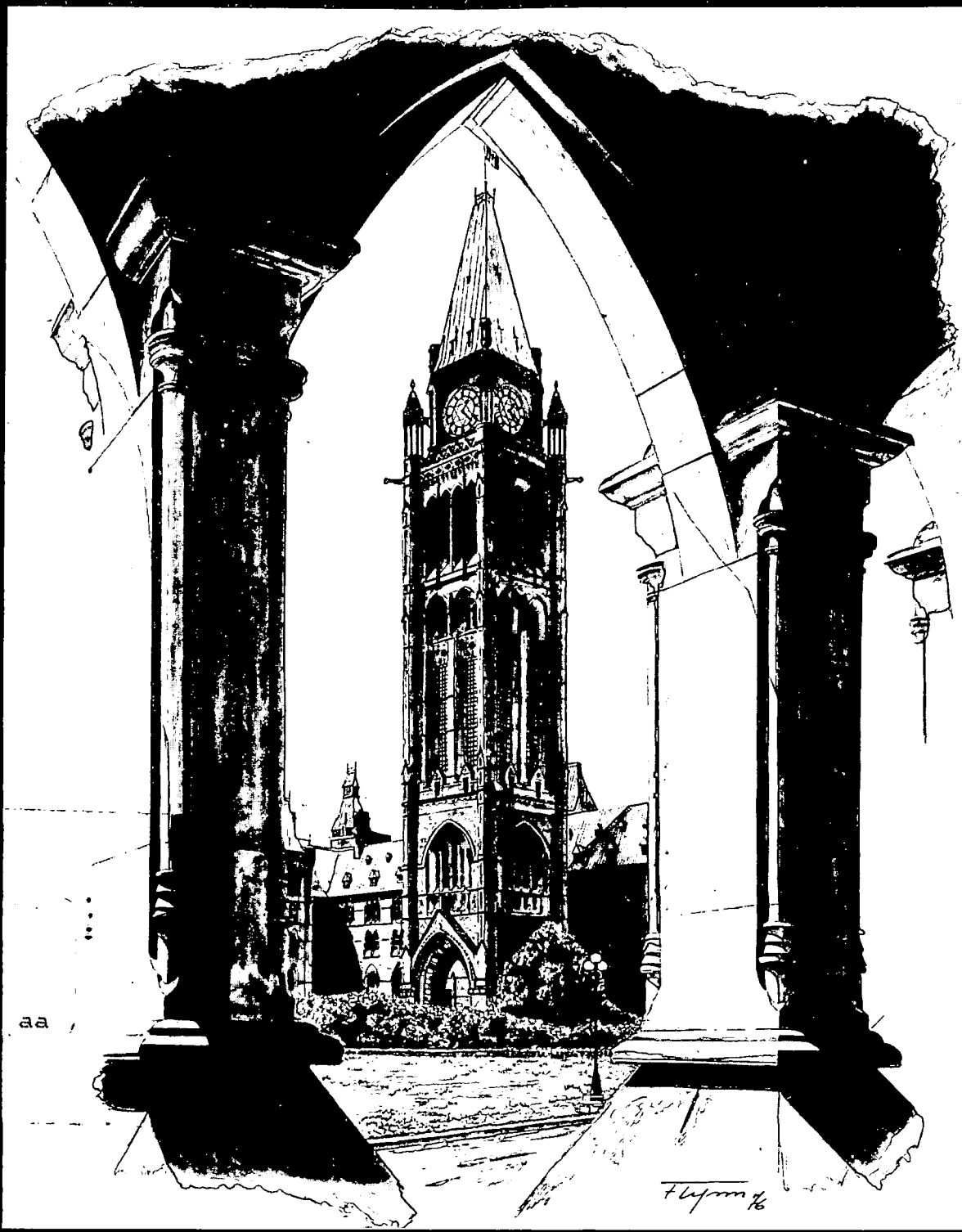


Report of the Advisory Commission
on
Parliamentary Accommodation



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REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION



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of the
Advisory Commission
on
Parliamentary Accommodation

The Honourable D. C. ABBOTT, P.C., Q.C.
Chairman

NOVEMBER 1976

Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation

<i>Chairman</i>	The Honourable Douglas C. Abbott, P.C., Q.C.
<i>Members</i>	The Honourable G. J. McIlraith, P.C., Q.C. The Honourable J. P. Deschatelets, P.C., Q.C. The Honourable M. Grattan O'Leary* The Honourable Marcel Lambert, P.C., Q.C., M.P. The Honourable Richard A. Bell, P.C., Q.C. Mr. Gaston Clermont, M.P. The Honourable James A. Jerome, Q.C., M.P.** Mr. Hugh Poulin, M.P. Mr. Eymard G. Corbin, M.P. Mr. Claude Wagner, Q.C., M.P. Mr. Paul W. Dick, M.P. Mr. Lorne E. Nystrom, M.P.*** Mr. Barry Mather Mr. Gérard Laprise, M.P. Dr. John Stewart Mr. Thomas-Henri Lefebvre, M.P. Mr. John Gilbert, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Ex-Officio</i>	Speaker of the Senate
<i>Members</i>	Speaker of the House of Commons
<i>Secretary</i>	Mr. J. A. Langford, F.R.A.I.C.

*Deceased April 7, 1976.

**Replaced by Mr. T.-H. Lefebvre, M.P., on November 21, 1974.

***Replaced by Mr. John Gilbert, Q.C., M.P., on May 1st, 1975.

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1 Introduction

The Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation, composed of present and former parliamentarians* and representatives of all parties in the Senate and House of Commons, was established by Order in Council on April 25, 1974, under Part I of the Inquiries Act:

To inquire into the present and future needs of Parliament as the paramount legislative body of the nation, including the manner in which parliamentary needs are met or may be met in other jurisdictions, and to advise as to the amount and type of accommodation and facilities that Parliament will require to operate effectively in the future; . . .

A copy of the Order in Council and of statements made in the House of Commons on July 20, 1973, and on April 26, 1974, by the Honourable J.-E. Dubé, Minister of Public Works, and by other members of the House is attached to this report as Appendix I.

In 1973, the Government of Canada expropriated the land enclosed in the areas bounded by Wellington, Elgin, Sparks and Bank Streets in Ottawa in order "to protect the environment of Parliament from any development which could adversely affect it and simultaneously provide the land for an appropriate expansion of parliamentary facilities and other governmental requirements". As the Minister explained in the House of Commons on July 20, 1973:

Mr. Speaker, for a number of years now it has been recognized that Parliament faces a severe space problem creating a limitation on its effective operation. As Parliament has become, through its

*Throughout this Report the terms "member of Parliament" and "parliamentarians" refer to members of the Senate and House of Commons.

committees and in other ways, even more involved in all aspects of the nation's life, it has become much more a year-round operation and space available has fallen behind its needs as they have developed in the modern era.

Moreover, concern has been expressed about the danger of visual encroachment on the beauty of the present parliamentary precinct, which is one of the great symbols of Canada. We must ensure that nearby developments do not adversely affect it and furthermore, we have an opportunity, I believe, to enhance the present precinct by enlarging, and thereby completing, it in a fitting manner. The longer we wait, the more costly the solution.

In his statement to the House on April 26, 1974, the Minister indicated that the acquisition of land and real estate was the first stage in the process of upgrading facilities. The second stage was the creation of the Commission as an investigatory and advisory body to assess and define the accommodation requirements of Parliament. The third stage, as anticipated by the Minister of Public Works in 1974, will be the implementation of measures designed to extend to Parliament the facilities required to enable it to perform its tasks effectively and efficiently to the year 2001. During the third stage, the Commission envisages consultations with the regional and municipal authorities, the National Capital Commission, Heritage Canada, and other interested groups and bodies.

The Commission held its initial organizational meeting on May 16, 1974. The Chairman announced that Mr. J. A. Langford, F.R.A.I.C., formerly Chief Architect of the Department of Public Works, had been appointed Secretary and Technical Adviser to the Commission, and it was agreed that Mr. Langford would assemble a small technical support staff to assist in the Commission's investigations. The Commission also decided that no further meetings would be held until after the impending general election, during which time suitable accommodation for the Commission was arranged and the support staff assembled.

Following the general election, at a series of regular sessions commencing on October 17, 1974, the Commission authorized the technical staff to initiate a detailed analysis of existing parliamentary accommodation in Ottawa, and, as contemplated in its terms of reference, decided to visit other jurisdictions in order to assess and compare their problems and requirements. The first visit was to Washington in January 1975, followed by others to Canberra

and Sydney in February, and to London, Paris, Bonn and Stockholm in May. In addition, the Commission visited the provincial legislatures in Toronto in March and in Quebec in June 1975. The visits enabled the Commission to establish a basis of comparison between the Canadian experience and the experiences of other legislatures having similar parliamentary institutions, and thereby assisted in reaching judgments with respect to types and qualities of accommodation. The Commissioners were most appreciative of the assistance rendered to them throughout their travels by the parliamentary officers of the respective legislatures, by the diplomatic officials of the countries visited, and by our own Departments of External Affairs, National Defence and Transport.

In July 1975, the Commission authorized the construction of a full-scale model office suite. The design of this suite was based in part upon replies by parliamentarians to the Chairman's letter to all members of Parliament plus consultations including those with the support staff of a number of parliamentarians. This 'mock-up' or 'module' was subsequently shown to members of the Commission and their staffs to assess their needs in an ideal, practical working environment. The module proved most helpful in formulating requirements for parliamentary office facilities, and in demonstrating the desirability for flexibility in the design of new facilities. Analyses and projections of parliamentary space requirements to the year 2001, based in part upon assessments using the module concept, are attached to this Report as Appendix II.

The Chairman commissioned Dr. J. Daniel Livermore to prepare a history of parliamentary accommodation in Canada. The history, attached to this Report as Appendix III, describes the methods used to provide facilities in the original and new Centre Blocks, as well as in the West Block and Confederation Building, and explains the underlying reasons for the evolving expansions of parliamentary requirements, especially since the end of the Second World War.

In investigating the requirements of parliamentarians, the Commission sought the opinions and advice of all members of the Senate and House of Commons, and received a number of valuable submissions. In light of the importance of the investigation to the future facilities of Parliament, the Commission decided to solicit the views of others who were directly concerned with

current parliamentary operations. Presentations were subsequently made by officials of the Senate, the House of Commons and the Library of Parliament, the R.C.M.P. with respect to security measures, the Department of Health and Welfare, the Dominion Fire Commissioner, and representatives of the parliamentary press, radio and television. The Commissioners wish to express to those who submitted briefs their gratitude for facilitating their inquiry into the present and future accommodation of Parliament.

2 General Observations

The Commission found that representative governments in virtually every jurisdiction which it visited were experiencing accommodation difficulties. In some cases their problems stemmed from changes in the size or form of legislative institutions, while in other cases difficulties were the result of new demands on parliamentarians' time or the workloads of legislatures. Behind many dissimilar problems were common social and political issues such as rapid expansions in population, a growth in demand for government services, and increased public participation in the affairs of the state. Current difficulties, in turn, have tended to aggravate the problem found in parliaments housed in older buildings of adapting existing facilities to the requirements of new technology. The Commission found that the difficulties of parliamentary accommodation were essentially similar in other capitals, despite obvious differences in the politics, culture and style of legislative institutions.

The responses to accommodation problems in other jurisdictions have also tended to follow similar patterns. Initial problems were solved temporarily by alterations to existing buildings or by expansions to nearby quarters. When the inefficiencies of temporary accommodation became evident, planning was initiated to provide more appropriate permanent accommodation, either in a new facility or in a combination of new and old buildings. Lastly, as the complexities of keeping pace with evolving requirements and new technology overwhelmed parliamentary staffs, legislatures generally responded by initiating planning procedures to avoid the necessity of relying upon ad hoc measures. The Commission found that the key element in attaining an effective accommodation policy was the recognition that parliamentary growth was less a

temporary aberration than a permanent tendency which required continual consideration.

The Commission found that in general Canadian parliamentary facilities compare favourably with the facilities of other legislatures examined. Parliament now occupies approximately 578,000 square feet of usable office space in ten buildings, and suffers from a total immediate shortfall of space for all purposes of approximately 75,000 usable square feet. Unlike other jurisdictions which have either reached or passed recent periods of crisis, the Canadian Parliament has yet to face the full severity of an acute accommodation shortage. Temporary renovations to buildings beyond Parliament Hill have delayed the crisis point, while the acquisition of commercial office space in proximity to the Hill has enabled the Senate, House of Commons and Library of Parliament to cope with crowded conditions without undue hardship. The addition of eighteen new members to the House of Commons following the next general election, however, coupled with a proportionate increase in personal and parliamentary staff, will exhaust current space appropriate for parliamentary use, fully utilize all potential desk space in the existing Commons chamber and make further alterations to the older buildings economically unfeasible. Therefore, Canadian parliamentary facilities, while over-extended in terms of total space for current use, are inadequate for projected needs in the immediate as well as the foreseeable future.

Approximately 18 per cent of current space, moreover, is unsuited to permanent requirements. As parliamentary operations have increased, particularly since 1945, areas of the West Block and Confederation Building originally intended for departmental purposes have been converted to parliamentary use. As a result, many of the maintenance and service shops, as well as restaurant and cafeteria facilities, are located in former office or storage space, which does not have the standard of accommodation appropriate to its current use or conducive to a good working environment. Although expansions to other buildings beyond Parliament Hill have solved immediate accommodation needs, temporary space does not generally provide the specialized facilities required in modern parliamentary operations. The proportion of temporary, substandard space to overall space will continue to grow unless

more comprehensive measures are adopted to provide accommodation specifically designed for the present and future needs of Parliament.

The dispersal throughout the downtown area of Ottawa of the ten buildings currently used by Parliament was also found to be unsatisfactory. While successive relocations were inevitable, given the limited space available in the Centre Block and the recent growth of parliamentary staff, the present pattern of dispersal has resulted in the accommodation of many parliamentary offices at inconvenient distances from the heart of legislative activity. Not only is dispersal troublesome and time-consuming, but it has also necessitated the establishment of a transportation network to facilitate the flow of people and materials within the parliamentary precinct, and resulted in the duplication of several essential services in many buildings, thereby adding to the overall occupancy costs. Although enabling Parliament to meet evolving demands for space, temporary accommodation has tended to increase the costs of parliamentary business without achieving corresponding efficiencies of operation.

Because of the age and lack of flexibility of all of the present buildings, the parliamentary precinct will experience problems in the immediate as well as the foreseeable future in adapting to new technology and new types of specialized services. Extensive renovations have been carried out in the past fifteen years in the West Block and the Confederation Building to provide parliamentarians with improved facilities, and, in June 1976, it was announced by the Speakers of both houses that much of the East Block would shortly become part of the parliamentary precinct following a restoration of its historic portions and the renovation of its office areas for the use of parliamentarians. This additional space may help to relieve the present congestion in the Senate wing of the Centre Block.

Despite additions and renovations to the parliamentary precinct, more space is needed. The news media require facilities designed for their communications equipment. Many branches of Parliament, such as Hansard and the committees branches of the Senate and House of Commons, also have needs that cannot be accommodated within the current space available. It will eventually

be necessary to construct a new facility which meets express requirements and which is sufficiently flexible to adapt to evolving technology.

The Commission attaches great importance to the appearance and integrity of the buildings on Parliament Hill, which are and must remain the focal point of Canada's Parliament. The East and West Blocks, constructed in the 1860's, are among the finest examples of mid-nineteenth century Canadian Gothic architecture, and the reconstructed Centre Block is internationally recognized for its architectural distinction. Despite additions, renovations, fires and reconstruction, the Parliament buildings are, after more than a century of use, symbols of the federal government and unity of Canada. The Commission believes that, in providing for parliamentary facilities for the foreseeable future, nothing should be done to detract from or jeopardize the architectural integrity of the Parliament Hill area, and that, as existing accommodation difficulties are alleviated, Parliament should rejuvenate its precinct and enhance the series of buildings which are one of Canada's most significant heritages.

3 Specific Problem Areas

Legislative Space Requirements

In the past thirty years parliamentary operations of growing size and complexity have been increasingly hampered by inadequate types and amounts of space for legislative activities. The number and sizes of committee rooms are unsuited for the demands of Senate and Commons committees, and they are not equipped with appropriate electronic equipment or facilities to accommodate the public or the parliamentary news media. The office areas for support personnel are generally crowded, and in many locations the working environment is poor. The Commission found that the existing space devoted to the legislative requirements of the Senate and House of Commons is not adequate for current needs, and that the shortage of space seriously jeopardizes the efficiency of many branches of Parliament.

The current shortfall of legislative space for the Senate and House of Commons is approximately 30,000 square feet of usable office area. In addition, at least five fully equipped committee rooms are required to accommodate committee members, the news media, the public, and committee staff. The Commission recommends that offices and committee rooms be provided with the amenities essential to an efficient working environment, as well as with appropriate audio-visual, computer terminal and telecommunications equipment and records storage areas. Ideally, committee rooms should be integrated into legislative staff office areas.

The future requirements for legislative space will depend upon the workloads of the Senate and House of Commons and

the evolution of parliamentary operations, especially the committee system. In the immediate future at least 5,000 square feet of usable office space will be required for recently authorized expansions in committee support staff. In the longer range, the growth rate of parliamentary staff will probably be closely linked to the growth rates of the Senate and House of Commons. Given current patterns of space utilization and the possibility of more than 500 parliamentarians by the year 2001, the requirement for the foreseeable future will be approximately 1,000,000 square feet of usable space.

The Commission recommends that adequate facilities be provided for the legislative purposes of Parliament by converting the Centre Block to legislative space. After a thorough renovation to upgrade mechanical and electrical services, the Centre Block would house the legislative chambers, committee meeting rooms, caucus rooms and Hansard, as well as essential legislative staff under the jurisdiction of the Speakers, the Clerks, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod and the Sergeant-at-Arms. Although it may continue to be desirable to have a cabinet chamber and offices for the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, leaders of other recognized parties, House leaders and party whips in the Centre Block, every effort should be made to reduce the amounts of space devoted to executive rather than to legislative purposes. In addition, it should be possible to provide desk and telephone facilities for the use of private members while attending sittings of the Senate, the House or standing committees. More appropriate facilities should be included for the parliamentary news media and for visitors to the parliamentary precinct.

Parliamentarians' Office Facilities

As noted in the appended History of Parliamentary Accommodation in Canada, the office requirements of parliamentarians have grown substantially in the past century. In the nineteenth century the facilities of members consisted only of desks in the legislative chambers and wardrobe closets in the lobbies. The majority of members did not have offices until 1920, when the

completion of the new Centre Block permitted two members to share an office. Because few parliamentarians employed personal assistants, and Parliament sat for only two to four months each year, shared accommodation was a tolerable arrangement which permitted all parliamentarians to be housed in the Centre Block. Since the end of the Second World War, however, Parliament has become a year-round operation, and membership in the Senate and House of Commons a full-time vocation. The expansion of parliamentary business, moreover, has led to the establishment of personal staffs for members of the House of Commons, which, in turn, has had important implications on parliamentary accommodation. Successive increases in staff, coupled with increases in the membership of the House of Commons, have gradually forced the majority of members of the House out of the Centre Block and into the West Block and Confederation Building.

At present the accommodation for parliamentarians and their staffs is barely adequate, and there are office units, particularly in the Centre Block, which are badly over-crowded. Although the quality of facilities compares favourably with parliamentary offices in other jurisdictions, much of the present space is in the Confederation Building, where a renovation converted it to temporary parliamentary use in 1973. Permanent facilities, with the normal amenities conducive to an efficient working environment, will be required in the immediate future, and they cannot be provided in either the Centre or West Blocks, which, because of their lack of adaptability to modern building standards and to the requirements of recent technology, would not be suitable in the future as buildings to accommodate parliamentarians and their personal staffs.

The office requirements of parliamentarians depend upon their functions in the political process and their staff needs. At present there are numerous distinctions among members—between Senators and members of the House of Commons, and between those who stress either legislative or constituency business. The volume of constituency business, in turn, depends upon the size, population, demographic composition or proximity of the riding to Ottawa, or upon the existence of an office in the constituency. In estimating future requirements, the Commission believes that the pressure of legislative and constituency business will continue to create demands for somewhat larger staffs, although the rates of staff

growth will be less marked than in the past ten years. Because of the wide variety of workloads and staff sizes, as well as the possibility of future expansion, flexibility was deemed to be the principal requirement for parliamentarians' office facilities.

As stated previously, to assist in determining the appropriate office requirements of parliamentarians, the Commission authorized the construction of a model office suite. The design of this suite reflected opinions and advice of parliamentarians. Support staff of several Commissioners were also consulted. As eventually formulated, the 'module' featured a standard office size for the personal office of a member of Parliament, and a variable adjoining area for support staff, which could be expanded or contracted to suit a variety of requirements and which could be economically subdivided according to individual staff configurations. The module would also be used to provide lounge and reception areas, meeting rooms and storage areas at intervals throughout office areas for the convenience of parliamentarians, personal staff and the public. The basic module, consisting of a total area of 1,000 square feet, could be repeated throughout a building to achieve optimum simplicity of design and economy of construction.

Based upon its projections of staff expansion and its investigations using the model office suite, the Commission recommends that Senators be allocated an office unit having an average maximum area of 750 square feet, and that members of the House of Commons be allocated an office unit having an average maximum area of 1,000 square feet. It is recognized that requirements may vary considerably, depending on the nature and volume of a member's work, and other responsibilities in cabinet, in the party caucus or in the legislature. If office space is planned for maximum flexibility, however, office units can be adapted to suit individual requirements, thereby utilizing space more efficiently and effectively than in the existing Centre and West Blocks, where the potential for alteration is limited.

The total requirements of Parliament depend to a large degree upon the future growth of the Senate and House of Commons. The Senate may eventually expand to 112 members, the maximum recently authorized under the *British North America Act*. The House of Commons will expand from 264 to 282 members following the next general election. Although the procedures governing repre-

sensation in the House are currently under review, and will, in the opinion of the Commission, be modified in the future, under the existing *Representation Act, 1974*, the Commons may increase to over 400 members by the year 2001. Given the Commission's recommended requirements for office space for parliamentarians and their staffs, and the possibility of more than 500 parliamentarians within a quarter of a century, the overall projected requirement for office space for members of Parliament and their staffs by the year 2001 will be approximately 490,000 usable square feet, an area two and a half times the usable space currently available for similar purposes.

Bearing in mind such considerations as economy, security and efficiency, the Commission recommends that parliamentarians eventually be accommodated in a single building which could be constructed on the south side of Wellington Street on the lands expropriated for parliamentary purposes in 1973. A new building can be designed to achieve the flexibility and adaptability which the Commission considers of prime importance to future parliamentary accommodation, and it could accommodate the technological innovations which cannot be provided at reasonable cost in the existing Centre Block. The accommodation of all parliamentarians under one roof would not only alleviate current communication and circulation problems, reduce unnecessary duplication of services, and permit more effective security services, but would also help to revitalize among parliamentarians their sense of belonging to a Parliament Hill community. Investigations in other jurisdictions facing similar problems of dispersal tended to bear out the commissioners' belief that it was important for the public to identify their elected representatives with a single executive office building.

The Commission also recommends that, in determining future types of accommodation, planning procedures allow for new developments in technology which will render parliamentarians' offices more efficient. Various types of information and enunciator systems currently operating in several of the jurisdictions visited by the Commissioners promote better usage of available time, and would be appropriate to Parliament Hill, where communications difficulties have become severe. Based upon investigations and submissions, the Commission believes that new technology may

enhance the capabilities of parliamentarians, and enable them to function more effectively in tasks of increasing complexity. The accommodation provided to members should be appropriate to such new innovations in telecommunications facilities and office equipment.

The Library of Parliament and Information Services

To a great extent the growth in parliamentary staff and support services can be directly attributed to the expansion of information services in the past two decades. Libraries have experienced chronic space shortages in attempting to store a growing range of government documents, periodicals and books, while at the same time adjusting physical and personnel requirements to gradual evolutions in the techniques of microform information storage. The introduction of inexpensive duplicating and printing equipment has created a need for increased records storage areas, while foreseeable technological changes in telecommunications will make new demands upon the resources of existing buildings. As Parliament moves closer to computer technology, flexibility and adaptability have become the major requirements for satisfactory accommodation.

The existing facilities for parliamentary information services are inadequate and obsolete. The Library, the heart of Parliament's research activities, is short of book storage space and office space for library staff. Much of the existing space is not suitable as a working environment and, because of inadequate humidity control, is also not appropriate to house collections. Of the Library's total usable floor area of 65,000 square feet, most is in the Library building, which, although renowned for its architectural excellence, is of limited usefulness as storage or work area. The Library has two immediate needs: suitable office area for its administrative and technical operations, especially for its research department, currently badly over-crowded; and second, appropriate storage space for growing collections, either near the main collection area or in a major branch library of sufficient size to ensure that it is both useful to Parliament and economically feasible to maintain.

Existing telecommunications facilities are not adequately accommodated. Because of the inflexible construction techniques employed in both the West Block and the Centre Block, the introduction of telephone, teletype, and other electric and electronic equipment has been expensive, awkward and aesthetically unpleasing. Although computerization and closed circuit television have yet to make an impact on accommodation needs, they will present similar problems of adjusting an older building to new technological requirements.

Parliament's records storage problems deserve careful scrutiny from both an administrative and an accommodation perspective. Because parliamentarians organize and maintain their own files, and because the records of many branches of Parliament have not been overly large, there is no comprehensive records management system to organize, maintain and dispose of files. As a consequence, records consume much of the valuable office area of each parliamentarian, and an inordinate amount of space in some branches. Existing space could be used more effectively by removing many files, particularly dormant records, to central registries which could be constructed in secondary areas of buildings. Although the security aspects of central registries pose obvious problems, the majority of parliamentary records demand only the normal security arrangements currently employed in the Canadian Public Service.

The photocopying and printing facilities of Parliament are inadequate in both the quantity and quality of space occupied. Although the areas for small-order photocopying are generally satisfactory, the main duplicating shops on Parliament Hill are badly over-crowded. Because most of the shops were designed originally as departmental office space, they are both inappropriate and unsuitable as work areas. The major requirements for the immediate future are larger printing and duplicating shops, designed expressly for such a working environment, with adequate ceiling heights, ventilation, nearby shower facilities, storage rooms and loading docks.

Because of rapidly evolving technology in all aspects of information services, future requirements are difficult to project. The introduction of closed circuit television would require immediate accommodation for cameras and production studios, as well as

for electronic equipment in offices and committee rooms. The creation of automated microform information retrieval systems from the library or records centre to video-terminals in offices would require sophisticated alterations to each office, and different types and qualities of space in storage areas. The major requirement is less a quantity of space than a particular quality—that it be flexible and readily adaptable to future requirements.

Based upon current trends of space utilization, the immediate shortfall in the Library is 7,000 square feet of usable space. The annual increase in usable space required to keep pace with projected acquisitions and new staff is 1,200 square feet. Because library use depends heavily upon the total number of parliamentarians, however, it is recommended that future requirements be linked to increases in the size of the Senate and House of Commons. Provision should also be made for the expansion of photocopying and printing, bearing in mind, however, that major printing operations need not be located on Parliament Hill. Adequate space should also be projected for a series of records storage areas, as part of an overall programme of records management to utilize old and new space effectively and efficiently.

Inter-Building Circulation and Communication

One of the major factors hampering the operational efficiency of Parliament is the dispersal of parliamentary services among ten buildings at varying distances from the legislative chambers. The relocation of facilities first became necessary in 1960, when available space in the Centre Block was exhausted. Successive movements have increased in number as the business and the staff of Parliament have grown in the past decade. Although dispersing facilities has enabled Parliament to respond to immediate needs and to keep pace with growing demands for increased services, it has resulted in a serious communication problem within the parliamentary precinct. An existing transit system of buses and vans links several of the buildings at regular intervals. But it is costly and inefficient, and hardly constitutes more than a stop-gap measure pending the determination of a more satisfactory solution.

Given the current size of Parliament, and the probabilities of future expansion, it is impossible that all parliamentary branches could be centralized into any one of the existing buildings within the parliamentary precinct. By viewing Parliament Hill as a single operational unit of inter-related buildings, however, it should be possible to develop an integrated system that minimizes current problems in much the same fashion as communication problems are alleviated in large office complexes. Services which are deemed to be essential to the daily functioning of Parliament would be located in one of the buildings on or adjacent to the Hill, and would be linked to a secure, all-weather communication and circulation network for both pedestrian traffic and certain types of motorized vehicles. The communication network would, in turn, tie all buildings together into a coherent system which would facilitate the flow of people and material in a manner consistent with the appearance of Parliament Hill.

The specific form of the communication/circulation system would be determined by the location of all buildings within the parliamentary precinct, the location of parking garages, the types of vehicles to be employed for inter-building transportation, and the supplementary purposes for which such a system could be used. A well planned communications network would not only enhance the operational efficiency of Parliament, but would also contribute towards a revitalized spirit of community on Parliament Hill.

Visitor Reception and Tourism

Parliament Hill is the principal attraction of the national capital region, a site now visited annually by more than 700,000 people who come to tour and view the buildings that have become symbolic of the federal government and the unity of Canada. In the light of the historic and symbolic importance of the Parliament buildings, the Commission believes that the parliamentary precinct should be maintained at the superior standards of quality expected of capital buildings and that visitors to Parliament should be provided with appropriate facilities to enable them to view the buildings conveniently and in comfort.

There are at present few visitor facilities on Parliament Hill. The bookstore in the Centre Block is not designed to accommodate more than a small number of visitors, and poses obvious security problems, especially in the summer months, when it expands into the nearby Railway Committee Room. The washroom facilities near the West Block are inadequate for current requirements and are inconveniently located. Despite the historic importance of the buildings, and the possibilities for visual displays of Canada's heritage, there is no secure and permanent exhibition area. There are restaurants and cafeterias within the precinct having a total seating capacity of 1100, but none are currently designated for public use. Although tours are conducted in the Centre Block by the Parliamentary staff, the facilities afforded to visitors to Parliament Hill are meagre, unimaginative, and inadequate.

The Commission recommends that visitors to Parliament Hill be provided with a range of conveniences which strikes a balance between inadequate facilities and undue commercialization. A cafeteria, an enlarged bookstore/information centre, and an exhibition area should be designed into the parliamentary precinct in a secure and permanent facility. Public washrooms should be provided in the buildings in which there are tours by visitors. Because the number of visitors varies according to the time of year, it is suggested that the cafeteria and bookstore facilities be adaptable to meet seasonal requirements.

Since Parliament Hill is one of the most recognized symbols of the Government of Canada, the maintenance of its appearance and architectural integrity is of considerable importance. In planning renovations for the future facilities of Parliament, the Commission recommends that historic portions be renovated in a manner consistent with the original architectural style. To enhance the beauty of the Hill area, it is desirable that surface parking, if possible, be replaced by underground garages. It is also recommended that future renovations be accompanied by a thorough review of the landscape design of the Hill and the appearance of the exterior of all buildings. The Parliament buildings are deserving of special care and maintenance if they are to continue to be viewed with pride and admiration by future generations of Canadians.

Facilities for the Parliamentary Press, Radio and Television

The press has traditionally occupied a unique position on Parliament Hill. Although distinct and independent of parliamentary operations, reporters and broadcasters from the press, radio and television have been provided with facilities by Parliament to enhance the reporting of national events. Parliament currently allocates space in the Centre Block free of charge to the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Additional office space in the nearby Norlite Building (National Press Building) is rented at commercial rates to news bureaux. The Commission believes that it is essential for the sound functioning of a free press that reporters and broadcasters continue to have available facilities to enable them to perform their functions effectively and efficiently.

The facilities afforded to Canadian reporters and broadcasters do not compare favourably to press facilities in other jurisdictions visited by the Commission. The press gallery in the Commons chamber is cramped, and the interview room, Room 130-S, is unsuited to the uses and capacity to which the rapidly expanding press gallery has put it. The main working area for reporters in the Centre Block, known as the "hot room", is badly overcrowded, and has no room for expansion in the immediate future. While the Norlite building, the headquarters of most of the news bureaux, is less crowded, there is a continuing need for more space and better facilities, especially for television interviews. To accommodate the press in adequate quarters would require an additional 3400 square feet of usable space of an appropriate standard of quality in the Centre Block, and approximately 8000 square feet of usable space in the Norlite Building or a comparable facility. Because of the nature of press work, it is essential that the press, radio and television retain a working area near the Commons chamber and other office facilities in close proximity to Parliament Hill.

The Parliamentary Press Gallery anticipates a rapid growth in membership in the foreseeable future, largely because of the increased coverage given to national events by smaller Canadian weekly and daily newspapers and by larger international news agencies. The present gallery of 165 members is projected to

expand to 250 within ten years and to 350 by the year 2001. The introduction of televised debates in the Senate and House of Commons may, however, further accelerate the present and projected rates of growth. Gallery space in the Senate and Commons chambers may be added by a readjustment of existing seating arrangements. Within ten years, however, approximately 15,000 additional square feet of office area will be required for the "hot room". Based upon current user estimates, 21,000 usable square feet will be required in the Centre Block by the year 2001. The requirement for other office space, which is leased to various members of the press gallery at commercial rates, will grow from approximately 27,000 square feet to 41,500 square feet within ten years and to 58,000 square feet by 2001.

The quality of space is equally important to members of the press gallery. It is essential that new space include facilities for interviews and press conferences, and that all news areas be properly equipped for electronic communication. Moreover, for the comfort and privacy of members of the press, the Commission recommends that provision be made for private restaurant and lounge facilities for members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and guests, in much the same fashion as for members of Parliament.

Party Support Facilities

The past decade has witnessed a considerable growth in numbers of support personnel for political parties in the House of Commons. As a result of the funding by Parliament of research units for recognized political parties, there are at present four party research bureaux, occupying 11,500 square feet of usable office area in the Confederation Building, in accommodation of adequate quantity and quality. It is not unlikely, given the growth of information requirements, that party research facilities will continue to expand, to enhance and complement the personal staffs of members of Parliament and the research unit of the Parliamentary Library. The contours of the present expansion, however, are not clearly definable, and future require-

ments will be dictated by unforeseeable elements such as changes in party structures and organizations, and fluctuations in the numbers and strengths of parties in the House of Commons.

For planning purposes, the Commission recommends that space be allocated to party research bureaux at approximately the same ratio of space to total membership in the House of Commons as at present, and that future requirements be calculated upon projected increases in the membership of the House of Commons. Based upon a maximum expansion of the Commons by the year 2001 to 406 members, the foreseeable requirements for office space for party research bureaux will be approximately 17,500 square feet of usable area.

Other forms of accommodation afforded to political parties were found to be inadequate, despite the pivotal importance of parties in the Canadian political process. At present, there are no caucus offices to house permanent staff or confidential records, and meetings are held in unsuitable committee rooms of inadequate design and size, when such rooms can be spared from ordinary committee use. To promote the efficiency and effectiveness of party caucuses, to provide sufficient space for all caucus meetings, and to ensure the confidentiality of caucus discussions, it is recommended that space be provided for the current requirements of each recognized party in the House of Commons, and that permanent caucus meeting rooms, equipped with appropriate audio-visual and interpretation facilities, be provided near the Commons chamber to each recognized political party. The caucus rooms could also be used as lounges in which parliamentarians could meet in confidence with other members of the same political party. Given a building of sufficient flexibility, available space could be subdivided according to the contemporary needs of each political party. Allowing for an appropriate expansion of facilities, the total requirement for caucus space to the year 2001 will be approximately 10,000 square feet of office and meeting room area.

Support Services

The ten buildings of the parliamentary precinct contain a wide variety of facilities and services to serve parliamentarians,

their personal staffs, and the staffs of the Senate, House of Commons and Library of Parliament. The facilities range from cafeterias and restaurants to personal grooming services to medical and physical fitness centres. In some cases the facilities are similar to the normal support services of any large organization, while in other cases they have evolved out of particular needs for privacy and security or as time-saving conveniences to enable members of Parliament to avail themselves of services within the parliamentary precinct. The Commission appreciates the continuing need for existing services, although it recommends the consolidation of some of the separate Senate and House of Commons services, which currently constitute an inefficient use of space.

The restaurant facilities of the parliamentary precinct are not suitable for present or future requirements. Although the existing seating capacities are adequate for current usage, facilities will be badly over-crowded within two or three years, given the expected expansion of the House of Commons and a modest growth of other branches of Parliament. Many of the present areas, moreover, were not originally intended as restaurant space, and are deficient in several respects, as well as posing a fire hazard and jeopardizing the efficiency and quality of service. All of the existing facilities require enlarged preparation and meal planning areas, and more suitable space for food storage.

The range of facilities is also inadequate for parliamentary needs. The areas used to prepare banquets and special dinners are inadequate and are located at considerable distances from dining and banquet halls, and there is not at present a private lounge and restaurant for parliamentarians and guests. The Commission recommends a thorough upgrading of restaurant and lounge facilities in the parliamentary precinct, in order to allow for the projected expansion of demand as the staff of Parliament grows and with a view to expanding service areas and providing more appropriate accommodation for parliamentarians. More and better facilities are required if the high standards of parliamentary food services are to be maintained.

Most of the other support services are currently accommodated in quarters of adequate size, but will require additional space to allow for expansion in the near future. As the working population of the parliamentary precinct and the number of

visitors to Parliament Hill grow, medical facilities will require substantial upgrading. When new facilities are prepared, and the security implications of each building are re-examined, more appropriate accommodation should be provided for security staff and equipment which are currently in cramped quarters. Maintenance and trades shops are located in areas designed originally as office and storage space. The shops are over-crowded and lack many elements essential to a safe and efficient working environment. At the earliest opportunity, all maintenance shops should be moved to quarters specifically designed for such purposes.

The Commission also recommends that provision be made for a broadcast studio equipped with audio-visual and videotape facilities for preparation of broadcast messages by parliamentarians. It was found that similar studios operating in other jurisdictions provide an effective means for parliamentarians to maintain communication with their constituencies.

Special emphasis should be placed on the physical fitness centre. Recent studies by the Department of National Health and Welfare of office workers in the capital region have demonstrated that exercise programmes of moderate length and intensity can increase work capacity and decrease cardiovascular stress. Exercise is especially important to parliamentarians who may not have opportunities to avail themselves of community fitness programmes, due to heavy workloads, irregular hours and work outside of Ottawa. A small physical fitness room was installed in the Confederation Building in 1973 as part of the overall renovation of the building to parliamentary use. The Commission recommends that a physical fitness centre be included in a new parliamentarians' building and that current facilities be expanded to accommodate a more comprehensive range of equipment, thereby rendering it more appropriate to specially designed fitness programmes for parliamentarians.

Security

The present buildings on Parliament Hill were designed in an era in which concern for security and protection from violence was

minimal. Residents of Ottawa in the late nineteenth century enjoyed the facilities of the original Centre Block, and walked freely throughout the corridors of the building. Only during occasional periods of unrest were more intensive security precautions required. The architects of the new Centre Block placed an equally low priority on security, despite widespread fears of sabotage during the First World War. The present-day Parliament Hill buildings have numerous entrances, no secure passageways among all buildings, no secure and private access by motor vehicle, and few barriers to free movement inside the buildings. A series of incidents in the 1960's, including the bombing of a washroom outside of the Commons gallery, illustrates the difficulties of protecting parliamentary facilities. Because of the design of the parliamentary precinct, security measures are both costly and inefficient.

The Commission recognizes that the Parliament Buildings are public buildings, visited by thousands of Canadians annually, and that all citizens should be free to meet their members of Parliament, watch their government in action, and air their grievances through peaceful demonstrations. Given the current possibilities of breaches of security, ranging from isolated incidents of wire-tapping to large-scale terrorist attacks, more emphasis should be placed on improving the security of the parliamentary precinct by providing modern protective and preventative facilities. In almost every jurisdiction visited by the Commissioners, security measures have emerged in recent years as a matter of the utmost urgency.

The essential element in a secure complex of buildings is a secure circulation system, which includes private access for parliamentarians to buildings from roadways and parking areas, a secure passageway among all parliamentary buildings, and controlled public access to buildings. Areas designated for the general public should be outside of the secure circulation system, except such areas where there may be guided tours or such portions of the parliamentary precinct for which escorts are provided for specific purposes. To facilitate the provision of appropriate security measures the Commission recommends that space be allocated for a security control centre, which would accommodate the equipment and personnel essential to planning and providing security for the parliamentary precinct.

In addition to the security of buildings, consideration should be given to the security of telecommunications equipment, records and data within buildings. To minimize the threat of wire-tapping, appropriate space should be provided in all buildings for securing telephone equipment. Similar measures should be taken to ensure the privacy of all computer facilities and data storage banks, as well as the records of Parliament and of members of Parliament. The Commission recommends that, in planning new facilities, adequate procedures be followed to provide secure and private accommodation for telephone, computer and other communications systems as well as for data and records storage.

The inadequacy of existing accommodation poses other problems to the security of Parliament Hill. Shops for repairing furniture, printing, painting and general maintenance are interspersed throughout the parliamentary precinct in areas originally designed as office space. Not only are many of these areas poorly designed for shop work, but several house volatile liquids which pose a potential fire hazard to the buildings. The Commission recommends that appropriate facilities be prepared for the maintenance operations of Parliament, and that storage areas for flammable liquids and fuels be designed expressly for these purposes.

Parking

Despite the upgrading of public transportation in the capital region since the mid-1960's and the creation of new parking areas to the west of Parliament Hill, the demand for parking facilities has remained high. Public transit is often of limited usefulness because of the irregular hours of parliamentary business, and members of Parliament often require automobiles during the day. Visitors to the offices of members frequently require parking facilities, as do tourists visiting Parliament Hill. The supply of spaces, meanwhile, has remained small. There are currently no provisions for visitor or tourist parking, and there is an insufficient quantity of spaces for the motor vehicles of parliamentarians and all employees on the Hill. The Commission recognizes the desirability of using public transit wherever possible and of discouraging the

unwarranted use of personal automobiles. Given the special circumstances of Parliament, however, the Commission recommends that secure, safe parking facilities be made available for the parking requirements of parliamentarians, their personal staffs, parliamentary staff and visitors to the parliamentary precinct.

In assessing current patterns of usage and demands, the Commission determined that three parking spaces per member of Parliament was an appropriate quantity of parking to satisfy reasonable needs. According to this formula, one parking space would in future be allocated to each parliamentarian for his personal automobile. The second and third spaces and other unassigned or unused spaces would be pooled to provide for the combined needs of personal staff, parliamentary staff and visitors to Parliament. This formula was considered a workable method of allocating spaces to parliamentarians who require automobiles in the daily performance of their duties, while also meeting the needs of visitors to Parliament and of the staff of Parliament.

The requirement for parking, based upon the three-parking-spaces-per-member formula and the projected growth of the Senate and House of Commons, is 1,500 spaces. The Commission recommends that most parking areas be provided in underground garages, thereby eliminating surface parking on Parliament Hill as much as is possible. Parking facilities should have secure, all-weather links to buildings or to the communication/circulation system, and may be designed for alternative uses as storage areas or maintenance shops. Special waiting and departure areas and tourist vehicle or bus parking facilities should be designed for bus tours of Parliament Hill, and a secure entranceway should be provided for parliamentarians. Despite the limited facilities currently available, it is possible to provide convenient and aesthetically pleasing parking areas for the foreseeable needs of Parliament.

4 General Conclusions

The Commission has found that Parliament requires a thorough upgrading of facilities if it is to avoid an accommodation crisis which would seriously jeopardize its effectiveness and efficiency. Some facilities which are needed in the immediate future may continue to be provided on an ad hoc basis. But the implementation of most of the Commission's recommendations to provide the Senate and House of Commons with adequate accommodation will involve extensive planning into the foreseeable future and consultations among federal government departments, the regional and municipal authorities, the National Capital Commission, Heritage Canada and other interested groups. To ensure that the planning of new facilities is fully coordinated, the Commission recommends the adoption of the following three-phase programme.

Phase One is the renovation of the Centre Block and its conversion to a legislative building. The Centre Block should be thoroughly upgraded to modern standards of heating, ventilating, electrical, lighting, fire safety and security, and its interior should be rehabilitated to provide proper accommodation for the legislative activities of Parliament. As recommended by the Commission, provision should be made for new quarters for standing committees and party support facilities, and for appropriate office space for the officers of both Houses, clerks of committees, Hansard officials and other legislative staff under the jurisdiction of the Speakers, Clerks, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod and Sergeant-at-Arms. Adequate facilities should be provided in the Centre Block for the parliamentary press, radio and television and for visitors and tourists. Lounge, restaurant and cafeteria facilities should also be provided at convenient locations in the building. As already

stated, it may be desirable to have a cabinet chamber and offices for the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, leaders of other recognized parties, House leaders and party whips in the Centre Block. Every effort, however, should be made to reduce the amounts of space devoted to executive rather than to legislative purposes.

To facilitate the renovation of the Centre Block, current occupants of the building could be moved to either the Metropolitan Life Building or to the East Block. The Metropolitan Life Building, acquired by the Government of Canada in 1973, contains a sufficient quantity of usable space that it can be used as "swing space" or temporary quarters during most of the design and construction stages of the three-phase programme. A rehabilitation of the East Block will be initiated shortly to upgrade its services, restore the historic portions of the building, and convert other portions to usable office space. Following the East Block restoration, the office areas will become part of the parliamentary precinct and may be used as permanent quarters for parliamentarians or parliamentary support staff who are currently accommodated in the Centre Block. Phase One will provide the Centre Block with the facilities appropriate to a modern legislative building.

Phase Two is the design and construction of an inter-building circulation and communication system to link the parliamentary precinct and the projected new building. As recommended by the Commission, the circulation system would be secure, all-weather, designed for pedestrians and certain types of motorized vehicles, and in harmony with the existing contours of Parliament Hill. It may be desirable to include in the system provision for other facilities, particularly for support services, which are required by Parliament but are not designated for a specific building. The creation of the circulation system will also enable Parliament to review the landscape design of Parliament Hill, and revitalize the area for visitors and tourists. The Commission believes that the circulation system is an essential element in the overall programme of providing adequate facilities for Parliament if the main buildings of the parliamentary precinct are to be renovated to more specialized and appropriate purposes.

Phase Three is the design and construction of a new building. As recommended by the Commission, the new building would

be principally a parliamentarians' building, housing members of Parliament, personal staff and related support services, and would also include new facilities which it may not be possible to include in the Centre Block, due to the inflexible configuration of the older building. Pending the construction of the new facility, members of Parliament would continue to be accommodated in the West Block and the Confederation Building, or temporarily in the Metropolitan Life Building during the Centre Block and East Block renovations.

The Commission believes that architectural and planning guidelines should be formulated at the outset of the three-phase programme to direct future development. Parliament Hill has a unique setting and configuration of buildings which are the products of over a century of the capital region's development. New structures or renovations to older buildings should reflect the growth of the area from lumber village to national capital, and stimulate a sense of Canada's heritage among visitors to Parliament. Alterations to the Hill area should enhance the existing interior and exterior spatial characteristics, maintain the geometrical harmony of buildings, and complement the existing building surfaces and circulation areas. Emphasis should be placed on maintaining the traditional openness of Parliament Hill, and enhancing its special characteristics. It is recommended that planning guidelines be generative of new ideas rather than mandatory and unduly restrictive, thereby encouraging imaginative solutions to spatial and communications difficulties in ways that avoid the sterility of many modern office complex designs.

As the three phases of the overall programme are interrelated and interdependent, the Commission stresses that co-ordination is essential. Planning for the three phases should be carried out simultaneously, and construction of individual component projects should be initiated in accordance with detailed schedules, thereby ensuring the provision of facilities at appropriate sequences during the overall programme. The planning, design and construction schedules would be tailored to allow Parliament to operate effectively while new facilities were in preparation, and should be sufficiently flexible to permit the inclusion of new requirements considered desirable in the future. Detailed planning schedules would eliminate the undue reliance upon ad hoc measures which has led to insufficient and inadequate facilities.

The Commission emphasizes the importance of initiating the three-phase programme at the earliest possible opportunity. Although Parliament currently has at its disposal sufficient short-term "swing space" to begin the first phase of the programme, such space may not be available in the immediate future if Parliament continues to expand at its present rate of growth. Parliamentary requirements will also be more expensive and more difficult to provide for in the future if major alterations to existing facilities are done on an ad hoc basis, or if renovations must be carried out without the benefit of temporary quarters. The necessary rejuvenation of the parliamentary grounds and buildings, moreover, cannot properly be undertaken without a comprehensive long-term plan. Parliament is deserving of more appropriate facilities if it is to continue to discharge its duties effectively and efficiently in the future. As the Minister of Public Works stated in 1974, "the Parliament of Canada is a vital symbol and presence in our country and we intend that its expansion will enhance and protect its dignity in accordance with the fundamental position it occupies in the life of the nation".

5 Summary of Recommendations

The Commission's findings and recommendations are set out in detail in the preceding sections of this report. Analyses and projections of accommodation requirements in the form of tables, graphs and charts are attached as Appendix II. In addition, the minutes of the Commission's meetings, the data and other material assembled by the technical staff, and briefs and special studies submitted to the Commission will be retained for future planning purposes and for consultation by persons interested in parliamentary accommodation. The Commission's main recommendations may be summarized briefly as follows:

- I. THAT, a programme be initiated without delay to provide Parliament with the facilities essential to its effective and efficient operation in the foreseeable future, such programme to be implemented in the following three phases:
 - a) the renovation of the Centre Block and its conversion to a legislative building, to house the legislative chambers, committee and caucus rooms, facilities for essential legislative staff and Hansard as well as facilities for the news media and visitors to the parliamentary precinct;
 - b) the construction of a secure and permanent inter-building communication and circulation system to connect the present parliamentary precinct and the projected new building;
 - c) the design and construction of a parliamentarians' building, such new building to accommodate parliamentarians, their personal staffs, and other appropriate facilities.

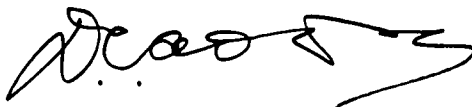
II. THAT, the programme to provide adequate parliamentary facilities include provision for the following requirements:

- a) office accommodation for parliamentarians and their personal staffs, each office suite for members of the Senate to have an area not in excess of 750 square feet, each office suite for members of the House of Commons to have an area not in excess of 1000 square feet;
- b) office accommodation for officials and staff of the Senate and House of Commons, and committee room space to serve committees of Parliament;
- c) additional space for the Library of Parliament;
- d) appropriate cafeteria, restaurant and lounge facilities for parliamentarians, the press and parliamentary staff in convenient locations in the parliamentary precinct;
- e) access from all buildings and parking areas to the inter-building circulation and communication system;
- f) cafeteria, washroom facilities and bookstores or information centres within the parliamentary precinct for tourists and visitors;
- g) interview rooms, studios and office areas for the use of the parliamentary press, radio and television, such space to be in close proximity to the Commons chamber; and an audio-visual broadcast studio for parliamentarians;
- h) space for parliamentary computing and word processing facilities; shops for photocopying and printing; space for the broadcast facilities of an information or enunciator system; appropriate telecommunications facilities in offices; and secure and permanent records storage areas;
- i) office areas and caucus meeting rooms for party research bureaux and party caucuses;
- j) secure and private entrances to the parliamentary precinct for parliamentarians and other authorized persons; controlled access to the parliamentary precinct for the public; and appropriate space for security control centres;

- k) parking space for 1500 automobiles within the parliamentary precinct, with appropriate facilities for bus parking, parking for other tourist vehicles, and for the discharge of visitors to Parliament Hill.

III. THAT, the programme to enhance the facilities of Parliament include the formulation of guidelines to direct the future development of Parliament Hill and its environs in ways which will improve and complement the appearance and architectural quality of the area and preserve buildings of symbolic and historical significance.

In concluding this Report the members of the Commission wish to record their sense of loss in the death of Senator Grattan O'Leary, who passed away on April 7, 1976. Senator O'Leary was appointed to the Commission when it was established in 1974, and took an active part in the early stages of its work. For some time prior to his death he was unable to attend meetings, but continued his interest in the Commission's activities. He had a long and distinguished career as a journalist and parliamentarian, and is remembered with admiration and affection by his fellow Commissioners.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. C. Abbott', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

D. C. Abbott
Chairman

APPENDICES

Order in Council

P.C. 1974-963

Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 25 April, 1974

Whereas there is an express need to improve and increase the accommodation and facilities available to the Parliament of Canada for the performance of its functions;

And Whereas the Government of Canada has acquired all the lands and buildings in the area bounded by Wellington Street, Elgin Street, Sparks Street and Bank Street in the City of Ottawa in order to provide, among other things, for an appropriate expansion of Parliamentary accommodation and facilities;

And Whereas it is desired to provide a means of investigating and assessing the amount and the type of accommodation and facilities that Parliament will require to operate effectively in the future;

Therefore, The Committee of The Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, advise that, pursuant to Part I of the Inquiries Act, the Honourable Douglas C. Abbott, P.C., the Honourable George J. McIlraith, P.C., Q.C., the Honourable Jean Paul Deschatelets, P.C., Q.C., the Honourable M. Grattan O'Leary, the Honourable Marcel Lambert, P.C., M.P., the Honourable Richard A. Bell, P.C., Q.C., Mr. Gaston Clermont, M.P., Mr. James A. Jerome, M.P., Mr. Hugh Poulin, M.P., Mr. Eymard G. Corbin, M.P., Mr. Claude Wagner, M.P., Mr. Paul W. Dick, M.P., Mr. Lorne E. Nystrom, M.P., Mr. Barry Mather, M.P., Mr. Gérard Laprise, M.P., and Dr. John Stewart of Baysfield, County of Antigonish in the Province of Nova Scotia be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act (to be known as the "Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation") to inquire into and

advise upon the amount and type of accommodation and facilities that Parliament will require in the future as follows:

- (1) To inquire into the present and future needs of Parliament as the paramount legislative body of the nation, including the manner in which Parliamentary needs are met or may be met in other jurisdictions, and to advise as to the amount and type of accommodation and facilities that Parliament will require to operate effectively in the future; and
- (2) For the purpose of reporting in respect of the matters referred to in paragraph (1), to receive evidence from any person, any interested agency, group or corporation, any representative of the federal or of any provincial, territorial, regional or municipal government and any representative of any jurisdiction outside Canada who desires or may be invited to give evidence.

The Committee further advise that

- (a) the Honourable Douglas C. Abbott, P.C., be appointed Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation;
- (b) the Chairman be authorized to adopt such practices and procedures for all purposes of the inquiry as he may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and to vary those practices and procedures from time to time;
- (c) the Commissioners be authorized and requested to sit at such times and places, both in and outside Canada, as the Chairman may from time to time decide;
- (d) the Minister of Public Works be authorized to provide from personnel employed in the Department of Public Works a Secretary of the Commission and such further and other clerical and office assistance as may be necessary to aid and assist the Commissioners in the inquiry;
- (e) the Minister of Public Works be authorized to provide such space for offices and hearing rooms for the Commission as the Chairman may deem necessary or advisable; and

(f) the Commissioners be authorized to submit interim reports to the Governor in Council from time to time and requested to submit a final report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable dispatch.

House of Commons

Friday, July 20, 1973

PARLIAMENT HILL

Measures to Protect Environment—Minister's Statement

Hon. Jean-Eudes Dubé (Minister of Public Works): Mr. Speaker, for a number of years now it has been recognized that Parliament faces a severe space problem creating a limitation of its effective operation. As Parliament has become, through its committees and in other ways, even more involved in all aspects of the nation's life, it has become much more a year round operation and space available has fallen behind its needs as they have developed in the modern era.

Moreover, concern has been expressed about the danger of visual encroachment on the beauty of the present parliamentary precinct, which is one of the great symbols of Canada. We must ensure that nearby developments do not adversely affect it and furthermore, we have an opportunity, I believe, to enhance the present precinct by enlarging, and thereby completing it in a fitting manner. The longer we wait, the more costly the solution.

Hon. members are aware, of course, that we have achieved temporary relief of the space problem by refurbishing the Confederation Building and making it available to members. However, it is only a temporary solution as all Members are aware and as you, Mr. Speaker were careful to point out at the time I had the pleasure of handing over the Confederation Building to your very able and competent jurisdiction.

We have all been aware that to properly house the expanded requirements of Parliament for the generations ahead in a way that would both complement and preserve the existing architectural beauty of the Parliament Buildings we must enlarge the present parliamentary grounds.

I wish therefore to announce Mr. Speaker, that I have today, on behalf of the Government, filed a notice of intent to expropriate all the land and buildings in the area bounded by Wellington Street, Elgin Street, Sparks Street and Bank Street. The purpose of this expropriation is as I have indicated to protect the environment of Parliament from any development which could adversely affect it and simultaneously provide the land for an appropriate expansion of Parliamentary facilities and other government requirements. The property of the United States Embassy has been excluded from this expropriation but discussions are well advanced for its acquisition.

This action will also provide the National Capital Commission with a splendid opportunity to plan the urban development of this most critical piece of land which is at the heart of the national capital and which constitutes a bridge between Parliament and the City of Ottawa. My Department will be working closely with the Commission to marry the architectural requirements of Parliament to the exciting possibilities this location raises.

For this purpose, it will be important that parliament be at the heart of this process and I wish to announce that it is the intention of the government to appoint a commission on parliamentary accommodation comprised of present and former members of parliament representing all parties in the House and in the Senate. The government will be consulting leaders of all parties with respect to appointments to the commission.

The purpose of the commission will be to advise on the amount and type of facilities that parliament will require to operate effectively for the future.

I should like to add a few words, Mr. Speaker, with respect to the existing properties and especially the Sparks Street Mall. It is the government's intention that until parliament's needs have been fully defined, there will be no disturbances whatsoever of the existing properties. This will be especially true of commercial operations on Sparks Street. Some of the office accommodation in the upper levels may be used for government purposes from time to time, but the commercial character of Sparks Street at ground level will be left intact.

To underscore this, I wish to emphasize that all leases have been excluded from the expropriation process. I want to assure everyone involved that on the Mall it will be business as usual.

Further, it is the government's intention that when a plan is developed for the area, including the architecture of the buildings, space will continue to be provided for commercial operations facing Sparks Street so that the present character of the Mall will be preserved and enhanced.

We are all proud of the outstanding appearance and setting of the parliament of Canada. It is as impressive as any in the world. I think we will all agree that we have a duty to preserve its dignity, grace and beauty for the years ahead, in accordance with the fundamental position it occupies in the life of the nation. I trust that this announcement and the promise it holds for the improved facilities for the operation of parliament and the completion of the central architecture of the national capital will commend itself to all members of this House.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Walter Baker (Grenville-Carleton): Mr. Speaker, let me say that on behalf of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition we welcome this announcement today and commend the government for taking this important step.

This is a significant development for parliament. Not only does it ensure that the basic tool of space for the operation of parliament is available, but also that the planning for the expanding work of the committees of parliament and the work of the members of parliament on behalf of the people they represent can be assured. This House will be considering as an ongoing process the work of committees, and if the committee system of the House is to function, then there is no doubt that the staffs of committees must be expanded both in number and in depth. We now have the assurance that this important function will not be limited by lack of available space. It is my hope that in the planning process the interests of the owners and tenants will be respected in that they will be kept fully informed of plans and timetables for development. It is important to observe that the centre block can be put to the use for which it was intended, at least to greater use, that is for the accommodation of members of parliament.

However, I would say that the most significant aspect of this announcement is the aspect of control. Parliament Hill is recognized as a place unparalleled architectural beauty. More than that, it is the symbol and the centre of our national life. As such it deserves

protection from the conflicts and differences in points of view that arise between municipalities and developers on land use, even though they may be well intentioned. This announcement today will ensure that the people of Canada whose national capital this city is will have a part in the development of its centre.

The announcement of the intention of the government to appoint a commission on parliamentary accommodation is an excellent one, especially if its composition is as suggested by the minister. It will ensure that the best of experience is joined in the production of reasonable, practical and effective facilities to serve parliament, the members of which serve Canadians. It is regrettable that the negotiations with the United States with respect to the U.S. embassy property are not complete, and all of us urge the government to press ahead, with the assurance from this House that the government has the full support of all members of the House in completing those negotiations.

Lastly, I would like to pay tribute to the National Capital Commission which, with some notable exceptions, has been mindful of its responsibilities to marry the concepts of the national capital as a place for government and as a place for people. In this new venture it must continue that delicate balance so that this city will continue to grow as a fitting symbol of our national life. In that venture the minister can be assured that he has the support of the opposition with respect to this announcement.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Stanley Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, for some reason an advance copy of this statement did not reach me, but even so I have the pleasure of indicating on the spur of the moment our strong approval of the announcement that has been made by the Minister of Public Works. Indeed, I join in the remarks that have been made by my friend, the hon. member for Grenville-Carleton (Mr. Baker). We are not only friends, it so happens that when I am in Ottawa we are neighbours; we live across the street from each other. He helps me get my car out of the snow in the winter time. But I have one advantage over him. From the side of the street on which I live, from my bedroom window I can see the Peace Tower. Woe betide any developer who puts a high-rise building between my bedroom window and the Peace Tower.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Although I have put that on a personal basis, I wish to underline the point—I hope it will not be regarded as a conflict of interest—that we are concerned not only about the beauty and the attractiveness of the area from the river over to Albert Street but we are also concerned about the view of parliament hill from all parts of the city. I hope that in addition to the things that are being done and suggested in the minister's statement, the government and the National Capital Commission will play a very strong role in preserving the view of Parliament Hill from all parts of Ottawa.

Sir, we thoroughly approve of the decision to expropriate the area between Wellington and Albert Streets, and between Bank and Elgin, for this purpose indicated by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Dubé), and I join in the incidental comments that have been made upon that, both by the minister and by the hon. member for Grenville-Carleton.

We also approve of the decision to establish a commission to survey the whole question of the best use of the Parliament Hill area. I underline the suggestion that this centre block should be the preserve of members of parliament rather than of others. That is why it was built, for parliament. I suggest that in so far as other buildings near by are made part of the Parliament Hill complex, provision should be made for speedy connections. That may well mean a system of underground connections so that those who have to go from one building to another can get there quickly.

On the whole, having just heard the statement this morning, I am happy to say that we are in favour of it. We take this position not only because some of us have the real privilege of spending a great deal of time in this city, but because it is the capital of this country and therefore it belongs to all Canadians. I am delighted that over the years the number of people who have been able to visit Ottawa has greatly increased, and more and more it is true that Canadians recognize this not just as some place off there but as their capital. Anything that is done to make this Parliament Hill area and the whole national capital region a beautiful place, a place where work can be done, and also a place of which all Canadians can be proud, is a step in the right direction. I welcome the

statement that was made by the Minister of Public Works, and I trust that action he has outlined will proceed as quickly as possible.

Mr. Réal Caouette (Témiscamingue): Mr. Speaker, I thank the minister for sending me a copy of that statement which should have been made to Parliament some twenty years ago, I think, in order to protect the environment of Parliament, because we must acknowledge that the most important structure in Canada, whatever some people may think—

Mr. Baldwin: What about the Bank of Canada?

Mr. Caouette (Témiscamingue): —is the Parliament of Canada, our institution.

The thousands of visitors who come to Ottawa do not come here to see the City Hall, but to visit the Parliament Buildings. For one who comes from my region, the first thing to do is to visit Parliament.

It is quite logical to be told that the government is taking measures to protect the environment of Parliament Hill even if properties must be expropriated, and the Centre Block which we now occupy must be improved and made more attractive.

Mr. Speaker, as does the minister, I deeply regret that some members have to travel from the Confederation Building and the West Block to the Centre Block. It seems to me that the Parliament Buildings could shelter all the members with the greatest comfort, not the one we have known for the two or three days on the sixth floor. It is too warm, in spite of air-conditioning. All members should have an office here. If we have to move someone, let us move the senators to the Confederation Building, leaving the Centre Block to the members—

Mr. Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Send them to Hull!

Mr. Caouette (Témiscamingue): The hon. member for Winnipeg North Centre suggests that they should be sent to Hull. I am a citizen of Hull and I do not want them at all, Mr. Speaker. Let us keep them in Ottawa or put them in the zoo south of Ottawa!

Seriously, Mr. Speaker, the Centre Block definitely constitutes an attraction. Personally, I refused to move to the Confederation

Building because I am convinced that Parliament is not the Confederation Building but the Centre Block. And this is why I want to stay there.

I hope that the minister will proceed as soon as possible with improvements so that all hon. members will have their offices in the main building with Your Honour in order that we may legislate for the whole Canadian population.

The minister's statement is certainly welcome and I support it entirely, as do all my colleagues here.

* * *

Friday, April 26, 1974

PARLIAMENT

Announcement of Membership of Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation

Hon. Jean-Eudes Dubé (Minister of Public Works): Mr. Speaker, the House will doubtless remember that on July 20, 1973, I announced our intention of expropriating the land enclosed within Wellington, Elgin, Sparks and Bank streets in order that we might enlarge parliamentary facilities and protect the Parliament hill environment. I also announced that we would try to get the co-operation of all parties of the House in creating an Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation to determine what facilities Parliament will need to operate efficiently in the future.

Since then, we have met the first requirements of the Expropriation Act and have made offers, as the fact requires, to all former owners. We are now studying, with them, the administrative steps to be taken to ensure the administration of real estate, and, especially, to make sure that the unique and attractive aspect of the Mall is preserved, aspect on which I insisted in my previous statement.

Thanks to the co-operation of all parties, Mr. Speaker, I am in the happy position today to be able to announce the membership of the Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation.

The commission will be comprised of members of all parties and both Houses and will include former distinguished parliamentarians. I trust that the Speakers of both Houses will accept to serve as ex officio members of the commission. The chairman will be a former cabinet minister and a former Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, the hon. Douglas C. Abbott. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will table after my brief statement the order in council and the names of the 16 members of the commission.

I believe all members will share my pleasure that we have been able to secure such distinguished participants to pursue this historic and important task on our behalf. It is vital that parliament, as the paramount legislative body of the nation, should be extended the full facilities it requires to perform effectively in this modern age. It is expected that in arriving at its conclusions the commission will look into how parliamentary needs should be met in this country and compare with other countries with similar parliamentary institutions. Many complex problems about space, convenience, tradition and effectiveness will have to be faced and resolved by the commission on our behalf. The commission is being asked to look into these matters and to advise on the amount and type of accommodation and facilities, and how these will interrelate in order to permit parliament to operate effectively in the future.

The first stage in this process was the acquisition of the land and real estate and this has now been completed. The second stage is the one I just described, namely, the definition of the needs of parliament, as will be established by the advisory commission. The third stage will be the implementation, and I trust this will be facilitated by launching a competition open to all Canadian architects for providing the most inspiring concept of parliamentary architecture. This planning will be done in conjunction with the National Capital Commission and the city of Ottawa.

As I indicated in my earlier statement, the parliament of Canada is a vital symbol and presence in our country and we intend that its expansion will enhance and protect its dignity in accordance with the fundamental position it occupies in the life of the nation.

May I, therefore, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the House, wish the commission full success in its deliberations.

Mr. Walter Baker (Grenville-Carleton): Mr. Speaker, on July 20, 1973, when I spoke for the official opposition in reply to

the minister's initial statement, I indicated at that time that we believe this project to be a significant development for parliament, and the calibre of the members of this special and important advisory commission honours the magnitude of the undertaking. The membership of the commission is a good balance between the various parties in the two chambers of parliament, but most important of all it represents, in the parliamentary sense, a good blend of experience on the one hand and freshness on the other.

We welcome reconfirmation of the intention to preserve the unique quality of the Sparks Street Mall which is important to the centre-town core of the national capital. We urge upon the minister, his department and the advisory commission the importance of consultation on a continuing basis with tenants and others who have an economic interest in that area because of the understandable uneasiness that can develop from an announcement of this kind.

I am sure that all of us urge upon the commission the importance of considering the changing role of the parliamentarian as one which is moving from the legislative on the one hand to a greater mixture of the legislative role and that of ombudsman on the other, where personal contact and frequent and direct communication are becoming of increasing importance. I am sure that the commission will consult with serving members of parliament to ensure that the facilities are such that they can be adapted to these changes as they occur.

We welcome as well the aspect of competition for design to be limited to Canadian architects who, as a profession, are more than equal to this challenge. I hope there will be no unreasonable limitations placed on the ability of the commission to travel and to view innovations in legislative facilities throughout the world.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, the job of consultation and resolution of differences of opinion that will undoubtedly arise with local governmental authorities is a formidable one indeed, but we all share the view that this commission will be equal to that particular task. I should like to join with the hon. gentleman in wishing the commission every success.

Mr. Stanley Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, like the hon. member who has just taken his seat, I had the privilege on July 20 of last year of responding to the statement made

that day by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Dubé). In doing so, I indicated the pleasure of this party with respect to the decision to appoint an advisory commission, the membership of which is now being made public. We welcome the progress that the government has now made concerning this matter in that it has proceeded with the expropriation arrangements.

I join with the Minister of Public Works and with the hon. member for Grenville-Carleton (Mr. Baker) in wishing the very best to this commission. We are happy to have named two members of our party to it and we believe that they, along with others, will do a useful and imaginative job.

The fact is that the functions of members of parliament have multiplied greatly during the past few decades. Those of us who have been here for a while can testify to that fact. Even though we have not planned for change, we have had it. As the hon. member for Grenville-Carleton indicated, our functions as members of parliament include not only the legislative tasks that we have always had, even they are increasing; we have also become 264 ombudsmen, and it is important that the necessary facilities be made available so that these 264 ombudsmen can serve the interests of the people of Canada as a whole.

Every time this matter comes up I feel I must emphasize the desirability of realizing that this capital is not just an Ottawa institution, off somewhere removed from the rest of Canada, but that it belongs to all the people of this country. We can emphasize that by making it a place of beauty, and also by making it a place where the job that is supposed to be done is carried out. We must also, particularly in these days when there is so much more travel, increase the facilities for the visitors who come to this place. I am not thinking in terms of larger galleries so that more people can watch what is going on in this chamber. I am thinking of facilities for visitors in terms of increased committee space. I am thinking of facilities for people who come here to meet members to discuss their problems with their legislators and generally to express their concern about what goes on in their parliament which is, after all, what this institution is.

I urge that the commission keep in mind the desire that the Hill be a place of beauty as well as a place that is functional and efficient. I emphasize once again that I hope there will be sufficient

co-operation among this commission, the National Capital Commission and the city of Ottawa so that the view of Parliament Hill will continue to be one that can be enjoyed from all parts of this city. I object very much to the way in which high-rise buildings are blotting out the view of this place which is, after all, important to the whole of Canada.

We welcome the announcement of the appointment of this commission and we wish its members well in the job they are undertaking.

Mr. Réal Caouette (Témiscamingue): Mr. Speaker, I listened carefully to the statement of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Dubé), and like those who spoke before me, I am pleased to see that two stages have been passed. There is one more to go and that is the realization of the wishes expressed last July.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that the expropriations indicated in the statement will be carried out more fairly than has been the case at Sainte-Scholastique. However, as a national capital, Ottawa must preserve a very distinctive character in this country. There is a great number of tourists, not only from Canada but from outside the country, who wish to see the capital. Ottawa is considered a national capital. I would feel then that Parliament is the first thing that attracts attention and the curiosity of visitors. For this reason, Mr. Speaker, the third stage, to implement the projects developed by the minister and this government, is most important. I point out, for example, the fact that those who come to Parliament to see their member have to be directed sometimes to another building, the West Block or Confederation Building.

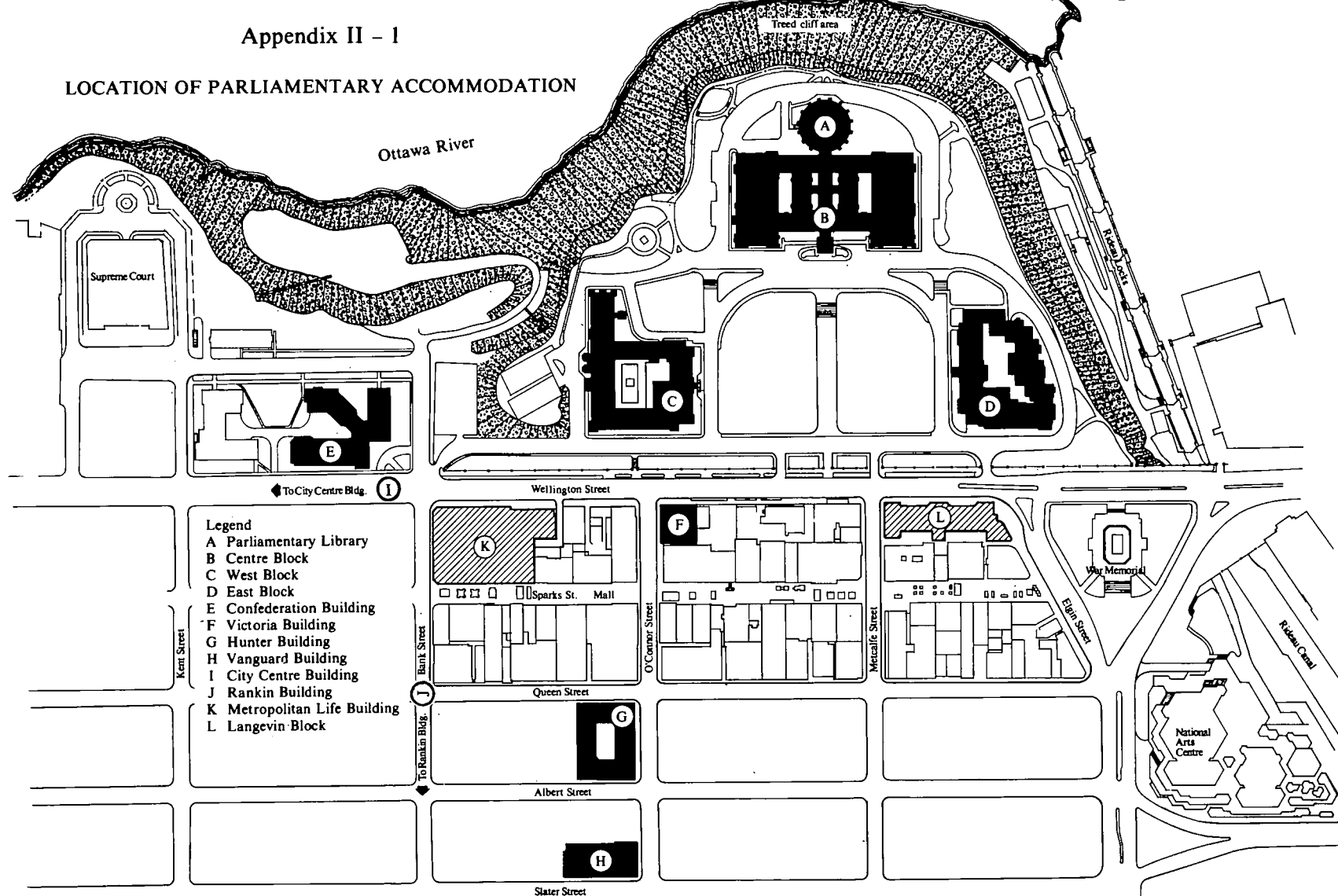
Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the government and the minister should study the possibility of cleaning the central building to host all members of Parliament, install air conditioning and appropriate offices, and transfer the senators in other buildings. According to me, Parliament is indeed the Central Block where we are now located and where all members of Parliament should be.

The minister and the government should take measures to have all members of Parliament located in the central Parliament building.

* * *

Appendix II - 1

LOCATION OF PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION



Appendix II – 2

25-YEAR FORECAST
PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION REQUIREMENTS

SENATE	Present Situation		Projected Accommodation Requirements			
	Spaced Occupied	Space Required	Next Parliament	1981	1991	2001
Speaker & Associated Officers	4,146	5,750	5,750	5,750	5,750	5,750
Senate Chamber	7,020	7,020	7,020	7,020	7,020	7,020
Leader of the Government	1,308	1,900	1,900	1,900	1,900	1,900
Leader of the Opposition	879	1,700	1,700	1,700	1,700	1,700
Senators ¹	25,134	42,800	82,500 ²	82,500	82,500	82,500
Secretaries	3,574	21,400				
Administration & Personnel Branch	6,404	9,500	9,500	9,500	9,500	9,500
Minutes & Journals Branch	963	1,365	1,365	1,365	1,365	1,365
Law Branch	568	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400
Debates & Reporting Branch	2,206	6,300	6,300	6,300	6,300	6,300
Committees & Private Legislation Branch	5,904	7,050	7,050	7,050	7,050	7,050
Committee Rooms	2,864	5,665	5,665	5,665	5,665	5,665
Black Rod Branch	10,274	12,650	12,650	12,650	12,650	12,650
Totals	71,244	124,500	142,800	142,800	142,800	142,800

Note: All areas shown are in net usable square feet.

¹British North America Act provides for maximum of 112 Senators.

²Footage based on an allotment of 750 square feet per Senator including personal staff.

Appendix II - 3

25-YEAR FORECAST PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION REQUIREMENTS

HOUSE OF COMMONS	Present Situation		Projected Accommodation Requirements			
	Space Occupied	Space Required	Next Parliament	1981	1991	2001
Number of Members of Parliament ¹	(264)		(282)	(316)	(374)	(406)
Speaker & Associated Officers	10,154	10,154	11,000	12,300	14,600	15,900
Chamber & Lobbys	10,700	10,700	10,700	12,000	14,200	15,500
Ceremonial & Special Areas	8,482	8,482	9,000	10,100	12,000	13,000
Prime Minister's Office	3,071	3,071	3,100	3,500	4,100	4,500
Leader of Official Opposition	8,971	8,971	9,300	10,450	12,350	13,400
Ministers	13,682	13,682	282,200 ²	316,000	374,000	406,000
Personal Staff	18,847	18,847				
Members of Parliament	83,135	83,135				
Personal Staff	70,421	70,421				
Party Research Staff	11,571	11,571	12,100	13,600	16,100	17,500
Inter-Parliamentary Relations Division	4,487	4,487	4,500	5,050	6,000	6,500
Building Services Branch	25,322	25,575	27,100	30,300	36,000	39,000
Administration & Personnel Branch	43,324	44,624	47,600	53,400	63,200	68,600
Legislative Services	68,836	73,256	78,100	87,500	103,600	112,500
Treasury Office (D.S.S.)	3,809	3,809	3,950	4,400	5,200	5,900
Totals	384,812	390,785	498,450	558,600	661,350	718,300

Note: All areas shown are in net usable square feet.

¹As provided for in the Representation Act, 1974, Source of Population Projections; Statistics Canada, *Population Projections for Canada and the Provinces, 1972-2001*, 1974, pp. 61-62.

²Based on an allotment of 1000 sq. ft. per Member to include personal staff.

Appendix II - 4

25-YEAR FORECAST
PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION REQUIREMENTS

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT	Present Situation		Projected Accommodation Requirements			
	Space Occupied	Space Required	Next Parliament	1981	1991	2001
Parliamentary Librarian*	1,326	2,292	2,300	2,300	2,300	2,300
Information & Reference Branch	44,604	49,254	52,570	57,460	72,900	89,200
Research Branch	11,946	11,946	12,440	13,325	16,250	19,000
Technical Services Branch	6,316	7,700	8,220	9,250	13,350	19,500
Administration & Personnel	1,389	1,389	1,470	1,590	2,000	2,400
Totals	65,581	72,581	77,000	83,900	106,800	132,400

Note: All areas shown are in net usable square feet.

*Includes special purpose space.

Appendix II - 5

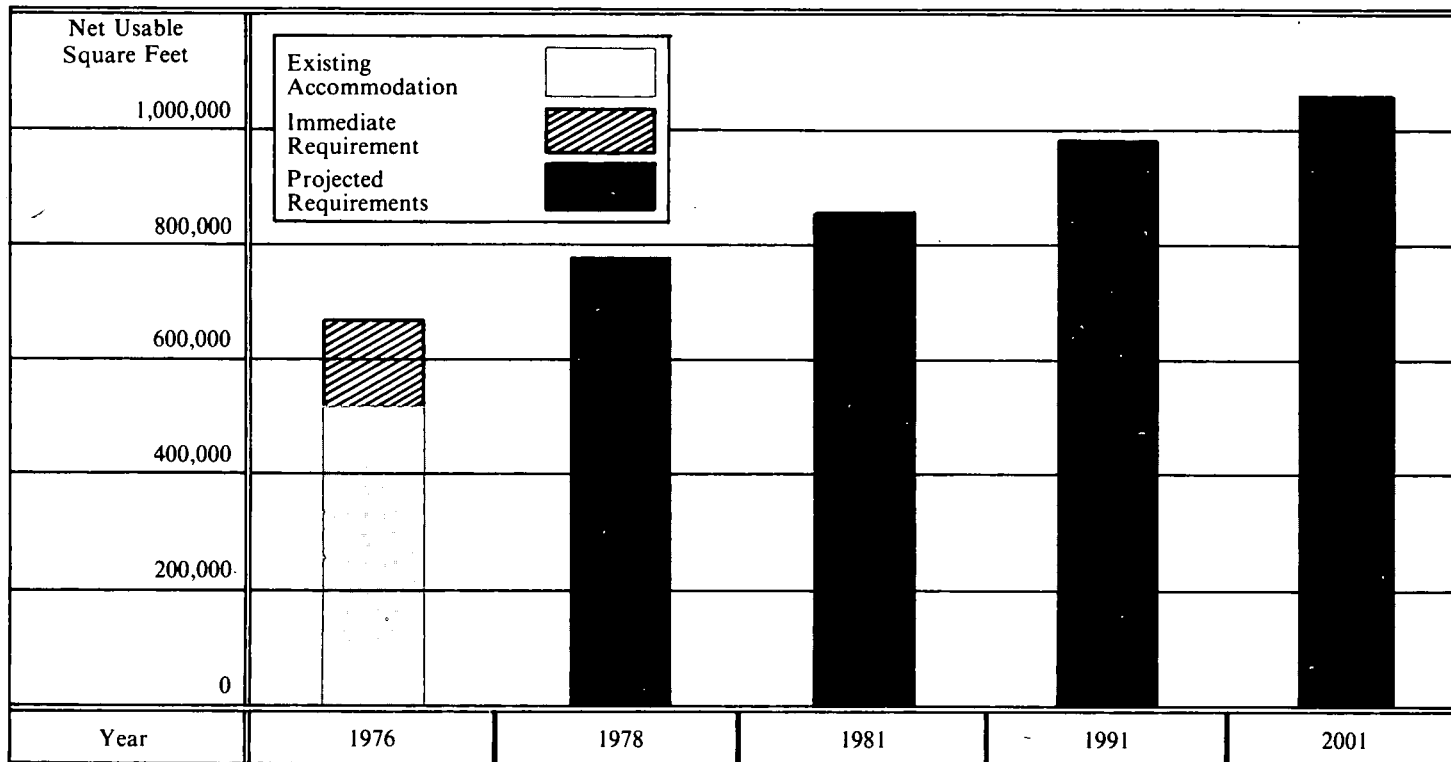
25-YEAR FORECAST PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION REQUIREMENTS

SHARED SERVICES	Present Situation		Projected Accommodation Requirements			
	Space Occupied	Space Required	Next Parliament	1981	1991	2001
The Media	4,168	7,569	13,200	18,900	21,900	24,900
Department of Public Works	2,157	2,157	2,350	2,600	2,900	3,100
Restaurants & Cafeterias	43,617	43,617	45,500	49,400	56,100	59,900
Physical Fitness Areas	7,124	7,124	7,450	8,100	9,200	9,800
Totals	57,066	60,467	68,500	79,000	90,100	97,700

Note: All areas shown are in net usable square feet.

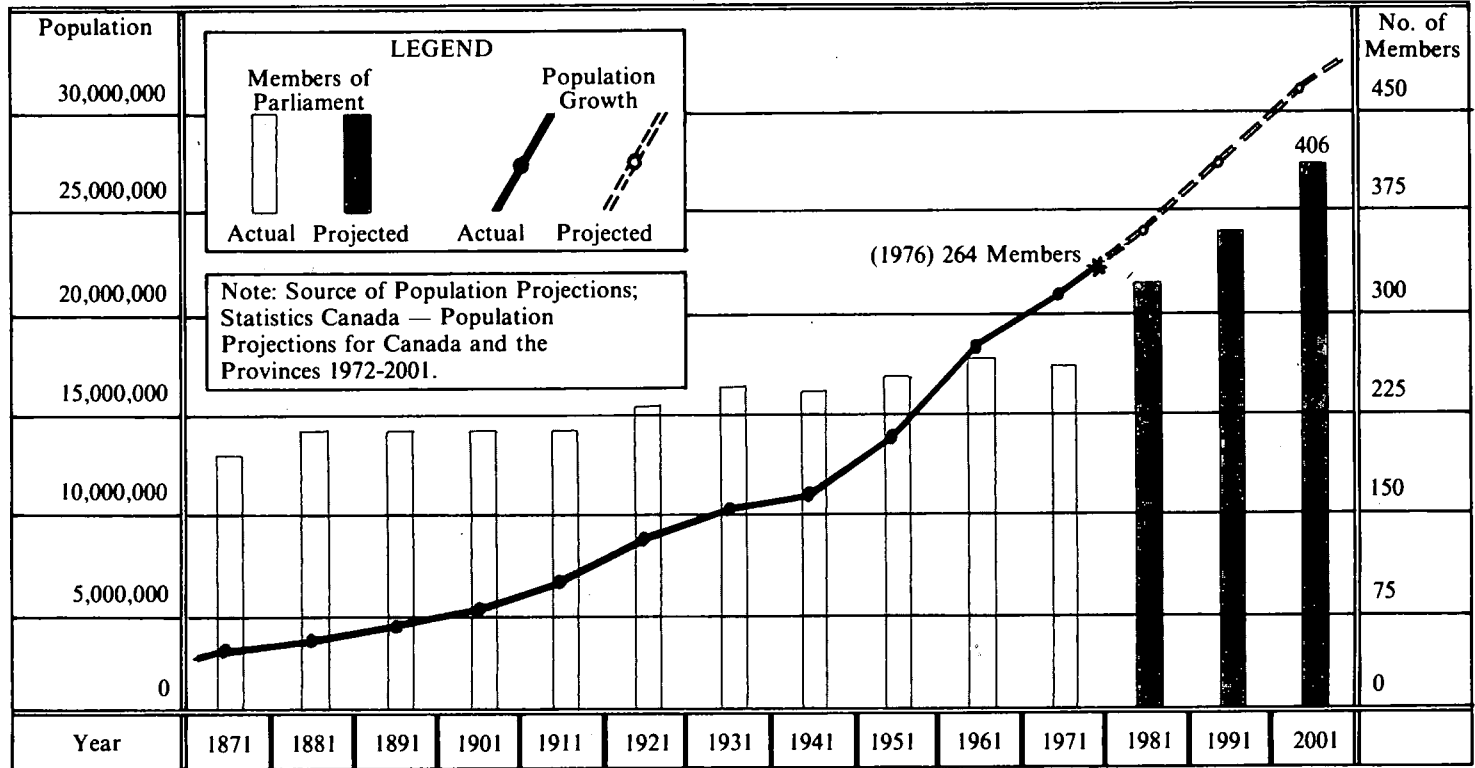
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25-YEAR FORECAST
PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION REQUIREMENTS



Appendix II - 7

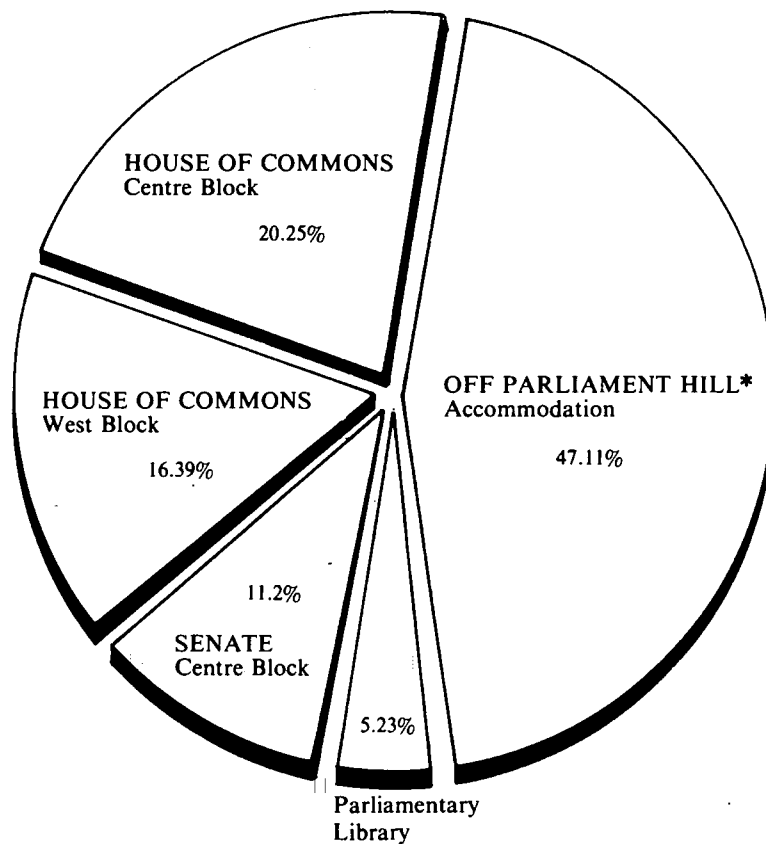
POPULATION/REPRESENTATION RELATIONSHIP



Appendix II - 8

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION

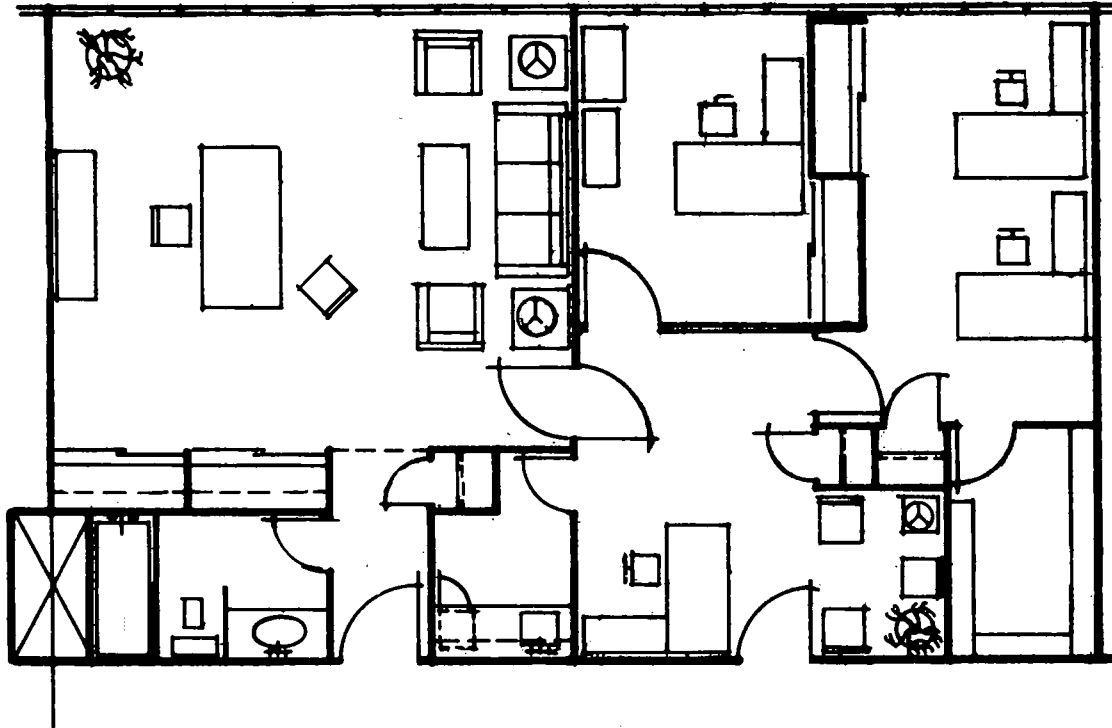
Total usable square footage: 578,703



* Confederation Building
Victoria Building
Norlite Building
Vanguard Building
Hunter Building
Rankin Building
City Centre Building

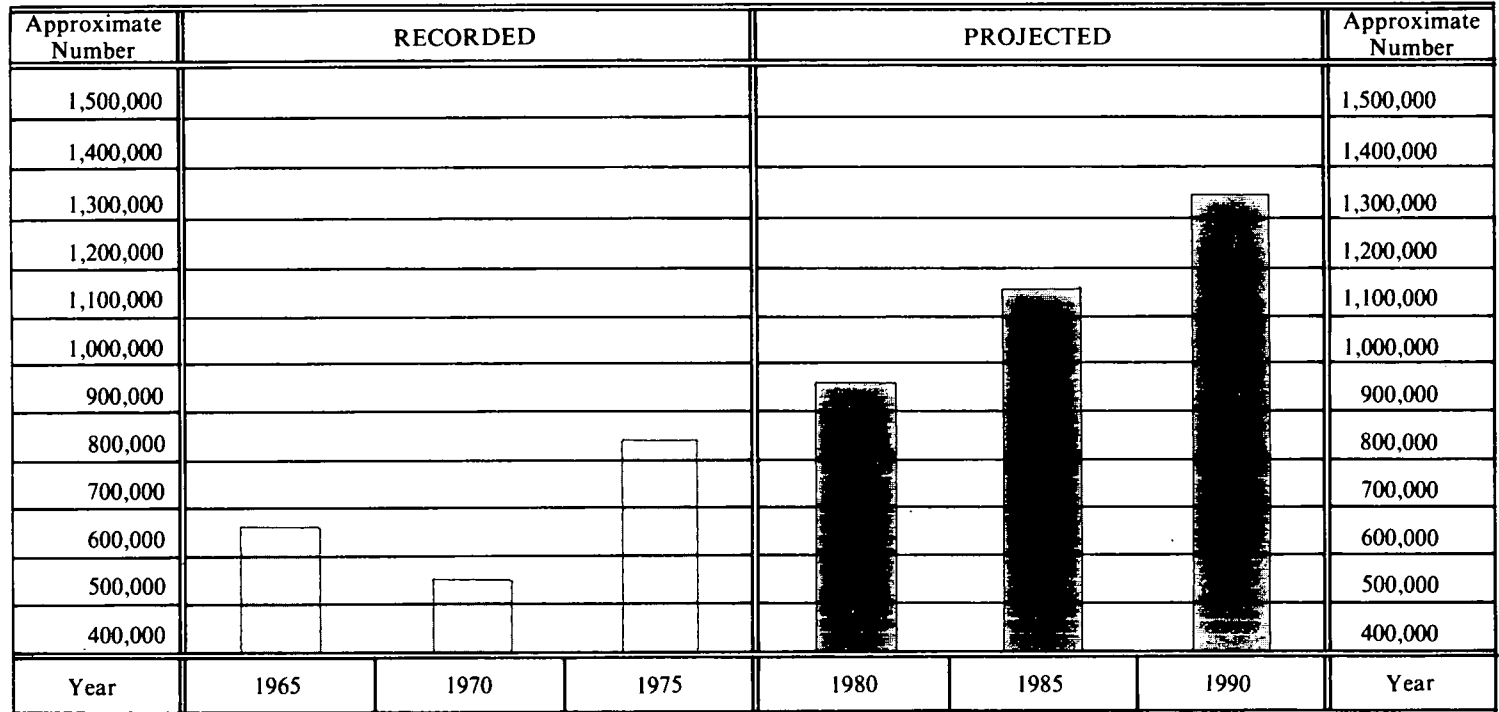
Appendix II - 9

PROPOSED PLAN OF BASIC MODULE



Appendix II - 10

VISITORS TO CENTRE BLOCK



Note: 1990 Projection Calculated by the Canadian Government Office of Tourism.

Appendix II - 11

PARLIAMENTS VISITED BY COMMISSION

	OTTAWA	WASHINGTON	CANBERRA	LONDON	PARIS	BONN	STOCKHOLM
Population of Country (approx.)	23,280,000	217,540,000	13,970,000	56,850,000	53,600,000	63,670,000	8,350,000
Number of Parliamentarians	Senators: 104* Members: 264	Senators: 100 Congressmen: 435	Senators: 64 Representatives: 127	Peers: 1120 Members: 635	Senators: 283 Deputies: 490	Members: 45 Deputies: 496	Members: 349
Parliamentarians' Services	Dining Rooms Cafeterias Lounge Physical Fitness area	Dining Rooms Lounges Swimming Pool Tennis & Gym Facilities	Dining Rooms Lounge, Bar Tennis, Squash & Lawn Bowling Facilities	Dining Rooms Lounges	Dining Rooms Lounges Recreational Facilities	Dining Rooms Swimming Pool & Field Sport Facilities	Dining Rooms Gymnasium Sauna Chapel
Parking	Surface	Surface & Indoor	Surface	Surface & Indoor	Surface & Indoor	Surface & Indoor	Indoor
News Media Services	Press Galleries Press 'hot room' TV & Radio room, Dining room privileges, Lounge	Press Galleries Recording & Transmitting Facilities	Press Galleries Common Room Agency Offices Dining Room Bar	Press Galleries Work Rooms Dining Room	Interview Studio	Press Gallery Electronic Data Processing Press Information Services	TV Equipped viewing stations Agency Offices Radio & TV Media rooms Interview Facilities
Public & Tourist Facilities	Public Galleries Guided tours Book Store	Public Galleries Guided tours	Public Galleries Guided tours	Public Galleries Guided tours	Controlled public access	Public Galleries Controlled public access	Public Galleries Guided tours

*See Section 21 B.N.A. Act, Statutes of Canada 1974-75-76

Appendix III

**A History of
Parliamentary Accommodation
in Canada, 1841-1974**

by J. D. Livermore

a report prepared for the

**ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
PARLIAMENTARY ACCOMMODATION**

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1 Early Initiatives

1841-1859

The Province of Canada, populated by approximately two and one-half million people, was a comparatively small outpost of empire in the mid-nineteenth century, enjoying a measure of internal self-government, but relying for defence, trade and communications largely upon Great Britain. Its form of government had derived from the British model and the experiences of Upper Canada and Lower Canada prior to their union into one province in 1841. An elective legislative assembly of 130 members and a partially elective legislative council of forty-eight members corresponded to Britain's House of Commons and House of Lords, while the Governor General was both the titular head of the Canadian Parliament and the representative in Canada of Queen Victoria and the Colonial Office. The trappings of politics in Britain and Canada were remarkably similar, a testament to the strength of the imperial connection at the height of the *Pax Britannica*.¹

The business of parliamentary government in Britain and Canada was also similar. Although the mid-nineteenth century has traditionally been portrayed as the era of "laissez faire", in both countries governments took an active role in society to correct the inequalities of the market economy, establish minimal standards of health and education, and promote trade, industry and communications. In the Province of Canada, the "promotional" or "developmental" role of government overshadowed all other activities. Without men of great means and the corporate bodies to finance large ventures, Canadians relied upon the state to guarantee, assist or sustain the railway projects planned mainly in the 1850's to launch the province into the industrial era. Developmental politics enhanced the power and prestige of government, and made

the infant Department of Public Works one of the key instruments in encouraging economic expansion.² As the responsibilities of government increased, so, too, did the burdens of the men who comprised the legislative assembly and the legislative council. Their tasks were reflected most accurately in their evolving requirements for parliamentary facilities.

For more than a decade after the union of Upper and Lower Canada into a single province, the government of Canada occupied modest temporary quarters, which indicated its general role in society. In the 1840's parliament sat in a renovated building in Kingston, and, after Kingston had been abandoned because of inadequate housing facilities, in Montreal. When an angry mob burned the Montreal parliament building in 1849 following the passage of the famous "Rebellion Losses Bill", and the legislatures failed to agree to a new capital, parliament began to alternate between Toronto and Quebec City.

In Toronto parliament occupied the small and generally out-moded facilities formerly used by the legislatures of Upper Canada. As a report published in 1880 pointed out, the buildings had served a variety of functions. "They have been the seat of the law courts; they have been the halls of the University of King's College; they have furnished the wards and corridors for a lunatic asylum; and they have found themselves the barrack quarters of military regiments; and now and again during the period of this varied service and use they have reverted to their original purpose of Parliament and Departmental Buildings."³

While in Quebec City the Canadian parliament was to use the buildings that had served the Lower Canadian legislatures prior to 1841. But they burned to the ground in 1854. Temporary accommodation was hastily prepared by the Department of Public Works in the nearly completed Hospital of the Sisters of Charity. But, when the hospital, too, was razed by fire a few months later, even more haphazard accommodation had to be secured in several places, including churches, private residences, the court house and the local music hall.⁴

Between 1841 and 1865 the Canadian parliament had only temporary quarters in Kingston, Montreal, Toronto and Quebec. As a result, because existing demands had to be modified to correspond to available facilities, none of the several buildings

eventually employed were considered wholly satisfactory. In the earlier years, however, the preparation of quarters for parliament was not complex. The legislatures met for only two to four months per year, and required little office space for their comparatively small support staffs. Although executive councillors (the equivalent of modern cabinet ministers) were allocated private offices, back-bench members seemed to need little more than a desk in the legislative chamber for stationery and a wardrobe in nearby lobbies for spare clothes or accessories. Because the initial legislation of the developmental era tended to be railway charters or acts of incorporation, matters with which most parliamentarians were generally conversant, few people were required to research and write legislation. As the volume of business grew in the early 1850's, however, temporary quarters became increasingly unsatisfactory. Eventually, the growth of government activities which accompanied the railway era in Canada, and a concomitant increase in government records forced the decision to select a permanent capital for the Province of Canada.⁵

Only once prior to Confederation was an entirely new parliamentary facility planned based upon an appraisal of accommodation requirements. When the inadequacy of existing facilities in Toronto became obvious, and an excellent 100-acre parcel of land adjoining the University of Toronto was made available in 1853, the Executive Council authorized the planning of a complex of buildings to house the Governor General, all government departments, and the provincial legislatures. In June, 1853, F. W. Cumberland, of the noted architectural firm of Cumberland and Storm, was retained as supervising architect, and began to prepare the necessary specifications and plans.⁶ The Department of Public Works collected accommodation information from each department, including requirements prepared by the clerks of the legislative assembly and legislative council, and forwarded the memoranda to Cumberland to form the basis of his accommodation guidelines. In addition, he was instructed to "keep in view" the following general principles:

First, that every Department must have a perfectly safe, fire-proof apartment, well lighted and ventilated, for the deposit of their respective records.

2: That a room will be required for the messenger of each Department.

3: That accommodation be provided for the House Keeper of the building—So arranged that after office hours he will be enabled to lock up and secure the entrance.

4: That water should be introduced in such a manner as that a supply may be at all times at hand, in case of accident by fire. It would also be desirable that a fixed marble or other basin, with water-pipes and discharge, should be in each of the clerk's rooms.

5: That no water-closets or privies should be within the building, except one for the head of each Department—those outside the Building to have covered access to them.

6: That with regard to the heating, the corridors and passages, etc. should be effectively heated by some safe and well devised system; and one by which the attendants can maintain the fire by night as well as by day, when necessary, without having access within the building. Each room also, should have an open fire-place, so that the temperature of each may be regulated according to the wish of its occupant.⁷

The Department of Public Works assumed overall responsibility for the accuracy and usefulness of accommodation information. Moreover, for the sake of administrative convenience and efficiency, Cumberland was forbidden to communicate directly with any department about altering its stated office requirements.⁸

Cumberland completed the plans for the new complex in the spring of 1854, and pressed for the immediate tendering of the foundations, in order to meet a completion date of November 1, 1856. Meanwhile, without the consent of the government, he authorized work on the drainage systems and fences of the "University grounds". The government, however, had begun to reconsider its position. Many of the Quebec supporters of the ministry evidently refused to vote funds for a project that encouraged Toronto as a potential capital of the Province of Canada, and the Executive Council was stunned by the escalating cost estimates. Although Cumberland projected a cost of \$133,000 for all of the buildings, his totals did not include water, gas, sewage systems or extra fire-proofing. Finally, in February, 1855, work was halted, and the project was shelved.⁹ The parcel of land in the heart of Toronto remained largely undeveloped until the construction of the Queen's Park legislative buildings in the 1880's. The decision meant that the Canadian parliament was to remain in temporary quarters for almost a decade longer than anticipated, while the search for an acceptable permanent capital continued.

2 The "Barrack Hill" Complex

1859-1867

Although early initiatives to secure adequate parliamentary accommodation were failures, not all of the preparatory work was wasted. In 1858 Queen Victoria selected Ottawa as the permanent capital of the Province of Canada, thus ending the costly and inconvenient system whereby the capital alternated between Toronto and Quebec. When new buildings were needed to transform the small lumbering village into the centre of governmental activity, the accommodation requirements prepared five years before by F. W. Cumberland were drawn from departmental files and updated by F. P. Rubidge, assistant architect of the Department of Public Works. The revised specifications were subsequently presented as the general guidelines for a public architectural competition announced in May, 1859, for buildings to house the Governor General, fifteen public departments, and the provincial legislatures. The "Centre Block" of the Ottawa complex, then called the "Parliamentary Building", was to cost no more than \$300,000, and was to be constructed "in a plain substantial style of Architecture, of coursed hammer-dressed masonry, with neatly pointed joints, and cut stone quoins, window dressings, cornices and entablatures."¹ As suggested to prospective architects, the Centre Block was to include between eighty-five and ninety rooms, an area of 55,000 square feet, and was to be the focal point of the magnificent Barrack Hill site, 160 feet above the scenic Ottawa River.

By the end of August, 1859, thirty-three designs had been submitted for the four buildings. (Ten designs were of the Governor General's residence, which was later cancelled in favour of leasing present-day Rideau Hall.²) Fourteen competitors submitted plans for the parliamentary building, in designs ranging from "Civil

Gothic", "Classical", "Norman", "Elizabethan", "Lombard Venetian" to "Plain Modern". The Department of Public Works used ten criteria in selecting a winning design:

- 1st. Fitness of plan and interior arrangement
- 2nd. Economy of construction and cost
- 3rd. Adaptation to specified and local materials
- 4th. Adaptation to site or position
- 5th. Adaptation to climate
- 6th. Economy of warming and ventilating
- 7th. Lighting
- 8th. Beauty of Design
- 9th. Conformity with conditions in regard to information required
- 10th. Safety against fire

From one to ten points were awarded in each of the categories in order to designate the "first premium".³

Samuel Keefer, Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, acknowledged that the selection of a winning design had been difficult, and that subjective considerations had still influenced the final judgment. The design submitted by F. W. Cumberland, Keefer later explained, "possesses neither truth nor beauty,—and the heavy castellated style in which it is conceived, renders it prison-like and defiant in its aspect, and therefore unsuited to become the seat from whence should emanate the laws of a free country". The Centre Block plan by the firm of Stent and Laver, later the architects of the East and West Blocks, was "handsome", but "scarcely suitable to the position, the scenery, or the uses for which it is designed". The plan proposed by the Toronto firm of Fuller and Jones, however, met the aesthetic and practical requirements of the government. "The rooms and corridors are well lighted and convenient", Keefer wrote. "The two Houses are on the ground floor, and ample accommodation is provided for the Public, for ex-members, and for the reporters, in galleries that are placed without the body of the House. The undersigned considers the accommodation and arrangement of this design more complete than any, while its handsome palatial appearance brings it in harmony with the position and the scenery, and renders it an appropriate edifice for the purposes of Legislation."⁴ Keefer gave the latter design eighty-nine of a possible

100 points, and Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones won the first premium of £250 in the architectural competition. A spacious, pleasing building of 110 rooms, the proposed Centre Block was "Civil Gothic" in style, reflecting the Gothic revival design of the new British Parliament building and the influences of A. W. N. Pugin, John Ruskin and Charles Barry.⁵ The specific inspiration of the Centre Block was, perhaps ironically, University College, Toronto, designed by F. W. Cumberland.⁶

The planning carried out by the Department of Public Works in 1859 took little more than four months, and the government was later to regret the haste with which accommodation requirements were prepared and specifications drafted. By using Cumberland's plans, almost a year of tedious work was avoided. The short-cut meant, however, that the floor plans of 1859 were really based upon information collected by Cumberland in 1853 and 1854. In the ensuing five years the staffs of the legislatures had grown substantially as the development era demanded more legislation on an increasingly wider variety of subjects. Despite Rubidge's revision of Cumberland's work, the new Centre Block was hardly as spacious as Keefer anticipated. Although the Ottawa complex was the largest building project hitherto undertaken by the Department of Public Works, the planning phase was hasty and inadequate. Little was done to investigate the needs of the legislatures, gauge the types and amounts of facilities, or plan for future requirements.

Shortly after the selection of the winning designs in August, 1859, the architects were summoned to Quebec City and instructed to modify their plans to conform to the government's financial guidelines. The slightly scaled-down building specifications were prepared in less than two months, and by November, 1859, tenders for constructing the Barrack Hill complex were opened. Despite some irregularities in his bids, Thomas McGreevy of Quebec City was awarded the entire contract, offering to build the three buildings for a total price of \$579,000. McGreevy was later awarded an extra ten per cent for additional fire-proofing, and in December received permission to divide the contract, retaining the Centre Block himself, but awarding the East and West Blocks to the firm of Jones, Haycock and Company of Port Hope. Meanwhile, tenders were invited for a system to heat and ventilate the

Ottawa buildings. When John (later Sir John) Rose, Commissioner of Public Works, turned the first sod to initiate excavation on December 20, it was anticipated that the Centre Block would be completed by July 1, 1862, at a cost of no more than \$348,500.

The contract plans of 1859 show a relatively simple accommodation pattern in the Centre Block. The building was divided equally between the legislative assembly in the west wing and the legislative council in the east wing, each side having approximately sixteen committee rooms and twenty offices. The Sergeant-at-Arms and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod had spacious, two-storey apartments, while the servants, housekeepers and messengers had more austere living quarters in the basement. Each side had a kitchen, cellar, larder and dining rooms, as well as "saloons", sitting rooms, smoking rooms, a post office, a telegraph office and storage vaults. The basement was primarily devoted to tertiary services (service facilities provided to parliamentarians and the parliamentary support staff), while the first and second floors consisted chiefly of committee rooms and office space. Almost all of the offices were designated for the staff of the legislatures rather than for parliamentarians.

Of the politicians who were members of the legislatures, only the Speakers had offices. Their suites had only small dressing rooms adjoining their offices rather than the large living quarters which had become traditional in parliamentary systems of government. None of the Executive Council were to have offices in the building, since their departmental offices were to be located on Barrack Hill in either the East or West Blocks. Private members, similarly, had no office facilities. There were provisions for smoking, reading and dressing lounges, and the plans allowed for a large "wardrobe" room near each chamber where members would have lockers in which to store their valuables.

The Centre Block plans reflected prevailing assumptions about the tasks of members of the legislatures. Small constituencies and a highly restrictive franchise kept the volume of correspondence between member and constituent at a minimum, and legislation was seen as neither complex nor far-reaching in its social and economic implications. The resources required to fulfil parliamentary duties were therefore relatively few. In the initial stages of the developmental era, the architects, the Department of Public Works,

and even parliamentarians themselves assumed that members required little more than a desk, a reading room and the usual social amenities to perform their tasks.

Although the planning phase of what became known as the "Parliament Hill" complex was rapid, the construction phase was soon bogged down in difficulties. The Department of Public Works had accepted in January, 1860, the tender of Charles Garth and Company of Montreal to install a heating and ventilation system in the three buildings. But the contractors balked at major departures in the contract plans required by Garth's novel system. Regardless of the terms of their agreements, which obliged them to build all flues, ducts "or other apparatus" specified by the heating designer "without any extra charge therefor",⁷ they billed the government for extra and additional work. The ventilating system also demanded extensive excavations not anticipated by Samuel Keefer, which steadily drove the cost of the complex upwards. By September, 1861, the total parliamentary appropriation had been exhausted, and the Commissioner of Public Works ordered work on the site halted. Not until April, 1863, after a report by a Royal Commission of Inquiry, and the signing of new contracts, did construction begin again. Already more than a year behind schedule, the complex had more than doubled in price in less than five years.⁸

Financial difficulties were to have a direct impact upon the accommodation pattern of the Centre Block. As a money-saving measure, work was halted on the tower and the library in 1864. Temporary facilities for the library were then needed in the original "Picture Gallery" and several adjacent smoking rooms. From its first days in the Centre Block, the large and steadily growing Parliamentary Library was housed in inadequate and sometimes appalling quarters. The financial stringency also blocked attempts to make the building conform to up-dated requirements. Although a report submitted to the Executive Council in 1864 stated that the lighting, heating and means of communication among offices were considered "defective in many respects",⁹ only \$15,000 could be spared to correct the deficiencies. As a result, the Centre Block was far more cramped than originally anticipated in 1859.

The government's move from Quebec to Ottawa in the fall of 1865 meant the long-awaited shift from temporary to permanent quarters, as well as the inauguration of Ottawa, in practical

terms, as the capital of the Province of Canada. In 1866 the legislatures of the Province held their first (and last) session in the new building. The following year, the Barrack Hill site was essentially completed. Thomas Fuller, the only one of the original four architects not dismissed after the report of the Royal Commission in 1863, was released for further work in private practice (although he would eventually return to Ottawa as Chief Architect of the Department of Public Works). Thomas McGreevy, who had transferred his contract to his brother in 1866, returned to the Centre Block in 1867 as a member of parliament. He would sit for twenty-four years in the House of Commons before earning the dubious honour of becoming the only person ever expelled from the House for corruption. (He was subsequently returned to the House a few years later in a by-election.) By 1867 the Province of Canada had just settled into its comparatively comfortable permanent buildings when Confederation inaugurated a new era for parliamentarians, and altered the purpose of the Barrack Hill complex.

3 The Centre Block and the Young Dominion

1867-1880

The Centre Block was considered a satisfactory building in 1867. Although far less spacious than originally intended, largely because of the decision to delay construction of the library, it met the immediate needs of the Province of Canada, and, as events soon proved, the initial requirements of the Dominion of Canada. Designed in 1859 to house a legislative assembly of 130 members and a legislative council of forty-eight members, the building was required in 1867 to accommodate 181 members of the House of Commons and seventy-two Senators. The first problem was adjusting the seating capacities of the chambers. Although the Senate presented only the modest tasks of building new desks and redefining the aisles, the Commons chamber demanded a more ingenious solution. When the legislative assembly met for its only session in the Centre Block in 1866, the Speaker had been seated at the north end of the chamber, with the government and opposition at the west and east sides respectively. But, when more than fifty additional desks had to be accommodated in 1867, it was decided to shift the Speaker to the west, and the government and the opposition to the south and north sides. The results met with varied responses, depending on individual perspectives. The front-benchers of both parties subsequently enjoyed a cosy, intimate atmosphere, highly conducive to the rigorous debating style of the late nineteenth century. The back-benchers in the sixth and seventh rows on either side, however, could barely hear the proceedings.¹

The seating arrangements of the House of Commons remained a continual source of complaint. After the entry into Confederation of Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island in the 1870's, and following a series of electoral boundary revisions, the

small chamber was too cramped to accommodate members satisfactorily. The alternative solutions were, first, to abolish the desk system in favour of benches, as employed in the British House of Commons, or, second, to redistribute desks in a new pattern. Semi-circular arrangements were suggested several times (as much to temper the tone of partisan debate as to solve the seating problems). In the 1880's a plan was developed to couple a semi-circular, Congressional arrangement with a new resting lounge addition to the west side of the building.² But members of the Commons failed to agree to a comprehensive plan. Desks could not be abolished when members had no offices, places to write letters, or private areas to stack their books. Also, the adoption of an "American" or "Republican" seating arrangement seemed inappropriate to a British colony with a parliamentary form of government. Moreover, the front-benchers who controlled the Commons' purse-strings were never overly disturbed by the logistical difficulties of the chamber, since they had good seats and better desks than the complaining back-benchers at the extremes of the chamber. The conflicting opinions of members could never be satisfactorily resolved. While the chamber was too large to permit informal, intimate debating for all members, it was also too small to accommodate every parliamentarian to suit his wishes. There was no completely acceptable solution to the problem precipitated anew with each increase in the size of the Commons.

Because of the low ratio of staff to parliamentarians, the Centre Block was satisfactory to most of its occupants. In 1865 there were approximately fifty-eight members of the assembly's staff to serve 130 assemblymen, and thirty-one members of the legislative council's staff to assist forty-eight councillors.³ The ratio was not fixed, and depended more upon legislative workloads as a whole than upon the workloads of individual members. When the number of politicians increased with the expansions of the Commons and Senate, therefore, staffs did not necessarily increase in a like proportion. At Confederation, in anticipation of a reduced parliamentary agenda accompanying a federal system of government, the officers of the legislatures were reduced in numbers, and their salaries were substantially cut. For several years, until new pressures forced staff increases, the Centre Block was adequate to house the personnel of parliament.

The most frequent complaints about the building in the first years of its occupancy centred on technological or architectural problems, the major one of which was the lighting system. Gas lighting was hardly satisfactory to illuminate committee rooms and corridors adequately. But additional burners could not be used without rendering the delicate ventilating system virtually useless. The House of Commons and Senate chambers presented a particularly acute difficulty, because of the excessive heat generated by the large number of "gasoliers" required to light the rooms. In 1864 the architects suggested that satisfactory lighting could be obtained by mounting the burners above translucent glass.⁴ But, because of the accompanying heat which would be produced in the attic, the roof trusses had to be made of iron, a change in the specifications which the Executive Council refused to sanction.⁵ Eventually, Thomas Fuller ordered that "ordinary chandeliers suspended from the ceiling, and burning gas, be used for lighting purposes."⁶

After numerous complaints in the first years of the Commons' occupancy, the Department of Public Works installed in 1870 a "reflecting chandelier" system developed in the United States, which solved some of the greater problems of gas burners. By diffusing the light produced by burners with large reflecting mirrors, the chandeliers reduced the harshness of ordinary "ring burners", and cast more light into the recesses of the chambers where back-benchers did most of their legislative work. Moreover, by lessening fuel consumption, "Finks' corrugated silvered-glass reflectors" proved both more economical and easier on the ventilation system. Nevertheless, both chambers remained dimly lighted throughout the 1870's and most of the 1880's until electrical lights, newly developed in the United States, were brought into service to cure the deficiencies of the parliament buildings.⁷

Ventilation also proved a major problem in the Centre Block, particularly after the inadequacies of Charles Garth's original system became evident in the late 1860's. Throughout much of the building the elaborate and costly system of flues, ducts and ventilating shafts were of limited usefulness. Despite Garth's assurances that fans could be avoided, they were soon found to be essential. As was the case in controversies over the lighting system, the ventilation problem was most acute in the legislative chambers,

where large groups assembled for long periods at a time. In 1873 a select committee of the Commons pinpointed as the principal factor exhaust pipes that failed to function properly. "The mouths are at present under water", the committee reported, "and, in consequence, little, if any, of the foul air can escape in that duct, but flows back into the building, rendering impure, in a certain degree, the air of the chamber."⁸

The change from gas to electricity in the 1880's eased some of the difficulties, but did not eliminate all complaints. The Commons chamber was a particularly vulnerable target for criticism, as longer hours per day and longer parliamentary sessions exacerbated the architectural problem. Almost every decade saw a new committee investigate modern methods, suggest changes, and sanction more expenditures. But at no time was a satisfactory system developed. The legislative chambers in the original Centre Block, where most parliamentarians read, wrote letters and relaxed, were always condemned as acoustically poor, oppressively hot and drafty.

While the Centre Block was adequate to house parliament and its staff in the first years of its occupancy, a number of factors were combining throughout the 1860's and 1870's to increase the pressures for space. The task of bringing the provinces into a unified country and creating a central administration was intricate and time-consuming, and soon involved increasingly longer legislative sessions than were initially anticipated.⁹ In the new atmosphere of national politics, some committees awoke from their moribund status of pre-Confederation years, and, like the Public Accounts committee, became vital elements in the legislative process. Parliamentary printing grew rapidly in response to new demands for more records, complete minutes of committees, and verbatim reports of the Senate and Commons debates.¹⁰ As the duties of parliament increased, more staff was needed to assist parliamentarians in their daily work. Increased staffs, in turn, inevitably strained the formerly adequate quarters of the Centre Block.

As an initial step towards relieving some parliamentary departments of space problems, the Department of Public Works gradually completed the Parliamentary Library, which had been only an empty shell since 1864. In several years in the Picture Gallery and several adjacent smoking rooms, the library had been severely damaged by roof leaks, hot air registers, poor ventilation and inadequate storage facilities. Finally, in November, 1870, a contract

was signed to complete the complicated iron-domed structure, and remove the 70,000 volumes from rooms designed originally for other purposes. When completed six years later, however, the library was found to be barely adequate, and Alpheus Todd, the Parliamentary Librarian, soon found himself in the embarrassing position of requesting additional storage space in rooms which he had abandoned only a few years before.¹¹

The central problem posed by the library was one of definition or purpose rather than accommodation. The Parliamentary Library was assumed to be a research centre for parliamentarians and also a "national" library for Canada, charged with accumulating a comprehensive collection of Canadian materials. In addition, however, the library was permitted to become a local lending library for the City of Ottawa. While serving three such diverse purposes, the library could not limit its collections or define a realistic acquisitions policy which recognized space limitations. Thus, by 1880, the library was encroaching again into the storage areas of the Centre Block basement, while leaving on its shelves, for the benefit of the local citizenry, a good deal of "trash and rot", as Sir John A. Macdonald termed most of its books.¹² Perhaps the only useful function served by allowing everyone to use the library facilities was that the library linked parliament to the city in which it was located, thereby easing the social gulf between the lumber community and the political elite of Canada. The space problems of the library would have been much easier to solve, however, had Todd accepted Sir John A. Macdonald's opinion. "This was a Library for the Dominion", he declared in 1868, "and should not be a circulating library to be carried home by members, knocked about by their children for a year, and then lost or returned torn and defaced."¹³

By 1879, when Alpheus Todd began his persistent search for additional library storage rooms, the Centre Block had run out of its excess space. Since the late 1860's government records had begun to accumulate at a steadily increasing rate, and by 1873 had exhausted the records storage vaults in the basement.¹⁴ Additional basement rooms were designated for conversion to storage areas, but had to be used for tertiary services like the restaurants and "saloons", which gradually expanded their facilities as parliament, parliamentary staff and the Ottawa population expanded after Confederation.¹⁵ As the basement filled to capacity in the 1870's, the Department of Public Works turned towards the attic to create

additional usable space. In 1872 draftsmen employed by the Railway Committee of the House of Commons were allocated a work area in the hitherto unfinished attic.¹⁶ The following year, four rooms filled with shelving were constructed for the printing departments of parliament.¹⁷ Although poor ventilation and inadequate services made the Centre Block attic an unhealthy place in which to work, some officials were forced to endure its hardships when pressures of space became too great. By 1880, however, even the attic was filled to capacity.

Less than fifteen years after its completion, the Centre Block could be termed "crowded". Both the basement and the attic were filled with records, stationery and office areas, while the committee rooms, lounges and offices on the first and second floors were strained to capacity. Finding more space was a long-term task that required tact and patience. Robert LeMoine, Clerk of the Senate, submitted a request in 1873 that was a model of understatement:

Further accommodation being required for the Restaurant and Mess Rooms of the Senate, I am under the necessity of removing from the Room in which they are now placed, a large number of volumes of the Journals & Sessional Papers—Also Blue Books and masses of Printed Papers and Bills which are frequently required for certified copies of the original laws of the late provinces and of the Dominion, under my custody as Clerk of the Parliaments.

The necessity for immediate action is owing to the fact that all the shelves containing the printed papers have tumbled down, leaving one mass of lumber, books and papers to which no access can be had, though some of my papers were urgently required.

Would you kindly have a portion of the basement, adjoining the House Keeper's Rooms, put in order and shelves placed along the walls.¹⁸

Few of the more serious problems of the Centre Block could have been avoided by less hasty planning or by more foresight. Designed as the parliamentary building for a small province, the architects, the Department of Public Works and the Executive Council had not anticipated that the Centre Block would, within three years of occupancy, house the legislatures of a large and rapidly expanding country. Even those who had predicted the federation of British North America failed to visualize the vast increases in governmental activity that expanded the traditional role of parliament in the mid and late nineteenth century. New types of legislation—

trades union bills, licensing laws, standards and practices measures —accompanied the industrial development of Canada, and complicated what had once been a relatively simple task.¹⁹ As parliament's duties and functions changed, parliamentary accommodation was destined to change.

4 The Evolving Uses of the Old Centre Block

1880-1916

The pivotal decade for the old Centre Block was the 1880's. Prior to 1880 the demands made for increased space in the building came mainly from support personnel and tertiary services, as the staffs of the Commons and Senate grew, and strained restaurants, lounges and bars. In the 1880's, however, parliamentarians began to make new demands upon the facilities, thereby competing with others in the contest for better accommodation. Cabinet ministers were the first parliamentarians (other than the Speakers) to receive office space in the building, ostensibly because the growth of the public service had resulted in many departments being housed beyond easy access to Parliament Hill. Precedence and convenience, however, soon over-rode mere necessity. By 1900 every cabinet minister, even those with offices in the East and West Blocks, had second offices in the Centre Block. Ministerial offices eventually required approximately 4,000 of the 50,000 square feet of office space in the building.

Other parliamentarians also asserted their right to better accommodation. Edward Blake, the leader of the opposition throughout most of the 1880's, was given an office in recognition of his official position, and committee chairmen eventually gained private offices as well as secretarial and clerical assistance. Private members, by writing to the Speaker or the Department of Public Works well in advance of a parliamentary session, frequently obtained committee rooms in which several desks could be placed.¹ Initially, members of the Commons were allocated rooms on a regional basis. Thus, the members for New Brunswick occupied one room while the members from British Columbia occupied another. But such an arrangement ignored partisan differences, and made a farce of the demand for privacy. By 1916, therefore, a workable,

although hardly ideal pattern of accommodation was developed. Cabinet ministers, the Speakers and leading members of the opposition party were housed in private offices. Other parliamentarians shared rooms with other members of the same political party and region, the numbers of occupants ranging, apparently, from two to six. According to such a formula, ten per cent of the members of the House of Commons had private accommodation, while the rest had "shared accommodation". While the facilities were hardly comparable to the luxurious quarters of Congressmen and Senators in the American Capitol Building in Washington, they were more spacious than most legislative buildings constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The space problems of the Centre Block after 1880 could be solved by only three responses. First, all departments or subdivisions of parliament not central to the immediate functioning of the Commons and Senate were removed from the building. Thus, by 1890, the translators of the debates had moved to leased quarters on Wellington Street.² Second, wherever possible, the building was remodelled for more efficient space utilization. When the Supreme Court of Canada moved from the Centre Block to a small building to the west of the West Block in 1881, its former chambers (originally one of the reading rooms) were subdivided in a fashion that effectively doubled the floor space of the area. The ceiling was lowered to permit the creation of an attic area between the new ceiling and the old. The upper level was soon occupied by sessional clerks, the lower by sessional reporters.³ Third, additions to the building were planned to increase the amount of space available. Several times in the 1880's and 1890's the Department of Public Works drew up plans for additions. But a number of factors prevented the authorization of a new wing until 1907, when the "West Wing" construction project began.

Each of the strategies designed to cope with accommodation problems, however, entailed difficulties. None of parliament's support staff wished to leave Parliament Hill, and all presented cogent reasons for remaining in the Centre Block. Moreover, separating one branch from other related branches only created new administrative problems which seriously compromised the efficiency of parliament's staff. Relocation was an acceptable temporary measure, but it was hardly the answer to accommodation problems. Second,

there were strict limitations to the modifications possible in the Centre Block. The building had little inherent flexibility, and, consequently, little scope for large-scale alterations which would add significant amounts of usable space. Third, additions to the building raised objections on numerous grounds. Some plans threatened the architectural integrity of the building. Others were too costly for the amount of space created. Lastly, the additions suggested were almost all on the Commons side of the building. The Senate, basking in comparative comfort because of its smaller membership and smaller staff, preferred an addition in which space could be equally divided. In short, no amount of planning, alterations or additions could return the Centre Block to the comparatively spacious days of 1865.

Although the west wing did little to solve long-range problems, its completion in 1910 relieved the more immediate pressures for space. Approximately thirty new offices were constructed, including new quarters for the prime minister and several ministers, and caucus rooms for both parties. The new wing brought the size of the building to over 200,000 square feet on four floors, as follows:

first floor (basement)	56,985
second floor (main)	61,914
third floor (second)	56,176
fourth floor (attic)	39,982
	<hr/>
	215,057

Of the total amount of usable space in 1910, parliamentarians occupied approximately forty per cent. In 1865 only the Speakers of the legislative assembly and legislative council had offices in the Centre Block. By 1910, approximately sixty of the 158 "offices" were occupied by parliamentarians.

The evolution in the accommodation pattern of the Centre Block reflected a significant increase in parliament's activities and general workload. But there were other manifestations of the parliamentarian's new role. The chaotic, frequently informal debating style of early years had been replaced, in a series of procedural reforms, by stricter rules of order, designed to enhance parliament's efficiency and prevent more extended legislative sessions. Committees had become more useful in investigating subjects about which many parliamentarians had little expertise. New ministries were

emerging in response to new social problems or as a reflection of Canada's emergence into the world of international relations. Each substantive change brought with it new demands for facilities adequate to provide for the complexities of the developmental era. But the Centre Block did not succeed in keeping pace with parliament's evolution. By 1910, despite the west wing addition, it was badly overcrowded and outmoded.

By 1915, however, there were hopes for long-term solutions. Sixteen years before, the Laurier administration, in its first attempt at making Ottawa the "Washington of the north", had created the Ottawa Improvement Commission to provide the planning expertise essential to beautifying the region and upgrading its surroundings. A commission chaired by H. E. (later Sir Herbert) Holt had subsequently been appointed by the Borden government to recommend concrete measures to organize the capital region. By the time the "Federal Plan Commission" tabled its report in 1915, a number of plans for the Wellington Street area had been suggested.⁴ In planning for the gradual expansion of other departments, parliament intended to overcome the inadequacies of the Centre Block. But parliament did not have an opportunity of deciding the fate of its own outmoded quarters.

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5 The New Centre Block

1916-1920

On the evening of February 3, 1916, while the House of Commons debated new legislation governing the marketing and transportation of fish, fire broke out in one of the central reading rooms. Before help arrived or extinguishers could be trained on the blaze, the fire spread rapidly, feeding on old, varnished, wooden panelling and trim, and fanned by a ventilation system that helped to spread both smoke and fire. By the following morning, with the exception of the library, saved by the only effective fire door in the building, only the shell of Thomas Fuller's magnificent parliamentary building remained. Seven people died in the disaster, including B. B. Law, the member for Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Several others were seriously injured, like Martin Burrell, the Parliamentary Librarian, whose face was severely burned. The sole consolation was that the dull subject of debate had attracted few members and even fewer visitors, leaving the galleries and the rest of the building comparatively empty. "When one thinks what might have occurred under different conditions with all the galleries crowded," Sir Robert Borden commented the following day, "I am sure we have reason, indeed, to be thankful that the loss of life was not more appalling."

The obvious immediate problem was finding temporary quarters for parliament. Believing that the fire had been the work of German saboteurs seeking to strike a psychological blow against Canada in a crucial stage of the First World War, Borden insisted that parliament respond by continuing its normal operations as if unaffected by the tragedy. Thus, while the fire still raced through the old Centre Block, it was decided to house the Commons, the Senate and their staffs in the Victoria Museum several blocks to

the south of Parliament Hill. Under the capable personal direction of J. B. Hunter, deputy minister of the Department of Public Works, the museum's contents were hurriedly crated and stored in other buildings; makeshift walls were erected to create office space; and two large rooms were fitted out as legislative chambers. (Above the doorway to the room prepared for the Senate a disrespectful wag had hung the old museum sign: "Prehistoric Fossils".) The House of Commons met briefly in the Victoria Museum on Friday, February 4, and adjourned for the weekend. Within a week both houses were lodged as comfortably as possible in the building that was to be parliament's home for more than four years. After half a century of permanency, parliament reverted to makeshift quarters similar to those provided to the legislative assembly and legislative council in the 1840's and 1850's.¹

The long-term work of reconstruction, meanwhile, began immediately. John Pearson of Toronto and J. O. Marchand of Montreal, two respected architects in private practice, were asked by the Department of Public Works to evaluate the condition of the ruins. As they reported to the minister on February 17, 1916, the undamaged west wing of the building was the equivalent of \$425,000 in labour and materials; the library, which suffered only smoke and water damage, was still worth \$650,000; while the boiler room, heating plant and other service facilities were valued at \$1,000,000. Thus, the shell of the old Centre Block represented in theory a reusable asset equal to approximately \$2,000,000 in labour and materials.² The architects were then asked to prepare sketch plans of a new facility. Although additional accommodation for members and better lighting and ventilation in the chambers were needed, Pearson and Marchand were instructed to utilize the existing shell, thereby preserving "as far as possible . . . the outer design of the former building".³

To co-ordinate the work of reconstruction and guide the architects in the preparation of plans, a committee consisting of members of the Commons and Senate, and drawn from both political parties, was appointed in March, 1916. The Joint Committee on the Reconstruction of the Parliament Buildings selected the construction firm of Peter Lyall and Sons of Montreal as chief contractors for the project, awarded Lyall cost plus eight per cent to build the new Centre Block, and instructed the company that all

subcontracts were to be tendered and approved by the Committee. In keeping with the non-partisan spirit of the war effort, the committee also resolved to suspend the patronage list. All tenderers and contractors were to be considered irrespective of political affiliation.

Within two months of their appointments, Pearson and Marchand presented their plans to the joint committee. To improve the lighting and ventilation of the chambers, they proposed to move the Commons and Senate from their former locations near the centre of the building to the west and east ends respectively. Such a move involved tearing down most of the recently completed west wing and reconstructing almost all of the interior walls. To create approximately thirty-eight per cent more usable space, they suggested the construction of an additional storey, which necessitated tearing down the main tower and removing the former upper storey of the remaining shell. The architects also proposed removing the boilers and heating plant from the building to a central heating plant beyond Parliament Hill in order to reduce the danger of fire in the future. Lastly, to create more space for a badly over-crowded Parliamentary Library, and prevent future encroachments by the library into the new Centre Block, they suggested the construction of a five-storey stack room below ground level behind the existing library. The stack room, connected to the main building by underground tunnels, would house approximately 1,000,000 volumes without altering the landscape design of Parliament Hill.⁴

The plan suggested by Pearson and Marchand involved tearing down more of the existing shell than was first anticipated, and it therefore reduced the monetary value of the old remains. But it struck an acceptable balance between preserving the old Centre Block and creating better facilities for parliament. There would still be insufficient space to provide each parliamentarian with a private office. But better accommodation was generally afforded to the private members who had complained for years of the inadequacies of the old building. The preliminary designs, laid before parliament for the perusal and comment of members, were lauded by Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Leader of the Opposition. At a meeting of the Joint Committee on June 27, 1916, the details were finalized. The architects accepted a commission of five and one-half per cent of the total cost of the

project, not to exceed \$5,000,000. (Pearson, who was responsible for the staff, was to receive four and five-eighths per cent of the total cost while Marchand, acting in an advisory or consultant capacity, would earn seven-eighths of one per cent of the cost.) Peter Lyall and Sons was confirmed as chief contractor, and the completion date was set for December 31, 1918.⁵

Within a month, however, the initial plans had to be changed dramatically. As the debris was cleared down to the foundations, and the shell of the Centre Block was more thoroughly tested, a series of discouraging architectural problems came into view. Fire had damaged many of the walls to a greater extent than had been originally ascertained, and structural faults were discovered at crucial points along the ground and first floors. Some of the foundations were found to be faulty, consisting of mere dry rubble rather than stone and cement. At least one wall rested not on rock, as the plans of the original building had specified, but on clay and loose gravel, thus posing a dangerous threat to the stability of the walls. Several shocking discoveries finally brought to light the shoddy construction techniques employed by Thomas McGreevy, the original contractor, in the 1860's. As John Pearson wrote to Robert Rogers, the Minister of Public Works, in July, 1916, "The entire stone masonry had not been bonded into the inner backing, in many places there were voids in the walls, from four, six to eight inches wide and the full width and height of the piers between the windows. The inner reveals to the windows were carried up with a straight joint the full height of the opening, and no attempt at bonding had been made. Also nearly all the cross walls were simply built up against the outer walls with a straight joint, and in no way tied into the outer walls. The mortar in which the brick and stone had been laid, was of a very poor quality, in some instances there was little or no lime used."⁶ It was almost as if McGreevy, twenty-five years after his expulsion from the Commons for corruption, had risen from the grave to claim his revenge against parliament. After an exhaustive examination of the site, the architects reluctantly concluded that, with the exception of the library, whatever heating equipment could be salvaged, and some stone which could be reused, the shell of the old building was useless as a basis for reconstruction. In July, 1916, Pearson and Marchand ordered the demolition of the old walls.

The destruction of the old walls had both bad and good repercussions. First, it initiated a serious political controversy that destroyed the non-partisan nature of the joint committee. Rodolphe Lemieux, one of the Liberal members, insisted that the destruction of the old walls should have paved the way for a public architectural competition for a new Centre Block. But Robert Rogers was equally adamant that the joint committee retain the services of Pearson and Marchand. When the committee sided with Rogers, Lemieux resigned. In the ensuing four years, as the Liberals refused to appoint new members to succeed retiring members, the committee gradually became more Conservative, and therefore more subject to partisan scrutiny, criticism and debate. The result was that the co-operation anticipated between the two parties was never as complete as was once hoped.

On the other hand, the destruction of the walls helped to free the architects from the space limitations which the old building had hitherto imposed. In theory the joint committee had two alternatives in the summer of 1916: reconstruction of a replica of Fuller's Gothic masterpiece, or designing a new building with modern facilities which blended into the Parliament Hill site. Recalling the "inadequacy" and "inconveniences" of the old Centre Block, the committee rejected restoration in favour of a new, more commodious home for parliament. "The committee were impressed by the fact that Parliament and the public", recalled the minutes of September 2, 1916, "would not hesitate to approve of the larger expenditure which would be involved in the construction of a more modern and thoroughly fire proof building, with ample accommodation and furnished with the conveniences reasonably adequate for the meeting place for years to come of the nation's Parliament."⁷

Once the decision to construct an entirely new complex was taken, the committee entered a new phase of activity. It was now essential to draw up fresh accommodation requirements, survey the types of modern conveniences and facilities available for inclusion in the building, and decide upon the materials and construction techniques to be employed. There were still, however, two important restraints on the joint committee's freedom of action. First, the size of the new building was necessarily dictated not by the amount of space required by parliament, but by the aesthetic limitations imposed on the architects by the Parliament Hill site. Thus, Pearson and Marchand had initially to decide the maximum

size and general contours of the building before arranging the interior design. One of the measures of Pearson's greatness as an architect was that he was able to replace a four-storey building with a six-storey building, while hiding the much greater size of the new Centre Block by using a long, sloped, Norman Gothic roofline.

Second, because of the perceived psychological need to reconstruct the parliament buildings quickly, the committee was determined to complete the new Centre Block by December 31, 1918, only seventeen months after Pearson's designs were approved. One of the consequences of the premium placed upon haste was that work had to start on the foundations before the overall plans were finalized. Reconstruction of the foundations began in August, 1916, while Pearson was designing the floor plans of the next storey. Both architects were kept busy planning the services and layout of the building as the structural steel and exterior walls went up. Thus, the present-day Centre Block was literally designed as it was constructed. The height and design of the Peace Tower, in fact, were not determined until well after the main building was completed.

Accommodation requirements began to be drawn up in September, 1916. Many officials of departments or divisions housed in the old building had already written to John Pearson, stating their needs and preferences. Most expressed similar desires. All officials (their letters generally read) should have individual offices; the offices should be close to the legislative chambers and the Parliamentary Library; and their quarters had to be spacious and provided with good lighting and proper ventilation. Given the obvious impossibility of pleasing everyone who wished office space in the new Centre Block, the Department of Public Works preferred to exclude officials of the Commons and the Senate as much as possible from the planning process. When Pearson suggested a "circular letter" to the heads of the various departments, and subsequent consultations as floor plans matured, the Department responded by suggesting a procedure that eliminated consultations that were perceived to be both time-consuming and contentious.⁸

Eventually, however, Pearson developed a planning procedure that avoided the inevitable controversies over location and space. He requested from each department a list of officials and employees. Then, he and other members of the "technical subcommittee" of

the joint committee, Marchand, Hunter, and David Ewart, discussed accommodation requirements generally and informally with department heads. Based upon lists of persons housed in the parliamentary building, general consultations, perusals of the floor plans of the old Centre Block, and an ingenuity for achieving maximum space utilization, Pearson drew up new floor plans for submission to the joint committee. The committee in turn sent the plans to each department for comment, discussed the layout of committee rooms and offices with the chairmen of parliamentary committees, and consulted a small but representative group of members of parliament about office accommodation.

Pearson's method of assessing accommodation requirements was both realistic and responsible. Avoiding all consultations, as the Department of Public Works had suggested, might have led to disastrous errors in design and duplicated many of the inconveniences of the old Centre Block, as well as creating inevitable feelings of jealousy and ill-will among the many who wanted spacious accommodation in the new building. On the other hand, there was little point in holding formal, extensive consultations, since the amount of space in the reconstructed Centre Block was limited, and all demands could not possibly be met. The major drawback of the procedure was that it emphasized providing for existing requirements, while avoiding the more difficult question of planning for future needs. Although the new Centre Block was expected, as one member of the Commons said, to "last for all time", the procedure used in deciding space allocations almost precluded the possibility of constructing a building that would be adequate for foreseeable future needs. Pearson's sketch floor plans were prepared in the fall of 1916, and submitted for the approval of the joint committee in June, 1917. Not until February, 1918, however, after some rooms were modified and some allocations were changed, were the final floor plans approved by the joint committee.⁹

The definitive occupancy plans of 1918 retained the best features of the old Centre Block while providing for adequate facilities for private members. From the basement to the fourth floor, the new structure was essentially a slightly enlarged version of the old building, each storey having primary, support and tertiary services in a balance that had evolved pragmatically over the

previous half-century in the original building. The comparative sizes of the old and new buildings were as follows:

Floor	Old (sq. ft.)	New (sq. ft.)
first	56,985	69,276
second	61,914	69,276
third	56,176	41,234
fourth	39,982	38,292
fifth	—	51,695
sixth	—	42,056
Total	215,057	311,829

The space allocated to each element in the building, compared to the old Centre Block, was approximately as follows (omitting the fifth and sixth floors, for which no comparison is possible):

Floors	Old C.B. (1915)	New C.B.	Change
first			
— parliamentarians	10%	10%	—
— support staff	5%	30%	up 25%
— tertiary services	85%	60%	down 25%
second			
— parliamentarians	60%	60%	—
— support staff	20%	20%	—
— tertiary services	20%	20%	—
third			
— parliamentarians	65%	50%	down 15%
— support staff	30%	45%	up 15%
— tertiary services	5%	5%	—
fourth			
— parliamentarians	20%	45%	up 25%
— support staff	80%	45%	down 35%
— tertiary services	—	10%	up 10%

The building met the immediate needs of parliament. Each cabinet minister had an office, as did the Speakers of the Commons and Senate, and the official Leaders of the Opposition in the respective chambers. Adjoining secretarial offices were provided to these priority occupants in a manner more satisfactory than in the old building. Each member of parliament was also to have an indi-

vidual office. Although there was no explicit provision for an adjoining secretarial office (the large rooms off each office were designed to be washrooms), the members' rooms were a vast improvement upon the old Centre Block, where shared accommodation was the general rule. In contrast to the old building, in which committee rooms were scarce, owing to the gradual conversion of committee rooms to office areas, the new Centre Block had ample provision for committees in a highly functional design. Integrated into the office areas throughout the first four storeys, these committee rooms could be allocated for several different purposes, thereby giving the new building a degree of flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances that was lacking in the original Centre Block.

Although nothing is known of the way in which John Pearson calculated the floor space needed for waiting areas, lounges, bars and restaurants, he evidently recognized that the large and fluctuating occupancy of the new building required more generous provision for tertiary services than would an ordinary office building, where the numbers of inhabitants could be calculated with reasonable accuracy. Thus, the support staff and tertiary services were housed in generally better and more commodious surroundings than in the over-crowded old Centre Block.

The key difference between the old and new buildings was the extra space on the fifth and sixth floors. Designed by Pearson and subdivided into spare, plain rooms, they could be utilized for the burgeoning staff of parliament, for members of parliament, for records storage, or, as they were used in 1918, for branches of the public service that had exhausted their space allocations in other buildings. The extra space and the simple way in which it was divided were other ways in which the building had a capability to adjust to changing circumstances, and to find outlets for the pressures of space which had overwhelmed the old building.

The final floor plans also reflected many hard decisions regarding space allocation. One of the most contentious issues was the elimination of the residences, which had taken up a great deal of space in the former building. The traditional right of the Speaker of the House of Commons, as "first Commoner of the realm", to reside in the parliament building was strongly defended in the joint committee for more than two years. But, in the end, accommodation needs over-rode tradition, and all residences were stricken from the plans. Perhaps as a partial compensation, both Speakers

were allocated office suites with dining rooms and lounges in which they could extend traditional forms of hospitality. The ultimate result of a series of decisions was that the new building was less ornate and not as complex as the old building. It was much more an office building in the modern sense of the phrase.

Construction of the new Centre Block began in the summer of 1916, well before the planning phase was over. The joint committee confirmed Peter Lyall and Sons as general contractor for the project, and set a limit of \$5,000,000 for the building. As Pearson's plans matured in August and September, and as Lyall and Sons laid the new foundations, the Department of Public Works ordered a preliminary cost estimate, which revealed that the proposed designs were well over the target budget. Within weeks the joint committee ordered a series of "extras" and "options" slashed from the design, and postponed luxury items to a later date. The plumbing fixtures were removed from the plans of the fifth and sixth floors, although the spaces intended for washrooms were left on the plans; grades of stone were changed; and the stack room north of the Parliamentary Library was delayed until additional funds could be procured. A second cost estimate, in the fall of 1916, the last to be done on the project, showed the new, more austere plans well under the \$5,000,000 allocation. In the midst of the First World War, parliament obviously saw the new Centre Block as a first-priority item.

As the building rose from its foundations, however, hopes of limiting expenditures to the amount authorized by parliament gradually faded. Materials were difficult to procure in the war years, especially in sectors of the economy that had been converted from peace-time to war-time capabilities. For example, although the architects eventually agreed to use Tyndall limestone from the Wallace quarries in Manitoba as the chief stone for both exterior and interior, they discovered that the quarry had been forced to gear down its operations, and could not deliver the stone in sizes as required. Eventually, as the only means of procuring the stone, the government was forced to set up a stone-cutting factory in Ottawa, which, for a short time during the war, was the only stone-cutting factory operating in Canada. The factory ran every working day for four years to supply the seemingly insatiable demand for cut stone on the Parliament Hill project.

The consequences of material and manpower shortages were costs that escalated far beyond the estimates of 1916. From 1916 to 1920, the peak years of construction activity in Ottawa, labour costs rose as follows:

Trade	Percentage Increase
Carpenter	112.5
Bricklayer	81.8
Plasterer	36.0
Stonecutter	81.8
Electrician	128.6
Labourer	100.0
Teamster	111.6

Construction material prices rose between fifteen and ninety per cent in the same period, driving the total cost of construction projects to between twenty and seventy per cent above estimates of 1916.¹⁰

The joint committee responded to inflationary pressures by slashing low-priority items from the plans. In a typical example of the actions to which the committee was driven, only two elevators were installed in the building (one on the Commons side, the other on the Senate side), in the vain hope that prices would fall, after which the other elevators could be installed more cheaply. But the only results of delaying construction were, first, that the contract was thrown badly off schedule, and, second, that items delayed for economy reasons eventually cost more to install at a later date. By 1920, months after the original completion date, as the building was hastily fitted for the first meeting of parliament in refurbished quarters, more than \$6,500,000 had been spent. Little did parliamentarians know that more than \$5,000,000 and seven years of construction were still ahead.

In 1918, after all other aspects of the building had been designed, John Pearson began to plan what was originally called the "Victory Tower". He designed several different towers and constructed scale models to evaluate their relative beauty and symmetry. But even after the foundation stone of the "Peace Tower" had been laid in 1919, he had not settled upon a preferred design. The tower, the crowning glory of the building, was up only forty feet when Pearson became embroiled in a controversy with Arthur

Meighen's government in 1920. According to the contract signed in 1916, over Pearson's objections, his commission was limited to five and one-half per cent on a maximum sum of \$5,000,000. Nothing had been done since 1916 to remove the maximum limitations or to allow for inflation during the peak years of construction. By 1920 Pearson had reached both the end of his patience and the extent of his funds for his architectural staff. Refusing to proceed with the work until he reached a settlement of the fee dispute, he withdrew his services.¹¹ Finally, in 1924, dealing with a new government and a different Minister of Public Works, his difficulties were resolved, and construction began again. The Peace Tower rose from forty feet to 245 feet during the construction season of 1924, and acquired its spire of reinforced concrete in June, 1925. The completion of the tower was marked on July 1, 1927, the "diamond jubilee of Confederation", by the inaugural recital of the Peace Tower carillon, one of the largest and finest in the world.¹² In practical terms, except for ornamental work still in progress, the new Centre Block was completed.

6 Evolving Requirements in a New Era

1920-1945

The building into which parliament moved in 1920 was, like the original Centre Block, nominally a "Gothic" structure, but it was essentially unlike the design of 1859. Victorian Gothic was a subtle blend of many influences rather than a strict reproduction of thirteenth and fourteenth-century architecture. Hence the style of the original Centre Block, which was for almost the subsequent century the archetypal example of Canada's "national style of architecture", has been aptly described as "picturesque eclecticism".¹ In many respects, however, the new Centre Block was a more faithful reproduction of medieval designs, and was therefore more entitled to the "Gothic" label than the East and West Blocks which shared the Parliament Hill site. Although both "Gothic" in a sense, the buildings were remarkably dissimilar in style.

There were also important structural differences between the old and new buildings. In the original Centre Block the stonework, elaborate arches and exterior walls were essential elements in the structural design. The new Centre Block, however, was structural steel, and the stonework constituted exterior cladding for decorative purposes rather than for structural reasons. Thus, as John Bland has written, after 1916 only the East and West Blocks remained to demonstrate "that mid 19th century Canadian Gothic had structural integrity as well as fantasy".²

The new Centre Block pleased most members of the Commons and Senate who had either experienced the inadequacies of the previous building or grown tired of the cramped quarters of the Victoria Museum. Minor problems still plagued the building. The acoustics of the chambers, for example, were extremely poor. After numerous reports by experts in acoustical design, a series of improvements were made to muffle extraneous noises and lessen

the reverberations. Even after drapes and carpets had been installed as corrective measures, many members continued to claim that the new, larger chambers were scarcely better than the old ones.

Demands for facilities omitted in 1916-18 for the sake of economy also returned to haunt the Department of Public Works. In the early 1920's members began to request the installation of the plumbing fixtures dropped from the plans of the adjoining wash-room areas on the fifth and sixth floors. But the costs of altering an existing building were even more prohibitive than the original estimated costs of construction. When one parliamentarian's request for toilet facilities was cost-estimated at \$848.00, R. C. Wright, Chief Architect of the Department, wrote that "if the request of Mr. Euler is granted this would be liable to create a precedent that might lead to applications being made for the same privileges from Members of Parliament generally who occupy rooms on the upper floor of the Parliament Buildings as well as from Senators on the same floor."³ As a compromise solution, the Department offered to purchase a wash basin and a jug, the cost of which, a memorandum of 1924 noted, "would not exceed \$25.00".⁴ The reaction of members was not recorded.

The main problem in the building, despite the preparatory work of the joint committee, was a general shortage of space. There were a number of reasons why the Centre Block seemed unduly cramped and grew increasingly overcrowded within a decade of its occupancy in 1920-21. The staff of parliament had increased dramatically during World War One, and did not decrease as was anticipated following the war. The tasks of coping with demobilization, rampant inflation, unemployment and social unrest in peacetime were just as great as wartime duties, and therefore required similar numbers of people. The staff of parliament, in turn, encroached upon the space originally designed for members, until, by 1925, there was no longer sufficient space to house members in individual offices.

A lack of co-operation between the Commons and the Senate aggravated the situation. Although much of the planning for the Centre Block had proceeded on the assumption that support and tertiary services common to both chambers would be integrated into smaller, more efficient units, each legislature eventually proved over-zealous in guarding its prerogative rights. A joint committee

appointed in 1919 to allocate space to each house, failed to reach a mutually acceptable division of responsibilities. Thus, the new building, like the old, had two post offices, two stationery offices, and two distribution branches, duplicating many services and occupying valuable office space.

Meanwhile, the Parliamentary Librarian's complaints were being raised again. The library, despite using a large stack area below the Senate chamber, was badly in need of space to house both staff and book collections. By the mid-1920's, the library was impinging upon other records storage areas of the basement. The decision to delay (and later to abandon) the five-storey stack room below ground level on the north side of Parliament Hill saved money in the short run. But it proved disastrous in the longer run. The expansion of the library had serious implications for other administrative units of parliament. Although the construction of a new wing on the Archives building on Sussex Drive helped to alleviate the pressures for records space immediately, by the late 1920's the records branch of the House of Commons needed more vault room in which to accommodate records required on a daily basis. As the workload of parliament increased, each branch of parliament required more space. Not all demands, however, could be met in a Centre Block with a fixed amount of usable floor space.

Parliamentarians also began to complain of a lack of office space within a few years of occupancy. As shortages developed, the party whips arranged with the Department of Public Works to install room dividers, thus giving a small measure of privacy to each private member who was forced to share office facilities. The solution was less than satisfactory for members who had demanded for years private offices in which to read, research legislation, write letters and meet constituents. A. W. Smith, one of the Ontario members of the Commons, who felt that his volume of constituency business warranted a large, private office, was upset at shared accommodation, and coveted the office of a neighbouring member from Quebec. "As a suggestion", Smith wrote to J. C. Elliot, the Minister of Public Works, "G. L. Dionne, M.P. has room 517 and I understand he was placed up here among the Ontario members because it was undesirable to have him around and for all he needs a room any place I think would suit him and you might be able to give me that room."⁵ The complaints about inadequate offices tended, however, to be less vociferous than prior to 1916, reflecting,

perhaps, a general recognition that even if standards were below those of Congressional facilities in the United States they were still better than members of the federal parliament had hitherto enjoyed.

In the mid-1920's, in response to growing demands for space, and as part of a larger project to expand and revitalize Parliament Hill and its immediate area, the Department of Public Works surveyed Parliament's space requirements.⁶ In addition to a library stack room, a banquet hall, apartments for the Speakers, and an enlarged Senate chamber, the investigation found a need for more than 200 rooms in the Centre Block. The solution proposed by the Department was the construction of two five-storey wings on the back of the Centre Block to house members well into the foreseeable future. As *The Ottawa Journal* explained, "the primary reason for consideration of the proposed extension is the demand made every session by Members of Parliament for individual rooms. At present there are two members in each room with the exception of Ministers of the Crown, the Leader of the Opposition, senior Conservative and Liberal Members, who are few in number, the members for Ottawa, and Miss Agnes Macphail."⁷

The larger project, after much scaling down, culminated in the construction of the Confederation and Justice Buildings to the west of Parliament Hill in the late 1920's and early 1930's. But the addition to the Centre Block never went beyond the initial planning stages. The cost, as most members realized, was prohibitive, especially such a short time after more than \$12,000,000 had been spent to build a parliament building "to last for all time". Other departments, especially Finance and Justice, also had claims to funds after spending years in the badly overcrowded East Block and temporary quarters further from Parliament Hill. Moreover, the depression of the 1930's eliminated whatever plans were under-way to initiate long-term corrective measures. In the midst of unparalleled economic hardship, the needs of parliament had lost their priority. Despite general complaints throughout the 1920's and 1930's and into the 1940's, very little was done to modify the Centre Block. In 1936 a new "Room Sixteen" came into existence to replace the nonpartisan meeting room lost in the destruction of the original building. But little else was done to ease the pressures of space.

While the facilities provided to parliament changed very little from 1920 to 1945, the role of parliamentarians was subtly evolving between the two World Wars, in ways that were eventually to have profound implications on the accommodation patterns of Parliament Hill. Government activities in society were steadily growing, spurred on by new demands for social security measures, by the Keynesian revolution in economic thinking, and by a new belief that government involvement could alleviate social distress and re-establish the market economy as the instrument of social equilibrium. If the period prior to World War One was the "developmental era", in which the foundations of Canada's economy were constructed, the period between the wars was the era of the "positive state", a phrase used frequently to describe government intervention in society (as opposed to "laissez faire"). The manifestations of the positive state were many and varied, ranging from pension and unemployment legislation to the Bank of Canada to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, all of which had broad implications for business, labour and society in general. The new measures were complex, and, unlike the developmental legislation with which parliament was generally concerned prior to World War One, went beyond the collective expertise and experience of most members of parliament. The positive state tended to bring with it, therefore, a new reliance on experts upon whom to draw for information regarding the shape and scope of legislation.

One of the first results of the need for expertise was a change in the position of parliament relative to that of the cabinet. Cabinet ministers were able to draw freely upon the public service as a pool of experience and professional talent. They were able to present to parliament, therefore, well conceived and complex measures which members tended to find difficult to criticize without access to similar supportive personnel. As the complexity of social and economic legislation grew towards the end of the 1930's, and as the size and influence of the public service developed, the cabinet began to assert a dominant position in parliamentary affairs well beyond the general leadership role which it had traditionally played in the days of Macdonald and Laurier. The logical response by parliamentarians should have been to develop their own means of investigating and initiating measures of complexity, in order to act as a countervailing force to the growing power of the cabinet. But

very little was suggested, and even less accomplished. Although parliamentarians once needed little assistance to carry out their varied duties, their jobs changed significantly with the development of the positive state. When added to other pressures—larger constituencies, more voters, emerging pressure groups, the problems of an urbanized society—the tasks had clearly outgrown both facilities and accommodation.

A second implication of interventionist government was a change in the manner in which new laws and administrative regulations were implemented. Much of the new legislation of the positive state required continual updating and revision, which was far simpler to effect by order in council or administrative fiat than by parliamentary statute. To an increasing extent, therefore, power to alter or update certain laws was delegated to administrative tribunals. Parliament still dealt with the principles underlying the establishment of boards, commissions or corporations. But, once a bill went through the Commons and Senate, control of the activities of these bodies tended to pass effectively from the hands of popularly elected representatives. Members of parliament began in the late 1930's to worry about the implications of "delegated legislation", and wondered whether means could be developed to supervise the activities of "irresponsible bodies" vested with what many parliamentarians perceived were potentially dangerous powers. Once again, however, much was suggested, but very little was accomplished. Members required not only the establishment of parliamentary bodies as supervisory agencies, but also the staff to investigate abuses and render the supervisory agencies truly effective. For a number of reasons, parliamentary staffs were not created, and members were left to act on their own to guard the interests of their constituents.

By the late 1930's and early 1940's, members of parliament were treated much the same as their predecessors had been prior to 1920. They had limited amounts of office space, access to stenographic and typing pools, and an annual indemnity to defray some of their personal expenses while in Ottawa. But their roles had changed so significantly in the previous twenty to thirty years that they lacked the resources to do an effective job. "Present-day democratic legislatures are ridiculously overworked", wrote J. A. Corry in the mid-1940's. "Despite the increasing length of sessions, the legislatures cannot give careful consideration to many of the laws

they enact, and they can find only a limited time in each session to examine the vast administrative machinery of the government. Moreover, they could not accomplish what they do if they were not guided and controlled by a relatively small group of men, the leaders of the political parties. Important decisions have to be delegated to committees which are not really representative, and debate has to be curtailed. It is scarcely true nowadays to say, in more than a formal sense, that legislatures make the law."⁸

The Centre Block was planned and designed in the last stages of the developmental era in Canada. It was sufficient, although barely sufficient, while the roles of members remained what they had been in the ages of Macdonald and Laurier. But in the new era of the positive state, parliamentary facilities were badly outmoded, despite the attempt by many parliamentarians to perform all of their varied duties with the tools provided to them. In the interwar period, few alterations were made to John Pearson's architectural masterpiece, and the building remained in 1945 much as it had been when completed in the 1920's. Behind the relative stability of Parliament Hill, however, was a gradual movement to adjust parliament and parliamentarian to a new era. An awareness of the inadequacies of parliament as a creative, deliberative body would eventually result in new demands for increased staff and increased office space.

7 Reform and Revitalization

1945-1963

The Second World War had mixed effects on parliament's functions and operations. The immediate impact of rationalizing and centralizing the nation for wartime production was to enhance the power, prestige and responsibilities of the federal government, and to increase the long-term tendency towards greater government involvement in the economy. An off-shoot of increased power was a heavier parliamentary work-load, as members sought to pass judgment on the vast amounts of wartime legislation as well as acting as guardians of government activities. The war had also, however, tended to minimize the roles of private members in the parliamentary process. In the names of efficiency and national security, government agencies, departments and commissions had assumed much of the overall direction of the war effort, leaving many parliamentarians with the uneasy feeling that public opinion was being by-passed too easily with the increased use of orders in council. The end of the war in 1945, however, promised to initiate a different form of parliamentary procedure. While the federal government would retain its responsibilities in directing post-war reconstruction and long-term economic planning, parliament would be returned to its former role as an important force in legislative action. Both the increased powers of the federal government after 1945 and the new duties of members of parliament eventually resulted in an important redefinition of parliamentarians' roles. The new roles had important implications for parliamentary accommodation.

Even before the Second World War had ended, the Department of Public Works received suggestions that the Centre Block required an addition in order to increase the amount of space devoted to members. In May, 1944, the Speaker of the Senate

advised that the centre core above the Hall of Fame be built to the top of the building, and that the east and west ends of the building be raised from one storey to five. Solutions were more difficult than some parliamentarians realized, however. Five years later, after many similar suggestions, the Department of Public Works was still studying the feasibility of modifying the Centre Block to increase space.¹

The hindrances to expanding the building, the Department had found, were formidable. The most obvious consideration was aesthetic. No one seriously contemplated additions that would compromise or mar the architectural integrity of the building. Careful study, using scale models and photographs of proposed additions, was therefore needed to check the effects of proposed plans. A second consideration was functional. Additions in the three locations suggested by the Speaker of the Senate would have reduced the interior courtyards to the size of mere "vent shafts and would change what is now a bright and attractive area which the adjoining offices enjoy into what one might find in older commercial buildings in congested areas".² Although the Centre Block was structurally capable of holding the extra storeys, so much renovation was required in any of the three areas that it would inevitably compromise much of the office space already in existence. The third, and perhaps decisive factor was cost. Although a memorandum of 1949 suggested that eighty-eight extra rooms could be created at a cost not exceeding \$750,000, other estimates presented a gloomier picture. An investigation five years earlier, for example, had pointed out that a central addition above the Hall of Fame would create a net gain of only thirteen offices at an enormous cost in money and aesthetic value.

One of the intangible factors stemmed from planning considerations. The proposals of 1949 would have created sufficient space for the new members from Newfoundland and for the recently re-instituted parliamentary assistants, but it would have done nothing to allow for future requirements. More study was obviously needed before a major commitment of funds was to be made.

Within a few years, however, two key decisions were made. The first was the decision to leave the Centre Block much as it was constructed. A series of renovations added air-conditioning to the chambers to alleviate discomfort caused by summer sittings (a move that incidentally justified longer sittings into the summer),

and rehabilitated the electrical system, elevators and plumbing services, thereby bringing the building into the post-war era. A second was the decision to use the East Block for the Privy Council Office, the Prime Minister's Office, and the Department of External Affairs. Parliament had looked covetously to the spacious, historic East Block, hoping to use some of the offices which had been renovated during the extensive alterations of 1948-53. But the cabinet decided to retain the building, and vetoed attempts to bring the East Block within the jurisdiction of parliament.

The last option on Parliament Hill, therefore, was the West Block, less prestigious and historic than the East Block, but larger and potentially more amenable to the kinds of renovations needed to give parliament new, badly needed facilities. By 1954 the Department of Public Works had begun to outline the alternatives. A restoration of the building was considered both costly and functionally doubtful. Many of the conveniences required by parliament—a large banquet or reception hall, larger committee rooms, and spacious office suites—could not be constructed within the framework of a restoration. The opposing option was demolition of the building to construct a much larger building with the appropriate conveniences. Demolition was an attractive alternative because of its planning potential and relatively low cost. But the storm of protest which greeted members of parliament when the idea was first mooted in the press forced a reassessment of the option. The Department of Public Works subsequently explored several compromises between restoration and demolition. One plan called for the demolition of all the building except the Mackenzie Tower and the east, south and west walls. An entirely new building, stretching further to the north but partially preserving the West Block's facade to the rest of Parliament Hill could double the usable space of the building. Three alternative plans were less ambitious. The comparative statistics of all four options, based upon a building life of fifty and 100 years, are shown on the table on page 114. Eventually, it was decided to rehabilitate the West Block.

In 1960, after extensive consultations with the Speakers and Clerks of the Commons and Senate, plans were drawn and specifications prepared for a renovation that would create 133 offices for members, other administrative rooms and units, five court rooms for the Divorce Committee of the Senate, two caucus rooms, two large

committee rooms, a 350-seat cafeteria, and a members' lounge in the Mackenzie Tower, in an office designed and once occupied by Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister from 1873 to 1878.⁴ The contract for the renovation was awarded to Perini and Company of Toronto, Ontario, for the sum of \$5,088,000.

Estimated Costs of the West Block Alternatives

	Net total office space	Number of units	Cost	Building life	Yearly office unit cost
	(sq. ft.)			(years)	
Existing building	82,820				
1. Rehabilitation	76,760	273	\$2,000,000	50	\$146
2. Addition and rehabilitation	111,362	419	\$3,550,000	50	\$169
3. New building (five floors)	145,000	692	\$6,400,000	100	\$ 93
4. New building (six floors)	183,000	836	\$7,500,000	100	\$ 90

The project eventually proved both more costly and time-consuming than originally contemplated. The contractor discovered that the original concrete and wooden floors had been rendered dangerously faulty by a fire which had partially destroyed the West Block's roof in 1897. Although there had been no disasters in more than sixty years of usage, it was decided to tear the old floors out, and re-build the entire interior of the building. By the fall of 1963, more than a year behind schedule, a virtually new building in all respects except exterior design was ready for occupancy.

The completion of the West Block enabled the Department of Public Works to provide the accommodation necessitated by new reforms in the working conditions of parliamentarians. Throughout the latter part of the 1950's and early 1960's parliamentarians complained continually of overcrowded offices, lack of secretarial assistance, inadequate research facilities, and the absence of office facilities within their constituencies. Finally, in 1963, a series of reforms improved the lot of private members of the House of Commons. The sessional indemnities were increased, ostensibly to

enable members to establish constituency facilities or to off-set the costs of providing two residences (in Ottawa and in the riding), and the Commons accepted the principle that each member should have an individual office and a private secretary. In 1959, before the West Block renovation had been initiated, 142 members of the Commons, mainly junior or novice members, had shared accommodation in the Centre Block. In 1963, all 265 members were provided with individual offices.

The reforms of the early 1960's placed the Commons for the first time since the late nineteenth century, on a par with the Senate with respect to office space and facilities. The Senate, because of its smaller membership, had always enjoyed comparatively more space in the Centre Block than the Commons, a point of continual contention. As the Commons grew in membership and political power, the distinction between the overcrowded west side of the building and the relatively spacious east side became more marked. Between the First and Second World Wars, when the demands for Senate reform or abolition were at a peak, it was often suggested in the Commons that the space occupied by the "other place" should be taken over by the Commons to provide for more adequate facilities. Following the Second World War, the Senate was at least partially rejuvenated by a new perception of its role in the political process. As the Commons had less time to deal in principle with legislation, committees of the Senate assumed roles as investigators of broad national issues. Thus, both the legislation introduced to cope with the problems and the context of the problems themselves were to be dealt with by parliament. The Senate's new, unofficial role created new demands for larger committee staffs, and increased its accommodation needs throughout the 1950's. By the early 1960's most senators shared accommodation with other senators or their staff. The accommodation reforms of the early 1960's, therefore, brought the Commons and Senate together and standardized most of their facilities. By 1963, when the West Block was opened to members of parliament, a start had been made towards giving parliamentarians the facilities to do their jobs in an era in which membership in the Commons or Senate was virtually a full-time occupation.

8 Towards a Comprehensive Approach to Parliamentary Accommodation

1963-1974

The reforms of the early 1960's provided parliament with better accommodation, more funds, and more efficient secretarial assistance, and gave parliamentarians better salaries and increased pensions. Yet the reforms were not wholly satisfactory. When members were assigned a private secretary in 1963, no provision was made for a secretarial office. The result was that members and their secretaries shared an office, thus nullifying a large part of the reform for which members had fought for so long. Moreover, the work of members had increased so drastically at the same time that reform could not keep pace with continuing demands and needs. The House of Commons was bombarded with requests for better research assistance, despite the creation of a research division of the Parliamentary Library, and members soon found their secretarial assistance barely adequate to meet their continuing workloads. Because the three buildings on Parliament Hill had already reached a saturation point, more space could be freed for new uses only by moving administrative units of parliament to other buildings, like the recently acquired Norlite Building on Wellington Street. Although the precise needs of parliament were only vaguely known in the 1960's, the cabinet was informed in 1970 that at least three buildings, the Langevin Block, Postal Station "B", and the Confederation Building, might have to be converted for the use of parliament.

Many of the problems facing parliament were isolated in 1970 by the report of the Advisory Committee on Parliamentary Salaries and Expenses, commonly known as the Beaupré Report. After almost a year of work, T. N. Beaupré, Arthur Maloney and Marc Lapointe published a valuable report which investigated the role of the member of parliament, his working conditions and his

facilities. The committee found the conditions under which parliamentarians were expected to work "completely inadequate". Members of parliament, the report stated, "are often deprived of even the most fundamental facilities requisite to the efficient performance of their duties, either because governments have not seen fit to make them available, or because of the strictures of the Member's personal financial situation". Three examples of "these inadequacies" were cited:

- (1) Underlying the problems of adequate office facilities for Members and their staff, for committees and their staff, for researchers and other essential facilities, is the drastic lack of space on or adjacent to Parliament Hill. It is true that the acquisition of the West Block of the Parliament Buildings and a nearby commercial building on Wellington Street provided some relief, but a serious space deficiency continues and the Committee regrets that it did not secure evidence that successive governments have given this matter sufficient priority. . .
- (2) Staff assistance must also be improved if the Member is to adequately perform the heavy and varied tasks of counsellor, ombudsman, communicator and legislator.
- (3) Another area of concern is the important relationship between the parliamentarian and the constituent. Facilities for better communication should be available and, in particular, more assistance must be given to Members of the House of Commons who represent large constituencies, which present special travel problems.

There was obviously no easy solution to the serious problem of parliamentary facilities and working conditions. But, at the same time, as the report pleaded, "The need to make these improvements is urgent and it will become more urgent and more serious as the importance of the role of the individual Member in the parliamentary system continues to expand."

The committee recommended substantial reforms relating to the salaries, expenses and services of parliament. Its recommendations relating to secretarial and research assistance, which reflected an awareness of the increasingly burdensome workload of members of parliament, were as follows:

Increased secretarial assistance.

An executive or administrative assistant for each member to help cope with duties at Ottawa and in the riding.

Increased research assistance in the Parliamentary Library.

Constituency offices for members of the Commons, with partial reimbursement for the salary of an employee in the constituency office.

The committee noted several areas in which planning for future requirements was badly needed. It recommended that in preparing requirements for office facilities, two offices should be allocated for members of the Commons and one and one-half for Senators. The deficiency of space for parliamentary committees and their staffs was called an "important problem" which deserved "serious consideration". Finally, the lack of space in the library, which severely cramped the research facilities, was once again raised. In a short, succinct report, the Advisory Committee on Parliamentary Salaries and Expenses pinpointed a number of problem areas, and paved the way for solutions which were to enhance the efficiency of parliament.

In many respects, the conclusions of the Advisory Committee were neither new nor startling, although the report was unique in presenting the issues clearly in one document. Members of parliament had long been aware of the impossible tasks they were called upon to perform, and the cabinet had been equally cognizant of the inadequate facilities provided to private members of the government and opposition parties. Yet by 1971, when the report was tabled in parliament, new concerns were bringing cabinet and parliament towards looking at the role and facilities of members more carefully and sympathetically. Many members sensed that there existed throughout the country a disturbing feeling that parliament no longer functioned as theory dictated. In a technological age, the cabinet possessed the resources to create and implement programmes with only a scant reference to the Commons and Senate. Members of parliament, in turn, lacked the resources to examine programmes critically, and therefore had forfeited a major portion of their legislative responsibilities. If the balance between the cabinet and the two chambers was to be re-asserted, as many parliamentarians demanded, what was badly needed in the 1970's was a rejuvenation of the role of the private member, in which they again began to play a major part in shaping governmental policy. The logical starting point was to provide members with the appropriate human and material resources to perform their functions effectively.

Within two years action was taken in most areas mentioned by the Beaupré Report. Funds were made available for increased secretarial or executive assistant services; parties were allocated funds to create party research bureaux, thereby adding a dimension lacking in the Parliamentary Library research facility; provision was made for constituency offices and local staffs (although initial budgets were meagre and uninviting for most members); a thorough investigation of benefits resulted in larger salaries for members; and action was taken to more than double the amount of space available to members of parliament.

In the summer of 1971 it was decided to expand the office facilities of parliament beyond the traditional confines of Parliament Hill to the Confederation Building, west of Bank Street. A tentative proposal, upon which the Department of Public Works based its plans, called for 107 members to move to the renovated building. The Centre and West Blocks, which had 186 members sharing offices with others, would thereby be relieved of much of their congestion, and all members would receive at least two offices, the amount deemed appropriate by the Beaupré Report. The members were evidently free to choose whether to go further from the Centre Block or to stay where they were. But the carrot used to lure them towards the Confederation Building was the promise of larger, refurbished offices in generally more comfortable surroundings. Although the proposed changes created new worries about duplication of services, inefficiencies in operation seemed a small price to pay for better facilities. By January, 1973, as the renovations were nearing completion, eighty-seven members of parliament, including seven cabinet ministers, had moved to the Confederation Building. The population of the building, including all support staff and tertiary services, was estimated at 546 people.²

The relocations of 1972-73 provided a basic minimal level of services and facilities for parliamentarians but was open to two objections. First, by moving administrative support facilities from Parliament Hill to five other buildings, the efficiency of parliamentary operations suffered more than was originally perceived. Second, and far more serious, the renovations had not fully taken into account the future requirements of members, who, even while new offices were under construction, began to voice the need for more research staff, more secretarial assistance, increased caucus and party facilities, and better leisure, lounge, reception and recrea-

tional space. Because of the size of the two chambers, the new demands promised to have drastic repercussions on space requirements. If each member of the Commons and Senate (as presently constituted, with 264 and 102 members respectively), for example, was given one additional assistant with an office, it would create an immediate need for more than 360 offices, in effect, a building equivalent in size to the West Block.

The relocations also raised the thorny question of transportation. Since many members objected to the distance between the Confederation Building and the Centre Block, a fairly efficient means of transportation had to be developed to integrate the expanding area of offices on or near Parliament Hill. After considering a variety of alternatives, some of which were enormously costly and politically unpalatable, the Department of Public Works settled on small buses, and established a bus line that enabled a member to travel from the Confederation Building to the Centre Block in less than five minutes. Parking also became a major problem as a result of increased parliamentary staffs. Although parking lots had been established in various areas on or near Parliament Hill (indeed, the old Supreme Court Building had been torn down in the 1950's to make way for a parking area), by the late 1960's it was no longer feasible to expand parking to meet the increasing demand. Several studies were commissioned to indicate ways of managing the volume of traffic, especially in the summer months, when the tourist season exacerbated the crowded conditions on the Hill. Yet it was impossible to decide how many parking spaces should be constructed, and how they should be allocated. One solution was the integration of parliamentary and local transportation systems, which would eliminate much of the traditional dependence on automobiles. But the ideal system was so far in the future that other alternatives had to be developed.

By 1973, although little was known by individuals outside the confines of parliament, the efficiency and operational ability of the Commons and Senate were nearing a crisis point. Much had been done to relieve the office shortages of members, but more was demanded. The conversion of administrative space to members' space had impaired the efficiency of support services, especially if the administrative unit were located in one of the eight buildings used by parliament outside of the Centre Block. Regardless of the efforts of all concerned, there was a severe shortage of committee

space, caucus space and general administrative space. As the Minister of Public Works explained in the House of Commons, "As Parliament has become, through its committees and in other ways, even more involved in all aspects of the nation's life, it has become much more a year round operation and space available has fallen behind its needs as they have developed in the modern era."

In July, 1973, in response to the increasingly difficult situation, J.-E. Dubé, Minister of Public Works, announced that the government intended to expropriate the properties and buildings on the south side of Wellington Street and north side of Sparks Street between Bank and Elgin Streets, an area immediately to the south of Parliament Hill. "The purpose of this expropriation", he told the Commons, "is . . . to protect the environment of Parliament from any development which could adversely affect it and simultaneously provide the land for an appropriate expansion of parliamentary facilities and other government requirements." To decide the future use of the site, Mr. Dubé also announced the government's intention of naming a parliamentary commission to advise on the amount and type of facilities that parliament would require in the future. The following year, in April, 1974, the Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation was named by order in council.³

The appointment of an all-party parliamentary commission was a significant means of launching the quest for better parliamentary facilities. For over a century the cabinet had largely determined the facilities available to parliamentarians. In 1974, however, private members, including leading members of the opposition parties, acquired a means by which they could express their views and needs more forcefully and constructively than ever before. Through the Beaupré committee report, the general public had been made aware of the inadequacies of a parliamentarian's salary, staff and expenses. Through the Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation, parliament should acquire a comprehensive picture of the types of resources needed in order to discharge its responsibilities in the foreseeable future.

9 Patterns of Parliamentary Accommodation

Despite the commonplace observation that the role of parliament has changed drastically in the past century, the implications of these changes have been infrequently discussed. As parliamentary sessions have gradually lengthened in response to rising volumes of legislation, parliament has sought refuge in new rules of order to limit debate, in increased use of committees to hasten the slow process of detailed criticism of bills, and in delegating the formulation of administrative regulations to non-parliamentary bodies. Both the volume of legislation and the expertise required to criticize or defend it have told enormously on the time of parliamentarians, especially since World War Two. The pressures of constituency business have added to the burden. The size of constituencies may have decreased slightly as the House of Commons has been expanded, but the number of constituents per riding has increased. Moreover, the population in general expects more of the modern member than of his counterpart twenty to thirty years ago. Organized pressure groups or citizen organizations communicate frequently with their members to express their views on legislative programmes. In many respects, too, the member is considered the local "ombudsman", who is expected to handle any problem dealing with the federal government.

Until the Second World War there was a marked difference in the growth of the Commons and the Senate. While the Commons grew and assumed increasing importance as the centre of parliamentary activity, the Senate languished, like the House of Lords an apparent anachronism in a democratic era. But since the Second World War both houses have grown, the Commons as Canada's population has exploded and as new demands are made upon government, the Senate as its new rationale as the investigator of broad

social problems and issues has become more widely accepted. While the patterns of their respective developments are not firmly established, it seems clear that both houses will continue to expand, either in membership or in volume of work, and perhaps in both.

The principal off-shoot of parliament's growth has been the rising demand for increased personal staffs. The great volumes of modern constituency business have justified the shift from secretarial pools to individual secretaries for each member, and, more recently, from one secretary to two secretaries (one often acting as an executive assistant). Similarly, the complexity of legislation in the technological era has justified staff for research. At first, the Parliamentary Library was expanded to permit a wider range of reading. Then, a research unit was created to aid members in retrieving factual information. Research assistants were subsequently suggested as a means whereby a member could obtain a partisan interpretation of factual data and have assistance with speech-writing, publicity notices and other time-consuming tasks. Research staffs were recently funded for each political party, to enable them to launch major partisan research projects, and thereby criticize government policy more effectively. Although members can currently avail themselves of three research capabilities (the Parliamentary Library research unit, the party research group, and the personal research assistant), recent criticisms of the facilities provided to members suggest that the amounts and types of research facilities are inadequate and will eventually have to be increased. The discernible, probably irreversible pattern favours larger individual staffs for members as one answer to the lack of adequate research facilities. Increased secretarial and research assistance will, in turn, have a direct impact on the space required by each member of parliament.

The demands on the time of members of the Commons have led to the establishment of offices in some ridings, where local assistants handle problems which may not require reference to Ottawa, thereby relieving the work burden of the member. Although local offices are frequently seen as a means of reducing the growth of personal staffs in Ottawa, they have probably only tended to slow what will remain a steady pattern of growth. The logical culmination of demands for constituency offices will be the creation of local offices for members in every riding (perhaps two or more offices in ridings of large areas), complete with full staffs to cope

with a general range of political problems. By dividing the workload between Ottawa and the riding, parliamentarians may be able to focus more fully on national issues while in the capital, without doing injustice to their traditional constituency work.

Just as the institution of parliament has been influenced by many social factors, a series of variable and intangible considerations will affect trends which have emerged in the past twenty to thirty years. The number of political parties may change, thereby altering the space requirements of party caucuses, offices and research facilities. The nature of research facilities may evolve more towards personal research assistance and less towards the Parliamentary Library or the party research unit. The size and number of constituencies will directly affect the volume of constituency business, and indirectly alter requirements for staff and space. Although it is possible to project the historical trends towards the development of local and Ottawa offices, and to visualize increased personal staffs, it is far more difficult to estimate the space required by all potential staff. Planning for present facilities requires little foresight, since the number of parliamentarians, support staff and people involved in tertiary services is readily available. If each member of the Commons, however, had four staff members, and the Commons was increased in the future from 264 seats to 364 seats, the decision to increase membership would create an immediate need for office facilities, lounges, restaurant and parking spaces and other services for five hundred people. A key element in designing a facility, therefore, must be flexibility. The costly lessons of the two Centre Blocks, which institutionalized their time periods in brick and stone, should not be forgotten.

The support services of parliament will also continue to grow, as committees assume a more active role in the legislative process. Numerous variable factors such as new procedural rules, or the size and number of committees may alter the emerging pattern, but the trend is sufficiently well established that it must be considered in planning a new parliamentary facility. A similar pattern of growth, for many of the same reasons, is evident in other areas. Restaurant and parking space, security services, and so forth, will be expanded as parliament grows. While providing for tertiary services may seem straightforward, decisions made at the primary and support levels tend to have a direct multiplier effect on tertiary

services. Planning for the latter, therefore, may have more inherent difficulties and require more imaginative solutions than planning for parliamentarians and parliament's support staff.

Almost all aspects of parliament have changed since the 1850's, when buildings were initially planned for what became the capital of the Dominion of Canada. Changes in procedure, committee structure, membership and powers, however, have always preceded changes in space allocations. For most of the past century, therefore, parliament's physical environment has lagged behind other reforms. There is an obvious need to link the two areas which have hitherto been treated separately: parliament's continuing human requirements, and the implications of these requirements on space allocations. By recognizing the historical development of parliament and the parliamentary buildings, the Advisory Commission on Parliamentary Accommodation may be in a better position to assess present requirements and to plan future facilities consistent with the importance of our national government.

Footnotes

Chapter One

Early Initiatives, 1841-1859

- 1 See Alexander Morris, *Nova Britannia; or, Our New Canadian Dominion Foreshadowed*, (Toronto, 1884).
- 2 See J. B. Brebner, "Laissez Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain", *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement VIII (1948), 59-73.
- 3 Ontario Archives, R.G. 15, S-6, Vol. 2, Department of Public Works Report, 1880, 2.
- 4 Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.), R.G. 1, E, 1, Vol. 77, Minutes of Council, Feb. 22, March 8, May 9, 1854.
- 5 It should be noted, however, that the nineteenth-century Canadian public service was highly decentralized. At Confederation, only one quarter of public servants were located at Ottawa. See J. E. Hodgetts, *The Canadian Public Service: A Physiology of Government, 1867-1970*, (Toronto, 1973), 18-20.
- 6 P.A.C., R.G. 1, E, 8, Vol. 48, Order in Council, June 21, 1853; R. G. 1, E, 1, Vol. 76, Minutes of Council, June 21, 1853; R.G. 11, II, Vol. 142, Chief Commissioner, Department of Public Works to the Governor General, June 16, 1853.
- 7 P.A.C., R.G. 11, II, Vol. 128, Secretary, DPW, to Cumberland, Oct. 14, 1853.
- 8 *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1853.
- 9 P.A.C., R.G. 11, II, Vol. 142, J. Chabot to Council, June 9, 1854; *ibid.*, Memorandum on Public Grounds, Toronto, Feb. 2, 1855; R.G. 1, E, 8, Vol. 53, Order in Council, Feb. 3, 1855.

Chapter Two

The "Barrack Hill" Complex, 1859-1867

- 1 Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1863, No. 3, 3.

- 2 R. H. Hubbard, *Rideau Hall: An Illustrated History of Government House*, (Ottawa, 1967), 16.
- 3 *Documents Relating to the Construction of the Parliamentary and Departmental Buildings at Ottawa*, (Quebec, 1862), 12-17.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 See Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*, (Montreal, 1965), 100-110.
- 6 Alan Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, (Toronto, 1958), 150; *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, (Toronto, 1966), 119-120.
- 7 P.A.C., R.G. 11, VII, Vol. 56, "Contract . . .", 8.
- 8 For a more comprehensive explanation of construction difficulties, see J. D. Livermore, *The Eastern Block*, an unpublished consultant's report for the Department of Public Works, Ottawa, 1974.
- 9 P.A.C., R.G. 1, E, 8, Vol. 81, Pt. 2, Order in Council, March 5, 1864.

Chapter Three

The Centre Block and the Young Dominion, 1867-1880

- 1 The annual *Debates* always included condemnations of the Commons chamber. For various sketches of the chamber, see P.A.C., Map Division, R/460 Centre Block.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 See: *Canadian Parliamentary Companion*, (Montreal, various editions, 1862-67).
- 4 P.A.C., R.G. 11, III, Vol. 265, Rubidge to Trudeau, Jan. 5, 1864.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Order in Council, May 18, 1864.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1871, No. 4, 137-8; P.A.C., R.G. 11, IV, Vol. 186, Mechanical Engineer, DPW, Oct. 24, 1883, Jan. 16, 1884.
- 8 Canada, *Journals of the House of Commons*, 1873, Appendix No. 4, 2.
- 9 The dominant assumption in the 1860's was that federalism would effectively halve the amount of work done by the Dominion legislature, thereby substantially cutting the length of legislative sittings.
- 10 See: Norman Ward, *The Public Purse*, (Toronto, 1951), 39-69; and Elizabeth Nish (ed.), *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada*, Vol. 1, 1841, (Montreal, 1970), introduction.
- 11 P.A.C., R.G. 11, IV, Vol. 185, Chief Architect, DPW, Nov. 18, 1879.
- 12 Quoted in Norman Ward, *The Old House of Commons*, unpublished manuscript, 1952, IV, 1.
- 13 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1867-68, 666.

- 14 P.A.C., R.G. 11, III, Vol. 271, LeMoine to Braun, June 25, 1873.
- 15 *Ibid.*; also, Vol. 270, Cockburn to Langevin, Oct. 27, 1870. The parliamentary "saloons" were frequented by the local citizens because they were not subject to Ontario licensing regulations and were therefore open almost continuously.
- 16 *Ibid.*, Vol. 270, Patrick to Sir G. E. Cartier, April 24, 1872.
- 17 *Ibid.*, Hartney to Braun, July 3, 1873.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Vol. 271, LeMoine to Braun, June 25, 1873.
- 19 See Elisabeth Wallace, "The Origin of the Social Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900". *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 16 (1950), 383-93.

Chapter Four

The Evolving Uses of the Old Centre Block, 1880-1916

- 1 P.A.C., R.G. 11, IV, Vol. 186, G. A. Kirkpatrick, April 18, 1884; Vol. 197, W. F. McLean, Feb. 6, 1901.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Vol. 188, N. H. Beaulieu, Jan. 16, 1890; D.M., DPW, to Chief Architect, March 23, 1894.
- 3 DPW, *Annual Report*, 1882, 24-5.
- 4 See Wilfrid Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice*, (Ottawa, 1961), 154-70.

Chapter Five

The New Centre Block, 1916-1920

- 1 I am grateful to Mr. Douglas Oworm for permission to use his unpublished manuscript history of the Department of Public Works.
- 2 P.A.C., R.G. 11, IX, Vol. 14, Report of Pearson and Marchand, February 17, 1916.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, Minutes of a Meeting, Sept. 2, 1916.
- 4 *Ibid.*, Hunter to Pearson and Marchand, May 20, 1916.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Minutes of the Joint Committee, June 27, 1916.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Pearson to Rogers, July 29, 1916.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Minutes of a Meeting, Sept. 2, 1916.
- 8 *Ibid.*, Pearson to Hunter, Sept. 7; Laurent to Pearson, Sept. 11; Pearson to Laurent, Sept. 12, 1916.
- 9 *Ibid.*, Minutes . . . , Feb. 6, 1918.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, Memorandum for the Minister, Feb. 8, 1921.
- 11 *Ottawa Journal*, March 13, 1922.
- 12 DPW, *Annual Report*, 1921, 5; 1928, 7-8.

Chapter Six

Evolving Requirements in a New Era, 1920-1945

- 1 Alan Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, (Toronto, 1958), 150.
- 2 Pierre Mayrand and John Bland, *Three Centuries of Architecture in Canada*, (Montreal, 1971), 101.
- 3 P.A.C., R.G. 11, IX, Vol. 33, Wright to D.M., DPW, Feb. 24, 1926.
- 4 *Ibid.*, C. D. Sutherland, Memo to Chief Architect, Oct. 10, 1924.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, Smith to Elliot, Jan. 8, 1928.
- 6 For the context of the larger project, see H. D. Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada*, (Victoria, 1968), 23-6.
- 7 *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 30, 1927. Agnes Macphail was then the only woman member of Parliament.
- 8 J. A. Corry, *Democratic Government and Politics*, (Toronto, 1946), 125.

Chapter Seven

Reform and Revitalization, 1945-1963

- 1 P.A.C., R.G. 11, IX, Vol. 59, Vien to Fournier, May 25, 1944; Memorandum to L. P. Murphy, April 7, 1949.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Memorandum of T. D. Rankin, July 7, 1944.
- 3 DPW Dormant Records, File 822-421, Vol. 3, Gardner to the Deputy Minister.
- 4 P.A.C., R.G. 11, X, Vol. 33, File No. 27.

Chapter Eight

Towards a Comprehensive Approach to Parliamentary Accommodation, 1963-1974

- 1 *Report of the Advisory Committee on Parliamentary Salaries and Expenses*, (Ottawa, 1970), 24-25.
- 2 DPW Dormant Records, File 650-150, Vol. 1, Memorandum, April 20, 1972; Vol. 2, Memorandum, January 4, 1973.
- 3 See: Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, July 20, 1973, 5823-4.

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B. Government Records (Unpublished)

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R.G. 1 Executive Council Records, 1764-1867

R.G. 2 Privy Council Office Records

R.G. 11 Department of Public Works Records

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