalls the harshest criticisms hailing from British Columbia, specifically Victoria: "where it has been alleged they are more British than the British."[111] Another instance of Canadian flag confusion was far more personal to Pearson. Sometime before 1963 during his time in opposition, Pearson and his wife, Maryon, were visiting Southampton, a major British port. Maryon, was reportedly surprised at the large number of "Canadian" vessels populating the port, in truth they were

[108] Meren. 21.
[109] Government of Canada. 2018. *United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF I).* 12 11. https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/past-operations/middle-east/united-nations-emergency-force-i.html.
[110] Government of Canada. 2023. *The history of the National Flag of Canada.* February 9. https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/flag-canada-history.html.
[111] Pearson. *Mike. Volume Three.* 47.

appropriately British. Her confusion stemmed from the similarity between the Canadian and British naval ensign; their only difference laying in the presence of the Dominion's coat of arms on the fly, which John Matheson claims was "the only part of the ensign alluding to Canada". Pearson would get more specific, saying "I think it accounts for about one forty-secondth of the flag".[112] It was instances such as his trip to Southampton that convinced Pearson that "[T]his kind of confusion would have continued to exist had we kept the Red Ensign design with minor changes."[113]

Aims

According to Pearson, the "first and the most important problem the country faced was national unity".[114] In fostering Canadian "national development", either through the construction of a bilingual confederation or "distinctly Canadian" national emblem, Pearson believed the widest possible audience needed to be involved in the conversation. He described his methods for achieving this: "The first step toward general understanding was to reveal the problems, to examine them, and make them known in a way which would ensure maximum attention."[115] This tried and tested Pearsonian maxim would be applied to the cyclical flag question.

The first utterance of the flag debate from Pearson came in January 1960, in which Pearson gave a talk on the *Canadian Broadcasting* Corporation (CBC), where he attacked the then-Diefenbaker government's failure to settle the flag question. Six days later he put out a statement in which, without providing his opinion on the Red Ensign's design, called for a new flag free of confusion and mistaken identity. He harboured no ill will for the Union Jack, but rather saw it purely as the "distinctive national flag of the United Kingdom" and therefore failed to act as the "distinctive national flag of Canada." Thus, "[T]he

[112] Champion. 74.
[113] Pearson. *Mike. Volume Three*. 281.
[114] Ibid., 66.
[115] Ibid., 67.

time has come, I think, when this situation should be cleared up by governmental initiative and parliamentary action."[116] This would be ignored by the Conservative government and instead found its way into subsequent Liberal party manifestos, along with the commitment to resolve the matter within two years of taking office. However, this did not receive the widespread attention the issue would require until four years later.

He viewed one major cause of the Quiet Revolution as stemming from "the reluctance of much of English-speaking Canada to respond in a constructive and understanding way to that revolution",[117] threatening the future of Canada. He addressed these issues directly in a speech given to the House of Commons as Leader of the Opposition on December 17, 1962. Speaking in an intentionally non-partisan yet nationalist tone, he states that Confederation was not only a "declaration of faith in the destiny of a united Canada" but simultaneously a "declaration of independence from the United States." Canada opted to "go it on our own on this continent from coast to coast, first as part of the British empire and later as an independent nation of the Commonwealth of Nations." By choosing to walk its own path, Pearson states that Canada paid an economic price, lacking an industry and population to compete with the United States, but he equates this to being "the price of being Canadian."[118] Furthermore, Pearson states that the second price is one that many "either forget or do not wish to pay because perhaps it is inconvenient for us to pay it." This to him was that Canada was founded on an "understanding or a settlement between the two founding races of Canada made on the basis of an acceptable and equal partnership." This resulted in differing interpretations between Canada's two major language groups:

[116] Ibid., 271.
[117] Ibid. 67.
[118] Ibid., 67.

"To French-speaking Canadians Confederation created a bilingual and bicultural nation... English-speaking Canadians agree, of course, that the confederation arrangements protected the rights of French Canadians in Québec, in parliament and in federal courts; but most felt-and I think it is fair to say this-that it did not go beyond those limits, at least until recently [sic]."[119]

Speaking five years from Confederations centenary, Pearson called for improved dialogue between the provinces and federal government that would allow for increased francophone representation in federal institutions, "without regard to race or language or cultural backgrounds" so that all "may feel with confidence that within this nation they can realize, without discrimination and in full partnership, a good destiny for themselves and for those who follow".[120]

George Stanley

The answer to the flag question came from George F.G. Stanley; former lieutenant-colonel in the Canadian Army, military historian and later Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. His simple, last-minute design would win over the Flag Committee and eventually find its place as Canada's ubiquitous emblem across the globe. Born in Calgary and receiving his Bachelor of Arts from the University of Alberta, Stanley was undoubtably proud of his Western Canadian roots, publishing his first book *The Birth of Western Canada* in 1936. Stanley left Alberta in 1929 for Oxford University, where he earned further accreditations, culminating in a Doctor of Philosophy, as well as holding a Beit Fellowship in Imperial Studies and a Royal Society of Canada Scholarship. However, he never forgot his Canadian roots, winning the Spengler Cup in 1931 as part of the Oxford University Ice Hockey Club. A devotee to history, Stanley was head of Mount Allison University's history department in Sackville, New Brunswick

[119] Ibid., 68.
[120] Ibid., 68.

as well as serving as a historian in the Canadian Army Headquarters in London.[121] In addition, he was involved in the military, joining the New Brunswick Rangers shortly after moving to Sackville. Further roles brought him to the University of British Columbia and subsequently to the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario, where during the Flag Debate, he would act as its first Dean of Arts and head of the history department. In the words of his daughter, Laurie C.C. Stanley-Blackwell, "Twenty years of R.M.C. graduates passed through his classes; he taught most of the senior officers in Canada's Defence Forces, including several Chiefs of Staff."[122]

Montréal newspaper *La Presse* on March 30, 1965, sarcastically described Stanley as possessing a "high-minded Anglican *noblesse* towards Québec".[123] In conjunction with Pearson's determination "to make Québec happy", trading historic symbols for an "invented tradition" the pair were fundamentally viewed as British Canadians championing the cause for a multicultural Canada. Despite perceived as similar, Stanley was exempt of the political baggage that Pearson possessed when proposing his flag. His upbringing and education were heavily implicated within the British world, having grown up as both a Canadian and British Subject, he was undoubtedly shaped by a banal British nationalism and understood the power and importance of traditional heraldry, but held an appreciation that the Red Ensign, with its clutter and difficult to recognize symbols were not suitable for Canada.

Stanley's first contact with the Flag Debate came two months before it would erupt, as on March 23, he would send a four-page memorandum to John Matheson M.P., contributor to the "Pearson Pennant", and future member of the Flag Committee. The two had discussed flags and heraldry, with Matheson

[121] Stanley-Blackwell, Laurie C.C. 2007. Dr. George F.G. Stanley. https://people.stfx.ca/lstanley/stanley/stanley.htm.
[122] Stanley-Blackwell.
[123] Champion. 73.

requesting a “few observations”.[124] Having outlined Canadian historic heraldry and flags, Stanley provided his:

“Principles to be followed in the election of a Canadian Flag”

“(a) simplicity - it should be clean cut and not cluttered.

(b) easily recognizable.

(c) use traditional colours and traditional emblems.

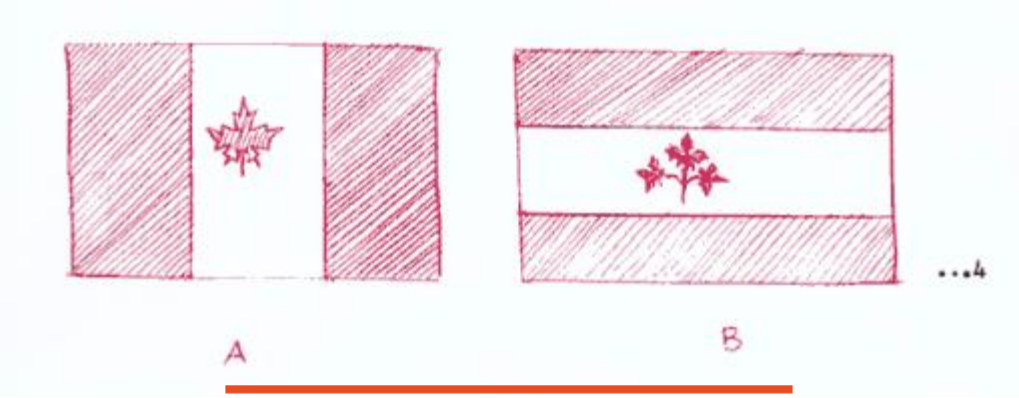
(d) serve as a rallying symbol and hence to be a unifying force.”[125]

The Ensign failed to espouse that its bearer represented Canada *vis-à-vis* the British merchant marine, colony, etc. He suggested that it was “unsuitable because it lacks simplicity, and because it includes a complicated coat of arms on the fly.”[126] Furthermore:

“There should be no question of confusing the flag of one country with that of another. In selecting a Canadian flag, therefore every effort should be made to avoid including on it symbols more properly associated with another country, i.e., stripes, stars. A Canadian flag must be sufficiently Canadian that it can be easily recognized at a distance as being Canadian.”[127]

[124] George F.G. Stanley. 1964. *"George Stanley's Flag Memorandum to John Matheson, 23 March 1964."* Alan Beddoe Papers, MG30, D252m vol. 9. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, March 23. Pg. 1.
[125] Ibid., 2.
[126] Ibid., 2.
[127] Ibid., 2-3.

In addition, he stresses that Canada's colours are red and white, owing to their basis as "traditional colours both for French and English Canadians", and thus succeed in not providing preferential treatment for either group. The Pearson Pennant, resplendent in red, white, and blue gave obvious sections of the banner to representing the French population with a blue more commonly associated with *Republican* France. Stanley instead puts forth that white, with its use by *Royalist* France better represents francophones, whose ties to the republican events of 1789 were limited. White features on the Cross of St. George and numerous royalist French banners; red, too, features on the English flag as well as the "oriflamme", a medieval French standard amounting to a piece of red silk. Sanctioned for Canada in 1921 by George V, this gave them legitimacy and a literal royal seal of approval. Two colours, rather than three, satisfied many qualms detractors had with a new Canadian flag; they had historical basis with France, Britain, and Canada jointly without preference to any. The maple leaf too, criticized for not being a unique feature to Canada, Stanley states has "official sanction by its inclusion in two provincial coats of arms and in the official coat of arms of Canada." Going further, it was used by Canadian troops in both world wars as well as by Canadian Olympic teams, in conjunction with red and white. Therefore, Stanley concludes that the maple leaf "appears to have universal acceptance both in and outside Canada as a distinctive Canadian emblem."[128] In 1972, he would justify the maple leaf's significance to Canada as



[Figure 8] Stanley's Hand-Drawn Sketch for Potential Canadian National Flags.

[128] Ibid. 3.

mattering “little that maple trees do not grow in the North-west Territories or on the western prairies – for that matter unicorns do not graze in the fields of England.”[129]

Finally, the case is made against any “national or racial symbols that are of a divisive nature”, namely the Union Jack and Fleur de Lys, national symbols that stir nationalist sentiment which are not distinctly Canadian. Therefore, “[R]acial feelings should be content with the use of the colours red and white, if it is essential to read these in such a light.”[130] With all these notions in mind, a simple design that can be easily recognized and rallied around by all Canadians regardless of background, Stanley illustrates two concepts for a “flag which would meet most of the requirements mentioned above.” He offers both a vertical and horizontal rendition of the Maple Leaf flag. The vertical features a single maple leaf, aimed at representing one, unified country rather than implying Canada’s multiple ethnic groups. In addition, “The single leaf has the virtue of simplicity; it emphasizes the distinctive Canadian symbol; and suggests the idea of loyalty to a single country.” The maple leaf was to become akin to “the eagle, the star or the crescent used as national symbols in other countries.”[131] The position of the maple leaf and ratio of the bars do not adhere to the rules of heraldry, something that plagued the Pearson Pennant’s earlier design. But this matter, Stanley argues, is not relevant when considering his design, “because a flag is not a coat of arms, but a heraldic device in its simplest and most primitive form.”[132] Stanley recounts that his preferred design was the one featuring vertical bars but admitting to its clear resemblance to the flag flown at the Royal Military College (see appendix.), the crest substituted for the maple leaf and the proportions altered.

[129] George F. G. Stanley. 1972. The story of Canada's flag; a historical sketch. Whitby, Ontario: Ryerson Press. Pg. 74.
[130] Stanley. *George Stanley's Flag Memorandum to John Matheson*. 3.
[131] Ibid., 4.
[132] Ibid., 4.

This point lends itself to Champion's idea that the Flag Debate failed to fully part Canada with its British past, as the final design was not one of explicit Canadian recognition. This new flag, a redesign of the Royal Military College's banner; in use since at least the First World War[133], a time of rampant British jingoism, to skeptics was yet another "pavillon rouge [red flag]" and would merely be a "different face" on Anglo-Canadian dominance.[134]

It was not merely the discourse between British and French heritage groups that needed to be put to rest. Within the former group, they were not merely "British" but, as Champion notes, many governing and deciding the flag were "Scots, Irish, and Scots-Irish" (with Stanley's personal coat of arms bearing the red hand of Ulster).[135] Therefore, Canada was not in the position of having to suppress older loyalties but rather had to subsume them within a pan-Canadian one. Canada was not a postcolonial state but rather a "minor colonial power – a legatee and executor of Empire and settlement, with its own Crown and 'dominion' in its own sphere."[136] Its goal had to be then to generate a Canadian nationalism that responded to the global tide of anti-imperial, and at times, anti-British sentiment by rebranding and adapting "without altering its underlying essence."[137]

The result of the Flag Debate is taken for granted. Many today are confused how an independent Canada could retain a colonial ensign for so long. In-turn, many Canadians bore no in-depth knowledge of their flag's contentious past and the Red Ensign that preluded it.[138] Even after the dust settled, as it was the fleurdelisé that "sprouted in thousands" to greet President Charles de Gaulle's arrival into Canada on July 24, 1967 for Montréal's Expo67.[139] Therefore, Stanley's design widely succeeded in providing a new

[133] Yvette Grygoryev. 2015. *The 50th Anniversary of the Canadian Flag to be Celebrated at the Royal Military College of Canada*. May 20. https://www.rmc-cmr.ca/en/50th-anniversary-canadian-flag-be-celebrated-royal-military-college-canada.
[134] Champion. 82.
[135] Ibid., 88.
[136] Ibid., 91.
[137] Ibid., 90.
[138] Ibid., 68.
[139] Ibid., 70.

symbol for English Canada to attach to, but struggled to find true favour within Québec. In 2022, Québec reported significantly less affinity for the Maple Leaf flag as being "important" to "the Canadian identity", at only 47% vis-à-vis English Canada's 71%.[140] A product of the British world and ways of thinking, it went just far enough to start British Canadians down the road to multiculturalism. Likewise, its homage to both British and French populations failed to fully part Canada with its past and provide a truly domestic nationalism. It further was a flag that did not relate its symbols or colours to a specific group, instead relying on Canadian precedent and thus allowing immigrants to adopt it through *jus soli* [right of soil].

[140] Canada Focus. 8.

Chapter Four: The Genesis of the Canadian Flag

Winnipeg and the Start of the Debate

The Great Canadian Flag Debate would formally come about at the National Convention of the Royal Canadian Legion in Winnipeg, Manitoba on May 17, 1964. The initial phase of the debate would focus on Pearson's preferred flag, three red maple leaves on a white background buttressed by two blue bars. He records it is one facet of a plan "to strengthen national unity, to improve federal-provincial relations, to devise a more appropriate constitution, and to guard against the wrong kind of American penetration"[141] as well as inspire pride and confidence in Canada. This design came to be referred to as the "Pearson Pennant", a moniker that closely linked the Prime Minister to the flag. Designed by heraldic expert and artist Alan Beddoe, its components incorporated the historic colours of both the British and French along with a trio of maple leaves derived from Canada's coat of arms. Unlike the Red Ensign, Canada's coat of arms had official status[142], the shield of which already decorated the former flag and thus incorporated a historic symbol of Canada. Gordon Robertson, the clerk of the Privy Council, wrote to Prime Minister Pearson on 27 April 1964 that:

"I can see no reason why it should not be possible to suggest that the three leaves appropriately symbolize the fact that the Canadian nation derives from three main sources, the people of British ancestry, the people of French ancestry and those from other countries—with all symbolically joined together."[143]

Pearson put forward his pledge for a new flag before "the steely eyes of a hostile audience"[144], comprised of 2000 veterans. It was a given that the Legion would react hostilely to Pearson, yet his insistence to go forward was indicative of his plan to "ensure maximum attention" and was a vital step in his plan to implement a new national flag within two years. He began by recognizing that there were "five million or

[141] Pearson. *Mike. Volume Three.* 270.
[142] Government of Canada. *The history of the National Flag of Canada.*
[143] Champion. 73.
[144] Pearson. *Mike. Volume Three.* 270.

more Canadians whose traditions are not inherited from the British Isles, nor are descended from the original French founders of our country", adding "that there are another five million more who have… heritage [which] is neither British nor French." He was subsequently booed, for the first time, after he proposed a new flag, sporting a "distinctive" maple leaf, with would help "bring all these Canadians closer to us of British stock, and make us all better and more united Canadians."[145] Speaking through an increasingly agitated audience, Pearson likened the idea of changing Canada's national flag to that of the Legion's own badge. He referred to "The Great Legion Debate" in 1960, where it was found "to be improper … to mutilate the Union Jack by placing the maple leaf over." Instead, the Legion "removed the Union Jack and this left the gold maple leaf", a recognizable conundrum to that which faced Canada. Pearson, after essentially referring to the Legionnaires as hypocrites, was forced to allow the Chairman of the Legion to silent the numerous cries that threatened to drown out the Prime Minister.[146] Pearson afterwards accepted that he expected this reaction as part the overall democratic process. He nonetheless remained firm that as "part of our national evolution", it was time to "unfurl a flag that is truly distinctive and truly national in character, as Canadian as the maple leaf on your badge… Canada's own and only Canada's."[147]

[Figure 9] The Pearson Pennant.

[145] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 1964. *"Legionnaires boo PM Pearson over flag."* Archives. Winnipeg: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, May 17.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

Debate in Parliament

The *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* described M.P.s as "chomping at the bit" for their chance to "be let loose on the great flag debate", written hours before Pearson addressed Parliament, it characterizes the night of June 15 as "the eve of the battle".[148] *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix* cites a Liberal M.P. who hoped that after a month of debate "this thing might just go through without too much fuss." Immediately followed by a quote from an agitated Conservative member, who in response replied with: "Like H—. There'll be fuss all right."[149] The "battle" was over the government motion to "take such steps as may be necessary to establish officially as the flag of Canada a flag embodying… three maple leaves conjoined on one stem – in the colours red and white then designated for Canada, the red leaves occupying a field of white between vertical sections of blue on the edges of the flag."[150] The national press's focus in the early days of the debate was that of entrenched political parties. The Liberals favoured Pearson's flag and a resolution to maintain the Union Jack "to symbolize Commonwealth membership"[151]; the Conservatives largely opposed to it; "The Creditiste party favours the flag, but not the resolution"; The New Democratic Party favors the resolution, but not the flag"; and Social Credit, "like most other groups, is divided."[152] This picture of a divided, bickering country was reflected within Parliament itself, as it flickered between amendments, votes, filibusters that prolonged discussion and further embitter opinions.

From the outset, Pearson was clear in the fashion he desired the issue approved by M.P.s and resisted calls for "a referendum or a plebiscite before action by government or parliament."[153] He believed "the choice of a national flag is the responsibility of the federal government and the federal parliament."[154]

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[148] The Winnipeg Evening Tribune. 1964. "Flag Battle Shifts to Commons Today." *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune.* June 15: 1-34. Pg. 1.
[149] Ibid., 1.
[150] Canada. 1964. *Canadian Parliamentary Historical Resources. House of Commons Debates*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery. Pg. 4317.
[151] The Winnipeg Evening Tribune. 1964. 1.
[152] Ibid., 1.
[153] Canadian Parliamentary Historical Resources, 1964. 4317.
[154] Ibid., 4318.

Provincial precedent for this included the adoption of the Carillion Sacre-Coeur, Acadian flag, Newfoundland "natives' flag", and Nova Scotia's provincial flag being born "in the midst of a regional spat with Ottawa".[155] He bookended this argument against seeking broader involvement by stating that reaching consensus "would certainly be a long and difficult process if indeed it were possible at all."[156] A national plebiscite was ruled out on the grounds there was limited precedent for, and limited success with, referenda. Pearson highlighted the gridlock during its 1898 first poll on prohibition, in which all provinces except Québec voted in favour, leading to such division that "no action of any kind was taken as a result". Furthermore, Canada's second attempt was on the topic of conscription during the Second World War was likewise fraught with partisan opinion. Pearson expresses that the bureaucratic nature of referenda threatened pledges to resolve the flag question within two years and concluding "it is essentially out of keeping with our system of parliamentary democracy and responsible government."[157] The dogmatic flag issue had previously been quelled by opposition filibuster and a lack of unanimity, prolonging the matter *ad nauseam* through Canadian history. A national plebiscite or a pan-Parliamentary vote, would have implicated a populus Pearson believed did "not see beyond the satisfaction of standing up to be counted"[158] and opposition M.P.s with desires to derail the discussion. British nationalism had been threatened and unleashing those emotions through public campaigns and mass voting could have rendered Canada more divided. On the grounds of constitutional precedent, the country was omitted from a serious voice in the debate. He never attempted to deny the Red Ensign's significance to many Canadians but argued in Parliament that "It is inevitable" that there comes a time that even symbols with "strong emotional reactions… should be dropped, or adapted to new conditions and new needs."[159] Pearson was attempting to harness the "Canadian people" and "nation" in order to ensure the "Canadian

[155] Forrest D. Pass, interview by Sean Dabrowski. 2023. Personal Correspondence with Forrest Pass. Ottawa, (February 27).
[156] Canadian Parliamentary Historical Resources, 1964. 4318.
[157] Ibid., 4318.
[158]Holmes. 309.
[159] Canadian Parliamentary Historical Resources. 4319.

experiment was worthwhile"[160] and thus reorient a vast collection of quarrelling provinces into a more unified people.

A few days after Pearson's speech in Winnipeg a wave of reaction from across the political spectrum was elicited. The first political leader to be interviewed by the CBC on May 24, 1964, would be with Diefenbaker, who quickly lambasted Pearson with accusations of forcing an unwanted, personal "pet flag" on the country, saying "the Prime Minister is determined on his own pet plan, his own pet design and having determined on it, he plans to get it through." He claimed Pearson is aware he has the support of not only the Liberals, but the smaller opposition parties, he "intend[ed] simply, to pressure through parliament his views regardless of the feeling of the people of Canada." When asked for his stance, he answered curtly that "I've always expressed a favour for the Red Ensign. It's the flag", but later allowed his views were not reflective of Parliament as a whole. He subsequently berated Pearson for "trampl[ing] the things of the spirit and hav[ing] no regard to the thinking and the views of the Canadian people", he concludes that the present situation is "not in compute with the principles of democracy."[161]

Liberal M.P. and future Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau stated that "Québec does not give a tinkers damn about the new flag. . . It's a matter of complete indifference."[162] The Québec City newspaper *L'Action* describes the sense of apathy. Instead, it listed five legislative propositions, such as family allowances for those with students, student loans, and Canada's territorial water limits, that should be dealt with/discussed beforehand. As well as sentiments that Québec M.P.s did not want their holidays to be delayed for the sake of settling the flag debate.[163]

[160] Ibid., 4319.
[161] Ibid., 4318.
[162] CBC Learning. 2001. *The Great Flag Debate.* https://www.cbc.ca/history/EPISCONTENTSE1EP16CH1PA2LE.html.
[163] L'Action. 1964. "Le gouvernment Pearson veut une reponse au suject du drapeau." L'Action, July 2: 1-17.

Smaller parties were in favour of a flag that can "be claimed by all people as being distinctively Canadian." Créditiste Gilles Grégoire stated he desired any flag that could act as a "distinctive, real, Canadian national flag", adding he believed the maple leaf "is the best idea." Socred Robert Thompson, with no professed disrespect to the Red Ensign, believed Canada required a unique flag, perceiving the Union Jack as representing the Commonwealth.[164] Conservative Robert Coates professed his stance by stating "[T]he Canadian Ensign is Canadian by adoption, by assimilation and by tradition."[165] M.P.s tended to be the most vocal voices throughout the debate as ultimately it was their votes alone that would decide its outcome.

Letters to M.P.s

Many ordinary Canadians defended the Red Ensign and the British-imperial past that it glorified while others were apathetic towards it, such as Ronald Caponero who curtly stated that "I like the Union Jack but as Englands Flag That's All [sic]".[166] While it is impossible to know the political tendencies of many of those who wrote their support for the old flag, trends beneath their words are more easily identified. Many of those who pledged support for the Red Ensign felt it necessary to flag the nation as well as their personal and/or familial role in constructing and defending it. Eleanor C. Weir, in a letter, pledged her support for the cause of the old flag, to "preserve the Red Ensign as the official Canadian flag." Weir's words reflect some degree of annoyance: she, "As a third generation Canadian and a veteran of WW2" wants to put aside "all this nonsense about a new flag" and respect that the colours of the Red Ensign reflect those "under which Canadians have fought to preserve our freedom and national identity for 100 years." Furthermore, she lambasts the notions that Canada would shed a flag with a "proud heritage in favour of some unknown monstrosity" all for the sake "of the anti-British sentiments of a small but very

[164] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *"Legionnaires boo PM Pearson over flag."*
[165] Champion. 76.
[166] Ronald Caponero. 1964. *"Ronald Caponero to The Flag Committee."* Petitions in Favour of Maple Leaf Flag. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada.

vocal minority."[167] Anglo-Canadian nationalism became defined against these "others" and took on a strongly pro-British and occasionally anti-Liberal Party disposition. Hilton Young of Creston, British Columbia's postcard to Ottawa reflects this attitude. She calls upon the nation through a religious lens: "Dear Sir,- We pray that you will use all your inflence [sic] to see no one torpedoes this the honorable 'Flag of Jesus Christ'. To do so could be very serious business."[168] Elizabeth Morrow wrote to M.P.s in Ottawa with instruction to protect the Britannic heritage of "Our fathers…in the name of Queen and country" and bookended by repeating the mantra of "God save our Queen and God save our Red Ensign."[169] Canadians in-favour of the Red Ensign largely did not threaten violence but did threaten political consequences. The Cunningham family, comprising of Margaret, Harvey, Mae and Stanley, jointly proscribed their names to a petition stating that "We will support one flag only – Canada's Red Ensign" but going a step further and pledging that "All our future votes will be for the Party that supports this flag."[170] Whether all four members of the Cunningham family made good on this pledge is not a question that can be gleamed from these records, nevertheless, the sentiment remains.

A 'Mrs. Brown', asked immediately after the Winnipeg Legion convention, on why she preferred the Red Ensign to the "other design", stated that the old flag was the one her husband fought under in the First World War as well as the one her two sons fought under during the Second World War. Brown adds that it "has been a very proud possession in our home" and that she "can't see any other flag" to represent Canada, believing Pearson was "making a mistake", while attesting that she felt these sentiments as a Liberal."[171]

[167] Eleanor C. Weir. n.d. *"Eleanor C. Weir to Sherwood Sugden."* Toronto: Library and Archives Canada.
[168] Hilton Young. 1964. *"Hilton Young Postcard to Ottawa."* Letters & Petitions in Favour of Retaining The Red Ensign. Creston, British Columbia: Library & Archives Canada, October 2.
[169] Elizabeth Morrow. n.d. *"Elizabeth Morrow to "Whom it May Concern."* Letters & Petitions in Favour of Retaining The Red Ensign. Ancaster, Ontario: Library and Archives Canada.
[170] Margaret Cunningham, et all. 1964. *"Cunningham Family to Ottawa M.P.s."* Letters & Petitions in Favour of Retaining The Red Ensign. Hamilton, Ontario: Library and Archives Canada, August 18.
[171] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *"Legionnaires boo PM Pearson over flag."*

Thousands interacted with the Flag Debate through a variety of ways, amounting to an extremely large volume of letters of support for both sides were far too numerous for a group of only fifteen M.P.s to consider. While some received personal responses from those the likes of the Prime Minister himself[172], others received curt replies of acknowledgement, others were intended to simply waste their time. Behind the veil, internal documents from the Office of the Secretary of State reflect the difficulty of managing such a large volume of petitions and correspondence from the public. A petition asking the Secretary of State, Pickersgill, to formally enshrine the Red Ensign and retain "God Save The Queen" as the anthem was given a simple response; acknowledged and given assurances the Associate Private Secretary would "bring this matter to his attention when he returns to Ottawa."[173] Despite this, a note was been attached instructing members of Pickersgill's staff that:

"The Minister does not want these petitions acknowledged. We have literally thousands of them, filled in Protocol Branch. (all suggestions and representations about flags should go to that Branch).

In the circumstances, I suppose all we can do in this case is send a polite acknowledgement of Mr. Loney's letter and perhaps say that it will be brought to JWP's attention on his return."[174]

The widespread public attention the Flag Debate generated rendered M.P.s swarmed with a myriad of opinions and thoughts from every persuasion and thus had to prioritize the input of some over others. While it is very feasible that sentiments and opinions of the broader Canadian public were taken into consideration, the Flag Committee's internal reports reflects twelve witnesses and party-political stances had the most impact on the course of the Flag Debate and its ultimate outcome. Liberal resistance to the

[172] Lester B. Pearson, 1964. *"Letter from L.B. Pearson to E.W. Johnson."* Letters & Petitions in Favour of The Red Ensign. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, June 4.
[173]John Loney, Ed Roberts. 1963. *"Acknowledgement of John Loney's Petition to J.W. Pickersgill."* Letters & Petitions in Favour of the Red Ensign. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada.
[174] Office of the Secretary of State. 1963. "*Note Instructing Secretary of State Staff Not to Acknowledge Petitions Regarding the Flag Debate."* Letters & Petitions in Favour of The Red Ensign. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, August 15.

idea of a national plebiscite ultimately meant that securing the support of the Canadian populace was not nearly as high a priority as producing a flag that could secure the support of the Flag Committee first and the House of Commons second. This reflected Pearson's criticism that the impassioned, yet highly biased, public were not capable of providing a nuanced outcome, lacking the foresight and his vision for Canada. Diefenbaker instead stated this was Liberal attempts to distract from governmental failures and the resulting flag would be one "imposed on the Canadian people … simply because the fact that the Liberal Party has been able to secure the necessary support from its allies",[175] the fabric of Canadian identity shred via political machinations.

[175] Diefenbaker, John, interview by Jeff Scott. 1964. John Diefenbaker - Canadian Flag Debate (1964).

Chapter Five: The Flag Committee

A matter of introspective identity politics and basic aesthetic, the Flag Question was contemporarily described as "unlike the more complex topics that bedevil this country, the flag is one that any citizen feels he's just about as well qualified to judge as any other",[176] playing out publicly from May to December of 1964. Prime Minister Pearson formally brought the matter before Parliament on June 23, determined for the House of Commons to be the only battleground for the debate. This resulted in months festering in filibuster before Pearson "announced in the House of Commons … that it had been agreed the flag question will be referred to an all-party 15-member committee." The timeline for the Flag Committee was extremely constrained, with pledges the committee was to "report its findings within six weeks." The *Windsor Star* records that Pearson's announcement of this cross-party committee was met by "a 90-second round of applause after Mr. Pearson spoke to his party" and a "burst of cheers and applause in the Conservative caucus."[177] Thus on September 15, the Special House of Commons Committee on a Canadian Flag (Flag Committee) was comprised of a collection of fifteen M.P.s. Representing all major political parties, it was comprised of: seven Liberals, five Conservatives, and an individual New Democrat, Socred and Créditiste, chaired by Liberal M.P. Herman Batten. Diefenbaker pledged to only include Conservatives who had not taken a fixed position, something Tommy Douglas called him to honour, having acknowledged the promise he remarked that was "some time ago" and most Tory M.P.s had since taken a stance,[178] making an impartial Flag Committee difficult. The emergence of the Flag Committee signified a major shift in the Flag Debate. It was clear to many that the gridlock in Parliament between Pearson's flag, described by John R. Matheson, Liberal M.P. for Leeds and aided in its design, as "shockingly ugly" and reminiscent of a beer label[179], would not end without the consent of Parliament as a whole, but still without public ratification through a referendum. This new body was to reflect Canada's

[176] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 1964. *"Legionnaires boo PM Pearson over flag."* Archives. Winnipeg: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, May 17.
[177] The Windsor Star. 1964. "House Ends Deadlock on Flag." The Windsor Star, September 10: 1.
[178] Lester B. Pearson. 2015. *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Volume Three: 1957-1968.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pg. 276.
[179] The Windsor Star. *House Ends Deadlock on Flag.* 1.

many different political persuasions and would be made to weigh a myriad of different options and return an acceptable standard for the nation to fly and resonate with. An important task would be to sift through and decide on the symbol(s) that would emblazon the new symbol. Primarily the choice would come down to fleur-de-lis, Union Jacks, and/or maple leaves and which should appear, if at all. Matheson recounts placing a "sketch of the original government proposal, strikingly reproportioned and redesigned" in a place of prominence in the committee room, using it as a "model, something of a challenge to any rival."[180] The Flag Committee would then be tasked with doing in "six weeks to do what the country couldn't do in 97 years", in the words of Reid Scott, N.D.P. M.P. for Danforth.[181] Matheson recount that:

"This flag struggle was above all an exercise in loyalty. The phlegmatic Canadian was not really phlegmatic at all. His concern and his passion were just beneath the surface and the debate had disturbed that surface sufficiently to show loyalty in all its blazing anger, an anger close to tears."[182]

It was considerations such as these that bare the most influence, with colours, iconography, and heraldic symbolism of any flag carefully weighed. Lester B. Pearson's original design for the Pearson Pennant was altered even more as the debate began in earnest. The CBC recalls that his original design had been "based on three maple leaves on a blue ground. He's been told that is heraldically incorrect so he likes a white ground as next best, possibly with blue bars at fly and staff and possibly would go for a single maple leaf instead."[183] Pearson does later pen that he "always preferred the other with its red, white, and blue."[184] What exactly would become the Canadian flag was thus malleable, and Pearson's conciliatory nature allowed him to shed personal preference for any pragmatic choice. The Flag Committee met forty-

[180] John R. Matheson. 1986. *Canada's flag: a search for a country*. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Company. Pg 102.
[181] Paul Hunter. 2015. *How the vote on Canada's flag was 'rigged'*. February 13. https://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2015/02/13/how-the-vote-on-canadas-flag-was-rigged.html.
[182] Matheson. 102.
[183] CBC Archive. 1964. *The Great Canadian Flag Debate - PM Pearson at a RCL Convention*. May. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCOQxVz6neQ&t=55s.
[184] Pearson. 306.

five times, with internal reports recalling they "heard twelve witnesses in the fields of History, Heraldry, Protocol, Art and Design."[185] Matheson describes the series of witnesses as "some of them academics, several of whom were not ashamed to display their raw emotions and at times their racial bigotry." One lesson taken from these experts, shared by the masses "was that intolerance and prejudice look very much alike in both languages."[186]

Their outlined goal, as detailed in a Privy Council report dating to October of 1964, were to decide on three main questions:

"5. Your Committee considered the following motions:

a) For a National Plebiscite – motion defeated by a vote of nine to five (9 to 5);
b) The adoption of only one National Flag – motion carried fourteen to zero (14 to 0);
c) That the Canadian Red Ensign be the National Flag for Canada – motion defeated ten to four (10 to 4)."[187]

Contained within these files are correspondences that allude to the nature and content of these "witnesses", whose insight would influence the direction of the decision. Among them was A.R. Winship, a historian with published research material on the significance of "State and National Flowers".[188] Winship's aid was sought out as early as September 25, 1964, with specific desires for context and detail on:

[185] Herman Maxwell Batten, 1964. *"Flag Committee PCO Presentation & Report - Sixth Report.*" NATIONAL STATUS - Flag - Adoption of a Distinctive Canadian Flag - Special House of Commons Committee on a Canadian Flag. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, October. Pg. 1.
[186] Matheson. 112.
[187] Batten. *Flag Committee PCI Presentation & Report.* 1.
[188] A.R. Winship. 1894. "Flower Talk. — (V.) National Flowers — Lily, Thistle, Shamrock." *Journal of Education Boston University.* 173.

"Canadian Coat of Arms
Events, 1868-1919 (Arms of Ontario and Québec granted 1868)
Arms Committee, 1919-1921
Proclamation, 1921
Changes, 1957
Queen's Flag, 1962

Rationale of the Arms
Maple leaves
Colours for Canada

Union Flag
Development
Use by Canada

Red Ensign
Development and use
Use by Canada"[189]

Ahead of meeting the members of the Flag Committee, Winship would provide a lengthy collection of notes that explain the complicated history of Canada's flags and symbols to those who would decide upon the Red Ensign's successor. Winship emphasized the *ad hoc* nature of Canada's early symbols, with a quote by Sir Joseph Pope who called Canada's Great Seal (comprising the coats of arms of Canada's four initial provinces) "obviously a makeshift, intended to do duty until the question of armorial bearings for the Dominion was further thought out; (it was thought at the time that) the question of arms could await a more convenient season."[190] Peppered throughout the notes provided by Winship are blue ink notes made by an unknown member of the Flag Committee. From these, the points that resonated or confused this M.P. can be gleamed. Of note was Winship's description of the shield present on the Red Ensign and Canada's coat of arms. Winship uses language akin to that of Stedman, saying "it seems to have meant… [A] daughter country inheriting the arms of the four mother countries", with the significance of the design stemming from the fusion of the old with the new. Canada, as a "daughter nation" displays the symbols of

[189] A.R. Winship. 1964. *"Research Areas re Questions by Flag Committee."* NATIONAL STATUS - Flag - Adoption of a Distinctive Canadian Flag - Special House of Commons Committee on a Canadian Flag. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, September 25.
[190] A.R. Winship. 1964. *"Memorandum for Mr. Winship." —. 1964. "Research Areas re Questions by Flag Committee."* NATIONAL STATUS - Flag - Adoption of a Distinctive Canadian Flag - Special House of Commons Committee on a Canadian Flag. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, October 2. Pg. 2.

its lineage, while augmenting old designs with emblems of a "specially Canadian nature", in addition to a symbol "that was simple, easy to draw, easily recognizable and beautiful."[191] Winship likewise provided a separate document specifically regarding "Flags Used for Canada", with history of both French and British flags. The contentious history of the Ensign is detailed, with Francis Knollys, the King's Private Secretary arguing that Canada's sole national flag is the Union Jack and "being the national flag, may be flown by British subjects private or official, on land." Emphasis on the naval nature of Canada's Red Ensign was discussed between by the Colonial Secretary and the Canadian Governor General in 1911 and 1912. Winship recounts further that it took a specific provision in 1924 to allow for the Red Ensign to be flown on government buildings outside of Canada. The ramifications for this decision were that many Canadians took this as recognition for the Red Ensign as Canada's national flag, something never reinforced by Parliament, in turn resulting in the confusion and perceived official status its supporters touted. Thomas Mulvey, the Under-Secretary of State, wrote in 1929 that:

"The Union Jack is the national flag of Canada. The Canadian Red Ensign was intended for ships of Canadian registry, and is properly flown only on water".[192]

With this confusion stemming from the Order of 1924, he argues, "[T]his was found necessary to distinguish Canadian offices abroad from other British offices, and it is the only exception to the general rule."[193] With a background such as this, the logic behind the overwhelming, ten to four, defeat suffered by the Red Ensign by the Flag Committee can be deciphered. Winship illustrates the practically illegitimate nature of the Red Ensign, with references to its only proper place being at sea or in juxtaposition to British heraldry, not used in its place. Furthermore, Winship supports Pearson's argument

[191] Ibid., 7.
[192] Winship, A.R. 1964. *"Flags Used for Canada." Research Areas re Questions by Flag Committee."* NATIONAL STATUS - Flag - Adoption of a Distinctive Canadian Flag - Special House of Commons Committee on a Canadian Flag. 1964: Library and Archives Canada, October 2. Pg. 2.
[193] Ibid., 3.

that the Red Ensign's position as the national flag was unclear abroad. He found records "that apart from Canada and its merchant vessels more than a dozen merchant navies, yacht clubs, British companies and other countries use the British red ensign as a base for their flags." He then breaks this down further by stating that "[H]alf of these are British Colonies. Most of the flags have a badge or coat-of-arms in the fly which at no great distance may be confused the one with the other."[194] Followed is a list of the many flags nearly identical to Canada's, ranging from the colonies of Gibraltar and Tanganyika; to the British and Australian merchant navies; and even the Hudson's Bay Company, a former trading post and subsequent department store dating to 1670. Winship then bookends the page with the claim that "There are approximately 48 other ensigns, jacks, national and state flags in the world which have red fields", a point to which the M.P. ascribes a simple "?"[195], likely desiring a more in-depth explanation.

A running theme was that the Flag Committee were concerned with evaluating and exploring symbols, with their respective histories in conjunction to their relation to Canada. Winship traces the maple leaf's origins from the earliest, the Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment's Colours in 1859 acquiring the "maple emblem"[196] and arguments by E.M. Chadwick, an amateur armourist and author of the 1896 edition of the Canadian Almanac, arguing that the maple leaf was typical of Canada as a whole. Chadwick was consulted by Sir Joseph Pope regarding Canadian Armorial Bearings and defended the triple maple leaves on his own proposal for a Canadian flag, writing:

"it has been asserted that the Maple Leaf is an Ontarian badge only, but such an assertion is quite erroneous. Its long and general use in Ontario is not questioned. In Québec its use has been fully as long, and if anything more general."

[194] Ibid., 5.
[195] Ibid., 4.
[196] Ibid., 19.

Chadwick elaborated "the maple has been accepted as the national badge in all of the other provinces as well."[197] Experts such as Winship gave the Flag Committee a large catalogue of historical sources to conclude that the symbol of the maple leaf had a long, official precedent in Canada.

Therefore, of the Flag Committee, the Leader of the Opposition viewed any result that did not command at least thirteen of the fifteen M.P.s as not reflecting the "voice of that portion of the Canadian people" who support the Red Ensign. Without that "virtual unanimity", Diefenbaker asserts, that the Red Ensign or the Union Jack itself should maintain its presence on the Canadian flag.[198] To the Conservative leader, Canada was still defined in relation to symbols derived from its heritage. The Liberals, then, were trying to bring about a country with a "willful blindness" to the past as it evoked nationalist sentiments not whole domestic. To remedy this, it was quickly decided to only utilize the simplest of "Canadian" symbols: the Maple Leaf.

Debating the Maple Leaf Flag

It is within this context that the Flag Committee formally recommended the Maple Leaf flag, a last-minute injection into the dialogue of the Great Canadian Flag Debate. The flag seemed to satisfy many of the problems which arose throughout the course of the Debate. It promoted a unique Canadian identity, as desired by many Liberals and Pearson, while retaining the symbolic colours of Canada's "parent" nations, thus satisfying Stedman's view for a national flag to possess a "father to son" relationship with those which came before. The Flag Committee, its allotted prevue of six weeks nearing a swift end, thus proceeded on a series of secret votes.

[197] Ibid., 17.
[198] Diefenbaker, John, interview by Jeff Scott. 1964.

The first meaningful vote, one of elimination, pitted three different flag designs, with the following results:

"A – The three-maple-leaf design was retained by a vote of eight to six (8 to 6);

B – The single-maple-leaf design was retained by a vote of thirteen to one (13 to 1);

C – The design containing the Union Jack and/or the Fleur de Lys was rejected by a vote of nine to five (9 to 5)."[199]

Design C, dubbed "Diefenbaker's Abomination" (see appendix.), featuring the primary symbols of British and French heritage was eliminated. The pivotal vote was therefore to decide between the Prime Minister's preferred design, the "Pearson Pennant". and the late addition of Stanley's Maple Leaf flag.

How exactly the Committee's result came about is up for debate. Reid Scott, N.D.P. M.P. for Toronto Danforth, claims responsibility. In an interview in 2015 with the *Toronto Star*, one year before his death, Scott stated: "I admit it, I rigged the vote. I'd be a fool to deny it". Rather than calling his actions "trickery", he claimed it was a bout of "legal maneuvering" and that "[I]t's quite legitimate. I didn't commit any crime." Scott describes his political maneuvering as being the reason the Maple Leaf flag passed this vital stage via unanimous consent. Having recognized very few considered flags held merit as a potential national banner, it was relatively easy to narrow the selection down to three candidates. While some were earnest efforts to emblemize Canada's unique qualities, others ranged from "depictions of frothy beer mugs to portraits of the Beatles" (see appendix).[200] Scott believed the choice of Pearson's three-maple-leaf design would create a "disunity flag" as the three leaves would forever be interpreted as representing the English, French, and 'everyone else', rather than as one united people. When the vote on

[199] Batten. 2.
[200] Hunter. *How the vote on Canada's flag was 'rigged'.*

eliminating the final flag and securing a victor loomed, Scott attests that he personally spoke to Walter Gordon, the Finance Minister to deliver a message to Pearson recalling that:

"I said 'I have the votes to kill it [The Pearson Pennant] and I will do so reluctantly because I like Mr. Pearson and respect him.' I said, 'it doesn't have to be that way, Walter. All he has to do is withdraw his support of his own flag and instruct (Liberal M.P. John) Matheson to tell (the Liberals) on the committee to vote for the single maple leaf.' Arguing he was successful in his scheme, Reid claims Pearson capitulated:

"He did it. So, on the final vote, all the Conservatives, all the Liberals and all the independents voted for the single maple leaf. We got an unanimous vote. That had been my intention from the very beginning."[201]

Scott claimed he acted to undermine reports that Diefenbaker had instructed his M.P.s on the committee to always vote against Pearson's preferred design. Scott recounts that they would therefore be obligated to vote for the Maple Leaf flag, the Red Ensign having long-since been removed from consideration. Pearson supposedly agreed to Scott's demand and instructed the Liberal M.P.s to vote for Stanley's design. Furthermore, it's remembered that Diefenbaker was determined to undermine the process of the debate and defeat Pearson's preferred design. John Matheson's memoirs supports this, recalling that the Leader of the Opposition "was believed to be in constant communication with the Conservative members", in contrast to Pearson, "who did not interfere with the committee".[202]

Matheson's version of events differs from Scott. Instead, it is Liberal member Grant Deachman who constructed the voting strategy as Matheson, Scott and Deachman agreed in secret to support the Maple Leaf flag, having instantly connected to it upon seeing it in the committee room. There is also similar

[201] Ibid.
[202] Matheson. 102.

disagreement over who discretely placed Stanley's flag on the wall. Matheson recalled himself mounting it, while Scott believed it to be himself. Matheson heading the Liberal presence on the Flag Committee held the authority required to mandate his peers to follow his lead; Scott meanwhile held the support of the smaller parties represented on the Committee. Speaking fifty years from the event, Scott maintained his central role in settling the Flag Debate. However, Scott's narrative conflicted with Matheson's published memoirs, but did not appear concerned with arguing his version against Matheson's:

"The Liberals said it was their idea to save face for Pearson," he says. "I don't care. Everybody shares the credit. The flag we got said exactly what we wanted it to say: One Canada, where everybody is equal under the law."[203]

Flag historian Rick Archbold states that there is simply no way to disprove either version of events. He claims to have seen evidence indicating Matheson and Deachman's role in persuading Pearson but that does not disqualify the events Scott recounts; "you can't prove he didn't and it may be well that Pearson got two messages, one from Reid Scott and one from Liberal members of the committee."[204]

The result was the fourteen to zero outcomes, with Chairman Batten only voting on hung results, "to determine the Committee's preference between the design containing three maple leaves and the design containing one maple leaf."[205] A secondary vote was then taken, with M.P.s seemingly wise to the political maneuvering occurring behind the scenes. The vote to confirm the previous vote passed by only a margin of ten M.P.s in favour of the Maple Leaf to four M.P.s now against; less than the unanimity

[203] Hunter. *How the vote on Canada's flag was 'rigged'.*
[204] [Rick Archbold quoted in]: Hunter. *How the vote on Canada's flag was 'rigged'.*
[205] Batten. 2.

agreed upon initially. The result was that the Committee recommended a flag described as “gules on Canadian pale argent a maple leaf of the first” as Canada’s national flag; a singular red maple leaf on a field of white, two red bars on the sides.

Outcome in Parliament

Regardless of the specifics of how the flag came to pass the Flag Committee, it was put forth to the public on October 29, 1964. Immediately the Conservatives planned a new wave of filibuster, with the Maple Leaf “flatly rejected as unacceptable Wednesday night”[206] by Diefenbaker. He argued that Pearson should content himself “with having the report of the flag committee stay on the table … until the major legislation of this session is out of the way.”[207] The catalogue of legislation *The Windsor Star* expected to be resolved before the issue of the flag included “the Canadian Pension Plan, amendments to the constitution, railway legislation, redistribution, etc.”[208], believing the Liberal government would only push through a new flag at the expense of other crucial policies. The sudden publication of the Committee’s report sent all sides of the divide into a frantic scramble. It had satisfied Diefenbaker’s criteria for serious consideration as the new flag, but he remained no less committed to halting its progress. Diefenbaker bullishly denied that it was possible to mistake Canada’s banner for that of another. Lambasting that a new flag, with a “red maple leaf on a white background and two bars of red”, would “have the Peruvians saluting it”, the interviewer proposed that the same could be said for the Red Ensign of Canada and the Red Ensign of Bermuda, to which Diefenbaker steadfastly maintained that “I’ve never known anyone who wasn’t able to identify our flag at any distance. At any distance.”[209]

[206] The Daily Colonist. 1964. "John D. Balks Again." *The Daily Colonist*, October 29: Pg. 1.
[207] The Windsor Star. 1964. "House Faces New Filibuster." The Windsor Star, October 29. Pg. 1.
[208] Ibid., 1.
[209] Diefenbaker, John, interview by Jeff Scott. 1964.

The debate in Ottawa lasted another grueling six weeks until the Liberals implemented the scarcely used 'closure' or 'guillotine' rule, which forces an end and subsequent vote on the matter. Having only been used eight times in Canadian history to this point, the act incensed the Conservatives, who shouted "To the guillotine", "You'll regret it", and "You're ramming that flag down our throats"[210] at a smiling Pearson, who had been persuaded into implementing closure by Québec Conservative Leon Balcer. *The Windsor Star* describes the pivotal vote on December 15, 1964, as a scene that "probably will never be forgotten by the 600 persons who crowded into the galleries to see the House of Commons, with an emotional outburst, bring the great flag debate to an end." The final clash between Pearson and Diefenbaker is portrayed as between "two great gladiators", "standing toe-to-toe", dueling with accusing fingers and emotionally charged pleas for unanimity.

Pearson asked: "Why cannot my right honorable friend forget the passions, the prejudices and the bitterness, the fights of the past few months and rally around the Canadian flag and make it the emblem of unity in this country?" To which an ever-defiant Diefenbaker snapped back with "A flag by closure. Imposed by closure."[211] The Opposition narrative from the start decried the undemocratic nature of the entire event, with the closure applied to the debate only heightening this sentiment. A far cry from the public nature the Flag Debate began with its outcome determined by a small subsection of the population, although M.P.s authority is derived from the Canadian people. Pearson had succeeded in securing a new flag in a limited timeframe, through a process that ignored input outside the Flag Committee and Parliament. The vote carried through the House of Commons on a margin of 163 to 78, a total tally of 241 M.P.s.

[210] The Windsor Star. 1964. "PM: 'Rally Round Flag, Boys'." The Windsor Star, December 15. Pg. 1.
[211] Ibid., 1.

Of the fifteen members of the Flag Committee, their votes in the Commons reflect the divide on their original vote on October 29 within the Flag Committee. The Parliamentary vote saw the following members vote in favour of reasserting their previous conclusions: Liberals: Konantz, Batten, Cadieux, Deachman, Dubé, Macaluso and Matheson; Ralliement créditiste: Langlois: Social Credit: Lessard, Progressive Conservatives: Ricard; and N.D.P. member Scott.[212] This group represented the provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador, Québec, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Ontario. Opposed were the four remaining Progressive Conservative members: Flemming, Monteith, Pugh, and Rapp[213], representing the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan respectively. The House at large would similarly split down party lines, with *The Daily Colonist* reporting that:

"[T]he 121 Liberals were joined by eight Conservatives, 16 New Democrats, six Social Credit members and 12 Creditistes.
Joining the 73 Conservatives were three Social Credit M.P.s, one N.D.P. member and one Liberal – Ralph Crown (York-Humber)."[214]

Immediately met with a demand for a recount by the Conservatives, whose Québec members rebelled, the result was then met with a "momentary hush" before Liberals "leaped to their feet and began singing *O Canada* in a mixture of English and French versions", leading to a crescendo as "Opposition members rose to join in and the galleries, swept up by the tide of emotion, followed suit." The relief at the end of this heated point in Canadian history was immediately palpable. Instantaneous Conservative support, barring the few who angrily marched out, boded well for the future of the Maple Leaf flag. *O Canada*,

[212] House of Commons Canada. 1965. *House of Commons Votes and Proceedings, 26th Parliament, 2nd Session: 186-248.* Ottawa: Library of Parliament / Bibliothèque du Parlement. Pg. 1001.
[213] House of Commons Canada. 1001.
[214] The Daily Colonist. 1964. "Hectic Night Settles Flag." *The Daily Colonist.* December 15: 1-2.

still not yet the official anthem, was succeeded by *God Save the Queen,* sang "lustily"[215] before a chant of "hip, hip, hooray", on both sides of the chamber. Granted the final word in the debate, Pearson made an emotional plea to the Commons to "rally around this red maple leaf flag."

"This is a good flag. It's a Canadian flag. It is an emblem of which we and our children can be proud and under which Canada can go forward. Surely, when the dust of controversy clears away, when the bitterness of debate is over, we can all in this House rally around the red maple leaf flag. I appeal for us all to forget divisions and differences."[216] Matheson meanwhile wrote to Stanley, informing him:

"Your proposed flag has just now been approved by the Commons 163 to 78. Congratulations. I believe it is an excellent flag that will serve Canada well."[217]

The Maple Leaf had taken over from the Ensign and would become Canada's first official flag on January 28, 1965, and following a royal proclamation by Elizabeth II, it was inaugurated on February 15. The final descent of the Red Ensign was accompanied by a final speech from Pearson, portraying little of the vitriol and drama the Debate had unleashed. He aimed to soothe and meld the opposing factions that had developed, addressing them indirectly:

"There are many in this country who regret the replacement of the Red Ensign by the red Maple Leaf. Their feelings and their emotions should be honoured and respected. But I am sure, now that the decision

[215] The Windsor Star. 6.
[216] Ibid., 6.
[217] Government of Canada. 2023. *The history of the National Flag of Canada*. February 9. https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/flag-canada-history.html.

has been made by the representatives of the Canadian people in Parliament assembled, that all Canadians, as good patriots, will accept that decision and fly with pride our national flag."[218]

Adding that the moment "is not a break with history but a new stage in Canada's forward march from a group of separate and scattered and dependent colonies" into a truly united nation. Furthermore, he addresses the "two peoples on which this Confederation was founded", encouraging equal partnership as well as acceptance and recognition of the "contributions and the cultures of many other races" in the Canadian project. Pearson was attempting to harness the energies of a new wave of Canadians but paid respect to the old generation and their many criticisms of him and his policies. The common complaint, that the flag question was inherently anti-British and anti-Christian, is indirectly referenced here. Pearson prayed that the new flag flies over "a land of decent God-fearing people" that uphold the morals, ambitions, and sensibilities of the past while constructing a "new inspiration for loyalty to Canada; for a patriotism based not on any mean or narrow nationalism, but on the deep and equal pride that all Canadians will feel for every part of this good land."[219] Diefenbaker, previously the most vocal critic, merely sat in silence, a handkerchief in hand and a tear in his eye. Pearson, as a member of this old "English English" generation, had succeeded in laying the groundwork for a new generation of "Canadian Canadian" youth to develop in the industrious manner of the past, but with the hope that this future would be exempt of the fractious national identities that so often split countries asunder.

[218] Lester B. Pearson. 1965. Lester Pearson raises Maple Leaf flag, February 15, 1965. February 15. https://greatcanadianspeeches.ca/2019/02/19/lester-pearson-raises-maple-leaf-flag-february-15-1965/.
[219] Ibid.

Conclusion

The Flag Debate has largely been observed by historians as a political spat between the Liberal Party and Progressive Conservatives, fixating on its political consequences rather than the nationalist vitriol that it inspired primarily from British Canadians, growing disaffection from French Canadians and wayward status of the largely neglected group of recent immigrants. Years of global British dominance gave the former a privileged place in society that was seldom challenged and jealously guarded. As a result, French Canadians began to see themselves as a people apart, those of the majority not willing to operate as equals. Limited federal opportunities and disdain for the "French fact" in Canada gave rise to circumstances that began to threaten the integrity of Canada. Champion argued that the Flag Debate failed to establish a Canadian symbol independent of the British world and mindset. To this point, I argue that Canada, still majority ethnically British was not capable of yielding an emblem independent of its British past. Its status as a post-colonial state meant it developed few domestic icons. Politicians recognized Québec's Quiet Revolution and appropriately sought to mitigate its damaging impact, by opening-up English Canada. The Flag Debate, rather than subverted by an "Anglo-Celtic cadre", instead was coordinated by British Canadians of francophone sympathies, and successful despite an "Anglo-Celtic cadre" in opposition. It was largely British Canadians evaluating Canada's current crises and working to dismantle their own privileged place within, and role in perpetuating, it.

Ives argued that Canadian nationalism had failed to develop an identity centred around more than capitalist, colonial expansion. However, I reject Ives' belief that it was "drab". Canada's British identity sustained it through expansion into lands far from its traditional heartland, under the belief it was a distinct people from American rivals. Affinity for the British world likewise provided a sense of solidarity that inspired its wartime commitments and later role in imperial governance. Whereas Meren viewed Québec's relationship with Canada as "forced interdependence", English Canada's dependence on Britain for trade and security provided a privileged place in the global ethos, as a senior entity in the British

Empire. It was also a sacrifice Canada had to make to provide security against annexation by its expansionist neighbour. Many Canadians viewed notions of shedding this intimate relationship to the motherland as blasphemous, as it was these anti-American, pro-British sentiments that had sustained it for nearly one hundred years. However, while these feelings sustained British Canada, it was too exclusive to endure those without passion for Britain nor disdain for the United States, exemplified in the French Canadians and immigrants from farther afield.

Fraser's belief in nationalism and imperialism only recently proving to be to the detriment of Canada is therefore accurate. Crisis arose with declining British prestige and conscious Canadian decisions to oppose its policies, such as in the Suez Crisis. Unshackled to Westminster, with an increasingly independent foreign policy meant that Canada, presenting itself under a British ensign, hindered its ability to function. Furthermore, imperialism had created a class of "half-way" Canadians whose passions did not benefit Canada. Only when Canadians projecting themselves as quintessentially "British" began to breed a nationalism unconducive to newer immigrant communities, did leaders actively seek to reorient it into a pan-Canadian national identity. By removing the Union Jack, British Canadians could project their patriotism unto the same symbol as everyone else. Furthermore, by enshrining it in British heraldic traditions, it could remain recognizable enough to placate criticism the Flag Debate was "anti-British".

Despite not being "anti-British", the Flag Debate was indeed "pro-Canadian". The British connection, having begun its descent during the Boer War, was no longer deemed essential to Canadian identity; its institutions and customs now firmly established. Johnson's description of the event as the "last gasp of empire" is accurate. The British Empire's influence in Canada was long diminished and overshadowed by newfound affinity for the United States and interest in internal development. His claim that the Maple Leaf failed to unify Canada has some merit. Indeed, the French population did not warm as easily but it

succeeded in allowing Canadians of English-tongue and/or British-ethnicity to rally behind. It no longer projected Canada as a country with blinding preference for its British and French facts, but one that incorporated its increasingly multicultural and diverse makeup under a symbol recognizable to all, domestic and external, as “Canadian”. The Debate, begun by a Francophile yet anglophone British Canadian, and its final product designed by another, impressed the increasingly skeptical French Canadians that they could be welcomed into a nascent “Canadian” nationalism.

The Great Canadian Flag Debate of 1964-65 produced an identity that one could ascribe to, even if their heritage did not hail from the British Isles or medieval France. European symbols relied on bloodline to reinforce a nation-state; Canada instead welcomed its role as multicultural and thus made becoming “Canadian” more enticing without altering its underlying essence. Founded on ideals for equal partnership between rival peoples, Canadian symbols failed to reflect this fact. These increasingly estranged groups were provided with a fresh symbol to project their nationalist sentiments unto. Both British and French Canadians found themselves looking for direction as their imperial and papal dispositions declined. Instead of fervor for the institutions of the past, Pearson hoped to preserve the Canadian project by encouraging its people to finally perceive themselves, regardless of background or language, as wholeheartedly “Canadian”. If the Union Jack represented “King and Country”, the Maple Leaf was content in at least honouring the latter.

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Figure 2:

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Figure 3:

Library and Archives Canada. 1963. "The Canadian Red Ensign." Item # 33286077750038. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, October 29.

Figure 4:

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Figure 5:

Club 4-H Ste-Agath-des-Monts. 1953. "Requete en faveur d'un drapeau canadien." *Petition of 4-H Clubs For Adoption of a New Flag.* Ste-Agath-des-Monts: Library and Archives Canada, September 28.

Figure 6:

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Figure 7:

Stedman, D.F. 1964. "Flag Design [D.F. Stedman] / Suggestion de drapeau [D.F. Stedman]." Library and Archives Canada. *MIKAN 3025792.* Ottawa.

Figure 8:

Stanley, George F.G. 1964. " George Stanley's Flag Memorandum to John Matheson, 23 March 1964." *Alan Beddoe Papers, MG30, D252m vol. 9.* Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, March 23.

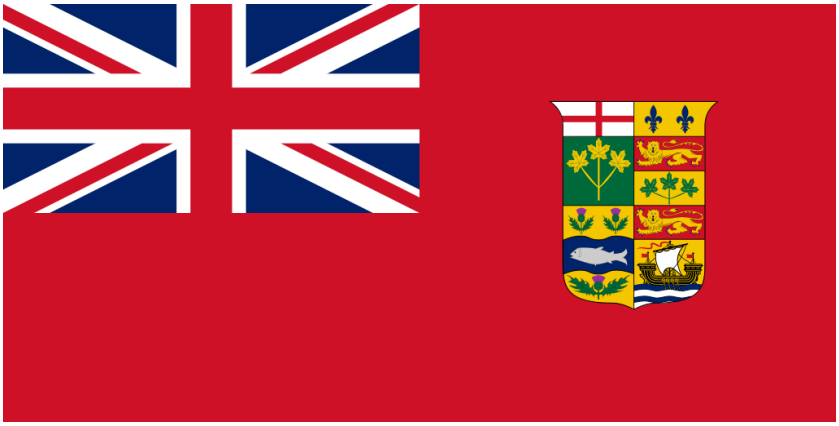
Figure 9:

Wikimedia Commons. 2006. *Canada Pearson Pennant 1964.* February 6. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canada_Pearson_Pennant_1964.svg.

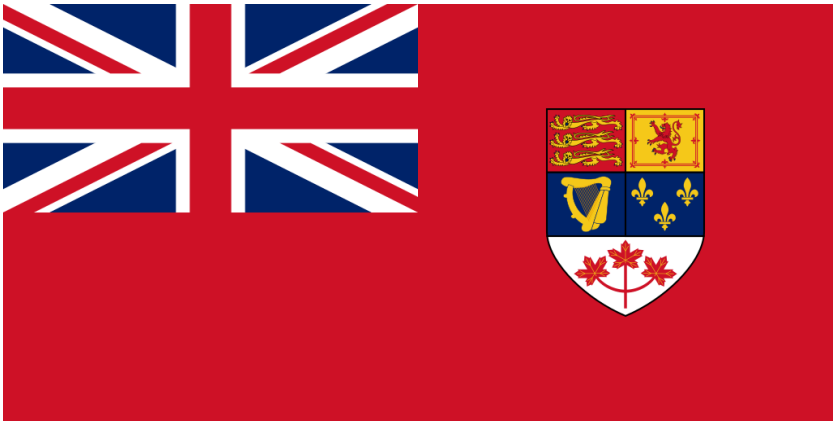
Appendix.

The following are many of the flags referenced. They have been arranged to best depict the similarity the Canadian Red Ensign bares to the flags it inspired as well as shared contemporary usage with.

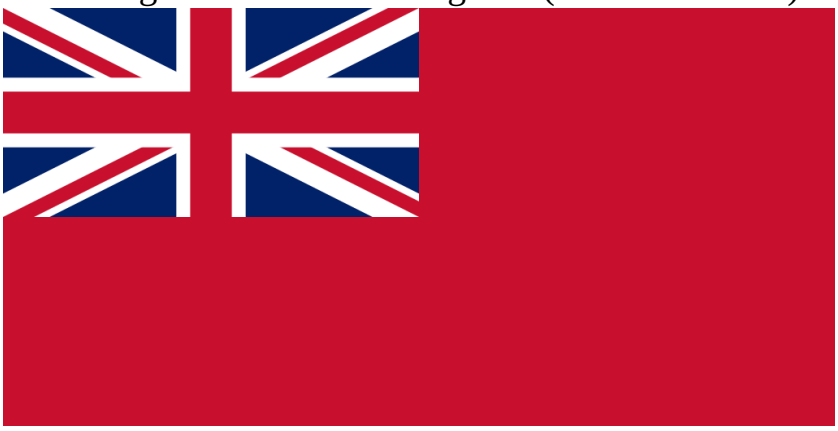
Canadian Red Ensign (1868 to 1922).



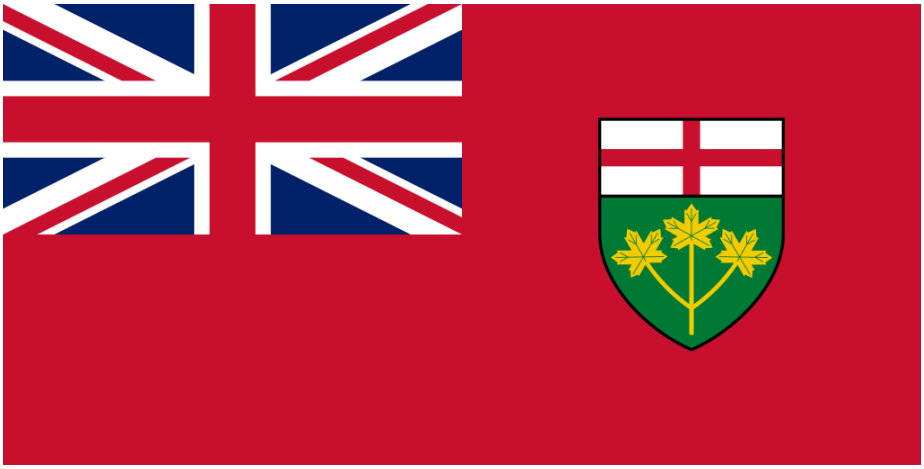
Canadian Red Ensign (1957 to 1965).



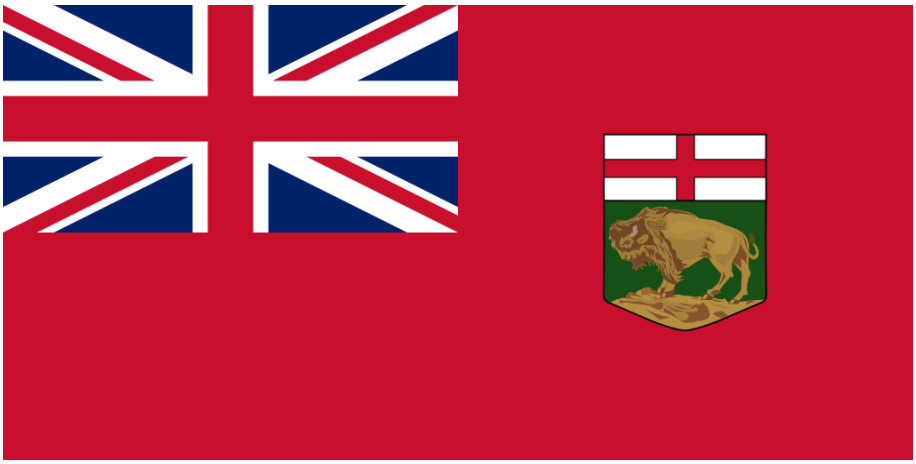
Red Ensign of the United Kingdom (1800 to Present).



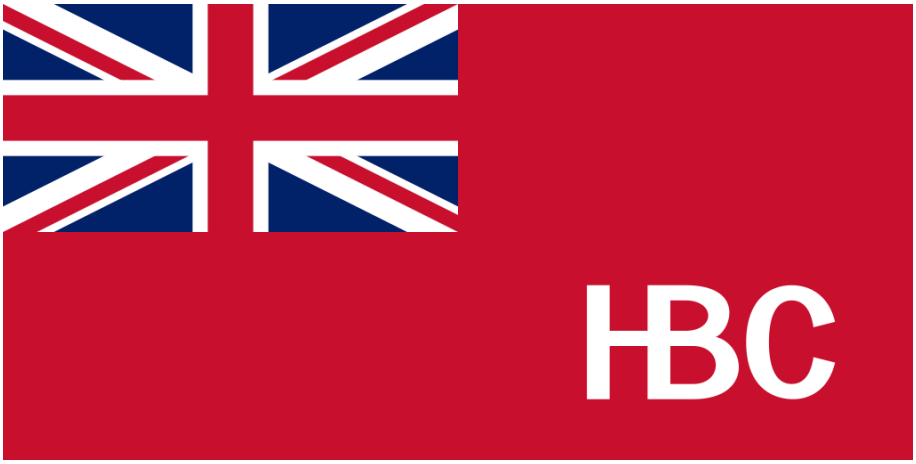
Flag of Ontario (1965 - Present).



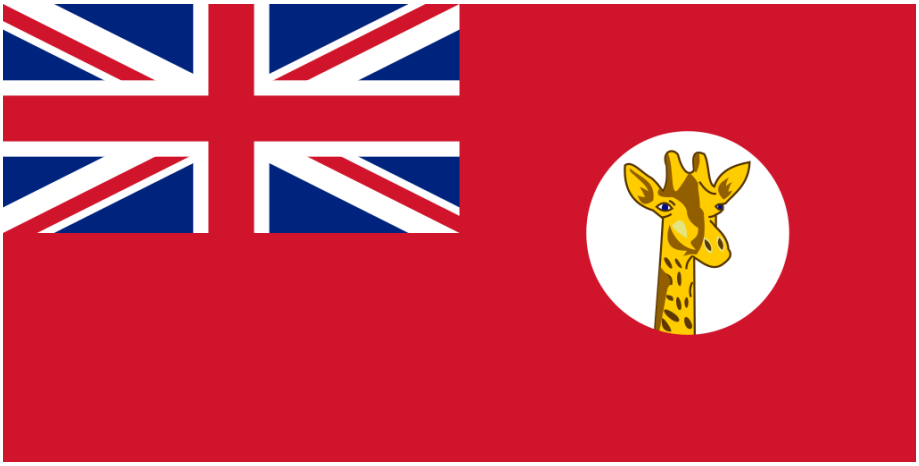
Flag of Manitoba (1965 – Present).



Flag of the Hudson's Bay Company (1801 to 1965).



Flag of Tanganyika (1916 to 1961).



The “Pearson Pennant”.

Flag of the Royal Military College of Canada.

The Maple Leaf Flag, Considered by the Flag Committee.

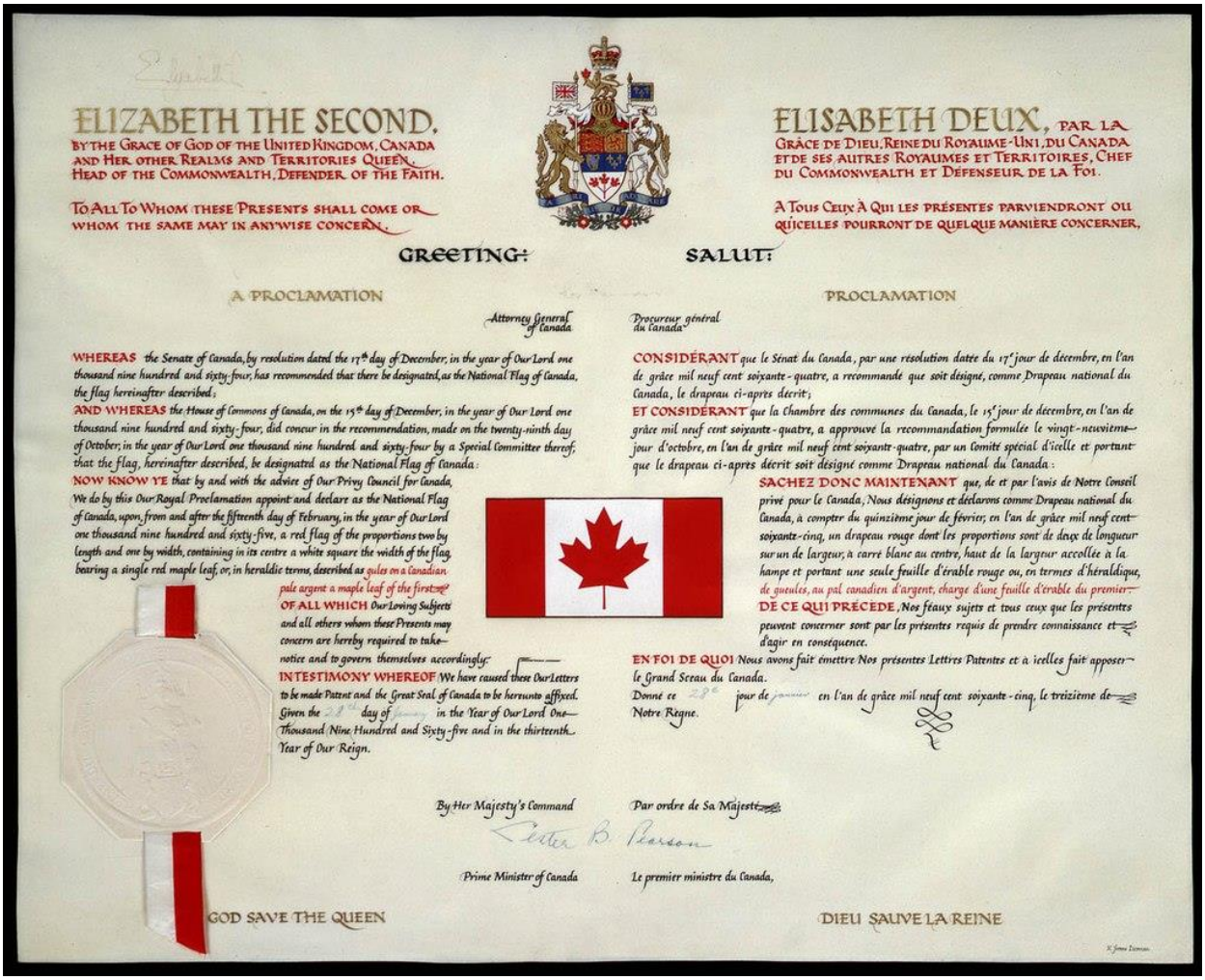
‘Diefenbaker’s Abomination’, Considered by the Flag Committee.

Redesigned and Adopted Maple Leaf Flag.

Proposed Canadian Flag Featuring *The Beatles.*

"Our Flag" Slogan Featured on *The Daily Colonist* newspaper.

Royal Proclamation Designating Canada's Flag.



ELIZABETH THE SECOND,
BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA AND HER OTHER REALMS AND TERRITORIES QUEEN, HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME OR WHOM THE SAME MAY IN ANYWISE CONCERN,

GREETING:

A PROCLAMATION

Attorney General of Canada

WHEREAS the Senate of Canada, by resolution dated the 17th day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four, has recommended that there be designated, as the National Flag of Canada, the flag hereinafter described;

AND WHEREAS the House of Commons of Canada, on the 15th day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four, did concur in the recommendation, made on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four by a Special Committee thereof, that the flag, hereinafter described, be designated as the National Flag of Canada;

NOW KNOW YE that by and with the advice of Our Privy Council for Canada, We do by this Our Royal Proclamation appoint and declare as the National Flag of Canada, upon, from and after the fifteenth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five, a red flag of the proportions two by length and one by width, containing in its centre a white square the width of the flag, bearing a single red maple leaf, or, in heraldic terms, described as gules on a Canadian pale argent a maple leaf of the first;

OF ALL WHICH Our Loving Subjects and all others whom these Presents may concern are hereby required to take notice and to govern themselves accordingly;

INTESTIMONY WHEREOF We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed. Given the 21st day of January in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-five and in the thirteenth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command

Lester B. Pearson

Prime Minister of Canada

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

ELISABETH DEUX, PAR LA GRÂCE DE DIEU, REINE DU ROYAUME-UNI, DU CANADA ET DE SES AUTRES ROYAUMES ET TERRITOIRES, CHEF DU COMMONWEALTH ET DÉFENSEUR DE LA FOI.

A TOUS CEUX À QUI LES PRÉSENTES PARVIENDRONT OU QU'ICELLES POURRONT DE QUELQUE MANIÈRE CONCERNER,

SALUT:

PROCLAMATION

Procureur général du Canada

CONSIDÉRANT que le Sénat du Canada, par une résolution datée du 17e jour de décembre, en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent soixante-quatre, a recommandé que soit désigné, comme Drapeau national du Canada, le drapeau ci-après décrit;

ET CONSIDÉRANT que la Chambre des communes du Canada, le 15e jour de décembre, en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent soixante-quatre, a approuvé la recommandation formulée le vingt-neuvième jour d'octobre, en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent soixante-quatre, par un comité spécial d'icelle et portant que le drapeau ci-après décrit soit désigné comme Drapeau national du Canada;

SACHEZ DONC MAINTENANT que, de et par l'avis de Notre Conseil privé pour le Canada, Nous désignons et déclarons comme Drapeau national du Canada, à compter du quinzième jour de février, en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, un drapeau rouge dont les proportions sont de deux de longueur sur un de largeur, à carré blanc au centre, haut de la largeur accollée à la hampe et portant une seule feuille d'érable rouge ou, en termes d'héraldique, de gueules, au pal canadien d'argent, chargé d'une feuille d'érable du premier;

DE CE QUI PRÉCÈDE, Nos féaux sujets et tous ceux que les présentes peuvent concerner sont par les présentes requis de prendre connaissance et d'agir en conséquence.

EN FOI DE QUOI Nous avons fait émettre Nos présentes Lettres Patentes et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau du Canada.

Donné ce 29e jour de janvier en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, le treizième de Notre Règne.

Par ordre de Sa Majesté,

Le premier ministre du Canada,

DIEU SAUVE LA REINE