Leonard Brockington: A Life

Edward M. Bredin, Q.C.

Cover Photo: Provincial Archives of Alberta, J.312/2

Chronology

April 6, 1888: Leonard W. Brockington was born in Cardiff, Wales to Walter Brockington and Annie Christmas Walters.

1893: began school at the Radnor Road School in Cardiff where his father is the Headmaster.

September 8, 1903: received the senior certificate at age 15 from Cardiff Intermediate School for Boys. He was awarded a scholarship to the University College of South Wales in Cardiff.

November 1908: received a Bachelor of Arts degree *magna cum laude* with honours in Latin and Greek from the University College of South Wales. He was head of the debating society, the dramatic society, officiated the closing of the municipal buildings, and was Editor of the college newspaper.

1908 – 1912: taught English, Latin and Greek at Cowley Grammar School at St. Helens Lancashire.

1912: emigrated to Canada where he made his way to Edmonton, Alberta.

May 31, 1913: married Agnes Neaves MacKenzie at the home of J.J. Duggan.

August 1913: joined the City of Edmonton as Assistant Secretary to the City Commissioners and became editor of the *Edmonton City Gazette*.

December 1914: fired from the Edmonton City Hall because of a speech he made in support of an Alderman.

1915: moved to Calgary and found work in the Calgary Land Titles office.

May 1916: wrote the First Intermediate Examination for the Law Society of Alberta before beginning Articles.

December 6, 1916: began Articles under senior lawyer L.M. Roberts at the Lougheed & Bennett firm.

December 31, 1919: called to the Alberta Bar. He continued to practice at the same firm where he articled.

January 1, 1921: started as Assistant City Solicitor at the City of Calgary.

January 1, 1922: promoted to City Solicitor following the resignation of Frank Ford.

1922: Tom Collinge became Brockington's articling student. He would eventually succeed Brockington as City Solicitor.

1922 – 1923: John Boyd joined the firm with Brock and Shouldice. Firm known as Shouldice, Brockington & Boyd.

1924: firm became Shouldice, Brockington & Price. Brockington was diagnosed with Rheumatoid Arthritis Spondylitis, which caused him severe pain and to eventually become bent over.

August 29, 1929: introduced Winston Churchill during a luncheon at the Palliser Hotel.

July 9, 1932: spoke at a farewell dinner for Nellie McClung upon her leaving Calgary for Victoria, British Columbia.

August 30, 1932: spoke at the St. Laurent dinner. It is believed that this speech was Brock's "big break" as an after dinner speaker.

March 4, 1933: gave evidence during the case Powlett *v.* University of Alberta where Mr. Powlett suffered a nervous breakdown as a result of sophomore hazing.

August 31, 1933: addressed the Canadian Bar Association's annual meeting with a speech entitled "Mr. Brockington Post-Prandializes." Reportedly, William Lyon Mackenzie King is the in audience and earmarked Brockington for future consideration.

September 8, 1933: addressed the fiftieth anniversary of the 90th Winnipeg Rifles. Seemingly this speech led to Brockington's position with the North West Grain Dealers Association.

January 15, 1935: resigned as City Solicitor at the City of Calgary in order to take a position with the North West Grain Dealers Association in Winnipeg.

March 1935: called to the Manitoba Bar by E.K. Williams.

October 1936: became Chairman of the Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC) and moves to Ottawa.

May 16, 1939: received his first honorary LL.D from the University of Alberta.

October 1939: resigned as head of the CBC and moved back to Winnipeg.

January 1940: returned to Ottawa and was appointed Recorder of Canada's War Effort.

September 12, 1940: "Law and Liberty" speech given to the American Bar Association in Philadelphia.

December 6, 1940: "Canada at War" address in New York to the 34th Annual Convention of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents. This speech, as well at the "Law in Liberty" speech got Brock into trouble with Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

July 4, 1941: gave birthday greetings to the U.S. Broadcast over NBC and CBC.

September 18, 1941: "Canada, the United States and the War", speech to the National Industrial Advertisers.

October 5, 1941: "Canada and Pan Americanism" broadcast on CBC and Columbia Network.

November 1941: asked to be relieved of position with North West Grain Dealers so that he could join the Ottawa firm of Herridge, Govvling, Mactavish and Watt.

November 1941: quit as wartime assistant to W. L. MacKenzie King.

December 9, 1941: arrived in England after Pearl Harbour.

December 1941: in Britain to deliver several broadcasts on Canada and the war on the BBC.

February 1942: returned to Ottawa after 6 weeks in Britain.

June 20 1942: returned to England to act as adviser on Empire affairs to Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information.

November 22, 1942: returned to Canada for speaking engagements and then on to Australia and New Zealand for speaking tour. For six months, November 1942 to May 1943, he was on tour throughout the English speaking countries telling Australia and New Zealand about Britain, Canada and the United States.

November 1943: returned to Canada as Counsel to the law firm of Gowling, MacTavish and Watt in Ottawa.

August 7, 1946: called on by the House of Commons to deal with steel strike. Also dealt with a textile strike in the Ottawa Valley.

July 1947: named as Commissioner to enquire into a dispute between the Seamen's Union and Canada Steamship Lines and the Sarnia and Port Colborne Steamship Companies of Port Colborne, Ontario.

July 1947: Polish Art Treasures. Advises Government on disposition of Polish Art treasures.

October 17, 1947: named Rector of Queen's University.

February 15, 1948: memorial tribute to Gandhi at Chateau Laurier in Ottawa.

October 1949: panel member on the Mainguy Inquiry into Canadian Navy mutiny.

February 17, 1952: gave King's funeral address from London.

November 29, 1954: gave CBC tribute to Churchill.

November 1956: led a delegation (including Senator Donald Cameron) to UNESCO meeting in New Delhi for six weeks.

April 15, 1957: appointment of Brock to Canada Council for two-year term.

July 26, 1959: addressed Queen Elizabeth's attendance at St. Mark's Church, Port Hope, Ontario.

Summer 1962: wrote *Journey among the Homeless* at returning from trip to the Middle East.

February 18, 1963: Brock awarded Canada Council medal.

May 22, 1964: spoke to Oilmen's dinner in Calgary on the 50th Anniversary of oil discovery at Turner Valley.

November 18 & 24, 1964: gave testimony to Standing Committee on External Affairs on Hate Literature.

January 26, 1965: wrote a tribute in Globe and Mail following Churchill's death.

January 30, 1965: tribute to Churchill aired on the CBC.

February 8, 1965: addressed the Toronto Canadian Club honouring the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey.

September 15, 1966: passed away at the age of 78.

May 12, 1968: Queens University announced that funds available for the University to establish a visiting fellowship named for Dr. Leonard W. Brockington.

May 13, 1968: Queens University set up a visiting lectureship in honour of Brock.

Introduction

A biography of Leonard Brockington written nearly fifty years after his death presents formidable obstacles. Biographies are already one of, if not, the most difficult history to write. Biographies are usually written about exceptional men, or those whom we think are exceptional. Historians avoid the atypical kind of biography – the celebratory biography – with its obituary-like, mind numbing adulation that follows one simplistic rule: "don't speak ill of the dead." History is about dismantling myth and replacing legend with fact.

For a biography of Brockington, this proved to be a difficult task. Not necessarily because there was a myth to dismantle. Rather, because his life story is arguably short on facts. While his personal papers are in the archives at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, his greatest treasures were in the letters he wrote to his friends, particularly his close friends. Unfortunately, so much of what he wrote and what he said is no longer available. This is also true for the many speeches he gave, so many of which are no longer available.

Part of the problem of writing about Brockington is that his fame came as a result of a numerous talents. Although a lawyer in Calgary for a number of years during the inter-war period, it was not until he became the first head of the Canada Broadcasting Corporation that he truly became a national figure. Even before this, Brockington was already making a name for himself as a public speaker, having given many speeches during his time in both Edmonton and Calgary. Arguably, his most famous encounter – Brockington himself would likely agree – was touring around southern Alberta with Winston Churchill. Brock regularly regaled anyone who would listen about his late-night talk with England's wartime Prime Minister at the Prince of Wales Ranch.

This is more than a biography of a man; this is also a history of a country. Not an in-depth historical study. Rather a history of many of the key events that encompassed Brock's life. Brockington participated in many key events in the history of Canada. No one person exists inside a bubble. His life up to, and including his time in Calgary, was not so extraordinary. He was born in Wales and emigrated to Canada before the First World War. His journey West to Edmonton is a snapshot into the life that Brockington led. Initially, he intended to settle in Eastern Canada, but met another immigrant during his journey who was settling in Edmonton. Immigrants, upon arriving in Canada, likely heard of the fortunes in Western Canada. It is likely that Brockington was looking for two things: adventure and success. As the reader will see, Brock's life was an adventure. His life was not meant to be sitting behind a desk, and he did not.

This should not suggest that his life at this time was unimportant, far from it. Brock's life in Edmonton and Calgary laid a solid foundation for what came later. What I am arguing is that Brock's life until his arrival in Alberta's capital was normal. It was in Edmonton where he embarked upon his career as an after-dinner speaker. This haphazard initiation into speech giving and his unusual law school education at the University of Alberta truly molded the future for Brockington.

As such, those in positions of authority took notice. Whether it be his legal career where he worked with R.B. Bennett and Sir James Lougheed at the famous Calgary law firm, or being

recommended for advancement at the City Solicitor's office in Calgary by the Honourable Frank Ford, the right people took notice of Brockington's intelligence, enterprising personality and wit. Arguably, these same characteristics helped gain hundreds of speaking engagements all around the globe. His humor, wit and breadth of knowledge for all things literary made these numerous speeches memorable.

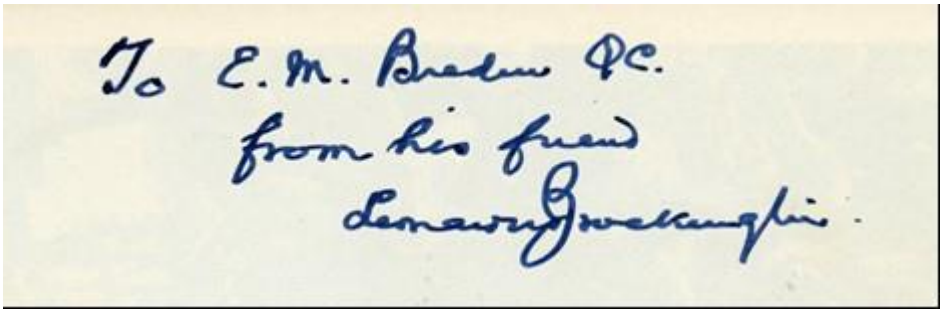
It followed from the speeches that Brockington received numerous offers, including the North West Grain Dealers Association and the first President of the Board of Directors at the CBC. Notwithstanding the importance of these positions, it was his work with Prime Minister Mackenzie King during World War II that made Brock a household name. Indeed, following his death in September 1966, the obituaries and tributes that poured in from across Canada focused on his advisor role with the Prime Minister.

After the war, Brock continued travelling the world giving speeches. He went to Greece, India, and throughout Europe, where he espoused the ideas and values that Western democracies considered paramount over other ideologies. Like most Britons of the period, he was an admirer of Winston Churchill, and was part of the British Prime Minister's wartime collection assigned to give speeches around the Commonwealth about the war effort. A similar job to Brock's position under Mackenzie King, but with far more definition and focus. Furthermore, without a doubt, Churchill's influence on Brockington was certain.

Brock was also a gifted writer and cultural enthusiast. He penned numerous book reviews for Canadian newspapers, wrote tributes for Ghandi and Churchill following their respective deaths, and was commissioned by the United Nations to compose a pamphlet detailing the Palestinian refugee issue in the Middle East, which he did in 1962 a mere four years before he died. Although not probing the Mid-East crisis in any great detail -- for which he rightly claimed he was unqualified to do -- he focused on refugee education. Among all of Brock's hobbies and passions, education was arguably primary for him. Brock's father was an educator, he was on the road to being an educator before leaving Wales, his speeches contained an educational component, and after the war he cultivated a close connection with Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario where he became Rector of Students in 1947. A position he held until his death in 1966.

Upon his death, tributes for Brockington poured in from all over the country, and from around the world. Many noted that Canada had lost its greatest orator. However, history has not been kind to Brockington. Not in the critical sense, however. But Brock's legacy and contribution to Canadian society and its history has been largely overlooked, if not completely forgotten. As such, this paper is not an academic essay. Rather it is a reflection of one lawyer -- whose contribution to history was vital -- by another lawyer -- whose interest in history had deep roots.

About the Author



LASA Image: Accession 2009-004

Born on March 17, 1914 in Alsask, Saskatchewan. Edward Bredin attended the University of Alberta in 1933 in the midst of the Great Depression and graduated in 1938 with a combined arts and law degree. At the time, it was a five-year program at the University of Alberta. On September 13, 1938, Mr. Bredin started articles at the City of Calgary where his principal was City Solicitor, Tom Collinge. He earned a pithy $60 per month, but that was certainly greater than the $25 per month the average articling student received. While articling, Mr. Bredin assisted in drafting bylaws and with some litigation.

Ed Bredin was admitted to the Law Society of Alberta on January 16, 1940 and continued at the City of Calgary as Assistant City Solicitor. He remained in this position until he joined the RAF in July 1942 and served with the Second Tactical Air Force as a navigator in Belgium and Germany in support of the army as it advanced across Western Europe. Upon returning to Calgary, Mr. Bredin retook his position with the City of Calgary, where from 1950 to 1958 he became City Solicitor. After leaving the City of Calgary, Mr. Bredin became General Counsel and Secretary at Mobil Oil Canada Limited where he remained until his retirement in 1979. Mr. Bredin joined the Howard, Dixon, Mackie firm where he remained until his full retirement in 1997.

Mr. Bredin married Margaret Anna MacQueen on April 23, 1954 and they had two children, James Gordon Macpherson and MaryAnne Grace. Named Queen's Counsel on December 31, 1957, Mr. Bredin was presented with his Fifty Year Certificate at the Benchers' Convocation on September 30, 1990.

In a eulogy at Ed Bredin's funeral in May 2012, Harry Sanders made the case that Bredin not only loved history, but also that he was history. Sanders said, "Ed Bredin lived history. He lived for nearly a century. Consider the landmark events of the twentieth century and how they framed his life." Born just before the First World War, Bredin experienced death first hand when his mother died from the Spanish Influenza. Ed was old enough to remember the Great Depression, a time at which he studied arts and law at the University of Alberta. He interrupted his law career in 1942 to enlist in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II. Ed witnessed the growth of Calgary firsthand working in the City Solicitor's office for nearly two decades, where he served three mayors. Lastly, he served as General Counsel and Secretary of Mobil Oil Canada Ltd., which put him at ground zero for the economic development and

prosperity of Alberta. Harry Sanders was genuine when he said, "Ed Bredin's life was the twentieth century."

Harry Sanders described Ed Bredin's love for history, and what those who knew Ed would take away from a visit with him. "Through personal experience, Ed Bredin knew the people, places, and events of his times. These memories he kept as well, and they are ours now, preserved in oral histories at the Legal Archives Society of Alberta, through his correspondence and other writings, and in our memories of wonderful conversations with him and the things he had to tell us." He continued, "Ed was deeply interested in the life of Sir Winston Churchill. This he expressed through his presidency of the Calgary Branch of the Sir Winston Churchill Society and his donation of the Bredin Cup with it cash prize awarded to the top high school debater at the annual Churchill Debates."

It is no surprise that Ed Bredin loved history. He lived history, he was a part of history, and he also preserved history. His great project was documenting the life of Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C., one of his predecessors as City Solicitor at the City of Calgary. Alas, Ed did not complete his biography of Brockington. But over a thirty-year period, he collected nine bankers boxes of research material and notes, and produced a draft manuscript. The Legal Archives Society of Alberta has worked to edit and publish Ed's work posthumously.

As Brockington once paid tribute to Sir Winston Churchill. Harry Sanders paid fitting tribute to Ed Bredin by quoting a portion of Brock's tribute to Churchill:

> sometimes as I reflect in my own declining years on what are the greatest virtues and the enduring things which mark a great and honourable man, I think of courage, which is the mother of all virtues; of patience (for one who is the master of patience is the master of so many other things). I think, too, of compassion and loyalty, and no man had greater loyalties...loyalty to his friends -- loyalty to the memory of his father -- loyalty to the great causes to which he gave his unrelenting toil -- loyalty to all the sanctities and deep unspoken certainties of family life.
>
> There was never any whisper of scandal or breath of dishonour to stain the shield of this chivalrous and valiant knight.

Harry Sanders concluded his eulogy to Ed Bredin stating, "if Brockington had been speaking of Ed Bredin, he need hardly have changed a word."

The Legal Archives Society of Alberta had a close relationship with Ed Bredin. For years, the Society worked with Mr. Bredin to preserve not only his lengthy career, but also his admiration for the life and times of Leonard Brockington. Unfortunately, Ed did not live to see his life-long project completed. However, with the acquisition of drafts and the materials collected over many years, the Society has been able to complete the project. This completed work is what follows. Where possible we have tried our best to retain the "voice" of Ed Bredin throughout the work, as well as much of his original draft.

After nearly thirty years of working on the Brockington biography, Ed had accumulated a lot of material on his subject. During a visit with Ed – when he deposited all his Brockington material to the Legal Archives – his wife, Nan Bredin, could not have possibly been happier to be rid of the materials that occupied a space in their home. I can only hope that she is just as happy to see Ed's project finally completed.

Notes on Sources

Just a brief note on the sources used to complete this paper. Over nearly 30 years Ed Bredin has worked diligently on collecting material, including newspaper clippings, speeches and document sources on a man who was a larger-than-life figure, but little is known. Bredin collected archival documents from the National Archives in Ottawa, the Queen's University Archives in Kingston, and the CBC. All of these copies and notes taken in preparation of this paper were donated by the author to the Legal Archives Society of Alberta. However, the original archival documents remain at their respective repositories. Where possible all effort was made to ensure the original repository was noted when referencing documents.

Brock Meets Churchill

In 1929, Brockington was involved in his first nationally significant event. Winston Churchill (future Prime Minister of England) came to Calgary in August of that year. Churchill, a minister in Stanley Baldwin's Conservative government, was defeated in the general election of May 30, 1929, and decided to travel to Canada and the United States. He was joined on his journey by his son, Randolph; brother Major Jack Churchill; and nephew John George. As the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Churchill and his guests were treated like royalty. In fact, Sir Edward Beatty, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, provided a private rail car at their disposal.

Following a courtesy visit to Lieutenant Governor William Egbert in Edmonton, the party arrived in Calgary on August 24, 1929. Mayor Fred Osborne and other municipal officials, including Brock, met the party as they arrived. Churchill was interested in Turner Valley, which at the time was becoming known as the greatest oil field in the British Empire, and he requested a tour. Brock accompanied Churchill and his guests in a 1925 Lincoln made available by Senator Pat Burns.

The group drove through Turner Valley, including "Hells Half Acre" where unknown quantities of natural gas – believed to be of no commercial value – were flared into the atmosphere. Churchill later wrote, "it flares away in pillars of flame eighty feet high, millions of gallons of a precious and by no means unlimited product burning lamentably to waste."[1] The party arrived at the Prince of Wales Ranch just southwest of Calgary where they spent the night.

Brock, in a full-page tribute in the *Globe and Mail* following Churchill's death, reminisced about the evening he spent with the future Prime Minister at the Prince of Wales Ranch. He recalled surprising Churchill when he told him that he had read all of his books. Brockington opined, "[e]ven the greatest of authors and the greatest of men are not displeased with a little knowledge of their written words shown by an obscure man from the backwoods." [2]

Brock was justifiably pleased with the private time he and Churchill spent at the ranch. "And so, in the late hours of what was to me one of the most memorable nights of my life, he took me to sit with him on the steps of the Prince of Wales Ranch," explained Brock. "I remember" he continued "[Churchill] spoke of his love for Britain with "her wonderful eyes austere" of the romantic glens of his wife's ancestral Scotland, of the image of green fields of England everywhere which so many exiles carry with them over the hill and far away."

As they talked of the past and living glories of Britain and of her relations with the United States, Brock remembered a quote from Arthur Meighen, "Britain," Brockington recalled, "is the creditor who always waits; the debtor who always pays." According to Brock, Churchill responded, "it was worth coming across the Atlantic simply to hear those words." Churchill then spoke of the United States of America. Brock wrote that Churchill was proud of his American ancestry, and that similar to Edward VII's knowledge and love of France Churchill envisioned

[1] Winston Churchill, "This West of Ours Impressed Winston Churchilll,' *Edmonton Journal*, January 25, 1930.
[2] *Globe and Mail*, January 26, 1965, pg. B16.

"bringing Britain the United States closer together as friends for the larger purpose of civilization."

Throughout his summer tour of Western Canada, Churchill was enormously popular. He was not to see such public acclaim again until wartime. On August 26, 1929, Churchill's party attended a luncheon at the Palliser Hotel in Calgary. It was hosted jointly by the City of Calgary, the Calgary Board of Trade (now the Calgary Chamber of Commerce), the Canadian Club and the Alberta Military Institute (now the Royal Alberta United Services Institute). The city, realizing Churchill's popularity, wanted to give as many people an opportunity to attend as possible and charged only five dollars for the lunch. The luncheon drew more guests than could possibly be accommodated in the Crystal Ballroom at the Palliser. As a result, many had to lunch outside, and gathered as close to the building to hear the speeches. At the lunch, Calgary's Mayor welcomed Churchill whom Brockington introduced.

Although all the speeches were broadcasted, there is no available transcript. All that remains of Churchill's time in Calgary is what is available in newspapers. According to *The Albertan*, Brockington declared that his introduction of Churchill was akin to "carrying naptha to Turner Valley." During his introduction for the future British Prime Minister, Brock told the audience of the time in Britain when he first heard the great speaker. Of Canada, Brock espoused, that Churchill may not have yet found a place where wealth could be rapidly acquired, but that it was a "land of optimism and good will." In fact, Churchill, during his speech, made clear reference that Canada "had the economic wealth, and potentialities for greatness." [3]

The Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Meighen, former Prime Minister of Canada, was present at the lunch and, at the request of Mayor Osborne, thanked Churchill for all his addresses across Canada not only on behalf of those present in Calgary, but for all the people of the Dominion. In response to Meighen, Randolph Churchill was called upon and referred to the senior Churchill's definition of political parties stating that, "political parties changed as much as individuals." Churchill's son illustrated his position with the example that although ten years removed from the efforts of World War I, the current generation understands the changes in democratic governance that resulted. But, he continued, regardless of changes Britons of all generations realize their responsibility to the stability of the Empire.[4]

Brock's Early Life


CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF BIRTH

GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Cardiff

Cardiff

WBXZ 014162

Brock's Birth Certificate. Courtesy of the City of Cardiff

[3] *The Albertan*, August 27, 1929.
[4] Cited in ibid.

Leonard W. Brockington was born in Cardiff, Wales on April 6, 1888. He was the son of Walter Brockington and Annie Christmas Walters. His mother was a native of Neath, Wales. As a young girl, she was sent to live with an Aunt in Birmingham, England. It was there she met her future husband, Walter Brockington, a Birmingham native. The senior Brockington attended the King Edward VI Grammar School in his hometown and received a B.A. Degree.

After obtaining his degree, Walter Brockington embarked on a career as a school master in Cardiff. He was doubtless influenced by his wife who became anxious to return to her native Wales. But there were other enticements: Cardiff became a "booming" city which offered many opportunities. In addition, David Brockington – Walter Brockington's Grandson – surmised that his Grandfather always believed it was his duty to educate the Welsh in Cardiff. This sentiment likely presupposed an element of English "superiority" that was widespread in the period before World War I. It was evident in the Brockington household, where the Welsh language seemed to have taken second place. In a speech given years later in Charlottetown, Brock stated, although his Mother's first language, he regretted never having learned Welsh.[5]

In 1888, Walter Brockington became Headmaster at Cardiff's Radnor Road School. He remained in that position until 1907 at which time he accepted a Headmaster position at The Canton Municipal Secondary School (later called The Canton High School for Boys). He retired from that position in 1922.

Brockington Family in Wales. Date Unknown. Courtesy of Brockington Family

[5] The Findlay Memorial Lecture, delivered at the Cardiff High School for Boys on Friday, May 25, 1956, pg. 3-4.

Leonard Brockington was the oldest of seven children born to his parents. According to an 1891 Census of Cardiff, Walter Brockington moved his family to a newer and, presumably larger home at Plasturton Gardens. The family had a live-in maid and, at that time, only two children. Five others followed later. He and his wife indicated speaking only English – reflecting Walter's desire to educate the Welsh – despite several contemporary households having indicated being two-language households (presumably English and Welsh). There is no doubt that English was predominant in the Brockington house. Although Brock's mother had a good grasp of Welsh, she chose not to record this fact with the census authorities.

Brock began school at the Radnor Road School, where his father was Principal. As he got older, he attended the Cardiff Intermediate School of Boys, where Dr. Joseph J. Findlay was Headmaster. He received the Senior Certificate from that school on September 8, 1903. Upon finishing grammar school, Brock entered the University College of South Wales on a scholarship and in 1908, at the age of twenty, graduated *Magna Cum Laude* with an Honours B.A. in Latin and Greek.

While at university, Brock became the editor of the university magazine and President of the Drama Club. It was there that he met Agnes Neaves Mackenzie, whom would later become his wife. Brock's younger brother Frank – a medical doctor in Surrey, England – explained in a radio interview with the CBC in 1966 that while Brock was editor of the university magazine it was likely the most scurrilous in the university's history. Frank also recalled the day that King Edward VII arrived to open one of Cardiff's magnificent civic buildings. That evening, after the new buildings opened, Brock gathered a group together and on a makeshift podium announced that in opening the new buildings, His Majesty overlooked the closing of the old buildings. Brock declared that he had been assigned to formally close the buildings. The attending crowd was duly impressed with Brock's performance. As the authorities arrived, Brock disappeared into the crowd, and narrowly escaped punishment for his involvement.

Like his father, Brock appeared headed for a career as a Headmaster. After graduation, he became an English Master at Cowley School in St. Helens, Lancashire. However, little is known of his time there. From the early stages, it was obvious that Brock had little interest in continuing as a teacher. By 1912, Brock – much like Europe – was becoming restive. Only two years before the outbreak of World War I, an unsettling period on the continent, emigration to Canada was becoming increasingly popular. In a lecture in Charlottetown in 1964, Brockington recalled his decision to move to Canada, "I had never met a Canadian in my life, as far as I have known, I had never seen one." Aside from the concentrated effort to settle in the West, Brock acknowledged the potential adventure in coming to Canada. [6]

Arriving in Canada in 1912, Brock believed this was the year of Canada's largest immigration with 375,000 people arriving at its ports.[7] However, official figures reveal that 1913 was the largest immigration year with over 400,000 having made Canada their home. He sailed from England on the *Laurentia* and arrived in Canada with the initial intention to remain in the East. He came armed with letters of introduction to the Moncton editor and the Principal

[6] "A Canadian Ancestor Looks at Charlottetown." Address by Brockington at proceedings of P.E.I. Confederation Conference, 1964, p. 29.
[7] Ibid., pg. 29.

of McGill University. As Brock recalled he changed his destination when he heard an Irishman, who he had met on the ship, was headed to Edmonton. Brock said of his journey westward:

> I proceeded westward to a town (the name of which I had never heard before) on a colonist car, in company with the most outlandish people I have ever seen: Most of the men were wearing sheepskin coats, and the women had shawls over their heads, and they spoke no English. They come from places of which one never hears any more: Galicia and Ruthenia.[8]

While the central European immigrants appeared to Brock to be "the most outlandish people [he] had ever seen." To anyone familiar with the conditions on frontier Alberta, Brock – a bookish student in city clothes – must have seemed equally outlandish and far less suited to the conditions he would soon encounter.

Brock in Edmonton

When Brockington arrived in Edmonton, the capital city was experiencing its greatest year of an economic boom that started in 1909. Much of this boom was driven by real estate and land ventures. Land was being sold for profit only months, if not weeks, after its initial sale. For a city of only 31,000 people, there were approximately 400 real estate offices.[9] A good indicator of economic prosperity is investment activity in real estate evidenced by the issuing of building permits for both residential and commercial endeavors. In 1909, the first year of the boom, $4.5 million in building permits were issued province wide. By 1912, the amount of building permits rose to $34.8 million. Of that province-wide number, nearly $14 million were issued in Edmonton.[10] It is important to bear in mind the context into which Brock arrived in Edmonton. Although having arrived in 1912, the boom was beginning to wane. Not to mention, he only had eight dollars in his pocket when he got off the train, so he was unable to take advantage of what was left of Edmonton's booming economy. In fact, by 1913 Edmonton began experiencing a decrease in investment with building permits dropping to $17.9 million across the province.[11]

Brock started looking for work in a city where unemployment was rising. He was initially offered a job at a law office. A fine job for someone determined to become a lawyer. However, the job would be unpaid.[12] Brock, wanting to go to law school, took several different jobs. In fact, in order to pay for law school, Brock offered to correct Latin papers at the University of Alberta, a proposal quickly vetoed by University President H.M. Troy.

According to journalist Eric Hutton, Brock was down to his last dollar when he received an offer from a newspaper called the *Strathcona Plain Dealer*. This offer came just in time to

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[8] Ibid., pg. 29.
[9] John G. Niddrie, "The Edmonton Boom of 1911-1912," in *The Best from Alberta History* ed. Hugh Dempsy (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1981), pg. 153.
[10] Ibid., pg. 153 and Paul Boothe and Heather Edwards, (eds.), *Eric J. Hanson's Financial History of Alberta, 1905 – 1950* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2003), pg. 33.
[11] Boothe and Edwards, *Eric J. Hanson's Financial History of Alberta*, pg. 33.
[12] Eric Hutton, "…and now, a Few World from Mr. Brockington," *Maclean's Magazine* (April 15, 1953): pg. 24.

prevent Brockington from picking up an axe to clear trees at Athabasca Landing for the Edmonton and British Columbia Railway. The *Plain Dealer* was a small weekly serving Strathcona, an area just south of the North Saskatchewan River from Edmonton.

Although this job paid, he remained unable to pay for law school and live in Edmonton. In order to supplement his newspaper income, Brock took on singing engagements. "Being a Welshman he was," as Hutton explained, "born with a voice of commercial caliber." Although these signing engagements were becoming numerous, they would turn out to be a blessing in disguise. Brock made the calculated decision to sing at any event – for free – so long as he could make a speech. This was the beginning of what was to become Brock's career as an elegant speaker. In fact, according to Hutton, it was from his speeches that Brock was able to achieve most of his professional accolades.

One such accolade was gaining entry into law school at the University of Alberta. Brock's entire law school experience was quite unconventional. He gained admission to law school following a speech he had given at a banquet for the Builders' Association of Canada. Sent there to cover it as a reporter for the *Plain Dealer*, Brock was persuaded to reply to the toast from the press when it was discovered the original reporter assigned that duty was fast asleep. As Hutton explained, Brock "delivered an extemporaneous speech of great eloquence and considerable length."[13] The speech surely impressed those in attendance, but most importantly Brock gained the interest of E.K. Broadus, Professor of English at the University of Alberta.

The two men became fast friends, and had several conversations at the *Plain Dealer's* office where the stove was "fed by unsold copies of the paper…and therefore never short of fuel."[14] It was from this friendship that Brock would gain admission to law school where he took the unconventional path of being permitted to study part time and not required to attend classes.

To understand the concessions that were made for Brockington to carry out law school while working full time, it might be helpful to briefly explain the evolution of legal education in Alberta following the establishment of the Law Society of Alberta in 1907. However, in order to properly do so, an even more brief explanation of legal education before the establishment of the province of Alberta is also necessary.

Before 1885 law in the western regions of Canada was administered haphazardly. An 1885 statute established the Law Society of the Territories, which governed the law in the areas that encompassed present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories and parts of western Manitoba. Along with these responsibilities came the task of welcoming new lawyers to the profession. Since there was no law school in the Territories, it was up to the Law Society to ensure that articled students were qualified for admission to the Bar. In his 1977 pamphlet entitled *A History of the Faculty of Law*, former President of the University of Alberta, Walter H. Johns detailed the requirements for admission to the Bar for articled students. Students must have completed three-year articles in addition to a degree in Arts or Law, five years of consecutive articles if no degree had been acquired, or having graduated from the Royal Military College. All were required to pass an examination.

[13] Ibid., pg. 24.

[14] Brockington quoted in ibid., pg. 24.

This system was generally based on the English legal education system, but was somewhat adjusted for administering law in a region where only a short time earlier there had not even a governing body. As no formal university existed, law students largely learned on the job clerking in a lawyer's office, observing court, familiarizing oneself with federal and provincial legislation all guided by a Principal.[15] With the founding of the province of Alberta in 1905 and the subsequent establishment of the Law Society of Alberta two years later, not much changed in the granting of the admission to the Bar. Johns wrote that the only revision made to the governing of admissions was that the three-year articles was expanded to include students from Medicine, Science and Literature.

The University of Alberta came into being in 1908. With the establishment of a permanent university just south of the capital over the North Saskatchewan River in the City of Strathcona, there came a growing interest in legal education. Working together, under the authority of the 1910 *University Act*, the Law Society of Alberta and the University of Alberta introduced a program whereby the university would hold law lectures and preside over the Society's exams. Though the Society retained control over the administration of their examination, the arrangement allowed the university a role in legal education.[16] Moreover, the minutes from October 8, 1910 from the university Board of Governors indicated that the Faculty of Law was established at the University of Alberta in the latter part of 1910.

Cooperation continued on a year-to-year basis with lectures and examinations organized in both Edmonton and Calgary. It is interesting that this led to some animosity between Calgary and Edmonton. It was reportedly well known that Dr. Henry Marshall Tory, the President of the University of Alberta, was against the establishment of a degree-granting law school in Calgary. Tory argued that the University of Alberta had been granting law degrees since 1912. He went as far as not even recognizing credits for law courses offered at Calgary College to ensure that the university in Edmonton remained the only recognized law school in the province.[17] It nevertheless was a short-lived rivalry since Calgary College unceremoniously closed in 1915.

A two-tiered system was established. The first tier consisted of those who, without a University degree, wanted to be called to the Bar after carrying out their five year of articles. The second tier, for those with the applicable University degree, needed only to article for three years. However, Brock was not required to follow either route. Though the University of Alberta did not offer the full-time study of law until 1921, Brock wrote his first intermediate examination in May 1916 without having even attended a class. Though he was not yet considered an articling law student, he was treated as a student at the University on the LL.B. course.

Brock's part-time status in law school allowed him to continue working. Following the closure of the *Plain Dealer*, Brock accepted a job at the City of Edmonton as Assistant Secretary to the City Commissioner. He also took on the duty of editor for the City's official gazette.

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[15] John M. Law and Roderick J. Wood, "A History of the Faculty of Law," *Alberta Law Review* XXXV, no. 1 (November 1996), pg. 3.
[16] Ibid., pg. 4.
[17] Ibid., pg. 5.

The income from this new position, combined with his savings from the *Plain Dealer*, allowed Brock to send for his future wife, Agnes Neaves Mackenzie. They were married on May 31, 1913 at the home of J.J. Duggan, a Welsh man whom Brock befriended upon arriving in Edmonton. Brock described himself as a "journalist" and his wife as a "spinster." At the time, Brock earned less than one hundred dollars per month, which was a sufficient amount to rent a small home in Edmonton.

Brock's career with the City of Edmonton ended abruptly on Christmas Eve 1914. Sometime earlier Brock made a speech supporting one of the City's Alderman who was running as an incumbent. The Alderman was no friend of Mayor William Thomas Henry, who, on Christmas Eve, fired Brock. Brock demanded to know the grounds upon which he was being fired. "Economy" replied the Mayor. "Financial or political?" Brock asked. "Take your pick" said the Mayor, "[y]ou're fired in either case."[18] It was likely one of only a few times that Brock's eloquent speaking ability resulted in misfortune. However, it can be surmised that it was not the speech itself, Brock became a victim of politics. This is maybe why, as Hutton explained, Brock was always private about his political leanings.

Following his termination from the City of Edmonton, Brock decided to seek his fortune 180 miles south in Calgary.

Brock's Call to the Bar

Brock found himself in Calgary in early 1915, unemployed and with no real prospects for work. He was still in law school, and was hopeful for employment in the legal field. The earlier boom that was in full swing in 1912 was now over and the economy was in recession. This was further exacerbated as the entire country moved into a war economy. World War I had been raging in Europe since August 1914. An important indicator of the worsening economy was the decrease in the mileage of railway track being built. In 1914, 450 miles of track were built. However, as Boothe and Edwards argued, this was largely due to government and contract obligations. By 1917, negative fifty-two miles of track was built as the contractual commitments were completed.[19]

The city of Calgary experienced a massive population boom between the turn of the century and when Brockington arrived 15 years later. Based largely on real estate speculation, the city had a population of only 5,000 people in 1900 and by 1912 that number increased substantially to 75,000. Alberta's southern city also experienced the largest construction boom in the country during this period. Statistics show that construction permits soared to $5.5 million in 1910, up 130 percent over the previous year. By 1912, that number rose to $20 million in construction permits.[20] With the recession fast approaching in 1913, construction and building in

[18] Hutton, pg. 24 and 64.

[19] Boothe and Edwards (eds.), *Eric J. Hanson's Financial History of Alberta,* pg. 59-60.

[20] Brian Hutchinson, "5,000 to 70,000 in 12 years – That's How Calgary came to be," in *The Boom and Bust, 1910-1914: Alberta in the Twentieth Century, vol. 3* ed. Ted Byfield (Edmonton: United Western Communications Ltd., 1994), pg. 88 – 90.

Calgary fell off dramatically leaving a large number of buildings in the city's core vacant or unfinished. Clearly, the real estate speculation that had been so important to Calgary's development a decade earlier had become impotent by 1913. In fact, over 400 real estate offices closed their doors in 1913.[21]

Though the real estate and construction boom was in a slump during this period, the discovery of gas near Sheep Creek, Alberta by W.S. Herron was expected to fill the void. As popular historian James H. Gray noted, the discovery of oil near Turner Valley in May 1914 led to a speculation spree where real estate was quickly replace with oil speculation. Much like the earlier real estate boom, the oil boom led to a quick, albeit brief, economic resurgence. For example, 226 oil companies opened offices in downtown Calgary, thirty-two oil brokers started firms and four stock exchanges directly linked to natural resources opened.[22] However, by the fall 1915 the oil boom reached its peak and was starting to slump. A number of factors contributed to this decline, least of which was lack of drilling success.

It was during these trying times that Brock came to Calgary. Years later, while living in Ottawa, Brock recalled his move to and first months living in Calgary. He arrived nearly destitute with a companion, Christmas T. Jones. They were lucky enough to find living quarters where the property owner offered them free board until they were settled and found jobs. Being similar in size and stature, both men shared one suit, and looked for employment alternately to be presentable for prospective work. It was not long before both became gainfully employed. Jones found work at a local Trust company, and both became active as school trustees.[23]

Brock found a job working at the Land Titles Office. He may have had some help from his Welsh friend D.M. Duggan (later leader of the Conservative Party in Alberta) in Edmonton. Duggan had a large real estate and financial business in Edmonton. He may well have known about an opening at the Land Titles Office in Calgary.

The Land Titles Office in Calgary was especially busy because of the *Unearned Increment Tax Act* passed by the Alberta legislature in 1913. During the land boom of the period, 1912 was a year of enormous profits and rapid turnover in land. This turnover was not, as in most cases, attributable to anything done by the owner, but simply the increase in the value and demand for land. The government, in an attempt to gain from this 'unearned increment' hastened by a change of ownership, introduced a tax on the increase in the value of the land not claimed on any improvements made by the seller. If, for instance, the seller erected a home or another building on the land, the value of that improvement did not form part of the "unearned increment" that was taxable. As a result, it was necessary in each case where improvements had been made on the property prior to the sale to make a calculation as to what part of the profit of the sale was attributable to the improvement on the land, and what part was attributable to an increase in the value of the land itself. This change resulted in additional help required at each of the two Land Titles Offices in the province.

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[21] Brian Hutchinson, "As the Bust Paralyzes Calgary One Word Reignites the City: Oil," in ibid., pg. 358.

[22] James H. Gray, "*Talk to my Lawyer: Great Stories of Southern Alberta's Bench and Bar* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1987), pg. 135.

[23] Cited in Fred Kennedy, *Alberta Was My Beat: "Memoirs of a Western Newspaperman"* (Calgary: The Albertan, 1975), pg. 341.

The difficulty, from the province's point of view, was that the "boom" had largely ended by the time the *Act* came into being. The *Act* remained in effect until after the Second World War when a rapid increase in land values occurred for a second time. There as a general objection to the tax and with the death of Senator Pat Burns, whose estate provided large sums in succession duties, the province repealed the tax.

The late Justice Marshall Porter once recalled as a young man practicing law in Medicine Hat, it was customary for his firm to send land conveyances or transfers to the Land Titles Office in Calgary for recording under the Torrens system in use by the province. The transfers were continually being returned as incomplete with the notation "B." Porter was sent to Calgary by his seniors to meet with the man known only as "B" and find out what was causing all the delays. It appears that there was some calculation required by the *Unearned Increment Tax Act* not being prepared correctly. Subsequently, after Porter moved to Calgary to practice, he and "B" became good friends. Indeed, when Brock was faced with some difficult problems as City Solicitor, he frequently called on Porter for advice.

The Land Titles Office was the ideal job for Brock. It required little or no work beyond regular office hours, so he was able to devote considerable time to studying law. Coupled with the concession he obtained with Broadus's intervention enabled him to maintain his studies in the Faculty of Law at the University of Alberta without the necessity of attending lectures. Moreover, Brock's keen interest in the law, and his position at the Land Titles Office enabled him to make important contacts with practicing lawyers in Calgary.

Brock wrote his First Intermediate Examination in May 1916. He also took and passed the enriched course of the first year leading to his LL.B. degree. As was to become customary, he received high marks on all his examinations.

Brock came to the attention of R.B. Bennett and was accepted for articles at Lougheed & Bennett, the city's largest firm. On December 5, 1916, he entered into the standard form of articles with Louis Melville Roberts, a senior lawyer at the firm. The following day Brock obtained a Certificate of Character from Daniel Lee Redman, then a junior with the Lougheed & Bennett firm. He acquired the other form from A. MacLeod Sinclair, a senior at the firm. In his application for admission and enrolment as a Student-at-Law dated December 6, 1916 addressed to Charles F. Adams, the Secretary of the Law Society of Alberta, he enclosed his application for admission, a duplicate copy of his articles, and two Certificates of Character. He also submitted proof of his university qualifications enclosing a certificate from the University of Wales showing that he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in November 1908. Brock also enclosed a cheque for five dollars for the required processing fee. Since he was eager to begin practicing as a lawyer, Brock, in his letter to Adams, asked to be informed as soon as his application was accepted.

On December 7, Secretary Adams wrote to Brock acknowledging receipt of the documents for Brock's application received on December 6. Adams also advised Brock that a fifty dollar fee was payable on enrolment as a Student-at-Law. Brock's application received the required endorsement from two Benchers of the Law Society, A.H. Clark and O.M. Biggar. The latter approved Brock's application on January 2, 1917. However, for Brock to be called to the

Bar before the end of 1919, following the completion of his three-year articles, Adams dated Biggar's approval for December 30, 1916.

On January 2, 1917, Adams, in a letter, advised Brock that his application for admission as a graduate student-at-law had been approved and that he was enrolled as of December 30, 1916. Anxious to become a lawyer as soon as possible, this date was disappointing for Brock. He was under the assumption that December 6 – the date he commenced his articles – would be his admission date.

Following three years of articles, in December 1919 Brock sent his application for admission to the Law Society of Alberta as a Barrister and Solicitor, and was keen on being admitted on December 31, 1919. The *Albertan*, a daily newspaper in Calgary, noted Brock's admission in its January 3, 1920 issue. Back when announcing bar admissions was commonplace, the newspaper made mention that R.B. Bennett, K.C. presented Brockington to the Honourable Mr. Justice Walsh for admission. The article also provided a bit of biographical information, including Brockington having received the highest average percentage of any student in Alberta with a 90% average on three examinations and 92% on his final exam. All of this, the reader should recall, was done having not attended one law school class.

Brock as Lawyer

While at the Lougheed and Bennett firm, Brockington, regarded as a capable lawyer, did the usual work of a junior lawyer. However, times were not too good and his salary was small. Brock and Bennett did not get along personally. Bennett was an ambitious lawyer who had very little personal life outside of law and politics. Those around him admired his professional qualities and abilities, but were appalled by his arrogance, self-aggrandizement and idiosyncratic peculiarities. The bottom line Bennett lacked anything that we today would consider "social skills". On the other hand, Brockington was anything but an introvert. He enjoyed several activities, including athletics and the arts, outside of the law. These outgoing qualities, it has been noted, did not endear a junior or a student to Bennett.

Bennett did not share Brock's sense of humor. The late Honourable E.R. Tavender, a student at the Lougheed and Bennett firm, recalled during an interview an occasion when Bennett caught Brock sneaking up the back stairs into the office at nine o'clock in the morning. Bennett reportedly said, "young man, don't you know that this office opens at eight?" "I know," responded Brock "but I was told I could have one month's holiday this year and I am taking it one hour each day." Although Brockington was clearly being glib, Bennett was not amused.

To supplement his income, he continued to lecture articling students – a task he started while he was a student. In 1918 and 1919, he began lecturing on Equity. After his call to the Bar, Brock continued lecturing on Equity, and started on Torts and Common Law. He remained with the firm until the end of 1920 well before Lougheed and Bennett had a personal and professional falling out, and the firm subsequently split. Brockington's position, shown in the Statement of Defence, filed by Bennett on December 30, 1922 to an action brought by Senator

James Lougheed on August 7, 1922 against all the other senior members of the firm with the objective of affecting the dissolution of the Lougheed and Bennett partnership.

Although Lougheed did not file a Statement of Claim until 1922. Feeling the tension, Brockington had already begun looking for other opportunities. He still wanted to be a lawyer, and in 1919 the position of Assistant City Solicitor was established. Clinton J. Ford was City Solicitor at the time, but also maintained a private practice. Calgary was growing quickly, and the workload at City Hall was too much for one person to handle. Marcel Marcus was Calgary's first Assistant City Solicitor, but only for a short time. In the fall of 1920, Marcus gave official notice that he would resign his position as of December 15, 1920.

After the City announced they were seeking a new Assistant City Solicitor, Brockington applied. On December 2, 1920, he officially wrote to the City – on official Lougheed, Bennett & Co. letterhead – expressing his intent to apply for the position, and outlining his qualifications. The position with the City appealed to him because it offered steady employment at a reasonable salary. Although staying with Lougheed and Bennett he could have expected, in time, a much better income, it was clear that the division and animosity between the two principles was becoming increasingly problematic.

As the date on which Marcus was to resign was fast approaching, Brockington became increasingly concerned because he had yet to hear from the City. As a result, he enlisted Sinclair and Bennett to contact the City Solicitor's Department directly on his behalf. Both men sent excellent letters detailing many of Brock's fine qualities. In fact, Sinclair wrote that he wished Brockington would not receive the position with the City, and would remain at his firm. About Brock, Sinclair wrote, "[h]e is a sound and exact lawyer, and, while I shall regret very much his leaving the firm, I hope that he will be successful in securing the appointment."[24] Bennett's letter furthered the case for Brock to gain the appointment, "[t]here is no young man of our acquaintance in Alberta better equipped to make for himself a great position in the legal profession than Mr. Brockington, and if the City requires the services of a man of education, studious habits and unquestioned integrity they cannot do better than secure the services of Mr. Brockington."[25]

It was clear that Brock had the support of not only his seniors at the largest firm in Calgary, but these men were also considered legal giants among their contemporaries. It is unknown for certain whether their intervention helped Brock secure this position, but their support could not have hurt. Indeed, on December 30, 1920, Council unanimously carried a motion supporting the appointment of Brock as Assistant City Solicitor to commence on January 1, 1921 at a salary of $3,800 per annum.[26]

It is interesting to note that Council had become aware of a letter from The Great War Veterans Association (GWVA) regarding the appointment of Brock as Assistant City Solicitor.

[24] Sinclair letter to the Mayor and Commissioners of the City of Calgary, December 22, 1920. Bredin Papers, LASA Accession # 2009 – 004.
[25] Bennett Letter to the Mayor, Commissioners and Council of the City of Calgary, December 22, 1920. Bredin Papers, LASA Accession # 2009 – 004.
[26] By-Law 2058, City of Calgary. Bredin Papers, LASA Accession # 2009 – 004.

The letter was ordered to be filed, but has never been located. It is, however, probable that the GWVA objected to the appointment of Brock who was not a veteran when, among the applicants, there were a number who had served in the war.

It should be noted that Alderman Fred Shouldice abstained from voting on the resolution to hire Brock. His reasoning was sound. It was his intention to form a partnership with Brock after Brock's appointment as Assistant City Solicitor was confirmed. Even if not a direct conflict of interest, Shouldice was likely concerned about even the slightest appearance of impropriety. The partnership was established and the firm became Shouldice Brockington & Boyd in 1922 and 1923, and Shouldice Brockington & Price in 1924.

The firm opened its office in what was then the Canada Life Building, later the Hollingsworth Building, and is currently a part of Bankers Hall. Brock ceased to be associated with the firm in 1924. That was the year he was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis, which left him terribly disabled. As well, in 1924, T.W. Collinge, a student who joined Brock for articles, was called to the Bar. It seems possible that the City Solicitor's Office was demanding more of Brock's time.

It is interesting that Brock maintained an association with the Shouldice firm while, simultaneously, filling the office of Assistant City Solicitor. Indeed his practice with the firm continued after Brock became City Solicitor on January 1, 1922. According to the Bylaw passed by Council that approved the appointment of Brockington as Assistant City Solicitor, the position required that he be involved in city business during regular business hours. It is odd that he would be able to maintain a practice – presumably where business was conducted during the same time period – while working for the city. Notwithstanding, of course, any potential conflicts of interest.

There was, however, good precedent for this. The reorganization of the Solicitor's Office in March 1920 affirmed the salaries of the City Solicitor at $3,000.00 per year and for the Assistant City Solicitor at $3,800.00 per year. This discrepancy is attributed to the fact that at the time, and for some time previous, Clinton Ford was a senior partner at Ford, Miller & Harvie. Ford's partners were Leo Miller and Eric Harvie, who became well known for his success in the oil industry and for his many generous contributions to charitable causes across Canada. Throughout much of Ford's time as City Solicitor, many of the opinions written for the city were done so on the firm letterhead of Ford, Miller & Harvie. Furthermore, some of the opinions for the City were even written by Eric Harvie. It seemed that the firm, starting with Ford, associated with each respective City Solicitor carried out many of the duties on behalf of the Solicitor's office.

Upon examining the Bylaw under which Ford was appointed as City Solicitor, it is difficult to comprehend how his participation in a partnership while employed with the City was permitted. According to paragraph 2(g) of Bylaw 1474-A, the duties of the City Solicitor stated that the individual occupying that position must be in attendance during city office hours, and if away from their office can only be so while on city business. Notwithstanding any conflict of interest issues that might arise from maintaining a private practice while employed with the City, how did Ford manage to fulfill all his expected duties? Counsel expressed no objections to the

arrangement with Ford. Presumably, the Solicitor's office was not very busy during Ford's tenure. He only received an assistant in 1920. When Brock became busy as City Solicitor, he cut all ties with his private firm.

On December 8, 1921, Ford wrote a letter to his superiors at the City submitting his resignation, and recommending Brock to fill the empty position. According to Ford, it was understood that when Brock accepted the position of Assistant City Solicitor it was expected that he would move to City Solicitor once he became more familiar with the work. Based on this agreement, he highly recommended Brock for the position.[27] On January 9, 1922, Council passed (minus Shouldice who abstained) Bylaw 2108 appointing Brockington as City Solicitor effective immediately. The position of Assistant City Solicitor was left vacant for the time being.

Like Ford, Brock maintained his partnership with no objections from Council despite the Bylaw requiring the City's top lawyer to be conducting city business – at or away from City Hall – during regular office hours. He also received the full salary, including increases in 1922 and 1923, regardless of his outside conflict. Although Brock did not have an assistant, there is no evidence in the files that the Shouldice, Brockington & Boyd firm, performed any of the City's legal work.

Though Brock's duties required him to be in the office to conduct city business, he found it difficult to keep regular office hours and was regarded by some lawyers as being somewhat lazy and careless. However, Brock could set a furious pace when forced to meet a deadline or when otherwise inspired. Former City Controller E.A. Hookway used to say that nothing could equal Brockington preparing Charter amendments on New Year's Day. The City of Calgary was at that time governed by its own Charter and amendments were usually sought from the legislature each year. New Year's Day was the latest date the typed amendments could be submitted. Early on New Year's Day, Hilda Laughton, Brock's secretary at the City, would be called down to his office at City Hall and would begin work at a furious pace and continue until the draft amendments were typed and ready.

George Walker, the local C.P.R. Solicitor (and later C.P.R. President) once wrote Brockington asking what amendments to the city charter the city planned to ask the legislature to pass that year. Brockington replied that he had reviewed the proposed amendments and the only one he could see that might affect the C.P.R., or any of its officials, was one granting a tax exemption to the Grace Maternity Hospital.

He could not stand pompous or dull officials. L.F. Clarry the Master in Chambers at the courthouse used to have a column in the *Calgary Herald* entitled "Legal Intelligence" and it would communicate the daily goings on in his chambers. Brockington once remarked that the column contained "nothing legal nor intelligent."

Brockington always had time for a little humour. He once told a city official writing to a debtor demanding payment of an outstanding bill the letter ending with the statement that if the bill were not paid "it would be placed in the hands of our solicitor." Brock's reply allegedly

[27] Clinton Ford letter to the Mayor and Commissioner at the City of Calgary, December 8, 1921.

declared, "I cannot pay this bill so please feel free to place this bill in the hands of your solicitor or such other part of his person as your ingenuity may suggest and his compliance permit."

It is quite certain that his duties seldom took him to Police Court, particularly after his arthritis made it difficult for him to look up to address a witness. One case, however, is worth noting. Mr. Wooley, a Cambridge educated citizen and owner of a livery stable on 17th avenue in Calgary was continually harassed by the city over the offensive odors emanating from his stable. Mr. Wooley was quite contemptuous of City Hall and its minions. On once such occasion, Brockington was prosecuting him in Police Court, when Mr. Wooley launched into a tirade in Greek to show his contempt from the establishment. He, of course, had the wrong man in Brock who was able to reply in kind. Mr. Wooley's attitude changed at once and was so impressed by the young lawyer, he gave little difficulty to the city thereafter.

In 1924, about two years after his appointment, Brockington, who was then thirty-six, suffered an attack of what his doctor son, Colin Brockington, described as rheumatoid arthritis. He could no longer get upstairs and virtually lived his life in the living room. He suffered excruciating pain for about a year. His body became bent over to the point where his head and back were almost parallel with the ground. The pain seemed to pretty well subside when the crippling phase ended. The illness and crippling had a great effect on his life. Living an active life, he could no longer take part in sports. He could no longer drive a car and was dependent on others to get around. This was also problematic as he was an adjudicator-at-large in those days for the Little Theatre movement and for musical competitions.

Whether induced by his illness or not he was a chronic sufferer from insomnia. This fact, and his inability to get around as much as he could otherwise have done, gave more time for his voracious reading habits and his great love of poetry. The many references to classic prose and poetry in his speeches were the result of this nocturnal effort. His chief relaxation was to spend evenings playing cards at the Ranchman's Club with other cronies such as George Walker, George Coutts and Alec Newton. He never had a large income. He was never paid for his speeches; he did them for his love for good food and wine.

It is doubtful if Brock ever owned a car, but most certainly, after his affliction, it was quite impossible for him to drive. Therefore, he depended on the services of friends and other city employees. His morning's work usually began between 10:00 and 10:30, when Peter Moncrieff, Claims Agent for the Calgary Municipal Railway – the forerunner to the Calgary Transit System, picked him up. The City of Calgary had no liability insurance to cover claims arising from the operations of the street railway. These consisted in many cases of the claims of ladies who alleged that their silk stockings had been torn on the wicker seats of the street railway cars.

Moncrieff would call for Brock about 10:00 a.m. at his home, which since 1929 was 912 Durham Avenue S.W. Brock would take leave of his wife, known to her friends as "Bea", though her name was Agnes. He would leave the house crying, "goodbye Bea, Bea, goodbye," and there was typically no answer. He was invariably the victim of some domestic misdemeanor that had incurred Bea's wrath and she would not reply. Bea, however, was highly regarded by her friends and living with a "prima donna" such as Brock called for patience of job and life.

Brockington Home in Calgary. LASA Accession 2009-004

Upon arrival at City Hall, the outer offices would usually be filled with people looking for an appointment or audience. If the first person who called on Brock was an old crony or a Native from the Sarcee reserve, there was likely to be a long wait for the many others. He had been a favorite of the Natives and was earlier inducted into the Sarcee Tribe, appropriately named form his great crop of hair "Chief Yellow Head Coming Over the Hill." Brock was always good for a hand out when one of the tribe made his appearance at City Hall. He would usually try to pass claimants or city employees who needed advice to Collinge, his assistant, who was hired in 1928 to help Brock with the increasing workload. If that tactic were unsuccessful, he would deal with the matter himself.

Brock's office, on the second floor of City Hall, was covered with a dark battleship grey linoleum. When entering his office wearing an overcoat, he would shake his shoulders and the overcoat would fall to the floor unless promptly caught by his faithful secretary, Hilda Laughton. He would then light a cigarette, one after the other, tossing the butt of the previous cigarette unextinguished over his shoulder to the floor. This resulted in a ring of burn marks surrounding his chair in a perfect half circle. He would then turn to the baskets of papers on his desk, one of which he called the "pending basket." He once remarked, "matters left in the pending basket long enough would eventually solve themselves."

A great deal of his work consisted of advising the Mayor and Commissioners and various council committees. He did little court work, but he had the ability to prepare an excellent brief for trial and could argue it eloquently when called upon. He had virtually a "photographic" memory that enabled him to recall the contents of a brief almost without reference notes. The work of the city solicitor, however, was such as to give him little opportunity to display his talents in this regard.

The office of City Solicitor had exciting moments too. In 1932 the Canadian dollar was at a discount of about 12% with the U.S. dollar. Interest on the City's funded indebtedness was payable in New York in U.S. funds. As Brockington would later say in an address to an Ottawa audience, "it was not the fair exchange that is no robbery" and he added "at the time it was said by someone and I rather suspect it was myself, that the City of Calgary was founded on the banks of the Bow but then resting rather uneasily and uncomfortably on the Bank of Montreal"

The city was faced with its greatest financial crisis in its history. Calgary – along with the rest of the country – was the depths of the Great Depression and the city faced bonds falling due on January 1, 1933. The bonds were issued under three different bylaws: 1) Bylaw 1546 in the amount of $263,500; 2) Bylaw 1553 in the amount of $103,000; and 3) Bylaw 1649 in the amount of $2,243,177. The city had already bought up $474,000 of these bonds leaving $2,135,677 for payment on January 1, 1933, and it was due in U.S. funds adding an additional $300,000.[28]

After seeking the advice of Dean John Weir at the Faculty of Law at the University of Alberta, the two surmised that the bonds issued under Bylaws 1546 and 1553 could be paid in Canadian funds. But the largest bond issued under Bylaw 1649 would have to be paid in gold at the holder's request. Brockington informed City Council that all debentures were issued at a time when it was possible to redeem currency in gold and to export any gold obtained by any such redemption. He pointed out to Council that if gold could be obtained at par the problem with the U.S. exchanged rate would be solved.[29]

Mayor Andrew Davison wrote to R.B. Bennett, Canada's Prime Minister, explaining the situation the city faced and implored Ottawa's quick support. Calgary's Mayor asked the federal government for a sufficient amount of gold at par to meet their financial obligations in New York City without violating the terms of the original bond agreement. On December 13, 1932, the Mayor received a reply from the Honourable George Perley:

> [i]f assistance is required then the question should be taken up with the provincial government for whom the municipalities derive their power. It is well established policy that the Dominion Government cannot deal directly with a municipality. Trust that you will be able to make satisfactory arrangements.[30]

As a result, Davison quickly sent a telegram to the provincial Premier, J.E. Brownlee, appealing to the Province to assist with gaining help from the Ottawa:

> [o]n November 26 I wired Right Honorable R.B. Bennett in connection with the exchange situation…[t]hrough an oversight a reply was not received until today…he suggests that the matter be taken up with your government.[31]

His telegram continued his urgent plea:

> [s]o far as I can see the only solution is for the city of Calgary to be furnished a sufficient of gold at par in order to enable us to meet our commitments on a New York basis. I understand that there is Dominions legislation which prevents the exporting of gold to New York, but in view of the seriousness of the situation which confronts, not only the city of Calgary, but many other municipalities as

[28] Edward M. Bredin, "Calgary's Foreign Exchange Crisis of 1933," *Alberta History* 57, no. 3 (Summer 2008): pg. 8.
[29] Cited in the *Calgary Daily Herald*, Saturday, December 17, 1932.
[30] Telegram quoted in ibid.,
[31] Telegram quoted in ibid.,

> well, it might be possible for the dominion authorities to suspend such legislation and supply us with the necessary gold to meet our obligations.[32]

The Mayor concluded his telegram with a direct plea for Brownlee's help in getting the Dominion government to assist with this matter. Davison certainly did not mix words; the city of Calgary was at a choke point and did not have time for professional niceties and such.

According to the *Calgary Daily Herald* on December 17, 1932, Brownlee was quick to react and was not at all hesitant to support the city in imploring the Dominion Government to issue enough gold at par to retire the $2,135,000 debenture. As a result, and maybe a little to confident, Mayor Davison issued an official statement stating that if Ottawa denied their request – with the Province's support – Calgary would pay in Canadian dollars and would refuse to pay the exchange rate. This statement was based on the city Finance Committee's recommendation of December 15, 1932, where two Aldermen – L.H. Fenerty and Charles E. Carr – were against the city's plans to not meet its New York obligations.[33]

Fenerty, a corporate lawyer, was concerned about Calgary's reputation and its "civic honesty" if the city decided not to pay the twelve percent exchange rate. In response, Davison asked the two Aldermen how the money would be raised if Council voted to meet its obligation. By this point, the Mayor had known that the Dominion Government would be of no assistance. Despite Brownlee's initial support for the city's cause, he told Davison that no money should be expected from Edmonton. It can be surmised that the Province's refusal to assist Calgary was largely the result of a fiscal crisis at the provincial level resulting from the Great Depression. There simply was no money to share in order to assist Calgary with its foreign exchange crisis. It is clear that the only possible solution to raise the funds would be to raise taxes, a politically distasteful prospect in the midst of the Great Depression.

Faced with the possibility of having the city's credit cut off by the Bank of Montreal at midnight on December 31, 1932. By its consistent refusal to pay $330,000 worth of United States exchange on $2,135,000 worth of debentures that matured on January 1, 1933. The City Council, in an emergency session, on the Friday afternoon before the deadline decided to decline any action on the last minute proposal made by the Bank of Montreal to pay the exchange in return for one-year treasury bills bearing an interest rate of 5.5 percent.[34]

On the advice of Brock, following the decision of the bank to withhold further credit to the city, Council decided to withdrawal its banking credit in New York and no funds were made available to meet the $2,135,000 worth of debentures due on January 1, 1933.[35] At a special meeting of Council held on December 31, 1932, a motion was carried reiterating Council's decision of December 19, 1932 that the city would make "payment in Canadian funds only of principal and interest on City of Calgary obligations due January 1st, 1933."

[32] Telegram quoted in ibid.,

[33] Bredin, "Canadian Foreign Exchange Crisis," pg. 9.

[34] Ibid., pg. 11.

[35] Ibid., pg. 11.

As the deadline for the payment was on a Sunday, Monday was also a holiday. As such, any work done to rectify the issue was put off until Tuesday, January 3, 1933. Over this extended weekend, the old Council's term ended and a new Council was sworn in on the Tuesday immediately following the January 1 deadline. H.C. Francis, Manager at the Bank of Montreal, tried to convince the new Council to accept the deal put forward in December 1932. In a letter to the Mayor written on January 3, Francis reaffirmed:

> …that the Bank exhausted every possible means to persuade the old Council to adopt the only right and proper course and honour City's obligations which were drawn payable in New York in usual gold coin and to do this in order to save the City from grave consequences of default.
>
> Repudiation by the City of its legal obligations will certainly react on the City's credit standing in future financing.

This was to no avail, the new Council held the old Council's decision.

A number of people and organizations, either directly to Council and the Mayor or through letters in the local newspapers, expressed either support or disappointment in the stand taken by the City of Calgary. It is clear from many of the letters, a few of which are quoted in their entirety below, that support came almost unanimously from organizations that had been adversely affected by the Great Depression. On the other hand, frustration with the City's position emanated, also almost unanimously, from companies who were holding bonds that were to be settled on the January 1, 1933 deadline. Charles E. Eager Brookline, Massachusetts wrote to Mayor Davison on January 5, 1933:

> The Agency of the Bank of Montreal in New York City advises me that the City of Calgary has deposited with the Dominion of Can. Government Notes with which to pay City of Calgary Debentures and coupon maturing on January 1, 1933.
>
> I hold $3,000.00 Debentures due January 1, 1933 with the January 1, 1933 coupon attached thereto. It is plainly written on the bond and on the coupon that payment shall be made if desired at the Agency of the Bank of Montreal in New York City in gold coin of the United States.
>
> Payment in any other currency of less value therefore constitutes a default. Am I to understand that the City of Calgary, by establishing this default, is bankrupt, or is it a plan case of welching on the debt? The investor in the United States of America should be advised if this type of financing by the Canadian cities is to develop.

M.D. Grant, Assistant General Manager at The Sovereign Life Assurance Company of Canada, located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, wrote to the Treasurer at the City of Calgary on January 6, 1933:

> This Company holds for presentation coupons of the nominal amount of $825.00, due January 1, 1933, on City of Calgary Debentures. We are informed by our Bank that your are declining to honor these coupons by making payments in New York funds, but are willing to pay only in Canadian funds at par.
>
> We regard this attitude on your part as a definite breach of legal obligation which your City definitely assumed when the Debentures were issued and on the strength of which investors purchased the issues in question.
>
> We are instructing our Bank to present the coupons for payment and, in the event of such payment being made in Canadian funds only, we hereby file protest and notify you that acceptance of such proceeds by us is without prejudice to our legal rights in the matter.

A letter written on January 6, 1933, to the Mayor from A. Dealer of Toronto, Ontario, sums up the fear that many had when the City of Calgary decided not to honor its financial obligations:

> It will be a long time before any of the Toronto Bond Dealers will recommend City of Calgary Debentures.

Not all of the letters, however, were negative. Many letters were sent defending Council's stand. Much like the critical letters, the letters reaffirming support did so based on what were believed to be legal principles. H.D. Cartwright, Secretary-Treasurer of the Calgary High School Men's Local of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance, wrote to the Mayor on January 6, 1933:

> The following resolution was passed on Friday afternoon, January 5, 1933 by the Calgary High School Men's Local of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance:
>
> "That we instruct the Secretary to inform the Mayor, that we, the members of the Calgary High School Men's Local of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance endorse the stand taken by the City Council in regard to the recent exchange crisis."

Another letter of support was sent from W.H. Ewart, Secretary for Painter Creek U.F.A. Local No. 296 on January 5, 1933:

> I have been requested to forward to you the following message:
>
> Resolved, that the City of Calgary's problem is our own.
>
> We the members of the Painter Creek U.F.A. Local No. 296 heartily endorse the stand taken by City Council and we sincerely hope you can hold out against legalized injustice.

On January 4, 1933, James E. Worsley, President of the Calgary Trades & Labor Council wrote the following message to the City Clerk, J.M. Miller:

> Consideration was given by the above Council at its last meeting to the action of the City Council in paying the January 1st maturities and interest payments in Canadian funds only.
>
> The Council went on record as endorsing whole-heartedly the action taken and I was instructed to so advise you.

It either is unclear whether any of these letters, for or against Council's decision, had any effect on Council's position. Two things can certainly be gleaned from these letters: first, both sides believed the law was on their side; and second, Council's decision was polarizing opinion.

Initially the Bank of Montreal wrote to City Council making them aware that the bank was not going to loan the city any funds unless the terms were certainly more beneficial to the bank. The City stood its ground, despite the threat of having its credit cut off, as evidence in the special meeting of City Council on December 31, 1932. However, in a letter written on January 6, 1933, five days passed the deadline in New York, the bank reconsidered based on certain terms.

The Bank offered to extend credit to Calgary for $1,800,000 for the period of January 1, 1933 to June 30, 1933 so long as the credit did not exceed $800,000 at any one time. This loan would be at a rate of six percent interest. Also, several conditions would be placed on the loan: first, the Bank could request six months of treasury bills for 1932 revenue; second, the City will present to the Bank all applications for special purpose loans and will make no capital expenditures; third, the City will submit no further relief work unless it is financed by the provincial or federal governments; fourth, the City will budget and levy their full estimated requirements, including any estimated deficits from previous years; fifth, the City must submit to undertake the correction of its large working capital deficit; sixth, the school board's 1933 budget must be conservative estimated based on tax collection; and finally, the school board budget must not be in excess of school taxes collected for any given year.

Despite the support from the Bank of Montreal, the threat of bankruptcy loomed over the City during this period. A number of measures were taken to keep the city's financial house in order, including a reduction in wages for police and fire fighters of five and eight percent respectively.[36] In late January 1933, Malden Trust Company of Massachusetts served the City of Calgary with legal papers demanding its payment of $5,000 bond in gold. The city did received gold from Bennett through the involvement of Brownlee to pay the Trust Company.[37] In the end, Calgary was able to remain solvent and avoid bankruptcy during this tumultuous period, which was exacerbated by the Great Depression.

The position of City Solicitor, at that time in particular, was a prestigious one. This was due in some measure to the growing fame of Brockington himself. Whenever dignitaries visited the city, Brock was certain to be called upon to assist the Mayor in entertaining the special guest. When the Canadian Bar Association met in Calgary in 1932, Brockington was called upon to arrange with his blood brothers – the Sarcees – to have the distinguished guests Viscount

[36] Ibid., pg. 13.
[37] Ibid., pg. 13.

Hailsham, Lord Chancellor of England, Maitre Jallu of the Paris Bar, and William P. McCracken, Jr. of the American Bar Association, all created honorary chiefs of the Sarcees. This ceremony was performed at the Senator Burns Ranch and included a rodeo hosted by Guy Weddick and Wild Cow Milking Contest won with some pride by Maitre Jallu.

These years at City Hall could be referred to as the "wilderness years." There was certainly no lack of work at the City of Calgary, especially during those early Depression years. It proved that Brock was an able and intelligent lawyer who was able to provide competent legal advice. Moreover, his personality and networking capabilities allowed him to seek the advice of others when he was uncertain, as in the case of the foreign exchange crisis when he sought the counsel of Dean Weir at the University of Alberta. It may not have been as glamorous as other areas of the legal profession, but Brock's new position provided him a steady income to improve his standard of living. As a result, the Brockington's moved into a larger house where they were able to start their family – his first son Colin was born in 1920 and second son Lawrence in 1923. Furthermore, Brock was also conscious that his wife, Agnes, had to make do with homes that left something to be desired, and he was anxious to make amends.

Brock as Mediator

In Canada, in recent years, the settlement of disputes by arbitration or some other form of conciliation or mediation under the rubric of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) has become increasingly popular. Due in large part to the congestion and delays in the courts, the high cost of litigation and the desire of all parties to avoid the publicity that accompanies civil trials, mediation is fast becoming a popular alternative. Although mediation and ADR have reached a high degree of sophistication, people have long been engaged in mediation without any specialized training.

Brockington was one of these mediators. It is not clear exactly how and when his career as an arbitrator began, but he was in great demand in labour disputes both before and after World War II. It appears he began while in Calgary by sitting on the Conciliation Board set up under provincial labour legislation, and became involved in disputes under the federal *Industrial Disputes Investigation Act*.

Brock became involved in a dispute between Mohawk Bituminous Mines Limited and miners who were part of Local 74, District 18 of the United Mine Workers of America. William Potter represented the miners and W.S. Henderson the owners. The federal Minister of Labour appointed Brock as Chairman of the Board of Conciliation and Investigation set up under the *Industrial Disputes Act*. The dispute concerned the failure to renew an agreement that previously existed between the two parties, and was set to expire on March 31, 1931.

A report prepared by the Conciliation Board for the minister in charge described that after negotiations between the parties were at a standstill; the Board Chair intervened and announced that an agreement was reached. Unfortunately, there is a lack of detail available. Letters exchanged between the parties dealt with some minor matters and provided an explanation of the new agreement, which was simply an extension of the old. Both parties relating to the new type

of experimental work the Company proposed to establish made concessions. On July 26, 1931, the new agreement was signed and submitted to the employees at the Mohawk Bituminous Mines Limited for ratification, and was almost unanimously accepted.

Riverside Iron Works (City File 6B.87)

Brock mediated a dispute between the owners of Riverside Iron Works and Local 392 of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. Fred White represented the Union and A.H. Goodall, a Calgary lawyer, represented the company. These two men recommended that Brock be appointed as the third member and, accordingly, an order-in-council was passed naming him to the Board of Conciliation and Investigation.

On August 30, 1928, Brock wrote a letter to the Registrar of the Board of Conciliation and Investigation at the Department of Labour asserting that all the parties met and an agreement reached. Brock wrote that the initial meeting between the parties evolved harmoniously, which resulted in positive discussion between the company and the employees on all points of difference. Subsequently, Brock was happy to report that an agreement was reached during the second meeting – which was the request of both parties – according to the 1926 *Labour Disputes Act*.

Printer's Dispute

A number of Calgary printers – *The Albertan*, John Dichmont, Caniff O'Brien, S. Burnand – applied to the Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Alberta Act against the Typographical Union 449 of Calgary. J.W. Dingle represented the employers and Angus Morrison represented the Union, and both again recommend Brockington as the third member of the Board.

The dispute concerned the failed negotiations about wages and working conditions that were entered into a previous agreement set to expire on January 28, 1932. Brock reported in a letter to the Minister of Labour that the Board held several public and private meetings with the respective parties. At the public meetings, the employers were demanding a fifteen percent wage cut, but privately expressed they would accept a ten percent cut. Their reasoning seemed sound. It was 1932 – the height of the depression – and the printing industry was facing adverse economic conditions, which were exacerbated by a failure to obtain any reduction for the price of materials.

Brock, in his letter to the minister, was happy to report that a settlement was reached, which included the establishment of a minimum wage of $0.92 retroactive to May 2, 1932. Either side would have to allow for thirty days notice if they wanted to reenter negotiations. Lastly, for future disputes or issues, both parties agreed to a committee – which included three representatives from both sides – to meet occasionally to suggest plans and remedies for the mutual protection and the advancement of the interests of both parties.

Other Disputes

On August 6, 1946, Brockington was asked by the Commons Industrial Relations Committee to act as a special conciliator to settle the steel strike. Reportedly, he was facing an uphill battle as one company outright rejected and two other companies objected to meeting with any members of the unions.[38] One day later, the *Edmonton Journal* recounted Brockington's successes during two industrial disputes in Ontario, and the textile strike in the Ottawa Valley where the Massey Harris employees threatened a walk out. Thus, based on these incidents, it was believed that Brock was the person best suited to obtain a cordial settlement.

It was rumoured that Brock would recommended a nearly $0.13 increase to the union and companies. This was contradictory to Donald Gordon, Wartime Prices Control Board Chairman, who claimed that $0.10 was the financial limit that could be offered. After long discussion in committee, the Commons Industrial Committee opted to insist that the parties meet with Brockington. Despite his best efforts, Brockington was unable to settle the steel strike. This should not reflect Brock's ability as a mediator, as the government made several proposals that were promptly rejected by both sides.

On January 25, 1952, Brockington was selected as arbitrator to settle two matters between the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) and its operators. During the appointment announcement, the Minister of Labour stated that Brockington would not be paid for this arbitration, and that Brock felt it was in the public interest to have the strike settled amicably and quickly. Brock's appointment followed a nineteen-day strike by operators that ended on January 22, 1952. The strike disrupted normal transportation service in the city, costing merchants and the TTC, as well as the men on strike, millions of dollars.

The first two matters left unsettled dealt with wages. Brockington would decide if train and bus operators should receive an increase beyond the TTC's final offer of $1.45 per hour more. The union's original demands were for an increase of $1.55 per hour. The third matter dealt with whether the formula for the cost-of-living bonus needed revising. The exisiting plan provided for a one cent per hour increase for each 1.3 points rise in the cost-of-living index. Brockington needed to decide if there was to be any improvements to the formula. Unfortunately, there is no record of Brock's decision dealing with the TTC strike or the revising of the cost-of-living formula.

The North West Grain Dealers Association

Brockington submitted his resignation as City Solicitor to the City of Calgary in January 1935 in order to accept a position as General Counsel for the North West Grain Dealers Association in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The resignation was reluctantly accepted by then Mayor Andrew Davison. The *Calgary Herald* reported on February 23, 1935, "that the invitation to come to Winnipeg from the [North West Grain Dealers Association] came about after Winnipeggers heard Brock's address to the Royal Winnipeg Rifles on September 8, 1933, the occasion of their 50th anniversary dinner. Brock appeared at this event at the request of Colonel Gordon Aikins, a prominent member of the Winnipeg Bar and son of Sir James Aikins. The

[38] *Globe and Mail*, August 6, 1946.

latter was the first and long time President of the Canadian Bar Association and an Office of the Regiment.

After hearing Brock speak at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Bar Association in Ottawa, Colonel Aikins convinced him to come to Winnipeg and speak. Brock agreed since he would be passing through Winnipeg on his way back to Calgary. In addition, it gave Brock the opportunity to meet with senior officers at the Bank of Montreal in connection with the currency exchange problem at the City of Calgary.

Years later in 1936, journalist C.V. Combe described the speech as a "fragrant of heroism, sacrifice, a love of peace, a hatred of injustice of a lofty and unselfish patriotism which yields the last full measure of devolution." He concluded, "…that night many of Winnipeg's most influential business men decided Calgary did not sufficiently appreciate it modern Demosthenes."[39] Moreover, it was believed an audience member was quoted saying that many of Winnipeg's business leaders "listened as though they were hearing human speech for the first time."[40] According to Hutton, a group of Winnipeg wheat moguls was heard uttering "[w]e can't let this man bury himself in Calgary." Although some of this may in fact be only hearsay, it was clear from the reaction of leading citizens in Manitoba that they believed Brockington's talents were wasted in Canada's most western prairie province. Accordingly, it must be surmised from Combe's article that the position at the North West Grain Exchange was created specifically with Brockington in mind.

Before examining Brockington's role in the North West Grain Exchange, it might prove helpful to explore the purpose of the Exchange and provide the reader with a context regarding the organization. According to historian Allan Levine in his book *The Exchange: 100 Years of Trading Grain in Winnipeg*, the Grain Exchange has always been misrepresented and misunderstood since its inception in 1887. Through examining the history of the grain trade we are able to see that its history reflected the social, cultural, political and economic context of Canada. It dealt with the economics of capitalism and the open market, which for those not well versed in understanding free-market capitalism it was often times complex and even disheartening.[41] This is, however, what makes grain trade history interesting. The question of government regulation or free market stands to reason when Brockington starts his work at the Exchange. Canada was in the midst of the Great Depression, which arguably hit western wheat farmers and others associated with the grain trade hardest. There were calls for the government to step in and guarantee grain prices.

Brock moved his family to Winnipeg to take up his new position, which involved using his speaking skills, over the radio, to promote and publicize the importance of the Grain Exchange. Though his title was General Counsel, Brock's duties at the Grain Exchange involved more promoting and publicizing than offering legal advice. In fact, other than his admission to the Bar of Manitoba on April 3, 1935 there is no indication that he performed any legal work for the Grain Exchange. It is clear, however, that management at the Exchange was interested in

[39] C.V. Combe, "Where Brockington Is, There Is the Head of the Table," *Vancouver Province* October 3, 1936.
[40] Eric Hutton, "…and now, a few words from Mr. Brockington," *Macleans Magazine* (April 15, 1953): pg. 65.
[41] Allan Levine, *The Exchange: 100 Years of Trading Grain in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishing Limited, 1987), pg. 2.

utilizing Brockington's skills as an orator to assemble the support they needed from the various stakeholders connected to the Canadian wheat industry. As such, Brockington could not have arrived at a better time. The depression ravished the Canadian wheat market and the arguments for and against sustaining the Grain Exchange were becoming largely uniformed and trenchant.[42]

In a series entitled "The Grain Forum," Brock explained the purpose of the Grain Exchange. In his first two addresses on January 3 and January 10, 1935, Brockington tackled succinctly the purpose of the Grain Exchange. He refused to be pulled into a polarizing argument that was ill informed and not based on fact. In his January 3 address, Brockington stated, "…many of the facts concerned with this wheat industry, which is in truth your greatest industry, have been continually misinterpreted and misrepresented." It was his intention, through the Grain Forum, to not only promote the Exchange, but also better educate the public with respect to the purpose of the Exchange.

Far from the only grain exchange in the world, the Winnipeg Exchange was the world's largest cash grain market.[43] Given the great size of the Canadian wheat industry and the number stakeholders including growers, elevators, railways, steamships, exporters, bankers, millers, merchants and Governmental agencies, Brock believed that clarity was necessary to establish a cooperative and collaborative effort to ensure the industry's ultimate success. It was this first broadcast where Brockington took the opportunity to clarify the Exchange's duties and purposes. Infused with a bit of humour, his message was clear and concise. Rather than repeat verbatim the constitution and bylaws, which, as Brock noted, contained "the "whereas'" and "inasmuch's" [*sic*] which help lawyers to make a living," he would extrapolate the key points.

Brock explained that first and foremost, the Winnipeg Grain Exchange was a non-profit organization that was supported solely through the annual fees of its voluntary membership. At the date of this broadcast, that membership sat at 463.[44] There is, however, no indication of the rate for the annual fees in 1936. Although membership in the Exchange was not limited to individuals or to Canada, there is no indication that a scaled membership fee existed. The Exchange did not have, as was often assumed, a monopoly over the entire wheat market.

This brings us to the main purpose of Brockington's broadcast: what the Grain Exchange does. First, it was a conduit for information regarding grain prices. Not only in Canada, but also in the many international markets. Second, it issued information that might affect the price of grain, such as weather, supply and consumption. Third, it was a meeting place to help facilitate dialogue between individuals and groups involved in both the national and international grain trade. Fourth, it worked to establish markets for future trade. Fifth, the Exchange established a code of conduct, a system of fair dealings and a dispute resolution process in order to protect its members and the public. Last, it maintained security for all involved by eliminating the risk between producer and consumer.

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[42] Combe, "Where Brockington is."

[43] L.W. Brockington, "The Grain Forum," Radio Talk No. 5, January 3, 1936. LASA Accession 2009-004. Other grain exchanges exited in the United States (Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City and Duluth), England (Liverpool and London), Rotterdam, Paris, Budapest along with other European countries, and Argentina and Buenos Aires.

[44] Ibid.,

Brock's address one week later on January 10, 1936 aimed to set the record straight on many fallacies with respect to the Grain Exchange. First, the Grain Exchange did not own nor control any interest in the facility in which its office was situated, despite the name of the property. One source of great confusion, according to Brockington, was that the Winnipeg Grain Exchange was situated in a large office building known as the "Grain Exchange." This was only coincidence. Second, it also did not own nor control any interest in grain, nor did it intend to in the future. Third, the Exchange did not own nor control interest in any elevator or mill, nor did it intend to in the future. Fourth, the Grain Exchange did not grade nor classify grain. Fifth, it did not set nor influence grain prices; it only recorded the circumstances that set world prices. Sixth, the Exchange had no control over grain prices. Seventh, there was no manipulation of grain prices as the Exchange neither benefits nor suffers from grain's market value. Eighth, it did not sell nor buy farmers' wheat at a random rate. In fact, the Exchange was not in the business of selling or buying. Ninth, the Winnipeg Grain Exchange did not profit from higher prices. Last, price advantages did not benefit elevator companies nor the Pools who had to purchase grain from farmers.[45]

These weekly addresses continued for the duration of Brock's employment with the Grain Exchange. They dealt with all matters related to the Grain Exchange, including the conditions under which grain prices fluctuated, as well as Canada's competitive markets.

While employed at the Exchange, Brock had a large expense account. Cecil Lamont, an official at the Exchange and Brock's successor, told the CBC that he travelled with Brock on government visits and other trade matters. Brock travelled, Lamont recalled, like an Indian Potentate. He always got the top suite in the hotel and had a supply of imported Havana cigars. He remembered accompanying Brock on a business trip to Chicago. Brock wanted to take the afternoon off to go to Garfield Park where a special display of orchids was taking place. Lamont said he amazed the official in charge with his knowledge of orchids. He believed that Brock was an authority on almost everything.

Brock's position as "General Counsel" gave him great latitude. He was encouraged to accept speaking engagements. When he first addressed the American Bar Association at its meeting in Boston in 1936, he was under employ at the Grain Exchange. He was allowed to take on a part-time position as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936, a position that he held until he resigned in 1939. Even after Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King wanted Brock to work in Ottawa, the Grain Exchange was prepared to grant him an extended leave, but Brockington resigned.

With the establishment of the Canadian Wheat Board (CWB) in 1935, the North West Grain Dealers Association was eventually disbanded. Though the CWB was a voluntary marketing agency for prairie wheat, the sale of wheat was regulated through the board and became compulsory in 1943 and 1949. Therefore, the Grain Dealers Association could no longer carry on in a meaningful way.

[45] L.W. Brockington, "The Grain Forum," Radio Talk No. 6, January 10, 1936. LASA Accession 2009-004.

Brock Heads the CBC

LASA Accession 2009-004

The history of radio broadcasting in Canada is long and in depth, and is far beyond the scope of this paper. However, a little contextual background is perhaps necessary for understanding the development and creation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Brockington's role in its establishment.

By the time the legislation creating the CBC was passed by the House of Commons in the spring of 1936, radio broadcasting was already a well-established form of entertainment and information. Prior to the 1936 *Act*, broadcasting in Canada was a privately owned activity.

After a trip to London where Prime Minister Mackenzie King visited the BBC, he established a Royal Commission to ascertain the details to set up a publicly owned broadcasting system in Canada. This was something Mackenzie King was passionate about, and he had a number of supporters. One such enthusiast was Alan Plaunt, secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs, who believed that public radio would enhance national unity across Canada, and offset what he believed to be the onslaught of Americanized culture and ideals through commercial radio.[46]

Plaunt organized a lobby group – the Canadian Radio League – to pressure the two governments into establishing public radio. First, the Conservatives under R.B. Bennett set up the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in 1932. However, it was the middle of the Great Depression, and the Commission lacked the power and finances to compete with private broadcasters. When the Liberals under Mackenzie King returned to office in October 1935, Plaunt and the Radio League moved quickly to gain support for public radio. Initially gaining the support of C.D. Howe, Minister of Marine, was reasonably uncomplicated. This was helped by the fact that two Ministers – Norman Lambert and Vincent Massey – were Radio League members, and the Prime Minister had previously declared his support for the initiative. Yet, the road to public broadcasting was not as smooth as first hoped. A rival lobby group – the Canadian Association of Broadcasters – represented the private enterprises, and approached Howe as well. At this point, the greatest obstacle to be overcome was two lobby groups pressing one minister.

[46] Robert Bothwell and William Kilbourn, *C.D. Howe: A Biography* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979), pg. 101.

After King decided there should be an organization devoted solely to public radio broadcasting, the question of who would head such an organization had to be determined. It was no surprise that when Brock was approached to head the CBC he had little trouble getting the approval of his superiors at the Grain Exchange. They believed it would be good publicity for their organization. Brockington was a well-received choice with the Canadian Press. The *Ottawa Citizen* wrote, "the public could be assured of vision and enterprise at the helm of the new corporation." The *Winnipeg Tribune* declared, "it would be difficult to find in all of Canada a person better qualified for the post."[47]

Enthusiastic and ready to bring public broadcasting from the east to west coasts, the new Board of Governors immediately began working on programming and increasing the presence of public broadcasting across the nation. Howe, the Minister responsible for the CBC, assured Brock and the Board that they were to be independent with no government interference. All Howe required was that he be kept up-to-date to inform the government and parliament of the corporation's affairs. Brock reinforced this statement during his first of several broadcasts on November 4, 1936 when he stated, "your directors…have pledged themselves…that they will act as a unit, non-political, non-personal and non-sectioned."[48]

Despite all the best intentions, it seems that the relationship between the board and Howe quickly soured. In particular, it seemed the relationship between Brock and the Minister became less then cordiale because of miscommunication pertaining to governance issues and board responsibility. Similar to what the railway did for Canadian unity, Brock envisioned public broadcasting that would unite the country. As such, he quickly moved to expand programming, secure more clear channels and stronger regional stations. This, however, was not the role Howe envisioned for the Board. Exploring more closely the correspondence between Howe and Brock will provide details of the deterioration of the relationship between these two men. The correspondence also helps delineate the communication breakdown between the government and the CBC.

Prior to the exchange of letters there were a number of consultations and meetings that became heated. This ultimately led Brock to ask Plaunt to ascertain the Prime Minister's opinion on the development of public radio. Mackenzie King encouraged the further and rapid expansion of publically-funded broadcasting in Canada, and was also supportive of the effort of the Board of Governors in implementing this aim.[49]

The relationship ultimately broke down on January 4, 1937, when Brock wrote Howe a letter outlining a plan agreed to by the Board of Governors that went beyond the scope of what Howe envisioned to be the Board's responsibilities. Brockington wrote Howe and made his case for a three-year development program in order to proceed with the national policy outlined by the government. This plan, Brock argued, would require $500,000 from the government in addition to the money secured from the $2 licensing fee that already amounted to $3,620,000.[50]

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[47] *Ottawa Citizen* and *Winnipeg Tribune* quoted in Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pg. 195.

[48] Brockington quoted in Ibid., pg. 197.

[49] Ibid., pg. 202.

[50] Letter from Brockington to Howe, January 4, 1937. LASA Accession 2009-004

Brock and the Board intended that this money be used to expand radio broadcasting in Canada, in particular public radio. At the time of the letter, only fifty percent of the population was within "good service" range of a CBC network, and the Board aimed to see that percentage increase to eighty-four percent. It was argued that coverage would increase if two 50 kilowatts (KW) stations were provided to Ontario and Quebec respectively. Furthermore, more facilities would allow for improvement in the Maritimes and Saskatchewan.[51] Along with the construction of facilities, Brock was also instructed, with unanimous Board support, to suggest the restriction of private broadcasting stations in purchasing or constructing further high-powered facilities.

Howe responded to Brockington's letter on January 8, 1937, where, as the minister in charge, he took exception to many of Brock's arguments. Howe wrote that he was somewhat disappointed that his opinions during several consultations and meetings with the Corporation were not considered. In particular, Howe was surprised to see that Brockington claimed that the government suggested that all future broadcasting channels be under the Corporation's control. Howe pointed to the two *Acts* governing radio broadcasting in Canada and maintained that neither he nor the government would have given this impression since they are limited in scope by the *Act*.[52] Howe's main criticism of the Corporation related specifically to what he – and the Government of Canada – believed to be the lack of attention to improved programming. Howe wrote to Brockington, "I regret to say that it now appears that your chief interest is in the mechanical operation of broadcasting stations."[53]

In response, Brockington wrote Howe a letter that outlined the minister's position during a meeting between the him and the Corporation's Board of Governors on December 19, 1936. Brock believed that Howe's main point was that the CBC should consider themselves, first and foremost, a programme-building organization, and that the facilities improvements and construction should be left to private interests. Finally, that economics and geography should dictate service, and Saskatchewan and the Maritimes were receiving their allotted services pre-determined by those conditions.[54]

By this point, the tone of these letters had become less than amicable. Brockington was a passionate man and believed that one of his duties as head of the CBC was to ensure that all Canadians from coast to coast received the same service. In this letter, he became critical of the divergence between the Minister's opinion and what the Board believed to be their responsibilities as set forth by the Government of Canada.

Howe, in a letter dated January 27, 1937, denied making any statement concerning broadcasting service in Saskatchewan and the Maritimes. He rightfully argued that such a statement would damage his public life. He also reiterated his support for publically owned broadcasting. However, Howe was quick to point out that any support he or the government was willing to give was limited by parliament. Although there was certainly support for publically

[51] Ibid.,
[52] Letter from Howe to Brockington, January 8, 1937. LASA Accession 2009-004.
[53] Ibid.,
[54] Letter from Brockington to Howe, January 18, 1937. LASA Accession 2009-004.

funded radio – all the way to the top echelons of government – the devil was in the details, and they were often times less than agreeable. Despite these difficult particulars, Brock continued to pursue his goals as Chairman.

In 1938, Brockington was invited to present the Corporation's progress to a bipartisan committee on radio broadcasting in Canada. Although this was an opportunity to celebrate the CBC's numerous achievements – and there were several – Brock saw it as an occasion promote publically owned broadcasting, and the necessary increase in service to all regions of Canada. Brockington's testimony in front of the Committee was an extension of his discussions with Howe.

It was evident that Brock saw program building and facility management as analogous, and that without better facilities to broaden service to all regions, program building was of minimal satisfaction. In order to achieve the Corporation's goals, Brock argued that an increase in license fees was essential:

> [w]ithout public control and progressive public development, sustaining educational and cultural features cannot be extensively broadcast. Without public control, listeners in isolated and less populated parts of the country cannot enjoy the privileges which have hitherto been reserved for some of the great centres of population.[55]

Brockington advocated for full state control of high-powered stations because privately owned stations were less than willing to broadcast specific programs and, as a result, not all regions were receiving what the Corporation considered essential programming. However, Brock also agreed that local broadcasting should remain and that the state should advocate for a monopoly on Canadian broadcasting because of the "proximity to the United States and the desire of our own people for variety…"[56]

When the Committee hearings resumed in 1939 Brock's rationale for promoting public ownership became far more formidable. It was clear from the 1938 hearings that Brock desired almost total public control of radio broadcasting save local service. According to historian Frank Peers, Brock wanted Parliament to restrict the profits of private stations, and subsequently use any profits to advance public service. Clearly, Brock wanted to choke private stations into submission. However, the government did not agree, and private stations continued to broadcast.

The battle over public versus private broadcasting was Brockington's hardest fought battle at the CBC, but it was not his only battle. According to Peers, the CBC's greatest opportunity and challenge came by way of political and controversial broadcasting. One particular controversy related to the regulation of religious content. The government appointed the Aird Commission to investigate the broadcasting practices of a number of religious groups, and the on-air attacks by and against various religious sects.

[55] Brockington quoted in *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting*, pg. 236.
[56] Ibid., pg. 244.

Although the Commission was appointed in the late 1920s before the establishment of the CBC, the controversy remained even after Brockington became the first head of the Corporation's Board of Governors. With the religious controversy wrapped up in early 1938, the questions about censorship still loomed, and Brock would have to deal with the aftermath.

On the one hand, Howe unrealistically argued that it was the Board's responsibility to make certain that all broadcasting and programming was not offensive to any specific group. However, Brock and the Board of Governors did not feel it was the Corporation's responsibility to stifle or prevent the airing of controversial ideas. He argued at a Parliamentary Committee in 1938 that the CBC would oppose all attempts to establish censorship.[57]

Despite Brockington's pronouncement, he did recognize the need for censorship during national crises, such as war. However, there was a caveat that even, under such circumstances, government interference should be limited. Furthermore, Brockington alluded that the Corporation's networks cannot and should not be bought for the explicit purpose of "…the advancement of personal opinion or propaganda…"[58] Not everyone agreed with Brockington.

In one particular case, George Ferguson, managing editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press* and a frequent commentator for the CBC, made potentially harmful comments about British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy. He sided with the opponents of appeasement arguing that the policy was failing to make Europe safe from tyranny.[59] Notwithstanding the clear anti-British content of the message, the greater concern was that such a message was stated on a publicly funded broadcasting station. The Toronto *Evening Telegram* argued that limits needed to be set on what the CBC could air because of its direct relationship with the Government of Canada.

The newspaper was far more critical of where the message originated than the content of the message. Given the CBC's close ties with the Canadian government, it could be perceived that Ferguson's criticism of Chamberlain was an official statement from the Canadian government. At the time, Britain was engaged in a game of brinkmanship with Nazi Germany, and that all such messages should be stopped in the greater interests of the British Empire. In other words, what might be seen as "Empire unity" during this tumultuous period trumped the protection of free speech.

Not unlike today, censorship was a contentious issue in the late 1930s. For Brockington it was a question of democracy and freedom. In particular, freedom of speech. A right believed to be so entrenched within a democratic society that it is difficult to imagine anyone opposing it. However, for Brock's opponents it became a question of impartiality. Historian Frank Peers noted that the Toronto *Evening Telegram* believed that Brock's stance on this issue illustrated his incompetence. The *Telegram* maintained that objectivity should be its main purpose, and that supporting political points of view failed to maintain impartiality.

[57] Ibid., pg. 261-2.
[58] Brockington quoted in Ibid., pg. 262.
[59] Ibid., pg. 262.

Although in an exchange of letters between Brock and the Prime Minister, the latter indicated unwavering support for the independence of the Corporation. However, Mackenzie King strongly urged the CBC Chairman to take all necessary measures to ensure that, with the state of world affairs, commentary not inflame or exacerbate the troubles with the international order. Moreover, the Prime Minister also insisted Brock to ensure that criticism of the British or any foreign governments take all necessary precautions to ensure minimal damage.[60] For all future commentary, it would be explicitly stated that the opinions of an individual commentator are not synonymous with the official CBC position.

As peacetime turned into wartime cracks began to form in the relationship between the CBC and Brockington. After war broke out in September 1939, there was discussion surrounding the role the Board of Governors would play under these new circumstances. Prior to September 1939, the CBC enjoyed relative independence from the government. The CBC's General Manager Gladstone Murray, according to Peers, favoured a closer relationship between the Corporation and the government. He had recently returned from a trip to England where he heard talk of abolishing the BBC Board of Governors for the duration of the war.[61]

It became clear immediately that Howe and Brockington differed on the wartime-role of the Board of Governors. Whether this was deliberate under this situation, or simply lingering animosity is unclear. According to testimony given during a 1942 Parliamentary Committee, Howe instructed Murray to provide information concerning the relationship between the BBC and the British government. Although at that time no official decision had been made about the status of the CBC Board of Governors, Murray told the committee he discussed the possible dissolution of the Board during the war, which had happened in England.

There seemed to be a miscommunication between the Minister and the Chairman. But by this point, Brockington had determined to resign his position with the CBC. Although he made the Prime Minister aware of his decision sometime earlier, his official departure as Chair of the Board of Governors became official in November 1939.

Brock's three-year term as Chairman of the Board of Governors at the CBC came to an end in October 1939. He was spending a lot of time on CBC matters for which he was paid an honorarium of $1,500.00. Hutton reported that before his term was up, the Grain Exchange suggested that Brock choose between them and the CBC. Brock cut ties with the CBC.

Brock Goes to War

> I suggest to you, as I suggest to my other friends, that the world has never seen a more noble or a more idealistic volunteer in a great cause than the man with that history who comes in those circumstances to that free conclusion.[62]

[60] Ibid., pg. 266.
[61] Ibid., pg. 301.
[62] Leonard W. Brockington, K.C., LL.D., "Canada at War," presented at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of The Association of Life Insurance President at New York, December 6, 1940, pg. 6.

City of Calgary, Corporate Records, CalA 88-009-2

The above quote is from a speech given by Brock in New York in December 1940, a year before the United States would enter the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The speech, in fact, emphasized the character of Canada's war effort. Canadians, from the east to the west coasts, from assorted ethnic backgrounds, disparate religious beliefs put aside this varied differences to band together to fight the forces of oppression in Europe and the Pacific.

The speech illustrated, for the audience, the freedoms and liberties that were at stake in the face of tyranny. In other words, it was not only the freedoms and liberties enjoyed by the citizens of Great Britain and Canada, but there was a potential for a loss in the United States as well. A country built on the foundation of freedom and liberty since its own independence from the British Empire on July 4, 1776. Moreover, at countless speaking engagements, Brock would emphasize the profound relationship between England and Canada and the United States.

On September 1, 1939, German tanks and soldiers crossed the border into Poland. *Blitzkrieg* had begun. Though not inevitable, the threat of German attack was becoming increasingly imminent. Since Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party came to power on January 31, 1933, there had been increasing disregard for the Treaty of Versailles and the limits that treaty placed on German military and expansion in Europe.

In response, the British and the French governments declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, after promising to guarantee the sovereignty of Poland. The Allies realized

that appeasement was no longer a viable option, and that Hitler was not going to stop until the Third Reich controlled all of Europe. Unlike during the Great War, England did not declare war on Canada's behalf. In fact, the government of Canada did not declare war on Germany until 6 days after England's declaration on September 9, 1939. This was a key point in several of Brock's speeches clarifying Canada's role in the Second World War. Although maintaining many strong ties with the British Empire, Canada had become an independent nation, and Brockington would often underpin this point in many of his speeches.

As war raged on in Europe, it became increasingly important that the Canadian public be updated about Canada's role. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was especially keen on maintaining open communication with the country. However, the Prime Minister was apprehensive about establishing a ministry of public information.[63] It is unclear why Mackenzie King was hesitant in this regard, but speculation might suggest that he believed the job to be too important to be dealt with by anyone besides the leader of the nation.

Mackenzie King was determined to be the face of public information in Canada. He was not keen, however, to be occupying his valuable and limited time with preparing speeches and broadcasts. He approached Brockington, who had only recently left Ottawa to return to Winnipeg, to head the Bureau of Information. According to Mackenzie King, Brockington was open to accepting any position that the Prime Minister required from him.[64] Despite pressure from the Prime Minister, that specific appointment was never made.

One month into the war, the Liberal government had not made a single broadcast or speech about the country's effort against Hitler. According to Mackenzie King's diary entry for October 3, 1939, he was ready to make a broadcast so long as someone would help him prepare the material. Although Brockington never became the head of the Bureau of Information, he was appointed to Prime Minister's personal staff. Almost immediately, their relationship was strained. It was never clear exactly what role Brockington would have as counselor. Mackeznie King's lack of direction was further exacerbated by his micromanagement style.

It was during preparations for the first broadcast when it became evident that style differences were going to cause a strain between the Prime Minister and his new employee. Evident in Mackenzie King's diary, the planning for speeches was prolonged and exhaustive with plenty of exasperating revisions. In one particular speech, there was plenty of preparation required in order to ensure the proper message be conveyed on behalf of the Canadian people to audiences in both Great Britain and the United States. Mackenzie King was set to give a speech in late 1941, the themes for which were laid out well in advance.

In an exchange of correspondence, Brockington and W.J. Turnbull, the acting Principal Secretary for the Prime Minister, discussed a number of issues they believed would strengthen the message. They covered all topics, including message particulars, the message medium and Prime Minister.

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[63] J.W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record, Volume 1, 1939-1944* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pg. 31.

[64] Mackenzie King Diaries, entry September 9, 1939. See LASA Accession 2009-004.

Brock, in a letter dated April 21, 1941, acknowledged that part of the problem was the Prime Minister's image. Brock saw that Mackenzie King was no extrovert and this lack of showmanship caused audience disinterest. He suggested different avenues for disseminating information beyond the daily press to include radio broadcasts and public speeches.[65]

Mackenzie King was set to speak in Great Britain in the fall of 1941, and Brock was to prepare his speech. Turnbull suggested, in a letter to Brock, that the speech include a number of key points that would indeed demonstrate Canadian support for Britain. When Brock wrote the speech on the Prime Minister's behalf, he ensured that shared values, Britain's defence of freedom, universal ideals shared with the US, the sacrifice of the British people, Canadian commitment to defending Britain and those very values, and the great friendship between Mackenzie King and Churchill were all mentioned.[66]

Brockington's main objective while working with the Prime Minister was to not only present Canada's war-time contribution, but to also demonstrate that Canada was a country standing side-by-side with England and France to protect similar values and freedoms that were being threatened by tyranny.

Shortly after this speech, Brockington resigned as counselor to the Prime Minister. Several newspapers reported the "retirement" of Brockington. However, this was a misnomer. In fact, Brockington did not retire. He reportedly told George Bain, a journalist at the *Globe and Mail*, that working for Mackenzie King was like "acting as a head maiden to an intellectual virgin." Of course, Brockington denied having ever uttered those words about the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, he was unhappy in his ill-defined role with the Canadian government. Brock would also later say that he had no real problem with Mackenzie King, and would indeed become one of the Prime Minister's executors.

He became the "voice of Canada abroad" during the Allied war effort. Before the United States entered the war, Brockington gave a speech at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents in New York on December 6, 1940. The evacuation from Dunkirk and the fall of France happened earlier in the year, and the Battle of Britain was well underway with the German *Luftwaffe* bombing London nightly.

Brockington told his audiences about the Canadian contribution to the war in Europe. He asserted that this particular war, for Canada, crossed class, religions and racial boundaries. Brock spoke of many similarities between Canada and its neighbor to the south. The ideals and principles that made Canada a democracy were the same standards that America sought for itself and its citizens. Brockington, however, never used his American speeches as a platform for chastising their neutrality, nor were they used to obtain official American entry into the war.

[65] Letter from Brockington to W.J. Turnbull, April 21, 1941. LASA Accession 2009-004.

[66] Memo from Turnbull to Brockington, May 23, 1941 and copy of speech August 29, 1941. LASA Accession 2009-004.

City of Calgary, Corporate Records, Cal A 88-009-1

After leaving Mackenzie King's office, he was invited to Great Britain to give a number of speeches after having met British Jurist Sir Norman Birkett. Because of having heard many of Brockington's thought-provoking speeches, Birkett immediately suggested to Brendan Bracken, Churchill's Minister of Information, that Brock be invited to England to advise the Ministry of Information on Commonwealth Affairs.[67] It was widely felt that Brockington would continue in his role as speaker on the Allied war effort. It was hoped that these addresses would inspire every citizen – throughout the Commonwealth – to play a role in the common war effort.

Brock's life became even more active after his move to the British war machine. Despite nearly debilitating arthritis and a recent diagnosis of diabetes, he began travelling the world advancing the British war effort within the Commonwealth.[68] His task was essentially acting as an intermediary between the Commonwealth and the citizens of Great Britain – a citizenry whom had just bore the brunt in the Battle of Britain. Brockington was tasked with maintaining high morale within Britain by emphasizing support from the rest of the world.

Vincent Massey, Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain, took credit for introducing Brockington to Bracken. Massey was not keen on Britain's efforts and the great battle for the morale of Britons, and he believed that Canada – in particular Brockington—could help.[69] Massey was friends with Brock and knew of his speaking abilities having heard several Brockington speeches in England throughout 1941 about Canada's war effort. Massey claimed that British efforts were listless and lacked a certain energy that he believed was needed to defeat

[67] Eric Hutton, "…and now, a few words from Mr. Brockington," *Maclean's Magazine* (April 15, 1953): pg. 65 and 67.
[68] Ibid., pg. 67.
[69] Claude Bissell, *The Imperial Canadian: Vincent Massey in Office* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pg. 128.

this enemy. The High Commissioner felt that Brockington – a man with considerable oratory experience and skill – was the one person who could contribute substantially.[70]

Regardless of who was responsible for the introduction – Massey or Birkett – the Minister in charge of wartime information was quite close with Churchill. Bracken agreed with Massey *vis-à-vis* Brock's role and stated, "Brockington would be a tower of strength and would give to our Empire publicity organization the inspiration which we all agree they have hitherto lacked…as a speaker and broadcaster he scarcely has an equal."[71]

During his work with the Ministry of Information, Brockington was sent to Australia and New Zealand to give speeches that described the Commonwealth's united effort to fight in favour of shared ideals. It was during his foray to Australia that Brock gave some sixty-four speeches and broadcasts in just four months. Several of his speeches were a mix of war information, but also included the heartfelt gratitude paid to Australians and New Zealanders for their unrelenting support for Great Britain. In a speech given to the American Bar Association's Annual meeting in March 1945, Brockington retold of his adventures "down under" and recalled the many messages of warmth for the citizens of Great Britain and America.

In New Zealand, Brock recalled being asked "…to send greetings to the men and women of Britain who with bare hands and no weapons fought the enemy and dared him to cross the sea." This was surely in reference to Germany's failed attempt to cross the channel and invade Great Britain, known as Operation Sea Lion. Brockington also evoked images of Australian soldiers returning from a campaign in the deserts of North Africa and celebrating "with the sportsmanship that joins the brave of all earth, rallying to the defense of the United Kingdom soldiers against all mean and foolish detractors." And, finally, of American soldiers Brockington remembered that no matter the circumstances they bring "with them, wherever they went, their magnificent order and cleanliness and their resilient enthusiasms for victory."[72]

According to Hutton, Brockington immersed himself in the Allied war effort. Brock witnessed untold battles at the frontlines in France, Italy, Belgium and Germany. He met and discussed the war effort with top military personnel, including General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur and Marshal Georgy Zhukov. [73]

Arguably, one of Brockington's greatest moments during the Second World War was joining the Canadian Destroyer Sioux from which he observed the D-Day landings on June 6, 1944. In his speech to the American Bar Association, Brock recalled that the armada across the English Channel was "the best example of the union of hearts and minds of two nations that it ever will see, the invasion fleet that set out to reach the coast of France on the morning of the great D-day."[74]

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[70] Ibid., pg. 129.

[71] Bracken cited in ibid., pg. 129.

[72] Leonard W. Brockington, K.C., "Reminiscences of Stirring Events and Scenes in World War II," speech presented at the American Bar Association Annual meeting, pg. 120.

[73] Hutton, pg. 67.

[74] Brockington, "Reminiscences of Stirring Events," pg. 161.

City of Calgary, Corporate Records, Cal A 88-009-3

Given the lack of radio statistics and demographics from the period, it can only be surmised that the radio audience for the D-Day landing was likely Brockington's largest. Although not broadcast on the CBC until June 18, 1944, Brock managed to give the Canadian public a first-hand account of "history in the making". The program had all of the makings of a great Brockington speech. Humor and wit mixed with facts and prognostication about what this invasion would mean for the subsequent course of the war and future. Despite being transmitted twelve days after the invasion, Brockington's broadcast from aboard the Canadian Destroyer painted such a picture that listeners felt as if they were there crossing the Channel.

Brockington told his CBC audience that Operation Overlord (D-Day's official name) was, "a story of skill and forethought, devotion, resolution, preparedness, courage and overwhelming might unequalled in the annals of warfare."[75]

Imagine what Brockington must have witnessed while on board a ship that was among many taking the first major steps towards liberating Europe from Hitler's Germany. Imagine having listened to him retelling his experience with eloquence and passion that only Brock could have done. During his broadcast, he painted a picture for the audience describing what he experienced while on the Sioux.

[75] Leonard Brockington, ""D" Day on a Canadian Destroyer," a talk Broadcast to the CBC Trans-Canada Network on Sunday, June 18, 1944, pg. 2.

Brockington quoted a British Admiral who was giving this latest armada a little historical context before crossing the English Channel. The Admiral stated, "[w]hat Philip of Spain tried to do and failed; what Napoleon wanted to do and could not; what Hitler never had the courage to attempt, we are about to do, and with God's grace we shall succeed." In this sense, history was certainly not on the Allies' side. However, those were all attempts or planned attempts to invade England across the Channel. Although Operation Overlord was arguably the most well planned invasion in history, it could be surmised that crossing the Channel in the other direction this time would be a source of fortune.

Once Brockington arrived at the port from which he would depart, he described the scene of which he opined, "can never be forgotten." He detailed, "[t]housands of ships of all shapes and sizes and uses – British, American, Canadian, Polish, French, Norwegian, Dutch – battleships, cruisers, destroyers, landing craft, frigates, monitors, corvettes, freighters carrying strange cargoes, tankers, mystery ships hidden by acres of tarpaulin, all rode serenely at anchor unthreatened by the enemy that once used to sing that he was sailing against England."[76]

Brockington was to embark on a journey of which no one – not even the greatest military minds – could predict the outcome, but were genuinely optimistic for success. He was able to maintain his wit and humour. When asked what the enemy would do with him if captured, he replied, "[h]e will take my picture…and put me on every newsreel and photo service. Underneath he will write – 'If you want to know the depths to which the British Empire has sunk, look at this typical Canadian soldier'."[77] He likely had known that the chances of being captured by the enemy was minimal, he would more likely have drowned or been fatally wounded during the crossing. He also likely could foresee that many of the young men who were crossing the Channel were not going to survive. He used his humour to maintain the good-natured attitude, though every person in that port knew what dangers laid ahead.

Brockington recalled a conversation he had with a Captain the Saturday prior to D-Day. They discussed their particular objective – Juno Beach – their strategy, what the pre-raid bombing the immediate night before D-Day would accomplish for those crossing on June 6. The initial date for the invasion of the continent was Monday, June 5. However, the weather did not cooperate, and the invasion was delayed until the next day. However, the weather had only slightly improved. Of the weather and its effect on the mission's strategic outcome, Brock simply stated, "not…all to our disadvantage."

Brockington listed minute-by-minute the initial approach to France. Without recalling in great detail all this action, it is worth noting some of the language that created the imagery for his listeners. Here are just a few of the more poignant examples, "At 5.30 [*sic*] it was daylight and what a sight met our gaze. A great semi-circle of hundreds of ships lay off the enemy's coast." Brock continued, "[t]hunder answered thunder, tanks went ashore; guns went ashore; men went ashore; fires broke out; the coast was enveloped in smoke… ."

Lastly Brock spoke about the brave, young soldiers, "I never expect my heart to throb at a more thrilling sight of men going gaily to the unknown than of those Canadian soldiers on those

[76] Ibid., pg. 4.
[77] Quoted in ibid., pg. 6.

landing barges. I saw dozens of ratings gazing with fascinated eyes and saying 'Look – our boys'."[78]

Upon concluding his broadcast, he thoughtfully evoked what this invasion meant for the people of Europe and for the future of humanity. In recounting a conversation that called to mind historical imagery with the Chief Engineer aboard the Sioux on the evening of June 6, 1944, Brock declared, "many fleets of ships have crossed these waters to bring destruction to innocent people and slavery to the free." He continued, "[t]his armada is different. It is the first that ever set out to bring freedom to all men." To which the Chief replied, "and that's what makes everybody feel good – and every Canadian glad to be here."[79]

Brockington essentially became what is known today as an embedded reporter. Certainly, his intent was to relay to his Canadian audience the first-class involvement of the Canadian forces in fighting the war. Brockington would likely argue that Canadians, regardless of background, should be tremendously proud. Although it is difficult to measure what affect these speeches had on audiences, listeners and citizens, it is clear from the emphasis placed on their contribution that the leaders – civilian and military – believed they worked. Hutton quoted the response from Brock's Australian audiences, "[his speeches] revealed a technique entirely new to Australia…an episodic method of drawing on a rich store of experience, spiced with humour."[80]

Brock and the World

Brock continued to address various audiences in the post-war period, and he would talk about Canada and its place within the international community. It is important to consider that in the post-war period, Canada and the world were in a different place from the 1930s. The Second World War deeply affected Canada and the world in profound ways. The war caused total destruction over vast parts of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, affecting both soldiers and civilians. With the Allied liberation of Nazi concentration and extermination camps, the world became acquainted with the Polish town of Auschwitz. Lastly, the war introduced the world to nuclear destruction – thankfully a latent threat throughout the Cold War.

For Canada, the war also had a profound change on domestic society. Even more than the First World War, the home front was mobilized as men went oversees. This led to fundamental changes in the social and economic structure of the nation. Contrary to popular belief, however, women did not overwhelmingly remain in the workforce in the immediate post-war period. Indeed, many women returned to the home reestablishing the traditional social framework, which led to the post-war "baby boom" generation. This demarcation of family roles was reinforced through traditional family images of stay-at-home wives and mothers, and working husband and fathers.[81]

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[78] Quoted in ibid., pg. 12.

[79] Ibid., pg. 14.

[80] Hutton, "…and now, a few words from Mr. Brockington," pg. 67.

[81] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pg. 15.

Canadians were largely optimistic as the post-war period progressed. Unlike the aftermath of the First World War, there was no major economic turmoil that led to vast unemployment and low economic growth. Instead, Canadians experienced tremendous economic growth. This was coupled by the government's effort to ensure that veterans received support, education, training and employment opportunities. This drove what became the consumer society, or what economist John Kenneth Galbraith described as the "Affluent Society". In Alberta, all this was accompanied by the discovery of oil at Leduc on February 13, 1947.

Although the global community branched into two ideological camps, Canada was in the middle of the two chief antagonists, both physically and psychologically. With the virtual destruction of several national armies, Canada emerged from World War II with the world's fourth largest fighting force. Moreover, Canada also played a secretive role in the development of nuclear weapons.[82] Canada became the setting of an early spy controversy when on September 5, 1945, a young cipher clerk at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa named Igor Gouzenko defected with a mass of top-secret documents implicating Canadians in espionage. This was no minor affair. For a short time, Canada was the epicenter of espionage and international intrigue, the stuff of John Le Carré spy novels.

Canada played a crucial, albeit limited, role in the post-war period. Though Canada did not participate in the Berlin Airlift in 1947, the government did agree to contribute to the Marshall Plan to help rebuild Western Europe, in particular West Germany. It was widely accepted that an infusion of money to strengthen the economy was the best way to contain Communist expansion. Canada's image in the international community as a middle power, mediator and peacemaker, was largely positive. According to historians Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, Canada simultaneously projected itself with an internationalist outlook, while maintaining a close relationship with western military allies. This newfound role for Canada was a direct result of involvement in two key international institutions: the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). As a middle power, Canada would play a vital part in both international cooperation and collective security.

It was through those post-war institutions that Canada was active in safeguarding western values and ideals. Though Stalin replaced Hitler in Europe, and China replaced Japan in Asia, the foes were no less formidable. In fact, given the nuclear threat, some argued that the potential for destruction was even greater than experienced during World War II. Despite the threat emanating from the Soviet Union, nobody really wanted another war, especially a nuclear war. Thus, collective security and containment – in the words of George Kennan writing in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947 under the pseudonym "Mr. X" – became the *modus operandi* for the West. Canada would, sometimes painstakingly, promote and protect shared western values and ideals. Moreover, Brockington – whether he realized it or not – would play a significant part.

Despite all the traveling that Brockington did during the Second World War, and the adverse effect this had on his debilitating arthritis, he continued to accept speaking engagements in various faraway places. During this period of what seemed to be constant globetrotting, Brock

[82] Ibid., pg. 20.

had an ongoing and extensive correspondence with his friend George Coutts. These letters are of tremendous value. This correspondence is the only surviving record of Brock's personal mindset and mood during this period. There is no evidence that Brockington kept a diary or journal. Moreover, if he indeed wrote his wife, there are no surviving letters from that exchange. Thus, this available correspondence provides the best of his more personal thoughts.

Brockington shared this exchange with his good friend well after the defeat of Nazi Germany. The Cold War was now in full swing, and both the East and West were vying for top billing in the post-war international order. Maybe not as overt as Brockington's role during World War II, his post-war role was no less significant. In other words, no government from any nation recruited him to explicitly promote the benefits of capitalism over communism, and there is no evidence from his post-war speeches that he made that comparison. However, it is clear that his speeches were infused with the virtues and respectability of the western system.

In a letter to Coutts dated September 17, 1954, Brockington extensively detailed his recent trip to Britain where he had given a number of speeches and attended a number of engagements. All done with a broken leg that Brock suffered after falling down the stairs before leaving Canada.[83] During this trip to Britain, Brock told Coutts, he was invited by the Benchers of the Middle Temple for a dinner where he had a brief conversation with the Queen Mother. The dinner was attended by several dignitaries including the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justices, "and", in Brock's words, "a few other notables – the line all the way down to the former Calgary solicitor." Brockington continued in this letter to Coutts detailing his visit to Buckingham Palace, where he met the Queen and Prince Philip.

During this period, he seemed to be ill often. Writing to his good friend that he was uncertain how he would perform his routine tasks, as well as the number of sojourns he was to make in the near future. First, Brockington was off to Queen's University to give a Rectorial address on October 15, 1954. In November, he was giving speeches at a Medical Association in Thunder Bay, then back to England as the guest of honour at the Association of British Advertisers Annual Banquet, and then returning to Canada to propose a toast to the health of Winston Churchill on his eightieth birthday on November 29, 1954.[84]

Brockington's September 17 letter was quite lengthy, given to the fact that Brockington had been busy and ill, and had failed to remain in contact with Coutts. It was during this absence that he was invited to speak at the Federation of Burns Clubs (and other Scottish Societies) on the 200th Birthday of well-known poet Robbie Burns. Given Brock himself is from Wales, he wrote to Coutts, "[y]ou, with your Scottish ancestry, will probably be as indignant as I imagine most Scotsmen will be, when they hear that I have been asked to speak on behalf of Scotland and the Oversees [*sic*] Scots at the preliminary banquet in the auld toon of Ayr."

Brock also explained that he was unsure if he would take up the invitation for the third week in January. He wrote about a possible conflict as he was also invited by the Chief of the Naval Staff to come onboard the H.M.S.C. Ontario out of Esquimalt, British Columbia for a seven week voyage beginning January 3, 1955. Brock wrote of the latter trip, "[h]ow I would

[83] Brockington Letter to Coutts, September 17, 1954. Accession number 2009-004.
[84] Ibid.,

like to go, and, alas! how [*sic*] impossible it is, I am afraid!" Although Brock did not go into details about what made such a trip impossible, it can be assumed that seven weeks aboard a naval vessel for a man in Brockington's condition was likely too much. Even for a man who was traveling extensively during this period.

In the end, Brockington journeyed to Scotland on January 16, 1955 and took part in the festivities surrounding the famous poet's birthday. The event attracted people from all over the world, including delegations from Austria, France, West Germany, South Africa, the United States, Japan and India. The Soviet Union sent their official translators for Burns, Kipling, Byron, Keats and Shakespeare.

Among the several events that took place throughout the celebrations, a major dinner was held on January 19, 1955 at the Head of Ayr Hotel. It was televised on the BBC throughout Great Britain and telecast for audiences in the United States and Canada. It was the first time a Burns dinner had been televised.[85] Moreover, the dinner was reported widely around the world. The *Scottish Daily Press* reprinted Brockington's speech in its entirety on January 20, 1955. With his typical wit and humour, Brockington began the speech stating that this dinner was "the most cheerful and harmonious session of the United Nations Assembly which he had ever attended." This was, of course, in reference to the number of different nationalities in attendance, and the worldwide appeal of Robbie Burns. During his speech, Brockington expanded on the fundamental connection between Scotland and Canada. He told the audience of over three hundred: "[w]ith the possible exception of New Zealand, we are, in one sense, the second most Scottish country in the world."[86]

Shortly after returning to Canada, and following a well-needed three-week vacation with his beloved wife to Jamaica, Brock was invited to Athens, Greece. He wrote his friend George Coutts on April 11, 1955 that the offer included "all expenses paid" to the Congress of Free Jurists. A conference, which Brock noted, was similar to one he attended in Berlin, West Germany a number of years earlier.

This trip to Athens was not tied to a global event like Brock's previous trip to Scotland. Thus, it did not get the press that his previous speech received. However, it is worth considering. This conference involved nearly 150 lawyers from a number of different countries. As Brock wrote to Coutts, "I shall do everything within my power to fulfil [*sic*] the longing of a lifetime." Assuming, of course, that the "longing" Brock referred to was the opportunity to travel to the birthplace of democratic governance – Greece.

Upon his return, Brockington wrote in a letter to Coutts dated July 20, 1955, that he found his trip to Athens "absolutely entrancing." Although this trip was certainly adventurous, it was anything but relaxing. Brock noted problems with a tremendous pain in his foot (likely linked to his arthritis), and was provided with a car and driver for the duration of his trip. The letter painted a seemingly attractive picture of Greece. Brockington detailed the history and culture by way of describing his own experiences. Though it is unclear if he gave an official speech at the Congress he was attending, Brockington mentioned an "off the cuff" speech where

[85] "World Representatives at Festival Dinner," *The Ayr Advertiser*, January 20,, 1955.
[86] "Burns Festival as Token of Friendship," *Glasgow Herald*, January 20, 1955.

he thanked the Greek government for a dinner they hosted. Brockington also spoke to visitors from sixty nations as he "stood on the Pnyx [*sic*] in the shadow of the Acropolis." He continued, "I felt humbly proud that I was standing on the actual spot where Demosthenes used to address the men of Athens."

While in Athens Brock befriended Mr. Justice Vivian Bose of the Supreme Court of India. Justice Bose, in a letter dated July 22, 1955, invited Brockington to India. Recalling Brockington's speeches in Greece, Justice Bose wrote that they were an inspiration because of the "grandeur of the thought in some of the passages as much as by the majesty of the language." Though there were no plans at that time for Brockington to travel to India, the opportunity presented itself when Brockington would head the Canadian delegation to the UNESCO conference in New Delhi in 1956.

In a letter to Coutts, he wrote of having "undertaken a most burdensome task." He continued, "I have no doubt that I shall be very sad when I am no longer asked to do anything." Doubtless, this was a "burdensome task" because of Brockington's worsening arthritis. This trip was expected to take quite a toll, as there were no direct flights to New Delhi. He told Coutts that he would leave Canada on October 25 and finally arrive at his destination on November 2. He was to be routed through London, Rome and Beirut.[87]

To Coutts, he enclosed a letter from Archibald Nye, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom to Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. Nye praised Brockington to the Prime Minister, "[h]e is in every way one of the outstanding men in Canada – wise, cultured, understanding, sympathetic." Brockington was painted as a lover of India, and Nye mentioned the tribute to Ghandi upon his death, given by Brock.

In the months following the UNESCO conference Brockington received praise for what was described as one of the better speeches. In a dispatch from the High Commission For Canada in New Delhi to the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa, Brockington was praised for his oratorical prowess and that "he had received a great ovation – much greater than that accorded any other speaker."[88] In a second dispatch sent on December 7, 1956, the High Commissioner declared that Brock's second speech at the final plenary session was accorded as much acclaim as his first speech. Brockington, it was said, received congratulations from the delegations representing the United States, the United Kingdom, Syria and Iran for a speech that was presented on behalf of the English-speaking nations at UNESCO.

In the speech, Brock covered several themes that directly related to the situation facing much of the world in 1956. He discussed the freedom and liberty of decolonization and welcomed those newly independent countries – Tunisia and Morocco – to the international community. He made reference to the importance of a strong international community in the face of communism, and the turmoil taking place in many parts of the world, but in particular the Suez Crisis. The unrest in Egypt caused Brock to be diverted in his travel to India. But, more significantly, Canada played a major role in quelling the trouble for which Lester B. Pearson

[87] Letter from Brockington to Coutts, September 28, 1956. LASA Accession 2009-004.

[88] Tara Baig cited in Letter from The High Commission for Canada, New Delhi to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada, November 13, 1956. LASA Accession 2009-004.

won the Nobel Peace Prize. Brockington also referred to the violence that had only just recently consumed the world: the Second World War, the Holocaust and the war on the Korean Peninsula.

The substance of his speech at UNESCO dealt with Canada's role in and support for that organization. Brock was, at one point, critical of UNESCO over-extending itself around the world, and stretching the organization's finances and programs beyond its capabilities. He suggested that refocusing the resources and programs would make UNESCO a far more effective organization when it is less burdened. Speaking on Canada's behalf, Brock told his audience that focusing on education and exchanges between countries should be a priority. In particular, Brock opined, Canada is interested in cultural exchanges between the East and the West. He stated, "[w]e look forward to the day when Western students will in growing numbers study in Eastern universities." He concluded his plenary speech acknowledging the breadth of knowledge of English and American literature in India, and yearned for a future where Western society would possess a deeper knowledge of Eastern literature.

The High Commissioner included in his dispatch many of the kind reviews that appeared in a number of newspapers. The *Statesman* dated December 10, 1956, said that Brockington was "the outstanding personality of the conference," and continued "[h]is Welsh eloquence and his warm heart made it an impressive oration even though he prefaced it by saying that he had been too lazy to prepare a formal address." Despite not having prepared a written address, the speech was recorded and the *Statesman* included three select paragraphs from Brock's impromptu remarks:

> As we go to our homes there are many glimpses and echoes which will follow us into our winters and our wanderings. We shall remember many things – friendships and courtesies. But three memories will stand out about this meeting in my mind. I think above all others, I shall never forget the Egyptian Delegate whose splendid dignity and honourable fairness impressed us all. And I think a remark he made in the Programme Committee, which you may not all of have attended, interpreted the spirit of UNESCO as well as any other words I have heard spoken. For in the debate about the architectural and other monuments he paid tribute to the educational and scientific and cultural assistance that throughout the years had been given to Egypt by Britain and France and he said how sincerely happy he will be when all misunderstandings and difficulties have been swept aside and that grand relationship is restored once again.
>
> I was impressed too, as I hope you were, when my own ancestral land of Britain, whose honour is so dear to me and whose departures from conduct that is generally approved so sad to me, when I saw my own ancestral land of Britain showing her best side in voting willingly for the resolutions sponsored by Egypt and Greece.
>
> And I think I shall never forget either the moving eloquence and sincerity of Mr. Nehru. And I would like to say this about him. By his personal suffering and sacrifices for freedom of his own land, he is surely fit to be one of the great

> champions of freedom everywhere. And when I hear some of the things he says I am often reminded of a great phrase by the English gentleman, Tom Paine, who helped the Americans in their War of Independence. When somebody said to him, 'where freedom is, there is my country.' Paine replied, 'Where freedom is not, there is my country.'[89]

Brock made such a positive impression while at the UNESCO that the *Hindustan Times* reprinted a speech he gave on February 15, 1948 in honour of Mahatma Gandhi. The speech, which appeared in the New Delhi daily on December 2, 1956, also featured Brockington in a series entitled "UNESCO portraits."

Brockington remained a much sought after speaker. His reputation clearly preceded him wherever he ventured. However, he was uncertain of his mobility and health to accept all these invitations. In the end, this did not seem to hinder his traveling. Even outside of Canada, he spoke about the values and principles that represented Canada to the world. In the two preceding speeches, he found way to relate his experiences in and love for Canada to his audiences. Even in Greece, where he made two impromptu speeches, he was well versed in those values and principles, he was able to give an unprepared address to an audience in the country that gave birth modern democracy.

Brock as Speaker

"He has spoken with eloquence on innumerable subjects and through all his words there runs a deep love for Canada, the Commonwealth and the partnership of the two great mother races of our beloved country." Brock said this about the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey during a dinner in his honour in February 1965 hosted by the Canadian Club. However, these words could have just as easily been said about Brockington himself. The frequency of Brock's speeches and varied subjects he discussed are astounding. Moreover, he too ensured in all his speeches that he spoke of his admiration of Canada and the Commonwealth, but also he spoke of Canada's place in the relationship with the United States, and the wider world.

Brockington, lawyer by education and trade, became far more renowned for his skills as an orator and after-dinner speaker. For this raconteur, law school and a career as a lawyer served an opening to his passion for public speaking. Throughout this paper, there has already been discussion on a number of Brock's speeches. However, those speeches were attached to significant events in Brock's life, such as World War II or heading the Canadian delegation at UNESCO. The following are different speeches, given at a number of events both pre- and post-World War II, which were either significant to Brock's career as a speaker or were relevant to the time and place in which the speech was made.

There is no counting how many speeches Brockington gave during his lifetime. Not all were planned, and there was not always a written record for several of Brock's impromptu speeches. However, there are enough of Brockington's speeches available to provide a sense of topics and the varied groups to which he spoke. Not surprising, Brock did not restrict his

[89] Brockington quoted in *Statesman*, December 10, 1956.

speaking engagements to the legal community. Though he certainly spoke a number of times to both the Canadian and American Bar Associations, he also spoke to medical groups, insurance agents, literary gatherings and historical associations. Indeed, it seems as though Brock rarely turned down an opportunity to speak. Moreover, given the number of speaking engagements he undertook, it is no wonder he did not continue to practice law full time.

Although initially Brock was aiming at a career as a courtroom lawyer, it was a diagnosis with life-altering arthritis. This required him, as Hutton explained, to remain with the City Solicitor's office and take the job of City Solicitor. It was during those years that he was able to hone his skills as a public speaker. At the time, his position was not overly time consuming. Brock maintained business hours, and may have only worked occasionally outside those times. This provided him with plenty of opportunity to embark on his speaking career.

Usually Brockington was well prepared to give a speech if given enough time. Groundwork for a speech usually consisted of handwritten notes on scraps of paper. However, there were more than a few episodes of doubt that he would be capable.[90] Brockington worked very hard preparing speeches. He frequently would work on speeches at the Reader Rock Gardens. However, on numerous occasions, he would simply have notes and would polish the speech as he spoke. The speeches were not normally spontaneous, but they were not always formal. In a discussion between the author and former City Solicitor Tom Collinge the latter recalled a number of times when Brockington would say, "I can't finish this. I just can't go on with this," in the days leading up to a speaking engagement.

Despite this momentary lapse in confidence, it was always reported that Brockington would deliver a "masterpiece". He was a voracious reader and had a remarkable memory; he was able to recall obscure pieces of poetry as if he had just read the passage. Brock could draw from a wealth of knowledge on varied subjects, and was aptly able to place them within a specific context for his audience. He sharpened his skills over the years and was able to give impromptu speeches that amazed the audience with both his oratorical skills and wealth of language. When reading through many of Brock's reported or published speeches a pattern emerges that included references to localities associated to the place in which the speech is given.[91]

Though Brockington spoke at the lunch hosted for Churchill at the Palliser Hotel in 1929, it has been claimed that Brockington did not receive his "big break" until he was asked to provide the closing remarks at a Canadian Bar Association annual convention in 1932. He proceeded to gracefully acknowledge CBA President and future Prime Minister of Canada, Louis St. Laurent.[92] The speech, albeit short, was filled with Brockington humor. Brock, like many of his contemporaries, had a high respect for the legal abilities of Prime Minister, R.B. Bennett, who was in attendance. Indeed, he employed Bennett in a 1925 lawsuit involving the City of

[90] Edward M. Bredin, "Leonard W. Brockington C.M.G. LL.D. D.C.L K.C.: Calgary's Silver Tongued City Solicitor," in *Citymakers: Calgarians after the Frontier* (Calgary: The Historical Society of Alberta, Chinook Country Chapter, 1987), pg. 88-89.
[91] Ibid., pg. 88.
[92] Hutton, *Maclean's Magazine*, pg. 64.

Calgary. However, Brock did not like Bennett's single-minded attention to business and his ascetic lifestyle. He told his audience:

> [Bennett] is here on holiday. But let nobody be misled. The Prime Minister's idea of a holiday is to read a parliamentary bluebook while he is shaving and sing the swan-song of Free Trade in his matutinal bathtub.

These remarks were made in specific reference to the Empire Economic Conference held in Ottawa in 1932 and hosted by the Prime Minister. Bennett was promoting free trade throughout the Empire with a tariff on goods including foodstuffs and raw materials imported from non-British countries. Brock concluded his remarks about Bennett:

> [h]e has learnt however, that "labour is the price which the Gods have placed upon everything which is valuable." He has worked incessantly for us all and humbly and gratefully we present him with our *ad valorem* duty.[93]

Two important occurrences resulted from this speech. First, Brockington and St. Laurent became life-long friends and, indeed, when the Canadian and American Bar Associations held a joint meeting in September 1950 in Washington D.C. and St. Laurent was unable to accept the invitation to address the gathering, he asked Brock to take his place. Sir Norman Birkett, the representative from the English Bar also spoke. After both Commonwealth speakers addressed the meeting, one American lawyer reportedly said, "how is it that that British lawyers put our lawyers so much to shame." The second result was that Brock was invited to next year's Canadian Bar annual convention in Ottawa on August 31, 1933.

In a speech entitled "Mr. Brockington Post-Prandializes," Brock articulated Canadian nationalism and pride as only he could. He took the audience across Canada –from west to east coasts – verbally painting a picture of the many regions that make up the country. He began in British Columbia where he paraphrased that "nearly all the typical Englishmen I know live in British Columbia." He then moved through the prairie region where he described Alberta as a "inhabited by remittance men who haven't any remittances," to Saskatchewan where "[i]t is still possible…to live on locusts and wild honey – if you can only find the wild honey," and finishing in Manitoba, which "unfortunately, is so seething with sedition that in Winnipeg even the river is Red."

As he journeyed eastward, Brockington described the Great Canadian Shield just north of Lake Superior, and jokingly claimed that the province of Ontario "is founded on the eternal and God-given principle that all men are born equal – as long as they are born in Toronto." Brock moved into Quebec where it "has never failed to produce great men to match great events." His verbal trek ended in the Maritimes where Brock teased about the "fish-like smell" and declared that Nova Scotia is the most romantic place in Canada. Of Prince Edward Island, Brock affirmed its residents were "so occupied with fishing and farming that they had no time to pay any attention whatever to political affairs."

[93] Speech is cited in Edward M. Bredin, "Leonard W. Brockington," pg. 24.

Following this whirlwind tour of Canada, Brockington told his audience that despite the regional differences that made up Canada in 1933, there was a strong sense of pride and unity from coast to coast. As an adopted Canadian, maybe he was better able to encapsulate this ultimate vision of Canada, "[t]hat the destiny of Canada is modestly perhaps but surely to enlarge the horizon of human hope, of human achievement and of human happiness."

It was said, among those who knew Brockington, and remember this speech in Ottawa in 1933, that it was the graciousness, humor and wit in the speech that led to his going to Winnipeg and later Ottawa. People have drawn this conclusion by the solitary fact that future Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, was in the audience that night, and supposedly made a mental note of Brock.[94] Allegedly, a note, in Mackenzie King's handwriting, was sent to Brock after his return to Calgary congratulating him on his address at the dinner. There has never been any evidence verifying a direct link between the two circumstances. It is not, however, outside the realm of possibility that someone in King's office, who knew of Brockington's eloquence and character, suggested Brockington as the CBC's first Chairman.

Brock gave speeches all over the world from Calgary to New Delhi, from Washington to Sydney, and from Ottawa to Athens. Many of the speeches are available in various archives across Canada; it is far too daunting a task to summarize all of those speeches in this space. Nevertheless, I have taken many of the speeches – with the exception of wartime speeches and UNESCO, which have been considered separately – and examined them here. As we have already seen, Brock was a prolific speaker during the war. He travelled all over the world detailing the Allied war effort. Moreover, well into the post-war period, he continued to give speeches that described the values and freedoms upon which the war was fought to defend. It was those values and freedoms that Brockington engaged even long after the fighting had ended. They were consistent themes in his many of speeches.

Common values and freedoms were not the only themes in Brock's speeches. Though it was common for Brockington to speak of these ideas, his speeches were a platform for a number of topics. He often spoke of nationalism. Not nationalism as a negative term, rather nationalism as a love for one's country and heritage. Brockington was both a proud adoptive son of Canada, but remained proud of his Welsh heritage as well. At a speech given to McGill University in Montreal on Mach 9, 1949, he spoke about Canadian nation building, nationalism and unity in diversity. He also outlined the pitfalls of a nation as large as Canada, but pointed out that Canada and Canadians have overcome those difficulties and united a country from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.

Though this Montreal speech was not considered one of Brock's most memorable, it arouses, nonetheless, the devotion and passion that Brockington had for Canada. In typical Brock fashion, he painted a picture for the audience by referring to some of Canadian history's remarkable characters and events. What Brockington spoke about to his Montreal audience was nothing new. In fact, Brockington referred to the speeches of one of Canada's Founding Fathers, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. McGee, an Irish Catholic, spoke on numerous occasions about nation building, freedom, liberty, equality, patriotism and tolerance.

[94] Bredin, "Calgary's Silver Tongued City Solicitor," pg. 91

Brockington, in his speech, argued that while Canada had made great strides in building their country between 1867 and 1949, nation building was a continually evolving process and there remained a number of obstacles to be overcome: race, religion, language, economics, vast physical space and separation. It was this last obstacle that Brockington argued made Canada "hard to unite, hard to govern." However, not impossible, which had become more than evident in the years since Confederation. Moreover, physical size and separation, though not irrelevant, do not establish unity within or among nations. If these were the case, the United States and the Soviet Union in 1949 would have been two of the most united nations in the world. Furthermore, as evident by the Korean Peninsula, proximity of a nation also does not make for unity. There were other characteristics, aside from physical size, that might cause disunity within nations.

Of Canada, Brockington declared, "surely no people in the history of the world has ever tamed great spaces and subdued a continent to the discipline of order and justice as Canada has done." Comparatively with the United States, settlement of the West was relatively calm and quiet. Certainly, Canada endured its struggles during the expansion westward. Historian Lesley Erickson argued that the notion the settlement of western Canada was largely peaceful and that the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) tamed the Canadian west comparatively better than their American counterparts is largely a myth. A myth, she reasoned, is the result of the development of Canadian national identity at the turn of the twentieth century, and has been cultivated ever since in popular fiction and film.[95]

Canada had its fair share of criminal behavior during its early development as a nation. The reader has certainly heard of the now infamous rum-running case in the Crowsnest Pass region where Filumena Lassandro and Emilo Picariello shot and killed Constable Steve Lawson in September 1922. This is arguably the most well known example, but undoubtedly not the only example, of criminal behavior in the drive to nation building in western Canada. No disrespect to Brockington, his speech only had one example of a criminal act involving a room full of cowboys, a Monaghan Indian, the NWMP, a gun and a tussle that ended with a bruised and arrested assailant. Hardly the makings of a Hollywood blockbuster, but even less of a good example of law and justice in the west.

This example is relevant because it illustrated the myth of law and justice for nationalism and nation building in the first half of the twentieth century. Canada was coming off a triumphant victory as part of the Allied war effort but, more importantly, as a sovereign nation. Nationalism is the post-World War II period was key in the effort to continue building a united nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Although in his speech Brock glossed over this aspect of Canadian development, he did explore other characteristics of unity: economics; religion; language and ethnicity.

Given Canada is a vast nation it is not surprising that regionalism became prevalent, especially economic regionalism. However, Brockington argued, that differing economic interests across Canada should not prevent unity of the country. This speech was given in 1949

[95] See Lesley Erickson, "Murdered Women and Mythic Villains: The Criminal Case and the Imaginary Criminal in the Canadian West, 1886 -1930," in *People and Place: Historical Influences on Legal Culture* eds. Jonathon Swainger and Constance Backhouse (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), pg. 95-6.

when Canada was experiencing economic growth in the post-World War II period. Unemployment remained low with wartime production being replaced the production of consumer goods. Alberta, in particular, experienced economic growth in the late 1940s with the discovery of oil in Leduc in 1947. People had a reason to have a positive outlook, they had stake in wanting all of Canada, from coast to coast, to succeed. Moreover, all of Canada was undergoing an economic boom, so there was no cause for competitive regionalism because no one part of the country was better off than another.

Religious difference has been a cause of conflict all over the world. Brockington, however, argued in his speech in Montreal that religious diversity could prove to be Canada's strength rather than weakness. He specified three examples in Canadian history where tolerance undermined religious difference. The first occurred when nineteen French-Canadian Catholics and eight English-Canada Protestants were elected to the legislature in Lower Canada, and following some initial debate it was agreed that prayer be alternately said in both languages.

Despite Upper Canada being mostly Protestant, there existed a law – similar to one that stood in Great Britain – preventing Catholics from enjoying the same rights as Protestant citizens. However, unlike its application in Great Britain, the law was never enforced in Upper Canada, which allowed Catholics to run for public office and benefit from other rights of equality. The third example Brockington cited occurred in the city of Three Rivers in Lower Canada where a member of the Jewish Community, Israel Hart, was elected in 1837 to the legislature. Because of law in place at the time, Jews were not allowed to hold public office and Hart was forbidden to take his oath and his seat. Subsequently there was a second election, and Hart was duly reelected in Three Rivers. Brock noted there was a repeat of the aftermath of the first election. After the second and third Hart reelections in 1838 and 1839 by the citizens of Three Rivers – who clearly had no problems with a Jewish representative in the Lower Canada legislature – Louis Joseph Papineau passed a law extending the franchise to the Jewish community, which allowed Hart to take his oath and seat. Brock proudly pronounced that this was accomplished in Canada thirty years before a similar law was passed in Great Britain.

Canada has two official languages and its citizens spoke many more. Brock admitted to his audience that "[u]nity of language would certainly make national unity easier." However, as with religious diversity, multiple languages should be seen as strengthening Canada. In 1949, Canada was comparatively young, not even one hundred years old. Brock argued that Canada should heed the lessons of older nations with far more language diversity than in Canada, "[u]nity of language will not make a nation. But that [Canada], like Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium, India and many other countries new and old have proved that diversity of tongues will not prevent the birth and the maturity of a nation."

The last possible obstacle to national unity, Brock reasoned, was race.[96] Canada was a nation of immigrants from around the world with varied backgrounds. Brock maintained that this ethnic diversity should not be seen as a weakness in the development of Canada as a nation. In fact, he argued, it should be just the opposite. Nations with diversity develop a strength and tolerance not seen in nations ethnically homogenous. Brock quoted D'Arcy McGee, "[t]here is

[96] The word "race" might strike contemporaries as strange. But during Brockington's period the word "race" was used to describe groups of different ethnic backgrounds.

only one race which the Canadian people will exalt beyond any other and that is the human race." Brockington concluded that the only instance in which multi-race societies do not work is when one race believes itself to be superior to all other races. Given the close proximity of this speech to the Holocaust – even closer, the Nuremburg Trials – it can be surmised that Brockington was distinguishing between nationalism and the racial nationalism of National Socialism.

This speech in Montreal was a typical Brockington speech. It combined humor, wit and literary reference. Most importantly, the speech was beaming with one of the major things that Brock appreciated: Canada. Notwithstanding that the speech was given in Montreal, Brockington always took these opportunities to explain what he thought was great about his adoptive nation. Clearly, he was not blind to the difficulties Canada experienced or would experience in the future. He was realistic and, at the same time, optimistic about Canada's desire to be a great nation. Not a great power similar to the United States or Great Britain, but a great nation. For Brockington, it was unity in diversity that made Canada a great nation.

In March 1958, Brock gave the Robertson Memorial Lecture at the Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. In the speech, Brock considered the importance of Charlottetown. Its importance for the event at which not only he was attending, but also because it was the city in which the seeds of Canada were sown nearly one hundred years earlier. He discussed the strength of the island, but reminded his audience that their island was also part of something larger – Canada. He invoked Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* where the great novelist wrote, "no man is an Island unto himself but every man is a part of the Continent."

Though Hemingway was referring to Hitler, Brock was referring to the Island being a part of the greater Canada and North America. Depsite PEI being physically separated from the rest of Canada, as well as unique in its regional differences, it remained a part of the nation. Brock also noted that the Island was physically small, but that should not take away from its contribution to and status within neither Canada nor the world:

> I hope that in the unity and diversity which are the subtle strength of Canada and the Commonwealth, you will always feel that although you are united with the rest of your Canadian fellow citizens, you will never forget that in a world where greatness is so often confused with bigness, especially in our North American world, in very truth, little things are great things, little homes are great homes, and little Islands can still be great places.

Brock had been invited to Charlottetown to once again give a tribute to a man's life and work, Dr. Robertson. As we have seen, Brockington has paid many tributes to many great men, but this is the first time he paid tribute to a man with whom he was not acquainted. However, in paying tribute to Dr. Robertson, Brock was also paying tribute to education and teachers. Both of which were paramount in Brockington' vision freedom and liberty. Brock stated, "I do not tire of reminding my fellow citizens that the teaching profession is the first the tyrant seeks to destroy and almost that last the free man seeks to honour." And, Brock concluded, "no task is more worthy than to teach with gladness and devotion."

Throughout his tribute to teachers, Brock referred to a number of Canadians as the "greatest sons of Canada" and they were teachers – William Osler, Frederick Banting and Stephen Leacock. However, Brock did not only want to discuss the formal education of the classroom, but also the more informal education of life. He argued that the best teacher in the latter case was oneself. He declared, "education at its best is largely what a man does for himself, perhaps not knowing that he does also for those amongst whom he lives." In other words, as Brock opined earlier in this speech, no one individual is greater than the whole.

Brock discussed the need to be respectful of others and humble. He explained to his audience, "the best educated men I have known in my life have all been good thinkers, good workers, and good companions, true gentlemen all, who make the humblest feel at home and put the ignorant at their ease." The best educated do not always have the right answer. In fact, Brock would argue, that the best educated are those humble people who are willing to consider other points of view, and would readily admit to not having the right answer. Moreover, education and learning is a life-long process, and the best educated accept and embrace that they cannot nor will they ever have all the right answers.

Brock continued one of his longest speeches – nearly 25 typed, single-spaced pages – discussing the need to utilize the gift of a liberal education for good not evil. When the speech was given in 1958, the world had already experienced the most violent and destructive fifty-year period in human history. Brock argued that it was the obligation of this generation of undergraduates to use their knowledge in a far more positive manner. He states, "never in history has humanity possessed so great a body of knowledge for its use as we have today." He continued, "the great task for education is to turn that use into the joy of life and the sunshine of freedom and not to the darkness of tyranny and death."

Brock touch upon the humanity of the Canadian peoples. Not just for other Canadians, but humanity for the citizens of the world. He stated, "[n]ot only is brotherhood the foundation of our citizenship, it is the sign manual of our relations with other nations." Canadians, Brock asserted, "…hate no men and no nations, but only evil things." He continued to discuss the hardship the world witnessed in the previous thirty years, but argued that the world also experienced "…the width and depth of human responsibility, a consciousness of human solidarity, and the willingness and determination to do all that can be done to establish peace and brotherhood and justice." Of Canada, he concluded, "[i]f ever a country had a chance humbly, reverently and thankfully to set the world an example, it is this one."

"It is hard to reduce to a few words a description of a land so wide, so colourful, so rugged, so romantic, so varied, so new and yet so old." Brock stated these words in his address in Charlottetown. It is evident from a lifetime of giving speeches, many of which included references to Canada, that Brockington was discounting his own words. On many occasions, Brock ably described Canada, a nation he always referred to as his adopted home.

It was noted earlier that Brockington replaced St. Laurent as the speaker at the joint annual meeting of the Canadian and American Bar Associations in Washington D.C. in September 1950. The speech was reprinted in the *American Bar Association Journal* in 1950

and was well received by those in attendance at the meeting. In his speech entitled "Canada and America: the Heirs of Liberty," Brockington articulated the relationship between Canada and the United States.

Brockington very humbly sent regrets from the Prime Minister, who wanted to attend but whose public duties took precedent. He relayed to the audience a story where Sir Norman Birkett, who also spoke at the gathering, asked if Brock could differentiate the difference between Canadians and Americans. He responded to the intriguing question, "that the only difference that I had noticed was that Canadians looked and sounded slightly more North American. However, he added jokingly, "[p]erhaps also you can tell the Canadians by the snow on their heads." In Brockington fashion – witty and humorous – he also recounted an anecdotal conversation between an American and a visiting Englishman about the burning of Washington during the War of 1812. He clarified for the audience that he did not believe any Canadian had a desire to repeat the event, which he explained was in response to a "similar operation by American troops in what is now the sacred city of Toronto." He concluded:

> …I have heard that from time to time secret societies have sprung up in various parts of Canada with the avowed object of inviting your incendiary troop back to Toronto.[97]

It is uncertain if the Americans in the room grasped the reference, but it would be undeniable that the Canadian participants failed to understand the veiled reference to what became colloquially known as "the center of the universe."

Throughout the speech, references were made to the friendly relationship between the United States and Canada. Brockington recalled a letter he had received from a man in San Francisco. The letter declared, "[i]n the geography of the map it is a long way from Ottawa to San Francisco, but in the geography of the human heart the distance is so small that it cannot be measured." This letter was to become the theme of Brockington's speech in Washington. Despite the vast size of the two nations, these great neighbors – who share the world's longest border – share more in common than may have been appreciated.

"Canadians and Americans – Friends in Peace, Allies in War," as Brock so eloquently described it, and the relationship proved vital as the world had just experienced the bloodiest fifty years in the history of mankind, and there was the potential for a nuclear showdown looming with the Soviet Union. Moreover, in June 1950 the United States led a United Nations mission, which included Canada, to defend the Republic of South Korea. This was the first real instance where a Cold War between capitalism and communism could have turned hot. Under these circumstances, Brockington's speech was a much needed reminder of unity and friendship, burning of Washington notwithstanding.

More than unity in war, however, Brockington laid out his friendship case through common history and development. In passing, he did not deny the differences between the two

[97] Leonard Brockington, "Canada and America: The Heirs of Liberty," reprinted in the *American Bar Association Journal* 36 (November 1950): pg. 904-05. Original speech delivered at the joint conference of the American and Canadian Bar Association in Washington D.C. in September 1950.

counties and their respective peoples. He believed that those differences were largely superficial and paled in comparison to the similarities in history and national growth. He opined, "I think was can agree that no two peoples in the world are more alike." He reasoned this by comparing history, including unity in diversity; expanding the frontier; liberty and law; and fostering development of a vast physical space.

Brockington also gave several speeches honouring numerous individuals and their exceptional contribution to Canada. All the while, he made certain that in these speeches he also reminded his audience of the great nature of Canada and its peoples. On October 2, 1949, Brockington gave an address on the life of Sir William Osler at Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ontario. Sir William was a physician who attended school at Trinity College, and went on to teach medicine at McGill, Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins and Oxford. He also wrote what was, at the time, one of the greatest medical books entitled, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*.

The speech outlined the life and times of Sir Williams Osler. But, in typically Brock fashion, the speech also linked the doctor to the nation and its role in the world in general. Brock stated, "he was known as the family physician of three nations." He continued to argue that Osler, like no other person, in his time was able to unite the hearts and minds of Canada, the United States and Britain. Brock went on to describe the tributes that poured in from the United States and Britain upon hearing about the death of Sir William.

The speech also touched upon another of Brock's passions: education. He was after all speaking at a school. He reminded his audience of the importance of teachers in their lives. Throughout his life, William Osler had spoken and written about three influential teachers during his time as a student. The first was Reverend W.A. Johnson at Trinity School who shared his love for books and learning with all his students. There seemed to be a special connection between the Reverend and young Osler, with the former having given the latter his first microscope.[98] Two other teachers mentioned influenced Osler, but not nearly as much as the Reverend, and they came into his life following his departure to Toronto and Montreal for university and medical school.

Brock referred to Osler as a "great and good man." Even going as far as to suggest that Osler was "in many respects…the greatest man who this country has produced." He defended his argument stating

> …I think we can say that that man is a great man who first discovers new truths, crystalizes old truths and new truths into a great religion or philosophy which guides men towards wisdom and fills their hearts with the sense of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, in which alone human progress can find a firm foundation. A great man too is one who makes great discoveries or inventions, and thereby enlarges the happiness and comfort of mankind…[t]here is another man who by his character, his work and his example,

[98] Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C., "William Osler," presented Service Commemorating the Centenary of the Birth of William Osler at Port Hope, Ontario, October 2, 1949, pg. 5-6.

> so impresses the men and women of his own time that he lives thereafter in the hearts of mankind as a lasting influence for good.[99]

For Brockington, Osler's greatness "lies in that rare combination of noble thought, noble words and noble actions." In his life, Osler sought to add something to the knowledge of humankind. Knowledge not just in fact, but also in experience. He was a teacher, a doctor, a mentor, a confident, a shoulder, but mostly he was human. And, his enduring influence will last long past his death.

In a speech given on December 8, 1958, at the Canadian Club of Toronto which will celebrating its founding sixty-one years earlier, Brock gave a salute to the arts by honour three distinguished men whose contribution to Canadian arts was certainly unwavering. All three men were artists of some renown: E.J. Pratt was a writer and poet, A.Y. Jackson was an artist and painter, and Dr. Healy Willian was a composer and musician. Brock unequivocally stated, "in honouring them, we honour ourselves, and the country they have enriched with their genius and their devotion."

Once again, Brock ensured that his speech was not simply an honouring of three artists, but also a commemoration of Canada's artistic culture. In the post-World War II boom it wasn't always easy to emphasize the importance of art and culture. Brock stated, "[t]oday we sometimes boast of our growth, our resources, and the miraculous upsurge of our national wealth and prosperity." Though these are of tremendous consideration, it is an uphill battle for those individuals or groups connected with arts and culture to gain recognition of their roles in helping to establish a national identity. Brock continued, "in our seeming indifference to the arts, we sometimes forget that the great flowerings of arts, whether of music, of poetry, or painting, or architecture, have often coincided with great material growth and the dawn of adventurous ages."

Brock concluded his address honouring these great Canadian artists by relating the importance of their work to the time in which the speech was made. In was 1958 and Canada was at a paradox. While Canadians were enjoying the post-war economic boom and a sustainable growth for the near future, the darkness of the Cold War and potential nuclear destruction loomed. Art, Brock argued, sought the "ultimate truth." He continued, "truth is dark in troubled times," and "the age in which we live is sometimes bitter with turbulence, haunted by uncertainty, tremulous with fear, in a turmoiled [*sic*] world riven with violent change." It is this world, Brock maintained, is where the artist is at their finest.

On February 8, 1965, Brock addressed an audience at the Canadian Club Dinner honouring The Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey. He was born in Toronto, Ontario on February 20, 1887. After graduating from university with a Bachelor degree from the University of Toronto and Master's degree from Balliol College at Oxford, he served in the Canadian military from 1915 to 1918. He spent much of his adult life in public service to Canada including time in the Liberal cabinet under Prime Minister Mackenzie King in 1925. He was also Canada's first diplomatic appointment to the United States before being appointed High Commissioner for Canada to the United Kingdom from 1935 until 1946. While in that latter position he played a

[99] Ibid., pg. 7-8.

role in having Brockington serve in Churchill's wartime cabinet as a special advisor. Massey finished his public career after serving as Canada's first native-born Governor General.

Because of his personal connection to Vincent Massey, this speech was arguably one of Brockington's most memorable. He delighted the audience with bits from Massey's own speeches – of which there were many. One such speech included what Brockington called "his connection with the provision of intoxicating liquor." It was during prohibition and Massey was the ambassador in Washington. Brockington stated there was much criticism within the American capital because, "[d]uring those days, when the Canadian-American border was dedicated to a game of international hop scotch and…hordes of Americans who poured across their northern boundary as 'the de-Canterbury Pilgrims'." Because of the criticism – and the flow of alcohol at diplomatic parties in Washington – the British ambassador asked Massy how to deal with the situation. Massey responded, Brock noted, "with a twinkle in his eye, which tradition says resembled a wink…continue to act as a self governing country."

Massey, Brock pointed out, was also a purveyor of the arts. He was the only Canadian to serve as President of the National Gallery of Britain and the National Gallery of Canada. It was noted that while Governor General, Massey made a speech at the Parliamentary Press Gallery's annual dinner entirely in poetry. The quote that began this section was referring to Massey and his dedication to service of Canada, but also the extended relationships with the United States and Great Britain. Brockington told his audience that Massey's major appointments as ambassador to the United States and as Governor General were initially controversial. But, Brockington continued, after the wonderful job he did in both posts, "there could be few citizens of this country who did not think that by his wisdom, his tact, his unfailing courtesy, his encouragement of the arts, his eloquence, his dignity, his lack of pomposity…" that Massey's representation of Canada on the international stage was prodigious.

During his tribute to the former Governor General, Brockington referred to a Massey speech given during the war, which pointed to the resilience of democratically free peoples. "Free peoples" Brock quoted, "may bend under attack, but they will never break, and in bending – in their flexibility – lies their strength." In quoting such a passage, Brock likely felt very comfortable as he himself gave plenty of speeches that spoke of his enduring appreciation for the values and strengths for liberty and freedom. While in London, Massey's family was involved in the war effort. He two sons fought during the war. Of himself and his wife, Brock stated, "[t]here is many a soldier, sailor and airman who will never forget the dedication of herself and her husband to their welfare." Brockington concluded his address, asserting, "I have spoken of a man who deserves the admiration and affection of this audience and the underlying gratitude of the nation whose faithful and devoted servant he has been and will continue to be."

On June 4, 1966, Brock gave what was believed to be his last public address before his death. He spoke at the Annual Leacock Award Dinner. This speech was given only three months before he passed away in early September 1966. Despite his lingering health issues, combined with his age of 78, he was still able to give a speech honouring George Bain as the 1966 winner of the Leacock Medal for Humor. In typical Brockington manner, he was tongue-in-cheek about his physical health. "I am probably the oldest man here," Brockington stated. "I tell people that my life is a continual conflict between my dotage and my anecdotage." He

continued, "[i]n these days when time's chariot is getting jet-propelled, I never know which is going to prevail in the end."

Unfortunately, this speech is not the best reflection of Brockington's abilities. In fact, it is obvious that, without foreseeing his death 3 months later, that his wherewithal for giving public addresses was waning. Sadly, outside of his self-deprecating references to his health, this speech doesn't really say much about anything. It was meant to honour George Bain, but only mentions his name once at the conclusion of the speech. There were no references to his love for Canada, and there were very few literary quotes for which he became so well known. But, nonetheless, this speech is important, simply because it was his last.

It was clear that Brockington enjoyed, maybe even relished, his role as a speaker. As Hutton claimed, his "unorthodox" legal training at the University of Alberta complemented his "unusual ability as a speaker." But it was his position at that City of Calgary, Hutton continued, that allowed Brockington the time and ability to refine his craft. As we saw earlier, the reason he took the permanent position as City Solicitor was because Brock was diagnosed with debilitating arthritis. Though this condition prevented him from becoming a courtroom lawyer, it did not stop him from travelling around the world to deliver countless speeches.

Though there cannot be a specific number or tally – mainly because he gave more than a few impromptu speeches – Brockington gave well over one hundred speeches in nearly five decades. By today's standards, this may not seem like a huge number. But it was quite significant for a number of reasons. First, he had given these speeches all over the world, not an easy feat before the introduction of the jet engine. Moreover, he accomplished this hectic travel schedule with debilitating arthritis. Second, although he held a number of noteworthy positions, he was not what we today consider "high-profile", i.e a President or Prime Minister, someone you might pay a significant about of money to hear speak. Brockington pulled off a career as a speaker in the days before there were agents, speaking tours and schedules, and certainly before speaking engagements became a big money business.

By contemporary standards, Brock might be considered a minor player, but we should not be so quick to judge him by today's standards. He was a product of the time in which he lived, and his speeches largely reflected those times. Whether he was speaking in front of an audience of lawyers, insurance representatives, or students, he always made the content of his speeches relevant and reflective. However, after reading through a number of Brockington's speeches in the course of researching this paper, he also had a number of consistent themes and a style that was, though repetitive, almost certainly a manifestation of his character.

Brock as Writer

Brockington was also a writer. It is likely that his articles failed to garner the attention that his speeches did because his poetic language and voice were lost with the written word. Notwithstanding, his speeches were far more prolific. Despite this overshadowing of Brock's written word, it is worth looking more in depth at two particular pieces he wrote in the 1960s. The pieces highlighted were chosen for several reasons, least of which is availability. They were

significant because of the topics they covered, as well as the excellent writing style the author employed.

Courtesy of *Journey Among the Homeless*

The first written work, entitled *Journey Among the Homeless*, was commissioned in 1962 and published by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the New East (UNRWA) in January 1963. As John H. Davis, Commissioner-General of UNRWA, wrote in the Introduction to the brochure, it was in the early summer of 1962 that Brock was invited to meet with refugees and visit camps, schools and vocational training centers throughout the region. Davis stated that Brock was "one of Canada's most distinguished citizens." He goes on to describe the journey and reception it received, "[w]ith the energy of a man half his age, he spared no effort to delve into the heart of the refugee problem."

Davis went on to discuss the purpose of the brochure, which he revealed mostly comes from a series of articles Brockington penned for the *Globe and Mail*. In fact, it was the response to these initial articles that prompted Brockington to write a letter Israel's Ambassador to

Canada. Enclosed with the letter was a copy of *Journey Among the Homeless* with underlined passages identifying where Brock was accused of "subtle anti-Semitic propaganda." Brock explained that an unidentified member of the Israeli embassy in Washington did not approve of many of the issues in the brochure and the newspaper articles. From the letter to the Israeli Ambassador, it was clear that Brockington was shocked at this troubling revelation and wrote, "I think you know of my admiration for the achievements of the Jewish people and their precious gifts to the world, my compassion for their unjust sufferings, and my hopes for their future happiness and prosperity." He continued, "I cannot imagine what objection could be taken to the passages underlined and the observations which I have made. I wrote with sorrow and pity in my heart." Alas, we have no indication which passages were considered anti-Semitic propaganda, and this is not the space in which to analyze those contentions.

It was clear, however, that for the first time Brockington has stumbled unwittingly in to a sensitive situation of which, he admittedly, knew nothing about. He wrote, "…I was particularly careful not to attempt to analyze causes which would require far more research then I could give them, nor to propose remedies which would require deep understanding, wisdom, thorough study, and the widest possible international support." Unfortunately, there is no record of a response from the Israeli Ambassador in Canada to Brockington. As Davis wrote in the Introduction, and Brock explained in his letter, these were observations based solely on what he had witnessed. Davis continued, "[i]t has been prepared because it highlights, in most admirable prose, some of the human aspects of the many tragedies involved."

To be sure, Brockington, in the brochure, wrote, "I have neither the knowledge nor the experience to analyze the complications and confusion of events and circumstances, ancient and modern, which like a dark cloud freighted with the tempest, overhang this unhappy land. Their plight is a tragedy to the whole world."[100] Though Brockington maintained in his letter to the Israeli Ambassador that he simply analyzed what he witnessed with his own eyes, he does not shy away from intimating many of these encounters. He recalled one with an older Arab woman whom he described as "shrill" with "pent-up indignation and accusation against those who she believed had robbed her of her birthright."

Following a largely descriptive introduction of the region and background to his trip and subsequent writing, Brockington reaches the core of his purpose -- the refugee problem. Bare in mind, this was not intended to be an analysis of the problem itself. Rather, Brock was imparting observations with respect to what is being done to help alleviate the situation. There are no conjectures made on solving the Mideast crisis. As we saw above, however, he does express the thoughts and mind set of many of the refugees themselves. These should not being taken as Brockington's own point of view, as he does not offer any personal opinions or conclusions to the situation.

Brock visited various refugee camps in the Mideast in order to exam the educational activity being undertaken throughout the region for young people. The demographics of the region discussed in the brochure are of mainly younger men and women who are ninety percent Muslim and ten percent Christian. Brockington detailed the background of the UNRWA that

[100] Leonard W. Brockington, *Journey Among the Homeless* (Beirut: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, 1963), pg. 19.

was established in May 1950 in the aftermath of the Arab-Israel Conflict. The Agency was to work in coordination with the nations most affected by the flood of refugees to within their respective borders.

With the assistance of those nations, the Agency was able to provide food, shelter, medical care and work projects on 7.5 cents per day. Brock added in the regions where these camps could provide educational training, the per day cost increased to nine cents. Brock reported that nearly ninety percent of the medical staff -- mainly doctors and nurses -- were themselves refugees. Since the UNRWA began its work, the average annual cost for medical services and care to the Agency is approximately three million dollars for an average of 5.5 million patients in nearly one hundred clinics.[101]

In his final analysis of the financial costs for the work being done in the refugee camps, Brockington explained that it was an annual cost of thirty-four million dollars, ninety percent of which came from the United States, Great Britain and Canada. Brockington, in writing this brochure, probably felt a secondary purpose to his trip. To report to Canadians the manner in which Canadian dollars were being spent. However, as Brock never suggested this, it is pure speculation. The remaining ten percent of revenue was derived from nearly thirty other nations. By illustrating the financial costs, Brock also was able to respond to misunderstandings with respect to the Arab response to the refugee crisis. It was believed that Arab countries were not among the thirty nations contributing to their Palestinian brothers. Brock showed, in fact, that since the beginning of the refugee crisis, Arab countries had contributed nearly fifty-five million dollars to the Agency or directly to the refugees.[102]

For much of the brochure, Brockington does relay on facts about the work being done to alleviate the refugee issue in the Mideast. He certainly is no authority on the matter, but he did gain a certain understanding of the relief programs in place throughout the region having visited camps in Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan and the Gaza Strip. In the end, he visited nine vocational schools that had a total capacity of 4,500 students. However, at the time of Brock's visit only 2,700 students were taking classes. There were 22 classes where males could engage in plumbing, carpentry, auto mechanics, welding, business and offices training. While females were able to chose from a limited offering of teacher preparation, clerical and secretarial functions, nurse training and needlework.[103] Brock wrote that the cost of one vocational training course was $500 annually, and scholarships were desperately needed to cover these costs.

[101] Ibid., pg. 17-8.
[102] Ibid., pg. 18.
[103] Ibid., pg. 24.

Courtesy of *Journey Among the Homeless*

The main objective of Brock's trip to the Palestinian refugee camps was to survey the efforts to provide education to the refugee population. In particular, he was to examine the vocational training that the UNRWA was putting in place to train refugees to once again become employable. Brock noticed that the refugees were largely unemployed, not because they were refugees, but because they lacked the necessary training required for employability. He wrote, "[w]ithout the skill in the lands of their exile, the great majority found themselves unemployable." There was a tremendous effort to gather the necessary funding required to provide vocational training. Not only to be productive, contributing members in the land of their exile, but also to provide the necessary confidence and self-respect for human wellness. For Brockington this crisis was not political, cultural, religious or ethnic, but it was a human crisis requiring humanitarian intervention. Educational and vocational training was deemed the first necessary step to alleviating the pressure. Brockington wrote that there was a passion for education among the peoples of the region. He continued:

> [c]ertainly I found wherever I went a great anxiety to learn on the part of the children and a reflected pride and perhaps an unspoken joy in the hearts of the parents that every generation will be literate and skilled that than the one that preceded it.

It is undeniably an instinct that all parents, the world over, have for their children. A desire that their children be better equipped -- educationally and financially -- than they were. Brockington believed that humans, regardless of beliefs and background, can feel an empathy and concern for the parents of refugee children.

Much of the booklet that was written for the UNRWA was also featured in Canada's national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*. In addition, there was a considerable Canadian contribution to the UNRWA's educational objectives. As such, Brockington -- himself a proud, adopted Canadian -- felt it necessary to detail the Canadian contribution. Notwithstanding the financial contribution made by the federal government and several non-governmental organizations, Canada's role was also intimately involved in the structure and framework of the educational and vocational training programs. Brockington specifically praised three Canadians who stood out for their involvement in the UNRWA: first, Major General Howard Kennedy, the first director of the UNRWA; second, Dr. Robert Westwater, head of the UNRWA's educational department; and third, Dr. D.E. Mahood, advisor for teachers' training.[104] Furthermore, during

[104] Ibid., pg. 19.

Brock's trip there were ten other Canadians working for the UNRWA in the Middle East, and countless more toiling on other projects throughout the region.

One of the larger projects where Canadians were heavily involved was the construction of the Siblin School just outside of Beirut, Lebanon. Brockington detailed the financial contribution from Canada, which included $450,000 from the Canadian government, the Canadian World Refugee Year Committee gave $150,000, and the Junior Red Cross provided $71,000. In addition to this generous donation, the Junior Red Cross also endowed a $25,000 annually for two years to send fifty refugee boys to Siblin.[105] Brock wrote, after visiting the school, "[i]t was pleasant to hear the youngsters of Siblin saying that the new school was given by the Children of Canada." Brock observed the outcome of the great Canadian effort to provide educational facilities to the refugees. Facilities that were almost certainly appreciated by both the parents and children. The Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women also sponsored scholarship at $500 annually for two years that allowed six refugee girls to attend teacher and vocational training in Ramallah, just outside Jerusalem. In addition to the Beirut school, Canadian contributions were drawn on to build another school in Homs, Syria.

The Canadian contribution to the UNRWA's efforts was so much more than financial. With so much that needed to be done for the refugees, Brock wrote, the agency could not do everything. Therefore, non-profit organizations, such as the Red Cross Society, Canadian Lutheran World Relief, Unitarian Service Community and the United Church of Canada collected needed items, such as clothing.[106] Brockington went on to describe the generosity of the Fisher River Reserve at Koostatak in northern Manitoba whose church provided funds from the congregation to buy equipment for Ahmad Aziz 'Ali to return to his long-time career as a barber in his exiled land. Accounts, such as these, where little to no money is involved, are a great example of the human spirit and Canadian generosity.

Brock went on to recall a rather notable donation from the Inuit at Frobisher Bay in Canada's north. After speaking with Peter Casson, the United Nations Special Representative in Canada for WRY, Brock was awestruck by the response from the Inuit group. The story is best told in Brockington's own words:

> [w]hen [Casson] first tried to explain to the Eskimos the needs of the Arab refugees, he soon found that the Eskimo language contained no word for "refugees". So when he tried to explain that refugees were people who had lost their homes after the Second World War, the Eskimos asked *what* was the Second World War. It was only when Peter Casson explained to them that the Arab refugees were people in need of shelter, food and clothing that the Eskimos said "Oh, they are people like us. Certainly we must help them!"

This must have struck Brockington as out of the ordinary not because one group of people was willing to help another unknown group of people from half way around the world, but that the Inuit group was completely uniformed of the international climate and was still willing to contribute. Because, as the Inuit alluded to, the two disparate groups shared one commonality:

[105] Ibid., pg. 19.
[106] Ibid., pg. 19.

need. In the end, through the auctioning of valuable Inuit cultural items and artifacts, the UNRWA received an additional $5,000.

One last infrastructure project that Brock described was built largely from Canadian financial contributions and involvement. A maternity hospital in Gaza. This was built through the effort of Canadian soldiers and airmen who raised the prices at their canteen in order to collect the funds. The memorial plaque outside the hospital emblazoned with a Maple Leaf was inscribed with the following words:

> This clinic is a gift to the Palestinian refugees from the Canadian soldiers and airmen serving in the United Nations Emergency Force 1960-61.

Courtesy of *Journey Among the Homeless*

Brock visited the hospital that he described as "beautifully built, filled with fresh air, spotlessly clean, admirably equipped and served by trained nurses." Moreover, it was announced during this particular visit that the hospital would be expanded with the contribution of $11,000 from the Canadian Save the Children Fund. As a final tribute to the Canadian peoples, the hospital was named after Alice Lalande, a French-speaking Canadian secretary on the UN staff in the Congo who was killed, along with Secretary General, Dag Hammaskjold, in a plane crash.

Brockington was especially proud of the contribution of Canada to these projects in the Middle East. He was humbled by his trip. Though there seemed to be a bit of backlash following the release of the publication, it should not deter from the central message which was in relation to the education and training of refugees in Palestine. Brock was, throughout his life, a great enthusiast for any educational pursuits. Certainly when his saw the eagerness for education among children in the refugee camps in the many Middle Eastern countries he visited, he was undoubtedly optimistic about the future outcome of the Middle East conflict. He was sent to examine and assess the educational pursuits underway throughout the region. He was not sent to criticize or implicate one side over the other, and any resulting judgment was certainly unintended.

The second of Brockington's written works that received a great deal of attention was published in the *Globe and Mail* on January 25, 1965, one day following the death of Sir Winston Churchill. Churchill was arguably Britain's preeminent, and historically most recognized, leader. There are perhaps more biographies and histories written specifically on him – not to mention the period on which he ruled – than any other statesman. He was a citizen, soldier, historian, author, politician, Prime Minister and, lastly, leader when Britain needed it

most. It is a dreadful thought the think of what might have happened had Churchill surrendered during the Battle for Britain.[107]

From the article in the *Globe and Mail* it is clear that Brock was, as many Britons were, an admirer of Churchill. Of his death, Brock wrote, "[t]here is, mercifully, no tragedy in his passing; no assassin's bullet took his life as it did the life of [John] Kennedy or Gandhi." He continued, "[d]eath did not over take him while the burden of his unended pilgrimage were still on his shoulders as they were on those of Franklin Roosevelt."

It was in this *Globe and Mail* article that Brockington recalled with story when he met Churchill during his visit to Alberta in 1929 that opened this essay. Notwithstanding the entire article, which covered the middle section of Canada's national newspaper, but his personal recollections of Churchill are the substance of the piece. It was an obvious sense of pride for Brockington. As stated earlier, Churchill spoke to Brockington about the relationship between Britain and the United States, and the former said that he had "himself looked forward someday to bringing Britain and the United States closer together as friends…for the larger purposes of civilization."

In the aftermath of defeating Nazi Germany, the relationship that started during the inter-war period but crystallized during World War II faced a new threat from the East – Communism and the Soviet Union. The so-called Special Relationship – still referred to by contemporary British politicians – was born through the efforts of Churchill. When he spoke of this future relationship with Brockington in 1929, he might have already been considering the future of international relations, and the mutual role for the United States and Great Britain. It is doubtless, given Churchill's involvement in contemporary politics and international relations, that he did not already foresee a future clash with the Soviet Union.

Brockington's admiration of Churchill was genuine. It was not a case of a man passed away and we now must call upon platitudes as a sign of respect. The respect for Britain's wartime leader was indisputable. As such, it is best to quote a few passages, at length, from Brock's tribute to Churchill:

> As no soldier ever wrote or spoke as Churchill did, no statesman ever saw such action on so many fields. Men of action were always attracted by him as he by them. And it is no small honor to earn and deserve the admiration of men like Michael Collins, Lawrence of Arabia, Field Marshall Smuts and the soldiers, sailors and airmen who gave him and their country their loyal devotion. He always belonged to the best of all brotherhoods, the brotherhood of the brave.

Brockington continued:

> After the Second World War, in the race against inexorable time, the onset of old age necessarily hastened the publication of his memoirs, and as works of literature

[107] For readers interested in this possible alternative to history see Andrew Roberts and Niall Ferguson, "Hitler's England: What if Germany had Invaded Britain in May 1940," in *Virtual History: Alternative and Counterfactuals*. Edited by Niall Ferguson (New York: Basic Books, 1999), pg. 281-320.

> they suffer somewhat by comparison with their predecessors. Nevertheless, they form the greatest record left by any man of the great events in which he himself had shaped and not infrequently helped to shape and guide.

Brockington lauded Churchill's legacy, writing, "[i]t will be for a succession of great writers to analyze his genius, to assess his achievements and fix his final place in the history of mankind." History has judged Churchill, for the most part, adequately. He is arguably one of the most written about historical figures. In fact, there continue to be biographies and histories of his time as statesman written presently. Not to mention, he uttered one of history's most famous and repeated quotes on March 5, 1946 at a speech in Fulton, Missouri:

> From the Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I mush call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.

Brock's praise of Churchill continued, showing that Churchill was the epitome of fearless leader during Britain's most perilous period:

> In the days of darkness he never doubted the clouds would break. Whatever fears he had, he kept them to himself and never showed them either to his friends or his enemies. When it seemed as though the world was falling in ruins around him, he turned calamity to glorious gain and often determined that just as out of agony came compassion, so out of defeat would come victory.

Of Churchill's greatest hour, Brockington wrote:

> It will be one of the great miracles of history that by the happy and fortunate meeting of preparation and opportunity at the same time and place this man became leader of a brave nation in the time of its greatest test and tribulation. He grew in stature amid the thunder and lightning of earth-shattering events. His shining quality moved to new heights and raised him up in place and authority. He asked no man to take risk which he would not willingly take himself. If he knew fear, he never spoke of it. If he felt pity, as he often did, he neither felt nor showed any for himself. He believed in resolution in war, defiance in victory, magnanimity in defeat, goodwill in peace.

Brock concluded his obituary of Churchill:

> Perhaps at the memories and visions of a life so long, so merry, so sad, so hard, so triumphant, flashed before his eyes as they closed on their last earthly sleep he saw the landscape and seascape of his dreams. The more they remind him of England, the more joyous he will be.

From what historians know by sifting through the archives, is that Brockington did not write as much as he spoke. In fact, much of the written material -- save the two important pieces discussed above -- were speeches made throughout his lifetime. Although, he did write a number of literary reviews for the *Globe Magazine*. This is truly unfortunate because his writing was superb with a masterful grasp of the English language. However, it can be surmised, that Brockington was likely far more comfortable giving speeches than writing.

The Death of Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C.

Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C. died on September 15, 1966 at the age of 78 in Toronto, Ontario. Brock, throughout his life, suffered from several ailments. Despite all his physical disabilities, he did not shy away from living an active lifestyle, even right up until the end of his life. Brockington also maintained his humor. With respect to his health, he was once quoted saying, "[t]he doctors look upon me as a marvelous example of health, considering the fact that I have at least 10 different ailments – eight of them fatal."[108]

As we have seen, Brock lived a full life. From his childhood in Wales to Edmonton to Calgary to Winnipeg to Ottawa. He became best known as an orator who gave speeches at any opportunity afforded to him. He travelled the world espousing Canadian values and western ideals. He spoke to audiences in all corners of the world, including Canada, the United States, India, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand. His speeches were often broadcasted on international radio, which is almost certainly an indication of the importance of the man and his message. He came to prominence in Calgary, Alberta, but was quickly recognized as a national treasure, especially following his role for the Canadian government during World War II.

Several papers from across the country and around the world printed stories announcing Brockington's passing. For several of his contemporaries, especially those closest to him, his passing did not come as a shock. Regardless, Brock was a large-than-life character, and though his death was not shocking, it was still upsetting for those who knew him. For those who were familiar with Brock through his work during World War II or at the CBC, the numerous articles were a minor point of reference to the loss for Canada of a great Canadian. Though history has not necessarily paid proper homage to the important role that a key figure played during some of Canada's most perilous times, his contemporaries certainly understood the loss.

The Daily Telegram ran an article entitled, "He was the war-time voice of the nation he loved," on September 16, 1966. In the article, journalist Phyllis Griffiths recalled all of Brock's professional achievements and presented the readers with an extended biography detailing his life and experiences. However, it is the "sidebar" entitled, "Gems from Canada's 'Orator Laurette'," that bestowed several of the "gems" for readers:

> Freedom of speech is not for sale at $50 a minute on air. If it were, free air would soon degenerate into just a sign outside a filling station.

[108] Quoted in Bruce West, "Brock, the man," *Globe and Mail*, September 22, 1966.

In Saskatchewan, when the province was deeply in debt and Dunning was premier: "Saskatchewan has been in a bad way, but debts are being reduced by Dunning -- and dunning is the oldest recourse of all."

Mr. Brockington had just begun a speech when an intoxicated man in the audience shouted, "Why?" He looked at the heckler, paused and said, "If the gentleman who is so full of whys were as wise as he is full, he would return to that silence from when he ought never to have emerged."

He once rocked the St. David's Day dinner in Winnipeg when he commented on other nationalities: "The English at their national gatherings begin claiming modestly, and then, with typical English logic, claim all other virtues as well." He said of Scots through their national reputation for generosity had been vindicated "because they gave a hand when they sang 'Auld Lang Syne'."

I have always gazed in admiration on the Fourth of July when Italians from New York, Germans from Milwaukee and Swedes from Minneapolis, thank God that their ancestors were liberty-loving Englishmen who fought the War of Independence.

After unsuccessfully attempting to persuade a London spiritualist not to write a book showing that Prime Minister Mackenzie King was a convinced spiritualists, Mr. Brockington commented to a friend: "Never before have I felt so inclined to strike a happy medium."

On September 16, 1966, the *Toronto Daily Star* ran an article entitled "CBC's Brockington heard by millions" that described what Brockington was arguably best known for: his work with Prime Minister Mackenzie King during World War II, where he spoke on international radio about Canada's war effort. The *Globe and Mail* – Canada's national daily – ran a number of articles on Brock's death in the days following September 15. But it was one large obituary on September 16 (reprinted September 17) that thoroughly detailed Brockington's life and his substantial contribution to Canada. In the article, entitled "Lawyer, orator, executive, public servant, Leonard W. Brockington dies at 78," the author presents many of the more well known characteristics of Brock's life, his career trajectory and his public speaking. There were several facets of Brock's life that were not necessarily common knowledge, and this article offers a little insight in to elements only those close to Brock would have known. Brock was a great supporter of arts and culture in Canada. Not only did he give speeches to numerous groups associated with the arts, but he was active in the theatre and music. Indeed, while living in Alberta he was named adjudicator-at-large for different music and drama competitions. Furthermore, he was fundamental to the expansion of music in Calgary, and was even the president of the Calgary Symphony Orchestra, as well as the director of the D'Oyly Carter Opera Company.

The list of activities that Brockington was involved with throughout his life are too numerous to mention in a newspaper article. However, the *Globe and Mail* obituary lists a few of Brock's outside interests. Including his love and devotion to the arts, Brock also had a deep

interest in business. He held a number of directorships that included The Globe and Mail, Burns Foods Limited, and the Windsor Hotel Limited. Also, for a number of years, he was counsel for the British Oversees Airways Corporation.

Along with all these activities, Brockington was also the recipient of numerous honours and awards, the most prestigious of which was the Medal of the Canada Council. He was also an honorary member of the Canadian Society of New York City, a Freeman of the City of London, and a Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspapers Makers.[109] The tribute in the *Globe and Mail* continued to list the other achievements of Brock's life, including the many speeches he would give to assist organizations in their respective missions, such as the Community Chest and the Canadian Red Cross. He received the Companion of St. Michael and St. George for his wartime service. Also, the Sarcee Indians made him Chief Yellow Head Coming Over the Hill. Brock was also an honorary Bencher of the Inner Temple, a rare appointment.[110]

For all his accolades and honors, Brockington was likely most proud of those he received from a number of universities. Brockington also believed that education was a key to success and respect, and believed that all young people were entitled to an education. When Brock became the Rector of Students at Queen's University in 1947, a post he was reelected to for seven, three-year periods until 1965. While in the post at Queen's, the university bestowed upon him the distinction of naming one of the new men's residences Brockington House. His dedication to education continued after leaving his post at Queen's when he was named as a consultant to a special panel of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research in Bellagio, Italy.

For his educational achievements, the *Globe and Mail* listed on the honorary degrees he held from several universities, including University of Wales, Queen's University, the University of Western Ontario and Syracuse University. For his dedication to the law, he was named an honorary life member of the Canadian Bar Association, an honorary member of the American Bar Association, as well as an honorary member of the bar of New York City and New York State.[111]

For those who missed the original article on Friday, September 16, it was run again -- in its entirety -- on Saturday, September 17. The second edition of the tribute also include several anecdotal remarks Brockington made throughout his life. He was famous for his anecdotal phraseology, and it was a fitting tribute for the national newspaper to include these for their readers. Since they were such a large component of Brockington's repertoire, it is appropriate to include Brock in his own words.

On Canada:

[109] "Lawyer, orator, executive, public servant, Leonard W. Brockington dies at 78," *Globe and Mail*, September 16, 1966.
[110] Ibid.,
[111] Ibid.,

This land which I chose as a home for my children and my children's children has been a most kindly mother. I have tried to look at it always as one nation united and free. I have hated with a passionate hate the pettiness of partisanship and things that divide, distract and disunite us. I have learned to respect my French-Canadian fellow citizens equally with those of other races. I have seen as every Canadian must seen that the marriage of the true minds of English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Canada is indissoluble and perpetual. I have felt that Canada will find her national soul in the fullness of her splendor on that day when we take pride in each other and this nation realizes that her inheritance of two languages and two cultures is strength, not a weakness.

When I meet a Canadian on foreign soil he seems to carry with him something of the neighborly kindliness of the Canadian frontiers, something of the healing strength and warmth of the Canadian sun, something of the clean freshness of the Canadian air which sweeps and sweetens some of the dusty and musty places.

I am proud to be a citizen of Canada, a land too wide for intolerance or narrow for racialism, a land where the prevailing wind is the wind of freedom. And for one like myself, the Commonwealth stands above all for human brotherhood. We are all citizens of one city --The World.

I hear the beat of the pioneer hammer, and the swing and stroke of the frontier axe, and I pay silent homage to that army of men with bent backs and gnarled hands who tamed the wilderness, cleared the forest, shaped the iron, and on the virgin soil of Canada set their signatures with the hopeful plow.

On World War II:

We who war against the Germans have made our errors. We have tried to fight a gorilla under Marquis of Queensbury rules. We have tried to stop the path of tanks with platitudes, attitudes and beatitudes. We have forgotten that a Hottentot with a machine gun could bet the U.S. Marines without one.

In this war we are fighting not for our garages but for our temples, not for a standard of living but for a standard of life.

I went back to England (after D-Day in 1944) with memories that will never die until the last darkness comes -- memories of the greatest organization the world has ever seen, of sea and air might so invincible that it could not even be challenged, or brave men on beaches and in the air, of many ship great and small.

On the Human Spirit:

In the geography of maps, the distance between Moscow and Toronto is very great; in the geography of the human heart it is very small.

> The Commonwealth nations are not so much concerned with putting their heads together as putting their hearts together.
>
> Good Anglo-American relations will survive even the best efforts of official propagandists.
>
> This is not an age of reformation, but an age of defense, when all men of goodwill should devote all their powers to preserve the good things handed down.
>
> I do not like the word "tolerance" because it seems to imply a virtue in the person who tolerates and some lingering lack of it in the person whose opinions and acts are tolerated. I much prefer the word "understanding."
>
> When we are in our declining years, it is surprising how soon time's winged chariot becomes jet-propelled.

It is clear from all these tributes that Brockington was a popular figure and well-known in Canada and beyond. Many of these tributes recalled his life and achievements. It is clear from the various accolades, that Brockington was more than lawyer. Indeed, if one was to breakdown Brockington's life into percentages, the time he spent practicing law would have been minimal at best. Even during his tenure at the Grains Exchange, it is almost certain that his time spent in any legal capacity was almost minimal. In the final analysis, Brockington led a full life. He was well recognized by his contemporaries for his contribution to Canada. However, a pressing question remains. If Brockington contributed so much to Canadian society, why is there a lack of appropriate remembrance? In fact, only seven centimeters of space was dedicated to him in the *Canadian Encyclopedia*, a space ill-fitting for his career and life achievements.[112]

Conclusion

Leonard Brockington was an interesting character. I say character – a dying breed in fact – because he was one. He was who he was, and never pretended or tried to be someone else. From City Solicitor to the CBC to the Grain Exchange to World War II to Queen's University, Brock was a raconteur, a savant. A rare find, I would argue, today. Some might argue that he is product of the time in which he lived. Undeniably true, we all are. However, it was more than the events surrounding his life that made him interesting. Brockington took his multitude of talents and used them to his advantage. He was able to speak and write eloquently on varied topics. He so impressed those he associated with, he was able to open doors that may have otherwise remained shut.

I began this paper making the claim that biographies are the most difficult histories to write. This process has not changed my mind. In fact, I am far more uncompromising in this belief. As stated above, no individual lives in a bubble, they are a product of their time. When writing a biography one has to be careful to balance the individual within the contextual period. Historians rely on evidence to guide their theories. Archival papers and primary-source

[112] Bredin, "Leonard W. Brockington C.M.G. LL.D. D.C.L. K.C.," pg. 83-5.

documents combined with secondary literature is crucial when writing history. This becomes a little more complicated when the primary evidence are speeches, written pieces and some anecdotal stories. For example, you hear a story about your subject from a person who once knew a person who knew the subject. Although, very interesting, it does not always measure up to the historical evidence test. Unless, it can be confirmed, it remains gossip.

Much of the primary research on Brockington is interesting. His impressive speech-writing ability illuminates a lot about the man. He was clearly a voracious reader with a love for classic literature and poetry. From his many speeches, one is able to extract pieces of information that provide a glimpse of Brockington. Whether he is describing life in Wales or his admiration for Canada, there are slivers of personal information embedded in the speeches. Unfortunately, he rarely reveals much about himself. Much of what is known about Brockington the man is provided by those around him. His family, his friends, and his colleagues. Though some correspondence does survive, this too is limited. Thus, the greatest sources of biographical information are his Law Society of Alberta member file and an interview with Eric Hutton for *Macleans* magazine in 1953.

On his professional life, there is certainly more. There were a large number of speeches he gave, many of which were recorded and survived. From the various positions he held, there is a good deal of correspondence that survived. The most valuable being the letters written between him and C.D. Howe during the inception of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. There was also an exchange of letters between Brock and the Prime Minister's office during the first year of World War II. But much of his professional life was detailed in his speeches. From those speeches, we can intimate that Brockington was a sought-after speaker. That he was also able to give lengthy and detailed speeches to different audiences on a variety of topics. These point to the popularity of Brockington.

Though he spoke to many different groups, Brockington had a formula to his speech writing and a great number of his speeches were repetitive. This is not a criticism, but a reality for someone who spoke and traveled to speak as much as he did. One thing is certain, Brock remained positive when giving speech. Even during the worst time for the Allies during World War II, he was certain that freedom and liberty would triumph over tyranny. In a sense, he was very much like Churchill, whose own speeches were the backbone of Britain's resilience during their darkest hour.

Brock's formula was actually quite simple. He would always include a reference to the place where he was giving the speech, and often times would attempt to relate this place to Wales or Canada. His speeches always utilized his love for classic literature and poetry. His speeches were usually chalked full of witticisms and humour. Since the beginning of World War II, all his speeches included references to the greatness of Canada, Canada's friendship with the United States and Great Britain, and the freedoms and liberties enjoyed emblematic of those nations. Furthermore, he was quick to remind every audience he spoke to that Canada was his adoptive homeland. But that he, nonetheless, felt as if he was as Canadian as any other. His love for Canada is certain in all his speeches.

Brock was an interesting and intriguing individual who made a substantive contribution to Canadian history. However, Canadian history has not remembered him as it has many of his contemporaries. This is not necessarily a commentary on Brockington's contribution to Canada. Rather, it is likely the result of a lack of substantive documentation beyond what has been discussed here. With that said, Brock's name has appeared in Canadian history books. He even made several appearances in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's diaries. What is key is not how or if historians remember him. It is important to remember the contribution he made to Canadian society while he was alive, which was substantial. He lived through some of the most exciting times in Canadian history, and provided a colourful analysis of those times. Brockington lived Canadian history. He was a quintessential part of not only that history, but also that legacy that continues today.