The Crisis in Public Opinion

An Address by
Dr. Harold A. Innis
Head, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto

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Abstract: This manuscript was discovered among Harold Innis’s unpublished writings in his papers at the University of Toronto Archives (B72-0025/025). It bears the title and description given above, and is six and one-half single-spaced pages in length in a 10-point font. The manuscript is not accompanied by any material explaining its context and origins. However, a number of letters referring to it were located within Innis’s correspondence (B72-0025/002 and B72-0025/003). (Details on these letters are provided in an article by Buxton and Dickens in this issue of CJC.) Aside from the adjustment of the pagination (the original page breaks have been indicated with consecutive numbers in square brackets) and the justification of the text, the only major change made to the typescript of the address has been the addition of endnotes (there are no references listed in the original transcript). These not only indicate (as far as possible) the sources that Innis used for his quotes, but provide information about persons, journals, organizations, events, and various other phenomena referred to by Innis, many of which would not be familiar to the contemporary reader.

Résumé : Ce manuscrit a été découvert parmi les écrits inédits d’Harold Innis compris dans ses documents aux Archives de l’Université de Toronto (B72-0025/025). Il comporte le titre et la description indiqués ci-dessus, et compte six pages et demie à simple interligne dans une fonte de 10 points. Aucun matériel qui en expliquerait le contexte ou les origines n’accompagne le manuscrit. Cependant, quelques lettres y faisant référence ont été trouvées dans la correspondance d’Innis (B72-0025/002 et B72-0025/003). (L’article de Buxton et Dickens dans ce numéro du CJC fournit des détails sur ces lettres.) Le seul changement majeur apporté au manuscrit, hormis un ajustement de la pagination (avec des chiffres entre crochets indiquant la division en pages originale) et la justification du texte, a consisté à ajouter des notes en fin d’ouvrage (le texte original ne comportant aucune référence). En plus d’indiquer (dans la mesure du possible) les sources qu’Innis a utilisées pour ses citations, ces notes fournissent des informations sur les personnes, les revues, les organismes, les événements et divers autres phénomènes auxquels il s’est rapporté, y compris plusieurs qui seraient étrangers au lecteur contemporain.
I would like to thank you for asking me to come and talk to this extremely influential group of publishers, editors and business managers of the Periodical Press of Canada.¹ I may quote one sentence from your invitation: “As you know, this audience is made up of an extremely important opinion-forming group.” I had not realized just how important a group it is in forming public opinion until I happened to see the distinguished figures assembled in the other room and now in this.²

I am to speak on “The Crisis in Public Opinion,” which is quite a large order. But I am cheered by the sight of many old friends, and I hope they will bear with me and realize I am only trying to open questions rather than trying to provide the answers. If I succeed in doing that, I shall be meeting in part the interest which prompted the invitation.

What I should like to emphasize throughout is the very great importance of the present-day periodical in moulding public opinion and the enormous increase in importance of periodicals for that reason, that has come about in the past few years, and since the last war in particular.

My subject, then, is “The Crisis in Public Opinion.” It is one which I feel warrants some apology at the beginning. Everyone is talking about crises these days, and such talk has become rather monotonous. I am reminded of the story told of C. P. Scott,³ sometime editor of The Manchester Guardian⁴ regarding a story written by a reporter which said, “The Hon. So & So was operated on for appendicitis by Sir Frederick Treves.”⁵ Mr. Scott drew a circle around it and added the annotation: “All distinguished people have appendicitis these days—and they are all operated on by Sir Frederick Treves!” In other words, what the reporter had written was not news.⁶ Well, in the same way, I am afraid a crisis has ceased to be a crisis. The word has been used on numerous occasions and, as often used, means very little.

I would like to contrast the instruments which moulded public opinion of the 19th century with the instruments which mould public opinion at the present time. I would like to speak first of the eighteen fifties in particular, when The London Times⁷ had reached the peak of its power as a publishing force and was wielding tremendous influence in English journalism, and indeed, on journalism throughout the world. It was protected by a monopoly under taxes and had the prominent editor, Delane,⁸ to direct its activities.

That period was characterized by the most brilliant anonymous journalism.⁹ It was that journalism which brought about major reforms in English public life. Whether one turns to the Times or to the Edinburgh Review or to the Quarterly Review¹⁰ or to other contemporaneous media which had such tremendous influence, one can see the manifest vigor of a journalism which was responsible for bringing about major reforms instrumental in changing the whole political character of England.¹¹
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Let me read one or two extracts from journalists of the period. The following is from a letter by Sidney Smith—and those of you who know Sidney Smith will know what to expect, while those of you who don’t know Sydney Smith ought to remedy the defect as quickly as possible.

He writes in a letter to the Countess Grey:

“For God’s sake, do not drag me into another war. I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I must think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards—I am sorry for the Greeks—I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Bagdad is oppressed—I do not like the present of the Delta—Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequences will be, that we shall cut each other’s throats. No war, dear Lady Grey! -- no eloquence, but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic!”

One might quote an even more effective journalist—one who wrote not for the Edinburgh Review or for the Quarterly, but for The Examiner, formerly edited by Leigh Hunt. I refer to Fonblanque. Many of you have never heard the name, Fonblanque, but he was easily one of the most distinguished journalists of that period, and I would like to quote an extract from an article written in The Examiner at the height of the attack on the Aristocracy, just previous to the Corn Laws.

It reads:

“If it be the constitutional policy of this country to maintain the Aristocracy and Magistracy, it is also the policy of this country to maintain them in the manner least onerous or detrimental to itself. The end being avowed and agreed on, the directest means will be the best; and it will be wiser to vote a yearly supply in pounds, shillings, and pence, for the maintenance of the Aristocracy and Magistracy of these realms, than to keep them by means of a tax on bread, which cramps the industry of a country. Let the Aristocracy and Magistracy take their place in the estimates with the Army and Navy; let money be voted for so many lords and so many squires a year, and country houses be built, repaired, or fitted and found, like ships. No one will grudge a few millions for the support of the wooden heads of Old England!”

Fonblanque undoubtedly drew much of his effectiveness from the Frenchman, Courier, who could be even more penetrating and sharp.

We come to the fifties with Delane. At the height of his power, and something of his power can be suggested in his objection to the pressure which was put on him by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort at the time of his constant nagging at Germany and his constant questioning of German policy. Delane’s comment may very well be taken as a sort of standard for journalism such as prevailed in the middle of the last century. This was a reply to pressure from the Court and reads as follows:-
"The purposes and duties of the two Powers are constantly separate, generally independent, sometimes diametrically opposite. The dignity and freedom of the Press are tramelled from the moment it accepts an ancillary position. To perform its duties with entire independence, and consequently with the utmost public advantage, the Press can enter into no close or binding alliance with the statesmen of the day, nor can I surrender its permanent interest to the convenience of the ephemeral power of any Government. The first duty of the Press is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly by disclosing them to make them the common property of the nation. The Press lives by disclosures. Whatever passes into its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and history of our times. It is daily and forever appealing to the enlightened force of public opinion—anticipating if possible the march of events—standing in the breach between the present and future, and extending its survey to the horizon of the world. The duty of the Press is to speak; of the statesman to be silent."21

That clash between Delane and the Court suggests very clearly the position in which Delane regarded the Press—the independence which he insisted on establishing and holding in the face of any pressure.22

Wherever one goes one finds this crusading spirit, not only in Britain with Delane, but in the United States with (Horace) Greeley23 and (Charles) Dana,24 and even in Canada, in the person of that outstanding journalist who came from Britain, Goldwin Smith.25 Some of you will remember Goldwin Smith. This is what he says about Canadians:

"These fellows are the veriest flunkeys on earth; they are always spouting loyalty and scrambling for small titles and all the crumbs that fall to them from the table of aristocracy. There is nothing in the universe lower than the colonial snob who apes the English gentleman."

It was that sort of writing which made Goldwin Smith very unpopular, and which also suggests something of the effectiveness of his pen in the time in which he lived, when the old type of journalism was deteriorating.

One may ask what brought about the change. In the last decade of the century, three or four technical improvements are very important. One was the shift from rags to the use of pulp—or the coming in of wood pulp and newsprint. The other, the use of the stereotype, was much earlier, but it made it possible to speed up the press. Along with the speeding up of the press was the use of color in the nineties. It was tremendously important for the comic supplements. Finally there was the coming in of the linotype, which speeded up composition.

At the end of the nineties there were two small newspaper wars which were tremendously important in boosting the circulation of the Press, making it possible to take advantage of all these technological improvements. In the United States there was Mr. Hearst,26 who was coming into New York from San Francisco. There was Mr. Pulitzer,27 who came to New York from St. Louis. And in Great Britain there was Lord Northcliffe,28 who came to dominate the newspaper field about the same
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In the Spanish-American war, Mr. Hearst sent Frederick Remington, the artist who was to draw pictures for him, to Cuba. Mr. Remington cabled back that he did not think war with Cuba likely, whereupon Mr. Hearst allegedly replied, “You furnish the pictures and I’ll furnish the war!”

The South African war and the Spanish-American war were small wars of tremendous advantage to newspaper circulation and did a great deal to increase the circulation of the new type of newspaper.

The old standards were going down. The Times had slid into bankruptcy by 1890 and was on the market by 1908. It had paid the penalty of keeping too close to the statements. Delane had died. There was the making of wrong guesses. It backed the wrong horse in the Civil War. It became involved in the scandal over the forgeries in the Irish question, and its influence rapidly deteriorated. I would like to read an extract from Laurence Oliphant, at one time Paris Correspondent of the Times.

“No man who has been editor of a Government paper for twenty years can retain his honesty. You see how the Times has been obliged to go into opposition they were losing their influence fast. Nothing is more established than the fact that the newspaper which exerts the greatest influence in a country must be in opposition. It is also sure of a larger circulation, because Government supporters are obliged to take it to see what is said, and the opponents take it because they agree with it.”

With the enormous increase in circulation from improvements and little wars, a new and entirely different development was evident in the whole field of journalism, in the Daily Mail, Lord Northcliffe’s paper, Mr. Hearst’s New York World. There is a very interesting quotation from Dilnot, who was closely associated with the Daily Mail, which brings out the essential character of the revolution.

“It’s unconventional procedure in giving prominence to what was of interest instead of merely to what was considered of importance, its rigid rule that every line in the paper should be justified by its interest to a wide circle, its adoption of extremely short articles, its idea of influencing people through its news columns, as well as of recording facts in them—all these things had not only made the Daily Mail, but had already brought about something like a revolution in Journalism generally.”

I also have a quotation from Oscar Wilde:

“There is much to be said in favour of modern journalism. By giving us the opinions of the uneducated, it keeps us in touch with the ignorance of the community. By carefully chronicalling the current events of contemporary life, it shows us of what very little importance such events are. By invariably discussing the unnecessary, it makes us understand what things are requisite for culture, and what are not.”

It was that deterioration and that general swing in the whole field of journalism which brings us to the problem of the present day: the problem of public opinion and the Press.
The Great War brought a loss of anchorage, but the power of the Press, the power of the new Press, probably reached its peak in that period. Lord Northcliffe exercised tremendous influence upon the policies of the British Government. He was instrumental in bringing about the downfall of Asquith and a reorganization of the Cabinet. It is suggestive that no such power has emerged during the present war. We have no Northcliffe—no single individual who dominates the political field in this war as Northcliffe did in the last war.36

Why has there been a continued deterioration in the post war period? There was the high price of newsprint in the last war, the amalgamation of papers, and the decline in editorial opinion. There was the influence of finance—department stores, cinemas, and talkies. There was the influence of finance—Munsey37 for example, who had formerly succeeded in bringing about amalgamation of chain stores and proceeded to buy up papers in New York and close them down. There was the large scale of the industry, which made it well-nigh impossible to found newspapers without tremendous capital backing, which precluded freedom of the Press. There was the control over syndicates. And finally, there was the rise of Radio, one of the very striking features of our time.

I would like to read one extract from an advisor to President Roosevelt to suggest the influence of the radio and its importance in the political field. This is a quotation from Raymond Moley,38 **After seven years.**

“Then Tom Corcoran39 (assistant to the President) offered me a little advice. The day of the printed word, he announced was over. “You have no idea what a good thing it is for your soul to have to address your self to a big radio audience. You’ve got to clarify your meaning, make things simple, reduce them to their ultimate essentials if you want to get them over to a big [5] audience, because human beings in the mass are a hell of a lot stupider than you would ever think!”40

The decline of editorial standards has been accompanied by other changes, such as the rise of the publicity agent, the planting of news, the effect of advertising, and the loss of confidence in the newspapers. Periodicals and magazines have expanded rapidly.

Several striking evidences of change have come through the influence of the radio. The third term for President Roosevelt is one.41 The enormous landslides which have taken place in the elections is another, indicating that the radio is becoming tremendously powerful in influencing votes.42 One could mention the rise of Nazi Germany in 1933, which coincided very closely with the development of radio.43

In Canada there has been a sharp decline in the power of parliamentary opposition —perhaps more in the United States than in Canada.44 There has been an organization of pressure blocs or groups. Many of these groups are able to exercise influence not through the old technique of lobbying, but by bringing pressure to bear through votes. In the case of Labour, in the case of the Farmer, in the case of the Silver bloc, they threaten that votes will go in a certain direction. These pressures
have become part of the new techniques and have had a weakening effect upon parliamentary opposition.\textsuperscript{45} During the war, parliamentary opposition has been handicapped. It protests vigorously, but in the final showdown votes with the Government. Its criticism is guarded because of the danger that it will be charged with attempting to undermine the war effort.\textsuperscript{46}

In Great Britain or the United States second chambers operate as powerful groups, but in Canada the Senate has little influence. It has no prestige, certainly no prestige compared to second chambers in the United States or Britain. It has come to be a pasture for old party warhorses, which in most cases old age pensions would have seemed to render obsolete.\textsuperscript{47}

An important bulwark of democracy is the courts. In Great Britain and the United States, the power of courts are important. But in Canada, the Supreme Court has been weakened through division of tasks with the Privy Council.\textsuperscript{48} Mr. Dooley said that the Supreme Court always followed the elections and pointed to the danger that the Supreme Court would become a legislative rather than a judicial body.

Power is now in a small group, namely, the Cabinet, and in a small group within the Cabinet.\textsuperscript{49} The weakness of Parliament is reflected in the unprecedented decline in the anonymity of the civil service.\textsuperscript{50} The public relations counsel appears in government departments. In spite of the British tradition of anonymity in the Civil Service, civil servants are beginning to speak with more authority, presumably, than the minister. We begin to have power without responsibility. The breakdown of anonymity in the Civil Service has been preceded by the breakdown of anonymity in the Press, the individual journalist is left open to pressure from the individual civil servant.

One might expect opposition to the Cabinet—that is, to the centralized power of a small, dictatorial group—to come from the press. But the former Liberal Press has become conservative from the necessity of supporting the Government, and opposition seems to reside alone in the Conservative press, or what used to be called the reactionary Press; in the weekly Press; and especially in the type of periodicals which is represented here.\textsuperscript{51}

It is quite clear that the Conservative Press is not very happy in the new role which has been thrust upon it, and it is quite clear that unless the Periodical Press [6] can take a strong lead, it is going to be extremely difficult to find an anchorage from which to influence public opinion to any great degree.

There has been a lowering in the calibre of the members of the House of Commons. Discussions throughout the country during the period of elections, or before elections, have been restricted because of amalgamations of the Press.\textsuperscript{52} It has been compelled to be more tolerant and is unable to take sides as it did before Liberal and Conservative papers were amalgamated. This tends to weaken discus-
sion, to make for poorer representation, and consequently to make the power of opposition very much weaker. This has increased the power of the radio, which thrives on conservative discussion, and increases the power of those who control the radio.

We have reached the point where the provincial governments almost alone provide the opposition. Provincial governments have been the chief factors in opposition. In the end, provincial parties find themselves in opposition to Dominion parties.\textsuperscript{53} One could point to the case of Alberta, and not so very long ago to Ontario as typical of the sort of opposition coming from provinces.\textsuperscript{54}

I should like to emphasize the necessity of trying to build up some system of Government, or some system of political machinery, which will make for the more effective registering of public opinion. The Sirois Commission for example, was set up primarily as a basis for definite public discussion, but it failed to set up or improvise any machinery whereby such discussion could be carried on.\textsuperscript{55} There is real need in a democracy for the means or machinery whereby there will be some sort of effective registering of public opinion. The concern of the Sirois Report was with legislation, and not with the machinery by which legislation was to be made sensitive to public opinion. We shall have to concern ourselves with the possibility of thinking out some new type of machinery which will check the trends toward a diminishing public opinion, so that we will not be in the position of having to take results as given, but will be able to think in terms of trying to bring about some better arrangement through the more effective registering of public opinion.

Public opinion since 1900—and especially since the last war—can be said to have lost anchorage.\textsuperscript{56} That anchorage had hitherto been supplied by the Press. Decline in confidence in the Press has weakened the influence of the Press. The public has turned to Radio, which does not seem to offer any solution to the problem. There is therefore a necessity to giving careful thought to some system of assuring that public opinion can be thought over and worked over, and the responsibility for that, I believe, rests to a large extent in the hands of the magazines and periodicals, and it is to those that we must turn for direction.

I think in a larger way one could say that this is the crisis in civilization—and again I apologize for using that word crisis—since 1914. We reached the end of 100 years of peace—a peace imposed by a Pax Britannica,\textsuperscript{57} if you will, but still a peace. It has been followed by the second Thirty Years’ war.\textsuperscript{58} We have been at war over a long period. We are still in a transitional stage during which we have not been able to find any bottom, during which we have not been able to find any anchorage. Whether there will emerge from the present “crisis” a sort of Pax America-Britannica—whether we will get some system by which public opinion can secure some sort of stability or some sort of anchorage—becomes one of the great questions of the present day.\textsuperscript{59}
We should bear in mind not only the dangers of today but the dangers of the future. We have carried over the traditions prevailing in 1914 into the post-war period. Now we seem to be in danger of carrying over the traditions established in the war from 1914 to the present time, into whatever may result from a new peace. This becomes particularly obvious in proposals to continue bureaucracies into the peace after the war.\textsuperscript{60} That, under stress of war, we have installed people who tell us what it is \textsuperscript{[7]} all about and what is going to be done, and how it is going to be done indicates that we are going to have bureaucrats with us at the end of the war. The bureaucracies will be strengthened in the confusion in public opinion and the danger becomes extremely great.

We must remember there is no final answer in a democratic society. The planning is done by all. There is no way of working out a blueprint covering a long period. Democracy must be sure it knows what its ideals are, and that it is in some way reaching its objectives. But it can only survive by an intelligent public opinion, and therefore the crisis in public opinion becomes a crisis for modern democratic states in general, and for civilization as we know it.

We must look to the Press—and particularly to that section of the Press represented by this group, National Newspapers, Magazines and Periodicals—to act as a bulwark against the encroachments of the war period, and to the probable encroachments after the peace. If we are going to find an anchorage, or if we are going to work out a solution, we can only hope that will be found in the continued effort of people like yourselves.

\textbf{Acknowledgment}

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\textbf{Notes}

1. Innis had been invited to this event by I. D. Carson, Executive Vice-President of the Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association. Evidently, the initial invitation was by telephone, followed up by a formal written invitation (Carson to Innis, April, 1943).
2. The Canadian Press Association was founded by William Gillespie in 1859. He called on members of the press from opposite sides of the political spectrum to come together in the hope of abating the intense factionalism that had threatened the colony in 1859. In 1919, the Canadian Press Association—then sixty-two years old—broke up into three groups: the Canadian Daily Newspapers Association, the Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association, and the Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association. Shortly after Innis' speech of May 12, 1943, at the latter's annual luncheon, the organization changed its name to the Periodical Press Association (Carson to Innis, May, 1943).
3. Charles Prestwich Scott (1853-1932) was named editor of \textit{The Manchester Guardian} in 1872 at the age of twenty-three, serving in this position for fifty-seven years. His cousin, John Edward Taylor (son of \textit{The Guardian}'s founder, John Edward Taylor), the owner of the newspaper, offered him a post after seeing some of his essays. He is credited with creating an atmosphere of free expression at the newspaper that allowed it to attract some of the finest journalists of the day. Scott's Unitarian beliefs soon became reflected in \textit{The Guardian}'s orientation, which supported
universal suffrage and prison reform. It also began to feature serious commentary on arts and letters. In 1886, *The Guardian* began to embrace home rule in 1886 and took a more reformist stance in relation to issues of social and economic change. In 1907, Scott purchased the newspaper from the estate of John Taylor for a sum of 242,000 pounds (http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/JscottCPhtm; Matthew & Harrison, 2004, Vol. 49, pp. 351-353).

4. *The Manchester Guardian* was founded in Manchester in 1821 by a group of non-conformist businessmen headed by John Edward Taylor. The first edition was published on May 5, 1821, and it became a daily paper in 1855 (http://www.bartleby.com/224/0430.html).

5. Sir Frederick Treves (1853-1923) was a British surgeon who became very popular as a demonstrator of anatomy at the medical school of the London Hospital. He wrote several successful surgical and anatomical textbooks and was particularly knowledgeable about the anatomy of the abdomen, pioneering in the surgery to relieve appendicitis. He served in South Africa during the Boer War and was appointed surgeon extraordinarius to Queen Victoria upon his return. In 1902, Treves successfully performed an emergency appendicitis operation on King Edward VII two days before the date that had been set for the latter’s coronation. His other most famous client was Joseph Merrick, otherwise known as the “elephant man” because of his incredible deformities. Treves found him to be a man of intelligence and integrity, and he took it upon himself to introduce Merrick to members of the social elite. Aside from his medical work, Treves was a prolific writer who penned numerous travel books in addition to medical texts (Weaver, 1937).

6. W. P. Crozier has recounted a somewhat different version of this story:
   
   The news which he (Scott) despised was that which resounds without significance. When a paragraph appeared in the paper saying that the Honourable Somebody had been operated on for appendicitis and Sir Frederick Treves, he sent a cross note saying that it should not have been given because “(i) The Honourable Somebody is nobody; (ii) All those people have appendicitis nowadays; (iii) Sir Frederick Treves operates on all of them. (Crozier, 1974, pp. 104-105)

7. *The Times* was founded by John Walter (also its first editor) in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register*, but assumed its current name in 1788. It built its reputation by availing itself of the expertise of important figures from the world of politics and from fields of the arts and sciences. Under the influence of John Thaddeus Delane (appointed in 1841), *The Times* gained even more influence. It was the first newspaper to offer extensive international coverage through special correspondents. It took principled positions on some of the major issues of the nineteenth century, such as the repeal of the Corn Laws and the American Civil War. (http://www.bartleby.com/224/0407.html)

8. John Thaddeus Delane (1817-1879) succeeded John Barnes as editor of *The Times* in 1841 at the age of twenty-three. He occupied this post for thirty-six years. Delane is credited with having made *The Times* into a newspaper of extraordinary influence. While he sympathized with the great Liberal causes of the day, he sought to make *The Times* into a truly national organ that was above party and faction. In 1877 his health began to decline, and he retired from his post of editor. He died two years later (Matthew & Harrison, 2004, Vol. 15, pp. 708-710; Stephen & Lee, 1921, Vol. 5, pp. 756-758).

9. This was the practice of publishing articles without revealing the name of the author. For instance, in 1863, *The Times* carried a piece claiming that the reformer John Bright had proposed to divide the land of the rich among the poor. Richard Cobden, however, refused to allow *The Times* editor, Delane, to hide behind the screen of anonymous journalism, attacking him publicly for his unfair remarks about Mr. Bright. For discussions of this practice during the late nineteenth century, see Morley (1867) and Stephen (1868).

10. *The Quarterly Review* was founded in 1809 by Walter Scott in direct challenge to the *Edinburgh Review* (see note 14). It was a highly partisan Tory journal that sought to confront the proliferation of the doctrines of Whigs and reformers, which were thought to undermine church and state. The circulation of the journal increased steadily and, in the years 1818 and 1819, reached its maximum—matching that of the *Edinburgh Review*—selling around 14,000 copies per year (http://www.rc.umd.edu/reference/qt/founding/intro.html).
11. In an article that appeared less than a year later, Innis provided a concise overview of how particular journalists were able to further the cause of political reform:

- Godwin, Shelley, the Hunts, and Hazlitt sponsored an interest in revolution. The energies of Cobbett, and Place and the radicalism of James and John Stuart Mill, Bentham, and writers for the Westminster Review stiffened the influence of the Whigs for reform. Sydney Smith and writers in the Edinburgh Review and Albany Fonblanque in the Examiner were effective in securing Catholic emancipation, the Reform Acts, the reduction of taxes on knowledge and eventually the destruction of the mercantilist system. Robert Burns gave a fatal blow to ecclesiasticism in Scotland. (Innis, 1946, p. 116)


13. Smith wrote these words in a letter to Lady Grey in 1832 at the time that her husband (Lord Grey, the prime minister) was moving toward a foreign war. Lord Grey (Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey) served as leader of the Whig party and as prime minister from November 1830 to July 1834. Lady Grey was a frequent correspondent with Smith.

14. The *Edinburgh Review*, or The Critical Journal, was a Scottish magazine published from 1802 to 1929, which contributed to the development of the modern periodical and to modern standards of literary criticism. Liberal in its orientation, the *Edinburgh Review* was founded by Sydney Smith, Henry Brougham, and Francis Jeffrey, with the latter serving as its first editor (http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9032003). Innis noted that the *Review* “gave an important place to economic criticism” and that one of its editors, Francis Jeffrey, was well versed in the new ideas on political economy propounded by Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart (Innis, 1946, p. 115).

15. The *Examiner* was a weekly paper founded by Leigh and John Hunt in 1808. It gave its support to reformers in the *Edinburgh Review* and Albany Fonblanque in the *Examiner* were effective in Parliament such as Henry Brougham and Sir Francis Burdett. It also published the work of young poets such as Percy Bysshe Shelley and William Hazlitt and writers such as Charles Dickens. From 1828 to 1847 it was edited by the Benthamite radical Albany Fonblanque, and from 1847 to 1855 by John Forster, a friend of Leigh Hunt. The magazine was continually at odds with the authorities. Indeed, on the front page of every edition it was pointed out that half of its price was given over to the “tax on knowledge” that had been imposed on publications of its kind by the government’s Stamp Act. In 1812, the Hunt brothers were arrested and charged with libel for having published an article critical of the Prince of Wales, who was eventually to succeed to the throne as King George IV. After having been found guilty, the brothers were sentenced to two years in prison and received a fine of 500 pounds. During his time in prison, Leigh Hunt continued in his capacity as the journal’s editor. The magazine ceased publication in 1886 (see note 16 as well).

16. James Henry Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) was an English poet, critic, and journalist. In 1808, he established (with his brother, John) The *Examiner*, a liberal weekly. Under his leadership, the newspaper became a champion for liberal reform during the period following the French Revolution and the rise and fall of Napoleon (see Thompson, 1977).

17. Albany William Fonblanque (1793-1872) was a journalist known for his wit and eloquence. He abandoned his studies in law in favour of journalism before the age of twenty. In 1826 he became principal leader-writer of The *Examiner*, and in 1828 he became its editor, replacing Leigh Hunt and serving in this capacity until 1847. He took over management of the newspaper in 1830 and became its owner shortly thereafter. During his period as editor of The *Examiner*, he furthered the reputation that the newspaper had earned under the Hunt brothers, maintaining its political independence and arguing for social and political reform. He developed close ties with both London radicalism and the emergent Benthamite utilitarianism, and he was a frequent contributor to the *Westminster Review*. His network of intellectuals included John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham, and George Grote, as well as members of the utilitarian school. In particular, John Stuart Mill admired him and worked closely with him (Mill, 1971). Fonblanque’s influence reached its peak in 1837.
with the publication of his most remarkable articles of the previous ten years in a book entitled *England under Ten Administrations* (1837). He retained his ownership of *The Examiner* until 1865 and continued to contribute articles to it until 1860 (Stephen & Lee, 1921-22, Vol. 7, pp. 363-365).

18. The Corn Laws sought to protect the interests of English landholders by keeping the price of corn artificially high. They were repealed in 1846, largely as a result of aggressive agitation by the Anti-Corn-Law League (http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/timelines/britain/vic_corn_laws.shtml).

19. Paul Louis Courier (Paul Louis Courier de Méré, 1772–1825) was a French political writer, classical scholar, and translator. In the latter capacity, his 1810 rendition of the Greek text Daphnis and Chloe was considered to be a masterpiece. After the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 (a move he vehemently opposed), Courier wrote a series of influential political pamphlets, including *Simple Discours* (1821), which led to a jail term, and *Le Pamphlet des pamphlets* (1824). His life came to a violent end when he was murdered, likely by one of his servants. Courier’s memoirs and letters were posthumously published in 1828 (http://www.barleby.com/65/co/Courier.html).

20. Albert, Prince Consort of Queen Victoria (1819-1861). Queen Victoria married Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg, in 1840. When he died in 1861 of typhoid, she was heartbroken. Albert was known for his breadth of knowledge and for supporting the Queen in her efforts to remove the monarchy from political partisanship (http://www.english.vt.edu/~jmooney/3044biosp-zprincealbert.html).

21. This material written by Delane appeared in a leader in *The Times* in its February 6, 1852 edition.

22. Innis is likely referring to a period of tension between the monarchy and *The Times* that was perhaps most evident in an episode that took place following the death of Prince Albert on December 14, 1861. The Queen embarked on an extended period of mourning and was absent from London and the court for long periods, which led to public criticism. On April 1, 1864, Reverend Thomas Mozley wrote a leading article in *The Times* in which he called the Queen to return to public life. Stung by this article, the Queen wrote in person to Delane; the letter was published as a news item in an unattributed form, simply entitled “The Court.” Even though the Queen was sharply criticized for taking such a direct approach, she continued to contact *The Times* periodically to express her views about particular articles of interest to her (http://www.timelines.co.uk/article/0,,695-30032,00.html).

23. Horace Greeley (1811-1872) was an American newspaper editor, writer, political activist, and social reformer. He began his career in newspapers with the founding of a literary and news journal, *The New Yorker*, in 1834. His involvement with the Whig party led to his assuming the editorship of its campaign weekly, the *Log Cabin*. Under his leadership, the journal increased its circulation significantly, and it likely played a role in William Henry Harrison’s presidential victory in 1840. The following year, Greeley launched the *New York Tribune*. Having merged with both the *Log Cabin* and *The New Yorker*, the *Tribune*—with an able staff, many of whom identified with the Transcendentalist movement—became Greeley’s vehicle for a number of causes, including Fourier’s communitarian ideas and the distribution of free government land to settlers, as well as opposition to the exploitation of wage labour, to the power of monopolies, and to capital punishment. By the time of the Civil War, the paper had attained a circulation of more than a quarter of a million and had significant influence in the rural North. However, as Greeley’s political involvement beginning in the late 1850s increased (he initially supported the Republicans but opposed Grant’s post–Civil War administration), Greeley’s hold on the *Tribune* diminished, and following his failed presidential campaign against Grant in 1872, he discovered that control of the newspaper had been wrested from him. He died a few weeks later (http://www.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/horacegreeley.html; Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 9, pp. 467-470).

24. Charles Anderson Dana (1819-1897) dropped out of Harvard in 1840 to become a member of the Brook Farm association (a Unitarian, humanitarian, and socialist experiment), where he became (like Greeley) a follower of the French social reformer, Charles Fourier. When Brook Farm broke up in 1847, Dana joined the staff of Greeley’s *New York Tribune*. He served as managing editor of the paper from 1849 to 1862, transforming it into America’s most influential daily, aligned with the emergent Republican Party and promoting the anti-slavery cause. During the Civil War, he was appointed assistant secretary of war and served as mediator between General Grant, Edwin Stanton
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25. Goldwin Smith (1823-1910) was a liberal reformer, historian, inheritor of a railway fortune, and journalist. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he became aligned with Manchester liberals such as John Bright and William Cobden, advocating the doctrine of free trade. He was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1858, but resigned this position in 1866 to take care of his ailing father. After his father died, he moved to North America to become Cornell’s first professor of English and Constitutional History, but he settled permanently in Toronto in 1871 to be nearer his relatives. He married Henry Boulton’s widow in 1875 and moved into the Grange, an opulent manor house located in downtown Toronto. Living a life of aristocratic ease with few financial concerns, he devoted the rest of his life to various social and political causes and writing about Canadian and international affairs. He championed the “Canada First” movement in his first years in Canada, but he abandoned it in favour of one that advocated annexation by the United States, a position that provoked a good deal of anger and indignation. He served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Canadian Press Association in 1875 and was extremely active as a journalist in Canada, as well as in the United States and Great Britain. In addition to having established a reputation as one of Britain’s most notable commentators and thinkers during the time that he spent there, he is considered by many to be Canada’s greatest intellectual of the late nineteenth century (http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioID=41197; Matthew & Harrison, 2004, Vol. 51, pp. 149-156).

26. Born into a wealthy family, William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) took over the San Francisco Examiner in 1887 at the age of 23. Having nicknamed the newspaper “the Monarch of the Dailies,” he upgraded its equipment, revitalized its writing staff, and used its pages to attack corruption and inspire its readership. In 1895 he purchased the New York Morning Journal and engaged in an all-out circulation war with Joseph Pulitzer (see note 27). By the mid 1920s, Hearst had acquired a national chain of newspapers and magazines, which included the Chicago Examiner, the Boston American, Cosmopolitan, and Harper’s Bazaar. He owned, moreover, his own news agency, The International News Service; published fiction; and produced motion pictures. During the Great Depression his fortunes declined, and by the onset of World War II, he had by and large relinquished direct control over his media empire. He died in 1951, but the Hearst Corporation, based in New York City, remains a major player in the world of communications (http://www.zpub.com/sf/history/willh.html; Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 10, pp. 467-470).

27. Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) was an American newspaper publisher and politician. Born in Hungary, he immigrated to the United States in 1864 and got his first taste of the newspaper world as a journalist with the German-language Westliche Post. In 1878 he became the owner and publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which he was able to make into a successful paper. Pulitzer bought the New York World from Jay Gould in 1883 and started the Evening World in 1887. Pulitzer used aggressive methods to increase the papers’ circulations, including the ample deployment of illustrations and cartoons, the sponsorship of stunts, and the leading of crusades against alleged corruption. Following the establishment by William Randolph Hearst of the New York Journal in 1895, the Pulitzer papers and Pulitzer’s new rival engaged in a furious war over circulation, conducted through increased sensationalism and exploitative appeals to the base emotions of their readership. This “yellow journalism” perhaps reached its peak with the tawdry jingoism in the papers’ coverage of the Spanish-American War. The World ultimately abandoned this unseemly approach to journalism in favour of one that was more balanced and restrained. This volte-face was also evident in Pulitzer’s conversion to philanthropy in the later years of his life. His bequests included the Pulitzer prizes, as well as the endowment of the graduate school of journalism at Columbia University (http://www.pulitzer.org/; Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 17, pp. 927-930).

28. Alfred Harmsworth, 1st Viscount Northcliffe (1865-1922), was a newspaper proprietor and journalist. He built his first paper, Answers, on the model of George Newnes’ Tit-Bits, for which Harmsworth had been a regular correspondent. He kept the articles short and introduced simple
contests and interviews with famous people. Next he released a paper called *Comic Cuts*. This was followed by the establishment of the first religious weekly, as well as the publication of various magazines dedicated to detective stories. In 1894, he and his brother Harold bought the *Evening News* (which was going bankrupt) and made it profitable. In 1896 they founded the *Daily Mail*, and in 1903, the *Daily Mirror* (1903). His biggest coup, however, was the acquisition in 1908 of *The Times*, which he transformed into a British equivalent of the yellow press. In order to secure a ready supply of raw material for their newspapers, in 1906 the Harmsworth brothers acquired 3000 square miles of forestland near Grand Falls, Newfoundland, and formed the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company to manage these resources. Northcliffe became a public figure of great influence during the 1914-18 War, inciting public opinion against Prime Minister Asquith and serving for a time as the director of propaganda in enemy countries. After the war he backed, but subsequently alienated, Lloyd George, who declined to include him as a member of the delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 (Matthew & Harrison, 2004, Vol. 25, pp. 341-346; Stephen & Lee 1921-22, Vol. 9, pp. 397-403).

29. Fredericton Remington (1861-1909) was an American painter, illustrator, and sculptor who became primarily known for his artwork on Western subjects. With the sharp expansion of American magazines in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Remington had an insatiable market for his images of the West. In the latter stages of his career, he primarily turned to painting and sculpture as his preferred modes of expression (Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 18, pp. 333-334).

30. The exchange of telegraphs between Hearst and Remington supposedly took place in 1897. It was James Creelman (a foreign correspondent at the turn of the century) who originally told this story in his memoir, *On the Great Highway* (1901), in which he claimed to have seen the telegrams in question. However, as W. Joseph Campbell (2000) convincingly argues, no independent evidence for the existence of the telegrams has ever been produced.

31. In 1887, *The London Times* printed a series of hostile articles entitled “Parnellism and Crime.” They ended with a facsimile letter claiming to carry Parnell’s signature, which contained an apology for his having denounced the Phoenix Park murders (the assassination on May 6, 1882, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, British secretary for Ireland, and Thomas Henry Burke, his undersecretary, in Phoenix Park, Dublin who were stabbed to death by members of the “Invincibles,” a terrorist splinter group of the Fenian movement). A special commission of 1889 ruled that the letter was a forgery; Parnell and his colleagues were thereby exonerated. The legal proceedings that followed the escapade precipitated a financial crisis at *The Times*, leading eventually to the sale of controlling interest in the newspaper to Lord Northcliffe in 1908, the point at which its circulation had sunk to an all-time low of around 38,000 (http://columbia.thefreedictionary.com/Phoenix+Park+murders).

32. Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888) was a British journalist, novelist, politician, explorer, diplomat, utopian, and spiritualist. Oliphant’s first ventures into writing were published accounts of his visits to Kathmandu (1852) and to the Crimea (1853). The following year he served as secretary to Lord Elgin, who negotiated the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. This led to his appointment as “superintendent of Indian affairs” in Canada. His travels to Lake Superior in that capacity were recounted in a memoir published in 1855. His other travel reportage included accounts of visits to China and Japan (1859) and the southern United States (1860). His correspondent stints for *The Times* included reportage on the Trans-Caucasian Campaign under Omer Pasha in 1856 and on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; in 1871 he was *The Times*’ correspondent in Paris. He served as a member of parliament from 1865-67, resigning his seat to join a religious community led by the American Christian mystic Thomas Lake Harris. This group, known as the Brotherhood of the New Life, was established as “Salem-on-Erie” in Brocton, New York (near Buffalo). The spiritual mysticism of this movement would dominate his activities for the rest of his life (Stephens & Lee, 1921-22, Vol. 14, pp. 1026-1031).

33. Frank Dilnot (1875-?) was a British author and journalist who wrote extensively about newspapers and politics. Innis used Dilnot’s memoir as a source (see Dilnot, 1913; *Who was who in America*, 1975, p. 187).
34. Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) was a disciple of Walter Pater who built on his mentor’s writings to found the aesthetic school championing “art for art’s sake.” He spent almost all of 1882 in America, touring and giving over 140 lectures. He worked at revitalizing Women’s World Magazine from 1887 to 1889 and then published his popular children’s stories. His plays were enormously successful in London until he was convicted of homosexual practices and sentenced to two years of hard labour. He ended up serving most of his sentence at Reading Gaol. Bankrupt and ruined in health, Wilde left prison in 1897 and settled in Paris, where he died in 1900 (Matthew & Harrison, 2004, Vol. 58, pp. 910-920).

35. This quote is from Wilde’s essay “The critic as artist: Part II: A dialogue with some remarks about the importance of doing nothing.” It can be found in Aldington & Weintraub, 1981, p. 119.

36. Having anticipated the outbreak of the war, Northcliffe perhaps believed that he could justifiably use the power of newspapers to shape the way in which Britain approached the hostilities. Among other things, he demanded that an expeditionary force be sent immediately, oversaw The Times raising nearly 17,000,000 pounds to be dispensed to the sick and wounded, criticized Lord Kitchener’s handling of his portfolio in the War Office, supported—but subsequently denounced—the two wartime coalition governments, and made a number of visits to the troops, even sending dispatches as a foreign correspondent, some of which were re-published as At the War (1916). In 1917, he accepted Lloyd George’s invitation to direct the British War Mission in the United States, serving in this capacity from June to November of that year. In February 1918, he became the director of propaganda in foreign countries, combining this position with his ongoing newspaper activities.

37. Frank Andrew Munsey (1854-1925) was an American publisher who built a newspaper and magazine empire in the early twentieth century; he was also the founder of the Mohican grocery stores. His career in magazines began in New York in 1882 with the publication of a juvenile magazine, Golden Argosy (later transformed into The Argosy), which featured stories inspired by Horatio Alger. At the same time, he acquired other publishing entities, such as Godey’s and Peterson’s, only to close them down. He was known to be a ruthless and domineering figure who controlled the newspapers he owned with an iron fist. His magazines, under the editorship of Robert Hobart Davis, became important outlets for authors such as Edgar Rice Burroughs, Ralph Milne Farley, and Austin Hall. His questionable business practices notwithstanding, Munsey is recognized as a pioneering figure in popular media (Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 16, pp. 104-106).

38. Raymond Moley (1866-1975) was a lawyer, political scientist, and political advisor. During the 1920s he prepared studies of criminal justice in a number of cities for the governor of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He subsequently helped to form an advisory group on national issues, which came to be known as the Brain Trust, to help Roosevelt prepare for the 1932 presidential campaign. In addition to writing a number of Roosevelt’s campaign speeches, Moley coined the term “the New Deal.” He also taught political science at Columbia University from 1923 to 1954 and from 1937 to 1968 was a contributing editor of Newsweek (Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 15, pp. 665-667).

39. Thomas Gardiner Corcoran (1900-1981) was a protégé of Felix Frankfurter as a law student at Harvard University. He became recognized as one of the most powerful figures in Washington, DC, during the 1930s. He was perhaps best known for helping to draft (in concert with his partner, Benjamin V. Cohen) a number of key New Deal legislative measures, including the Securities Act of 1933, the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, and the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1934. In addition to serving as assistant to President Roosevelt, he served as assistant to the secretary of the Treasury, special assistant to the attorney general of the United States, as well as special counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Known as “Tommy the Cork,” he worked with Raymond Moley and Samuel Rosenman on Roosevelt’s speeches and was the White House liaison to labour.

40. Moley, 1939. In After Seven Years, Moley is critical of some choices made by the Roosevelt administration he had helped advise. For example, he denounced the publication by Vice-President-Elect John Nance Garner of the list of banks that had borrowed money from the Reconstruc-
tion Finance Corporation. This publicity hastened the bank crisis and is an example of the precarious relationship between public opinion and crisis (Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 5, pp. 467-470).

41. Roosevelt was elected for an unprecedented third term in office in November 1940, handily defeating Wendell Willkie, a prominent industrialist who had secured the Republican nomination (Garrady & Carnes, 1999, Vol. 18, p. 823).

42. He was likely referring to the federal elections of 1935 and 1940. In the former, the Liberals under Mackenzie King decisively defeated the Conservatives under R. B. Bennett. In 1940, King called a snap election and was returned to power with an increased majority. The Liberals won more than 50% of the popular vote and held 184 out of 245 seats in the House of Commons.

43. “The rise of Hitler to power,” according to Innis, “was facilitated by the use of the loud speaker and the radio.” This was part of a general line of argument that “printed matter gave way in effectiveness to the broadcast and to the loud speaker. Political leaders were able to appeal directly to constituents and to build up a pressure of public opinion on legislatures” (Innis, 1995, p. 371).

44. The Conservative Party, badly routed in the election of 1940, subsequently lost its sense of purpose and direction. Its leader at the time of the election, Bob Manion, after losing his seat in the election lost his leadership of the party by way of a caucus coup. Since no party convention was held until 1942, the erstwhile leaders of the party—R. B. Hanson and Gordon Graydon—were parliamentary leaders only and were quite ineffectual in that role (Bothwell, Drummond, & English, 1987).

45. This section of the talk covers almost the same ground as a section of an article entitled “Democracy and Decentralization” that Innis published later that year (Innis, 1943). This article can in some sense be seen as a companion piece to his 1943 speech. But rather than being directed at “marginal” members of the press, it was directed to members of the discipline of political science, whom Innis felt had become too closely aligned with economists during the war, devoting themselves largely to administrative matters on behalf of the state. With the end of hostilities in sight, Innis was of the view that “the political scientist can escape from the hocus-pocus of the economist and concentrate on the extremely difficult problems of his own field. He can best make a contribution to economic development by suggested modifications to political machinery” (Innis, 1995, p. 48). By 1943, Innis had begun to think about what a postwar re-alignment might look like.

46. The fortunes of the Conservative Party were at a low ebb in this period, as the party was plagued with weak leadership and a lack of direction. It sought to develop a new identity and course of action at the Port Hope meeting of 1942, when it elected a new leader—John Bracken—and took the new name of the “Progressive Conservative Party,” seeking to demonstrate that it had come to embrace welfare-state policies and had abandoned its blind commitment to free-market principles.

47. Innis traced this back to the BNA Act: “Confederation provided no basis for the balancing of powers which characterized the constructions of Great Britain and the United States. The influence of the Senate was nullified by the House of Commons and of the Supreme Court by subordination to the Privy Council” (Innis, 1946, p. 132).

48. Prior to 1949, all appeals were settled by the judicial committee of the Privy Council rather than by the Supreme Court. Since that time, the Supreme Court of Canada has been the highest court for all matters of federal and provincial jurisdiction.

49. As Innis elaborated on this point elsewhere, “the weakening of Parliament with the dictatorship of the Cabinet or of a small group of the Cabinet or of a small group of civil servants who control small groups of the Cabinet, and the present unanimity of all parties on expansion of state control weaken the prospects of continued freedom. The lack of unity which has preserved Canadian unity threatens to disappear” (Innis, 1946, p. 133).

50. According to Owram (1986), Innis was of the view that “bureaucrats seemed to be usurping the proper role of the politicians by acting as propagandists for the policies they administered. Innis was critical, in particular, of the semi-autonomous nature of the Bank of Canada and agencies like the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.” Innis was particularly critical of Donald Gordon, who on more than one occasion was sent to the public to push a particular policy dispute. “I thoroughly
disapprove,” he wrote in 1943. “Of continual flagrant violation of [the] British anonymity in the Civil Service.” Canada’s public service seemed increasingly unable to resist the tendency to what Innis termed “bureaucratic exhibitionism.” He elsewhere noted that “in this country I am told it is customary for members of the bureaucracy to prod members of the opposition in Parliament to follow a line of policy which will compel members of the government to yield to their wishes.” (Owram, 1986, p. 270). See also Innis, 1946, p. 63, p. 126.

51. These included the Financial Post, where R.A. McEachern, a PhD graduate in history from the University of Toronto—and a confidante of Innis—was the editor.

52. In 1913 Canada reached its peak in terms of number of newspapers, with 138. A steady decline occurred thereafter. Innis was quite possibly making reference here to the 1936 merger of The Globe and The Mail and Empire into The Globe and Mail.

53. Innis may have been referring here to the provincial liberal parties of British Columbia and Ontario, led by Duff Patullo and Mitch Hepburn respectively, which were at odds with the federal Liberal Party. This tension was evident in the passage by the Ontario legislature of a resolution on January 18, 1940, denouncing the way in which the federal Liberals were leading the war effort. This led King to call a snap election on March 26, which the Liberals won handily. However, as Bothwell, Drummond, & English point out, the public acrimony between the leaders of the provincial party and the Prime Minister—particularly in the case of the antagonism between Hepburn and Mackenzie King—was not necessarily operant at the organizational level, where the membership of the two wings of the party was often quite similar (Bothwell, Drummond, & English, 1987, p. 318).

54. That the provincial governments of Alberta, Ontario, and British Columbia had developed an adversarial relationship with the federal government was evident in the outcome of the Dominion-provincial conference of 1941, which had been organized to discuss the results of the Sirois Commission. The premiers of Alberta (Aberhart), Ontario (Hepburn), and British Columbia (Patullo) were all strongly opposed to the passage of the Report’s recommendations, which led to the collapse of the deliberations (Owram, 1986, p. 278).

55. The Sirois Commission was also commonly referred to as the Rowell-Sirois Commission (named after its successive chairmen, N. W. Rowell and Joseph Sirois). This was the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations established unilaterally by the federal government on August 14, 1937, “to reexamine the economic and financial basis of Confederation and the distribution of legislative powers in light of the economic and social development of the last twenty years.” (Simeon, 1988, p. 612). Its three-volume report (along with numerous appendices) was released on May 3, 1940 (Canada, 1940). Innis wrote a commentary on the Report (1940) that was reprinted in Innis, 1995, p. 251-261. Reflecting his concerns about the centralization of power in the federal government, Innis was of the view that the Commission did not adequately register public opinion, in that only representatives of organizations, rather than individuals, were allowed to express their views. Innis was also struck by the fact that no dissent was expressed. “Royal Commissions are a part of the machinery of government in Canada by which leaders of parties dominate administrations over long periods” (1995, p. 255).

56. Innis (n.d).

57. Innis is referring to “the British Peace,” of the nineteenth century, predicated on imperialism, colonial expansion, and the British control of colonial markets, largely through its control of overseas shipping lanes. Europe was relatively peaceful at the time, a state of affairs that was linked to British domination of the world.

58. The original Thirty Years’ War was fought between 1618 and 1648, largely in the central European territory of the Holy Roman Empire. Innis may have been drawing parallels between this war and the thirty years that spanned the beginning of World War I and the winding down of World War II, which, as he suggested, shattered the Pax Britannica (http://www.pipeline.com/~cwa/TYWHome.htm).

59. Innis concluded his 1943 article published in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science on a similar note: “The argument developed in this paper assumes that the end of the
second thirty year’s war is in sight and that the Pax Britannica will be followed by an effective Pax Americana-Britannica” (1995, p. 48).

60. Innis may have been referring to the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Economic Policy—commonly known as the Economic Advisory Committee (EAC). This powerful grouping of civil servants initially sought to integrate financial policy with economic controls. However, from 1942 onwards, it turned its attention to postwar planning, effectively usurping the responsibilities of the Committee on Reconstruction, a non-governmental body headed up by Cyril James, Principal of McGill University. Specifically, a subcommittee of the EAP, directed by William Macintosh, advocated that the government take on a number of new responsibilities, under the control of a new Department of Reconstruction (Granatstein, 1998).

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