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THE GREAT WAR'S DEFEATS:

"Doing Your Bit" on Thunder Bay's Home Front 1914-1919

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Department of History

Lakehead University
Thunder Bay, Ontario

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INTRODUCTION

There are many reasons that the Great War is called the Great War. It was so named very early on, by December of 1914, before anyone knew that thirty-seven states would be involved or that thirteen million people would lose their lives. This was the first war that had the benefit of machinery, the first time that the words "machine" and "gun" came together, and with this war the words "honour" and "glory" became passé. Horrors such as trenches, mud, rats, lice, "No Man's Land", stench, shell shock, severed limbs, mustard gas, and unprecedented waste and slaughter are well-entrenched impressions of the Great War. The lost innocence and the disillusionment of the western world, the cynicism that we call "modernity," are results of this war, components of the collective "modern memory."[1]

But there is a concept that seems to be missing from "mainstream" memory about the war, and that is the total participation of society in it: men, women and children alike; soldiers and civilians alike; large cities, small towns and rural areas alike. No previous war had involved total populations to the degree that the Great War did. No one remained untouched by the disillusionment caused by enormous outlays for scant reward. Although the term, "total war," is often applied, there is barely a footnote in the histories

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[1]Items from "modern memory" are from Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). The figure of thirteen million deaths comes from Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919 (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited, 1989), 259. In "modern memory," the word "horror" almost invariably precedes the phrase "trench warfare". A Chronicle Journal article on page A4 of the January 3, 1995 issue, for example, is headlined "Horror of trench warfare relived in museum room."

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concerning, for example, the participation of children on all Home Fronts. While the phrase, "lost generation," is embedded in "modern memory," the concept of the generation lost does not include the many childhoods lost to the war,[2] nor does the concept include the fact that the most remote corners of European empires and their individual citizens were deeply and personally affected by the Great War. One of the most remote corners, an outpost of the British Empire, was a relatively small urban centre in northern Ontario at the head of Lake Superior, hence often called the Lakehead, now Thunder Bay, then the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William. This thesis describes the minor and distant Home Front of Thunder Bay within the context of Canada's Great War and emphasizes that for millions of individuals, both military and civilian, the Great War represented significant defeats as much as it represented victory for the "winning" side.

With very few exceptions, Canadian histories written about the Great War consider the "macro" picture[3]; if parts of Canada

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[2]The only comprehensive account found of the war's effects on children, and their participation in the war, is a contemporary work by two American women, Irene Osgood Andrews and Margarett A. Hobbs, Economic Effects of the War Upon Women and Children in Great Britain (New York: Oxford University Press, 1921), which is usually cited in passing references to children. The flood of working class women into munitions factories is well documented in both contemporary and later histories. Lesser known is the fact that working class boys and girls from the age of fourteen or less also flooded into factories, travelling from district to district to obtain the high-paying war work, labouring up to fifteen hours a day or night and well over sixty hours a week. See particularly 163-188.

[3]The exceptions are quite the opposite of "macro," and might be called "micro" histories. They include oral histories such as Daphne Read, ed. The Great War and Canadian Society: An Oral History (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1978), and the memories of individuals such as Grace Morris Craig's But This is Our War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). "Micro" histories also include women's histories such as Mary E. MacDonnell, "What the Women of Chatham Did During the Great War" (in Kent Historical Society Papers and Addresses, Vol. 6, 1924, 38-48); and Mary Ellen Tingley, "The Impact of War:

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are considered at all, those parts are provinces or vast regions. In these contexts, Thunder Bay's and perhaps any city's or town's experience of the war is not fully represented. Histories might mention the fact, for example, that municipal police departments were required by the Dominion government to enforce such directives as the Food Controller's regulations on hoarding and pricing and they might conclude that the system as a whole did not work very well.[4] But there is no attempt to determine what this added burden on municipal police might have meant to the municipality or the community itself. Histories that describe the Canadian Patriotic Fund, a fund that provided money to the families of men who enlisted, fail to notice that it was usually the mayor and a few aldermen, as well as municipal staff and prominent men and women of the community, who performed the mammoth task of collecting, and in some cases fully administering, tens and even hundreds of thousands of dollars from individual donors who lived in those communities, to be meted out to recipients who lived in those same communities.[5]

Wolfville Women 1914-1918" (M.A. Dissertation, Acadia University, 1983). Another example of a "micro" history, though not a history of any Home Front, is a collection of letters written by John MacFie's father and other relatives from such places as Salisbury Plain and the front in France: see John MacFie, ed. Letters Home (Meaford, Ontario: Oliver Graphics, Inc., 1990).

[4]See for example Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 240 and 248. J. A. Corry, in "Growth of Government Activities in Canada 1914-1921" in Canadian Historical Association Report (1939-40): 70, notes without comment that municipalities were also charged with enforcement of coal allotments in the fuel-scarce winter of 1916-17.

[5]The official record of the Canadian Patriotic Fund can be found in Philip H. Morris, The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of Its Activities from 1914 to 1919 (Ottawa: 1920). The book is written solely from the national committee's perspective and barely mentions Fort William, since the local Fund was entirely self-administered.

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The "macro" approach cannot provide the details that the focus on an individual community can, and that focus also provides the perspective required to comprehend the term "total war" - war that excludes no one. Neither a regional nor a provincial picture brings home the fact that "everybody knew somebody who didn't return"[6], nor the fact that individuals and communities, the most minor Home Fronts, made enormous sacrifices and expended enormous amounts of time, energy and money to ensure the success of the Allies. In the process, the futility of these efforts to fulfil their original intent, not only to win the war but also to "save" Canadian society, destroyed the optimism and faith in the future that had been so strong in pre-war Canada.

If an individual community cannot be fully understood within the context of a province or a vast region, this is particularly true of Thunder Bay. To read a history of Ontario's Great War is to learn very little about the experience in Port Arthur and Fort William. It is often pointed out, for example, that "Ontario" blossomed into a mature industrial province during the War, largely due to the fact that its factories received most of the orders placed in Canada by the Imperial Munitions Board.[7] This condition certainly did not

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[6]From the Introduction by H. V. Nelles to Craig, But This Is Our War, ix.

[7]See, for example, Barbara M. Wilson,ed., Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918: A Collection of Document (Toronto: The Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario, University of Toronto Press, 1977), xxxix: "The awarding of war contracts led to a gradual revival and expansion of Ontario's industry which was evident by late spring [of 1915]. Soon the provincial economy was booming." By 1916, Wilson says, "Ontario's economy was flourishing" and there was an increasing shortage of labour, especially in munitions (xxix). The economy was *not* booming in Fort William or Port Arthur in 1915 and 1916. By 1917, states Wilson, "The [Canadian] economy was booming

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apply to northwestern Ontario. In fact, in most cases where general statements about "Ontario" are made in these histories, one should read "southern Ontario."[8] Histories of the prairie provinces during the Great War come much closer to resembling what happened in Thunder Bay, and it has been pointed out that Fort William and Port Arthur should be classified as "western" cities, along with Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and so on.[9] Nevertheless, Thunder Bay was not a prairie city either, and histories of the prairies do not convey a kinship or similarity between western cities and Thunder Bay; the city apparently was neither as downtrodden nor unappreciated as Canada's west. It was, after all, a city of Ontario the Rich.[10]

Although the experience of one minor urban centre cannot be thoroughly plumbed within a provincial or regional context,

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as plants across the provinces [were] deluged with orders from the Imperial Munitions Board" and most munitions factories were in Ontario (1x). The brief economic upturn at the Lakehead in 1917 had nothing to do with munitions factories.

[8]This is particularly true of John Herd Thompson's reading of "Ontario" in contrast with the prairie provinces in his The Harvests of War: The Prairie West 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989). Thompson states that industrialization and urbanization expanded in Ontario and Quebec during the war and that the "national statistics [concerning the expansion] are heavily weighted in Ontario and Quebec." For western cities that had been "the exuberant new Chicagos and St. Pauls" of the Laurier boom, Thompson states that "the years of the war were almost as desperate as those of the recession which preceded it" (46,47). In all cases, one should read "Ontario" as "southern Ontario". Thompson's description of prairie cities, in fact, is an excellent place to start to understand the situation in Port Arthur and Fort William during the Great War.

[9]See Livio Di Matteo, "The Economic Development of the Lakehead during the Wheat Boom Era: 1910-1914" in Ontario History Vol. 83 no. 4 (December 1991): 297-316.

[10]In describing the Imperial Munitions Board's bias in favour of "Ontario," John Herd Thompson, in Harvests of War, points out that every one of the following individual Ontario cities received more in munitions orders than the entire prairies combined: Orillia, Peterborough, Renfrew, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Catharines(55). Since Sault Ste. Marie is in northern Ontario, it is assumed that northern Ontario shared in Ontario's industrial boom. The boom did not, however, extend to Fort William and Port Arthur.

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neither can it be said that Thunder Bay's Home Front was unique. Its likenesses to provincial, regional and national "macro" histories are as striking as its differences. Its history could be regarded, in fact, as one case study of a community which in many ways emphasizes the commonality of the Great War experience in Canada, containing threads that were common to all the other belligerent countries' Home Fronts. In this sense, the experience of one minor Home Front underlines the universality as well as the totality of the Great War and the pervasiveness of the disillusionment it caused.

Chapter One of this thesis, "A Panacea for Crisis," illustrates the faith, hope and optimism that pervaded English Canada before the war. The optimism persisted in the midst of a pre-war economic crisis brought about by the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the previous two decades. The outbreak of the war did not dampen but rather heightened the optimism of social gospellers, reformers and regenerators who expected the war to hasten what they believed would be the inevitable success of their agenda. That agenda included temperance, female suffrage, moral purity, justice for the proletariat, and a kinder capitalism. A large item on the urban English Protestant reformers' agenda was to deal with the "alien hordes," immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who threatened their vision of a thoroughly British and Protestant Canada. At the outset of the war, reformers had every hope that their efforts would result in success and that the war was sent to ensure that success.

Chapter Two, "The Rainbow Disappears," illustrates the

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abrupt destruction of hope and optimism in light of the sheer weight of demands which the Great War brought to every home front. The costs were particularly burdensome to Canada's western cities, including Port Arthur and Fort William, which did not reap the economic benefits of the war that were enjoyed by central Canada. The costs were not only monetary but also included a great deal of work, time and effort on the part of every community. The Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society's eventual failure to keep up with its mandate is one example of how the demands of the war defeated an earlier optimism and a faith in success through doing one's duty.

Chapter Three, "Enemies Within Our Gates," focuses on the hundreds of thousands of southern and eastern European immigrants who came to Canada in the two decades prior to the war and demonstrates how the war worsened their already miserable situation. The racism of the day allowed the dominant culture to blame the "race," behaviour and attitude of immigrants for their poverty. The reformers believed that Anglicizing the immigrants would solve all problems, and they invested much money, time and energy in optimistic efforts to assimilate the newcomers. When war was declared, certain of these immigrants were declared to be "enemy aliens" and, by the end of the war, most assimilation efforts had dwindled due to a heightened "revulsion of feeling toward the non-English ..."[11] Official acts reflected such unofficial sentiments; the War Time

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[11]Mrs. Legate of the Saskatchewan WCTU, quoted in Nancy M. Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women': The WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West, 1905-1930" in International Journal of Women's Studies Vol. 6 no. 5 (November/December 1983): 403-04.

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Elections Act of 1917 disfranchised any "enemy alien" who had entered Canada after 1899. The vehement sentiments of English Canada towards southern and eastern Europeans, expressed nationally during the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, reflect heightened suspicion, fear and hatred of immigrants in the wake of the war.

Chapter Four, "Armageddon and After," examines the effects of the war on those who fought it and on the families and friends they left behind. The diary of a young Fort William woman, kept through the war years, illustrates the experience of one family that coped with having loved ones and friends at the front. Through the words of one individual, we see an entire society's transformation from hope to disillusionment, exhaustion, and defeat. The loved ones of those who made the "supreme sacrifice" had to find consolation for their grief and some sort of meaning in the sacrifice. Those soldiers who returned home from the fighting front "whole," able-bodied, received scant reward for having endured unimaginable horrors; those who returned home physically disabled or psychologically damaged received very little more.

Canadian histories of the Great War often still echo the title of A. R. M. Lower's eloquent work, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada, published fifty years ago.[12] The phrase, "colony to nation," is still grasped eagerly as the good news for Canada about this war. While the Dominion entered the war "... a colony, a mere piece of Britain overseas," through the

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[12]A. R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1946).

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war Canada "was forging visibly ahead to nationhood."[13] New-found nationalism may have been the victory of the Great War, but an examination of Canada's home front demonstrates the war's formidable defeats.

[13] *Ibid.*, 457.

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I. A Panacea for Crisis

> If we are responsive to the trial and true to our task, this sign on the waters shall prove as true as the token of the rainbow set of old in the heavens.
> J. H. Menzies, Winnipeg, 1916[1]

The Canada into which the Great War was introduced in 1914 has been described as a nation "in crisis."[2] Similar crises had occurred in western Europe through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rampant capitalism and rapid industrialization and urbanization had resulted in highly visible and obvious injustices to a new, propertyless wage-earning proletariat whose only possession was its ability to work. In Canada, the task of building an entire nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, together with the attendant urbanization, was undertaken in stunningly rapid order during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. To complete the process, vast amounts of capital were borrowed or invested and vast numbers of immigrants were imported to perform the roughest and heaviest labour.[3] Between 1896 and 1914, many of those immigrants were continental Europeans who did not speak English

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[1]J. H. Menzies, Canada And The War: The Promise of the West (Toronto: The Copp. Clark Company, Limited, 1916), 38.

[2]John C. Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920" in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. Artibise, eds. The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984), 456.

[3]Historians and others have found many ways to express the magnitude of this wave of immigration. Donald Avery, in "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), states that in 1913 alone over 400,000 immigrants arrived in Canada (65). In Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto: F. C. Stephenson, Methodist Mission Rooms, 1909), J. S. Woodsworth referred to "incoming tides of immigrants" (3). Carol Lee Bacchi, in Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1983), points out that, between 1896 and 1914, 2.5 million Southern and Eastern Europeans "flooded into Canada"(10).

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and were of a peasant, rather than a proletarian, background,[4] but the influx included Canada's "preferred" immigrants, newcomers from the British Isles and the United States.[5] Among the British were skilled workers, some of whom were educated in Marxist theory and experienced in their role as a proletariat within a capitalist economy.[6] These workers tended to get the better jobs and the continental Europeans got what was left. Once the infrastructure was essentially complete and the heavy labour done, a surfeit of labourers was left unemployed and often destitute in the cities, living in an economy which had swiftly gone from boom to collapse, from triumph to "crisis."[7] By 1913 the western world was in an economic depression.

Ralph Allen describes the depression in Canada, euphemistically referred to as "the Stringency," as more severe than elsewhere:

> That most of the world was undergoing a minor recession was apparent; it was equally apparent that Canada's was a major one ... Canada, with an adverse trade balance of $300,000,000 and a record intake during the year [1913] of 412,000 immigrants, most of them with no visible resources but their health, stood

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[4]Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners" ..., 43.

[5]The Ontario Commission on Unemployment (Report No. 55, Sessional Papers of Ontario, 1916) reported that between 1900 and 1914, total immigration was 2.9 million, of whom 1.1 million came from the British Isles, 1 million from the United States, and 800,000 from Europe (50).

[6]According to Jean Morrison, the British workers were accustomed to negotiating with employers on the basis of "British fair play." See "Ethnicity and Violence: The Lakehead Freight Handlers Before World War I" in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds. Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), 143-60.

[7]See Alan F. J. Artibise, "The Urban West: The Evolution of Prairie Towns and Cities to 1930" in Stelter and Artibise, eds., The Canadian City ..., 159-60; Thompson, The Harvests of War ..., 12-14.

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in particularly pressing need of money.[8]

A contemporary Ontario government document attempted to explain, perhaps with the benefit of excellent hindsight, why Canada's situation was more serious than the rest of the world's. The depression was, stated the document,

> but a phase of the movement alternating between inflation and depression, which is a characteristic feature of modern industry. In Europe, this recurrence is well recognized. In young countries, it has sometimes been supposed that conditions more favourable have produced immunity. This is by no means the case. Young countries, whose development is largely due to supplies of capital from Europe, are organized on the basis of rapid growth. The fact that their growth is so rapid in times of prosperity, makes them subject to depressions more violent than those of older countries.[9]

The rapidity of Canada's growth cannot be disputed. Paul Rutherford notes that the urban population in Canada increased from 1.1 million to 4.3 million between 1881 and 1921, from one quarter to one half of the population.[10] During the decade immediately prior to the Great War, the speed was blinding. Richard Allen notes that, within that decade, Canada led the world in its rate of urbanization, with the cities growing four times as fast as the nation.[11] Most of this growth took place in western Canada, which seems to have been converted from wilderness to civilization during the astoundingly short span of

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[8]Ralph Allen, Ordeal By Fire (Toronto: Popular Library, 1961), 60.

[9]Ontario Commission on Unemployment, 9.

[10]Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920" in Stelter and Artibise, eds., The Canadian City... , 435.

[11]Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 23-24.

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the years 1901 to 1913, the wheat boom era. Joseph Boudreau points out that, from 1901 to 1911, the population of Canada increased by 34.2 per cent while the population of the west increased by over 300 per cent.[12] Alan F. J. Artibise provides some dramatic statistics about prairie expansion during the short period. Seven thousand miles of railroad track were built between 1901 and 1913. The provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created, and Manitoba's boundaries were vastly extended. Between 1901 and 1916 the number of municipalities increased from three cities to nineteen, from twenty-five towns to one hundred fifty, and from fifty-seven villages to four hundred twenty-three. By 1913, Winnipeg was the country's third largest city with a population of one hundred fifty thousand people.[13]

Such rapid industrialization and urbanization, and the sudden presence of "strangers" in vast numbers, created serious new problems for the dominant culture. That culture was still evolving; an English-speaking Protestant bourgeoisie was still in the process of defining its own version of the sort of nation Canada ought to be, was anxious to do its duty to create the good nation, and was concerned about maintaining its own elitehood within that nation.[14] The presence of squalid,

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[12]Joseph Boudreau, "Western Canada's Enemy Aliens in World War I," in Alberta History Review 12:1 (1964): 1.

[13]Artibise, "The Urban West: The Evolution of Prairie Towns and Cities to 1930," 150-52.

[14]In The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), Mariana Valverde presents the argument that "the social reform movements at the turn of the century helped shape the bourgeoisie which led the movements." The movements shaped the

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overcrowded slums evoked a strong response from the middle class. Clergyman S. W. Dean declared in 1914:

> The slum is the city at its worst. It represents the sphere of congested housing, the lurking place of disease and impaired health, the hiding place of crime, the haunt of immorality, the home of poverty, the habitation of drinking and drunkards and, because of its lesser rents, the colony of the foreigner in our midst.[15]

The slum was the symbol of all societal ills, spawning "filth, immorality and crime" as well as violence and an unhealthy population. "Foreigners" were often seen as "the scum of the earth" or "freaks of creation" because they were so different in language, religion and behaviour from the dominant culture,[16] and in need of much education and training if Canada were to continue as a nation in which the bourgeoisie retained its comfort. Within the problem-ridden society created by too-rapid expansion, there was work to be done and a duty to be performed.

The fact that work had to be done had been recognized and embraced by reformers in Canada for decades prior to the beginning of the Great War. Ramsay Cook has analyzed the late

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working classes as well, she contends, towards which they were generally aimed (15-16).

[15]S. W. Dean, "The Church and the Slum", 1914, in Paul Rutherford, ed., Saving the Canadian City: the first phase 1880-1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 156. See also, in the same volume, J. J. Kelso's "Can slums be abolished or must we continue to pay the penalty?" 165-70.

[16]On attitudes of the English bourgeoisie towards "foreigners," see Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners" ..., 41; Donald Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919" in Carl Berger, Ramsay Cook, W.L. Morton, eds., The West and the Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 211; Gloria Geller, "The Wartime Election Act of 1917 and the Canadian Women's Movement" in Atlantis Vol. 2, no. 1 (Fall 1976): 92, 95; Heather Robertson, The Salt of the Earth (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1974), 218; Elise Schneider, "Addressing the Issues: Two Women's Groups in Edmonton, 1905-1916," in Alberta History Vol. 36, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 20-21. On foreigners in the city of Winnipeg, see Alan F. J. Artibise, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921," in Stelter and Artibise, eds., The Canadian City..., 360-91.

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Victorian "regenerators," who had visions for the future that included cities of God on earth that would be fair and just to all people. The solutions proposed by the regenerators reflected a perception that city slums were not simply a cause of all evil but the result of an inherently evil system and a fallen society. They advocated such socialistic measures as "the single tax, prohibition, direct legislation, tariff reform, female suffrage, co-operatives, public ownership" within the context of a "regenerated" Christian church.[17]

Such ideas in turn provided the basis for the "social gospel," an urge that swept Europe and North America "to revive and develop Christian social insights" and apply these insights to society as a collective entity. Richard Allen contends that the Canadian social gospel was not merely a response to domestic urban and industrial problems, such as slums, but part of a "current of thought and action sweeping the western world."[18] The religious urge was as important as the practical responses proposed to solve new social problems. The Christian church's

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[17]Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 3. Cook's thesis focuses on the religious crisis of nineteenth century "provoked by Darwinian science and historical criticism of the Bible" which led "religious people to attempt to salvage Christianity by transforming it into an essentially social religion," replacing a relationship to God with a relationship to man, a substitution of theology with sociology (4). He suggests that the "supreme irony" of the attempt to incorporate "scientific" approaches into Christianity was that it led inexorably to the "social gospel" and the subsequent secularization of society (5-9). Alan Artibise presents a different interpretation of apparently "socialistic" solutions in "Divided City...": "Temperance, direct legislation, the single tax, sabbatarianism, and women's suffrage were middle class diversions which ignored the real problems of poverty, over-crowding, disease faced by the city's poor." Artibise admits, however, that "not all of the city's charter groups were concerned only with economic growth" and some people genuinely wanted to remove or moderate the "depersonalizing aspects of urban life" (381, 382).

[18]Allen, The Social Passion..., 3,4,9.

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mission must include social action and must overturn the twin evils of capitalism, "privilege and injustice". As part of the church's new mission, "labour churches" sprang up; in these churches, evenings could be spent in discussion of Marxist theory, and Jesus could emerge as "the original labour leader."[19]

The concurrent "social purity movement" described by Mariana Valverde sought to "raise the moral tone" of Canadian society, especially among the urban working class. To achieve this, the movement addressed such evils as prostitution, venereal disease, divorce, illegitimacy, the "Indian and Chinese problems," lack of publicly-funded education, obscene literature, drinking and drunkenness, dirtiness, and violations of Sunday observance. Valverde emphasizes that, despite what appears to be a list of evils to be stamped out, the social purity movement was essentially a positive one that aimed at the regulation of morality and the enhancement of a certain type of human life. The movement sought to conserve physical health, preserve moral purity, and "shape the twentieth century" by "unifying all social problems into one macro-problem: conserving life, for which a macro solution could be found."[20] The belief that a solution could indeed be found is a thread that runs through all the movements, from regeneration to the social gospel to social purity. There was no despair, cynicism or

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[19] *Ibid.*, 14.

[20] Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water ..., 17,18,24. See also Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis ...," 438: "... many denounce [the reformers] as a small group of pious fanatics who bothered the respectable and terrorized the weak" but in fact, "Moral reform was an experiment in social engineering, an attempt to force the city dweller to conform to the public mores of the church-going middle class."

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disillusionment in these movements: society would be fair and just, souls would be saved, Christianity would survive and flourish with its new focus on humanity.

The reform movements certainly did not include every English-speaking Protestant in Canada. Capitalists who were becoming rich simply by performing their role within the system were naturally resistant to any fundamental change that reformers might be crusading for: reformers in the temperance movement, for example, threatened a lucrative alcohol trade. But many capitalists and business people, along with governments which tended to be made up of the same people, at least paid lip service to the crusades that threatened the *status quo*. They too were churchgoers. While they might agree with the rhetoric of the reformers, however, actions were quite another matter. When clergyman William Irvine, for example, went so far as to organize a successful retail co-operative in Emo in northwestern Ontario, the community in which he held the Presbyterian charge, local merchants became extremely annoyed.[21]

The idealistic visions of reformers nevertheless often coincided with the intentions of capitalist and business interests. John C. Weaver points out that "reforms" that were intended to ameliorate slum conditions, such as tenement acts and public health acts, stemmed as much from prejudice, self interest and concern for property values as from idealism and vision, and often resulted in working against the poorer inhabitant. Such codes, he states, did not increase the supply

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[21]Allen, The Social Passion..., 46.

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of cheap housing but reduced it; rents went up rather than down, and enforcement of codes became a burden on the poorer public.[22] Weaver argues that reforms that encompassed public ownership, urban planning and social welfare may have been planned by "a few sincere idealists" but that "actual implementation disclosed manipulation of growth for the benefit of the 'better classes'".[23]

The reformers certainly did not constitute an "underground movement" in direct opposition to capitalists and business people. Mariana Valverde notes that the motives of the social purists were "not to democratize society, not to erase class differences," but to maintain a "non-antagonistic class structure" within the capitalist system. She points out that the purists did not expect such individuals as "immigrants and prostitutes" to live and think exactly like themselves, but rather they wanted such people to accept the culture and values of the middle class in order to ensure that "the power of the WASP bourgeoisie would appear legitimate." For these reformers, says Valverde, purity was good for business. Pure thoughts resulted in big bank accounts; wealth was, after all, in the hands of Christian men and women.[24]

Valverde does, however, make distinctions between the

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[22]Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited ...," 469-70. Weaver gives an example of attempts to enforce such laws in Port Arthur: "With paternalistic dismay, Port Arthur's health officer could not understand why the foreigners should 'look upon the health officials as their natural enemies, whose aim and desire is to interfere and make life unpleasant for them'."

[23]*Ibid.*, 474.

[24]Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water, 29-31.

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social purists and other members of the dominant culture. Among the emerging bourgeoisie, she points out, there were many individuals with no involvement in or connection to business. Such individuals included church professionals, educators, doctors, and community and social workers. The latter two fields of community and social work had embraced the "scientific" approach and were in the process of becoming professionalised. "To enumerate and study 'the social'" had become a science in itself. The end result of such study was envisioned by reformers as a utopian future in which legislation (such as, for example, prohibition of alcoholic beverages or votes for women) would structure not only how individuals would pass their time but also how they should "look, act, speak, think, and feel."[25] Paul Rutherford describes this movement as an emergence of collectivism, not confined to reformers alone. "The rise of professions, the proliferation of business combinations and associations, trade unionism, agrarian organizations," he contends, "were all aspects of the same collectivist urge." Within what he calls the "progressive tradition in Canada" were urban reformers, civic service reformers and social gospellers. A new middle class, or what Valverde would call an emerging bourgeoisie, was concentrated in Canadian cities and was comprised of, in Rutherford's words, "at least three elements: old and new professionals proud of their particular expertise, businessmen committed to efficient exploitation of the nation's resources, and women, in many

[25] *Ibid.*, 16-18, 21-23.

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cases, wives of the above two groups, determined to carve out their own place in society."[26]

Rutherford clusters the women's "wing" of this progressive movement with the clergy and humanitarians, the three sharing a common base of fear of such threats as the "spread of moral decay, the threat of class hatreds, and the growth of vested interests." The shared belief was that the urban environment could be moulded to "create a humane, rational society" as defined in a "Christian context."[27] Such a society needed the voice and participation of women as the more humane and spiritual of the genders. But the proliferation of women's organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not simply a response to the new problems created by industrialization and urbanization. As one contemporary expressed it, the "need for work and social intercourse" and the "need to help others and accomplish something worth doing in the world" were motivating factors for middle class women.[28]

That these needs could be expressed openly was the result of an altered image of women, radically different from the one of useless decoration that had defined Victorian middle class wives. Carol Lee Bacchi notes that victories had been achieved during the nineteenth century: "the Victorian 'frail vessel' had lost precedence to the physically fit, sensibly clothed woman,"

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[26]Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis ...", 447-48.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]Marjory MacMurchy, The Woman - Bless. Her. Not as Amiable a Book as It Sounds (Toronto: S. B. Gundy, 1916), 18-19.

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released from confining garments; women gained the "freedom to appear intelligent" and the right to work in certain occupations that had not been open to them previously.[29] The first women's organizations had developed in churches in the early nineteenth century[30], and by the time of the Great War about two hundred thousand women belonged to missionary societies which raised phenomenal sums, up to half a million dollars annually, for Christian missionary work at home and abroad. At the same time, two hundred fifty thousand women belonged to national organizations not necessarily connected to any church. The National Council of Women of Canada held the largest membership at one hundred fifty thousand, and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.) boasted eighty thousand. Other large national organizations included Women's Institutes, the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.), Canadian Clubs and suffrage societies. Smaller women's organizations included literary, travel, social science, art and music clubs as well as

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[29]Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? ..., 144. Victorian women called it "physical culture" rather than "physical fitness." The liberation from "confining garments" may be exaggerated: see any Eaton's catalogue as late as the 1940s for a large array of choices in full body corsets. On the issue of new occupations open to women, Mrs. J. J. Carrick of Port Arthur told a meeting of the West Algoma Council of Women in late 1914 that the women of Canada "take their places with credit in Art, Literature, Medicine, etc., and that no calling but that of Ministers of the Gospel is closed to them": Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Archives (TBHMS) E/11/1/1 West Algoma Council of Women Minute Book; minutes of meeting October 31, 1914.

[30]In "The Professionalisation of Women Workers in the Methodist, Presbyterian and United Churches of Canada," Nancy Hall notes that the first Canadian Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist church was established in 1832. Church women concerned themselves with "visiting, relief, furnishing parsonages, helping ministers, and furnishing hospitals." Many Ladies Aid Societies paid the church mortgage. By the 1890s there were 1,350 societies in the Methodist church alone, contributing $100,000 a year for parish work See Mary Kinnear, ed., First Days, Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba History (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1987), 122.

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organizations for professional women such as nurses, journalists, teachers and business women.[31] Membership often overlapped; an active club woman might belong to three or four organizations. Although these organizations had various focuses, the common thread in the largest ones was reform and regeneration, work which could only be accomplished with the full participation of women in society.

This is not to say that all or even a majority of these women were "feminists." In many of the organizations, even the fundamental matter of female suffrage was not an issue.[32] The prevailing definition of woman's place, in the home, was accepted by the vast majority of urban club women, whose body of ideas have been described as "maternal feminism."[33] They favoured education for women but education for woman's most important roles, those of wife and mother. They favoured having a voice in the larger community, but the voice was a wifely and maternal one, a representation of the greater spirituality and human caring believed to be held by women. Those who did work for female suffrage saw it not as a step towards restructuring

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[31]MacMurchy, The Woman - Bless Her..., 10. For the history of the National Council of Women see Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women in Canada 1893-1920 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, History Division Paper No. 18, 1976). A history full of praise for the I.O.D.E. can be found in Doreen C. Hamilton, "Origins of the I.O.D.E.: A Canadian Women's Movement for God, King and Country 1900-1925" (M.A. Dissertation, University of New Brunswick, 1992). There was a "pecking order" of women's organizations, the most prestigious being the I.O.D.E. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook note that this organization moved "from social pretension to social utility" in response to the Great War: Canada 1896-1921..., 219.

[32]It was not until 1910, for example, that the National Council of Women endorsed female suffrage: see Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921 ..., 297.

[33]See for example Bacchi, Liberation Deferred, 12.

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gender roles but as a "public vote for domestic virtues." The domestic woman would take her broom from the private to the public sphere and sweep society clean.[34] Maternal concerns such as clean water, pure milk, hygienically wrapped bread, better sanitation, better schools, and healthier babies and children carried women comfortably, safely, and with eminent justification into the public sphere.

The membership of women's organizations was overwhelmingly English-speaking, middle class, middle-aged, and urban. The majority were married to like-thinking reformers and regenerators. Together, as "members of the ruling meritocracy," patriarchs and matriarchs, they wanted to found a "new" social order but one which was "homogeneous" and "predominantly Anglo-Saxon."[35] One of the I.O.D.E.'s most important pre-War missions, for example, was to provide Union Jack flags and portraits of British royalty as well as libraries to schools, especially where non-English speaking children attended. The libraries contained "approved" literature that endorsed the British imperialist's perceptions of God, King and Country. The

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[34]The phrase in quotation marks is Bacchi's in Liberation Deferred?..., 147. On the beliefs of middle class club women, see also Geller, "The Wartime Election Act of 1917 ...," 90; Schneider, "Addressing the Issues ...," 15-16; Nancy M. Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women': The WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West 1905-1930," in International Journal of Women's Studies Vol. 6 no. 5 (November/December 1983): 395; Nancy M. Sheehan, "Women's Organizations and Educational Issues 1900-1930," in Canadian Women's Studies Vol. 7 no. 3 (Fall 1986): 90; Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds. Canadian Women on the Move 1867-1920 (Toronto, New Hogarth and O.I.S.E., 1983), 6; Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women ..., 298-300; Tingley, "The Impact of War: Wolfville Women 1914-1918," 118; all of MacMurchy's The Woman: Bless Her... Throughout the latter book there is an assumption that homemaking and child rearing are the most important occupations for a woman and her most significant contribution to national life.

[35]Bacchi, Liberation Deferred?..., 147.

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I.O.D.E. also conducted essay contests in schools with prizes for the most patriotic compositions and founded cadet troops to instil in boys a British reverence for "soldierly skills" and "manly sports and games."[36] A Mrs. Clementine Fessenden of Hamilton, member of the Hamilton Council of Women and the Wentworth Historical Society, almost single-handedly established Empire Day in the schools of Ontario, a program whose purpose was "to instil into the half million school children of the Province a greater love of Ontario, for Canada, and for the Empire ..."[37]

In English Canada, Britishness still reigned as the superior way of life, with the superior religion, the superior economic system, the superior political code.[38] In the last decade of the nineteenth century, neo-imperialism reached its peak, not only in Britain but also, and perhaps even more fervently, in English Canada. A national myth was revived to exalt "United Empire Loyalists," those who had been exiled from the new United States of America to Canada a hundred years

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[36]See Hamilton, "Origins of the I.O.D.E. ...," 3, 104-106, 110; see also J. Castell Hopkins Canadian Annual Review 1915 (Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review Ltd., 1916), 332.

[37]These words were spoken by the Ontario Minister of Education George Ross in 1903; Ross enjoyed taking credit for the Empire Day idea. See Robert M. Stamp, "Empire day in the schools of Ontario: the training of young imperialists," in Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 8, no. 3 (August 1973): 32-42.

[38]However elitist and "racist" they appear today, British imperialists, including those in Canada, were sincere in their belief that the world would benefit by becoming more like themselves. See Robin W. Winks, ed. British Imperialism: Gold, God, Glory (London: Holt, Reinhart, Winston, 1964, Introduction, 3): "Idealists and realists alike sought to spread what they felt in their hearts was superior, to spread their institutions because they were superior and therefore ... a positive good for those to whom they were applied."

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earlier because they were on the losing side of the American War of Independence. Through the myth, the Loyalist exodus from the United States became the foundation of a superior nation, a British Canada. In the rhetoric of Nathaniel Burwash at the turn of the century:

> This [exodus] was the "natural selection", to borrow Darwin's phrase, which sifted these sixty thousand [United Empire Loyalists] out from the three millions of the Colonists and brought them to the provinces which now constitute our great Dominion. Our object in this brief paper is to study the working of this principle and the quality of the men whom it separated as Gideon's band to go North and found a new British nation.[39]

The vigorous belief in the supremacy of all things British suffered no abatement among the dominant classes in Canada through the first decade of the twentieth century; patriotic fervour towards England may have been more ardent in Canada than it was in England.[40] The "new" social order the reformers sought

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[39]Nathaniel Burwash, Chancellor of Victoria University, "The Moral Character of the United Empire Loyalists," in U.E.L. Association of Ontario Transactions, (1901-2): 59. On Canadian imperialism and the creation of the Loyalist myth, see Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (University of Toronto Press, 1970); Jo-Ann Fellows, "The Loyalist Myth in Canada" in Canadian Historical Society Historical Papers 1971, 94-111; Dennis Duffy, "Upper Canadian Loyalism: what the textbooks tell" in Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 12, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 17-26.

[40]See Alan R. Young, "'We Throw the Torch': Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," in Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 24, no. 4, (Winter 1989/90), 6: "Love of Empire and all things British was a secure part of the Canadian consciousness." John Herd Thompson discusses the "immediate enthusiasm" for the war, including epidemics of Union Jack waving, in The Harvests of War ..., 19-22. A comparison of two books written by nurses who served in the Great War, one Canadian and the other English, reveals widely divergent points of view. The Canadian nurse is fervently patriotic. In Mabel Brown Clint's Our Bit: Memories of War Service by a Canadian Nurse (Montreal: The Royal Victoria Hospital, 1934), each chapter begins with a patriotic verse by such British "high diction" writers as Rupert Brooke and Rudyard Kipling. Clint does not suffer pacifists gladly or, in fact, at all. Vera Brittain's Testament of Youth (Isle of Man: Fontana Books, 1980), first published a year before Clint's book, questions blind patriotism throughout and at times finds it amusing. Brittain's Testament underlines horrors and waste, not honour and glory, and explains her subsequent pacifism.

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included this fervour. A more perfect society would arrive when all Canadian society was sufficiently Anglicized and loyal to England and when all the other improvements had been accomplished: votes for women; temperance, or preferably, outright prohibition of alcoholic beverages and possibly tobacco[41]; fair wages, better working conditions and living conditions for workers; benevolent, understanding and humane employers; education and "improvement" of the foreigners; the cleansing of civic politics; a physically and spiritually healthy population; the moral purification of the "fallen." That such a world would emerge from the "crisis" in Canada was not only possible; for the reformers, it was the inevitable outcome of their devotion to duty and their tireless efforts.

The response of English Canada to England's declaration of war in August of 1914 was predictably enthusiastic. Trumpets sounding in churches, spontaneous parades and band concerts, Union Jack waving, and unsolicited gifts to the cause, marked the initial reception of the news. Zealous in their desire to contribute, some groups exceeded the call of duty. The Canadian prairies were the first to respond, notes John Herd Thompson: Alberta offered five hundred thousand bushels of oats, Manitoba fifty thousand bags of flour, and Saskatchewan fifteen hundred horses. The Dominion and Imperial governments were "taken aback" by these offers; there were questions about how to

[41]Alcohol and tobacco went together in many prohibitionists' minds. J. Castell Hopkins noted in 1915 that temperance organizations declared that "all who send cigarettes to the soldiers at the Front are partisans in a national crime ...": Canadian Annual Review, 1915, 337.

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transport these gifts and at whose cost.[42] The Province of Ontario granted $500,000 to the Imperial War Fund the minute war was declared. Toronto City Council contributed one hundred horses, a carload of canned food for Belgian refugees and $105,000 for insurance on the lives of city men who enlisted.[43] In January of 1915, a spontaneous movement began in Ontario for voluntary donations to be sent to Militia Headquarters to pay for machine guns. The press had reported that German battalions were supplied with ten or twelve machine guns each while British and Canadian battalions had only two to four. The voluntary donors, and the Province of Ontario which contributed another half million dollars to this movement, were reminded that such items as machine guns were funded out of the Dominion's public purse and donations were not required.[44] The I.O.D.E. participated in the machine gun movement and also raised funds to fully equip a hospital ship, although this item, too, was funded out of the public purse.[45] The Canadian Patriotic Fund was barely incorporated when it received four subscriptions of $25,000 each. Within a month it had $285,000 in the bank and, by the end of 1914, the account held $2 million with a further $4 million pledged.[46]

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[42]Thompson, The Harvests of War ...,22.

[43]Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918:..., xxiv.

[44]*Ibid.*, xxix.

[45]Hamilton, "Origins of the I.O.D.E. ...," 110.

[46]Morris, The Canadian Patriotic Fund ..., 21. Desmond Morton and Cheryl Smith note that the previous Boer War fund balance of $76,000 was used to open the new Canadian Patriotic Fund: see "Fuel for the Home Fires: The Patriotic

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The war seems to have offered a concrete opportunity to those who would rectify and improve things, and the vast majority of reformers responded to the war's commencement with unquestioning enthusiasm. If the perfectibility of Canadian society was possible before the war, it was made imminent by the war. The nation would be purged of all evil and society would be uplifted to perfection through sheer hardship. As a Dominion government document later expressed it:

> We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable and too indulgent, many, perhaps, too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the everlasting things that matter for a nation, the great peaks we had forgotten of honour, duty, patriotism, and, clad in glittering white, the towering pinnacle of sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven.[47]

If there had been any doubts about national regeneration among reformers in peacetime, those doubts could now be put to rest, since "... policies quite Utopian in normal times" would become "not merely practical, but obligatory."[48] The war could be seen as a panacea that would "bring a healing that only such a desolating war can bring" with a "salutary effect" that would be measured "according to the amount of sorrow and distress it brings to individual lives."[49] The social gospellers' belief that society could be cleansed and perfected was heightened

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Fund 1914-1918," in The Beaver Vol. 75 no. 4, (August/September 1995): 12.

[47]Canada, Imperial Munitions Board, Women in the Production of Munitions in Canada (Ottawa, 1916), 4.

[48]James S. Brierly, "The Union Government's Opportunities" in University Magazine 17 (February 1918): 14-15, cited in Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921..., 295.

[49]Menzies, Canada and the War ..., 42.

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rather than dampened, and such believers welcomed war as "a means of purifying the world 'sunk in sensuality and sloth'".[50]

The social gospel contributed a great deal to this massive support for war in Canada. Almost immediately after the declaration, the Christian churches began to view the war as "God's battle." Enlistment in the armed forces became a "supreme manifestation of faith," a "supreme act of decision and of sacrifice for Christ," and it made the volunteers "moral crusaders."[51] Any trace of pacifism within the church was rationalized away: Jesus would not stand by with "limp hands," for example, if his own mother were threatened with such abominable acts as the Germans were said to be perpetrating on Belgian women.[52] The war was righteous and just, a "crusade for Christianity" against Germany, the "anti-Christ," and church men and women contributed wholeheartedly to its support. Clergymen were appointed as recruiting directors, women were encouraged to urge their husbands and sons to enlist, and all worked

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[50]Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921..., 296.

[51]Allen, The Social Passion..., 25, 41.

[52]This example is given in J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 49 no. 3 (September 1968): 216. For an overview of the Canadian Christian churches' support of the war, see also John Fairfax, "Canadian Churches in the Last War" in Canadian Forum 16:199 (1937): 12-14. On the prolific propaganda of the Allies concerning "monstrous" Germans and "innocent" Belgians, see Philip Knightley, The First Casualty (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), Chapter Four, "The Last War 1914-1918," 63-96. See also Michele J. Shover, "Roles and Images of Women in World War I Propaganda" in Politics and Society Vol. 5 (1975): 469-86. An example of Canadian instruction regarding the monstrosity of Germans can be found in J. H. Menzies, Canada and the War... cited at the beginning of this chapter. In his dissertation on the German "race", Menzies manages to include all of the following epithets: devils, monsters, beasts, reptiles, butchers, savages, and barbarians. On censorship and propaganda in Canada, see Jeffrey Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada 1914-1919," in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 73 no. 3 (September 1992): 315-43; Thompson, The Harvests of War ..., 23-42; Young, "'We Throw the Torch'...," 9-11.

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tirelessly in a myriad of ways to support the effort. Children were taught in Sunday School to "badger young men" into enlisting and to save their pennies for Belgian relief.[53]

Enthusiasm for the war, and a belief that it would result in a new and vastly improved Canada, was not restricted to the English bourgeoisie. A more just, collective, and socialistic society was envisioned by many leaders of the labour movement in the same way as it was by the social gospellers. The war, they believed, would facilitate and realize the vision. Vincent Rendell Porter's study of the labour press in the west reveals that, after initial and brief objections, western labour added its support to the war. "The labour press spent much of 1916 to 1918 forecasting the emergence of a post-War order wherein the workingman would reign supreme," Porter reports. Labour journalists fully believed that the working class would gain more political power, and they anticipated a growing economic equality which was "inevitable in time." War had "provoked men to thinking" and served as the "catalyst that clarified and brought to the surface Canadians' latent discontent with *laissez-faire* capitalism."[54] A. Ross McCormack notes that even labour radicals in the west "saw signs of hope in the war," at least for a time. "On the heels of world-wide depression," notes McCormack, the war "seemed to represent the death throes

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[53]Bliss, "The Methodist Church...", 217, 218. Thompson, in Harvests of War ..., points out that although clergymen were employed by the government to do recruiting, they would have done it, and were doing it from the beginning, completely voluntarily (37).

[54]Vincent Rendell Porter, "The English Canadian Labour Press and the Great War" (M.A. Dissertation, Memorial University, 1981), 84,88.

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of capitalism," thus conforming to "Marx's grand model." An optimistic Vancouver Marxist declared that "the European tragedy now opening up is to be the preliminary act in the world-wide social revolution [and] will usher in an era of peace and transform slaves and their keepers into free and useful citizens."[55]

To the less radical, the death of capitalism on the heels of depression was neither expected nor desired, but a solution to Canada's economic problems would surely be a propitious result of the country's participation. Canada had no money, but Canada was at war, so money was found. One solution was simply to have more money printed. Others were to increase tariffs on luxury items, to borrow more heavily in newer money markets such as the United States, and to find more money at home. The latter method produced such innovations as the personal income tax, a business profit tax, Victory Loans, War Savings Certificates and War Savings Stamps for the small Canadian investor.[56] Suddenly, out of the depths of depression, there was money to pay thousands of soldiers, to stimulate the manufacture of war materials, and to build new industries. There were expanded markets for Canada's agricultural products; Britain's first call to Canada was "not for men, but for wheat."[57] Cities

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[55]A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement 1899-1919 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1977), 120. McCormack cites three labour journals in which this quotation appeared: Western Clarion, August 15, 1914; British Columbia Federationist, August 28, 1914; Voice of the People, September 10, 1914 (199).

[56]Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921..., 228-32.

[57]C. C. James, "An Historical Wheat Crop - The Canadian Wheat Crop of 1915," in The Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, no. 10 (1916): 94.

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would benefit from having military training facilities and new industry located in them. To thousands of unemployed and under-employed workers, enlistment would offer steady employment at a good wage. Cities would rid themselves of the major problem of providing relief to those destitute foreigners who suddenly became "enemy aliens" and thus a Dominion problem.

The promises and opportunities that the war held seemed boundless. At the national Methodist conference of 1914, a combination of economic and moral rescue was envisaged: with economic abundance possible, poverty was considered a crime and the "old political economy" out of date; the war would not only extend democracy but also provide the means of conquering "kaiserism in industry." No less than a complete revision of the means of distribution would result from the war which, "in unexpected ways, was contributing to the progress of reform and the overturning of privilege and injustice." One clergyman at a later Methodist conference enthused: "The war has taught us lessons both in state and industrial control which will stand us in good stead when we come to deal with the rights and liberties of employers and employees in the readjustment which must take place when we come to combat the individualist traditions of the last century."[58] The hope and faith placed in the war at its beginning cannot be overestimated; as English historian J. M. Roberts stated, the Great War was "the most popular war in history when it started ..."[59]

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[58]Allen, The Social Passion ..., 36-38.

[59]J. M. Roberts is quoted in Thompson, Harvests of War ..., 33.

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II. The Rainbow Disappears

Faith has been wrested from the faithful.
Hope has been buried by the hopeful.
Flora MacDonald Denison, 1914[1]

The boundless faith and infinite hope with which most of Canada greeted the war in 1914 were summarily defeated within the short span of four years, if not less. The fuel which the war provided to Canada's reform movement produced some victories for its agenda, most notably prohibition and female suffrage but, as John H. Thompson has noted, prohibition lasted a scant two years and female suffrage would have been accomplished with or without the war.[2] Whether or not the status of women in western society made any real progress because of the war is still being debated.[3] That widespread disillusionment occurred

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[1]Flora MacDonald Denison, "Women Against War" from War and Women (Canadian Suffrage Association, 1914), quoted in Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), 249.

[2]Thompson, "'The Beginning of Our Regeneration' ...," 237, 242. On the effects of the war on the reformers' agenda, see also Allen, The Social Passion ..., 39-40.

[3]John H. Thompson is one of many historians who see the Great War as the precipitating factor not only in the enfranchisement of women but also in the advancement of women's status in western society: see "'The Beginning of Our Regeneration' ...," 242. For this view see also Robert Roberts, The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century (London: Penguin, 1971), 200-01; Arthur Marwick, The Deluge: British Society and the First World War (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 99; Morton and Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon ..., 90; Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921 ..., 223, 298; Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War ..., xci, xciii.

The feminist revision of this opinion holds that, while women did obtain the vote, little or no fundamental change resulted in women's status. For the feminist revision see Gail Braybon, Women Workers and the First World War: The British Experience (Totawa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble, 1981); Sandra M. Gilbert, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War" in Margaret Randolph Higgonet, Jane Jensen, Sonya Michel, Margaret Collins Weitz, eds., Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Margaret Higgonet and Patrice L. R. Higgonet, "The Double Helix" in Behind the Lines ..., 31-47; Susan Kingsley Kent, "The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism," Journal of British Studies Vol. 27 (July 1988): 232-253; Jo Vellacott Newberry, "Historical Reflections on votes, brooms and guns. Admission to political structures - on whose terms?" in Atlantis 12 (Spring

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is certainly not in doubt. But both disillusionment and defeat occurred not only on the grand scale and not only in the trenches. They occurred bit by bit, in the smallest detail, on the smallest stages and with the most minor players. A focus on the relatively small communities of Port Arthur and Fort William illustrates how the war eroded the utopian hopes of reformers as well as the expectations for economic recovery held by the more pragmatic. The war destroyed both.

The communities of Port Arthur and Fort William responded to the declaration of war with the same zeal as the rest of Canada; these northern Ontario centres exemplified English urban Canada. With a combined population of about 45,000,[4] they had their charter groups of middle class English-speaking patriarchs and matriarchs who comprised an "elite," their English-speaking educated proletariat with the better jobs, and large groups of foreign labourers living in slums.[5] The West Algoma branch of

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1987): 36-39; Janet McCalman, "The Impact of the First World War on Female Employment in England" in Labour History (November 1971): 36-47; Mary Ellen Tingley, "The Impact of War ...". In Liberation Deferred?..., 148, Carol Lee Bacchi contends that Canadian women's status did not change with the vote because the suffragists themselves had no revolution in mind.

[4]The figures of 18,000 for Port Arthur and 27,000 for Fort William, or a total of 45,000, are cited in A. W. Rasporich and Thorold J. Tronrud, "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Competition" in Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity, eds. Thorold J. Tronrud and A. Ernest Epp (Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1995), 214.

[5]Bryce M. Stewart, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Port Arthur (March, 1913, directed by The Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and The Board of Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church), 5. Stewart describes the three elements as follows: "Like Fort William, the population readily falls into 3 classes: The wealthy class of early settlers, who have grown up with the City, and the business and professional men; the Artisans or skilled labor class; the non-English-speaking immigrant population, among whom the Finns constitute the aristocracy, and are the link connecting the immigrant with the Artisan class." First Nations people and Orientals appear to have been invisible in 1913; only Europeans were classified among the "classes".

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the National Council of Women recorded scores of women's organizations among its members, including church auxiliaries, the Y.W.C.A., chapters of the I.O.D.E., hospital ladies aid societies, Women's Institutes, relief societies, chapters of the W.C.T.U., press clubs, civic leagues, Canadian Club chapters, nurses' associations, musical and literary clubs and suffrage associations. Both cities had their Moral and Social Reform Councils that included representatives of Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches as well as the Trades and Labor Council and various women's organizations.[6] Mayor Young of Fort William was as pro-British and imperial-minded as any mayor in Canada, as indicated in his address to the Officers and Men of the Fort William Expeditionary Force in August 1914:

> That the Anglo-Saxon will dominate and thus preserve the equilibrium of nations will surely prevail. We sincerely trust that the part you may be called upon to take will redown [*sic*] to the honour of yourselves, your City and the British Empire...[7]

The city's responsibility to the war effort was taken earnestly, and it was understood that every individual citizen had an obligation:

> We cannot all go into the trenches. But there <u>is</u> a <u>share</u>, a <u>duty</u>, that each <u>one</u>, every <u>one</u> of us <u>must</u> do in winning the war. Each <u>Individual</u> Canadian must save and pay, work and lend to his last ounce of strength and his last penny before he can truthfully

[6]Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Archives (TBHMS) E/21/1/1 The Moral and Social Reform Council of Fort William, Minute Book; TBHMS E/11/1/1 West Algoma Council of Women Records, Minute Book.

[7]Thunder Bay Archives (TBA) 4, 157 "War - Military Grants 1914-1916": Fort William Mayor to Captain L. S. Dear, Officers and Men of the Fort William Expeditionary Force, August 18, 1914.

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say: "In this at least I have done my share."[8]

The community's contributions and its efforts towards its "last ounce of strength" and its "last penny" reveal the heavy burden of war costs borne by municipalities. The duty of each community to bear these costs seems not to have been questioned by the senior levels of government, whose concept of *laissez faire* appears to have included leaving all urban problems to municipal authorities. Throughout the pre-war economic depression, for example, municipalities had been expected to bear the costs of relief for the crowds of unemployed labourers that had flooded into cities.[9] It was thus not surprising that municipalities were called upon to contribute heavily to the war effort.

The city's first war duty was to the local "boys" who by volunteering were risking their lives or limbs to defend home and empire. The Councils of Port Arthur and Fort William,

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[8]Daily Times Journal November 5, 1917, 7: advertisement "Are You Doing Your Full Share in Winning the War?" Emphasis in original. The advertisement, placed by the federal government, encouraged the purchase of Victory Bonds.

[9]The fact that municipalities bore this cost is usually mentioned by historians only in passing, and without comment. See for example Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners"..., 65; Porter, "The English Canadian Labour Press...," 89; James Struthers, "Prelude to Depression: The Federal Government and Unemployment, 1918-28," in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 58 no. 3 (September 1977): 278.
Fort William employed a relief officer and, aside from providing his salary, the city was spending $700 a week on relief in the city in January of 1915: TBHMS E 24/1/1 Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society bound record book, newspaper clipping affixed to page 114. Private charities also provided help, but often these charities would appeal to the municipal government for assistance. An example in Fort William was the W.C.T.U.'s Travellers Aid program for women and girls passing through the city. Annually the W.C.T.U. requested and received the sum of $25 a month from the City to pay for a Matron who met girls and women arriving by train, "strangers and unprotected," including "foreigners who will not understand that they have to pay for themselves." TBA 4, 165 "W.C.T.U. 1912-1920": requests from W.C.T.U. and responses from City Clerk dated September 9, 1913; October 30, 1913; February 24, 1914; May 12, 1914; January 10, 1915; January 21, 1915; February 11, 1915; January 8, 1916; January 26, 1916; February 1, 1916; March 22, 1916; March 28, 1916; September 1, 1917; and September 4, 1917.

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within days of the declaration of war, passed resolutions pledging gifts to the volunteers from their respective cities. In August of 1914, Fort William determined that the City would give two sets of underclothing and three pairs of stockings to each Fort William officer and man in the Expeditionary Force.[10] In September, Port Arthur granted free transportation for soldiers travelling by street railway to the rifle range,[11] and Fort William granted the same to any location for members of the Army Service Corps.[12] If the volunteer was a City of Fort William employee, he received a gift of fifty dollars from the City.[13] In November, the Clerks of Port Arthur and Fort William were corresponding with each other about what sort of gifts to provide to the 119 local "boys" in the 2nd Canadian Overseas Contingent. The troops, who were in training at Valcartier, Quebec, were canvassed and 103 wanted wristwatches, four wanted safety razors and twelve wanted five dollars in cash. The Cities sent exactly what each of the boys had requested, with Fort William throwing in sleeping bags worth $17 each.[14]

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[10]TBA 4, 157, "War - Military Grants": Mayor of Fort William to Officers and Men of the Fort William Expeditionary Force, August 18, 1914.

[11]TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, September 8, 1914.

[12]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, September 14, 1914. In 1915 the 96th regiment requested and received free rides for the troops: see letter of thanks in Fort William City Council Minutes, April 23, 1915.

[13]TBA 4, 157 "War - Military Grants 1914-1916": handwritten note from Denis H. Bridgery, Valcartier Camp to Mayor and Council of Fort William, September 12, 1914, thanking the City for the grant. This file is replete with letters requesting the grant, from local soldiers overseas, throughout the war.

[14]*Ibid.*, Port Arthur City Clerk to Fort William City Clerk, November 3, 1914; watch price quotations of McCartney & Burke Jewellers and Opticians November 26, 1914, Robert Strachan Jewellers and Opticians November 28, 1914, and Maybee Jewellers November 30, 1914; Fort William Mayor to Major Wayland,

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Added to these gifts of cash and goods were waived municipal revenues donated to the cause. Both cities exemplified the philosophy of municipal ownership[15], so they were able to offer free utilities to military enterprises. Port Arthur wanted a battalion to locate in the city and early in 1915 offered free electricity, telephone and water hookup as well as assistance with future maintenance to the 52nd Battalion.[16] Port Arthur also provided free telephone service to the Armouries, the recruiting office, the Paymaster's Office, Officers' Quarters, and Military Police, as well as free electricity for the Battalion's barber and tailor.[17]

Any comfort for the local "boys" who were preparing to risk life and limb was considered a proper employment of municipal revenue. The two cities were asked for a $500 donation towards the "welfare and comfort" of the 52nd Battalion, since amenities such as band instruments and Sergeant's Mess recreational equipment were not provided for by the Department of Militia.[18] In October of 1915, Fort William voted $500 for the 52nd

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December 28, 1914. TBA 4, 156 "War - Field Kitchens 1915": Fort William Mayor Young to Kenora Mayor, May 14, 1915.

[15]For a thorough study of the municipal ownership philosophy at work in Port Arthur, and an argument that it possibly outstripped any other city's in the western world, see Steven C. High, "A Municipal Ownership Town: The Organization and Regulation of Urban Services in Port Arthur, 1878-1914," M.A. Dissertation, Lakehead University, 1994.

[16]TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, February 8, 1915.

[17]TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, November 16, 1915; December 6, 27 & 29, 1915; February 12, 1916; March 15, 1916.

[18]TBA 4, 157 "War - Military Grants 1914-1916": Officer commanding the 52nd Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces to Mayors and Councils of Fort William and Port Arthur, April 8, 1915.

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Battalion and, in February of 1916, Port Arthur did the same.[19]

Aside from amenities, however, municipalities contributed the most basic of military requirements. In 1915 the Cities were presented with a request to provide a field kitchen for local troops training in England and those on active service at the front. The cost per small kitchen was $450; a large kitchen cost $1,200. Fort William organized the donation of two small kitchens for men from across the northwestern Ontario region. Fort William and Port Arthur each paid for half of one kitchen; Dryden, Kenora and Keewatin purchased another.[20] Later in the year, the two cities split the cost of a large field kitchen, contributing $600 each.[21] In March of 1916, Port Arthur voted $1,242.83 to cover a shortfall in the recruiting office and, in May of 1917, another grant of $100 was provided to defray recruiting expenses.[22] The Lieutenant who was recruiting for both cities also approached Fort William for a grant, explaining that headquarters did not provide expense money, that it was absolutely necessary to advertise properly, and that he was paying for advertising out of his own pocket.[23]

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[19]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes October 8, 1915; Port Arthur City Council Minutes, February 9, 1916.

[20]TBA 4, 156 "War - Field Kitchens 1915": Fort William Mayor to Mayors of Kenora, Fort Frances and Dryden, May 14, 1915; telegram from Fort Frances City Clerk to Fort William Mayor, May 24, 1915; telegram from Dryden Mayor to Fort William Mayor, n.d.; Port Arthur City Clerk to Fort William City Clerk, May 26, 1915; Captain J.C. Milne, Fort William Contingent, 28th Battalion to Fort William Mayor, May 28, 1915; Port Arthur City Council Minutes May 25, 1915.

[21]TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, August 30 and September 15, 1915.

[22]TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, March 8, 1916; May 28, 1917.

[23]TBA 4, 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919": Lieutenant G. S. Bennett to Fort William Mayor, June 11, 1917.

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All of the cash contributions, as well as the cost of waived revenues such as free utilities and transportation, were coming from an already depleted pool of municipal resources. All of the western cities, including Port Arthur and Fort William, had spent too much during the boom years and were having difficulty paying their debts. Difficulties in borrowing new money began as early as 1912.[24] The municipal contributions were prompted, however, by a perception that they were a community's duty and by the belief that swift and wholehearted action would end the war quickly. Both the sense of duty and the latter belief eroded as the war went on. When the City of Fort William first offered $50 to any employee who volunteered for service, the prevailing belief was that the War would be over in four months. By May of 1916, so many $50 grants had been awarded that Council decided to place a limit on them, stating that the grant would be awarded only to soldiers who were City employees before war was declared.[25] By 1916 as well, Fort William had begun to charge the recruiting office for electricity, but such a meagre attempt at reducing war costs was more than offset by all of the fees which Council waived for war purposes. Whenever the W.C.T.U. or the I.O.D.E. requested it for fundraising purposes, for example, they received the City's

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[24]Thompson, The Harvests of War ..., 14. D. C. M. Platt, in "Financing the Expansion of Cities, 1860-1914" in Urban History Review Vol. 11 no. 3 (February 1983): 62, notes that, between 1905 and 1913, Canadian cities borrowed a total of a billion dollars for water and sewage facilities and paving.

[25]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes May 9, 1916. TBA 4, 157: "War - Military Grants 1914-16", document: "City of Fort William Expenses Re War."

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auditorium free of charge.[26] Waived billings for water, electricity and telephone for military organizations amounted to $738.75 for 1916-17.[27] Due to the rising deficit of the Street Railway, Fort William repealed a by-law which had given free transportation to military police, but the city's Member of Parliament promptly asked Council to reconsider this decision.[28]

By mid-1917, a new cost had been added to municipal contributions and waived revenues. The Cities began losing revenue from the financial base, the property tax, because of tax arrears on the properties of volunteers who were on active service overseas. Realtors and mortgagors were asking Council for special legislation to protect these properties. Fort William's City Clerk assured them that a Notice of Motion for leniency was pending, and the City Treasurer was instructed "to protect the property of persons serving overseas which were sold at recent tax sales." Port Arthur's Council declared that the City would protect soldiers' homes from tax arrears due to service at the front.[29]

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[26]TBA 4, 157 "War - Military Grants 1914-16": John McIntyre Chapter I.O.D.E. to Fort William Mayor and Council, January 8, 1915; TBA 88, 632 "Daughters of Empire 1915-1919": Lady Grey Chapter I.O.D.E. to Fort William Mayor and Council, May 6, 1915; same file, Carlotta S. McKellar of the Junior Branch of the I.O.D.E. to Fort William Mayor and Council, May 9, 1916; TBA 4, 165 "W.C.T.U. 1912-1920" W.C.T.U. to Fort William Mayor and Council, February 9, 1916; same file, Phoebe Smales of W.C.T.U. to Fort William Mayor and Council, April 11, 1916.

[27]*Ibid.*, document: "City of Fort William Expenses Re War."

[28]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, June 14 and 25, 1917.

[29]TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919": Ruttan Real Estate, Mortgage Loans and Insurance to Fort William City Clerk, May 9, 1917; Clerk's reply to Ruttan Real Estate May 14, 1917. TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, June 18, 1917. TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, March 25, 1918.

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As revenue continued to decline, the Cities were asked to continue providing free space and services for any and all war activities and to continue to donate to all causes. Following the introduction of conscription in 1917, for example, the Military Services Branch of the Ministry of Justice at Ottawa announced to the Fort William mayor that four Exemption Tribunals would be established in Fort William for a session lasting three to five weeks and that the municipality was to provide free accommodation for as many of these sessions as possible in municipal buildings.[30] Requests for municipal donations continued to multiply, from regiments of local "boys" for comforts and band instruments; from the newly organized local chapter of the Great War Veterans' Association; from the local Soldiers' Aid Committee; from the Y.M.C.A.'s Red Triangle Fund; from the British Red Cross Society; from the Navy League of the British Empire; from the Canadian War Hospital Fund for Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia; from the Canadian Serbian Relief Committee in Toronto; from the Catholic Army Hut Association; from the Imperial War Relief Fund of Edinborough; from seemingly everywhere.[31] The Canadian Aviation Fund thought

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[30]TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919", Military Services Branch to Fort William Mayor, September 25, 1917.

[31]*Ibid.*: Lieutenant Colonel of the 52nd Battalion to Fort William Mayor, May 7, 1917; Canadian War Hospital Fund for Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia to Fort William Mayor, June 1918; Canadian Serbian Relief Committee to Fort William City Clerk, October 3, 1918; Imperial War Relief Fund Edinborough to Fort William Mayor, February 1919. TBA 4, 162 "War - Red Triangle Fund 1918-1919": Y.M.C.A. Red Triangle Fund to D. Black, Y.M.C.A. Fort William, April 11, 1918. TBA 2 23 "British Sailors Relief Fund 1915-18": Fort William Mayor to Mrs. Ethel Brown, Secretary of John McIntyre Chapter I.O.D.E., December 6, 1917. Port Arthur City Council Minutes, October 1, 1917, April 8, 1918, and October 15, 1918.

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that the City of Fort William would be delighted to pay for an airplane, at a cost of 3,000 pounds sterling, in return for having its name imprinted on the plane.[32] A local chapter of the I.O.D.E. thought Fort William should finance a house for a needy family in France in return for having its name imprinted on the house.[33] The Town of Cannington, Ontario, requested all the potatoes that Fort William could spare but had to be told that "we don't have large quantities of potatoes to ship."[34]

In 1917 the City of Fort William took a moment to stand back and look at what the war had cost the municipality to date, an exercise that was surely an indication of its growing scepticism and disillusionment. Such an examination might not have occurred to anyone in the previous two years, while blind performance of duty and faith in a swift victory had ruled all actions. A report was produced summarizing war-related costs to date. The summary indicated that the provincial war tax levy, collected by the municipality from its citizens, amounted to over $120,000. Municipal grants to the Fort William Patriotic Society amounted to $4,900 and a tax levy collected for the Society amounted to $25,200. Donations to the British Red Cross totalled about $2,900, to the Halifax Relief Fund $5,000, and to the local Great War Veterans' Association about $800 for a

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[32]TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919": The Canadian Aviation Fund pamphlet "Help Win the War! Fight or Pay!" and letter to Fort William Mayor, January 23, 1918.

[33]TBA 88, 632 "Daughters of the Empire 1915-1919": Fort William Clerk to Mrs. Brown of I.O.D.E., April 25, 1918.

[34]TBA 3, 106 "Inquiries 1916" Fort William Mayor to Cannington, Ontario, March 19, 1917.

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secretary's salary and for free electricity and telephone.[35] There were further grants, donations, waived fees and lost revenue missed in this report but apparent in the City Clerk's files. While the grand total given in the report was $162,228.23, the actual cost of the war to the City of Fort William up to 1917 was undoubtedly higher. War-related expenditures would continue for the duration of the hostilities, and to a greater or lesser degree through the 1920s and 1930s.

Another cost not accounted for in the 1917 report was that of time and resources absorbed by the municipality. The amount of time and energy that City Fathers and their staff expended on fundraising, recruitment, record-keeping and advocacy, to name just a few wartime tasks, was enormous. In the process, the engagement of the rest of the community resulted in huge outlays of time and energy by city residents. The best example of this sort of expenditure was the Canadian Patriotic Fund, a chapter of which every Canadian municipality was expected to initiate, organize, raise funds for, and administer. In Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919, Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein mention the Patriotic Fund in the context of Prime Minister Laurier's pledge of 1910, which he reiterated as Opposition Leader in 1914:

> "When the call comes, our answer goes out at once, and it goes in the classical language of the British answer to the call of duty, 'Ready, aye, ready!'"
>
> Without division or significant debate, members [of parliament] approved an overseas contingent of 25,000

[35]TBA 4 157 "War - Military Grants 1914-1916": document "City of Fort William Expenses Re War."

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> men, with Canada bearing the full cost: a war appropriation of $50 million and a Canadian Patriotic Fund to support the families of men who would fight for the Empire.[36]

Members of Parliament might have "approved" a Canadian Patriotic Fund but not a cent of federal money was pledged, although the wording of this quotation might imply that it was. General guidelines for the Patriotic Fund were handed down by Ottawa to the provinces and subsequently to municipalities, and they were embraced as something akin to military orders. The Fund's purpose was to provide supplemental income to dependents of volunteers in military service, dependents such as parents, wives and children, so that the absence of the chief wage earner would not result in undue hardship for the family he left behind. The Dominion did not rely entirely on this Fund for the support of dependents; it instituted the Separation Allowance for them, but the Fund sought to ensure that the family would fare at least as well or better during the absence of its chief wage earner. Voluntary military service would thereby be rendered less onerous to married men, and to some, for example the unemployed, downright attractive.[37] The Fund was to be raised from voluntary donors and through fundraising events. Municipalities were charged with raising the money and deciding who should receive it. If a municipality wished, it could

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[36]Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919 (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited, 1989), 6.

[37]Thompson notes that "hungerscription" was an effective recruiter: see Harvests of War..., 24. McCormack adds that, in Edmonton, recruits were served a meal immediately after the medical exam: see Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries ..., 121.

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simply raise the money and send it to the Central Committee which would administer the funds.

Fort William's Society chose to do the entire job. The Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society was established in September of 1914 with Mayor Young as chair.[38] Its Executive Committee was comprised of seven "City Fathers" selected from Council and two "City Mothers." The women selected to sit on the Executive were Mrs. W. A. Dowler, President of the West Algoma Council of Women, and Mrs. George Graham, the President of the Women's Patriotic Auxiliary, established at the same time as the full Patriotic Society. A local newspaper dubbed Mrs. Graham a "lady high commissioner" as President of the Auxiliary.[39] The Women's Auxiliary's Executive was comprised of the presidents of all organizations which belonged to the West Algoma Council of Women, so the Council of Women in effect became the Women's Patriotic Auxiliary.[40] This hard-working body raised funds not only for the Patriotic Fund but also for a myriad of war purposes: standard causes such as the British Red Cross Society and British Sailors' Relief Fund, and more remote causes such as the Belgian Relief Work Committee for which they

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[38]TBHMS E/24/1/1 Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society bound record book, minutes of inaugural meeting, September 24, 1914.

[39]*Ibid.*, clipping affixed to page 22, "Women of City For Auxiliary Patriotic Society," September 1914.

[40]*Ibid.*, newspaper clipping affixed to page 113. The Great War had the support of the vast majority of Canadian club women. It is puzzling that the two contemporary examples of women's opinions on the Great War in Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. The Proper Sphere ..., 250, are atypical. "Women Against War" by Flora MacDonald Denison and "women against conscription" taken from the Grain Grower's Guide were not representative of the way most women were thinking or taking action during the war.

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collected a boxcar load of flour (410 bags) to ship overseas.[41] The Auxiliary organized and executed tag days, concerts, dances and card parties as well as soliciting individual donations. They did all this while maintaining their pre-war causes such as children's wards in hospitals, poor relief, travellers' matrons, and the pursuit of a "home of refuge" for women and girls "left stranded in our midst." As if all that was not a full workload, they also organized the purchase of materials for, as well as the sewing and knitting of, "comforts and necessaries" for the soldiers.[42]

At the first Executive Committee meeting of the Fort William Patriotic Society in September of 1914, the Committee reviewed the ground rules handed down from Ottawa and resolved the following: to send cards of solicitation to "all Citizens," to secure the services of a clerk for the Committee, and to have a list of donors and amounts published daily in the newspaper. At the same meeting, the Committee arranged for two fundraising concerts and for the Mayor and two aldermen to collect subscriptions by personal canvass. By October 19 the Committee

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[41]*Ibid.*, September 29, 1914.

[42]*Ibid.*, newspaper clipping affixed to page 113; TBA 4, 165 "W.C.T.U. 1912-1920": W.C.T.U. to Fort William Mayor and Council, November 22, 1914; same file, handwritten report of the Flower, Fruit and Relief Committee of the W.C.T.U., January 1916; same file, W.C.T.U. to Council, April 11, 1916; TBA 88, 632 "Daughters of Empire 1915-1919": John McIntyre Chapter I.O.D.E. to Mayor and Council, January 8, 1915; same file, Lady Grey Chapter I.O.D.E. to Mayor, May 6, 1915; TBA 4, 159 "Patriotic Fund 1914-1920": Mayor to Council, November 12, 1915; TBA 2, 23 "British Sailors Relief Fund 1915-1918": British Sailors Relief Fund to City Clerk, December 15, 1916; same file, list of collections for British Red Cross 1917; TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919": 52nd Battalion to Mayor, September 14, 1917.

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was issuing cheques to dependents.[43] As early as that date, however, members of the committee were also beginning to discover complications in what appeared at the start to be a much simpler task than it turned out to be. They realized, for example, that they needed to know who among their applicants was receiving the $20 a month separation pay from the Dominion government so that the Patriotic Fund was assisting only those who were eligible for the supplement. Furthermore, some wives received more than $20 in separation pay if the husband's rank was higher than Private and should not require as much from the Fund.[44] And, as men started to be killed or maimed, the Dominion's rules on Pensions and Disablement Allowances further complicated the supplement business; for example, a war widow got one third of her late husband's former pay as a pension, but if she had children the pension could increase to as much as one half.[45] The Central Committee complicated its original rules regularly, as illustrated in its Circular 3 regarding rules for dependents of reserves on garrison duty, previously ineligible

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[43]*Ibid.*, minutes of meetings, September 30, October 7 and 19, 1914. The practice of publishing donors' names in the newspaper was obviously meant to encourage donations. By 1916 the Societies in Calgary and Winnipeg, however, went so far as to institute the pillory: in their newspapers, a black list of non-subscribers, consisting of all well-to-do who had not contributed, was published regularly. See clipping affixed to page 49 of above file, July 27, 1916, "Will Pillory All Who Do Not Help in Patriotic Fund."

[44]*Ibid.*, Order of Lieutenant Colonel J.F.L. Embury, Commanding Officer, 28th Battalion, Winnipeg, regarding allowances for wives of men with various ranks, November 12, 1914; minutes of meeting, December 15, 1915.

[45]*Ibid.*, Circular 4, Canadian Patriotic Fund, "Pension and Disablement Allowances," November 1, 1914.

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for any Fund assistance:[46]

> Now, if the soldier has a wife but no children, he should hand over to her $1 per day or $30 per month. [His usual salary was $33 per month.] This is regarded by the trustees of the Patriotic Fund as placing the wife beyond need; hence no claim on the fund is expected or entertained. If however the soldier on active home service has several children the case is different. If, for example, he has one child of 12, one of 8 and one of 4 years of age, his wife would be entitled to receive from the fund 25 cents for the eldest, 15 cents for the next and 10 cents for the youngest, that is to say 50 cents per day for the three children ... If a soldier thus engaged refuses to transfer the $1 per day to his wife, the Colonel of his regiment should be notified and he should be if possible withdrawn and sent home ...[47]

Another complication arose because of the difference in salaries among the various armies which the local men may have joined. The rates of pay for soldiers in non-Canadian armies, and the Separation Allowance for the wives of British and French reservists, were not as generous as they were for Canadian soldiers.[48] Supplements from the Patriotic Fund had to be more generous in the case of, for example, those who joined the British army, as many men from Canada did.

Yet another complication, as well as a source of disillusionment and a new cynicism, appeared as early as January

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[46]In Port Arthur and Fort William, local reserve soldiers guarded grain elevators and power plants. TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, August 10, 1914; September 8, 1914; March 25, 1918. TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, March 26, 1915.

[47]TBHMS E 24/1/1 Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society bound record book: Circular 3 "Active Home Service," 1914.

[48]*Ibid.*, newspaper clipping affixed to page 90. Canadians received the highest pay of all the Allies, with the exception, in certain cases, of the Australians. See also clipping affixed to page 316: "Top Rate is Paid Soldiers by Canada; Only the Warriors From Australia Are so Well Looked After; Double British Rate."

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of 1915: the possibility of abuse of both the Fund and the Separation Allowance. A directive from Ottawa, reported in a newspaper article with the macabre headline, "Must Enlist First to Get Allowance for Bride if Killed," stated that no separation allowance would be paid to a soldier's wife if the soldier had married *after* enlisting.[49] This directive suggests that Ottawa may have had a strong suspicion that people were getting married in order to collect the Allowance, the Fund subsidy and, perhaps eventually, the widow's pension. Such an idea was, of course, unthinkable, and there is no evidence in print which openly made the suggestion. Ottawa quickly relaxed its decision about separation allowances in relation to the timing of marriages, but the explanation for its new Order-in-Council, as reported by a newspaper, hints at a suspicion of the unthinkable and of thousands marching on to the government pension payroll.[50] The new Order

> permits volunteers who marry after enlistment to have wives placed on the Separation Allowance list provided that permission to marry has been obtained from the Commanding Officer and the marriage takes place twenty days from the present time, in the case of those already enlisted, or within twenty days from the time of enlistment hereafter. Before now, applications for Separation Allowance were refused in cases where volunteers were married after enlistment. The Separation Allowance is intended to provide for families of married men who had enlisted as such, and

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[49] *Ibid.*, newspaper clipping affixed to page 90.

[50] The Dominion government was acutely conscious of the grave dangers of inheriting an obligation to vast numbers of men and women requiring pensions during and following the Great War. The example of the United States was to be strenuously avoided: in 1900, one fifth of federal U.S. revenue was going to veterans and survivors of the U.S. Civil War. See Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil: Bureaucracy, Democracy, and Canada's Board of Pension Commissioners, 1916-33" in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 68, no. 2 (June 1987): 199-224.

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> whose families would otherwise be in want or become a heavy burden on the Patriotic Fund. *It was not the Government's intention to encourage the men to marry after enlistment, as that would increase the already heavy expenditure under Separation Allowance, and in case of the soldier's death would necessitate placing his widow on the pension list.* The Government has, however, taken into consideration the fact that many men had prior to enlistment given a promise to marry, and the regulations are relaxed as noted above.[51]

Wives also received the allowance whether they were self-sufficient wage-earning women or not. In late 1915 a soldier was by law compelled to send home half his salary as well, so that a Private's wife received $15 assigned pay, $20 separation allowance, and whatever the Patriotic Society supplement was, the average across Canada being $20. This situation brought about another potential abuse, by wage-earning women, and the Patriotic Fund's Central Committee noted:

> If a woman is working and earning regular weekly wages which supplement her separation allowance and assigned pay, she cannot be in need ... such a woman might be drawing from the Fund and working side by side with another who is earning the same pay but is subscribing to the Fund.

On the other hand, said the Central Committee,

> ... a woman should not be discouraged from working by the withdrawal of her Patriotic Fund allowance ... by working she is endeavouring to provide for the inevitable rainy day ... *she is employing her time usefully instead of frittering it away in gossip and amusements* ... woman labour is becoming more and more a national necessity.[52]

Central Committee suggested, in the end, that each chapter of

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[51]TBHMS E 24/1/1 Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society bound record book, newspaper clipping affixed to page 90, "Separation Allowance Regulation Relaxed." Emphasis added.

[52]*Ibid.*, Canadian Patriotic Fund Bulletin 24, April 1917, "The Fund and Women Wage Earners." I have added the emphasis because it was irresistible to do so, given the load of war work that was carried out by women.

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the Patriotic Society should make its own decision on the question. Given all the complications, and given the fact that the Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society investigated and formally approved or disapproved every application (not to mention every cheque) individually, it is amazing that the Committee found time to raise the required money.

Greater demands on the Fund emerged as more men left for the front, as more men were killed, and as some men began to return incapacitated by war wounds. By May of 1915 the Dominion was paying over 12,000 separation allowances. Although a pension was provided for disabled returned soldiers, it might take some time to be processed, and the Patriotic Societies were directed to continue assistance until the soldier received his first pension cheque. The same was true of pensions for widows. As the burden of dependents increased, the amount of money which could be collected from subscribers proved to be insufficient. By 1916 the local Society was soliciting everyone, not just those they thought could afford contributions. Schemes were put in place to collect a day's pay from every wage earner in the city, but this was still a voluntary contribution and required time and energy to collect.[53] It was becoming clear that the only way to "hit" everybody was through a tax levy. By mid-1916, many Canadian centres were considering a direct tax, because "expenditures have exceeded all expectations." The Province of Manitoba had already instituted a "patriotic tax"

[53]*Ibid.*, nine clippings affixed to page 362 on the progress of the Patriotic Fund drive, February 19, 1916.

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for its Fund.[54] In October of 1916, the Mail and Empire announced that Canada's Patriotic Fund needed $13.5 million, that the total received from subscriptions would not cover the requirement, and that Provinces would be asked to cover the deficit. The Central Committee had considered asking the Dominion government for the money, but it decided not to do so since the Dominion was already paying $2 million *per month* in separation allowances.[55]

The fundraising efforts took so much energy, and eventually there were so many families depending on the supplement, that by January of 1917 Fort William's Society had requested and received City Council's approval for a tax levy to support the fund. Part of Laurier's pledge to the Empire became, inevitably, yet another municipal tax. In October of 1916, Fort William's Patriotic Society passed the inevitable resolution:

> That we recommend to the 1917 Council that a By-law be adopted to provide funds for patriotic purposes and also that a By-law be prepared for the collection of a poll tax and that in the meantime, the City Council to pay any deficit of the Patriotic Society for the balance of the year 1916.[56]

The resolution represented one defeat for one patriotic organization in one small urban centre. But it was also an illustration of how the war eroded the confidence in doing one's

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[54] *Ibid.*, newspaper clipping affixed to page 320, "Direct Taxation For Patriotic Fund Possible."

[55] *Ibid.*, newspaper clipping affixed to page 323, "Patriotic Fund Needs $13,500,000."

[56] *Ibid.*, Minutes of Executive Committee meeting held October 2, 1916. Port Arthur followed suit: in 1917 the City's levy of twenty-five mills included one mill for its Patriotic Fund and one mill "war tax." Daily Times Journal, March 27, 1917, 1.

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duty and the optimism for success held once by so many. As the demands on the Patriotic Fund became too large to handle, so the sheer magnitude of the war was bound to defeat the faith and hope that were so pervasive at the beginning. The devotion of time, energy, money and resources, the performance of duty, had not produced the expected results.

The expected economic recovery that the war would bring did not occur either. In the words of Fort William's City Clerk, "Large concerns that had completed buildings and purchased machinery closed down when the war broke out."[57] These "large concerns" had not opened by the time the Clerk made the comment in January of 1919. Building permits in Fort William had amounted to a total value of $4,265,715 in 1913; the year the war began, they dropped to $1,525,965 and, in 1915, they were at $639,730.[58] Wheat shipments dropped by a third from 1913 to 1914, from 132 million to 88 million bushels, and barley and

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[57]TBA 3, 107 "Inquiries 1918-19," Clerk's letter to R. Hawks of Toronto, January 15, 1919. See also TBA 4, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920," letter from Fort William Mayor to Director of Rehabilitation, Ottawa, January 22, 1919, in which the Mayor pleaded for government manufacturing contracts for large buildings "lying idle ever since 1914." One of the reasons that there were completed buildings with purchased machinery was that both cities aided potential manufacturing concerns through "bonusing" to a phenomenal degree. See three works by Thorold J. Tronrud: "Buying Prosperity: The Bonusing of Factories at the Lakehead, 1885-1914" in Urban History Review, Vol. 19, no. 2 (June 1990): 1-13; The Search for Factories in a Staple Economy: Thunder Bay's Manufacturing Industries 1880-1980 (Thunder Bay: Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies Research Report No. 28, n.d.); Guardians of Progress: Boosters and Boosterism in Thunder Bay 1870-1914 (Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1993).

[58]TBA 3, 106 "Inquiries 1916", Fort William Clerk to Canada Cement Company, February 12, 1916. For certain conclusions that can be drawn from an examination of building permits in Fort William over a sixty-year period, see Livio Di Matteo, "Evidence on Lakehead Economic Activity from the Fort William Building Permit Registers, 1907-1969" in Papers and Records, The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Vol. 20 (1992): 37-49.

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flax fared similarly or worse.[59] Fort William's Industrial Bureau disbanded early in 1915.[60] There was a short-lived "boom" in Thunder Bay with the movement of the exceptional wheat crop of 1915 which created nearly full employment; the mayor stated that surplus labour had been completely taken up, "with the exception of a few Chinese."[61] The boom lasted, however, only as long as it took to get the wheat moved. Port Arthur and Fort William both initiated salary cuts for city employees in 1914. Not until 1917 were salaries raised and then only up to the 1914 level, not enough to compensate for the phenomenal rise in the cost of living by 1917.[62]

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[59]E. A. Ursell, Statistician, "Comparative Statement of Vessel Shipments 1913-1917" in Daily Times Journal, December 28, 1917.

[60]TBA 3, 104 "Industrial Bureau 1908-1917," Fort William City Clerk to Saturday Night, Toronto, May 31, 1915; Clerk to Canadian Courier, Toronto, September 3, 1915.

[61]*Ibid.*, mayor to Monetary Times, September 18, 1915.

[62]TBA 120, 817 "Port Arthur 1914-1919," address of Port Arthur's new mayor to Council, January 12, 1914; TBA 2, 27 "City Hall Staff 1916," Inter-office memorandum from Treasurer's Office, City Stores, and Utilities Committee to Finance Committee. A sample of a long list from the memorandum shows that most salaries had been reduced and some positions eliminated between 1914 and 1916:

[Monthly Salaries]	1914	1916
Assessment Commissioner	$175	$150
Chief Clerk	80	75
Clerk [female]	60	55
Steno [female]	50	45
Clerk [female]	50	45
Clerk [female]	40	40
City Treasurer	225	207
Clerk [male]	100	--
Clerk [male]	80	--
Clerk [female]	45	45

Throughout the war the cost of living rose by phenomenal degrees. Food prices, for example, increased by 65 per cent between August of 1914 and December of 1917. See McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries..., 121-38; Porter, "The English Canadian Labour Press ...," 52-58; Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women ..., 316-18; Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review 1917, 439-48.

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Western cities' dreams of pulling themselves out of dire economic straits through war opportunities did not materialize, but this was not due to lack of effort and ingenuity. Fort William's mayor, for example, suggested to the Department of Naval Service that the city would be a desirable location for a training school "for young men desiring to enter the Motor Boat Patrol Service." The Department replied that it was not enlisting any men for the service at that time but would keep the request in mind.[63] Ironically, on precisely the same date, the Soldiers' Aid Commission wrote to Fort William asking the City to encourage potential teachers to leave the city and re-locate in retraining centres at Whitney, Guelph, London, Kitchener and Toronto.[64] There were no such facilities in Port Arthur or Fort William, although the latter tried hard to get a retraining centre located in the city. Port Arthur had its Keefer Home, a small convalescent hospital, but most returned soldiers from Port Arthur and Fort William were treated, and convalesced, in Winnipeg. Fort William's new Mayor, James Murphy,[65] wrote to the Military Hospitals Commission in November of 1917, pointing out that there were 125 wounded Lakehead men in a hospital in Winnipeg, that the need for rehabilitation and

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[63]TBA 4, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920," letter from Department of Naval Service to Fort William Mayor, December 15, 1917.

[64]*Ibid.*, letter to A. McNaughton, Secretary of Soldiers' Aid Commission Fort William (also City Clerk) from Ontario Soldiers' Aid Commission, December 15, 1917. The letter stated: "We need teachers for bookkeeping, shorthand, typewriting, Elementary Arts and Crafts, including manual training, carpentry, mechanical draghting, shoe repairing ..."

[65]Former Mayor Young was now Colonel Young in the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

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retraining would continue for at least another five years, and that there existed a suitable empty building for a vocational school and hospital in the former Empire Hotel. The Commission was prompt in its reply, stating that the number of local casualties was not sufficient to warrant a facility in Fort William.[66]

The Dominion's reluctance to locate any war-related facilities at the Lakehead was disappointing but, by 1917, Port Arthur and Fort William had begun to perceive a slight reflection of the economic boom of central Canada. If Canada was the breadbasket of the Allies, Fort William was "The Place The Grain Goes Through,"[67] and new elevators were built in 1917 to increase storage capacity.[68] Construction of a pulp mill was initiated in Port Arthur, and building construction experienced renewed activity.[69] The nation-wide labour shortage, combined

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[66]TBA 4, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920", Mayor to Military Hospitals Commission, November 17, 1917; Military Hospitals Commission to Mayor, December 6, 1917. Only 107 men, not 125, were being treated, responded the Commission to the Mayor's request. They could all remain in Winnipeg, despite their laments about being away from their families for over three years: see letter of Private E. Jones, Tuxedo Convalescent Home, Winnipeg, to Fort William Mayor, October 31, 1917.

[67]This was the headline for a panegyric on grain facilities and handling in the Daily Times Journal, September 17, 1917, 9, 10 and 11. For an illustration of the phenomenal amount of western grain that flowed through Port Arthur and Fort William, see Plate 19, "Movement of Wheat, 1928-1929" by Susan L. Laskin in Donald Kerr and Deryck W. Holdsworth, eds., Historical Atlas of Canada III: Addressing the Twentieth Century 1891-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[68]Daily Times Journal, 1917: February 14, 8; March 17, 1; November 29, 7; November 30, 9.

[69]Daily Times Journal: March 16, 1; April 26; May 8, 1; October 23, 1, 1917. On building construction, see "Busy Building Season," August 23, 1 and 3: The amount of construction was nowhere near the building boom of the first decade of the century, but the fact that there was construction at all was news. This article considered that putting a second storey on an existing building was worthy of detailed news coverage.

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with the phenomenal increase in the cost of living, gave unions singular opportunities. When local elevator labourers went on strike in October of 1917, they were jeopardizing the entire Allied effort by stopping all grain shipments from the west, and Prime Minister Borden himself appealed for a settlement. The labourers got a 25 per cent increase in pay and the elevators were re-opened under government supervision.[70] After the railways were nationalized in 1917, railway employees received increases that ranged from 12 to 18 per cent.[71] Half of the seven hundred men employed by the Port Arthur Shipbuilding Company walked out when it appeared that they would not be getting the ten per cent wage increase they had been promised. Within hours all workers received the raise, with back pay.[72]

Local women workers did not seem to fare as well as these unionized male labourers. Some managed to extricate themselves from domestic employment during the war, but there were not the dramatic movements into munitions factories, for example, that occurred in larger centres.[73] Five hundred women applied for

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[70]Daily Times Journal: May 2, 1; October 3, 1; October 4, 1; October 6, 9; October 9, 10; October 10, 1 and 3; October 17, 1 and 7, 1917.

[71]Daily Times Journal: September 25, 1917, 1 and 7.

[72]Daily Times Journal, April 17, 1917, 1.

[73]An example of the impact of women entering the factories in large centres is found in Enid Price, "Changes in the Industrial Occupations of Women in the Environment of Montreal During the Period of the War 1914-1918," M.A. Dissertation, University of Montreal, 1920. However large the impact was in Canada, however, it pales beside Britain, where 900,000 women of a total female population of about 24 million entered munitions factories. 400,000 of them came out of domestic employment: A.J.P. Taylor, English History 1914-1945 (Oxford: University Press, 1965), 38. In Canada the number was 30,000 to 35,000 women of a total female population of about 3 million. The figure of 30,000 comes from Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921..., 241. Two other authorities place the number at 35,000 rather than 30,000: see Peter Edward Rider, "The Imperial Munitions Board and its Relationship to Government,

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twenty-five openings at the Port Arthur Wagon Factory early in 1917. The wage was fifteen cents an hour. The newspaper remarked that "women were finding that there were other openings for them besides domestic service, and therefore it [was] becoming difficult to obtain hired help ..." Because of the shortage of male labour, women were considered by the municipalities for jobs on streetcars but there is no indication that they were ever actually offered any such jobs.[74]

The most exciting news during 1917 was the anticipated opening of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company.[75] Newspapers began to publish promises in February, when it was reported that Mayor Murphy and Alderman G. R. Duncan of Fort William were meeting with Dominion authorities to obtain government contracts for rail car construction. Murphy sent a telegram home in March, after he had met with officials of the Company which had received an order for rail cars from Russia.[76] It was reported that the "Car Works [will] Run in Ninety Days. Honest to Goodness, That's What Company's Officials Assure Mayor This

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Business and Labour 1914-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1974), 392; and Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War, lxxxix. Rough ratios indicate that in Britain, over four times the percentage of the female population went into munitions work as compared to Canada (one in 24 as compared to one in 100).

[74]Daily Times Journal, February 23, 1917, 5; June 4, 1917.

[75]Fort William deserved a return on its original investment in the Canadian Car and Foundry Company. Thorold J. Tronrud notes that between 1885 and 1913 the total municipal bonuses (cash, loans or bond guarantees) to companies who would locate in the cities amounted to $2.4 million, and that the largest single bonus was to the Canadian Car and Foundry Company in the form of a $270,000 cash bonus in 1912: "Buying Prosperity ...," 2.

[76]Thorold J. Tronrud mentions that, in 1916, there were rumours that the entire Canadian Car and Foundry factory was to be moved to Vladivostok; see "Buying Prosperity ...," 10.

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Time. Orders for 5,000 cars now in sight and may increase." But ninety days went by, and the newspaper could only report that a gang of men was working to put Canadian Car "into first class running order." It is not clear what happened to the Russian contract, but in June it was announced that the Company had received an order for 5,000 cars from the Canadian government, and a headline reported, "Car Works Certainty Now for Many Years in Future." Optimism abounded in articles throughout the summer, but in October the biggest news item was that a solitary sample car was "almost complete." Reports stated that the factory was "rapidly being put in shape to handle the Canadian Government order," but the headway being made seemed anything but rapid. The progress reported was always exaggerated and anticipation always outstripped the subsequent reality. In November it was reported that a census of living accommodations would be carried out by G. R. Duncan (a real estate broker as well as an alderman) to find homes for a thousand people, the expected increase in population that would result from the factory's opening and the influx of workers. Articles in December announced that "January Will See Canadian Car and Foundry Company a Hive of Industry," producing 25 cars a day and employing 1,500 to 1,700 men at $5 a day.[77]

The work on 2,000, not 5,000 freight cars, did not begin as

[77]Daily Times Journal: February 14, 1; March 16, 1; March 27, 1; June 13, 1; June 16, 1; July 28, 1; August 17, 7; October 18, 1 and 8; November 24, 1; December 15, 6; December 22, 9, 1917.

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early as anticipated,[78] and the "Hive of Industry" lasted for only a few months of 1918. In addition to the construction of freight cars, the Company received a contract for twenty-four minesweepers from the French government and completed twelve before the war ended.[79] But by January of 1919, the Company's personnel had been reduced to 700 employees who were not assured of continued work without further government contracts, and there were rumors that the plant would close the following month.[80] Once again the Mayor was pleading for the life of this industry as well as for "other large buildings... lying idle ever since 1914" that were available for the manufacture of wire, nails, screws, steel tubing, "magnificent buildings, well lighted, [with] splendid railway connection and power."[81]

National and provincial statistics do not reflect the dilemma expressed in Mayor Murphy's plea; they reflect only good news for the nation as a whole. At the beginning of the war, for example, industry across Canada was operating at only 40 per cent of its capacity, but by Armistice Day in 1918 it was

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[78]Fort William's City Clerk told Trade and Commerce Canada in July of 1918 that the Canadian Car and Foundry Company had started on the contract for freight cars: TBA 3, 107 "Inquiries 1918-19," City Clerk to Trade and Commerce Canada, July 30, 1918.

[79]Two of the minesweepers and their French crews sank somewhere in Lake Superior between Thunder Bay and Sault Ste. Marie in November of 1918. See Jeff Sumner, "Launching Minesweepers at Can Car, 1918," in Papers and Records, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Vol. 16 (1988): 32-40. See also Gerrie Noble, "Minesweepers Vanish in Lake Superior," in The Chronicle Journal, December 27, 1992.

[80]TBA 4, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920," Fort William Mayor to H. J. Daley, Director of Rehabilitation, Ottawa, January 22, 1919; TBA 3, 108 "Inquiries 1918-19", Fort William City Clerk to R. Sheehan, Quebec, March 31, 1919.

[81]*Ibid.*, Mayor to Director of Rehabilitation, January 22, 1919.

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"stretched to its limits." No one imagined, state Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, "the enormous boost war manufacturing would give to Canadian industry, the incentive it would create for establishing new industries..."[82] The "revival and expansion of Ontario's industry ... was evident by late spring" of 1915, states Barbara M. Wilson; by 1916 the province's economy was flourishing, and by 1917 the nation's economy was booming, primarily due to a deluge of munitions orders for plants in Ontario.[83] John Herd Thompson points out that such national statistics "are heavily weighted in Ontario and Quebec,"[84] without noting that the weight applied only to portions of Ontario and Quebec. Northern Ontario did not share in the "boom" any more than the prairie provinces did, and Thompson's statement about western cities can be applied *verbatim* to Port Arthur and Fort William: "... the years of the war were almost as desperate as those of the recession which preceded it."[85] For urban Canada west of the Lakes, the war destroyed hopes of economic recovery. For the reform movement, the war replaced optimism with cynicism: faith was "wrested from the faithful" and hope was "buried by the hopeful."

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[82]Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921 ..., 212, 234.

[83]Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War ..., xxxix, xxix, lx.

[84]Thompson, The Harvests of War ..., 46, 47.

[85]*Ibid.*

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III. Enemies Within Our Gates

> These people have come to this young, free country to make homes for themselves and their children. It is our duty to meet them with the open Bible, and to instil into their minds the principles and ideals of Anglo-Saxon civilization.
>
> Missionary Outlook (Methodist Church), June, 1908[1]

> ... clean the aliens out of this community and ship them back to their happy homes in Europe which vomited them forth a decade ago.
>
> John W. Dafoe, editor of the Winnipeg Free Press, May, 1919[2]

While the stark contrast between these two statements, one pre-war and one post-war, is not totally representative of English Canada's attitudes towards the immigrants who had flooded in from eastern and southern Europe, the statements serve to introduce another source of disillusionment and defeat caused by the Great War on Canada's Home Front. The Missionary Outlook statement of 1908 was imbued with the optimism of pre-war efforts to assimilate "foreigners," considered essentially redeemable and only in need of help, education and, in most cases, religious conversion. The Free Press statement, prompted by the Winnipeg General Strike, revealed a contempt and hatred for "aliens" that, while in existence before, had been greatly aided and abetted by the war and saw the only solution as shipping them out of the country. The pre-war optimism about assimilating the foreigner eroded into heightened suspicion, contempt, fear and hatred. This erosion left the dominant

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[1]Quoted in Marilyn Barber's Introduction to the reprint of James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates of 1909 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), xix.

[2]Quoted in Avery, Dangerous Foreigners ..., 84.

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culture more bigoted than ever, as well as defeated and disconsolate on yet another front. The new cynicism and heightened bigotry left foreigners in an even worse situation than they had endured before the war began.

The vast numbers of immigrants who came from southern and eastern Europe in the two decades preceding the war were met initially with contempt, and later with fear and alarm. After having performed the hardest, heaviest and dirtiest work of nation-building for little return, many wound up during the pre-war depression in the worst areas of the cities they had helped to build. To the middle class English Canadian, imbued with the imperialistic modes of thought of the day, they were poor because of their attitudes and their racial inferiority; the fact that they had neither money nor opportunity to accumulate any was not considered a factor in their poverty. The prevalent scientific reasoning held that "a line was drawn across the Continent of Europe," a latitudinal line which separated the "Teutonic races [to the north] from Latin, Slav, Semitic and Mongolian races [in the south]"; the former were decidedly superior to the latter.[3] The southern races were believed to hold certain negative qualities: they were "ignorant and

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[3]American labour historian J. R. Commons in Chautaquan 1903-4, cited in Barber's Introduction to Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, xii, xvi; also on 164.
In 1901, the Port Arthur Board of Trade appealed to Canada's Minister of the Interior specifically for Finn and Scandinavian immigrants ("Teutons") to provide a labour force to build pulp and paper mills. See Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners"..., 24.

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careless,"[4] lacked discipline and intelligence,[5] and were susceptible to criminal behaviour and violence.[6] Social Darwinist analysis held that the superior races had "evolved" to a higher form of humanity and that the higher civilization had a "moral right to displace the lower."[7] Included in this analysis was a corresponding fear that the lower could contaminate the higher and cause the better race or civilization to degenerate and decline. Such a fate was to be strenuously avoided, but the English middle class had faith that they could solve the foreign problem by changing the behaviour, beliefs and environment of the foreigners.

Most of the southern and eastern Europeans represented a triple horror: they were Catholic, they "drank," and they were violent. To the middle class English Canadian Protestant, Catholicism represented "superstition, ignorance and autocracy" whereas Protestantism represented "initiative, industry, freedom and democracy."[8] Catholicism was also an impediment to the temperance movement; in the confessional and orthodox churches,

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[4]John C. Weaver, citing a description of a foreign servant girl in Port Arthur in "Tomorrow's Metropolis ...," 468. See also Flora MacDonald Denison, cited in Geller, "The War Time Election Act of 1917 ...," 95: "Today we are welcoming to our shores thousands of immigrants, most of which are ignorant, illiterate and often the scum of the earth ..."

[5]See James W. St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force" in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 70, no. 1 (March 1989): 1.

[6]Avery, "The Radical Alien ...," 211.

[7]Commons in Chautaquan, 1903-4, cited in Barber's Introduction to Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, xii, xvi.

[8]In Barber's Introduction to Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, xvii.

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there was no tradition of abstinence from alcohol.[9] The fact that alcohol was embedded in the immigrants' cultures was seen as perhaps the greatest danger and degradation, although it had always been an established part of their lives. Alcohol was used in the preparation of food, as a tonic at the end of a day's work, while relaxing with friends, and as part of festivities and celebrations.[10] The Poles in Port Arthur and Fort William celebrated at picnics and social events with "kegs of beer and gallons of wine."[11] In the case of Finnish and Italian dance halls of Port Arthur, stated a social survey conducted by the Methodist Church in 1913, "liquor often constitutes an important part of the supper, and the men sometimes frequent the bar-rooms between dances."[12] Finns at the Lakehead were grouped with southern European immigrants. Although technically of the "Teutonic race," their language and Finnish Lutheran religion, as well as the socialism of the "Red" Finns, set them apart from other "Teutons."[13] At "Galician [Ruthenian/Ukrainian] weddings," reported a local newspaper,

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[9]Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women'...," 405.

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]Leo Zawadowski, The Polish-Canadian Community at the Lakehead (Thunder Bay: The Canadian-Polish Congress, Lakehead Branch, 1980), 52.

[12]Stewart, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey ..., 6.

[13]*Ibid.* A Daily Times Journal article of May 21, 1904, also grouped Finns with southern Europeans: it described the "shacktown" of Fort William as "the corner in which Italians, Finlanders, Austrians [Ukrainians], etc., segregate..." See "Evolution of the Coal Docks Section."

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"fighting and drinking seem to be an ordinary event,"[14] a combination that linked alcohol to violence among foreigners. An earlier article pointed out that foreigners were responsible for eighty per cent of crimes committed in Fort William in 1906 and that most, 1,000 of 1,388 crimes, were connected with liquor.[15] It was a well known fact that Greeks and Italians carried knives and other weapons,[16] and the local newspapers expressed the pervasive belief that they were all latent criminals. The violent labour strikes during the first decade of the century in both cities confirmed the perception. The worst of the strikes, involving Greek and Italian CPR freight handlers in 1909, was labelled by a local newspaper, "the bloodiest labour riot ever in Canada," and it reported that a number of guns had been found on the premises of foreigners. The editor of the Port Arthur Daily News had stated three years earlier that such strikes represented a "threat against British

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[14]Daily Times Journal September 22, 1909, cited in Marvin MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction Toward the Non-English-Speaking Immigrant in Port Arthur and Fort William, 1903-1914" (M.A. Dissertation, Lakehead University, 1976), 24. MacDonald states that newspapers greatly influenced the attitudes of the dominant society towards foreigners; for example, page 19 quotes Rev. Mr. J. M. Shaver as saying that "people formulated their opinion of [foreigners] largely 'through the police court column of the newspapers, whose reporters always find it an easy matter to throw an atmosphere of terrible mystery around the stranger's shortcomings ...'." I believe that newspapers reflected attitudes that already existed. A mixture of both influence and reflection may have been occurring, but I am not convinced that newspapers were so powerful as to be able to instruct their readers on how to feel about foreigners. The prevailing racism can be found in statements from pulpits, records of church conferences, articles in learned publications, and in immigration policy as well as in newspapers.

[15]Daily Times Journal, December 29, 1906, cited in MacDonald, "An Examination of the Protestant Reaction ...," 24.

[16]Morrison, "Ethnicity and Violence...," 147.

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dominance in the Lakehead," an unimaginably dire consequence.[17] Aside from Catholicism, drink and violence, the foreigner was considered marked by "extreme crudity ..., ignorance, low estimate of life, filthy habits, and ... general lack of appreciation of all that is refined and wholesome in every sense of the word." Foreigners were also attributed with providing votes in return for beer, reading the "rankest kind of literature," and advocating "the doctrine of free love."[18]

Because of their supposedly inherited negative qualities, and because there came to be so many of these people crowded into increasingly visible urban slums, Canada's (indeed, North America's) national life was believed to be in jeopardy. Quotations from Strangers Within Our Gates express the fear and alarm of the day in the clearest possible terms:

> ...*there is a danger and it is national*! Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level.[19]
>
> ... a vast and endless army moves at the rate of nearly 1,500,000 each year, invading the civilized world. [This army] is gaining in volume and momentum with each passing year ...
>
> ... Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Russia ... are being drained of their human dregs through channels made easy by those seeking cargo for their ships.[20]

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[17]Daily Times Journal August 10, 1909, and Port Arthur Daily News, October 1, 1906, cited in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 114.

[18]MacDonald, "An Examination of the Protestant Reaction...," 45-60.

[19]J. W. Sparling, 1909, in the original Introduction to Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, 8. Emphasis is in the original.

[20]From "Immigration - a world problem," written by a person using the single name "Whelpley" in Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, 12-13.

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The Canadian elite believed that the urban slum, where the "human dregs" lived, was a source of "disease, crime, prostitution, misery," and a "menace to the future of the nation." They believed the slums to be contagious and capable of contaminating the rest of society: these "cancerous sores on the body politic were sources of bacteria" capable of "spreading disease, crime, discontent through the city." They "menaced the moral and physical character of Canadian manhood and thus the racial future of the whole nation."[21] Some woman suffragists were alarmed that the "scum of the earth" became naturalized citizens in just three years, "empowered to vote and make laws for the women of our land" while more deserving English-speaking middle-class women remained voteless.[22] Many Protestant clergymen feared that national institutions, including their own churches, would be destroyed: "...the viciousness and superstition of the foreigner ... must be destroyed [first]".[23] A Presbyterian minister in Port Arthur was concerned about "purifying these floods before they precipitate a European silt upon our virgin soil."[24] In Fort William and Port Arthur, the

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[21]Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis...," 441. Rutherford cites the following sources in note 42 on page 452: Charles Hodgetts, "Unsanitary Housing," Commission of Conservation, Addresses 1911, 33; G. F. Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot" and "The Refining Process," in Canadian Magazine, Vol. 33 (1909): 409-16 and 548-54.

[22]Flora MacDonald Denison, quoted in Geller, "The War Time Election Act...," 95.

[23]Annual Report, Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, October 21, 1912, cited in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 56.

[24]Rev. Mr. S. C. Murray, quoted in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 56.

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"floods" represented over a third of the population by 1912.[25]

Amidst all this fear, alarm, and obvious contempt, the immigrant also experienced a substantial dose of exploitation. To those who transported them here, immigrants were a source of cargo revenue; to the nation builders, they were a pool of labour that would perform work which no one else would, and for a pittance; to industrial employers, they were an unskilled labour pool that would work long and irregular hours for a similar pittance; to domestic employers, immigrant women were charwomen, cooks and laundresses, although of a quality far inferior to English-speaking domestics. Foreigners lured here by the promise of a better life were often defrauded soon after they arrived. Private employment agencies made large profits by charging immigrants fees for putting them together with employers. While there were legitimate agencies run by the Immigration Authority, most employment agencies were privately owned and dealt with the most needy and least able to pay. Although Port Arthur and Fort William each had an Immigration Authority-run office, Port Arthur also had four private agencies and Fort William had five.[26] In Fort William one employment agent would charge a one-dollar fee to find the immigrant a job,

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[25]Anthony Rasporich, "Twin City Ethnopolitics: Urban Rivalry, Ethnic Radicalism and Assimilation in the Lakehead, 1900-1970" in Urban History Review, Vol. 18, no. 3 (February 1990): 214. MacDonald in "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 17, points out that the local population increase matched the West's in both number and rapidity: "Thunder Bay District registered the second highest percentage increase in population in all regions of Canada east of Manitoba" between 1901 and 1911, for a 252 per cent increase. "Of the sixty-five Canadian cities with over 10,000 population, Fort William and Port Arthur show the two greatest percentages of foreign born."

[26]Ontario Commission on Unemployment, Report No. 55, Sessional Papers of Ontario, 1916, 31, 41.

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usually with the CPR. "Often the immigrant was fired a few weeks later and he would return to pay another fee," stated a Mr. King, who "saw the whole procedure as a racket."[27] Numerous examples of blatant frauds on the part of private agencies are given in the 1916 report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment. But it was not only employment agents who defrauded immigrant workers. A foreman in Cochrane, for example, charged each of twenty Bulgarian workers ten dollars for promising them work with the CPR; the men got no work. A foreman in Toronto charged every immigrant he hired two dollars for hiring him and a further two dollars every payday.[28] A Methodist minister with Fort William's Wesley Institute was probably a voice in the dark when he sympathetically summed up the immigrant's experience of the promising new world:

> The foreigner gets acquainted with us, to a great measure, through the boss who swears at him, the ward politician who tries to buy his soul, the policeman who arrests him after the beer peddler has filled him up with Canadian beer, and the agent who collects rent for his hovel of a home.[29]

Given such a welcome in the new world and with practically no opportunity to improve their situation, immigrants had to live in the worst possible conditions in the new cities. That they established areas where they could actually put down roots,

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[27]This example is given in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...", 118, and was the result of an interview he conducted with Mr. King.

[28]Ontario Commission on Unemployment, 121-22.

[29]Rev. Mr. J. M. Shaver, director of Wesley Institute, cited in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 118.

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bring up families, and initiate their own cultural and religious organizations seems phenomenal. Some of them accomplished the seemingly impossible feat of starting businesses. In Fort William in 1917, for example, Italians were operating two bakeries, four butcher shops, seven grocery stores and a few restaurants, and Russian, "Austrian" (Ruthenian/ Ukrainian), Assyrian, Jewish and Swedish people had similar businesses.[30] Of four dance halls in Port Arthur, one was for Italians, one for Finns and one for Swedes. Most ethnic communities established their own churches and founded their own social, educational and cultural organizations.[31]

Aside from these accomplishments, living conditions were appalling for the non-English-speaking immigrant in Port Arthur and Fort William. Thorold J. Tronrud points out that the twin cities' emphasis on bonuses for manufacturing businesses came at the expense of essential cleanliness where the workers for such businesses had to live. Neighbourhoods, and the houses in them, were overcrowded. Streets in some areas were open cesspools, and by 1913 the smoke in immigrant residential areas close to factories "so filled the skies that limits had to be placed on

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[30]TBA 3, 102 "High Cost of Living 1914-1919," City Clerk's response to the Department of Labour request for information, August 17, 1917.

[31]See Margaret Frenette and Patricia Jasen, "Community Through Culture" in Thorold J. Tronrud and A. Ernest Epp, eds., Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity (Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1995), 144-59. On Ukrainian cultural organizations see Ilko Kozyra, Ukrainians in Thunder Bay (Thunder Bay: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1986), 198, 202. On Polish organizations see Zawadowski, The Polish Canadian Community ..., 4. On Finnish organizations see Marc Metsaranta, ed., Project Bay Street: Activities of Finnish-Canadians in Thunder Bay before 1915 (Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society, 1989), 47-55, 61-62, 66-68, and 109-117. See also Avery, "The Radical Alien ...," 210-11 and Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners" ..., 45: the first organization to be founded in any immigrant community was usually the ethnic church.

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smoke emissions."[32] The health hazards in immigrant neighbourhoods were said to have caused more Canadian deaths than the Great War did;[33] in 1914, Dr. Oliver reported that 75 per cent of typhoid cases in Fort William came from one such neighbourhood.[34]

To the alarmed Anglo elite, entire neighbourhoods seemed to be degenerating and this portended the possible degeneration of the entire society. Fort William's coal dock district, a literal example of "the wrong side of the tracks," was described by Bryce Stewart in 1913 as having been transformed "from a Hudson Bay post manned by MacIntyres, MacBains, MacPhersons, MacTavishes, MacLoughlins and other Scottish traders who have dignified the streets with their names, to a quarter peopled with Ruthenians, Polish, and Italian dock and railway labourers." So many immigrants had moved there that they occupied the entire section and had begun "to invade the adjoining part of the city."[35] The implication, hardly veiled, was that a pure and upstanding Scottish area had been invaded by vermin that threatened to contaminate a larger area.

Aside from this implication, Stewart's description of the single block enclosed by MacTavish, MacIntyre, MacLoughlin and

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[32]Tronrud, "Buying Prosperity...," 9.

[33]C.R. Tindal and S. N. Tindal, Local Government in Canada (Toronto, 1984), cited in Elise Schneider, "Addressing the Issues: Two Women's Groups in Edmonton, 1905-1916," in Alberta History Vol. 36 no. 3 (Summer 1988): 19.

[34]Thunder Bay Historical Society Report, 1914, 31, cited in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 30.

[35]Bryce M. Stewart, "The Housing of our Immigrant Workers," in Rutherford, ed., Saving the Canadian City ..., 143-44.

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Christie included some appalling data. Living in the block were 292 persons, about eighty per cent of them male, including 111 Italians, 58 Ruthenians, 31 Slovaks, 31 Greeks, 24 Bukowinians, 17 Poles, 8 Austrians, 7 Syrians and 5 Roumanians. There were 22 married couples, one widow, 25 girls and 39 boys; all the rest were single men. Twenty-four of these men lived in shacks and 149 lodged with the 22 married couples. A total of 34 houses contained 142 rooms with 219 beds. The average house would have contained four rooms with six beds to every single room, the kitchen included. Only three houses had baths and only eight had inside toilets. Garbage removal was "most inadequate." Seven houses contained bake shops and stores, and three more stores stood alone. A count of livestock was not provided for this particular block but in another Fort William area, "20 cows, 5 horses, and a few hundred fowl were housed in the block."[36]

The threats posed to the dominant culture by such slums as the coal dock area called for concerted effort and positive action. The action taken would include an enhanced social conscience among reformers who had become aware that, although these immigrants had been encouraged to come and build the nation, no thought had been taken for the living conditions they would have to endure once the job was done. A sense of social responsibility was added to the perceived threats posed by urban slums. Conditions must be ameliorated, not simply in order to protect the elite from contamination but because the immigrants

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[36] *Ibid.*

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themselves deserved better. After providing the appalling data about slum neighbourhoods in Port Arthur and Fort Williams, Stewart noted that "... we cannot afford to allow the situation to become still more difficult through the continuance of *laissez-faire* policy, nor can we continue to place on a few immigrant women the burden of striving in such surroundings to provide a home life for the labour supply we demand."[37]

Reformers saw the Protestant church as being responsible for addressing the issue:

> The church must be a conscience to the community upon its social problems, and must lead it into a neighbourliness and brotherly kindness towards the immigrant of whatever nationality, towards the number of homeless men...[38]

Methodist minister James Allen, speaking in Fort William in 1910, pleaded for the church to "change these awful conditions, make the people cleanly, healthy, and intellectually and morally strong" by "creating a taste and desire for cleanliness and purity."[39] Richard Allen contends that slums and immigration "prompted the larger part of the institutional response of the social gospel within the churches."[40] Fear, alarm and contempt towards the immigrant had to be converted into social work, proselytising and educating. In the context of the beliefs which blamed race, behaviour and attitude for the immigrants'

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[37]*Ibid.*, 153-54.

[38]Stewart, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Port Arthur, 6.

[39]James Allen is quoted in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 30-31.

[40]Allen, The Social Passion..., 11.

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poverty and misery, the solution was obvious: they must be Christianized and Canadianized; they must become more like Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In Bryce Stewart's words,

> It is most desirable in the interests of morality and religion as well as in the interests of patriotism and the public weal, that the settlers coming from foreign countries who are ignorant of our institutions, language and customs, should be educated, evangelized and Canadianized as soon as may be.[41]

Stewart's comments were made in the context of recommending a national housing policy which would cost Canadians some tax money. The prevailing message of reformers, however, was not that foreigners needed direct monetary assistance but rather that they required a "taste and desire for cleanliness and purity." The foreigners' acquisition of such tastes and desires would make them happier, better people; and the process of assimilation would assure English superiority, rescuing the dominant culture from possible degeneration.

That the reformers had unquestioning faith that such a solution was possible is confirmed by the amount of money and energy poured into its implementation. Although the Prebyterian and Baptist churches were not far behind, the Methodist Church led the way, establishing All People's Mission for "work among new Canadians" in Winnipeg with J. S. Woodsworth at its helm. The second such Methodist mission, Wesley Institute, was established in Fort William in 1909 in the charge of the Rev. Mr. J. M. Shaver. The word "institute" was used to convey the idea that it was not a church but a social centre and the

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[41]Stewart, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Port Arthur, quoted in MacDonald, "An Examination of the Protestant Reaction...," 33.

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emphasis was on practical training in Canadian ways, beliefs and behaviour. The business at hand was to assimilate and Anglicize the foreigner. Two Methodist deaconesses were imported to establish a school on MacTavish Street in the coal dock area,[42] with the overall goal of creating "an intellectual, moral, united people, ever loyal to Great Britain, to whom we are bound by so many ties; this is our aim in all our home fields through the spread of scientific and practical knowledge of the truth in nature and revelation."[43] They taught English three days a week, afternoons and evenings. Classes were held for women and girls in child care, cooking and housekeeping; knitting circles were organized to offer foreign women an opportunity for social exchange.[44] A troop of boy scouts was organized to promote a fruitful mingling of cultures: "The best and cleanest of our Canadian boyhood vied together with the boys of foreign parentage for supremacy in scout craft."[45] Girls' clubs sought to promote not only better skills in English, sewing, housekeeping and cooking, but also "healthy games" and "good literature." Successes were seen where the immigrant began to

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[42]Wesley Institute's Second Annual Report spoke of the two deaconesses, Miss Mabel Hannah, a graduate of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, and Miss May Harrison, as two "cultured women" who had "taken up their abode at Wayside House in the midst of the Foreign section of the city." One of their goals was to teach "mothers and little children" who were "seeking to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Anglo-Saxon sisters in the making of the Canada yet to be": TBA 4, 163, "Wesley Institute 1914-1920" Second Annual Report 1913-1914.

[43]E. S. Strachan, The Story of the Years 1906-1916 (Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, n.d.), quoted in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 122.

[44]MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 111-132.

[45]TBA 4, 163 "Wesley Institute 1914-1920," First Annual Report 1912-1913.

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resemble the respectable working class: a Ruthenian labourer became a streetcar conductor; an Italian labourer obtained a clerical position; a Russian Jew would be going to a university in Manitoba.[46]

Faith in the reformers' approach to urban ills and the belief in eventual and complete success were evident in Rev. Mr. Shaver's message in the First Annual Report of 1913:

> Our inaugural year is gone: we have struck our first furrow. The plow may not have gone as straight as it might, but we are confident the guiding posts were well placed. For the success which has attended our efforts we wish to thank our board, who could hardly be surpassed in their optimism and support ...[47]

Such optimism was sustained by Institute workers well into the Great War years. The Annual Report for 1916-1917 made the utopian declaration that Wesley Institute's ideal was "a united city where we all work together for the making of the city of Fort William into the city sent down from Heaven."[48] Such Cities of God, stated another zealous reformer, would be populated by a new race: "Out of breeds diverse in tradition, in ideals, in speech, and in manner of life, Saxon and Slav, Teuton, Celt and Gaul, one people is being made. The blood strains of great races will mingle in the blood of a race greater than the greatest of them all."[49]

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[46]*Ibid.*, Second Annual Report 1913-1914.

[47]*Ibid.*, First Annual Report 1912-1913.

[48]Annual Report of Wesley Institute for 1916-1917, quoted in MacDonald, "An Examination of Protestant Reaction ...," 122.

[49]Ralph Connor in the preface to his novel, The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan, 1909, quoted in Barber's Introduction to Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, xvii.

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By the end of the war, no such utopian declarations were being made and work among foreigners had by and large ceased. Many organizations such as Wesley Institute, chapters of the WCTU and missionary societies that had worked among foreigners prior to the war and during the war years had dwindled to inactivity in this particular field. One reason was the organizations' new focus on the war effort. But the major reason was that wartime circumstances and policies brought about a hardening of the worst aspects of earlier attitudes towards foreigners.

When Canada declared war, it also declared some of the "breeds diverse in tradition" to be enemy aliens. Germans, Austro-Hungarians (including"Galicians"/Ruthenians/Ukrainians)[50], Turks and Bulgarians were suddenly considered enemies within our gates and deporting them to their homelands, even if that had been their wish, was not an option.[51] The War Measures Act of August 1914 authorized arbitrary arrests of dangerous enemy aliens; systems of alien registration; prohibition of alien possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives; and provision for the protection of vital facilities such as harbours, canals, munitions depots, railway and telegraph lines, seen to be the

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[50]Ruthenia, or Carpatho-Ukraine, was part of the multinational Austro-Hungarian state at the time of the Great War, so Ruthenians or Ukrainians could be labelled Austrians. Galicia was also part of the Austro-Hungarian state, and Anglo-Canadians tended to label all eastern Europeans "Galicians," a term that developed a derogatory tone.

[51]On the classification "enemy alien" and the policy of retaining them in their adopted countries, see Gerald G. Ross, "Fort William's Enemy Alien 'Problem' During the First World War," in Papers and Records, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society 22 (1994): 3.

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likeliest first objects of enemy sabotage.[52] Employers were encouraged to turn these particular foreigners out of jobs although, where the job was so rough and dirty that others would not perform it, some employers kept them.[53] Many foreigners, however, were dismissed from jobs because of their employers' "patriotic preference for Canadian labour,"[54] and this action "swelled the ranks of thousands of aliens already unemployed because of the 1913-1914 depression."[55] Where freshly designated "aliens" were still employed, there was resentment on the part of "patriotic" Canadians. In Montreal the month war was declared, for example, French and Italian waiters complained to the large hotel directors that "four hundred German and Austrian waiters and cooks are occupied while men capable of the same work are out of employment."[56]

While disdain for Austrians ("Galicians"/ Ruthenians/

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[52]Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners" ..., 66; Robert Matthew Bray, "The Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War" (Ph.D. Dissertation, York University, 1977), 7; Desmond Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War," in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 55 no. 1, March (1974): 35. Rumours of an imminent invasion of Canada abounded through the first year of the war. In Hopkins' Canadian Annual Review of 1915, the author mentions that the British Consul at New York had stated that "a considerable number of German and Austrian spies in Canada ... are still at large" (354). The Canadian Annual Review of 1916 implied that many disasters that had occurred during the year were suspected to be sabotage, including three disastrous fires: the Parliament buildings at Ottawa, a shipment of Red Cross supplies at Halifax, and the American Club at Toronto (431).

[53]Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners" ..., 66-67.

[54]Boudreau, "Western Canada's Enemy Aliens ...," 3. See also Ross, "Fort William's 'Enemy Alien Problem' ...," 4.

[55]Avery, "The Radical Alien ...", 212.

[56]TBHMS E/24/1/1 Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society bound record book, newspaper clipping dated August 24, 1914, affixed to page 97.

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Ukrainians) was not new in Canada, hatred of Germans had to be more consciously cultivated. They were, after all, a "Teutonic race," as the Finns were, and other reasons for contempt had to be found, as they had been for the Lakehead's large population of Finns. In 1916, J. H. Menzies offered the explanation that the Germans had gone from good to bad in fifty years by becoming "Prussianized":

> These Prussianized Germans are rather Philistine than Roman ... strong dogged, unenlightened ... a humdrum people, enemies to light, slaves to routine, inaccessible to and impatient of ideas, stupid ... but very strong ... depraved in morals. (I am to be understood here to speak not of the kindly humane German people the world knew half a century ago, but of the Prussian Germans it knows today.)"[57]

An example of the abrupt change in attitude towards Germans is also found in a letter from Fort William's Mayor Murphy to a Gordon Christy in Hastings, Michigan, regarding the character of a former German resident: "Yes, a Fred Metzger had a restaurant here six years ago [and was] a decent, law-abiding citizen. Police say he was clean. He was of German descent, but there was no need to mark a man because he was German at that time."[58]

For "Austrians," or Ukrainians, of Port Arthur and Fort William, the winter of 1914-1915 was particularly difficult, and the situation had not improved by the summer of 1915, when Fort William's Relief Officer reported that "Austrian men are visiting garbage cans in search of food" and that their ten- and

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[57]Menzies, Canada and the War ..., 22-23.

[58]TBA 2, 40 "Complaints 1914-1921."

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twelve-year-old sons were "begging door to door."[59] The City was spending $700 a week, in itself miserably inadequate, to "relieve distress" among over a thousand poor people, but Ukrainians were not included; upon declaration of war, the responsibility for maintenance of poor enemy aliens had become the Dominion's. City relief went primarily to the British, Finnish and Italian poor, who received an average of sixty-nine cents "a head" per week. The enemy alien rate from the Dominion was forty-seven cents a week.[60] The inadequacy of these amounts is obvious when compared to the average Patriotic Fund payment of $5 per week, which was considered a supplement, so it is not surprising that Ukrainians were investigating garbage cans and begging door to door. Their relief did not begin to cover clothing or rent; "they had no work prospects and no clothes." The City was obliged to cover any urgent medical attention or drugs.[61]

City Fathers were anxious to solve the problem and attempted to "dump" the impoverished foreigners into the Dominion's lap. Some aliens had already been removed to an

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[59]TBA 2, "Aliens 1913-1915," letter from Office of City Relief Officer dated July 8, 1915.

[60]TBHMS E 24/1/1 Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society bound record book, newspaper clipping of January 1915 affixed to page 114.

[61]*Ibid.* The threat of internment and loss of employment were not the only humiliations suffered by enemy aliens of all nationalities; some were deported; some had their property destroyed and their lives threatened; and some had their church services interrupted with threats and violence. See Artibise, "Divided City ...," 383.

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internment camp at Kapuskasing,[62] but local authorities appeared to want to remove them all. Under the guise of fear of sabotage, Fort William's Mayor and Council pleaded with the Dominion to remove the "problem." A letter to Prime Minister Borden outlined how vulnerable to attack the City's elevators and railways were and suggested that another internment camp be built at Upsala to contain the alien "menace." The letter also mentioned that the situation of unemployed aliens crowded into the shacks of slums was a "menace to the health of the City,"[63] revealing a hint of the real reason for the plea. Dominion authorities saw through such pleas; as Sir William Otter, in charge of Canadian internment operations stated, "Some municipalities are attempting to take advantage of the situation to relieve themselves of the taxation necessary for the relief of [all] unemployed or destitute foreigners, and I think that Port Arthur and Fort William are in this class."[64] The Borden government was not about to embark on a system of mass internment, for many reasons: such a project would have been too costly; most "aliens," particularly Ukrainians, were not in the least hostile; the government held an antipathy towards anything

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[62]About 800 "luckless Austrians" were ordered into internment from Port Arthur and Fort William: see Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations ...," 43, and the entire article for detailed descriptions of conditions in the camps. In the case of families, wives and children often accompanied the men to the camps: see Boudreau, "Western Canada's Aliens ...," 2; Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations ...," 42; and Ross, "Fort William's 'Enemy Aliens'...," 4.

[63]TBA 2, "Aliens 1913-1915", letter from Fort William Mayor to Prime Minister Borden, June 25, 1915.

[64]Otter is quoted in Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations ...," 43.

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resembling a "police state"; and the government also held a well-substantiated suspicion that municipalities would dump all their unemployed foreigners into such camps.[65] After the suggestion of a camp at Upsala was refused, the City threatened that, if all aliens were not removed to Kapuskasing, it would charge the Dominion with the cost of administering Dominion relief to aliens. The Ottawa Internment Operations Office responded that it regretted "the impossibility of Fort William municipal authorities to assist in distribution of Government aid to aliens unless reimbursed" and added an expression of its surprise, "considering the burden removed from the municipality by the Dominion."[66] While these nice arguments were being made between quarreling levels of government, the situation of local Ukrainians went unrelieved. Even the activities of such self-help organizations as Prosvita societies had to be curtailed.[67]

As the war went on, the situation of enemy aliens improved somewhat, both locally and nationally. Some temporary relief must have occurred for local aliens with the "blip" of full employment that occurred when the phenomenal wheat crop of 1915 had to be transported, and such sporadic employment opportunities through the rest of the war somewhat removed the

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[65]Hopkins in the Canadian Annual Review of 1915 noted that there was in general a "tolerant attitude" towards those aliens who had come to Canada to "get away from what we are fighting - militarism and political slavery," while tolerance of Germans and "things German" gradually lessened that year. See 354, 364. On the Borden government's reluctance to implement mass internment, see Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners"..., 68.

[66]TBA 2, "Aliens 1913-1915," Ottawa Internment Operations Office to Fort William Mayor, October 5, 1915.

[67]Kozyra, Ukrainians in Thunder Bay ..., 216.

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desperation of the winter of 1914-1915. From a national point of view, alien labour became almost as desirable a commodity as it had been during the pre-war building boom. For the exceptional prairie harvest of 1915, ten thousand labourers were required, and "many alien workers from Vancouver and Winnipeg slums had transportation subsidized by the Dominion and Western provincial governments" to assist with the harvest.[68] By 1916 there was "too great a demand for men in every field of work and war" to consider aliens a "serious issue," in the sense of any threat of sabotage. Although there were complaints about their obtaining jobs, many aliens were released from internment camps to work on railways, in steel works, in coal mines and on farms.[69] Donald Avery describes the national labour shortage in 1917 as acute: conscription was introduced, taking into the military Canadians who had been employed, and the United States entered the war, cutting off the U.S. labour supply. At the end of 1917 Canada's worker shortage was estimated to be one hundred thousand. Prisoners of war who were considered non-dangerous were released under contract to mining and railway companies, a double benefit since it minimized the costs of internment camps at the same time as it reduced the labour shortage. The CPR took in many of these workers and enjoyed the fact that, if the workers complained about work conditions, they could be sentenced to prison for breach of contract.[70]

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[68]Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners"..., 68.

[69]Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review 1916, 431.

[70]Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners"..., 69-70.

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Despite the obvious need for alien labour, complaints that foreigners were working led to public protests about such situations as "enemy aliens in munitions plants making $5 a day while the Canadian soldier gets $1.10."[71] While the need for alien labour was growing, the public's hostility towards them was burgeoning. Returning soldiers, through the Great War Veterans Association, made specific demands: that enemy aliens be forced to work for $1.10 a day or be sent to internment camps; that all enemy aliens be registered and placed under surveillance; that they not be allowed to hold public office; that restrictions be placed on their immigration; that their newspapers be suppressed; and that "undesirables" be deported. The aliens were described as unfairly holding jobs which should rightfully be held by returned soldiers, although many of them were "doing work that few returned soldiers would be willing to do."[72] As strikes and other union activity among these workers increased, particularly among Ukrainian workers in the West and in northern Ontario,[73] and as the Russian Revolution of October/November 1917 began to be seen as a dire threat to all of Western society, "it became increasingly fashionable to lump

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[71]Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review 1917, 438.

[72]Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations...," 55-57. See also Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War..., lxxi. Fort William's GWVA also requested that the Chief of Police prohibit anti-conscription meetings. Although "free speech stoppage is not allowed," the GWVA reasoned, "any utterances detrimental to the countries [*sic*] wellfare [*sic*] is seditious." See TBA 121, 1019, "War 1917-1919" Letter from the Secretary of the GWVA to Chief of Police, June 16, 1917. The local GWVA included a copy of a similar resolution adopted by Toronto's City Council. Fort William did not adopt the resolution.

[73]See Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners"..., 70-74.

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socialists, the Industrial Workers of the World, Germans and Bolsheviks together and suggest internment for them all."[74] But the nation could not afford mass internment, or would not, any more than it would have afforded to house and feed foreigners during the pre-war building boom. Yet their labour had been necessary to build Canada and was now necessary to win the war. The Imperial Munitions Board tried to explain to the public in 1918 why enemy aliens held lucrative jobs in munitions plants and other industries: "most of the jobs in question were menial and unattractive to British subjects and ... many returned men were physically unable to perform industrial work."[75]

While it might be necessary to maintain these aliens in employment, the government could impose heavy penalties on them for being born of undesirable nationalities.[76] Registration and regular reporting to officials began when the war did,[77] and the suppression of the use of alien languages was applied more and more as the war went on. Periodicals in "enemy" languages were banned, and eventually meetings held in "enemy" languages became

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[74]Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations...," 55.

[75]Peter Edward Rider, "The Imperial Munitions Board and its Relationship to Government, Business and Labour 1914-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1974), 396-97.

[76]John Herd Thompson notes that many Germans responded to their new unacceptability by "informally changing nationality", with Swedish being "the most popular alternative identity" but Norwegian and Dutch being used as well. German names of cities were also changed; Berlin became Kitchener and Dusseldorf became Freedom. See The Harvests of War ..., 76-77.

[77]Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War ..., lxxi. For a detailed description of registration and reporting requirements, see Ross, "Fort William's "Enemy Alien Problem'...," 6-7.

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illegal.[78] The most despotic official act, however, was the disfranchisement of aliens through the War Time Elections Act of 1917. The Act disfranchised not only enemy aliens but also naturalized citizens of alien origins who had been Canadian citizens since 1902. Arthur Meighen rationalized the disfranchisement in Parliament as follows:

> In this country we have a substantial portion of our population who are of alien enemy birth, or alien enemy blood, or near extraction. Many of these people ... doubtless have been more and more divorced in sympathy from the land of their nativity. But, on the other hand, there are a large number who are comparatively recent arrivals ... and who, consequently have not the same sense of Canadian and British nationality as have we... It is in a sense unfair to those men themselves, many of whose sons and brothers are fighting in armies in Europe against us, that they should ... determine by their vote the vigour, or direction which that war should take ... it is unfair to the rest of the population that they should have the right to so decide ...
>
> This Bill disqualifies, for the war-time election, those of alien enemy birth, or of other European birth and of alien enemy mother tongue or native language, who have been naturalized since the 31st March, 1902.[79]

Where pre-war immigration legislation allowed for naturalization after three years, a person of alien extraction or even one who spoke an "enemy" language now could not vote unless he had

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[78]McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries ..., 131, 150-151. Russian and Finnish were included with "enemy alien" languages in the ban on meetings, Russian because of the 1917 revolution and Finnish because of their socialism and perceived kinship with Russians.

[79]Arthur Meighen is quoted from Hansard, September 6, 1917, in Alexander Mollison Lindsay, "The Effect of Public Opinion on the Borden Administration During World War I 1914-1918" (M.A. Dissertation, Acadia University, 1953), 204.

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entered the country over eighteen years previous, before 1899.[80]

The effect of official acts and unofficial sentiments towards foreigners throughout the war was to erode and eventually destroy reformers' efforts to "help" and assimilate them. Prejudices that existed before the war were exacerbated considerably by the war. Official war policies towards "aliens" produced a toughened contempt towards eastern Europeans and a deepened suspicion of Germans and Russians. The fact that alien labour was required throughout the latter years of the war led to heightened alarm about "alien hordes" taking over what rightfully belonged to an Anglo culture. Under the weight of English Canada's hardened racist attitudes, reformers eventually abandoned their assimilation efforts. In 1917, Mrs. Legate of the Saskatchewan WCTU's committee to improve the lot of foreigners explained that "owing to the revulsion of feeling toward the non-English of our Province since the outbreak of the war, the work of this department has been seriously impeded"; after the Armistice, all the activities of the department stopped.[81] The work of Fort William's Wesley Institute also appears to have gone into decline some time between 1916 and

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[80]It was the same Act that gave the federal vote to certain Canadian women; however, both the disfranchisement of aliens and the enfranchisement of certain women were calculated to secure the re-election of the Borden government and to ensure that conscription would be supported. Arthur Meighen is quoted in Joseph A Boudreau, "Western Canada's Enemy Aliens ...," 7, as follows: "To shift the franchise from the doubtful British or anti-British of the male sex and extend it at the same time to our patriotic women, would be in my judgement a splendid stroke."

[81]Legate is quoted in Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women'...," 403-404.

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1919.[82] The war shattered such reform efforts, defeated reformers on yet another front, and worsened the already difficult plight of "foreigners" in Canada. The height of bigotry and hatred, and the complete polarization of Canadian society, were obvious in the national response to the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, wherein such sentiments as John W. Dafoe's suggestion to "clean the aliens out" could be broadly and enthusiastically supported.[83]

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[82]Fort William's City Clerk's file regarding Wesley Institute, TBA 4, 163 "Wesley Institute 1914-1920" obviously ends in 1920. TBHMS File 163 "Wesley Institute 1914-1920" is confined within the same dates. In the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church's publication describing Wesley Institute's work, The Story of the Years 1906-1916, the story stops four years earlier (this work is cited in MacDonald, "An Examination of the Protestant Reaction ...," 122). A history of Wesley United Church published in 1961 implies an uninterrupted continuum of work among foreigners; see Wesley United Church 1891-1961: Seventy Years of Christian Service (Fort William: Wesley United Church, 1961). However, the only work uninterrupted by the Great Wat appears to have been work among foreign boys (see 19), which eventually resulted in the Thunder Bay Boys' Club, later the Thunder Bay Boys' and Girls' Club, still in operation today. The organization is no longer connected to Wesley or any Church; it is funded by the three levels of government, by the United Way, and through fund raising. About 60 per cent of its revenue comes from gaming proceeds - bingos, raffles, and lotteries (see financial statements, December, 1994).

[83]See J. E. Rea, ed., The Winnipeg General Strike (in series, Canadian History Through the Press, eds. David P. Gagan and Anthony Rasporich, Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973); see also David Jay Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970).

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IV. Armageddon and After

> There has never been a war in which the number of men engaged is at all comparable to the magnitude of the armies in the field today and the nature of the fighting has never given such a high percentage of wounded ...
>
> - Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, October 1915[1]

Of over 600,000 who enlisted or were conscripted into the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, there were by 1918 230,000 casualties and 60,000 deaths;[2] these figures included about 1,100 Canadian nurses who served overseas, of whom 50 died.[3] The effects of the enormous physical carnage, as well as the unprecedented psychological damage, obviously did not end at the fighting front. Some returned home physically whole but changed and disillusioned, and encountered a seemingly ungrateful society that offered little or no reward for their service. Some returned as invalids, diseased or wounded, in need of rehabilitation and retraining. Some did not return and must somehow be honoured and remembered. While the Dominion made some attempts, with dubious motives, to look after the wounded and diseased, it largely fell to individual communities and to the returned men and women themselves to deal with all three categories of the military: their whole, their wounded, and their dead. The soldiers' families and friends paid a high price of anxiety, loss, grief and adjustment. This chapter

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[1]TBA 2, 23 "British Sailors Relief Fund 1915-1918," letter from Lieutenant Governor of Ontario to Fort William Mayor and Council, October 6, 1915.

[2]In H. V. Nelles Introduction to Craig, But This is Our War, ix; see also appendices to Morton and Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon ..., 279.

[3]Andrew Moxley, "Angels of Mercy," in Esprit de Corps: Canadian Military Then and Now Vol. 2 Issue 8 (1993): 39-41.

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deals with the soldiers themselves and, through a diary kept by a young Fort William woman, with a single family's experience.

Ethel May Grover's diary touches on all three categories of soldiers, the whole, the disabled and the dead, and reveals the Armageddon that was experienced on the Home Front. Her personal record of the war years also illustrates how optimism at the war's beginning turned to cynicism and exhaustion by its conclusion. Ethel had a beau, two brothers and a cousin who enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. She was 22 years of age when the war began; her beau, Wesley Heald, was 20. Ethel had full-time employment as an accounting clerk, and her income was the only steady, reliable, and comparatively substantial one within a family that consisted of her parents, herself and three brothers. Her income would often tide the family over while her father and brothers were out of work.[4] In her spare time, Ethel was studying towards full collegiate matriculation, taking piano lessons, teaching Sunday School, and volunteering as Treasurer (later President) of her Methodist church's Young Women's Missionary Auxiliary.[5]

At the beginning, the fact that there was a war going on simply provided some employment in an otherwise depressed job market. Ethel's brother Lance Grover and beau Wesley Heald joined the 96th Regiment as early as September of 1914 but not out of eagerness to risk life and limb:

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[4]TBHMS A 57/1/1 "May I Grow to be a Better Woman. A Diary of Ethel May Grover Heald," 105, 106, 109. TBHMS holds a copy of the diary which has been typed and paginated.

[5]*Ibid.*, 90, 95, 104-105.

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> They are doing garrison duty at one of the elevators. They work three hours and then are off for six, but they have to be in barracks at 8 o'clock every night unless they have a special permit to stay out later. They expect to go to their work [clerking for a private company] at Pearl [a village a few miles east of Port Arthur] about the middle of the month, and just took this job in the meantime. They get $1.85 a day which is much better than doing nothing.[6]

It was not long, however, before the war started to inch closer to Ethel's life. She noted the next month that the 2nd Canadian Contingent was being raised and that Wesley's older brother Henry Heald, along with other local boys Ethel knew, was with them. Optimistically, she wrote, "I do hope the war is over before they have to go to the front,"[7] but two months later learned they would be leaving for England "about the first of January," 1915.

Through most of 1915, the war kept its relative distance and the men in Ethel's life continued to seek work. Ethel's father, two of her brothers, Lance and Mell Grover, and Wesley Heald found employment where and when they could. Her father and Mell spent winters in the bush trapping furs. Wesley was "off to the West" in August of 1915 to work for a company in Saskatchewan, as "there was nothing doing here and he felt he should take advantage of this offer."[8] He came back in September for the short-lived boom of full employment, and Ethel was able to report to her diary that her brothers would soon be working again as well.

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[6] *Ibid.*, 92.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 99.

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Towards the end of 1915, reports about friends at the front and their families at home were making Ethel more uneasy. She seemed to feel the war creeping closer toward herself, and she became more anxious for it to end.

> The dreadful war still continues and doesn't seem much nearer a conclusion than it did a month ago, although the Allies made a great gain about a week ago; took several thousand prisoners and advanced quite a distance along the entire front. It is likely the 28th Battalion, in which Henry Heald is, is now in action and so are the two drafts from the 52nd Battalion. Walter Shapton went away in the last one and I guess these are anxious days for Julia.[9]

Finally, in November of 1915, the war fully entered Ethel's life. A new battalion was being formed in Fort William, and Wesley Heald applied to be a quartermaster sergeant. Ethel's comments reveal rather a helpless anger; she could only hope it would be over before he went.

> It is clerical work mostly and his experience with payrolls will be a great help to him. He doesn't know yet whether he will be accepted, but it is altogether likely that he will be. I wish he wouldn't enlist, but I know that is a selfish view to take, and of course I won't do or say anything to stop him. Perhaps the war will be over before he has to go. This dreadul war![10]

By December both Lance Grover and Wesley Heald were in uniform, "looking very well in them, Wesley especially," thought Ethel, but adding, "I hope the war is over before they are ready to go."[11]

Of course the war was not over before they were ready to

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[9]*Ibid.*, 101.

[10]*Ibid.*, 102.

[11]*Ibid.*, 103.

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go. Wesley went to Winnipeg in March of 1916 to take an officer's six-week training course. Lance was by then a lance-corporal, and Ethel's other brother Leonard and cousin Gordon had joined the colours. By June of 1916, there was no avoiding it any more: the leave-taking would have to happen; all four had to prepare to leave for England. Although ordered to remain in barracks in Fort William on their last night at home, Wesley, Lance, Leonard and Gordon crept out through the canteen window at about 1:30 a.m. to spend the night at Ethel's family's home, and crept back before 5:00 a.m. to report for duty.[12] By 8:00 a.m., they were on a train heading east. Ethel wrote at 8:30 that morning:

> I must start off to work soon. It is a good thing I have work to do in times like these. I cried quite a bit when I came home, but after praying a little for them and for all of us, I felt better. We can only wait and pray and hope for better things. Leonard and Gordon look so young to be going off like that, but then we know they will keep themselves clean and that is the main thing.
>
> I must try and make up to Mama for all the boys being away and I will try to be as good to her as I possibly can. This is her birthday; she will hardly forget the day she was 52 years old. I must get something for her this morning.[13]

From that point, Ethel and her family had to rely on letters from the front and on newspapers to garner news about their loved ones. Waiting for news, and receiving it in a staggered fashion, could be extremely unnerving. By August, Ethel had received three letters from Wesley. The boys were all

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[12]*Ibid.*, 112-13.

[13]*Ibid.*, 113.

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together, training in England and taking a course in musketry. The meals were slim, Wesley reported, but he had two stripes by then and hoped that both he and Lance would get another promotion soon. The weather was fine but he would rather have Canada's than England's.[14] By the time Ethel received these letters, she had learned through other means that they had already been sent to France with a small draft, and she told her diary, "I suppose it is best that we cannot see what the future has in store for us, but how I wish the war would end." She learned in early September that the boys were digging trenches at the front, expected to be attached to the 28th Battalion soon, and "perhaps are now right in the firing line." From newspaper reports she knew there was "a lot of fighting there, but we don't know whether our boys have been in it. These are anxious times. We write every week but they aren't getting mail until they get attached to the 28th."[15]

The "anxious times" got worse when bad news arrived. Later the same month, the Grovers received the news that Gordon had been wounded on the 17th of September. He had been shot in the head and was in the Australian General Hospital in France; there were no further particulars.[16] On October 2, Ethel told her diary that Lance had been shot in the abdomen ten days previous and was in Number 10 General Hospital at Boulogne. She had also learned, through a letter from a high school friend, that

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[14]*Ibid.*, 120.

[15]*Ibid.*, 122.

[16]*Ibid.*, 124.

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Gordon's wound was slight and that he was back with his battalion. She wondered "if this dreadful war is ever going to end, and ... who will be the next one wounded."[17] She had stopped saying "I hope this war ends soon."

Ethel had recorded wrongly that Lance's wound was abdominal, and the fact that Gordon's shot in the head turned out to be minor was not learned until well after the fact. Only when they received letters from the wounded men themselves, or the wounded's friends and relatives, did the family learn any details about what had happened and how serious the injuries were. It was in a letter from Lance Grover to his grandfather in Port Arthur that the family learned that Lance had "gone over the top" and been hit immediately. He had been carried out of No Man's Land by stretcher bearers while his biggest worry was leaving Leonard there, not knowing whether his younger brother was alive or dead. Lance was lying in hospital with "a hole and hose pipe in his leg as big as his fist," with a serious wound in his hip; he had feared he might lose his leg, but that danger was past.[18]

Bad news continued to arrive. In December of 1916, Ethel noted that the family was hearing from Lance, Leonard, Gordon and Wesley every week. Lance was in the Metropolitan Hospital in London, England, but not out of bed yet; Leonard was on his way to the trenches for the third time and bothered by "rheumatism" in his feet; Gordon was also back at the front;

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[17]*Ibid.*

[18]*Ibid.*, 125-26.

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Wesley had been taken to a rest camp for a week after a big shell burst near him; while in hospital, he had burned his foot with hot tea but was back with his battalion. A friend had been wounded in the hand and was in hospital in England. Another friend was a prisoner of war in Germany.[19] Lance had another operation on his leg and a Nellie Cox, who had been visiting him, wrote several letters home on his behalf. Ethel hoped the relationship was "serious."[20]

The worst news was yet to come. The boys were scheduled to have an extended rest in 1917 but were back at the front after only three weeks. Ethel learned from the newspapers that "Britain and France have begun their Big Drive in real earnest now. The latest reports are that along an eighty-mile front they have advanced to a depth of 15 miles in places and have taken several large towns and numerous small villages. I hope it is the beginning of the end." In April, newspapers reported that Canadians took Vimy Ridge at a cost of 6,000 casualties.[21] Ethel expressed what any Canadian family must have been feeling in the wake of Vimy Ridge: "Of course, we know that a very large proportion of that will be wounded, but we are living in a rather unenviable state of mind just now,"[22] an understatement

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[19]*Ibid.*, 126-28.

[20]Lance married Nellie in England and brought her home to Fort William in 1918. *Ibid.*, 135.

[21]The figure of 6,000 was later revised upward; the grand total of Canadian casualties at Vimy was 10,602, consisting of 3,598 killed and 7,004 wounded. See Morton and Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon ..., 143.

[22]TBHMS, Diary of Ethel May Grover, 136.

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for what must have been indescribable anxiety.

It was almost two weeks after Ethel's brother Leonard was killed on May 4, 1917, that she and her family knew of it. In her diary, she recorded the bearing of the news:

> This morning I had just got to the office when Uncle Jim came in, told me to get my things on, for Leonard was hurt. I felt that it must be worse or why should he come for me in such a hurry. It seems the mother of the boy in the Telegraph office lives right opposite us and her boy told her before he brought up the telegram. Then she went and told Aunt Kate; she phoned Uncle Jim and he came for me. We three arrived at the house before the telegram, but the boy soon brought it. I took it out of Uncle Jim's hand and read it first.
>
> It seems queer for me to be writing it all down here, but I feel queer altogether; so tired for one thing. Mama has been so quiet all day, only broke down once for a few minutes this afternoon, but we all know how she is grieving.[23]

Both of Ethel's brothers who had enlisted, and their family, paid the ultimate price. Leonard had been killed, and Lance was discharged as unfit for service, permanently disabled, in March of 1918. Ethel wrote, "So our family is through, I hope,"[24] presumably with sacrifices to the cause. Her simple words indicate how tired she was of all of it and reveal a new cynicism; by adding "I hope" to her statement, she appeared not quite sure that the family was indeed "through." After Armageddon, there was only cynicism and sheer exhaustion left.

The legacy of cynicism, exhaustion and defeat might best be

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[23] *Ibid.*, 140.

[24] *Ibid.*, 155. Ethel's beau Wesley and cousin Gordon did return, without serious injuries, although not until May of 1919. Wesley and Ethel were married a few months later, at the ages of 27 and 25 respectively. They subsequently moved to Winnipeg, where Wesley's employment opportunities were better than in Fort William.

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illustrated by those who literally brought it home. As Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein state, "Canadians marched to Armageddon in 1914. Those who returned were transformed by the experience."[25] Neither the experience of Armaggedon nor the transformation carried any reward with it. The "whole" soldier, the able-bodied, was discharged with a War Service Gratuity that averaged $240, transportation to anywhere in Canada, and his uniform.[26] The sudden end to his pay cheques was accompanied by scant employment opportunities and, in the case of those with dependents, the cessation of any supplementary help his family might have been receiving.[27] His experience of the war and, in its wake, the difficulty of his getting home, contributed to the resentment and anger he felt about the unfriendly reception he received on his return.

The fighting front itself could do nothing but change and disillusion the soldier and set him quite apart from, if not at odds with, the civilians who had not experienced it and to whom he returned inexplicably changed. The soldier at the front had to bear "ineffable boredom, backbreaking work, and the unrelenting possibility of instant death from an unseen enemy." It was a "war of industry, of machines rather than men," and its

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[25]Morton and Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon ..., 1.

[26]Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, "The Bonus Campaign, 1919-21: Veterans and the Campaign for Re-establishment" in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 64 no. 2, (June 1985): 151. The free transportation item is cited in Struthers, "Prelude to Depression ...," 283.

[27]Married men were given priority in obtaining their discharges because they were more expensive to retain in the forces. See Desmond Morton, "'Kicking and Complaining': Demobilization Riots in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, 1918-19" in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 64 no. 3, (September 1980): 337.

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impersonal nature obliterated all romantic conceptions of soldiering and heroism.[28] As a contemporary expert on "shell shock" described the trench experience,

> a man has seldom a personal enemy whom he can see and upon whom he can observe the effects of his attacks. His anger cannot be directed intensely night and day against a trench full of unseen men in the same way in which it can be provoked by an attack upon him by an individual. And frequently, the assaults made upon him nowadays are impersonal, undiscriminating and unpredictable, as in the case of heavy shelling.[29]

The trench soldier was exposed to new kinds of danger "in terrifying forms ... the intensity and gravity of the artillery warfare -- the noise, the concussion, the frightfulness, the obvious impotency." This was a warfare that "stifled the soldier's traditional offensive spirit and rendered him increasingly impotent in the face of his own machines and engines of war."[30] After enduring the trenches, the soldier did not return home as the happy, conquering hero that society expected him to be. He found it "hard to settle down again to hum-drum civil life"; he was "hard to please or resentful of employers who had stayed comfortably at home."[31] He "would never

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[28]Gordon Martel, "'Generals Die in Bed': Modern Warfare and the Origins of Modernist Culture," in Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 16 (Fall/Winter 1981): 3.

[29]G. Eliot Smith, Shell Shock and the Lessons (Manchester, 1917), 10.

[30]Tom Brown, "Shell Shock in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918: Canadian Psychiatry in the Great War" in Charles G. Roland, ed., Health, Disease and Medicine: Essays in Canadian History (Toronto: Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine, 1984): 314. Neither G. Eliot Smith nor Tom Brown addresses the fact that most soldiers in this war lacked the "traditional offensive spirit" primarily because they did not hate their "enemy." Any anger they had was directed rather at their own officers: see Martel, "'Generals Die in Bed'...."

[31]Lower, Colony to Nation ..., 460.

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be an ordinary citizen again" and there would remain a tension between himself and the civilians who had not shared his experience.[32]

To compound the distance between themselves and civilians, the soldiers discovered that their jobs had been usurped while they were away enduring the horrors of the new warfare. If unemployment had been a serious problem when they left for the front in 1914, it was a monstrous problem on their return in 1919. Canada was faced with the prospect of demobilizing 350,000 from the military and another 250,000 from war-related industries,[33] and the country was neither ready for this prospect nor willing to pledge more than token attempts to deal with it. One of the Dominion's efforts involved simply delaying the problem. At Armistice, most Canadian military personnel were still in England, France and Germany; nearly 270,000 personnel had somehow to be transported back to Canada.[34] Partly to avoid a massive unemployment problem at home, the Canadian authorities retained these personnel in camps in England over the winter of 1918-1919; but for many other reasons, not the least of which were logistical transportation problems, the last of the

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[32]Martel, "'Generals Die in Bed'...," 8.

[33]TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919," letter to Fort William City Clerk from the Canadian Reconstruction Association of January 4, 1919.

[34]The figure of 270,000 comes from Darlene J. Zdunich, "Tuberculosis and the Canadian Veterans of World War I" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Calgary, 1984), 57.

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personnel were not demobilized until February of 1920.[35]

Once the soldiers were home at last, many had no job prospects and, once their War Service Gratuities ran out, many faced poverty.[36] They perceived a massive injustice in the fact that those who had not served in the military, including enemy aliens, not only had secured and retained jobs but had surpassed the soldier in job security and wages in his absence. Worse, these civilian workers were now complaining and taking strike action about not being paid enough. A special meeting of the Fort William Great War Veterans' Association in May of 1919 illustrates the resentment that veterans held towards such workers. At the meeting a resolution was unanimously carried that included the following sentiments:

> That the soldiers' return to civil life is being interfered with at the present time by the labor unrest; the special endeavors made by this association to obtain proper civil employment for returned men are being rendered fruitless, owing to strikes, which are largely due to the high cost of living; the returned man finds himself in no position to live without work, while large numbers of workers who, during the war, made large wages along with those who made profits during the war, are able to subsist during times of labor unrest.[37]

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[35]Morton, "'Kicking and Complaining'...," 360. In this article, Morton describes the many different approaches to deciding who got to leave first. A copious amount of paperwork had to be filed: each man had to fill out 13 documents, answer 363 questions and collect 18 signatures before embarking for home (336).

[36]In response to this situation, many veterans believed that a substantial lump sum payment from the federal government would be in order. Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, in "The Bonus Campaign...," describe a movement among veterans to obtain the lump sum of $2,000 for all veterans, including disabled ones. Faced with a $2 billion war debt that cost $115 million a year to finance, and having paid $130 million in War Service Gratuities, the Dominion government firmly resisted the movement.

[37]Daily Times Journal, May 26, 1919, 1 and 7.

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Many returned soldiers felt surrounded with a new affluence in which they were not allowed to share.[38] Employed civilians were complaining that their wages had not kept up with the rising cost of living, but at least their incomes had risen. The veteran saw such complaints as a "pre-occupation with minor privations and inconveniences" compared to what he had experienced, and he found the country to be "self-centred and inhospitable."[39]

While the federal government had not been blind to the fact that such problems would occur,[40] it was not willing to take responsibility for the plight of able-bodied veterans. Unemployment was regarded as a municipal problem, and government war pensions were reserved for wounded and disabled veterans. Federal involvement in re-establishing physically sound veterans was limited to the War Service Gratuity, the Soldier's Settlement plan, and a system of government employment bureaus. The land settlement plan, through which the Dominion provided loans at five per cent interest over twenty-five years, assisted

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[38]A. R. M. Lower (Colony to Nation ..., 459) expressed the dilemma eloquently: the soldiers were confronted with "the unpleasant spectacle of undue and often ugly wealth, side by side with the wounded and the broken and against the dark background of the slain."

[39]Morton and Wright, "The Bonus Campaign...," 153-54.

[40]James Struthers, in "Prelude to Depression...," argues that federal involvement in unemployment problems began with the Great War. Bryce Stewart (who had carried out the social surveys in Port Arthur and Fort William, as well as other cities, in 1913) was hired by the Department of Labour in 1914 and was placed at the head of a national employment service to deal with the 1918 manpower shortage and "anticipated problems of demobilization" (279-80).

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a very limited number of veterans.[41] Arable land was no longer as abundant as it had been in previous decades, and the plan applied only to those veterans who had farming experience, a "will to work," and enough money to make a ten per cent down payment. In the district of Thunder Bay, the Soldier's Settlement plan was virtually useless. Although large advertisements announcing "Farm Loans for Soldiers" appeared in local newspapers,[42] the "agricultural districts tributary to Fort William," amounting to about fifty thousand acres (enough for five hundred families), had already been awarded to veterans of the 1870 rebellion in Manitoba and of the Boer War at the turn of the century. These lands continued to lie idle after the Great War. Other arable lands held out of production were "in the hands of speculators, either as mineral claims or in some other form."[43] The Dominion's employment bureaus were not designed to create work but to amass information on where work might be found. An advertisement in the Daily Times Journal, aimed at potential employers, announced that

> The Employment Service of Canada has been created to grade the various classes of workers - trained and

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[41]Only about 7 per cent, or 26,000 discharged soldiers, took advantage of the land settlement scheme, and "barely a quarter" of these "would remain on the land by 1939." See Morton and Wright, "The Bonus Campaign ...," 166.

[42]See advertisement in Daily Times Journal May 20, 1919, page 9, "Farm Loans for Soldiers." After military service had been proven, stated the advertisement, "the Committee will investigate the physical condition, general fitness, and agricultural experience" of the applicent. He or she (the program was available to soldiers' widows as well) must then "satisfy the Committee that he is aware of the individual responsibility resting upon those who would engage in farming successfully, and that he has the required energy to carry on farming in a successful manner." See also Morton and Wright, "The Bonus Campaign...," 151.

[43]Daily Times Journal, March 3, 1919, "Land Scarcity," 4.

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> untrained - and to place the best in the country at your disposal, through a system of Employment offices from coast to coast.[44]

There were branches of the service in both Port Arthur and Fort William, but it is unlikely that the Service produced any better results than the survey of businesses made by the City of Fort William would in March of 1919. Although the Dominion planned to initiate some public works projects,[45] the primary national obligation was limited to a focus on "restoring the work ethic in able bodied veterans" in order to ensure that the veteran would not be allowed "to consider himself an unlimited creditor of the State to be supported in idleness."[46] Responsibility for the able-bodied veteran fell largely on the veteran himself, on private industry and business, and on the municipalities.

Early in 1919 it was made clear to municipalities, including Port Arthur and Fort William, how much they still owed to the nation and how large their responsibility was to their veterans. In a form letter sent to all municipal clerks, The Canadian Reconstruction Association stated that, while the

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[44]Daily Times Journal, July 15, 1919, "EMPLOYERS. The Employment Service of Canada," 8.

[45]Such projects were apparently to be financed not through taxes but by Canada's small investors. A Daily Times Journal advertisement for War Savings Stamps urged that "Canada must continue to export huge quantities of goods, but this is not possible unless we are prepared, by loaning our money to the Government, to enable the Dominion to arrange credits abroad." The purchase of even one Savings Stamp would, the advertisement said, ensure "a good day's work at a good day's pay" for a returned soldier: March 11, 1919, 10.

[46]Government advisor Lord Atholstan, December 1917, quoted in Morton and Wright, "The Bonus Campaign...," 150-151. Strikingly similar language was found in Harold A. Innis's M.A. Dissertation (McMaster University, 1918): it was "undesirable," stated young Innis, "to encourage waste and idleness by undue generosity." See Michael Gauvreau, "Baptist Religion and the Social Science of Harold Innis," in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 76 no. 2 (June 1995), 176.

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Dominion government and private business were doing what they could,

> ... there is a direct responsibility upon each municipality for the welfare of its men who have given vital service overseas ... Failure to provide employment will not only result in distress and misery to individuals but it will disorganize the labor market, lower municipal revenue, produce industrial and commercial depression and affect national prosperity. Municipalities throughout Canada have made great war sacrifices. If there is failure to meet the difficulties of the reconstruction period most of the value of these sacrifices will be lost.[47]

In a stroke, the nation relinquished responsibility for its able-bodied war survivors and handed the problem to the municipalities. But it was not only outside bodies that urged cities to spend money that they did not have. Individual citizens also assumed that it was in the municipal domain to look after veterans by creating employment for them. The Citizens' League of West Fort William was inaugurated in February of 1919 and immediately prepared a resolution to be forwarded to City Council as well as the library, health, public and separate school boards. The resolution called for massive municipal spending to employ demobilized labour: the construction of five schools, a collegiate, a library, and an extension to a hospital; extensive repairs to streets, sidwalks and sewers; and installation of street lighting.[48] The Citizens' League appears to have expected, in the wake of the war, an immediate resurrection of the pre-depression construction boom.

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[47]TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919," letter to Fort William City Clerk from Canadian Reconstruction Association, January 4, 1919.

[48]TBHMS E 28/1/1, Citizens League of Fort William Minute Book, 1.

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The cities responded with their best, if ultimately futile, efforts. Aside from the new task of finding employment for veterans, the Cities maintained their responsibility for relief to impoverished citizens, which now could include veterans. Not long after the celebration welcoming the 52nd Battalion home in March of 1919, for which both City Councils had voted substantial amounts of money,[49] Port Arthur and Fort William found they were also obliged to contribute to the essential needs of returned soldiers who were unable to cope with their new situations. Fort William voted $3,500 for the Special Fuel Committee to purchase fuel for dependents of soldiers in need, and Port Arthur voted $1,100 for the Soldiers' Aid Committee.[50] In an attempt to find jobs for returned men, Fort William conducted a survey of local businesses in March of 1919. Results of the survey only revealed how little the local economy had improved since 1914. All businesses reported there were no jobs at present; most reported that future prospects were fair to poor and that there might be some work after the opening of navigation. Few bothered to respond to the call for employing veterans and, if they did refer to the call, it was to defend their existing policies. The Western Grain Company, for example, reported that "our present employees are composed of British and Canadian born, with the exception of four

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[49]TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, February 13, 1919; TBA 121, 1019 "War 1917-1919", Fort William City Clerk to Chair of Reception Committee, March 13, 1919, and A. L. Farquharson to Secretary of Reception Committee, Port Arthur, March 22, 1919.

[50]TBA 121, 1018 "War 1917-1919," Fort William City Clerk to Chairman, Special Fuel Committee, March 13, 1919; TBA, Port Arthur City Council Minutes, February 10 and March 3, 1919.

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shovellers, who are Italian. We have one returned soldier employed." Many emphasized that, when the number of jobs increased for the fall movement of the grain crop, it would be "rough labour" such as unloading boxcars, traditionally performed by immigrants, that would be needed.[51]

Private industry had neither the resources nor the will to handle the problem of demobilized labour, and western municipalities were not able to initiate massive public works projects. With no money, reduced property tax bases, and continuing debt burdens from pre-war spending sprees, the cities could do little for their able-bodied veterans. Across Canada, some 280,000 such veterans and their families would struggle through the early 1920s. After that, they "would share only slightly in the prosperity of the late 1920's and they would participate very fully in the hardships of the 1930's."[52]

Although the Dominion had successfully relinquished responsibility for able-bodied veterans, it would assume some obligation towards the ill and disabled. The war had brought about unprecedented advances in medicine and surgery,[53] with the result that more of the casualties survived to need treatment

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[51]TBA 5, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1919," completed questionnaires returned by businesses to Mayor of Fort William. The following businesses responded: Kam Power Limited, Canada Starch Works, Empire Elevator, Mutual Elevator, Grain Company Elevator, United Grain Growers, Western Elevator, Western Grain Company, Canadian Pacific Railway, Canada Iron Foundries, Consolidated Elevator, Swift Packers, Board of Grain Commissioners.

[52]Morton and Wright, "The Bonus Campaign...," 166.

[53]See Robin Glen Keirstead, "The Canadian Military Medical Experience During the Great War 1914-1918" (M.A. Dissertation, Queen's University, 1983), ii, 254.

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and rehabilitation.[54] While the Dominion's plans and programs for assisting these casualties were extremely well publicized, the living casualty fared little better than the able-bodied veteran.

Living casualties numbered 183,166 by the end of the war, and most were diseased rather than physically disabled: of the total, only 3,461 had lost limbs and 171 had been blinded, most of the latter from medical causes.[55] A count of the living Port Arthur and Fort William casualties convalescing in Winnipeg in December of 1917 included 107 men, of whom only 47 had "gunshot, etc., wounds." The majority had other afflictions: eight had tuberculosis, three were "mental cases," and forty-one were classified as "other."[56] Well over eight thousand Canadian soldiers suffered from tuberculosis. The rate of this disease among the Canadian Expeditionary Force was twice that of civilians; for every hundred killed in action, six died of tuberculosis.[57] Many were afflicted with venereal disease. Although the Dominion provided treatment for this disease while the soldier was still in the forces, the disease was not

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[54]In fact, the majority of wounded would now survive: see Desmond Morton, "'Noblest and Best': Retraining Canada's War Disabled 1915-23" in Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 16 nos. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 1981): 75.

[55]These casualty figures are from Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil...," 207.

[56]TBA 4, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920," Military Hospitals Commission to Mayor, December 6, 1917.

[57]Zdunich, "Tuberculosis and the Canadian Veterans ...," 49.

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considered pensionable.[58] In the case of both tuberculosis and venereal disease, it was quite possible that the soldier had the disease before enlistment; the health standards for recruits dropped considerably between the first flush of volunteers in 1914 and conscription in 1917.[59] There were new afflictions, however, peculiar to the new warfare. "Mustard" or poison gas caused burning in the throat and eyes, skin lesions and severely impaired breathing.[60] "Trenchfoot" was rampant and caused "great suffering," but it was treated more and more quickly so that the

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[58]See J. Ian Casselman, "'The Secret Plague': Venereal Disease in Early Twentieth Century Canada" (M.A. Dissertation, Queen's University, 1981). An investigation of the Canadian Expeditionary Force revealed that of a total of 418,052 troops sent overseas, 66,083 (15.8 per cent) had venereal disease by 1918. It was also estimated, however, that 60 per cent of these had been infected prior to enlisting (145). But exposure to the disease, for the majority who were not already infected, certainly occurred in wartime conditions. In Daphne Read's oral history The Great War and Canadian Society, one front line veteran remarked that "you'd sell your soul for a night in a woman's arms." If you went to a city in France to do so, you were less likely to become infected, as prostitution was legal and brothels were inspected and licensed. If you were in England, however, you took your chances: "in England there was always somebody, particularly if you went into the pubs" (142-146); in London the "streets were awash with eager females anxious to comfort lonely soldiers" (Craig, But This is Our War, 94) and prostitution was not licensed. (See also Casselman cited above, 146.) The Canadian and British attitude towards the "social evil" was that soldiers should be encouraged to "be continent" and to stay away from "women of the prostitute class." Prime Minister Borden expressed the fear that the disease would be "carried to every Dominion of the Empire and the future of our race damaged beyond any comprehension of conception" (cited in Casselman, 155). It was a CEF policy, however, to medically treat soldiers with the disease; this advantage was not extended to either women or civilian men. What now seems an obvious solution, free distribution of condoms, was out of the question. The New Zealand nurse, Ettie Rout, was thoroughly condemned for providing condoms to New Zealand and Australian soldiers: see Jane Tolerton, "Condoms to the Rescue: New Zealand's Ettie Rout 'made vice safe' in World War I," in Ms. 15 (May 1987): 28-30.

[59]In "'Noblest and Best'...," Desmond Morton notes that many recruits suffered from tuberculosis "and other hidden disabilities" (75). By October 1916, eighteen per cent of Canadians who reached England were found unfit for service, and a further thirteen per cent might become so: Maj. W. F. Kemp to Adjutant General of the Canadian Expeditionary Force October 31, 1916, cited in note 8, 83.

[60]Zdunich, "Tuberculosis and the Canadian Veterans ...", 53.

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sufferer could get back to the front.[61] "Shell shock," a term that covered "an unprecedented range of hysterical neuroses"[62] was also new. Some psychiatric experts of the day, however, insisted that shell shock was merely the old "every day problem of nervous breakdown" that existed before the war.[63] Most officers interpreted symptoms of shell shock as acts of cowardice to be treated by severe punishment, if not torture.[64] Nevertheless, the number of living war casualties with a myriad of afflictions, including psychoses, steadily grew from Ypres onward. They could not be ignored by a society which, at the beginning of the war, "suddenly assumed responsibility for a soldier's welfare, including his family...," and the Dominion could not relinquish its responsibility to "huge citizen armies" recruited from "the least influencial members of society."[65]

The Dominion made much of its promise to look after invalided soldiers, particularly those with visible disabilities; in fact, the pledge was an important departure from previous federal policies. No longer would Canadian society accept the sight of maimed soldiers "eking out their pensions by begging."[66] Early in 1916, the Dominion announced

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[61]Clint, Our Bit:... , 29.

[62]Martel, "'Generals Die in Bed'...," 5.

[63]Smith, Shell Shock ..., x.

[64]Martel, "'Generals Die in Bed'...", 5-6.

[65]Morton, "'Noblest and Best'...", 75.

[66]*Ibid.*

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that invalided soldiers would be kept on army pay lists until they were fit to work or until they were deemed permanently disabled and thus eligible to receive a pension. As well, "the Borden government has announced that it will provide artificial limbs and eyes to such soldiers from Canada as have lost them at the front ..." as well as vocational training for those who could not return to former employment.[67] Towards the end of 1917, the Military Hospitals Commission assured the nation that its war invalids were receiving the most modern rehabilitative treatment. In a sixteen-page bulletin, the Commission described "All Kinds of New Methods and Appliances [which] Heal Wounds and Remove Disabilities":

> In the application of electrical and mechanical apparatus, massage, and physical training methods to medical problems, Canada's military convalescent hospitals have done original and extensive work. A school for masseurs and masseuses is in operation in Toronto. Several of the large institutions, notably those where amputation and shell shock cases are cared for, are equipped with the latest types of electrical apparatus and treatment baths.
>
> The value of needle baths, nozzle baths, continuous baths, whirlpool baths, vapour baths, electrically treated baths, etc., for certain wounded is a comparatively new discovery, but in Canada all modern ideas that will help the soldiers to the fullest possible recovery of every faculty are being used.[68]

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[67]TBHMS E 24/1/1, Fort William Canadian Patriotic Society Minute Book, newspaper clipping affixed to page 48, "Re Education for Soldiers." Losing a limb or an eye was not the only danger. Although the new shrapnel helmet, designed to accommodate the modern arsenal of mechanized weapons, was capable of saving a soldier's life, it actually increased the possibility of his having much of his face blown off. See Andrew Bamji, "Facial Surgery: The Patient Experience," paper delivered at Leeds General Infirmary September 9, 1994, to Leeds International Conference on the First World War, "The War Experienced."

[68]TBA 5, 158 "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920," Bulletin of Military Hospitals Commission Canada, November 1917, 3.

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The Dominion was providing the best of care to its wounded, and it could boast in September of 1919 that its pension rates were the highest in the world.[69]

Such policies and practices were not motivated by any sense that the nation owed a great debt to invalided soldiers, but rather by the belief that both Canada and the veteran himself would benefit if he became a productive member of society. Money for the Military Hospitals Commission was a "business investment, with a minimum of sentiment and maximum of sound, hard business sense." The primary purpose of the investment was "to make the disabled self-sufficient and alleviate a long-term burden of pensions."[70] The Commission made it clear that it was certainly not making Canadian men "soft" and dependent. "No 'old soldiers' wanted," stated the Commission. "The inevitable decline in public sympathy for the wounded is constantly held before the soldiers in the convalescent hospitals, and the fate of the typical 'old soldier' after other wars is held up as an object lesson to inspire those who have made such great sacrifices for Canada to take no chance of falling into this class a few years hence." If a man could not overcome his injuries or disease, it was his own fault. The key note of the Commission was

> the optimistic message that injury does not mean pauperism, that every man is given a chance to make good under circumstances devised by scientific men who have applied themselves to the various subjects under

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[69]Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil...," 209. Morton notes that, three months later, the United States raised its pension rates and surpassed Canada.

[70]Morton, "'Noblest and Best' ...," 76, 83.

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> which assistance can be given. But the alternative will be indicated. The man who gives up, who does not try to achieve victory over his wounds, will be shown his ultimate fate - vagrancy.[71]

The Dominion invested $27 million in retraining in order to avoid future and possibly greater obligations, but the training lasted just a few months for about 45,000 men, and "postwar budget cutting dismantled the program as soon as possible."[72]

The philosophy applied to the disabled was strikingly similar to that applied to able-bodied veterans: "no man, because he has fought, has a right to be supported in effortless idleness." Added to this declaration, for the benefit of casualties, was the statement, "Everyone must understand that armless, legless men can become self-supporting."[73] This philosophy would greatly assist the Dominion in its strenuous efforts to avoid any long-term burden of war pensions for disabled veterans. Although pensions were raised from time to time throughout the war, they remained at war's end inadequate in the eyes of veterans. In 1915 the maximum pension for a totally disabled private or a private's widow was a paltry $264 a year.[74] In 1916, the figure was raised to $480 for a totally

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[71]TBA 5, 158, "War - Vocational School and Hospital 1917-1920," Bulletin of the Military Hospitals Commission Canada, November 1917, 13.

[72]Morton, "'Noblest and Best'...," 83; Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil...," 210.

[73]Canadian Medical Corps Officer John Todd, March 1916, quoted in Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil...," 205.

[74]All figures in this paragraph are given in or based on those given in Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil ...." Disability pensions were based on the degree of loss; for example:
- the loss of both legs, arms or eyes was worth 100 per cent, or total disability;
- the loss of reproductive organs was worth 60 per cent;

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disabled private and $384 for a widow, in 1917 to $600 and $480, and in 1919 to $720 and $570, with further allowances for dependent children. But these figures represented the maximum pension for the totally disabled, and only five per cent of disabled veterans qualified in this category. Most of them received under twenty-five per cent of the maximum pension; that is, under $180 a year. In 1920 the Dominion was providing $36 million for 90,000 pensions, or an average of $400 a year per pension. The Dominion introduced cuts to these meagre pensions in 1921: it reduced a widow's pension when her children became old enough to work, and it removed from pension eligibility any disability that appeared after the war was over.[75] Just as the able-bodied struggled through the early 1920s, so did the disabled. In the depression of 1920-21, thousands of veterans lost the jobs they had managed to find, and almost a fifth of all disabled pensioners had to apply for relief.[76] For the living casualties, there was as little reward as for the able-bodied, and their disabilities in many cases would last a

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- the loss of one eye or lower leg was worth 40 per cent;
- varicose veins were worth 10 per cent (203).

[75]The United States was much more generous towards its Great War veterans than was Canada. Darlene Zdunich provides an example in the case of tuberculosis: if the disease developed within three years after discharge from the U.S. forces, the soldier was eligible for a full pension ("Tuberculosis and the Canadian Veterans ...," 134) while Canada paid nothing for afflictions that developed after the war. In "Resisting the Pension Evil...," Desmond Morton notes that by 1932 the U.S. was spending $250 million on Great War pensions while Canada, with the same number of casualties, was spending $42 million (213).

[76]Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil...," 210.

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lifetime.[77]

For the more than 60,000 who did not return, some meaning had to be found for their "supreme sacrifice" and the sacrifice of those who had lost family members and other loved ones. On every home front, "the compulsion (individual and collective) to search out consolation and meaning in the face of untimely death"[78] was an issue to be urgently addressed. There must be some compensation for tragic loss and intense grief; these deaths must be made visibly significant and never forgotten. The form which the compensation took in Canadian municipalities was in sculptured monuments at which memorial services would be held on each anniversary of Armistice Day. Almost every city, town and village in Canada built Great War memorials to honour and remember their dead, and the monuments were paid for primarily by private donations.[79]

The motivation of communities to provide large and visible memorials was enormous, but economic reality often had the

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[77]Shell shock was a particularly lasting affliction. By 1932, thirty-six per cent of British veterans on disability pensions were listed as psychiatric casualties: see Martel, "'Generals Die in Bed'...," 7. Of 9,000 Canadian officers and men who suffered from shell shock, 6,000 were still receiving disability pensions in 1939: see Brown, "Shell Shock in the Canadian Expeditionary Force...," 322.

[78]Young, "'We Throw the Torch'...," 20. In this article, Young argues that "high diction" was not one of the casualties of the war (contradicting Paul Fussell's thesis in The Great War and Modern Memory, that the war destroyed traditional idealistic notions and language about war and heroism). Young believes that the idealism is still evident in both the monuments and the continuing rituals of Remembrance Day services.

[79]*Ibid.*, 5. Young notes that, following the Second World War and the Korean War, there were far fewer new memorials built. "For the most part those already in place appear to have struck Canadians as adequate once appropriate additional dates had been added" (see footnote 87, 28.) I believe that the rash of memorials built after the Great War in one way signifies that the grief, shock and disillusionment of this war were far more traumatic than those of later wars.

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effect of shrinking vast visions down to very modest proportions. In Fort William, the ambitious plan to develop an entire city block into a memorial complex eventually resulted in one simple statue in front of City Hall. In 1919, the Province of Ontario passed new legislation which allowed its municipalities to use their tax revenues for memorial purposes,[80] and the City of Fort William embarked on grand plans to honour both living veterans and the war dead. In July of 1919, City Council endorsed an elaborate and expensive scheme for a memorial complex including a park; a clubhouse for nursing sisters, officers and men; and a war monument. The complex would cost $250,000 in total, with $175,000 raised from public donations and $75,000 from municipal taxes.[81] That there was no such money to build such a project indicates the discrepancy between the City's need to honour its veterans and to find meaning in their sacrifice, and its practical ability to do so. By the time the by-law came to a public vote, the municipal pledge of $75,000 had been reduced to $50,000 and the by-law was defeated at any rate.[82]

This defeat did not mean that the need for a memorial had gone away. The longer the City was without one, the more urgent became its duty to provide one. Enterprising manufacturers in

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[80]TBA 4 "War - Soldier's Memorial 1919-1938," letter from Morris & Babe, Barristers, Etc., to Fort William Mayor Murphy, July 15, 1919.

[81]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, July 8, 1919.

[82]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, December 9, 1919; TBA 4, "War-Soldiers Memorial 1919-1938," by-law published in Daily Times Journal; same file, several copies of by-law, on one of which is hand written, "Jan. 5/20 - By-law defeated 677 to 780."

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Toronto were quick to take advantage of the desire for memorials and implied that a monument was a matter of municipal pride. From the Thomson Monument Company, Manufacturers of Monuments, Mausoleums, Foot and Corner Stones, for example, came this personal message to Fort William's mayor:

> I've travelled coast to coast in connection with War Memorials. We can talk about Homes, Hospitals, Utility Buildings, even Parks, but the very first thing that would arrest you and I in any place would be a monument, one that would keep ever green the memory of those men lying in Flanders Fields...[83]

The City needed no outside reminders of its duty; the local Trades and Labor Council, the Great War Veterans Assocation, the War Widows Association, and the Imperial Veterans Association were all pressuring the City at least to convene a meeting that would get the project underway.[84] However, Armistice Day in 1919 and again in 1920 passed without a memorial. Not until the Women's Patriotic Auxiliary took over the project did a monument materialize; in 1921 a simple statue, funded by donations, was placed on the City Hall site at Donald and Brodie Streets, where it still stands.[85] Another women's group, the Lady Grey Chapter

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[83]TBA 4, "War - Soldiers Memorial 1919-1938," letter from the Thomson Monument Co. Ltd. to Fort William Mayor, January 30, 1920. The City received similar offers from Molini and Stanway, the Carrara Marble Company, and Hollister and Mappin. See same file, October 27, 1920; February 24, 1921; and March 2, 1921.

[84]*Ibid.*, letter from Trades and Labor Council to Mayor and Council, January 10, 1920; letter from GWVA to mayor March 8, 1920.

[85]*Ibid.*, letter of Women's Patriotic Auxiliary to Fort William mayor December 7, 1920; letter of City Clerk to Women's Patriotic Auxiliary, December 15, 1920; letter of City Clerk to Women's Patriotic Auxiliary, February 24, 1921; letter of City Clerk to Hollister-Mappin Studios Architectural Designers, March 2, 1921; letter to Carrara Marble Company, March 21, 1921.

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of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, maintained the military cemetery at Mountainview until at least 1937.[86] Grand plans for huge complexes may not have materialized, but individuals retained a commitment to honour veterans, remember their dead, and help to console grieving communities for many years.

[86]TBA, Fort William City Council Minutes, December 14, 1926, letter from Lady Grey Chapter; Fort William City Council Minutes, September 16, 1932, letter from Lady Grey Chapter; Fort William City Council Minutes March 23, 1937, letter from Lady Grey Chapter.

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CONCLUSION

Some historians continue to find victory for Canada in the Great War. The "macro" analysis considers the effects of the European battleground on Canada as a whole and discovers good news. "In the trenches of France and Flanders," stated A. R. M. Lower fifty years ago, "the spirit of Canadian nationalism was born."[1] Standard histories of thirty years ago echo Lower's theme:

> Out of the vast world conflict Canada became a nation, a full partner in an empire than had been transformed into the British Commonwealth of Nations.[2]
>
> [The war] created a proper pride and a new sense of Canadian nationalism. It established a valid claim to a greater place for Canada in the international community.[3]

But Lower's "colony to nation" theme reverberates, sometimes *verbatim*, in much more recent historical accounts:

> Canada emerged from World War I well advanced along the road from colony to nation.[4]
>
> ... the effort of mobilizing and equipping a vast army modernized us, and our blood and our accomplishments transformed us from colony to nation.[5]

The idea of new-found nationhood provides meaning, justification, and perhaps consolation, for the sacrifices at

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[1]Lower, Colony to Nation ..., 460.

[2]J. M. S. Careless, Canada: A Story of Challenge (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, Ltd. 1963), 327-28.

[3]Canada, Canada One Hundred 1867-1967 (Ottawa: Canada Year Book, Handbook and Library Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), 444.

[4]R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones, Donald B. Smith, Canadian History Since Confederation (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1988), 198.

[5]Sandra Gwyn, Tapestry of War (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1992), xvii.

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Ypres, Vimy and Passchendaele.[6]

Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein have tempered, if not revised, the "colony to nation" analysis:

> Even though Canadians fought as allies of the British, for Canada the Great War was a war of independence. By 1918, the self-governing colony that had trusted its fate to British statecraft was not only committed to speaking with its own voice in the world, it had won on the battlefield the right to be heard. Yet, the war would mute that voice. It would force Canadians to look into the abyss in their own confederation. The war did not forge a nationality for Canada, as it did for Australia. Instead, it revealed to a generation of leaders how delicate and painstaking their task must be.[7]

While the authors concede that there was "good news" for Canada about the Great War, they do not see a new-found and unified nationalism as part of that news. The authors also acknowledge the "bad news" and recognize that the war "lies like a great angry scar across the history of Western civilization."[8] That "angry scar" must include the effects of the war on all of Canadian society. An examination of individual communities, even in such remote areas as northern Ontario, reveals that no one escaped the Great War's defeats.

Faith, hope and optimism among regenerators, reformers and

---

[6]Patricia Jasen might credit the continuance of these ideas to the persistence of the romantic values of the nineteenth century. Jasen argues that it is not necessarily true that the war "brought about a reaction against the cultural values of the nineteenth century - against 'heroic' history, against notions of progress, against beliefs about meaning in human affairs in general." See Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 153. It could certainly be argued that the above quotations demonstrate 'heroic' history, notions of progress, and a struggle to find meaning in human affairs in general, and the Great War in particular.

[7]Morton and Granatstein, Marching to Armageddon ..., 1.

[8]*Ibid.*, 259.

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social purists exemplified pre-war English Canada. The Great War abruptly defeated their belief that a "better," more just and more prosperous Canada would emerge if they sustained religious faith, worked hard, and did their duty. The same belief had prevailed in dealing with the problem of urban slums, in which the "inferior races," immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, found themselves. Middle class English Canadians believed that a solution was inevitable if only the foreigners were taught to become more like themselves. The Great War turned what had been at best the dominant culture's patronization of these foreigners into an extreme racism laced with vehemence, fear and hatred. The war failed to regenerate the reformers, and the reformers failed to regenerate the foreigners.

A greater defeat could likely not be described than the one endured by those who went to fight the war or to nurse those who became wounded and sick. Dying for Canada was almost preferable to fighting and returning home. Able-bodied veterans were provided with a modest stipend, and the disabled were provided with a brief burst of assistance to tide them over. After that, they were thrown onto their own and their communities' scant resources to eke out the rest of their lives. In many cases, their lives were shortened by the war even though they had survived it: "... during the late '20's and early '30's the deaths of ex-service men in their forties were reported with inescapable frequency."[9]

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[9]Lower, Colony to Nation ..., 460.

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Who won? The view from the ground, the home fronts during and after Armageddon, reveals that the victory of the Allies came at the high price of the defeat of millions of individuals.

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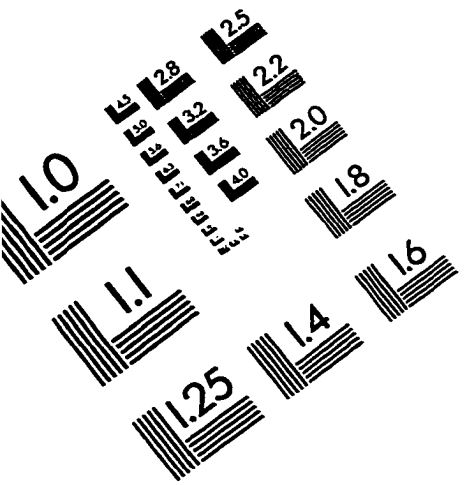
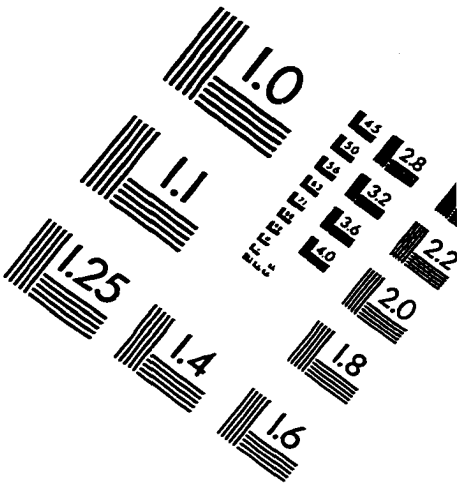
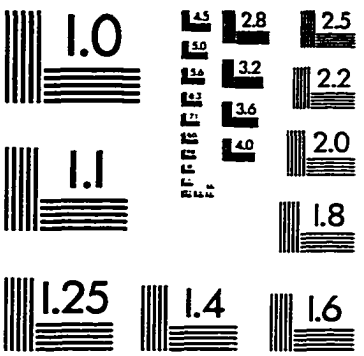
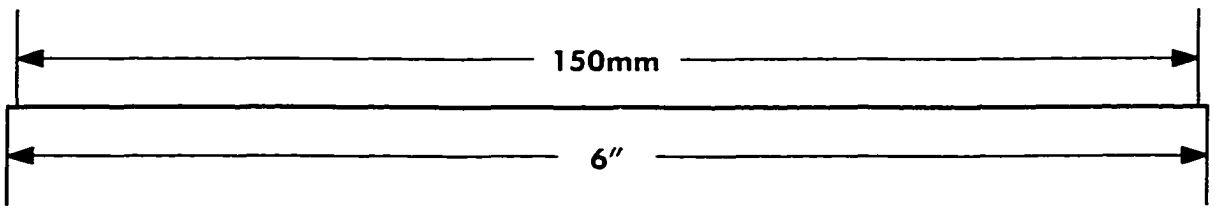
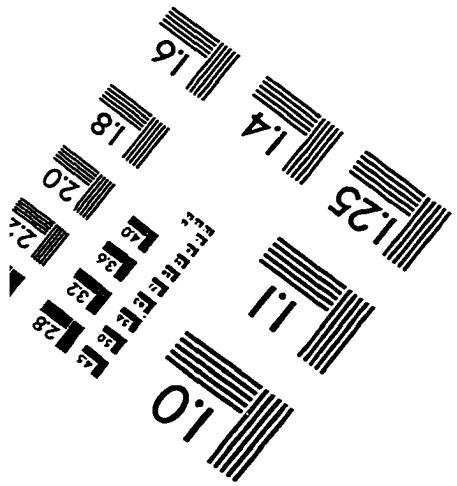
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

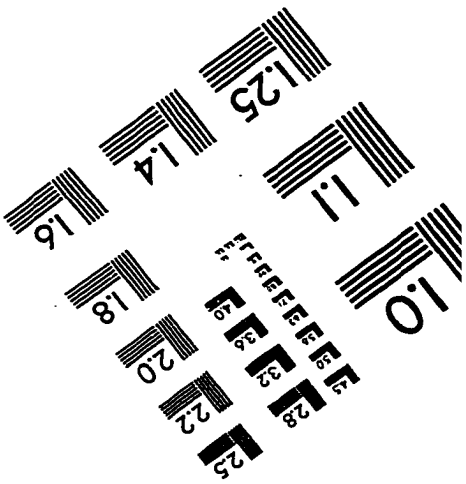












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