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GRADE / DEGREE

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**Killing Time: The Experiences of Canadian Expeditionary Force Soldiers on Leave in Britain, 1914-1918**

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**Killing Time: The Experiences of Canadian Expeditionary Force Soldiers on Leave  
in Britain, 1914-1919**

by

Sarah Cozzi

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MA degree in History

University of Ottawa

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Direction du  
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file* *Votre référence*  
*ISBN:* 978-0-494-61266-8  
*Our file* *Notre référence*  
*ISBN:* 978-0-494-61266-8

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## **Abstract**

### **Killing Time: The Experiences of Canadian Expeditionary Force Soldiers on Leave in England, 1914-1919**

Sarah Cozzi

Dr. Serge Durflinger

When Canada's entry into the First World War was announced on 4 August 1914, thousands of men rushed to volunteer. From October 1914 to late 1919 tens of thousands of Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) soldiers travelled overseas to Britain to await deployment to the Western Front. Dozens of camps were established, predominantly in southern England, where men spent time training for battle. During this time, leave was much sought after by soldiers who were eager to escape the tedium of camp life. Extended leave passes as well as weekend passes allowed men to frequent the local village and also travel to more remote locations. Men at the front were also eager to return to England, often wishing to earn a 'Blighty' in order to escape the fighting on the Western Front. Unable to journey back to Canada, for all of these men Britain became their 'home away from home.'

Despite this isolation, neither the Canadian federal government nor the military authorities involved themselves in the men's off-duty time. It was left up to Canadian volunteers to help support the men. It was in this spirit that the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club was established. Founded by Lady Julia Drummond, a Montreal philanthropist, the Canadian-only Maple Leaf Club catered to the men's many social and recreational needs. Founded upon middle-class moral standards, and promoting the virtues of Canadian nationalism and British imperialism, this, and other privately funded

clubs, embodied the notion of public patriotism of the time. As such, these social clubs also symbolize elements of early twentieth-century Canadian social and political culture.

Soldiers' leave time also allowed some men an opportunity to reconnect with distant relatives. As a large percentage of CEF soldiers were of British ancestry, quite a number of men were able to visit family still residing in Britain. For others, leave was an occasion to travel the country as tourists. These soldier-tourists journeyed throughout the British Isles, visiting as many tourist sites and popular landmarks as possible, often returning to camp exhausted from their adventures. This off-duty time helped shape Canadian soldiers' experiences of the First World War, yet these experiences are overlooked in the Canadian historiography. Seeking to fill this void, this thesis aims to contribute to a more thorough understanding of the CEF men's time overseas.

## Acknowledgments

The successful completion of this project was only made possible because of the generosity and kindness of those around me. First and foremost I must thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Serge Durflinger for all of his guidance, encouragement, and patience during the completion of my thesis. While pages marked in blue ink were initially quite daunting, marginal comments such as 'good work,' and 'interesting stuff,' reminded me that I was on the right track. Learning a great deal from his editorial comments and from our many conversations, I could not have asked for a better supervisor.

A special thanks to Dr. Tim Cook of the Canadian War Museum. While researching a different thesis topic, a quick conversation with Tim encouraged me to take on this project -- I could not be happier with the decision. Despite his own demanding workload Tim always found time to inquire about the project and was always willing to offer helpful advice along the way. I would also like to thank the staff at the Canadian War Museum Military History Research Centre, in particular, Carol Reid, who met each of my numerous requests with a smile and was always willing to track down yet another file. Dennis Fletcher, the images archive technician, helped locate the photographs used in this thesis. Always ready with a joke, Dennis was not only helpful, but also offered a light-hearted break from hours of archival research.

While always interested in the First World War, participating on the 2005 Cleghorn Battlefield tour of France and Belgium gave me a new perspective and new appreciation for the men who fought in the Great War. As such I would like to thank Dr. Andrew Iarocci for acting as tour director to our motley crew of Wilfrid Laurier students as we traipsed through the battlefields of northern Europe. His help and advice in the

years since have been much appreciated. Thanks also to the staff of the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, Dr. Terry Copp, Dr. Roger Sarty, Mike Bechthold, and Mark Humphries, now at Mount Royal University, for allowing me the chance to further indulge my interest in military history.

I also wish to extend a thank-you to the staff of the Lundy's Lane Historical Museum, my home for five summers. It was truly a pleasure to work alongside a team who exuded such a passion for history and who fervently maintained a commitment to keeping alive the stories of local communities. Much was learned and many laughs were had!

Very many thanks to my friends and colleagues both at the University of Ottawa and elsewhere, with particular recognition to my two roommates, Robyn Kuehl and Andrea Quaiattini. The friendship, advice, and humour exhibited by each and every one of you helped keep me sane as I muddled my way through the First World War. I could not ask for better friends.

This project could not have been completed, however, if not for the love and support from my family: Edoardo, Maria, Pierluigi, Lisa, and the latest addition, my adorable niece Lauren. For encouraging me and for always knowing that I would succeed -- o vœi ringraciâvi per dut che i vis fat per me! Love you lots.

## List of Acronyms

|       |                                             |
|-------|---------------------------------------------|
| CAMC  | Canadian Army Medical Corps                 |
| CASC  | Canadian Army Service Corps                 |
| CAVC  | Canadian Army Veterinary Corps              |
| CEF   | Canadian Expeditionary Force                |
| CFA   | Canadian Field Artillery                    |
| CFCC  | Canadian Field Comforts Commission          |
| CLIP  | Canadian Letters and Images Project         |
| CWCA  | Canadian War Contingent Association         |
| CWM   | Canadian War Museum                         |
| CWMF  | Canadian War Memorials Fund                 |
| CWRO  | Canadian War Records Office                 |
| CYMCA | Canadian Young Men's Christian Association  |
| DAAG  | Deputy Assistant Adjutant General           |
| GOC   | General Officer Commanding                  |
| IODE  | Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire      |
| LAC   | Library and Archives Canada                 |
| MLCW  | Montreal Local Council of Women             |
| MPPA  | Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association  |
| OFRC  | Overseas Forces Reception Committee         |
| OMFC  | Overseas Military Forces of Canada          |
| PPCLI | Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry |
| VAD   | Voluntary Aid Detachment                    |
| VD    | venereal disease                            |
| VOD   | Victorian Order of Nurses                   |
| VPK   | Vest Pocket Kodak                           |
| WCTU  | Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)   |
| YMCA  | Young Men's Christian Association           |

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## **Introduction**

### **‘I Don’t Know Where I’m Going, But I’m On My Way’<sup>1</sup>**

A wrong turn down a Sarajevo street on 28 June 1914 brought the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand face-to-face with his assassin, Serbian nationalist Gavril Princip. The climate in Europe was tense for a series of political alliances between the major powers had created instability on the continent. The assassination of the Archduke served as a catalyst for a general war and, by 4 August 1914, Britain had declared war on Germany. The gunshots fired by Princip, killing the Archduke and his wife Sophie, resonated around the world and plunged Europe into four years of despair and chaos.

Because Canada remained a British colony, the Dominion was bound by Britain’s declaration of war. While Canadian Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden had no choice but to accept that Canada was at war, he was able to control the nature of Canada’s contribution to the war effort. Accordingly, on 10 August 1914, an Order-in-Council set the country’s initial military contribution at 25,000 men.<sup>2</sup> This number was soon increased to 30,000 and, after a brief stint at the newly-built military camp at Valcartier, Quebec, the men of the First Contingent set out for England.

Arriving in Plymouth on 14 October 1914, the Canadians set up camp on Salisbury Plain in the English countryside. While the number and location of Canadian camps changed as the war progressed, soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) remained a continuous presence in Britain until demobilization was completed in

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<sup>1</sup> Title of a 1917 American marching song written and composed by Geogre Fairman in 1917. *First World War - Vintage Audio*, [online] <http://www.firstworldwar.com/audio/idontknowwhereimgoing.htm>, date accessed, 11 February 2009.

<sup>2</sup> C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Vol. 1, 1867-1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 176.

late 1919. By 1918 approximately 470,000 men had served with the CEF overseas, many of whom were stationed in Britain for extended periods of time.<sup>3</sup> Though much of this time was spent training, there was still ample time to frequent the local villages and to travel to larger centres such as London or Edinburgh. Quick trips into town were complemented by longer leave periods lasting several days. Soldiers waited impatiently for their leave passes, looking forward to an opportunity to travel beyond camp lines. For officers and other ranks alike, leave time remained a much sought-after reward.

This thesis aims to develop an understanding of Canadian soldiers' off-duty experiences in Britain during the First World War. Since many of the men were unable to travel home to Canada for the duration of their service – unlike their English, Scottish, and Irish counterparts – Britain became a 'home away from home' for thousands of Canadians. How did soldiers cope with being so far from home, and for such a long period of time? What problems arose? What were the government and military willing to do to help soldiers? And finally, what institutions were put in place, and by whom, to alleviate the men's need for distraction and comfort while on leave?

This thesis will show that although both government and military authorities were concerned with maintaining morale of the troops and keeping them out of trouble, they assumed little responsibility for them once the men moved beyond camp lines. Once on leave, soldiers were free to travel around Britain, an opportunity that allowed some men to reconnect with family, while others, with no particular ties to the area, travelled the country as tourists. While touring England offered men a chance to see some of Britain's most famous sites, importantly, it also offered men a break from the tedium of camp life.

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<sup>3</sup> Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up* (Toronto: Random House of Canada Ltd, 1993), 278.

For those escaping from the trenches, 'Blighty,' as Britain was affectionately referred to by the men, provided a much needed reprieve from combat. For some Canadian soldiers stationed in France, the prospect of earning a 'Blighty,' a slight wound necessitating a return to England, was much desired.

With soldiers eager to see as much as possible during their short breaks, leave was often a hectic, but still-enjoyable experience. But the needs of so many men travelling at once fostered the establishment of volunteer-run, Canadian-only social clubs, most notably the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club. These privately funded clubs highlighted government non-involvement in the men's welfare and emphasized the overwhelming sense of public patriotism which remained dominant in this era. Finally, the development of such Canadian institutions illustrates rising Canadian nationalism and self-awareness at a time of enormous loyalty to the Empire.

\*\*\*\*

To date, the only comprehensive study of Canadian soldiers in wartime Britain is C.P. Stacey's and Barbara Wilson's *The Half-Million* which details the activities of the Canadian Forces stationed there during the Second World War. The experiences of CEF members based in England, argue Stacey and Wilson, was quite different from those of their Second World War counterparts. While the men of the Second World War were not involved in a large-scale campaign until July 1943, nearly four years after the start of the war, the men of the CEF were actively engaged with the enemy within months following the declaration of war. Consequently, men based in Britain were continually needed in order to reinforce the troops on the Western Front, and units spent less time concentrated in Britain. As a result of this difference, Stacey and Wilson place little emphasis on the

activities of Canada's First World War soldiers.<sup>4</sup> Yet, the CEF maintained a continuous presence in Britain for the duration of the war, with tens of thousands of Canadians, at any given time, working, training, recuperating, and travelling around the United Kingdom. Despite this, historians have devoted virtually no time to studying the phenomenon of the off-duty experiences of these men.

London-based social clubs, main stops for thousands of Canadian soldiers during the war, go virtually unrecognized. Mary MacLeod Moore's booklet, *The Story of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club*, is the only work detailing the voluntary efforts of Montreal's Lady Julia Drummond in forming the Canadian-only Maple Leaf Club in London.<sup>5</sup> After working as a reporter for the *Montreal Herald*, Moore was employed by *Saturday Night* magazine as a London-based war correspondent.<sup>6</sup> She mainly wrote articles about the Red Cross, even travelling to the Western Front in December 1917.<sup>7</sup> Her short book, published in 1919, is a useful source as it provides insights into the importance of the club to the men, and details its establishment, organization, and management.

One of the earliest publications referring to Canadians' time in Britain is *With the First Canadian Contingent*, published by the Canadian Field Comforts Commission in late 1915. This work, sold in Canada as part of a fundraising campaign, focuses mainly on the disastrous weather conditions of Salisbury Plain. However, it also provides

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<sup>4</sup> C.P. Stacey and Barbara Wilson, *The Half-Million* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), x.

<sup>5</sup> Mary MacLeod Moore, *The Story of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club*, (London, 1919).

<sup>6</sup> Marjory Louise Lang, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999), 274.

<sup>7</sup> Debbie Marshall, *Give Your Other Vote to the Sister: A Woman's Journey Into the Great War* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 174.

glimpses into how the men filled in their off-duty hours. Photographs of boxing matches as well as references to popular tourist destinations in England, offer the reader a brief look at how soldiers staved off boredom in the early months of the war.<sup>8</sup>

Published in the immediate post-war period, the *Report of the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada 1918*, is the first work that delineates the role assigned to non-military organizations in “providing hospitality [to soldiers] overseas.”<sup>9</sup> Most importantly for this thesis, the ministry’s report highlights the efforts of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, the IODE, and a number of other ancillary bodies in assisting Canadians in Britain. Unfortunately, owing to the brevity of the work, most details have been omitted and many of these organizations’ activities are overlooked. This also holds true for the six-volume *Canada and the Great War* series, published throughout the war. While much of the series pertains to home-front and combat experiences, the second volume describes the work of voluntary war-relief organizations including the Canadian Red Cross and the Maple Leaf Club.<sup>10</sup> The reports on these organizations are brief, however, and only provide the reader with a glimpse into their war-time activities.

It would take much longer for the official histories of the First World War to be written. The first attempt was undertaken in 1921 by A.F. Duguid, who hoped to publish

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<sup>8</sup> Canadian Field Comforts Commission, *With the First Canadian Contingent* (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), 21-38.

<sup>9</sup> Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada, *Report of the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada 1918* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1919), 507.

<sup>10</sup> *Canada in the Great World War: Days of Preparation, Vol. 2* (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada Limited, 1918), 170-237.

a twelve-volume series on the history of the CEF.<sup>11</sup> The first volume, entitled *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, was not released until 1938 and only covered the first year of the war (August 1914 to September 1915). This was accompanied by an additional volume of appendices, covering the same time period. But the series was never completed, and these two volumes remain the sole works published. As the focus of the series was to discuss the CEF's operations, it is not surprising that Duguid disregarded the men's numerous off-duty leisure and recreational activities.<sup>12</sup> However, his work remains very useful in understanding the creation and organization of the CEF during its initial months.

The second attempt at writing an official history of Canadian forces in the First World War came in 1962 with the publication of G.W.L. Nicholson's one-volume *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*. His primary goal was to write an operational history of the CEF, detailing its exploits on the Western Front.<sup>13</sup> While the volume does not dismiss time spent "Behind the Front," once again the focus was on the administrative organization of the force, recruitment, and training.<sup>14</sup> Desmond Morton's *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War* further discussed the organizational and administrative history of the CEF. The book is beneficial for its focus on the creation of the Overseas Ministry, the Canadian government department in London charged with reorganizing Canada's war effort in the

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<sup>11</sup> Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2006), 45.

<sup>12</sup> A.F. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938), xii.

<sup>13</sup> G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), xii.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*, chapters 2 and 7.

wake of the confusion caused by the Minister of Militia and Defence (1914-1916) Sam Hughes's policies.<sup>15</sup>

One of the first studies aimed at understanding the experiences of Canadian soldiers in the First World War is Desmond Morton's *When Your Number's Up*. Employing personal letters and diaries, Morton traces the path of the soldier starting with the outbreak of war, through to the immediate post-war years. But Morton only offers a cursory look at what soldiers were doing while away from camp. Brief sections devoted to the time spent in England focus on the "Old Originals," men of the 1<sup>st</sup> Division, and their fight against dry canteens and the inclement weather of Salisbury Plain.<sup>16</sup> Later discussions on soldiers' leave provide an all-too-fleeting look at time spent in London, commenting on soldiers' first impressions, and on their time as tourists visiting sights and attending shows.<sup>17</sup> While Morton's book remains an excellent study of Canadian soldiers in the First World War, it does not depict the full range of soldiers' experiences while on leave.

More recent literature continues to provide limited information regarding the social activities of the CEF in Britain. While there exist few publications detailing Canadians as tourists, the recently published '*A Happy Holiday: English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930*,' by Cecilia Morgan, does document the travels of Canadians as they voyaged to Europe and the British Isles. Interestingly, however, the author omits any discussion of the wartime years, disappointingly believing such an

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<sup>15</sup> Desmond Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

<sup>16</sup> Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 26-28.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

endeavour “outside the realm of [the] study’s possibilities.”<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, this thesis seeks to fill the void left by Morgan’s work. While the literature steers away from exploring the travelling Canadian soldier, articles such as James Curran’s “‘Bonjoor Paree!’ The First AIF in Paris, 1916-1918,” and Richard White’s “The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War” present insights into Australian soldiers’ culture, and provide an understanding of how other colonial troops understood the new world around them.<sup>19</sup>

Tim Cook’s two-volume history chronicling the Canadian experience in the First World War discusses both the larger political and organizational aspects of Canada’s role in the conflict as well as the front-line experiences of the soldiers. Much like Morton’s *When Your Number’s Up*, Cook uses first-person testimonies to recreate the war from the soldiers’ perspective, adopting a bottom-up approach to studying combat experiences. In his first volume, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916*, Cook devotes a chapter to the activities of Canadian troops in England, beginning with their arrival in October 1914 through to 1915. He spends little time, however, examining the soldiers’ activities away from camp, instead focussing on the inclement weather, inadequate equipment, the debate between wet and dry canteens, as well as the threat of ‘immoral’ women to the men’s health.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Cecilia Morgan, ‘A Happy Holiday:’ *English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 22.

<sup>19</sup> James Curran, “‘Bonjoor Paree!’ The First AIF in Paris, 1916-1918,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 23: 60, (1999): 18-26; Richard Wright, “The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War,” *War and Society* 5: 1, (May 1987), 63-77.

<sup>20</sup> Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2007), Chapter 6.

With his second volume, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1917-1918*, Cook delves deeper into the soldiers' off-duty activities. Devoting an entire chapter to leave in Britain, Cook captures the enthusiasm of the troops as they escaped the dangers of the Western Front. Although leave was granted infrequently, the ability to enjoy fresh showers, pressed uniforms, and the chance to see the sights of London, "remained," according to Cook, "an essential component to the soldiers' well-being and morale."<sup>21</sup> While Cook touches on key elements of soldiers' activities, such as reconnecting with British relatives and sightseeing, these are only dealt with in a perfunctory manner given that the author's focus overwhelmingly was to document operations on the Western Front.<sup>22</sup> The role of Canadians' volunteerism is also only touched upon briefly, with references to the work of Lady Julia Drummond and Lady Perley and their efforts to provide comforts to the soldiers.<sup>23</sup> But Cook does not elaborate on the vital role these women played in organizing Canadian-only social clubs, such as the Maple Leaf Club. Still, Cook's two-volume series and Morton's *When Your Number's Up*, provide the greatest insight thus far published into the social experiences of Canadian troops in the First World War.

One of the most recent First World War publications is Andrew Iarocci's *Shoestring Soldiers: The 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division at War, 1914-1915*. While much of the work discusses the Division's experiences on the Western Front, Iarocci's early chapters establish the history of the Division as it camped on Salisbury Plain. Yet, the focus of the book remains on the organization and the training of the men. The men of the 1<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1917-1918* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2008), 178.

<sup>22</sup> Tim Cook, *Shock Troops*, 172-174.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

Division did, however, earn a negative reputation from local citizens who accused the men of various alcohol-related misdeeds. Accordingly, there is a brief discussion regarding the alcohol debate and the allowance of wet canteens in camp. Further analysis of the men's off-duty time, however, remains beyond the scope *Shoestring Soldiers*.<sup>24</sup>

Some recent Ph.D. and Master's theses have delved into the social facet of the wartime CEF. The most recent work, Maarten Gerritsen's 2009 Ph.D. dissertation "Corps Identity: The Letters, Diaries, and Memoirs of Canada's Great War Soldiers," deals with notions of identity in an effort to understand how CEF soldiers perceived themselves through the lens of war.<sup>25</sup> An interesting exercise in the use of first-person testimonials, this thesis brings to light the importance, and the power, of perception in shaping short- and long-term memory. While first-person testimonials will be used in this thesis in order to recreate the leave-time activities of the men, it will also seek to convey a broader understanding of the roles of government, military authorities, and voluntary organization in the social lives of Canadian soldiers.

John Jason Wilson's "Soldiers of Song: The Dumbells and Other Canadian Concert Parties of the First World War," focuses on soldier-based concert troupes organized during the war. Wilson's thesis highlights the importance of providing distractions and entertainment for the men in order to maintain a high level of morale. Such concert troupes were often based in France, not in Britain, and were used to entertain soldiers coming out of the line. Wilson, however, does briefly discuss the entertainment of soldiers in England by British philanthropists. Describing the

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<sup>24</sup> Andrew Iarocci, *Shoestring Soldiers: The 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division at War, 1914-1915* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), chapter 1 and 2.

<sup>25</sup> Maarten Gerritsen, "Corps Identity: The Letters, Diaries, and Memoirs of Canada's Great War Soldiers," (Ph.D. diss., Memorial University, 2009).

“....archetypal English philanthropist of the First World War [as] condescending, controlling and cocksure.”<sup>26</sup> Wilson states that, “The typical philanthropist was a woman from London’s high-society who sought to raise the morale of the wounded but fell abysmally short of the desired effort.”<sup>27</sup> In light of the hard work and dedication of the many female volunteers of the Maple Leaf Club, these statements appear to be misleading.

Isabelle Diane Losinger’s thesis, “Officer-Man Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919,” studies how men perceived their commanding officers, and how men of various ranks interacted with one another.<sup>28</sup> Much of the thesis remains focused on life within the Canadian camps. There is some discussion pertaining to officers’ privileges regarding extended leave time and pay, but overall, there is little time spent on soldiers’ lives away from camp.

While secondary sources yielded little information on the leave-time activities of CEF soldiers, archival sources proved more forthcoming. The RG 9 fonds, records from the Department of Militia and Defence, held at Library and Archives Canada (LAC), document the activities and the correspondence between various military and government officials. Importantly for this thesis, these records shed light on some of the social aspects of the Canadians’ wartime experiences. Of utmost interest were the records of the Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada (OMFC). Established in London, England in October 1916, the OMFC acted as the Department of Militia and Defence’s

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<sup>26</sup> John Jason Wilson, “Soldiers of Song: The Dumbells and Other Canadian Concert Parties of the First World War,” (MA thesis, University of Guelph, 2003), 102.

<sup>27</sup> Wilson, “Soldiers of Song: The Dumbells and Other Canadian Concert Parties of the First World War,” 102.

<sup>28</sup> Isabelle Diane Losinger, “Officer-Man Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919,” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1991).

overseas administrative branch. The OMFC maintained records related to the men's training and non-training activities. Also contained within the RG 9 records are the documents of the Canadian War Records Office (CWRO). Initiated by Canadian publishing magnate Sir Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook) in January 1916, the CWRO was concerned with collecting records of the CEF and publishing works detailing their exploits.<sup>29</sup> As such, these fonds contain a wide range of documents pertaining to the activities of the CEF, including some of the men's off-base activities. Finally, the documents relating to Chaplain Services, although not as thorough as those of the OMFC and the CWRO, are also useful in highlighting the needs of the men. Frank reports discuss the problems of venereal disease and drunkenness, as well as the measures taken by the chaplains to alleviate their boredom during off-duty hours.

The Archives of Ontario in Toronto also supplied useful sources to understand the leave-time activities of the men. The Premier William Hearst fond provided a rich look at Ontario's contributions to the social welfare of Canadian soldiers overseas. A staunch supporter of the war effort and of Lady Julia Drummond's Maple Leaf Club, Hearst's papers contained an assortment of personal correspondence, official speeches, and accounting records, all attesting to the premier's wartime patriotic efforts. Combined, these archival sources help develop an understanding of how government and the military authorities responded to the social needs of soldiers.

While government and military documents shed light on the macro-level decisions that were made, it is important to understand how these events were perceived by those directly affected – the men of the CEF. In this regard, the Canadian War

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<sup>29</sup> Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars*, 17.

Museum archives yielded a great deal of documentation which provided insight into the lives of the CEF soldiers. Containing a significant number of soldiers' letters, diaries, and memoirs, the museum also holds a sizeable collection of First World War ephemera, including such items as concert programs and city maps. Items such as these are essential in recreating the tourist experiences of CEF soldiers.

The surviving documentary material of men such as Ralph Gibson Adams, Herbert Heckford Burrell, and Harry Coombs, can speak for the thousands of men who travelled through Britain.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, these letters represent only a small percentage of the men and women who were involved in the war effort, and one must use caution in generalizing about the wartime experiences of all those who travelled to Britain with the CEF. Moreover, both military and self-censorship were enforced by officers and men alike in order to protect delicate information, or to shield loved ones back home from the truths of the events taking place overseas.<sup>31</sup> But little evident military censorship would have been required of those writing about their off-duty time and travels in Britain. Accordingly, despite their limitations these sources remain useful in highlighting the daily experiences of those overseas, providing a personal element to the conflict.

Soldiers' recollections of their war years can also be found in the many memoirs that were published during and after the First World War. Compiled from letters or diaries written overseas, these recollections provided audiences in Canada with an understanding of the experiences of the men and women of the CEF. Of utility for this thesis, titles such as *Private Peat*, by Harold R. Peat, *Holding the Line*, by Harold

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<sup>30</sup> Canadian War Museum (hereafter CWM), 58A 1 1.13, Ralph Adams Gibson; CWM, 58 A 1 8.12, Herbert Heckford Burrell Diary; CWM, Harry Coombs, 58A 1 197.3.

<sup>31</sup> For further discussion on censorship, see Jeffery A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996).

Baldwin, *From the St. Lawrence to the Yser*, by Frederic C. Curry, *The Emma Gees*, by Herbert McBride, all provide the soldiers' perspective of daily life during the war, including their time spent in England.<sup>32</sup> Also in this vein of first-person remembrances is the CBC Radio program, *In Flanders Fields: A Story of the Canadian Corps*.<sup>33</sup> Consisting of a series of taped interviews with First World War veterans, the project sought to capture their experiences from the start of the war through to its end. Furthermore, researchers today are fortunate to benefit from the Canadian Letters and Images Project (CLIP), an ongoing collaboration between Vancouver Island University (formerly Malaspina University College), and the University of Western Ontario. The project seeks to "archive the Canadian war experience, from any war, as told through the letters and images of Canadians themselves," making the letters fully accessible online to the public.<sup>34</sup>

The first chapter of the present work begins with Canada's military preparation for war and the mobilization of troops for overseas service. It goes on to trace the composition of the CEF, noting that while the First Contingent, which arrived in Britain in 1914, was comprised of men who were predominantly British born, by the end of the war, the CEF was dominated by Canadian-born men. The chapter also establishes the presence of Canadian troops in England through the creation of permanent camps,

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<sup>32</sup> Harold Reginald Peat, *Private Peat* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917); Harold Baldwin, *Holding the Line* (Toronto: G.J. McLeod, 1918); Frederic C. Curry, *From the St. Lawrence to the Yser* (London: Smith and Elder, 1916); Herbert McBride, *The Emma Gees* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1918).

<sup>33</sup> CBC, *In Flanders Fields: A Story of the Canadian Corps* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1964). Located at the Canadian War Museum archive.

<sup>34</sup> Canadian Letters and Images Project, *About Us*, (2006) [online] <http://www.canadianletters.ca/aboutus.php>, date accessed 26 February 2009.

predominantly in southern England. From here soldiers would be granted leave time, an important occasion for men based in England and for those who had been deployed to the Western Front. Always eager to go on leave, men looked forward to their time away from camp. While government and military authorities recognized the importance of granting leave, they remained unwilling to provide soldiers with services once the men left the camp. As such, this chapter also seeks to highlight the non-involvement of government and military authorities in the off-duty lives of soldiers.

The second chapter chronicles the rise of social clubs in England during the war. Needing to fill the void created as a result of government and military inaction, volunteers established social clubs for the men. The King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, was officially inaugurated in August 1915. Providing meals, accommodations, and numerous other amenities to the men, for four years the Maple Leaf Club became a 'home away from home' to thousands of CEF soldiers.

The third chapter broadly looks at what soldiers did while they were on leave. As many were originally from the British Isles, a significant number opted to visit family. Others chose to explore England, Scotland, and Ireland as soldier-tourists. Using this time away from camp as an opportunity to visit as many sites as possible during their brief stay, the men often found that leave was not the relaxing break which they had anticipated.

Ultimately, this thesis will help to develop a much clearer understanding of the CEF's time in England. While most historians have chosen to ignore this social facet of the Canadians' First World War experiences, studying the men of the CEF in this context will add to our collective understanding of Canadians' overseas service. Contributing to

military, social, and cultural history, it is hoped that studying such underexplored activities of the CEF will stimulate further research about the human dimensions and experiential nature of Canadian soldiers' non-combat activities.

## Chapter 1

### **'It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary France' - Mobilization and Arrival in England**

As Kaiser Wilhelm's German army marched through Europe in August 1914, Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden and his cabinet began organizing for war. Canadians, too, quickly rallied to the cause. Men and women took to the streets, enthusiastically supporting the call to arms. Even in Berlin, Ontario (now Kitchener) there was "wild enthusiasm," and "in local theatres when the news was announced, 'Rule Britannia' was struck up and sung with great patriotism."<sup>1</sup> Imperial fervour, and a belief in the cause, had gripped the nation.

The military had already arranged for such an event, preparing a plan for mobilization in 1911. Developed by Colonel W.G. Gwatkin, the initial scheme called for militia units to be organized by divisional and district commands, with each area contributing a quota of Permanent Force troops. According to the plan, Eastern Canada would provide the men and equipment necessary to form an infantry division, while Western Canada would raise a mounted brigade. Once this initial mobilization occurred, all units would be sent to camp at Petawawa to await deployment overseas.<sup>2</sup> As soon as war was declared, however, Minister of Militia and Defence Sam Hughes opted to abandon these plans in favour of his own mobilization scheme. On 6 August 1914, Hughes, avoiding regular military channels, cabled 226 militia unit commanders throughout Canada, ordering that they compile lists of volunteer recruits. The foundation of Hughes's army would be the civilian-soldier. The new plan also changed the

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<sup>1</sup> "Enthusiasm in Centre of Ontario Germans," *The Globe*, 5 September 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, 14.

encampment site. No longer would the men be organized at Petawawa, but rather at Valcartier, a site just north of Quebec City.<sup>3</sup> When Hughes decided to make this move, nothing existed at Valcartier except for empty farmland bordered by rocky wooded areas. This space soon would become home to the largest military force yet assembled in Canada.

Almost overnight the camp was constructed and thousands of men began arriving. Although by August 1914 the Canadian Permanent Force was made up of approximately 3,000 all ranks, initial mobilization plans did not include any of its units and none of the full-time men were expected at the new camp.<sup>4</sup> Though he soon changed his mind, Hughes's disdain for these troops remained. Believing that regular force troops were only useful for "police purposes in times of peace," Hughes maintained that such forces were little more than a drain on Canadian resources.<sup>5</sup> While units scrambled to form, the only Permanent Force infantry battalion, the Royal Canadian Regiment, was sent to relieve a British unit on garrison duty in Bermuda.<sup>6</sup> The Permanent Force, however, was not the only body of soldiers available to Hughes. With his unfailing belief in the 'militia myth', the notion that citizens, not the Permanent Force, were the key to national defence, Hughes remained confident that ordinary Canadians would answer his call to arms,

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 19. A revision to Gwatkin's 1911 mobilization plan had been made in 1914 by Lieutenant-Colonel G.C.W. Gordon-Hall, whose plan called for the use of existing Militia units, but this plan was also cancelled. See J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 55. See also, Ronald Haycock, *Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885-1916* (Toronto: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> John Swettenham, *To Seize the Victory* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965), 26.

<sup>5</sup> Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 33.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholson, 24

helping see the nation through to victory.<sup>7</sup> It did not take long before he had his answer. Although it was rife with problems of patronage, poor training, and inadequate supplies, Hughes had built up the Militia into a substantial volunteer force. By 1914, approximately 74,000 part-time citizen soldiers were available to answer the call to arms.<sup>8</sup> Hundreds of thousands more, without any military experience, would follow.

The Canadian army was unable adequately to deal with such a large influx of soldiers. In the late summer of 1914 the logistical problems associated with raising a substantial force were the primary concern of Canadian military authorities. With both Gwatkin's 1911 plan, and Lieutenant-Colonel G.C.W. Gordon-Hall's 1914 revisions of it discarded, it was left up to Sam Hughes to raise the manpower and equipment necessary for full-scale mobilization.<sup>9</sup>

In August 1914, however, few recruits were concerned with the problems faced by the military and governmental authorities, and were instead focused on joining the ranks of the CEF. In addition to members of the Permanent Force and the militia, citizen volunteers flocked to their local recruitment offices. With men joining in such great numbers, many others felt the social pressure to enlist. Alfred Andrews, discouraged from enlisting due to a football injury, echoed such sentiments in his diary, writing that, "...people kept asking me to enlist...and others asked if I intended to go, until I couldn't

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<sup>7</sup> The Canadian 'militia myth' had its roots in the War of 1812 when some, such as Anglican cleric John Strachan, argued that Canadian territory had been saved from American invaders thanks to the hard work and courage of local citizens. For further discussion of the militia myth see Granatstein, 3-23.

<sup>8</sup> Granatstein, 48.

<sup>9</sup> Granatstein, 55.

stand it any longer and on August 27th, 1914, I made up my mind to enlist.”<sup>10</sup> The overall enthusiasm for the war effort created the expectation that all eligible men would do their duty, and although some hesitated, it was difficult for many to avoid enlistment. Such fervour among Canadians was necessary if the government was to fulfill its initial promise of providing 25,000 troops to support British forces. With such a quick and enthusiastic response, the minister of militia was soon able to inform the British government that Canada would be supplying 30,000 men, an offer that was eagerly accepted.<sup>11</sup> By 18 August 26,240 officers and other ranks had signed up for overseas duty;<sup>12</sup> by the time the first group of men was camped at Valcartier, on 8 September 1914, the total had grown to 32,665.<sup>13</sup> With the addition of these volunteers, the CEF was expanded on 6 October 1914 to include the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Division.<sup>14</sup> As the war progressed in seemingly interminable fashion, Borden continued to increase Canada’s commitment to Great Britain. He followed his initial promise with an offer in July 1915 of 150,000 men, a number which he increased to 250,000 by October of that year. A few months later, on 26 December, the CEF’s 3<sup>rd</sup> Division was formed.<sup>15</sup> By 1 January 1916, Borden was promising half a million soldiers to the Allied cause.<sup>16</sup> With the addition of the 4<sup>th</sup> Division on 19 January 1916, the CEF field force was complete.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The Canadian Letters and Images Project, <http://www.canadianletters.ca> [hereafter CLIP], Alfred Andrews papers, diary, [date not specified] 1914.

<sup>11</sup> Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, 26.

<sup>12</sup> 1,435 officers, 24,815 other ranks. Morton, *When Your Number’s Up*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholson, 20.

<sup>14</sup> David Love, *A Call to Arms* (Winnipeg: Bunker to Bunker Books, 1999), 84.

<sup>15</sup> Love, *A Call to Arms*, 84.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholson, 213-215.

<sup>17</sup> Love, 84. A 5<sup>th</sup> Division began forming in January 1917, though it was broken up in Britain in favour of reinforcing existing battalions.

Fortunately for the government, enthusiasm for the war carried on well past initial enlistment drives. As intense fighting in Europe continued and with high casualty rates, it was imperative that new soldiers be continually recruited. It was estimated that an infantry division of approximately 18,000 men required some 12,000 to 20,000 additional men per year to keep the unit at full combat strength.<sup>18</sup> Between October 1915 and March 1916, an estimated 185,887 volunteers joined the colours, with 33,960 men signing up in March alone.<sup>19</sup> By the end of the war, with the CEF manning four full divisions at the front, in addition to independent cavalry, machine gun, and artillery units, Canada was required to raise up to 80,000 soldiers each year for the final two years of the war.<sup>20</sup>

The volunteers who filled the ranks of these divisions represented the full spectrum of Canadian society, though not in equal measure. For example, Canada's large community of British immigrants proved extraordinarily responsive to Hughes's call. Of the 36,267 men who sailed as part of the First Contingent between 29 September 1914 and 31 March 1915, 23,211, or 64.0 per cent, were born in Britain, while only 10,880, 29.9 per cent, were Canadian-born (See Table 1.1).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 53.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>21</sup> J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 23. These numbers are a bit deceptive as they do not account for the age of individuals at the time of their emigration. Thus, many of these men grew up in Canada and had been socialized as Canadians.

**Table 1.1**  
**Nationalities of the men of the First Contingent: 29 September 1914 to 31 March 1915**

| Nationality (Place of Birth) | Total All Ranks |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Canadian                     | 9,635           |
| French Canadian              | 1,245           |
| English                      | 15,232          |
| Scottish                     | 5,440           |
| Irish                        | 2,176           |
| Welsh                        | 363             |
| American                     | 130             |
| Russian                      | 36              |
| Others                       | 2,010           |
| <b>Total</b>                 | <b>36,267</b>   |

Source: Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*, 23.

As the war dragged on, the drastic imbalances between the British and Canadian-born began to diminish; by war's end native-born Canadians accounted for 47 per cent of all soldiers serving overseas with the CEF. Those born in the British Isles accounted for 36.8 per cent, while the remainder, 16.2 per cent, were born elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> For many of these men, travelling by troopship to England could be seen as a homecoming, an opportunity to revisit the country many had only recently left. This was not the case, however, for all CEF recruits.

Though English-speakers dominated the ranks of the CEF, French-speaking Canadians, and a number of minority groups also helped shape the character of the overseas contingent. To March 1915, French-speaking Canadians, enlisting in much smaller numbers than their English-speaking compatriots, accounted for 1,245 men of the

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<sup>22</sup> Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 278. For discussions on regional recruitment in Canada see, Ian Miller, "'A Privilege to Serve': Toronto's Experience with Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War," Yves Trembley, ed., *Canadian Military History Since the 17<sup>th</sup> Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2002) and John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1978).

First Contingent. With recruiting problems occurring early on in Quebec, enlistment numbers remained lower there than in the rest of the country. By 1917 parliamentary reports estimated that approximately 14,100 French-Canadian soldiers had enlisted with the CEF, as compared to 155,095 English-speaking Canadians.<sup>23</sup> Despite these lower numbers, French-Canadians were represented throughout the CEF, including the overwhelmingly French-Canadian 22<sup>nd</sup> Battalion (the Van Doos), and the short-lived 41<sup>st</sup> Battalion.<sup>24</sup> Although 13 infantry battalions were raised in French-Canada there was never enough manpower to sustain them. Once arriving overseas, these units were broken up and used as reinforcements for the 22<sup>nd</sup> and other battalions desperately needing replacements.<sup>25</sup>

Other Canadian minority groups were also included in the CEF. Canada's Native populations were among the first to enlist. Although the government initially refused to allow any Native volunteers to participate, by 1915 many of the restrictions had been removed and Native men began enlisting in large numbers.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the conflict, some 4,000 Natives had enlisted, representing approximately 35 per cent of status Indian

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<sup>23</sup> Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*, 24-28. Quebec's single male population was also significantly lower than that of Ontario. Single males over the age of 20 in Quebec comprised 29 per cent of the population in contrast to 36.5 per cent in Ontario. See Granatstein and Hitsman, 28.

<sup>24</sup> See Desmond Morton, "The Short, Unhappy Life of the 41<sup>st</sup> Battalion, CEF," *Queen's Quarterly*, 81: 1, (1974): 70-80.

<sup>25</sup> Serge Durflinger, *Les Purs Canayens: French Canada and Recruitment during the First World War, Dispatches*, Canadian War Museum, 1998, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Veterans Affairs, *Native Soldiers: Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs, 1998), 6. The Canadian government initially argued for restricting Native enlistment, arguing that the Germans would not treat Natives in a civilized manner should they be captured as prisoners of war.

males of military age.<sup>27</sup> Black Canadians were also initially refused entry into the CEF. Denied access for the first two years of the war, after much debate an all-Black battalion was finally announced on 5 July 1916. The Nova Scotia No. 2 Construction Battalion (Coloured) was sent to England in March 1917 with only 603 men, short of the allotted 1,033 other ranks necessary to form a battalion.<sup>28</sup> After arriving in England, the group was sent to work in lumber mills, construction areas, and shipping and transportation zones, predominantly in France.<sup>29</sup>

The CEF ranks were also filled out by a large contingent of Americans. While the United States maintained a policy of neutrality until April 1917, those Americans who supported the Allied cause were free to come to Canada to enlist. Although the 1st Canadian Division contained only a handful of U.S. recruits, approximately 130, by the end of the war it is estimated that over 35,000 Americans had donned Canadian uniforms.<sup>30</sup> Far from being a homogeneous group, the CEF incorporated men from a wide range of ethnicities and backgrounds.<sup>31</sup> Although the vast majority of men were of British descent, it is evident that embarking for England was not a homecoming for all

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<sup>27</sup> James Moses, "The Return of the Native (Veteran): Six Nations Troops and Political Change at the Grand River Reserve, 1917-1924," (MA thesis, Carleton University, 2008), 62; James St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment during World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70: 1, (1989): 18-19. See also Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985) and Duncan Campbell Scott, 'The Canadian Indians and the Great World War,' in *Canada and the Great War: Guarding the Channel Ports*, Vol. 3 (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1919).

<sup>28</sup> Walker, "Race and Recruitment during World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," 17-18.

<sup>29</sup> Walker, 22.

<sup>30</sup> Iarocci, *Shoestring Soldiers: The 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division at War, 1914-1915*, 294, n.21.

<sup>31</sup> Granatstein and Hitsman, 24. Icelanders and Poles from Western Canada appear to have taken great interest in supporting the war. For example, more than 1,000 Icelandic-Canadians joined up. Thompson, *The Harvests of War*, 82.

those who joined the ranks of the Canadian army. Besides, even many British-born men had spent little or no time in England prior to the war, and soon found themselves crossing the Atlantic without fully knowing what awaited them.

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The few short weeks of training at Valcartier ended on 23 September 1914, when the first troops, those of the mounted units, moved to nearby Quebec City in preparation for their Atlantic crossing. It took just over a week for all equipment and personnel to be loaded, and on the night of 1 October, 30 transport ships began their journey down the St. Lawrence. After a brief stop in Gaspé harbour, where the troops were bid farewell by Sam Hughes, the convoy moved into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and sailed for Britain.<sup>32</sup> The twelve-day journey was relatively quiet, with only periodic warnings about German submarines patrolling the North Atlantic. Officers made attempts at training, but limited space hampered such efforts. Instead, troops were kept occupied with physical exercise and a number of routine chores.

Battling seasickness, cramped quarters, and boredom, officers sought to maintain the morale of the men during the long journey from Valcartier to England. Realizing the importance of entertaining the troops, impromptu games of cards, shuffleboard, and even cricket were organized, while sporting events, including boxing tournaments and tug-of-war matches, provided the men with a much-welcomed opportunity to leave the confines of the lower decks.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Nicholson, 29-31. Sam Hughes's rousing farewell speech can be found in Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919: Chronology Appendices and Maps* (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1938), Appendix 149.

<sup>33</sup> Nicholson, 31 and Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," 133. See also, CLIP John William Howe, 25 September 1914.

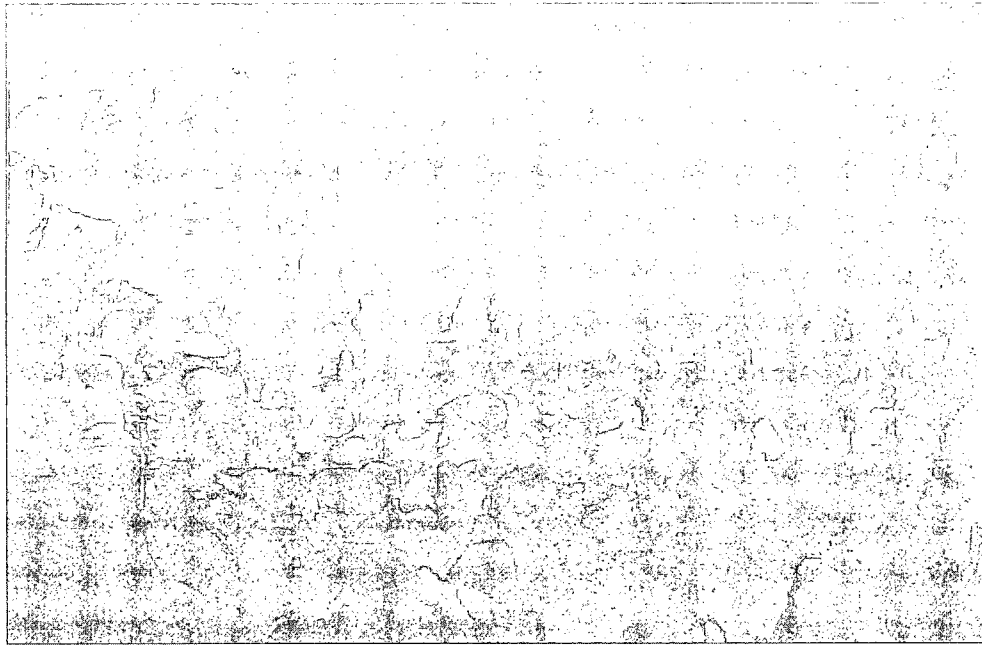


Figure 1.1: Boxing match aboard ship. Undated photograph. (CWM, 19760346-20)

Traditional sporting events, however, were sometimes replaced with slightly unorthodox soldierly activities, owing in large part to the limited confines aboard ship. Writing to his wife from aboard the S.S. *Tunisia*, Private John William Howe, relayed his sporting accomplishments, informing her that not only had he participated in the day's boxing tournament, but that he was also "in [the] final of the egg a [sic] spoon race, won [his] first heat in the potatoes, [and] got beat in the wheel barrow race by a second ..."<sup>34</sup> When the day's races were over, men settled down to more relaxed pursuits. Musical concerts, featuring performers taken from the ship's crew, were often organized. Proving to be another popular pastime, these shows allowed soldiers the opportunity to share the stage in order to showcase their talents. A concert program taken from aboard the R.M.S. *Scandinavian* from 13 October 1914, shows a range of performances, including bag

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<sup>34</sup> CLIP, John William Howe to Wife, 12 October 1914.

pipers, instrumentalists, and impersonators, with both officers and men participating.<sup>35</sup> Daily activities such as these allowed the men to escape their cramped quarters, and helped them stave off boredom. Despite such distractions, however, the men aboard these ships looked eagerly towards the horizon, hoping to spot their first glimpse of England.

The convoy's arrival in Plymouth on 14 October 1914 was a great cause for celebration, both for sea-weary soldiers, and for British locals who came out to the port to welcome the Canadian contingent. Fanfare greeted their arrival, as the Royal Garrison Artillery played the 'Red, White, and Blue' and the 'Maple Leaf,' while the public, which was kept some distance away, used megaphones to shout their greetings to the soldiers.<sup>36</sup> Disembarkation was the first order of business. In the nine days of confusion which followed, men, horses, food, and equipment were all removed from the ships, organized dockside, and loaded aboard trains for Salisbury Camp, the new home of the contingent.<sup>37</sup> Previously used by the British forces, the camp, located 145 km southwest of London, was reassigned by the War Office to the Canadians so that they could continue the training which had begun at Valcartier.<sup>38</sup>

Spread out over a large plateau, the Salisbury Plain training ground was subdivided into a number of smaller camps. However, the majority of units were assigned to four main camps, Pond Farm Camp in the north, West Down North Camp to

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<sup>35</sup> CWM 58B 3.2.4, Grand Evening Concert - R.M.S. *Scandinavian* Concert Program, 13 October 1914.

<sup>36</sup> "Canadian Troops Land at Plymouth," *The Globe*, 15 October 1914; "How Canadians were Greeted in Britain," *The Globe*, 16 October 1914.

<sup>37</sup> Nicholson, 32.

<sup>38</sup> Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 73.

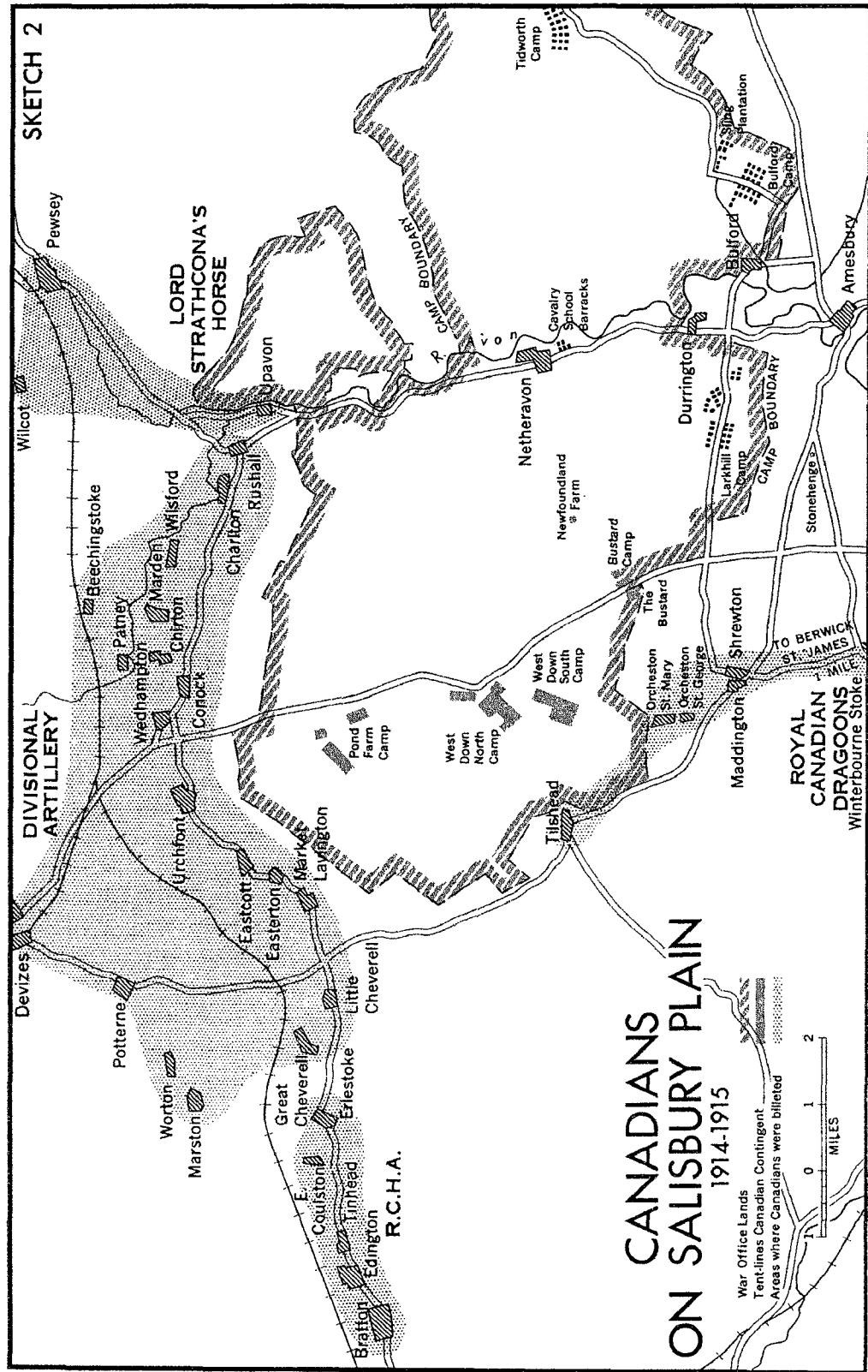
the west, and West Down South and Bustard Camps located in the south.<sup>39</sup> With all camps located within the military training grounds, the units were somewhat removed from the numerous small villages and hamlets which surrounded the plain (See Map 1.1). However, with nearly unprecedented and relentless rain developing soon after the contingent arrived, Canadian military authorities and soldiers alike began pressing for permanent barracks to be built to replace the 'temporary' canvas tents which the men had been using. Major-General Carson, Sam Hughes's overseas representative for the Department of Militia and Defence, successfully appealed to Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, and construction of the new huts began. Although a number of barracks were assembled on the edges of the Salisbury Plain encampment, work did not go as quickly as needed. Consequently, the troops were moved into the surrounding villages, with private homes used as billets.<sup>40</sup> By the start of their first winter in England, Canadian troops had established themselves as a permanent facet of wartime life in Britain. With the arrival of subsequent contingents, the Canadian presence would increase and the CEF's geographic dispersal throughout Great Britain would widen.

By the spring of 1915, British and Canadian military authorities had decided to relocate the majority of the 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division to the more spacious training area at

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<sup>39</sup> Nicholson, 32-34. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), raised privately, initially joined the Contingent at Salisbury Plain, and was assigned to Bustard Camp, along with the 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Brigade. A month later, on 14 November 1914, the PPCLI was relocated to Morn Hill, Winchester, east of Salisbury Plain, and was attached to the British 27<sup>th</sup> Division. See Ralph Hodder-Williams, *Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry 1914-1919* (Edmonton: Executive Committee, 1968), 13-15.

<sup>40</sup> Nicholson, 35-36. Throughout the war, English families would offer their homes as billets for the overseas soldiers. One woman, a widow living in Folkestone, future encampment site for the CEF, wrote to the Canadians offering room and board to 30-35 soldiers in order to subsidize her meagre income. LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 391, Series 1, File B-52-1, "Accommodation, other than troops billeting, D of R and O," A. Vedey to CEF, 5 January 1916.



Map 1.1: Canadians on Salisbury Plain, 1914-1915 (Nicholson, 33)

Shorncliffe, Kent, located in southeastern England. By the time that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Division arrived in England in May-June 1915, the majority of troops who had been stationed at Salisbury Plain had been moved to the new huts at Shorncliffe.<sup>41</sup> Although larger than the previous camp, the addition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Division troops soon taxed the resources of the facility, and new camps were required, many of which were built in the surrounding communities, including the towns of Ashford, Digbate, Otterpool, and Westenhanger. Quickly, however, these facilities became too small to hold the ever-growing CEF and a second major camp was opened just in time for the arrival of new units. In October 1915, a new camp was opened at Bramshott.<sup>42</sup> By the end of 1915, 2,275 officers and 37,333 other ranks were stationed in England with tens of thousands of others at the front (See Appendix A).<sup>43</sup> The arrival of the 4<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division in the spring of 1916 brought nearly 20,000 more CEF soldiers to Britain. By the end of 1916, the CEF had reached its peak strength in Britain, with 7,786 officers, and 123,243 other ranks stationed there.<sup>44</sup> By the end of 1917, the CEF had slightly reduced the number of men in England, maintaining a force of 6,888 officers and 103,329 other

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<sup>41</sup> Nicholson, 111. All troops were transferred to Shorncliffe, except for the Canadian Calvary Depot, which was sent to Canterbury.

<sup>42</sup> Love, 91

<sup>43</sup> *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 57.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Canadian Division, formed on 26 December 1915, was predominantly headquartered in France rather than in Britain. With the raising of the 4<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division, however, in the spring of 1916, divisional troops returned to Britain. In August 1916, the 4<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division sailed for France. The 5<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division, formed in January 1917, was located exclusively at Witley camp, remaining there until it was broken up in early 1918. See Love 84-85.

ranks.<sup>45</sup> Changes in 1918 saw the number of officers increase slightly to 7,000, while the number of other ranks decreased to 98,376.<sup>46</sup>

As a result of this influx of soldiers, by late 1916, Canadians had built additional camps at Crowborough, Hastings, New Shoreham, Seaford, and Witley, as well as others.<sup>47</sup> The majority of these camps were used for general infantry training, though some became more specialized. For example, the camp at Bexhill-on-Sea was used primarily for infantry officer training, while that at Purfleet was home to the Canadian Railway Troops Services.<sup>48</sup> Though the vast majority of training camps, both those reserved for general training, and those for specialized work, were located in south-central and south-eastern England, some units, most notably the Canadian Forestry Corps, were based not only in England but in Scotland as well. Headquartered at the CEF camp in Sunningdale, England, the Forestry Corps operated in six districts, four in England, and two in Scotland at Stirling, in the south, and Inverness in the north.<sup>49</sup>

Although the majority of Canadian soldiers in England were confined to CEF training camps, a large number of men found themselves, throughout the war, assigned to a handful of other locations in England, primarily in the care of the Canadian Medical Services. Such establishments, responsible for the treatment, rehabilitation, and convalescence of wounded soldiers, represented the second-largest concentration of CEF troops in England. While some hospitals were located adjacent to training camps, for example those found in Bexhill and Witley, many were nestled in small communities set

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<sup>45</sup> *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 57.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Love, 91

<sup>48</sup> Love, 104-105; *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 59-62.

<sup>49</sup> *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 62, 368.

apart from such training grounds. For example, the Canadian Officers' Hospital in Broadstairs, was found along the coast, on the far eastern shores of Kent county, while the Canadian Convalescent Hospital for Officers, located in Matlock Bath, Derbyshire, was in northern England.<sup>50</sup> By 1918 the total personnel of the Canadian Army Medical Corps (CAMC) in Britain included more than 7,600 doctors and nurses, dispersed in approximately twenty-five general hospitals.<sup>51</sup>

At the close of the war, Canadian soldiers once again descended on England *en masse* as men returned from France, waiting in camps for their return to Canada. While existing camps, such as Bramshott and Shorncliffe, were primarily used to hold troops, the final destination before embarkation was Kinmel Park, located near the shipping docks in Northern Wales. With as many as 17,000 men assigned to the region, the presence of Canadian troops in the area was noticeable.<sup>52</sup> By this time, British citizens had become accustomed to having Canadian soldiers stationed in England.

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Recruits were expected to spend the majority of their time in camp, where much of their day was spent learning how to soldier, with units subjected to drill, physical training, and route marches.<sup>53</sup> However, despite the limited off-duty time available, there was still opportunity for soldiers to obtain leave passes, allowing them to travel past the boundaries of their camps and to venture into the surrounding villages. As always,

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<sup>50</sup> Love, 191-192.

<sup>51</sup> *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 393. This included 770 medical officers, 1,094 nursing sisters, and 6,512 other ranks.

<sup>52</sup> Jeff Rivard, "Bringing the Boys Home: A Study of the Canadian Demobilization Policy after the First and Second World Wars" (MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1999), 49-50.

<sup>53</sup> See Iarocci, Chapter 2, for details on daily training regimens.

however, men could be recalled to their units at a moment's notice, and had to remain ready should they be requested to do so.<sup>54</sup> Leave passes were much sought-after commodities, and were considered a luxury to which every soldier looked forward with eager anticipation. "Everyone envies the man starting on leave," said the caption of a 1918 war cartoon in *Maclean's Magazine*.<sup>55</sup> The author of the accompanying article, H. W. Cooper, argued that, in fact, leave was "the most important thing in a soldier's life," far surpassing the success of a big advance, or the gaining of a decoration.<sup>56</sup> Acknowledging its importance, even in Britain, military authorities made efforts to ensure that all men would be granted time to venture away from their base camp. However, much to the chagrin of the soldiers, this did not always work out as planned.

Upon first arrival in England, soldiers were handed leave passes, with all ranks assigned six days' leave upon disembarkation, allowing them free passage anywhere in the British Isles. But no more than twenty per cent of the members of a unit were allowed to travel at any one time.<sup>57</sup> Occasionally units were allowed to send up to fifty per cent of their men on leave upon their arrival in England.<sup>58</sup> Instead of spreading leave over a number of weeks, this practice allowed units to return to full strength within two weeks, thereby allowing soldiers and officers to return to training as quickly as possible. This practice of assigning six days' leave was continued throughout the war.

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<sup>54</sup> CWM, Horace Bishop Fonds 58A 1 4.7 and Leave Pass 16 June 1916. On 26 January 1915, leave was cancelled for the entire 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division, and all those on leave were recalled, in preparation for the embarkation for France on 2 February 1915. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, 138 and 150.

<sup>55</sup> Driver H.W. Cooper, "On Leave," *Maclean's Magazine*, March 1918, 31.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, 138.

<sup>58</sup> LAC RG 9, III, Vol. 30 File 8-1-44, Major M.K. Greene, DAAG Canadians, to Secretary, Headquarters CEF, Cleveland House, London, England, 23 November 1916.

Nevertheless, soldiers remained wary of the legitimacy of such promises, regularly questioning whether or not they would be assigned their allotted leave time. Rumours regarding leave assignments began almost as soon as men stepped on shore. John William Law, of the 19<sup>th</sup> Battalion, writing upon first arriving at his camp at West Sandling in May 1915, commented to his mother that, “Only those men, I hear, whose next of kin is in this country are getting six days [leave]....” but Law, who was born in Toronto, remained cautiously optimistic that he might garner some leave time despite not having any kin in England.<sup>59</sup>

While leave time could be suddenly granted, it could also be quickly taken away by the military authorities. Because of the importance soldiers assigned to leave, officers often revoked passes as a means of disciplinary action. Although this was a common occurrence on an individual level, one of the first division-wide restrictions occurred on 6 November 1914 when, owing to reports of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, the General Officer Commanding (GOC) 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division, Major General Edwin Alderson, decided to reduce the percentage of men allowed leave. Writing to a friend back home, Harry Coombs made note of this event:

Your old regiment, the Fifth Royal High. of Montreal have put the whole Canadian Contingent in wrong. They have been raising particular h---. One of them has a case of rape against him. ...Today our battalion has over 200 men on picket armed with mallet handles as police clubs and are away to some of the little villages to straighten out the Highs.<sup>60</sup>

Fortunately it did not take long for the restrictions to be removed; by the holidays the leave policy was amended, allowing fifty percent of the men six days' leave for

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<sup>59</sup> CLIP, John William Law to Mother, 28 May 1915.

<sup>60</sup> CWM, 58A 1 197.1, Harry Coombs to Frank, 28 October 1914.

Christmas, while the remainder were allotted six days off for New Year's.<sup>61</sup> While it was common to revoke leave passes, military authorities were also prone to putting restrictions on venturing into towns surrounding the camps. One such occurrence surprised Herbert Burrell who commented in his diary that, "I found out this afternoon that the road to Hazelmere has been ordered 'out of bounds' for us. This is due to the rowdyism of some of the Battns. Chiefly the 108<sup>th</sup>."<sup>62</sup> Such measures were often temporary and access to towns was reinstated once authorities deemed that the situation was once again under control.

By 1916, with soldiers settled into the routine of army life, they were predominantly restricted to weekend leave, with 10 per cent of a unit allowed to leave camp from 1:00 pm Saturday until midnight Sunday.<sup>63</sup> This pattern continued until a unit was set to leave for duty at the front. Prior to leaving England, extra leave was granted, the order stating that all other ranks "are entitled to leave to enable them to have four (4) clear days at their homes."<sup>64</sup> While this reflected the strong representation of the British born in the CEF's ranks, soldiers were not obliged to visit family, and could use these four days to travel anywhere time permitted. If soldiers were planning to visit relatives, the military made allowances for those men travelling beyond local areas. Extra days, for

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<sup>61</sup> Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, 138. Battalion-wide restrictions on leave were also used later in the war to combat trench foot, with commanding officers using this threat as a means of coercing soldiers into taking care of one another. Tim Cook, *Shock Troops*, 170.

<sup>62</sup> CWM, 58A 1 8.12, Herbert Heckford Burrell Diary, 21 October 1916.

<sup>63</sup> LAC RG 9, III, Vol. 30 File 8-1-44, Major M.K. Greene, DAAG Canadians, to the Secretary, Headquarters CEF, Cleveland House, London, England, 23 November 1916.

<sup>64</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, Vol. 30, File 8-1-44, Lieutenant-Colonel E.F. Mackie, DAA and QMG for GOC Canadian Training Division, to Secretary, Headquarters CEF, England, 23 November 1916.

example, were granted those travelling to Ireland, where men could expect approximately eight days of leave, rather than the customary four.<sup>65</sup>

Officers often were treated in a more favourable manner. Whereas enlisted men could expect approximately ten days of leave per year, officers could look forward to ten days every four months.<sup>66</sup> Such favourable treatment of officers was a point of contention among the men who were often heard asking, “Why does the Tommy not have as much leave as the officer?”<sup>67</sup> While officers were granted more generous allotments of leave, both enlisted men and officers were generally free to travel where they wished. However, army regulations could place certain towns out of bounds, often for disciplinary purposes for infractions such as being absent without leave, drunkenness, or insubordination.<sup>68</sup> Towns were also restricted for such pragmatic reasons as disease outbreaks. For example, County Durham, Streetgate, Sunnyside, and Marley Hill, all located in the north of England, were placed out of bounds for a brief period in 1917 owing to an outbreak of measles.<sup>69</sup> In late 1918, worries surrounding the growing number of Spanish Influenza cases also resulted in areas being placed out of bounds.<sup>70</sup> When soldiers were shipped to France, leave time became harder to obtain. A cartoon

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<sup>65</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 450, File L-15-1, 18 December, 1916. Leave could also be allocated on religious grounds. In 1916 Jewish soldiers of the CEF were granted 3 days’ leave, from sunset on 17 April to sunset on 19 April, for the feast of Passover. LAC, RG 24, Vol. 518, HQ 54-21-5-65, 8 April, 1916. Russian immigrants serving in the CEF were also allowed leave in order to celebrate Orthodox Christmas. LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 416, File E-6-1, 11 December 1914.

<sup>66</sup> Morton, *When Your Number’s Up*, 234.

<sup>67</sup> CWM, “Company and Section News,” *The Brazier*, Vol. 1 (15 February 1916), 5.

<sup>68</sup> Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, 139.

<sup>69</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4320, “General Routine Orders: Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig,” 14 November 1917.

<sup>70</sup> CLIP, Robert Gordon Brown to Mother, 24 November 1918.

found in *La Vie Canadienne*, the regimental newspaper of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Echelon Canadian Section General Headquarters reflected this sentiment:

Artillery Clerk (newly arrived from England) to Old Hand: -  
 “You know we are awfully badly treated in England, we were there eleven months and I only had Leave five times.”  
 Old Hand: - “Well, cheer up old boy, you will probably get your next in about two years”<sup>71</sup>

Once the men moved to the Western Front, obtaining leave away from the continent was a much more difficult task as the army preferred to assign extended leave to Paris, rather than England. Consequently, the soldiers’ primary hope of escaping the trenches was to earn a “Blighty,” soldiers’ slang for a ‘soft’ wound that would require the soldier to be evacuated to England for treatment and rehabilitation.<sup>72</sup> Although physical injury was a painful prospect, for some it constituted a more pleasant option than remaining in the trenches. Soldiers looked towards England with fondness, and eagerly hoped to return. Their writings often reflected these sentiments, and many of the men were found commenting on their desire to earn a ‘Blighty.’ In an article written in, *In and Out*, the trench newspaper of an unidentified Canadian Field Ambulance unit, the author reflected on the soldiers’ desire to earn such a trip:

Dear old Blighty. Memories and pleasant thoughts of it make the Overseas soldier homesick – even though their home is not there. For is not the most frequent wish of all men who know the line work at all – ‘if I could just get a night [sic] ‘Blighty.’ But, indeed, few there are

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<sup>71</sup> CWM, “Perhaps,” *La Vie Canadienne* Vol. 1, no. 11, 1917. Regimental, or trench newspapers, were publications written for soldiers, by soldiers, often while stationed on the Western Front. Serving as an outlet for the men to express their frustrations and grievances with the army, these publications are full of humorous quips, cartoons, poetry, and commentary on daily life, providing the reader with a glimpse into trench culture.

<sup>72</sup> Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 516.

who find them, so, old-timers or not, we all look forward eagerly to 'leave,' and Blighty still holds the popular taste.<sup>73</sup>

Many longed for a return to normalcy, appreciating the small conveniences not afforded to them in the trenches. "Oh, the luxury," wrote Herbert McBride, "of having clean clothes and being able to keep them clean; to sleep in real beds and eat from regular dishes at white-clothed tables. It seemed almost worth the price we had paid to be able to get so much downright enjoyment out of the merest 'necessities' of ordinary civilian life."<sup>74</sup> Having to readapt to real beds was perhaps one of the greatest adjustments required by soldiers. Much like McBride, many soldiers took note of the improvements in their sleeping conditions. Harry Spencer, travelling to Edinburgh, thought it important enough to note in his pocket diary that he "Slept in a real bed with sheets."<sup>75</sup> As a result of this upgrade, he "Slept fine." Although William Antliff had no problem with his new sleeping arrangements, he remarked that "some of the fellows...have difficulty in sleeping the first night because their bed is so comfortable."<sup>76</sup> An illustrated article discussing leave, published by H.W. Cooper, a soldier writing for *Maclean's Magazine* successfully captured the sentiments shared by these men:

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<sup>73</sup> CWM, "Blighty Leave," *In and Out*, No.1, November 1918.

<sup>74</sup> McBride, *The Emma Gees*, 179.

<sup>75</sup> CWM, 58 A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary, 17 June 1917.

<sup>76</sup> CWM, 58A 1 182.1, William Shaw Antliff to Mother, 22 December 1916.

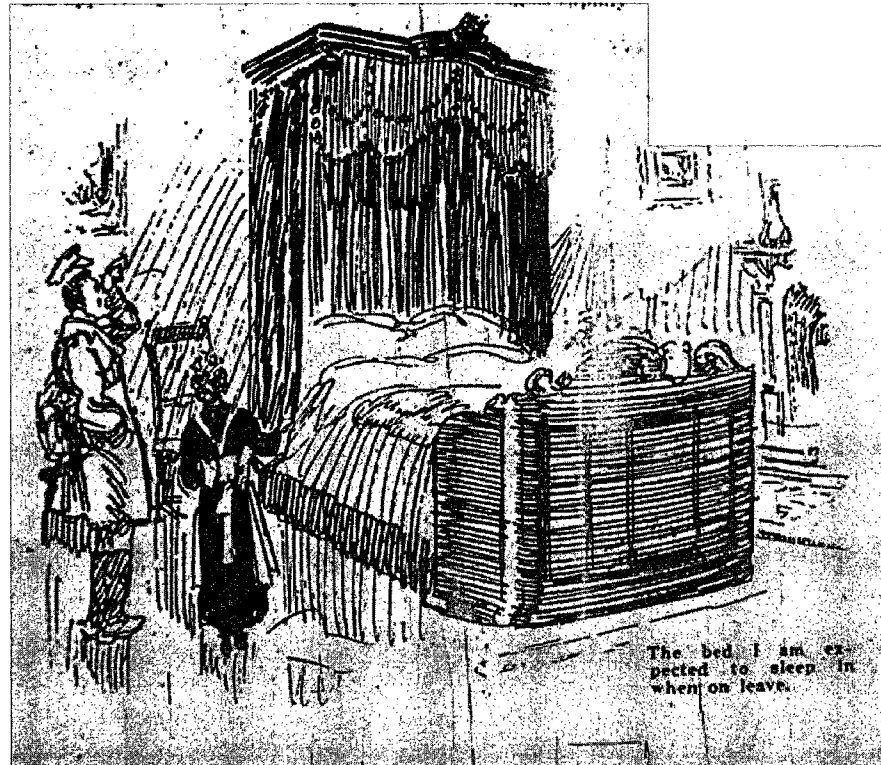


Figure 1.2 “The bed I am expected to sleep in when on leave.” Source: Driver H.W. Cooper, “On Leave,” *Maclean’s Magazine*, March 1918, 32.

The allure of earning such an extended pass remained with the soldiers throughout their stay in France. Cooper spoke for many on the Western Front when he wrote that, “when [a soldier] curls up in a muddy, odoriferous dugout in his soaked and filthy uniform he thinks of the nights in ‘Blighty’ when he slept in warm, clean sheets, and the memory mitigates to some extent the discomforts of the present.”<sup>77</sup> A cartoon drawn by Gunner McRitchie, inserted in the same issue of *Maclean’s* illustrates the dark humour of the trenches, and the sentiment shared by many front-line soldiers.

<sup>77</sup> Cooper, “On Leave,” 31.



Figure 1.3: "Home in the Trenches" Source: Gunner McRitchie, *Maclean's Magazine*, March 1918, 66.

Although it was not always easy to make the trip back to Britain, many wounded soldiers did find themselves travelling the short journey across the English Channel. After a period of recuperation, these soldiers were granted a brief respite between their convalescence and their return to the front. With leave passes in hand, these newly recovered soldiers travelled to previously visited haunts, while others discovered new towns to visit. Despite the limited amount of leave available, the major centres in England still saw thousands of soldiers passing through on a daily basis, with London remaining a constant attraction throughout the war. One report noted that in October 1916, 15,000 Canadian soldiers had arrived by train to Waterloo Station in the heart of

London.<sup>78</sup> Always a centre of activity, London quickly became the main destination for thousands of Allied soldiers. But with so many men arriving, problems quickly followed.

Temptation and vice were among the first problems with which military authorities had to contend with when the 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division arrived in England. Specifically, the hard-nosed Minister of Militia and Defence, Sir Sam Hughes, took a firm stance against alcohol, first banning it from troopships, and then insisting that alcohol not be served in Canadian camps in Britain. Soldiers, weary from a full day of training, were met with 'dry' canteens offering them tea and coffee, not the welcomed liquid so many soldiers sought.<sup>79</sup> Hughes's ideas were influenced in part by the work of temperance movements back in Canada, with groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) demanding that all military canteens be dry, as they viewed alcohol to be detrimental to the social and moral well being of society.<sup>80</sup> This was not an idea eagerly accepted by the men. Such actions did little to curb drinking and, in reality, only drove soldiers into local villages in search of alcohol. Enticed by locals with offers of free beer and with a surplus of English pubs, reports of Canadian antics became common, with soldiers writing home that "[our men] were constantly getting into trouble and excuses had to be made for them all the time."<sup>81</sup>

As early as October 1914, with the first contingent newly arrived, it was apparent to Major-General Edwin Alderson that something needed to be done. Disagreeing with

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<sup>78</sup> LAC, RG9, III, Vol.30, File 8-1-44, H.M. Imbert-Terry, Director Canadian Forces Reception Committee, to George Perley, 7 November, 1916.

<sup>79</sup> Tim Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers," *Social History* 35: 70, (2002), 318.

<sup>80</sup> Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 108.

<sup>81</sup> George Anderson Wells, *The Fighting Bishop* (Toronto: Cardwell House, 1971), 188.

Hughes, Alderson argued that it was far better to build, and therefore regulate, wet canteens within the camps, than to have soldiers causing havoc amongst local populations.<sup>82</sup> Having received complaints from the local authorities both in Plymouth and Salisbury Plain, Alderson firmly stated his belief that liquor should be served in camp lest soldiers continue to venture into the local villages to find alcohol.<sup>83</sup> Despite Hughes's opposition, on 21 October 1914, wet canteens were opened.<sup>84</sup> Run initially by private firms, such as Messrs. Dickenson and Co., the Canteen and Mess Co-Operative Society, and later the Army and Navy Stores, canteens were allowed to serve light beer for one hour at noon and then for three hours in the evening. The results of this arrangement, according to Alderson, were quite satisfactory, as he maintains that "trouble in the neighbouring villages has practically ceased since opening of canteens in camp."<sup>85</sup> Unconvinced, Hughes continued to press the issue well into 1915. Following a visit to Shorncliffe in July 1915, Hughes commented on the presence of Canadian officers frequenting the Metropole, a local hotel in town. According to Hughes, the men were often accompanied by guests and could readily be found drinking wine or liquor in the

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<sup>82</sup> Tim Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers," 319.

<sup>83</sup> Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919: Chronology Appendices and Maps*, Appendix 149.

<sup>84</sup> With British and Canadian generals pushing for wet canteens as a means of maintaining morale and discipline, Hughes smartly stayed clear of the final decision on whether or not to allow them in camps. See Tim Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers," 311-330.

<sup>85</sup> Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919: Chronology Appendices and Maps*, Appendix 125. The practice of allowing individual contractors to run camp canteens was later found to be an unsatisfactory arrangement, and in its place the Army Council established the Army Canteen Committee in late 1916, in order to standardize the organization of wet and dry canteens throughout camps in England. The organization was expanded in mid-1917 to include the Navy, changing its name to the Navy and Army Canteen Board. LAC, RG 24, Vol. 1271, File HQ 593-2-34, "Canteens in England for Contingent," May 1917 and *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 449-450.

bar rooms and dining rooms. Officers, Hughes stated, were to be reminded that their work in Shorncliffe was of the utmost seriousness and that such actions were “unwise and injudicious.”<sup>86</sup> Threatening to put all hotels in Shorncliffe out of bounds, Hughes demanded that his overseas agent, Major-General John Wallace Carson, investigate the situation.<sup>87</sup> The reports from General J.C. MacDougall, commander of Canadian forces in England, and Major-General Sam Steele, commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, however, came back negative, with both reporting to Carson that rumours of drunkenness were wholly false. In fact, both generals maintained that the rate of drunkenness was less than one per every thousand men.<sup>88</sup>

Although drunken soldiers were a cause for concern, the problem of alcohol was inextricably linked to a much larger issue for the CEF. Government and military officials worried that Canadian soldiers, under the influence of alcohol, were being victimized by loose and immoral English women. Reporting on a meeting organized by Army medical officers in early 1916, the senior Canadian chaplain in the Shorncliffe area stated, that “the unanimous opinion of the Medical Officers was that fully 90 per cent of Venereal

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<sup>86</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol. 28, File 8-1-17 “Drunkenness at Shorncliffe,” Office of the Minister of Militia and Defence to Officers Commanding Units, July 1915.

<sup>87</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol. 28, File 8-1-17, “Drunkenness at Shorncliffe,” John Wallace Carson to Brigadier-General J.C. MacDougall, 27 July 1915 and LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol. 28, File 8-1-17, “Drunkenness at Shorncliffe,” Hughes to J.W. Carson, 5 November 1915.

<sup>88</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol. 28, File 8-1-17, “Drunkenness at Shorncliffe,” Major-General S.B. Steele to J.W. Carson, 6 November 1915. Reports from army chaplains supported such claims, though they maintained the numbers were slightly higher than those reported by MacDougall and Steele. Reporting on the 5<sup>th</sup> Division and troops stationed in the Witley area, the Senior Chaplain, 5<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division remarked that rates of drunkenness averaged 3 per cent during a six-month period. LAC RG 9, III C15 Chaplain Service Vol. 4672, File 15-7-2, Senior Chaplain 5<sup>th</sup> Division to Rev. T. Albert Moore, D.D, 19 May 1917. While these statistics are difficult to corroborate, and remain anecdotal, they do allude to a general reduction in CEF drunkenness rates.

Disease [VD] would disappear if the use of intoxicating liquor were totally banished from the Area.”<sup>89</sup>

High rates of infection, however, had plagued the CEF since its arrival in England in 1914; and by 1915 the number of cases had reached an all-time high. Canadian military authorities were well justified in harbouring worries about the promiscuity of their men, as it was reported in 1915 that the number of VD cases had peaked at 28.7 per cent of men in the CEF. This was in stark contrast to the British, whose rates were consistent at 5 per cent, and to those of the Australians, who reported rates of 13 to 14.5 per cent, and the New Zealanders with rates hovering at 13 per cent.<sup>90</sup> Not only was this seen as a problem threatening future generations of Canadians, but on a more pragmatic level, the CEF, especially by 1917, could not afford to have thousands of men recovering from VD in convalescent homes far behind the front lines.<sup>91</sup> Concerned about such trends, military authorities, in particular the Canadian Army Medical Corps campaigned to limit the number of new cases. Public lectures, the establishment of prophylactic centres, and instigating pay deductions for officers and men seeking VD treatment, spearheaded attempts to reduce the number of men infected.<sup>92</sup> Although overall VD rates fell somewhat, the problem was never fully controlled. This was especially true with

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<sup>89</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, C15, Vol. 4672, “Chaplain Services,” Senior Chaplain - Shorncliffe to Director of Chaplain Services, 10 March 1916.

<sup>90</sup> Jay Cassel, *The Secret Plague* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 123. In the first fourteen weeks that the CEF was camped at Salisbury Plain, there were some 1,249 men admitted to hospital for VD. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, 141.

<sup>91</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4407, “Temptations of Overseas Soldiers in London,” 24 April 1917.

<sup>92</sup> Cassel, *The Secret Plague*, 127.

respect to leave centres, in particular London, where post-war investigations indicated that as many as 40 per cent of the men visiting had been infected.<sup>93</sup>

Canadian officials maintained that the onus on finding a solution lay with the British authorities. At a meeting of the Imperial War Conference in London in April 1917, Prime Minister Borden lashed out at British representatives, expressing his disgust at the situation, maintaining that, "if I should be Prime Minister of Canada on the outbreak of another war I would not send one man overseas if the conditions were such as have prevailed during the progress of this War."<sup>94</sup> Borden was astonished that "no steps of any reasonable or adequate character have been taken here," adding that there did not exist any "law or regulation in this country to prevent such conditions." Supported by other dominion representatives, Borden then attacked the state of affairs in London, commenting that of all the major world cities he had visited, "London is the only city...where you cannot walk along the streets at night without being accosted by prostitutes."<sup>95</sup> Despite pressure from the dominions, no significant legislative changes were made to the British criminal law acts.<sup>96</sup> Much to the chagrin of Borden and other dominion leaders, soldiers on leave were left to their own devices and good sense.

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<sup>93</sup> Cassel, 136.

<sup>94</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4407, "Temptations of Overseas Soldiers in London," 24 April 1917.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. British officials felt as though there was little they could do to solve this problem. Pre-war attempts at legislation included the controversial Contagious Diseases Acts, under which women who were found to be infected would be interned in locked hospitals. These laws caused great agitation due to their infringement on women's rights, and Parliament began repealing these laws as early as 1884. During the war women patrols were employed as a preventative measure to curb prostitution. Although these groups had no legal power to arrest citizens, they were allowed to intervene in questionable situations, hoping to use moral suasion to curb immoral behaviour. These patrols were not without problems, as both men and women, notably engaged couples,

In spite of Borden's consternations, the Canadian military authorities had little time to spare in order to deal with the welfare of soldiers on leave. By the time the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada (OMFC), was formed in October 1916 few government departments, according to Desmond Morton, were free from "disorder, conflict, or outright corruption."<sup>97</sup> Disorder and political manoeuvring dominated the CEF in the years leading to the creation of the Overseas Ministry. The appointment of Major-General John Wallace Carson as the agent for the minister of militia and defence fuelled many of the problems. Charged with acting as the minister's personal representative in England, Carson's role remained vague, causing tension among leading political and military appointees.<sup>98</sup> Eager to consolidate his power, Carson made various attempts at routing control of overseas forces through his hands.<sup>99</sup> Faced with limited success, Carson's actions were still able to raise anxiety levels in England. With Carson pushing for more power, and with Sam Hughes meddling in the overseas command structure of the CEF, confusion simply increased. In an attempt to maintain control, Hughes continued to assign vague instructions to his appointed representatives; thus officers found themselves busy fighting over jurisdictions, while Hughes remained confidently on top. The absurdity of the situation was such that in February 1916,

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resenting these unwelcomed interruptions. British officials at the meeting were open to suggestions on how to deal with such problems, however Dominion leaders provided no viable alternatives at the time.

<sup>97</sup> Morton, "Junior but Sovereign Allies: The Transformation of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 8:1, (1979), 61.

<sup>98</sup> Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics*, 33.

<sup>99</sup> Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics*, 35-37, 53. When confronted in February 1915 by the British Army as to who in the CEF had the power to fire incompetent officers, Carson wrote to the British army's Southern Command that, "I am the only officer now serving in the country who would have that power."

Canadian Corps Commander Lieutenant-General Alderson complained about receiving conflicting orders from no less than six high-ranking Canadian officials in England.<sup>100</sup> The net result of such disorder was a constant infighting among commanders who were becoming increasingly preoccupied with each other rather than their charges overseas. The state of affairs was such that according to A.F. Duguid's *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, "for some time...neither the British nor the Canadian military authorities had any clear views or defined plans as to the status, command, organization or administration of Canadian troops in England."<sup>101</sup>

The creation of the Overseas Ministry alleviated many of the problems plaguing the military authorities in London. Initially run by Sir George Perley, Canada's High Commissioner to London, and later by the Honourable A.E. Kemp, a federal cabinet minister and former chairman of the War Purchasing Commission, the Overseas Ministry worked to overhaul the disorder left behind by Sam Hughes who was fired by Borden in October 1916. Seeking a more efficient organization, Perley streamlined the number of officers and other ranks on staff, reduced the number of training brigades in England, and worked to remove patronage appointments from the CEF.<sup>102</sup> By the summer of 1917, according to Morton, Perley "had achieved a dramatic transformation in both the

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<sup>100</sup> Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics*, 53. At any one time Lieutenant-General Alderson found himself answering orders from General Sir Sam Steele, General J.C. MacDougall, Lord Brooke (Commander of the Canadian Camp at Bramshott 1915), John Wallace Carson, Sir George Perley, Canada's high commissioner, and Max Aiken (later Lord Beaverbrook).

<sup>101</sup> Duguid, "Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919," 442.

<sup>102</sup> Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics*, 125. Kemp, who had been serving as Borden's Minister of Militia, replaced Perley on 12 October 1917. Kemp's newly vacant cabinet position was filled by Major-General Sydney Mewburn.

efficiency and prestige of his organization.”<sup>103</sup> While it took nearly three years, military and government authorities in London were finally able to rid themselves of the confusion which had plagued the Canadian overseas bureaucracy. However, much of the damage stemming from the political infighting and organizational disorder had already been incurred, leaving military authorities with little time and energy to expend on the social welfare of the soldiers. It simply was not a priority.

While a lack of time and resources limited the amount of assistance the government could give the men, there was also a general belief that there was little that the military could, or should, do to take care of soldiers once they were on leave. This sentiment was illustrated in a series of memos exchanged between Carson and Sir George Perley, at that time Canada’s High Commissioner in London. Carson outlined the prevailing mentality:

men come over animated with several ideas, first to have a beneficial holiday and rest, to be taken up with sight seeing or other absolutely innocent amusements, or else they come over with the idea of having what they call a good time, and they are going to have that good time regardless of the consequences.<sup>104</sup>

In fact, Carson argued, it would be futile for the military to involve itself in such matters as he believed that soldiers would, “very much resent any attempt to direct or lead them while on their short holiday.”<sup>105</sup> Rather than perform any valuable function, the military in such a situation would just be seen as meddling with the relative freedom of soldiers, and the men would resent being constantly under the watchful eye of the military. Any such attempts would be met with disdain by men who wished to be “absolutely

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<sup>103</sup> Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics*, 130.

<sup>104</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, Vol. 30, A1, Series 8, File 8-1-44, Carson to Perley, 24 December 1915.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

independent as to their movements.”<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, he maintained, most men, upon being granted leave, had already made definitive arrangements regarding their destination and places of accommodation. The few men who could not find lodging, Carson believed, were those who were more concerned with immoral pursuits, rather than worrying about the more mundane aspects of travel. These men, it seemed, could not be helped, and were to be no concern of the government’s or the army’s. According to Carson and the Canadian Provost Marshals in London nothing needed to be done. Should the military feel compelled to act in some way, Carson, in his only recommendation, suggested that the army build an extension onto a pre-existing hostel thereby adding a handful of beds to the facility. Even this action, the memo argued, was unnecessary.<sup>107</sup> With such continued inaction, it is clear that neither the government nor the military was concerned with providing services for the men while on leave. Although many soldiers had familial ties to Britain, there were many others who had no such connection. As a result, it was left to patriotic Canadian volunteers, such as Montreal’s Lady Julia Drummond, to pick up where the government left off. By establishing Canadian-only social clubs in London, Drummond and other volunteers and donors successfully provided social outlets for thousands of CEF soldiers.

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 2

### **‘Hail! Hail! The Gang's All Here!’<sup>1</sup> -- The Rise of Social Clubs in London**

As early as August 1915, Canadian-only leave clubs were established in London. The first, and most influential of these clubs, the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, provided soldiers’ comforts, such as dining areas, recreational facilities, and reading rooms, and also served as a reputable hostel where men could spend the night. The popular club was often filled to capacity and, as a result, it was forced to undergo a series of expansion campaigns which lasted throughout the war. As a further testament to its increasing popularity, similar clubs emerged later in the war, such as the YMCA’s Beaver Club in London, the ‘Blighty Club’ in Paris, and Toronto’s own Khaki Club, all modelled after the original Maple Leaf Club.

With the Canadian government and military providing little attention to soldiers once they left camp, the appearance of such clubs highlights the limited range of planned activities available to soldiers while on leave. To help the men avoid idleness and to diminish the likelihood of their engaging in questionable moral activities, these clubs provided the men with a place to rest and the chance to escape the streets of London. In highlighting such establishments, one is able to develop a more nuanced understanding of the Canadian soldiers’ experiences in England during the First World War. Moreover, a detailed examination of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club emphasizes government parsimony, stresses the overwhelming sense of public patriotism which

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<sup>1</sup> Title of a 1917 American hit song written by D.A. Estron, music by Theodore Morse and Arthur Sullivan, Eric Partridge and Paul Beale, *A Dictionary of Catch Phrases* (New York: Routledge, 1986), 172.

remained dominant in this era, and illustrates the growing differentiation between Canadian national identities and imperialist sentiment.

The idea of thousands of soldiers wandering throughout Britain caused varying reactions among Canadians on the home front. The military authorities, occupied by the larger logistical issues of raising the CEF, were hesitant to involve themselves in matters extending much beyond camp lines, and generally maintained a hands-off approach to the off-duty social lives of the men. Canadian citizens, on the other hand, concerned with the moral well-being of the men, were spurred to action by ingrained ideals of patriotism and charity. In a concerted effort to attend to the needs of soldiers, some philanthropists established soldiers' leave clubs in the hopes of keeping their 'boys' off the streets. These clubs serve as more than just examples of leave-time recreation. Founding members approached the situation with their own ideological agendas and, as a result, they founded these clubs on middle-class moral standards while paying homage to the established patriotic tenets of Canadian nationalism and British imperialism. Although helping paint an image of the 'typical' Canadian experience in England, the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club serves a much larger role in helping understand Canadian social and political culture in the early twentieth century.

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The ideals underpinning the Maple Leaf Club easily fit the mould of the times themselves. Influenced by Victorian ideals of charity, selflessness, and *noblesse oblige*, Canadians were quick to volunteer their time and money in order to help their boys overseas. This sense of wartime duty and morality was closely linked to notions of patriotism, and animated with this spirit, thousands of Canadians offered their services.

The home-front volunteers were instrumental in organizing fundraising campaigns and in producing clothing, bandages, and other such goods for the military.<sup>2</sup> The financial backing of the Canadian social élite was paramount in this volunteer effort. Politicians, in particular, were eager to gain the support of these prominent citizens, many of whom were women. Using their upper-class status as a means of influencing the government, these women quickly asserted themselves as leaders in the volunteer movement.<sup>3</sup>

Montreal, at this time the centre of Canada's corporate wealth, offered an impressive voluntary effort. Philanthropy was not a new idea for the Montreal élite, who had established a long tradition of using their wealth to pursue social reforms in the years leading up to the war. Campaigns to reduce infant mortality and typhoid, as well as efforts in reducing local poverty levels, were already on the agenda of wealthy Montrealers.<sup>4</sup> With the outbreak of war many affluent families, English- and French-speaking, became central organizers in Montreal's patriotic drives.<sup>5</sup>

One such prominent Montreal family were the Drummonds, who had earned their fortunes in various private enterprises. Sir George A. Drummond, and later his wife, Lady Julia Drummond, became main philanthropic figures in Montreal society.<sup>6</sup> Born

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<sup>2</sup> Joan Sangster, "Mobilizing Women for War," David Mackenzie ed., *Canada and the First World War*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 176.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 176-177.

<sup>4</sup> Morton, *Fight or Pay* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 52.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 55. Wealthy Montreal entrepreneur, Herbert Brown Ames, is credited as being the chief architect of the successful Canadian Patriotic Fund. Affluent French-Canadian women were also vital to the movement. For example, Rosaire Thibaudeau, founder of Notre-Dame Hospital, and Josephine Marchand Dandurand, wife of Canadian politician Raoul Dandurand, both held office in the Montreal Local Council of Women.

<sup>6</sup> Sir George Drummond, a native of Scotland, entered the sugar industry after his marriage to Helen Redpath (d.1884) in 1857. After founding the Canada Sugar Refining Company in 1878, Drummond then became president of the Bank of Montreal. A philanthropic man, Drummond founded the St. Margaret's Home for Incurables, was a

Grace Julia Parker in Montreal in 1859, Julia married George Drummond following the death of her first husband, Quebec merchant, Robert Hamilton. Lady Drummond's initial foray into public life came in 1893 when she was appointed the first president of the Montreal Local Council of Women (MLCW).<sup>7</sup> From here she endeared herself to a number of causes including various women's groups, the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association (MPPA), and the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON). With the outbreak of war, Lady Drummond shifted her attention overseas. In a meeting of the Montreal Local Council of Women, Drummond argued that the women need "not waste money on balls and dinners and fashionable luncheons...money should be spent on necessities for those who need them, not in luxuries for ourselves."<sup>8</sup> With this sentiment in mind, she offered her services to the Canadian Red Cross in England, focusing her attention on providing comforts to Canadian soldiers overseas.

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trustee for the Victorian Order of Nurses, and president of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association. Soon after marrying Julia Drummond in 1884, he was made a Senator, and was knighted in 1904. He was also a member of the St. James Club, the Rideau Club of Ottawa, the Reform Club of London, England, and the Manhattan Club of New York. Although he remained in Montreal, Drummond maintained several homes, including a lavish mansion on Sherbrooke Street West, a summer home on the St. Lawrence River in Cacouna, Quebec, and a sprawling estate called Huntleywood in Beaconsfield, Quebec, on the western portion of the Island of Montreal, where he raised livestock and maintained a nine-hole golf course. Dying in 1910, Drummond was survived by three sons, Huntley R. and Arthur L., from his first marriage, and Guy Drummond from his marriage with Lady Julia Drummond. Jeanne M. Wolfe and Grace Strathan, "Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association," in Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, eds. *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 75-76; Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House*, (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1991), 45 and 192; William H. Atherton, *Montreal: From 1535 to 1914 Vol. 3* (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), 304-310.

<sup>7</sup> Wolfe and Strathan, "Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association," 70.

<sup>8</sup> "Montreal's Patriotic Women," *The Globe*, 17 August 1914.

One of Drummond's first and most important activities with the Red Cross was in organizing its Information Bureau, headquartered in downtown London. Opened on 11 February 1915, the day after the 1st Canadian Division arrived in France, the bureau was charged with the collection and distribution of information pertaining to sick and wounded soldiers and prisoners of war.<sup>9</sup> Drummond wished to provide family members back in Canada with accurate reports regarding the health status of their loved ones. The bureau also served as a central location where families could send letters and parcels once a wounded soldier had been removed from his unit and placed in a convalescent facility.<sup>10</sup> Starting with only one small office and a handful of workers, the Information Bureau grew to employ upwards of 200 people encompassing five separate departments.<sup>11</sup> These volunteer men and women worked tirelessly to aid those most directly affected by the war. Although the Canadian Red Cross was involved in a number of such projects, the scope of its work remained limited, concentrating primarily on assisting sick and wounded Canadian soldiers. There was still much work to be done for soldiers who did not fit into this category. Through her work at the Canadian Red Cross, Drummond recognized that there was still a great deal that private citizens could do if they wished to look after the well-being of all Canadian soldiers. It was then that Lady Drummond first became aware of the growing need to provide rest and recreational services for Canadian soldiers on leave. With her time at the Red Cross shaping her

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<sup>9</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, File 11, Folder 115, "The Canadian Red Cross Society in England and France, 1918."

<sup>10</sup> "Where to send Letters for Canadian Wounded," *The Globe*, 25 March 1915.

<sup>11</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, File 11, Folder 115, "The Canadian Red Cross Society in England and France, 1918." These five departments focussed on the non-medical needs of men in hospitals and consisted of Departments of Enquiry, Parcel Distribution, Prisoners of War, Newspapers, and Drives and Entertainment. For a brief description see *Canada in the Great World War: Days of Preparation*, Vol. 2, 223-237.

views, Drummond embarked on her next major project: the opening of a recreational and leave centre for Canadian soldiers in London.<sup>12</sup>

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While organizations such as the Red Cross, the YMCA, and the Canadian War Contingent Association (CWCA) were already operating in both England and France, they were predominantly concerned with providing food and basic necessities to men in the camps and in the hospitals, rather than tending to the soldiers' off-duty hours.<sup>13</sup> Working in association with the Red Cross and the YMCA, the CWCA, founded in August 1914, was primarily concerned with the collection and redistribution of soldiers' comforts collected from individuals and associations in Canada. The wide assortment of items included clothing, matches, and tooth brushes, as well as foodstuffs such as maple sugar and curry powder.<sup>14</sup> Although they served a worthwhile purpose by catering to specific needs, these organizations were limited in what they provided to the men. And while emerging social clubs modelled themselves in part after the CWCA, the London clubs were far different in that they expanded the range of services provided, hoping to offer soldiers a 'touch of home,' where, according to Drummond, the men could be "cared for and mothered a bit."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Although Drummond was heavily involved in the establishment and running of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, she did not give up her duties at the Canadian Red Cross. Upon the resignation of Lieutenant Colonel Claude Bryan, Lady Drummond was appointed to the position of Assistant Commissioner for England in April 1918. "Lady Drummond's Red Cross Post," *The Globe*, 13 May 1918.

<sup>13</sup> Charles W. Bishop, *The Canadian YMCA in the Great War* (Toronto: National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1924), 112.

<sup>14</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Series 8, File 8-3-5, Canadian War Contingent Association pamphlet, March 1916.

<sup>15</sup> LAC, RG9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27, "King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club" *Lady's Pictorial* (1 April 1916).

While the Canadian authorities maintained their laissez-faire attitude towards soldiers on leave, the streets of London were quickly filling with them. By the spring of 1915, the need to find suitable and affordable lodging for the CEF men was becoming a concern for Lady Drummond and others. Drummond, anxious to help the men, decided that what they needed was a club that would welcome them and provide them with lodgings and meals. However, she wished to build something more than just a hostel, envisioning a club where Canadians could congregate and socialize with one another *as Canadians*. Catering to a predominantly Canadian clientèle was of utmost importance to Drummond and the other Club founders. Since the troops did not have the luxury to return home to their families, as was the case with British soldiers, there was a concern that, “more often than not, a Canadian...soldier in London [was] without home or friends.”<sup>16</sup> Angus Sinclair, a civil engineer with the Canadian Northern Railway and a patron of the Maple Leaf Club, argued that, “from an economic standpoint alone, it is just as necessary to care for the health and welfare of the soldier on leave, as it is to recruit and equip him in the first place.”<sup>17</sup> Happy soldiers would be more efficient soldiers. As such, Drummond developed the Club as a place where the men “would have a warm welcome, congenial companionships and board and lodging at a reasonable rate; and where those who came from France could have a chance to get ‘cleaned up’ after the

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<sup>16</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27, King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, n.d. While both the author and the date of the article are unknown, the document, which provides a summary of the role of the club, was written on Red Cross letterhead, and was likely written by a member of the Maple Leaf Club committee, perhaps Lady Drummond herself.

<sup>17</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, Angus Sinclair to Borden, 19 August 1916.

hardships of trench life.”<sup>18</sup> The first club, located at 11 Charles Street, was officially opened on 4 August 1915, exactly one year after the outbreak of war.

As men flocked to London throughout the war, the Maple Leaf Club continued to serve an important purpose in meeting the needs of weary Canadians, especially in light of continuing government and military inaction in supporting the troops while on leave.<sup>19</sup> Canadian authorities appear to have remained unconcerned until the spring of 1916. In May of that year rumours began circulating that men visiting from France, unable to find suitable accommodation, had no choice but to sleep on the streets or on the banks of the Thames. One Canadian newspaper account reported with alarm, that “one hundred Canadians fresh from the trenches were compelled to sleep out on the Embankment [Thames].”<sup>20</sup> The following week a report from the Maple Leaf Club was sent to Sir George Perley complaining of this incident. The letter noted that soldiers arriving on the late train found the government pay offices closed, and with no room left at the Maple Leaf Club, they were forced to spend the night wandering the streets of London.<sup>21</sup> Perley promptly launched an investigation, requesting that Major General J.W. Carson look into the matter.<sup>22</sup> What had apparently happened was that, in an effort to get on with training, General David Watson of the 4<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division had expedited leave time, granting 50 per cent of his men leave during the first week of May, and allowing the remaining 50

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<sup>18</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27, King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, n.d.

<sup>19</sup> Back in Canada, government inaction encouraged Herbert Ames to begin the Canadian Patriotic Fund in order to help the soldiers’ families. According to Desmond Morton, “Hughes was delighted to be relieved of a problem he easily recognized but had never apparently considered.” Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 54.

<sup>20</sup> “Canadians need shelter,” *The Globe*, 17 May 1916.

<sup>21</sup> LAC, RG9, Vol. 30, A1, Series 8, File 8-1-44, Perley to Carson, 23 May 1916.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

per cent leave time during the second week. Carson's response to Perley was that this had been an isolated incident stemming from inconsistencies in leave allotment, whereby the number of passes granted per leave that month had increased from 20 per cent to 50 per cent.<sup>23</sup> Carson seemed little bothered by the event. Assured by the assistant provost marshall in London that, in the following days, the streets were free of sleeping Canadians, Carson wrote back to Perley that the incident was probably the result of wartime rumours and that those who instigated such lies should be made to either "put up, or shut up."<sup>24</sup> The callous nature of Carson's response overlooked the good work being done by the Maple Leaf Club. Had it not been for such clubs the men would have had far fewer options for lodgings once they arrived in London. Despite the growing number of Canadian soldiers in England and the rising number of men going on leave, especially to London, the military's attitude towards assisting them remained unchanged. While downplaying issues of accommodation, military and government authorities thought it a fruitless endeavour to expend already limited resources to help men on leave. Accordingly, it did not take long before the Maple Leaf Club was filled to capacity, quickly becoming a focal point for thousands of Canadian men.

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The popularity of social clubs was evident from the start. The first clubs that welcomed Canadian soldiers were British gentlemen's clubs which had existed in pre-war London. By mid-October 1914 Major General Alderson had already received letters from a number of established British clubs offering free honorary membership to all officers in the CEF. Institutions such as the Royal Automobile Club, the Royal Colonial

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<sup>23</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, Vol. 30, A1, Series 8, File 8-1-44, Carson to Perley, 25 May 1916.

<sup>24</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, Vol. 30, A1, Series 8, File 8-1-44, Carson to Perley, 31 May 1916.

Institute, and the British Empire Club willingly opened their doors to Canadians.<sup>25</sup> Bound by tradition, these societies strictly limited their facilities to CEF *officers* who could relax in the reading rooms, eat a warm meal, and, if space was available, stay overnight.<sup>26</sup> With many of these organizations affiliated with Canadian clubs, such as Ottawa's Rideau Club and Toronto's York Club, for some officers in the CEF, these British institutions served merely as an extension of the men's pre-war lives.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, there seemed little need for Canadian philanthropists to intervene. With officers taken care of, the pressure to open 'Canadian-only' officers clubs was drastically reduced. As a result, it was not until December 1917 that the first of these clubs opened. The 'Canadian Red Cross Home for Officers' opened at Moor Court, Sidmouth, Devon. The Red Cross location served a scant 500 men in its year of operation.<sup>28</sup>

This was followed by the 'Canadian Officers' Club' located in Chesterfield Gardens, London, officially inaugurated in July 1918.<sup>29</sup> A venture begun by the 'Beyond the Seas Association,' the club, which did not charge membership fees or subscriptions, normally a customary practice for private clubs, offered the men meals and lodging. An

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<sup>25</sup> LAC, RG9, III, B1, Vol. 392, Series 1, File C-13-1 "Clubs. Honourary Membership (B and T)," Unknown sender to Alderson, 16 October 1914. Love, 265. David Love in his work *"A Call to Arms: The Organization and Administration of Canada's Military in World War One,"* possibly citing *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Force of Canada 1918*, maintains that the Royal Automobile Club did not admit CEF officers until 1917. Archival records show, however, that membership was in fact granted as early as October 1914.

<sup>26</sup> Love, 265.

<sup>27</sup> LAC, RG9, III, B1, Vol. 392, Series 1, File C-13-1, Herbert Lyndon, Esq. to General Officers' Commanding CEF, 3 November 1914.

<sup>28</sup> *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Force of Canada 1918*, 489.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 513.

officer could be expected to pay five shillings and sixpence for breakfast and board.<sup>30</sup> Costs incurred by the club were offset by such fees, while the remainder was provided for through private donations, primarily by Sir John Leigh, Barrister, and clubs chairman. The club did not appear to suffer from any major financial difficulties, as witnessed by the large Christmas party it sponsored in December of that year. Taking place at the Albert Hall in the heart of London, the party accommodated approximately 2,000 officers and included dinner and a dance, and featured entertainment by the leading stars of the time. *The Globe* billed it as “the biggest entertainment” of all the London parties.<sup>31</sup> Thanks in part to such events, the club was able to reach a relatively large number of officers during its brief time in operation: between July and December 1918 it housed 3,914 officers and served approximately 15,636 meals.<sup>32</sup> Starting so late in the war, and owing in large part to its exclusivity, this club catered to only a small body of Canadians. Furthermore, it is quite evident that well-established London social clubs were willing to open their doors to CEF officers. There was thus little need for the Canadian public to support such ventures and, as a result, it is not surprising that little effort was made to establish other Canadian-only officers’ clubs in England.

While these clubs catering to commissioned officers were being organized in England, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) was developing its own overseas club, one built specifically for Canadian nursing sisters. Not new to the idea of wartime charity, the IODE had been founded in 1900 by Mrs. Clark Murray of Montreal

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 513. One British pound (£) is equivalent to 20 shillings(s). One shilling (s) corresponds to 12 pence (d).

<sup>31</sup> “Glad Welcome to Canadians,” *The Globe*, 27 December 1918.

<sup>32</sup> *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Force of Canada 1918s*, 513.

to provide support for Canadian troops fighting in the South African War.<sup>33</sup> The IODE caught on quickly in Ontario. In the early part of the decade an effort was made to expand the organization, first moving into Western Canada where twenty-nine chapters were established, and later in the east, resulting in twenty-one chapters opening in Quebec and the Maritimes.<sup>34</sup> The organization continued its rapid growth; by mid-1915 there were approximately 500 chapters throughout Canada, boasting a membership of over 30,000 women mostly drawn from the middle class and of British ethnic origin.<sup>35</sup> With such a wide-reaching membership and reasonably affluent, the IODE was an ideal organization from which to solicit funds. With the start of hostilities in 1914, IODE members were quick to channel this support. Much like other local volunteer efforts, the IODE provided comforts to soldiers through small-scale endeavours such as sock-knitting and flag days.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> W.A. Craick, "A Noble Order and the War," *Maclean's*, 15 June 1915, 29. See also Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).

<sup>34</sup> *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire* (1919), 6-7. The organization continued to expand throughout the war, comprising 750 chapters throughout Canada by the end of 1918.

<sup>35</sup> Craick, "A Noble Order and the War," 29.

<sup>36</sup> Craick, "A Noble Order and the War," 30 and 78. Not satisfied with such efforts, the IODE quickly organized large-scale fundraising drives, ultimately hoping to raise enough money to fund the purchase of a hospital ship. Appeals were sent throughout the country, and soon the Hospital Ship Fund contained in excess of \$280,000. It was then realized, however, that perhaps it was best to donate the money without any specific purpose, passing along the money to the Imperial Government so that it could do as it wished. In the end \$100,000 was given to the British War Office, while the remainder was donated to the Royal Navy. *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire*, 8-9.

Although men made up the vast majority of those serving overseas, by 1918 approximately 1,900 nurses were serving in England and France.<sup>37</sup> The IODE, already having shown great support for the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club for other ranks, was set on providing services for Canadian women in Britain.<sup>38</sup> The 'Daughters of the Empire Club for Canadian Nurses,' as it became known, was funded in large part through donations from individual Canadian IODE chapters. The club, located at 95 Lancaster Gate, London, was the former townhouse of Lady Minto, wife of the former Canadian Governor General, which she generously donated to the cause. Officially opened in April 1918, the IODE club for nurses, much like other clubs, boasted a drawing room, a reading room, a library, and a dining room.<sup>39</sup> Bed and breakfast at the club cost each nursing sister four shillings and sixpence, while lunch was fixed at one shilling and sixpence, and dinner two shillings and sixpence. With such low prices the club was not self-supporting; consequently, it relied on the ongoing generosity of IODE chapters in Canada to cover the cost utilities, and other basic amenities.<sup>40</sup> Despite its good work, the club was only open for eight months before the armistice was signed. Further, as it catered to such a limited clientèle, in the end it provided for a relatively small number of patrons. From its inception in April 1918 until December of that year, it

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<sup>37</sup> Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 182. *Report of the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada 1918*, 394.

<sup>38</sup> *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire*, 12. As will be discussed further in this chapter, the IODE sponsored the opening of Maple Leaf Club annexes.

<sup>39</sup> *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire*, 12. In addition to support from Lord and Lady Minto, the club also garnered attention from H.R.H. Princess Patricia, an ongoing supporter of Canadian activities.

<sup>40</sup> *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Force of Canada 1918*, 513.

was estimated that approximately 1,600 nurses found their way to the club.<sup>41</sup> In the end, the Daughters of the Empire Club for Canadian Nurses, much like the clubs established for commissioned officers, did not have the far-reaching appeal associated with clubs organized for other ranks. A similar situation held true for the 'Rest House for Canadian Nurses' begun by the Canadian Red Cross in January 1918. Having provided accommodation for approximately 1,500 nursing sisters, and a handful of Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) workers, the club did not see much action.<sup>42</sup>

Canadian enlisted men, on the other hand were fortunate to have Lady Drummond's patronage. Her time at the Red Cross brought her into contact with numerous soldiers who were eager to recount the problems of leave time, in particular their inability to obtain proper accommodations in the city. Hotels, frequently crowded and expensive, often were not very welcoming to men coming directly from the front. Men stumbling in at late hours and still covered in mud were not ideal customers for discerning hotels, quick to discriminate against such guests.<sup>43</sup> Men dispatched from hospitals on sick furlough proved to be another challenge. Separated from their units and their friends, Drummond worried that the men would become "bewildered by the darkness and immensity of London."<sup>44</sup> With no place to stay, she feared for their well-being. Writing to the *Montreal Gazette*, Drummond remarked that, "apart from the comfort of the men, one has to reckon the value to the country and the Empire of their

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 513.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 489.

<sup>43</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, "Soldiers' Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.

<sup>44</sup> Moore, *The Story of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club*, 5 and LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, "Soldiers' Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs" *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.

health and fitness when [the soldiers] go back to the front or when they go home.”<sup>45</sup> The death of Drummond’s son, Lieutenant Guy Drummond at the Second Battle of Ypres on 22 April 1915, may have also influenced her decision to actively involve herself in the welfare of the men. For Drummond, the cause was both patriotic and personal. It was with these thoughts in mind that Lady Drummond first conceived of the idea of the Maple Leaf Club.

From its inception the Maple Leaf Club straddled the seemingly intertwined notions of British imperialism and growing Canadian nationalism. While the Club existed as a venue to cater to Canadian soldiers, it also found itself part of a broader imperial organization known as the King George and Queen Mary Clubs. Consisting of the Victoria League Club and the Peel Club, the three branches catered solely to soldiers of the Commonwealth. Promoting the ideals of Canadian nationalism and wider British imperialism was not a contradiction. Carl Berger, through his seminal works on Canadian nationalism and imperialism, repeatedly argues that Canadian imperialism was, in fact, but one form of Canadian nationalism.<sup>46</sup> Imperialist-nationalists ardently believed that the only way for Canada to successfully achieve national and international status was to work within the structure of the British Empire and, indeed, benefit from the ‘sense of power’ it offered. By working through imperial councils, some imperialists believed that one day Canada would assert its growing influence and gain a meaningful

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<sup>45</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, “Soldiers’ Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs” *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.

<sup>46</sup> Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 259.

voice in determining the affairs of the Empire.<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, the Maple Leaf Club was very much a product of Canadian national identity, but one still firmly situated within the broader framework of Imperial pride and monarchical fealty. Though the Club was in principle, “solely, wholly and only a Canadian Club, a Canadian Institution opened by Canadians, managed by Canadians and financed by Canadians,”<sup>48</sup> it still maintained a strong British connection, firmly supported British war aims, and sought to assist those Canadians fighting on behalf of the Empire itself. Nevertheless, it was obvious that Canadians were imbued with a sense of national identity and that the creation of a club for them tacitly and overtly recognized their specific national origin and catered to their specific needs.

Even before the Maple Leaf Club was officially opened, in August 1915, it was drawing the attention of a number of well-established, and well-connected, Britons. An ongoing champion of Canadian causes, famed author and poet Rudyard Kipling was one of the Club’s first supporters. Kipling having spent time visiting wounded Canadian soldiers, had developed a growing concern for their welfare following their release from the hospital.<sup>49</sup> “When a man was wounded,” he argued, “he was sent to a hospital...when he was a convalescent he went to a convalescent home...” but what was the soldier to do between the convalescent home and the front?<sup>50</sup> He saw the Canadian Club as the ideal way to solve this problem. Wishing to take action, Kipling contacted Lady Drummond

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<sup>47</sup> Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1969), 3. On the other hand, some Canadian nationalists tended to see imperialism as antagonistic to Canadian national interests, unity, and autonomy.

<sup>48</sup> RG 9, III, Vol. 4, A1, File 2-2-35, Carson to Colonel Ross, 16 February 1916.

<sup>49</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4238, Lady Drummond to Borden, n.d.

<sup>50</sup> Kipling to Edmonia Hill, 4 August 1915, as cited in Thomas Pinney, ed. *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. 4 1911-1919* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999) 312, n5.

and volunteered his efforts to the cause. His wife, also eager to lend her support, agreed to be the Chairwoman of the Maple Leaf Club committee, a position she held for more than three years.<sup>51</sup>

Once word got out of the intention to found the Club, it did not take long for other prominent Britons to lend their support. A letter was circulated on behalf of the Maple Leaf Club committee requesting that a suitable location be found in London to function as the Club's headquarters. Soon the committee was receiving offers from a number of families willing to donate their sizeable London homes to the cause. Lord and Lady Salisbury volunteered both their town and country houses, an offer which was matched by the Honourable Mrs. Ronald Greville, British socialite and philanthropist.<sup>52</sup> The Greville home, located at 11 Charles Street, was the most suitably located and the largest of all those offers. As such, it became the first home of the Maple Leaf Club. Once the house was secured, all that remained was raising the necessary funds to furnish and equip it. Looking for an initial investment of \$5,000, in a few short weeks Lady Drummond, thanks in large part to her friends in Montreal and London, had already collected an impressive \$8,500.<sup>53</sup> With everything in place, the Club was officially opened. Canadian Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, already in England, presided over the festivities.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Moore, 6.

<sup>52</sup> "King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club" *Lady's Pictorial* (1 April 1916) RG9, III D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27.

<sup>53</sup> According to the Bank of Canada, \$1 CAD in 1914, equates to \$19.18 CAD today, after adjusting for an annual average rate of inflation of 3.16%. See Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," [http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/rates/inflation\\_calc.html](http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/rates/inflation_calc.html), Date accessed, 6 August 2009; In 1914, the average annual exchange rate of British pounds to Canadian dollars was £1 GBP - \$4.8666 CAD. See James Powell, *A History of the Canadian Dollar* (Ottawa: Bank of Canada, 2007), 14.

<sup>54</sup> Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, 187-188. Borden was abroad 9 July to 25 August 1915 to meet with British prime minister Lord Asquith, and the newly appointed

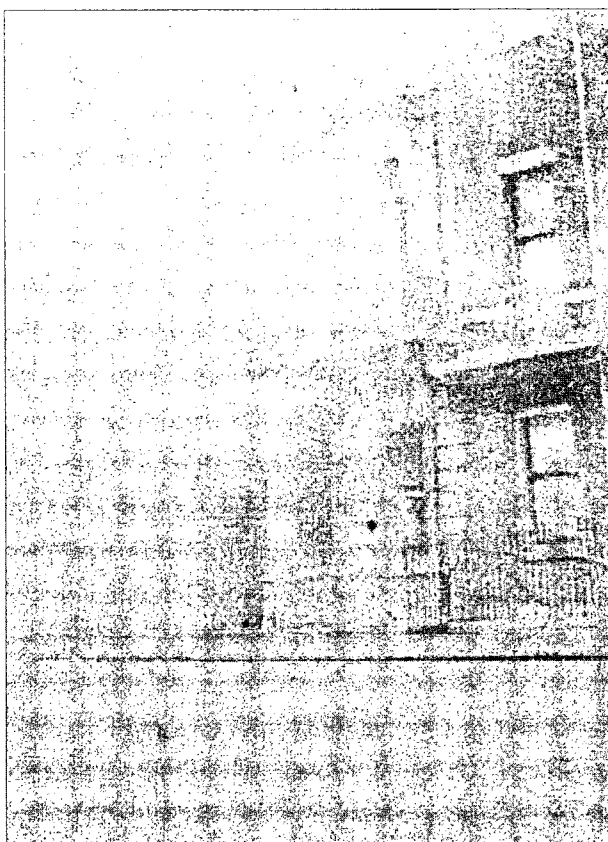


Figure 2.1: Maple Leaf Club, 11 Charles Street, London. Photograph taken by an unknown CEF soldier. (CWM, 19760346-019)

Although Borden, Perley, and Kipling all attended, the event garnered little attention in the Canadian press. Their Majesties the King and Queen, although not present at the official opening, eventually visited the club on 29 February 1916.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, it was a very innocuous beginning for a club that was to become home for thousands of Canadian soldiers throughout the war.

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Colonial Secretary, Bonar Law. Borden also used his time to meet with a number of wounded Canadian troops in both England and France.

<sup>55</sup> Moore, 23. The Maple Leaf Club was visited seven times by various members of the British royal family, including two visits by the King and Queen.



Figure 2.2: Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden (centre) visiting the Maple Leaf Club. Lady Drummond is second from left, Lady Perley second from right. (CWM, M592h)

The important role of the Club was immediately recognized by two members of the Maple Leaf Club committee, Miss Meriel Talbot and the Honourable Mrs. Graham Murray, inspiring them to open their own institutions, the Victoria League Club and the Peel House, respectively. Unlike the Canadian-run Maple Leaf Club, these two institutions did not cater to soldiers from any particular country or Dominion. The Victoria League Club limited itself to “men serving in the Oversea [sic] Forces or from the Crown Colonies,”<sup>56</sup> while the Peel Club took in a broader range of soldiers, focussing on providing “comfortable sleeping and living accommodation for members of the Dominions and other oversea [sic] Contingents.”<sup>57</sup> Owing to this inclusiveness, the Peel

<sup>56</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 26, Victoria League Pamphlet, 1917.

<sup>57</sup> LAC, RG9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27, *King George and Queen Mary's Club for the Oversea [sic] Forces: Peel House*, 1917. By March 1917 the Peel Club had accommodated 190,000 men, 70,000 being Canadian. LAC, RG9, III, D1, Vol. 4719,

Club was described as an “Imperial Centre,” where “members of the club have thus the chance of learning something about the capital of the Empire. At the same time, they have a chance of learning a good deal about the Colonies.”<sup>58</sup> One journalist argued that such a structure allowed the Peel Club to “[serve] the Imperial idea better than would any club confined to a single colony.”<sup>59</sup> Yet despite such differences, all three organizations worked together to provide soldiers with the necessary comforts during their stay in London. In the spirit of imperial unity the organizations were officially joined together by the King and Queen in late 1915 to form the ‘King George and Queen Mary Clubs for Overseas Soldiers.’<sup>60</sup>



Figure 2.3: King George V visiting the Maple Leaf Club, April 1919  
(CWM, M822b)

As the organizations grew, so too did the services provided to the soldiers. The first major addition was the creation of the Overseas Forces Reception Committee (OFRC) in early 1916. The idea, initially spearheaded by the prominent Canadian

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Folder 115, File 27, General Manager and Joint Secretary Peel Club to Canadian War Records Office, 6 March 1917.

<sup>58</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, “Peel House: An Overseas [sic] Forces Club,” Newspaper and author unknown, 1916.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Moore, 7-8. LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27, Report ‘King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club,’ 1917.

maritime banker Sir William Stavert, was designed to address the problem of transporting Canadian soldiers from the train stations to the Clubs. With trains arriving at all hours of the night, Club organizers and supporters worried that weary soldiers would not be able to find their way through blackout conditions to the safe haven of the clubs.<sup>61</sup>

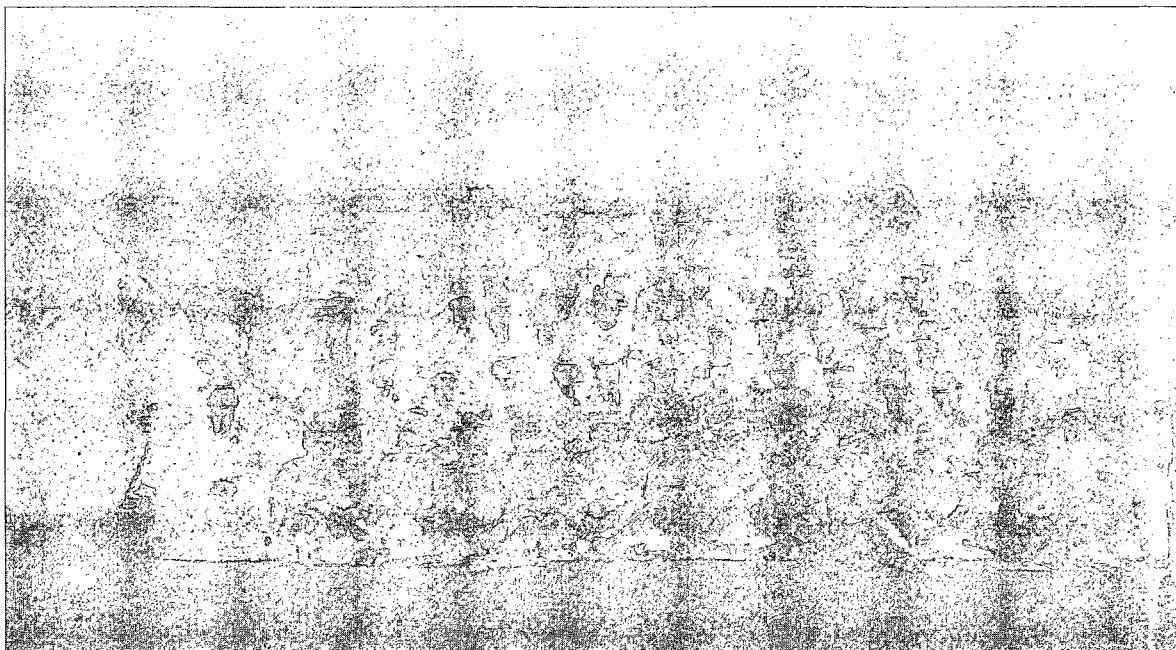


Figure 2.4: Unidentified members of the Overseas Forces Reception Committee (OFRC). The characteristic blue armbands are visible on some of the men at the extreme left and right. (CWM, M817b)

As such, the OFRC, was organized in order to chauffeur soldiers to the various clubs, ensuring that each man had a place to sleep for the night. Realizing that this was a problem facing all soldiers, not just Canadians, the decision was made to expand the Overseas Forces Reception Committee in order to deal with the large influx of men into London. In doing so, the OFRC became a joint venture with the King George and Queen Mary Clubs, with each of the clubs assisting in covering the costs of the reception

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<sup>61</sup> Moore, 26.

committee.<sup>62</sup> The organization maintained exceptionally close ties to the CEF throughout war.

Headed by Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and working in conjunction with Sir Henry Imbert-Terry, a well-connected member of the Conservative party, the OFRC soon grew to include nearly seventy volunteer businessmen and twenty non-commissioned officers and orderlies.<sup>63</sup> The OFRC often requested that Canadian military authorities assist in dealing with the large number of men, many of whom were Canadian, which passed through the stations. By late November 1916, the Canadians had already stationed two non-commissioned officers at Victoria Station, and at the request of Imbert-Terry, offered two additional men to help at Waterloo Station.<sup>64</sup> While not willing to provide direct funding to the Maple Leaf Club organization and its affiliates, Canadian military authorities obviously recognized the good work being done for CEF soldiers.

With the Overseas Forces Reception Committee assuming such a prominent role within the King George and Queen Mary Club system, the OFRC was granted a seat on the Joint Soldiers' Club Committee, and was represented by the organization's Chairman, Imbert-Terry.<sup>65</sup> Assisting Sir Imbert-Terry were H.H. Cannell and Arthur T. Rivers, both of whom were chiefly responsible for making the arrangements for the men stepping off

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<sup>62</sup> *Victoria League: Seventeenth Annual Report*, 9.

<sup>63</sup> Moore, 26.

<sup>64</sup> LAC, RG 9, III Vol.30, File, 8-1-44, Major E.S. Clifford, Assistant Provost Marshall to J.W. Carson, 9 November 1916.

<sup>65</sup> *Victoria League: Seventeenth Annual Report*, 3. The Soldiers' Club Committee, organized to discuss the welfare of overseas soldiers, consisted of representatives from the King George and Queen Mary Clubs, as well as volunteers from other Dominions.

the platforms.<sup>66</sup> As their headquarters were located in London's busy Victoria train station, both Cannell and Rivers were kept quite busy with requests for lodging. By 1919 the OFRC volunteers, distinguished by their characteristic blue armband emblazoned with the words "Overseas Forces," had greeted nearly one million men.<sup>67</sup> Working tirelessly in order to guide the visiting soldiers around London, the volunteers were recognized for their efforts by Lady Drummond in March 1919 at an informal gathering at the Maple Leaf Club. Each of the seventy volunteer members was presented with a gold 'charm' in the shape of a Maple Leaf, bearing the inscription, "For Voluntary War Services rendered to 1,000,000 Overseas Troops, 1915-1919."<sup>68</sup>

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The first Maple Leaf Club, open only to privates and non-commissioned officers, was a modest facility, able to accommodate anywhere between 50 and 60 men. Although the number of beds was soon increased to 110, the Club was quickly filled to capacity. Offering more than just sleeping accommodations, the Club possessed a billiards room, two dining facilities, a recreation room, and a smoking room.<sup>69</sup>

Meal prices ranged from eight pence each for breakfast and lunch, while dinner, often consisting of soup, meat or fish course, vegetables, and dessert, cost one shilling. For breakfast soldiers would be treated to porridge, and either sausages, bacon, eggs or fish, bread and butter, and tea or coffee. For lunch, they could expect a meal consisting of cold meat or meat pies, potatoes, cheese, and dessert. A hot bath, pyjamas, and a bed

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<sup>66</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, H.M. Imbert-Terry to George Perley, 31 May 1916.

<sup>67</sup> Moore, 26.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> By 1918 the Club provided a recreational facility which included its own boxing program. "Soldiers Box for Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 10 July 1918.

for the night cost the soldier an additional shilling per night.<sup>70</sup> Men could also expect their laundry to be washed, and their kit cleaned and stowed away for safe-keeping. Organized around the needs of the men, breakfast was served as late as 10 am to allow tired soldiers the chance to sleep in. As well, soldiers leaving for the front were housed separately so that they would not disturb other men when they departed at 4 am to catch the early morning train back to their units.<sup>71</sup> Soldiers could also rely on the club to keep them informed of military matters. The army, recognizing that large number of Canadian troops frequented the institution, used the club's bulletin boards to post orders to the men. CEF soldier James Robert Johnson recalled passing through the Maple Leaf Club and seeing "posters all over the place ordering all members of the 9<sup>th</sup> Reserve Battalion back to camp for a draft to France."<sup>72</sup>

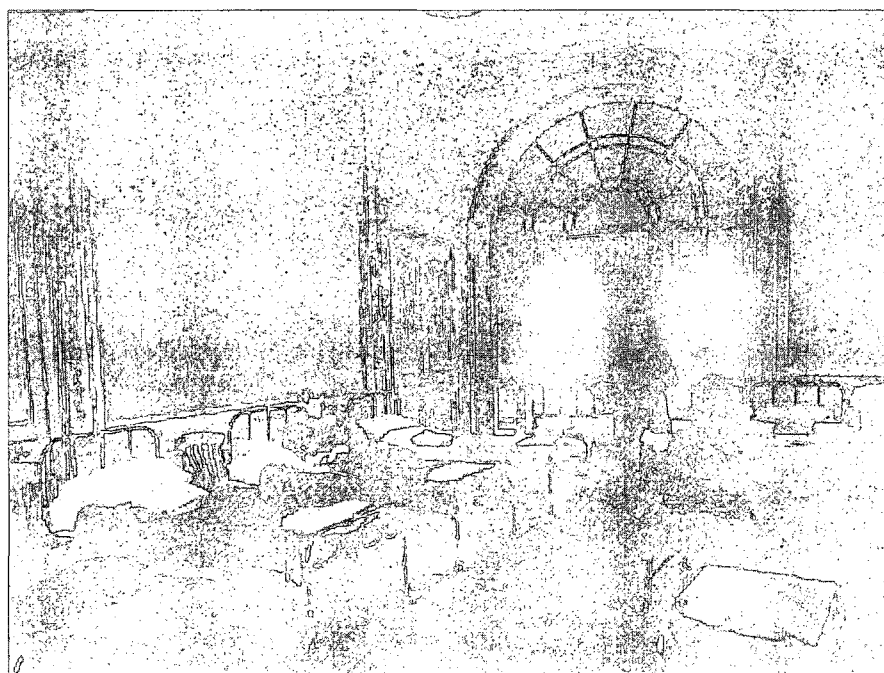


Figure 2.5: Dormitories at the Maple Leaf Club. (CWM, CWM,19910238.286)

<sup>70</sup> CWM, *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* (June 1916); *Canada in the Great World War: Days of Preparation*, Vol. 2, 233-234.

<sup>71</sup> Moore, 21.

<sup>72</sup> James Robert Johnson, *Riding into War: The Memoir of a Horse Transport Driver, 1916-1919* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions, 2004), 30.

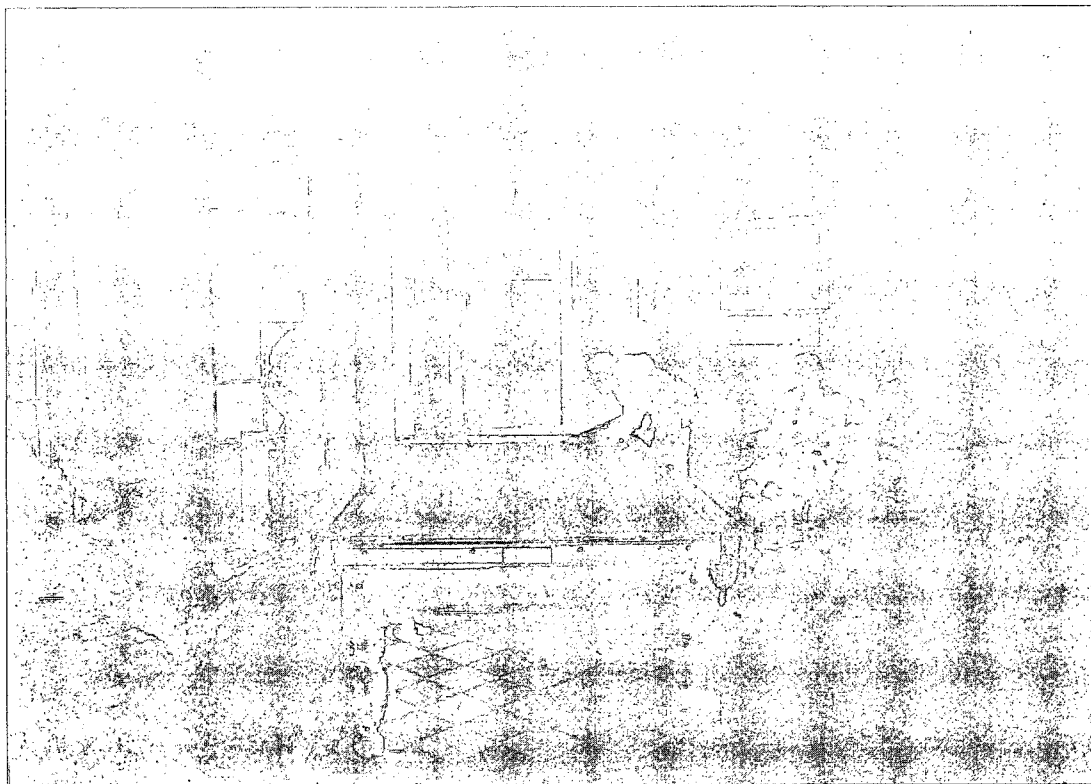


Figure 2.6: Billiard room at the Maple Leaf Club. Unknown Soldiers. (CWM, 19910238.288)



Figure 2.7: Maple Leaf Club Dining Room. The officer in the foreground is presumably Captain W.F. Watson, comptroller of the Club. (CWM, 19910238.289)



Figure 2.8: Maple Leaf Club reading room. (CWM,19910238.287)

All of these services were made possible because of a dedicated team comprised of volunteers and Canadian military personnel. The Club's daily running was overseen by Captain W.F. Watson of the 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division. From the start, he was joined by others from the 1st Division who had been wounded and were unfit for front-line service. Serving as orderlies, their duties included registering newly arrived guests, collecting money for lodging and meals, attending to the kit and clothing of guests, as well as other services.<sup>73</sup> These soldiers represented the sole contribution of the federal government to the Maple Leaf Club. In lieu of monetary support, the military was willing to allocate manpower resources in order to assist the Club, much as it did with the OFRC. Also

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<sup>73</sup> Moore, 16.

assisting in various duties was a civilian support staff consisting mainly of women volunteers who, among other duties, would help serve meals to the men.<sup>74</sup>

The Maple Leaf Club does not appear to have spent much funding on advertising. An examination of 51 trench newspapers published by regiments both in England and in France, reveals that only two, the *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* (1915-1916) and the *Canadian Hospital News* (1916-1917) printed advertisements for the Club. The *Canadian Hospital News*, published in Ramsgate, England at Granville Canadian Special Hospital had the largest number of ads, with 27 of 36 newspaper editions running ads, while the *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* only highlighted the Club in its June 1916 issue.<sup>75</sup>

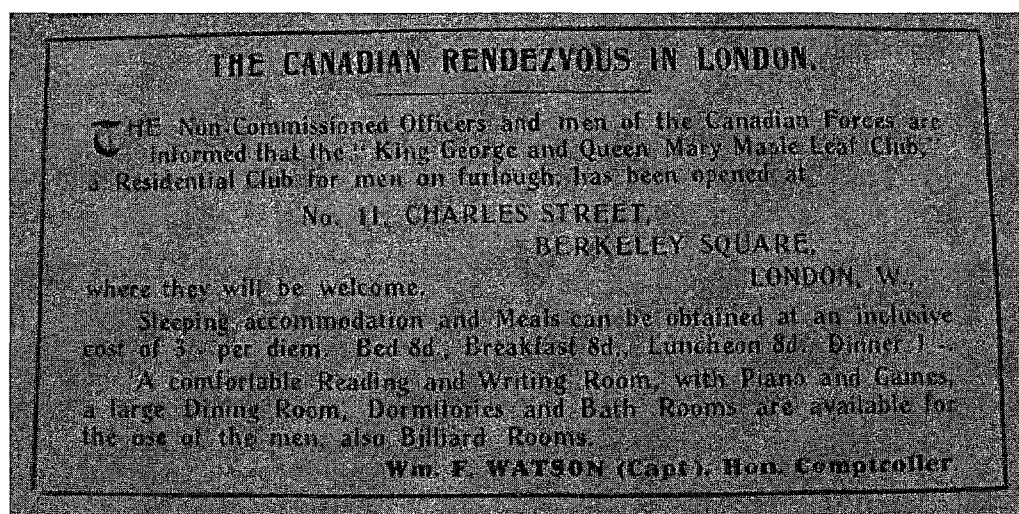


Figure 2.9: *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* advertisement. (CWM, *Dead Horse Corner Gazette*, June 1916)

Aside from such advertisements, Lady Drummond also issued notices to interested parties. Prior to the opening of the first Club in August 1915, Drummond wrote to the “Matrons of hospitals and [their] visitors,” in order to inform them of the services

<sup>74</sup> Moore, 17.

<sup>75</sup> See CWM, *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* (October 1915-June 1916), and *Canadian Hospital News* (Ramsgate, England: April 1916-November 1916).

provided by the Club.<sup>76</sup> She also contacted Major-General Carson, in 1915 and again in April 1916, requesting that he circulate a letter to soldiers in both England and in France regarding the locations of the by-then two Maple Leaf Club in London.<sup>77</sup> Finally, the use of indirect advertising for the Club, in the form of letterhead, pamphlets, and maps of London, helped publicize the institution, informing other travellers of its existence.

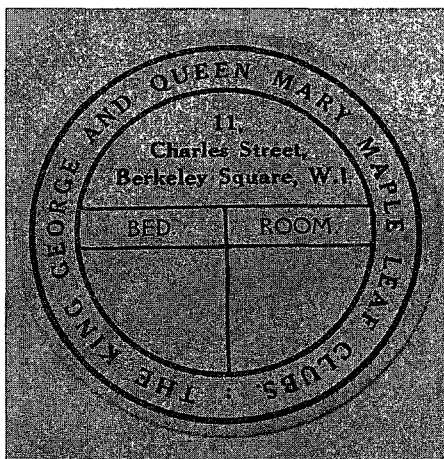


Figure 2.10: Room Token.  
(CWM, 58B.6-3.4)

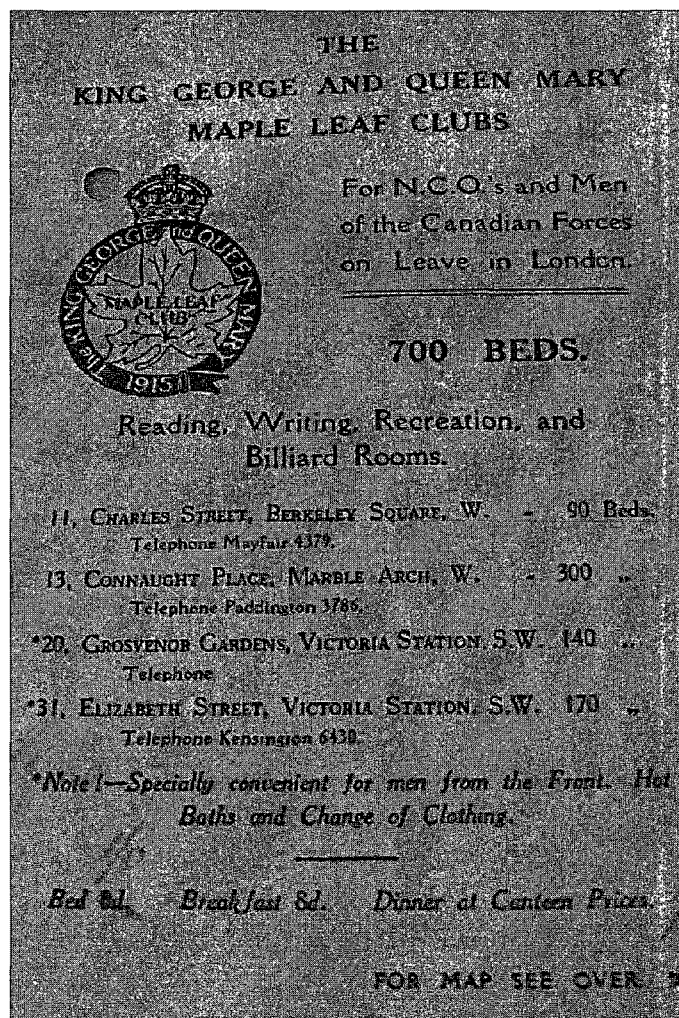


Figure 2.11: Maple Leaf Club Pamphlet. (RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27)

<sup>76</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4240, Drummond to Hospital Matrons, 29 July 1915.

<sup>77</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Series 8, File 8-3-8, Drummond to Carson, 18 April 1916.

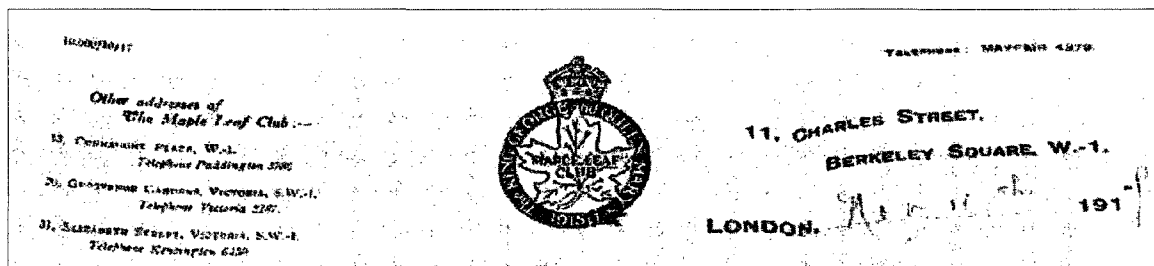


Figure 2.12: Letterhead. (CWM, 58A 1-4.1)

Even with apparently limited advertising the Club was immensely popular, and soon it was obliged to turn away soldiers. In order to remedy this problem, the Maple Leaf Club began working in conjunction with the IODE. The IODE's work with the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club highlighted the organization's commitment to helping Canadian soldiers abroad. With the Club's accommodations filling rapidly, committee members sent an appeal back to Canada and received a quick response from the IODE. With many of the chapters providing donations, it was not long before the organization had enough funds to acquire two additional houses at Connaught Place in central London, conveniently located near the Marble Arch underground station.<sup>78</sup> The first building, opened in the spring of 1916, had space for 126 beds yet on occasion this Annex, as it was called, hosted as many as 140 men. Even on such overcrowded nights the Annex rarely turned men away, opting instead to arrange blankets forming temporary beds on the floor. In such cases men were allowed to stay free of charge.<sup>79</sup> With overcrowding common, a second, larger Annex, also located at Connaught Place, was opened in the fall of 1916. With the Annexes able to house nearly 400 men between them, the IODE helped to provide the Maple Leaf Club with a

<sup>78</sup> Moore, 10.

<sup>79</sup> LAC, MG28, I17, Vol. 23, IODE pamphlet, 12 July 1916.

welcome solution, albeit a temporary one, to the ongoing problem of overcrowding.<sup>80</sup> Serving as an extension to the main Club buildings, the Annexes provided many of the same amenities, always with a focus on offering soldiers with a 'touch of home.' Soldiers could look forward to spending time relaxing on the verandah overlooking Hyde Park, or lounging in the recreation room where they had access to a piano, billiard table, and gramophone. In the lounge, soldiers could read the daily Canadian and British newspapers, the former being slightly out of date, while writing materials were made available to those who wished to write letters to family back home.<sup>81</sup> As with the other Maple Leaf Club buildings, meals, breakfast and dinner only, were also provided at the Annexes.<sup>82</sup> The staff catering to the needs of the men, was overwhelmingly a volunteer force, with many of the women being members of IODE chapters back in Canada. One occasional staff member of note was Her Royal Highness, Princess Patricia, first cousin to King George V of England, who graced the dining hall of the Annex on a weekly basis.<sup>83</sup> Princess Patricia's presence provided a pleasant surprise to the men, especially to those of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), the unit named after her.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> LAC, RG9, III D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 25, London District Clubs, April 1917, 6. "IODE Does Splendid Work," *The Globe*, 21 June 1916.

<sup>81</sup> Canadian newspaper publishers, as well as the general public, donated copies of their newspapers to institutions overseas. For those interested in helping, it was requested that the newspapers be "clean and not more than a week old." See, "Newspapers Bring Cheer to Wounded: Lady Drummond Gratified at Canada's Response," *The Citizen* (Ottawa), 21 August 1915.

<sup>82</sup> LAC, MG28, I17, Vol. 23, IODE pamphlet, 12 July 1916.

<sup>83</sup> The first Annex employed at least two staff members, one of whom worked as a kitchen maid, and the other as a charwoman. LAC, MG28, I17, Vol. 23, IODE pamphlet, 12 July 1916. Princess Patricia's father, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, was Queen Victoria's son and had served as Canada's governor general from 1911 to 1916.

<sup>84</sup> *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire* (1919), 11.

Despite the addition of a second Annex, the IODE buildings quickly reached their capacities and Lady Drummond was obliged to appeal once again to Canadians in order to acquire further buildings. This time the request was for a steep \$25,000.<sup>85</sup> The federal government, although it favoured these clubs, again was unwilling to fund the venture. Regular correspondence between Perley and Borden indicates that both were worried about setting a precedent regarding funding for wartime charities. Borden worried about “the difficulty and embarrassment which would undoubtedly result from giving aid to one Association in the performance of its worthy and patriotic work while many other associations of a similar character were in need of assistance.”<sup>86</sup> Perley supported this view, believing that the Club should raise the necessary funds via private donation. Perley did state, however, that should the Club not be able to obtain enough income in this manner, he would place the issue in front of Parliament, allowing it to decide.<sup>87</sup> Perley did not push the issue, remaining confident in Lady Drummond’s abilities to raise the money. As a token of his support, Perley donated £200 of his own funds to support the Club.<sup>88</sup>

In lieu of federal support, the Maple Leaf Club was able to secure most of the additional funds needed from the Government of Ontario. Assuming power on 2 October 1914, following the death of Ontario Premier Sir James Whitney, William Hearst, who since 1911 had been provincial Minister of Lands, Forests, and Mines, was quick to pick

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<sup>85</sup> Moore, 11.

<sup>86</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, Borden to Perley, 10 July 1916.

<sup>87</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, Perley to Borden, 19 July 1916.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

up where his predecessor had left off in regards to supporting the war effort.<sup>89</sup> Eager to support Great Britain, both Whitney and Hearst saw it as Ontario's duty to do its part for the Empire. In a speech delivered on 17 February 1915, Hearst maintained that it was the duty of the province to "aid the Motherland in whatever way [it] can while she is engaged in her present titanic struggle on behalf of humanity."<sup>90</sup> A staunch supporter of the war effort and of Canadian troops abroad, Hearst was proud of his wartime achievements. Reflecting on his time as premier, Hearst remarked that:

Since the duties of the Prime Minister of this province devolved upon me, I have given little attention to Party politics, Party organization or Party advancement. While I have made speeches almost without number on security and patriotic platforms, I have, with but two exceptions, made no address on Provincial political subjects.<sup>91</sup>

For Hearst, party politics had little place in government when there was a war to be won.

Hearst maintained an earnest desire to support Canadian troops abroad. Such an enthusiastic response stemmed in part from the overwhelming number of Ontario men serving in the war. By the fall of 1917, Ontario had provided 191,632 recruits, representing 43.5 per cent of the total number of men serving in the CEF, a number which remained consistent throughout the final months of the war.<sup>92</sup> As a result, most

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<sup>89</sup> J. Castell Hopkins, *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People* (Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter Limited, 1919), 3.

<sup>90</sup> As quoted in Hopkins, *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People*, 3.

<sup>91</sup> Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1313, Envelope 12 *Speeches 87-91*, 12 March 1918.

<sup>92</sup> In Toronto alone 60,000 men volunteered for the CEF, with approximately 40,000 of them serving overseas. Miller, "'A Privilege to Serve': Toronto's Experience with Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War." Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1314, B253644, Envelope 15, Speech "Ontario's War Record 1914-1918," 2 July 1918. By June 1918, the percentage of CEF members from Ontario had dropped slightly to 42.9 per cent.

families in Ontario were directly affected by the war, as most Ontarians having relatives serving in the overseas force. Hearst's family was no exception. Having two sons overseas, including one who was wounded on the Somme, Hearst was proud of their service but was obviously concerned for their well-being. Writing to his son Irving in March 1918, Hearst closed his letter: "I am well looking forward to the day when I can welcome my gallant son home again."<sup>93</sup> This was a sentiment certainly shared by most parents.

Fortunately for Hearst, being premier put him in a favourable position from which to help the troops. The Province of Ontario's initial contributions were limited largely to foodstuffs and donations to the Belgian Relief Fund, but with the implementation of the Provincial War Tax in early 1915, the Hearst government was able to provide much more support. By 1918 the province had spent nearly \$8.5 million on the war relief efforts, with the money spent on large endeavours such as the Ontario Military Hospital in Orpington, England, the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the Red Cross, as well as on a number of smaller charitable organizations such as the Canadian Chaplain's Association and the Boy Scouts Association.<sup>94</sup> Motivated by a concern for the interests of soldiers,

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<sup>93</sup> Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6 MU 1317, Letter to Irving Hearst, 14 March 1918.

<sup>94</sup> Hopkins, 2-3, 7-9. The Ontario Hospital in Orpington was one of Hearst's more favoured ventures. Seeing that there were not enough hospitals in England to adequately treat Canadian soldiers, Hearst promptly cabled Prime Minister Borden, informing him that the Province of Ontario was willing to construct and maintain a hospital of 1,000 beds. Spending nearly \$600,000 for construction and equipment costs, the province pledged \$150,000 annually for the duration of the war for maintenance. With growing casualty rates, the province saw fit to expand the hospital, adding 1,000 additional beds in July 1917. By 1918 the Government of Ontario had spent over \$1.2 million on the Orpington hospital. See Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1314, B253644, Envelope 15, Speech "Ontario's War Record 1914-1918," 2 July 1918.

Hearst focussed his province's efforts towards the care and comfort of the men overseas. As such, Lady Drummond's Maple Leaf Club was of particular interest to the premier.

Hearst felt that "all...men who are going across the Seas to fight...are worthy of the best care and consideration."<sup>95</sup> Accordingly, the premier lavishly praised the Maple Leaf Club, remarking that its work "in London is of the greatest importance and too much praise cannot be given to Lady Drummond and her excellent voluntary committee for the splendid work they are doing."<sup>96</sup> Echoing the sentiments of Lady Drummond, Hearst was concerned that London's high cost of living meant that many Canadians on leave from hospitals, training camps, and from the front, could not afford respectable accommodations. And in the dark streets of London, the premier worried, it was easy for soldiers visiting the big city for the first time to become disoriented and lost in the maze of streets, unable to find proper food or lodging.<sup>97</sup> For Hearst, a strong supporter of the temperance movement, the Club served as a way of getting the 'boys' off the streets and away from the temptations of London pubs.<sup>98</sup> The Clubs were dry institutions, and soldiers were not permitted to bring alcohol into any of the Maple Leaf Club buildings. Drunken soldiers who entered the premises were encouraged to sober up in the lounge or to go to bed, but they would not be permitted to leave the establishment while under the influence of alcohol. Supported at home by such groups as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Hearst and other temperance promoters worked in an ongoing

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<sup>95</sup> Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1312, B253642, Envelope 2, Address - Recruiting, Massy Hall, October 1916.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> See *Canada in the Great World War: Days of Preparation*, Vol. 2, 235.

struggle to curb what they saw as the moral degeneration of society.<sup>99</sup> The Club, therefore, provided soldiers with a “homelike atmosphere,” keeping the men in a safe and well-organized environment that, as Hearst remarked, fostered “healthy amusements, [and] good companionship.”<sup>100</sup>

So moved was Hearst by the work being done by the clubs that he immediately announced that the Government of Ontario would rent and equip two additional houses for the Maple Leaf Club. After discussions with the Maple Leaf Club committee members, they decided that the new facilities should be located near Victoria Station, so as to be closer to the leave trains, and therefore more easily accessible to the men.<sup>101</sup> Providing accommodation for between 350 and 400 men, it was hoped that these new buildings would alleviate some of the traffic from the existing buildings, the original building at 11 Charles Street, and the two IODE Annexes located at Connaught Place, which were already working to full capacity.<sup>102</sup> By October 1916, the first Ontario-sponsored Maple Leaf Club buildings, located at 29, 31, and 33 Elizabeth St., were opened. Immediately overrun with soldiers, the buildings’ 139 beds were supplemented with 140 more in order to deal with the ever-increasing number of visitors. A short while later, in November 1916, the Government of Ontario opened buildings at 18 and 20 Grosvenor Gardens.<sup>103</sup> The buildings were officially opened by His Royal Highness, the

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<sup>99</sup> Sharon Anne Cook, “*Through Sunshine and Shadow*,” 6. Support for the Women’s Christian Temperance Union was already quite strong at the beginning of the war, with half of its 16,000 members coming from Ontario.

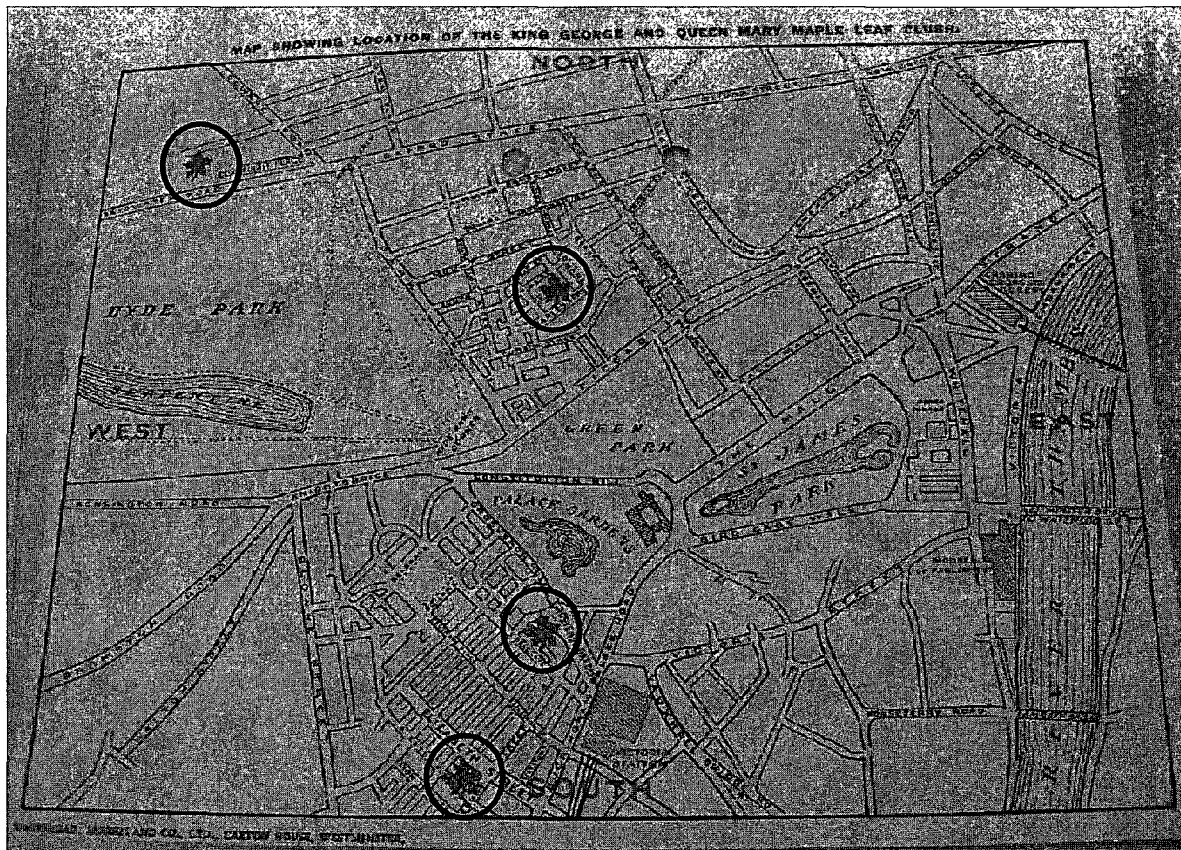
<sup>100</sup> Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1312, B253642, Envelope 2, Address - Recruiting, Massy Hall, October 1916.

<sup>101</sup> Moore, 10.

<sup>102</sup> Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1312, B253642, Envelope 2, Address - Recruiting, Massy Hall, October 1916.

<sup>103</sup> Hopkins, 104-105 and Moore, 11.

Duke of Connaught, on 21 December 1916. Underscoring the importance of the clubs to the men, Connaught remarked to the audience that, “We must recognize that, after all, in this sad war there is a very human side.”<sup>104</sup>



Map 2.1: Map of the Maple Leaf Club Locations - 1917. Top left, IODE Annexes at Connaught Place; Centre, 11 Charles Place (original building); Bottom, two clubs funded by the Government of Ontario, located at 18-20 Grosvenor Gardens and 31 Elizabeth Street. (LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27)

Upon returning to Ontario, Hearst addressed an audience at the Guelph Canadian Club where he commended the work of Lady Drummond and all those at the Maple Leaf Club. The premier put forward an “impassioned appeal for more serious consideration of the war problem,” stressing that more needed to be done to support Canada’s war effort.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>104</sup> As quoted in Moore, 11.

<sup>105</sup> “Must meet challenge, but must be prompt,” *The Globe*, 29 November 1916.

With these sentiments in mind, and perhaps wishing to be an example to his constituents, Hearst promised the Maple Leaf Club even more support. Although funding for the Ontario-run clubs decreased from \$16,719.85 in 1916, to \$6,242.10 in 1917, Hearst was still committed to supporting Lady Drummond's venture. In March 1918, the province opened additional buildings at 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 Grosvenor Gardens.<sup>106</sup> With extra funds needed in order to rent and furnish the buildings, the Ontario Government's commitment increased drastically to \$58,224.75 for the year. By the end of 1918, Hearst's Government had become the major sponsor of the Maple Leaf Club, spending \$81,186.70 on renting, equipping, and furnishing its four Ontario-run locations. For Hearst, the Club project was one which he remained committed to throughout the war. The Canadian social and political élites joined in these efforts as tangible demonstrations of their patriotic impulses, while also indicating their fervent desire to provide aid and comfort to the men whose lives were at risk overseas.

While Ontario remained one of the Club's chief sponsors, Lady Drummond's ongoing appeal for funds elicited positive responses from many Canadians. Lists of donors published in *The Globe* on 27 December 1916, and again on 27 December 1918, attest to the generous contributions made by businesses and individuals alike. A few months after its inauguration, the Club was able to collect \$9,965 in donations, an amount which increased to over \$11,000 by 1918 (See Appendices B and C).<sup>107</sup> Large corporations such as the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the T. Eaton Company, and the

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<sup>106</sup> Moore, 11.

<sup>107</sup> "Maple Leaf Club Generously Helped," *The Globe*, 27 December 1916 and "The King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 27 December 1918. The published lists do not appear to be an exhaustive record of all donors to the Maple Leaf Club.

Canadian Northern Railway, were consistent sponsors. With each of these corporations contributing a large number of men to the war overseas, it is perhaps not surprising that they would fund a venture dedicated to the care and comfort of Canadian soldiers.

Apart from the IODE, other Canadian social groups were also instrumental in providing funding and volunteers to the venture. The Canada Clubs of Hamilton and Vancouver raised money and donated goods to support the Maple Leaf Club, but also to commemorate their members' loved ones. These, and other organizations, provided beds for the dormitories, donated 'in memory of' a CEF soldier.<sup>108</sup> Other groups, such as the British Columbia and Yukon Aid Society, provided more hands-on support to the Club. Working in conjunction with the IODE, the Aid Society provided canteen services, conveniently located in the IODE Annexes, in order to supply the men with basic amenities.<sup>109</sup>

For the remaining necessary funds, the Maple Leaf Club appealed to private donations, with individuals and families generously raising the required amount. In the first year of the Club's operation, private cash donations, from both Canadian and British patrons, amounted to £3,543, while a further £500 was offered by Sir Max Aitken, stemming from profits earned from the publication of his book, *Canada in Flanders*.<sup>110</sup> Many others also rallied to the cause. While men such as Mr. Huntly Drummond - Julia Drummond's stepson and son of the late George Drummond, and President of The Canada and Dominion Sugar Refinery Company (formerly Redpath sugar refinery) -

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<sup>108</sup> Moore, 16.

<sup>109</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol. 4719, Folder 115, File 27 Author unknown, Report 'King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club,' 1917.

<sup>110</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Clubs, 1915, 24 May 1916.

contributed funds directly to the Club, others such as Toronto's wealthy Angus Sinclair and Dominion archivist A.G. Doughty, were vital for the Club's campaign drives, helping to increase charitable donations coming from Canada.<sup>111</sup> In May 1916 Doughty wrote to the governor general, the Duke of Connaught, arguing that, "in the interest of Canada and the Empire more Clubs are necessary and financial aid is required to meet the daily increasing demands."<sup>112</sup> As the number of Maple Leaf Club locations increased, so, too, did the need for funding. Soon after the establishment of the first house on Charles Street, it was quickly realized that with the growing number of troops passing through London, money was needed not only for more buildings, but also to increase the number of services available to the men.

Although providing accommodation for the men was Lady Drummond's first priority, she soon recognized that more could be done in order to make a soldier's stay in London more convenient and, importantly, safer. Concerned with soldiers carrying large amounts of money while in London, Drummond proposed that a Pay Office be opened at the Maple Leaf Club for the cashing of leave cheques and the safekeeping of money on deposit. Although Canadian military authorities already had a Pay Office in London, Drummond's hope was that, "cashing the men's cheques at any of these Clubs [would] keep them from going out again that night and perhaps spending or losing their

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<sup>111</sup> Huntly Drummond and his wife were quite involved in the war effort, making the Maple Leaf Club a family affair. While his wife volunteered alongside Lady Drummond at the Maple Leaf Club, Huntly donated large sums of money to the CEF in order to purchase such things as ambulances, machine guns, and armoured vehicles. Spurred on by the death of his step-brother, Lieutenant Guy Drummond, Huntly remained strongly committed to supporting the troops abroad. See Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House*, chapter 23.

<sup>112</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel, C-4392, Cable from Major Doughty to the Military Secretary to the Governor General, 5 May 1916.

money.”<sup>113</sup> While setting a moralistic tone, she was correct in noting that it was not unusual for soldiers to overspend while on leave. With the costs of goods rising, and with soldiers eager to enjoy their time off, men found that their time was “either all too brief for a proper enjoyment...or a ‘wee’ bit too long for the pocket book.”<sup>114</sup> Some soldiers, such as Harold Simpson, solved such problems by cabling home to his parents requesting additional funds, writing that while on leave “one wants to have the best time possible...All of which costs money nowadays though it is an opportunity to see the place which may never come again. I consider it money well spent...”<sup>115</sup> As a consequence of such considerations, it was also suggested that a Pay Office branch be established at the Peel Club. However, both Drummond and George Perley insisted that the “Canadian Maple Leaf Club should be favoured and should not have to play second place to Peel House or any other institution which, while doing excellent work, is not entirely a Canadian institution.”<sup>116</sup> With military authorities approving of the venture and agreeing to supply a clerk to run the office, the Maple Leaf Club Pay Office was opened in early 1916 at the Charles Street location. Many soldiers took advantage of this opportunity and, by the end of the war, more than \$8.8 million worth of cheques were cashed.<sup>117</sup> Particular efforts were made on the part of the pay staff to encourage soldiers to deposit their cheques and valuables at the Pay Office, and soldiers often encountered staff members persuading them to limit the amount of money withdrawn from their accounts.

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<sup>113</sup> RG 9, III, A1, Vol.4, File, 2-2-35, Lady Drummond to Carson, 12 February 1916.

<sup>114</sup> J.M. Inglis Jr. ed., *O’Pip: 58<sup>th</sup> Battery C.F.A* (London: King and Jarrett), 9.

<sup>115</sup> CLIP, Harold Henry Simpson to Mother, 23 April 1918.

<sup>116</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol. 4, File, 2-2-35, Carson to Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, Chief Paymaster, 16 February 1916.

<sup>117</sup> Moore, 18. Actual figures for cheques cashed amounted to \$8,840,262.

Eager to keep the men “out of the road of temptation...and loss of money,”<sup>118</sup> pay clerks were known to close the bank early, or find an excuse to deny funds until the next day. The Club’s attempt to silently police the activities of the men did not dissuade many from leaving their funds with the cashier; more than \$2.7 million was deposited between 1916 and 1919.<sup>119</sup>

The addition of the pay offices and the opening of the final Club buildings in March 1918 rounded out the major changes to the Maple Leaf Club’s wartime activities. But despite armistice celebrations in November 1918, the work of the Club was far from over. With thousands of Canadian soldiers sitting idly in England waiting to be returned to Canada, the need for leave clubs remained important. With thirteen Club buildings already established, it was determined that what was needed next was a Maple Leaf Club Hut, which unlike the other Club buildings, would not provide sleeping quarters, but rather would be used solely for meals and recreation.<sup>120</sup> Located in a park square adjacent to the Ontario-funded Club buildings on Grosvenor Gardens, the Hut was opened just prior to Christmas 1918. With the newly established Hut providing meals and lounging areas for the men, the nearby Clubs were able to free up room, allowing them to increase the amount of space devoted to sleeping accommodations. As more Canadian soldiers passed through London it became necessary to find extra space for the men to stay. As a result, four small additions to the Maple Leaf Club were added, with the first three additions built with the sole purpose of increasing the number of beds available. In doing so, the Club annexed a local swimming bath located on Buckingham

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<sup>118</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol. 4, File, 2-2-35, Carson to Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, Chief Paymaster, 16 February 1916.

<sup>119</sup> Moore, 18. Actual figures for funds deposited amounted to \$2,730,445.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 13.

Palace Road, a house on 57 Eaton Place, and thanks to the generosity of the province of British Columbia, the Club was also offered a floor in the British Columbia Building located on Regent Street.<sup>121</sup> The final addition to the Maple Leaf Club was the construction of an additional Hut at King's Cross Station. Located at the railway station, this Hut was used exclusively as a canteen, rest room, and for kit storage, for men travelling to Scotland and northern England. The popularity of this venue, and attesting to Scotland's popularity with the men, is evidenced by the 30,893 meals served, and 11,200 kits checked and stored during the month of March 1919 alone.<sup>122</sup> The operation of the Hut was a collaborative effort between the Maple Leaf Club and the Canadian YMCA (CYMCA); the CYMCA was responsible for the management and maintenance of the building, while the Maple Leaf Club agreed to cover the cost of the building and the equipment.<sup>123</sup>

The opening of these final locations took on greater importance as soldiers anxiously awaited their return to Canada. In an attempt to alleviate the troops' boredom in the post-Armistice period, the army allotted each soldier two weeks' leave. As expected, the major centres in England were overrun.<sup>124</sup> Recognizing the ongoing need for their institution, the Maple Leaf Club committee opted to keep its doors open until the end of the summer 1919, as by then most Canadian troops had been shipped back home, with only handfuls of men remaining in England. When the leave centre closed in August, the majority of those on staff also headed home. A small fraction of the administrative body of the Club remained in order to organize its financial records.

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Rivard, "*Bringing the Boys Home*," 38.

Closing its doors on 15 August 1919, the final act for the London club was to publicly auction off the last of its effects.<sup>125</sup> Selling the remaining furniture and equipment netted approximately \$20,000, of which, £400 was donated to the Victoria League Clubs.<sup>126</sup> It is unknown how the remaining funds were dispensed.

Amidst these final preparations, the Maple Leaf Club committee took time to recognize Drummond's good work in spearheading the development of the Club and to acknowledge her ongoing efforts in caring for soldiers. On behalf of the board, Drummond was presented with a silver salver engraved with the crest of the Club and an inscription expressing the appreciation and admiration of the committee members. Speeches thanked Drummond for her work, acknowledging her "unceasing efforts on behalf of the soldiers during the war years."<sup>127</sup> This acknowledgement was followed by a variety of other distinctions conferred upon her, including the British Red Cross Medal, the Serbian Red Cross Medal, the French Médaille de Reconnaissance, and the title of Lady of Justice, Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the first Canadian to receive such an honour.<sup>128</sup> There were also attempts by Lady Perley to secure an Order of the British Empire for Drummond<sup>129</sup> a plan supported by Prime Minister Borden who felt that "recognition of [Drummond's] own wonderful service during the war would be most

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<sup>125</sup> "Maple Leaf Club Did Great Work," *The Globe*, 19 July 1919. The Maple Leaf Club buildings located at Grosvenor Gardens closed a few days earlier on 21 July 1919.

<sup>126</sup> "Get \$20,000 by Sale at Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 6 October 1919; *Victoria League: Seventeenth Annual Report*, 9.

<sup>127</sup> LAC, MG 27, II, D12, Vol. 15 "Work of a War-time Club," (Newspaper unknown) 1919.

<sup>128</sup> Wolfe and Strathan, 77; Maude E. Seymour, "Lectures on the History of Nursing," in *The Canadian Nurse and Hospital Review*, 19, 1 (January 1923), 25.

<sup>129</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-420, Lady Perley to Borden, 10 January 1919.

appropriate and would command public approval.”<sup>130</sup> In the end, the Order was not conferred.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps the most visible of all her recognitions, however, came soon after the armistice as Canadian women’s rights activist, Mrs. L.A. Hamilton put forward Drummond’s name as a possible female representative at the Paris peace negotiations. With National American Woman Suffrage Associations, and similar organizations within Canada, looking for candidates to attend, Hamilton argued that Drummond’s compassionate work with the Red Cross and the Maple Leaf Club made her a “woman eminently suited to represent the women of Canada and voice their wishes.”<sup>132</sup> It does not appear that she was formally requested to attend however. Perhaps the most appropriate acknowledgments for Drummond came indirectly from the soldiers themselves. In a letter to his father, Andrew Munro mentioned the Maple Leaf Club, writing: “When I landed in England, I was mud from head to foot, unashamed and dirty, some sight believe me,” but after taking a bath at the club he “soon felt like a new man.”<sup>133</sup> Another soldier remarked that:

some people have no idea of what a vital part this sort of thing plays in the *morale* of an army...I have often heard the sentiment expressed by men and officers alike out there, that the game would hardly be within the compass of a man’s endurance for any length of time if it were not for the encouragement and devotion of the people at home.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4201, Borden to Julia Drummond, 26 March 1919.

<sup>131</sup> Drummond did not wish to be awarded such a distinction. Although not advocating that Canada abolish all titular honours, Drummond feared that their excessive use would lead society to “‘reckon’ our leading men by the number who can claim that title.” LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4201, Drummond to Borden, 22 March 1919.

<sup>132</sup> “Women Wish Representative at the Peace Conference,” *The Globe*, 29 November 1918.

<sup>133</sup> Morton, *When Your Number’s Up*, 234.

<sup>134</sup> As quoted in Moore, 25.

The Maple Leaf Club's four years of service left an indelible impression on many who passed through London. Drummond's work in 1915 became the inspiration for numerous other organizations which were modelled after the Maple Leaf Club. While the Victoria League and the Peel Club were the first institutions to be founded on such a premise, they were soon followed by other organizations such as the Canadian Knights of Columbus Hut, and the YMCA Beaver Hut, both located in London.<sup>135</sup> The first of the two associations to begin operation was the Catholic Knights of Columbus, establishing its first house in Greencoat Place in the fall of 1917.<sup>136</sup> With this location quickly reaching capacity, in the spring of 1918 the organization moved to a more spacious location at 24 Grosvenor Place, located near Victoria Station. Offering lodging, canteen services, and recreational facilities, the new location attracted enough Canadian soldiers to warrant the purchasing of an additional building which allowed the Club to increase the number of beds to 127.<sup>137</sup> Staying open well passed the armistice, the Knights of Columbus Club finally closed in June 1919.

The YMCA Beaver Hut opened on 31 July 1918. Located in the Strand, it provided Canadian soldiers with food, as well as lodging for approximately 160 men.<sup>138</sup> The Club also stored kits, ran a pay office, and came equipped with showers, a barber

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<sup>135</sup> While the phrases 'club' and 'hut' were used by the Maple Leaf Club to denote buildings with specific operations, the Knights of Columbus used the terms interchangeably.

<sup>136</sup> Daniel, Rev. I.J.E and Rev. D.A. Casey, *A History of the Canadian Knights of Columbus Catholic Army Huts* (1922), 28.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-30.

<sup>138</sup> Much like the Knights of Columbus, the YMCA used the terms 'club' and 'hut' interchangeably.

shop, and a shoe-shine parlour.<sup>139</sup> Meals could be purchased at a cost of eighteen cents, and soldiers could relax in the lounge, listening to a live orchestra, or attend a showing at the club's 'Little Theatre' which regularly put on shows.<sup>140</sup> Although not able to accommodate as many soldiers as the Maple Leaf Club, by the time that the YMCA's Beaver Hut closed its doors on 31 July 1919, it had accommodated and fed thousands of Canadian men passing through London. While the Maple Leaf Club remained the predominant social club for CEF soldiers, Canadian troops were able to benefit from a wide range of home-grown services provided through the donation of thousands of compassionate and patriotic Canadians.

Starting with only one house in 1915, by war's end the Club had expanded to eighteen buildings, including two huts, located around London, provided meals to over a million travelling soldiers, housed 565,830 men, and hosted many famous dignitaries, including repeat visits by King George V and Queen Mary, H.R.H. Princess Christian, aunt of King George V, and Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener.<sup>141</sup> Letters written to the Club attest to its popularity. Mothers wrote directly to Lady Drummond thanking her for protecting their sons. One concerned mother expressed her appreciation to the Maple Leaf Committee for taking care of her son over Christmas. "My boy is only 23," she wrote, "and young enough to be very lonesome, and I feel as if I must write and express

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<sup>139</sup> Bishop, *The Canadian YMCA in the Great War*, 232; *Canada in the Great War: Special Services, Heroic Deeds etc.*, Vol. 6 (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada: Toronto, 1921), 142. The club was not officially inaugurated until 30 October 1918.

<sup>140</sup> *Canada in the Great War: Special Services, Heroic Deeds etc.*, Vol. 6, 142.

<sup>141</sup> "Maple Leaf Club Did Great Work," *The Globe*, 19 July 1919. It was estimated that as many as 2,000 men were fed in a single day; LAC, MG 27, II, D12, Vol. 15 "Work of a War-time Club," (Newspaper unknown) 1919.

my gratitude for the kind of welcome he received.”<sup>142</sup> Soldiers also wrote letters, remarking that upon arriving at the Club there was a “feeling of thankfulness that comes from knowing that somebody cares enough about us...to provide such quarters. It keeps us from feeling we are absolutely alone when we get to London, and a big city like this is pretty well calculated to instil (sic) loneliness into the cheeriest...”<sup>143</sup> Others, such as George Perley, who was in contact with many overseas charity organizations, wrote to Borden explaining that although other groups had appealed to him for help “the Maple Leaf Club stood on a somewhat different plane, and that the need of homelike Clubs for our men while in London is more urgent than elsewhere.”<sup>144</sup> Military authorities also acknowledged the good work done by the organization, “regarding the club as one of the most valuable institutions yet promoted by private enterprise, giving men...proper accommodation and insuring their safety from harpies who infest the arrival station.”<sup>145</sup> Despite such praises, neither the Canadian government nor the military placed any emphasis on developing recreational centres for soldiers on leave. In the end, Ottawa was only able to offer orderlies to help in the running of the OFRC, the Maple Leaf Club, and the Club’s pay office.

In an effort to curb the problems associated with leave time, Canadian citizens, eager to volunteer their time and effort, saw an opportunity to help soldiers find pleasant, familiar surroundings while away from training and combat. With the opening of the Maple Leaf Club in August 1915, Canadian soldiers finally had a central place to gather. Thanks in large part to the tireless effort of volunteers such as Lady Drummond, there

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<sup>142</sup> Moore, 25.

<sup>143</sup> Moore, 20.

<sup>144</sup> LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4309, Perley to Borden, 12 June 1916.

<sup>145</sup> “Maple Leaf Club and Its Equipment,” *The Globe*, 18 February 1916.

was created a location where the men could be taken care of and be provided with all the comforts of home.

### Chapter 3

#### **‘Where do we go from here?’<sup>1</sup> - Soldier-Tourists of the CEF**

With leave passes in hand, the men of the CEF ventured off base, using their time in England as an opportunity to discover the British Isles. In doing so, these soldiers embraced a new persona, that of the soldier-tourist. Canadian troops had much in common with the Canadian tourists who preceded them to Britain. Collecting souvenirs, snapping photos, and keeping a written record of their travels were elements common to the earlier Canadian transatlantic tourist.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, soldiers in England did not often discuss in detail the souvenirs that they collected for family members. Often soldiers wrote home informing recipients that they had sent a gift in the mail although, in an effort to keep it a surprise, the men rarely mentioned what the gift was. Cameras were another popular way of presenting loved ones back home with a memento of Europe, while also providing soldiers with tangible reminders of their time abroad. While cameras were banned by the army in March 1915, for fear that film reels could be captured by enemy troops, it did not stop many Canadians from secretly carrying cameras with them, both in front and rear lines. Cameras were enthusiastically adopted by men eager to show loved ones back home what they were experiencing, with soldiers often mailing home ‘snaps’ of their adventures. Clifton Cate, who purchased his Vest Pocket Kodak (VPK) in May 1917, described it as his “most treasured companion.”<sup>3</sup> The VPK

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<sup>1</sup> Percy Wenrich and Howard Johnson (composers) *Where Do We Go From Here?* (New York: Leo Feist, Inc., 1917).

<sup>2</sup> See Morgan, ‘A Happy Holiday:’ *English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930*.

<sup>3</sup> Clifton J. Cate, *Notes: A Soldier’s Memoir of World War I* (London: Trafford Publishing, 2005), 145.

was one of the most popular cameras carried by the soldiers. Introduced in 1912, the camera, easy to use and small in size (measuring 25x61x121mm), had sold nearly two million units by 1926.<sup>4</sup>

The sights visited by soldier-tourists also remained consistent with those visited by their civilian counterparts. Traditional tourist destinations, such as Westminster Abbey and Madame Tussauds Wax Museum in London, as well as numerous other sites in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were visited by soldiers and civilians alike. This universality of tourism extended to divisions within the military itself. Officers and other ranks, though often separated by status and upbringing, shared similar experiences while travelling through Britain.<sup>5</sup> Although small differences existed – for example officers were more likely to be invited to garden parties or to attend the opera – on the whole, CEF soldiers shared a common tourist tradition.

While these commonalities existed, Canadian soldiers did not explore the British Isles with the same motives as civilian tourists. Historian Richard Wright defines tourists as “are those who travel for the sake of what they see.”<sup>6</sup> Although some, such as R.L. Christopherson of the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion joined the army because he “wanted to see the world and thought this would be a good opportunity,” the men of the CEF were first and foremost accountable to military authorities and remain subject to discipline.<sup>7</sup> Joining the

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<sup>4</sup> See Brian Coe, *Cameras: From Daguerreotypes to Instant Pictures* (Gothenburg, Sweden: Crown Publishers, 1978), 104. Where appropriate soldiers' personal photographs have been added to the body to illustrate various destinations visited by the men.

<sup>5</sup> By 1917 the class difference between CEF officers and men was reduced as by that point many CEF officers had risen from the ranks.

<sup>6</sup> Wright, 65.

<sup>7</sup> CBC, *In Flanders' Fields: A Story of the Canadian Corps, Vol.2: Canada Answers the Call*.

army meant limited pay, as well as restrictions on when and where men could travel. Canadian civilian tourists, studied by historian Cecilia Morgan, did not have such limitations. Able to spend months away from home, Morgan's travellers had a freedom not afforded to CEF men. Overseas because of the war, the soldiers' approach to tourism was multifaceted. For some, these days away from training were used as an opportunity to reconnect with loved ones still residing in Britain. For many others, brief weekend passes, in addition to extended leaves, allowed men to explore the areas near camp as well as regions further afield, helping to relieve boredom and to break up the monotony of camp life. Travelling in Britain, especially for soldiers stationed in France, was a welcome reprieve from war. But this break was not necessarily an opportunity to rest. Soldiers, keen on visiting as many tourist sites and popular landmarks as possible, did not often come back from leave well rested. Nevertheless, this momentary break from military life was a luxury to which many enthusiastically aspired.

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For many men of the CEF, returning to Britain was a homecoming. The majority of men in the First Contingent were of British birth; and even by the end of the war, nearly 37 per cent of the men in the CEF had been born in Britain. While it is true that many of these men had immigrated to Canada as children, many still maintained ties to Britain. An exhaustive study of leave records of Bustard and Tidworth Camp for Christmas and New Year's 1914-1915, indicates that the majority of men were not travelling to well-known destinations. Instead, 55.2 percent of men chose as their final stop, small towns and villages such as Aylestone, England, or Tandragee, Ireland (For a

sampling see Appendix D).<sup>8</sup> While it is impossible to fully ascertain the motives behind visiting such small locales, it is plausible that the travellers had some connection to the village. The letters and diaries written by soldiers also support such a relationship. Many of the soldiers' writings surveyed for this thesis wrote letters home describing visits to aunts and uncles, and in some cases, parents who were still living in Britain. Having emigrated from England in 1906, Private James Day took advantage of the opportunity to visit his family, remarking to a friend back home that, "I was glad to get home to see my folks again."<sup>9</sup> Frank Shrive, on the other hand, took a quick trip to his birthplace of Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire. After visiting his old school and the house where he was born, Shrive visited with his remaining relatives. Taking long walks with his grandfather, and spending Christmas dinner with his aunt and uncle, Shrive wrote in his diary that "it was like being home again."<sup>10</sup>

While many men had close ties to the British Isles, others used this opportunity to reconnect with more distant relatives. Willard Melvin recounted in a letter to his mother

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<sup>8</sup> The statistical evidence for this study conducted by the author was taken from leave list records maintained by various units at the Bustard and Tidworth Camp for leave during Christmas and New Year's 1914-1915. Accounting for 774 men, the units include: the Divisional Signals Company, Divisional Engineers, No. 2 Section Canadian Army Veterinary Corps (CAVC), No. 2 Depot Unit of Supply, Canadian Army Service Corps (CASC), Lord Strathcona's Horse, 1<sup>st</sup> Field Company, Canadian Engineers, 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Company, Canadian Engineers Headquarters, 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Company, No. 1, 2, 3, and 4 Sections, Canadian Engineers, and 3<sup>rd</sup> Field Company, Canadian Engineers. Travel destinations were first organized according to unit, and then according to destination. While the entire study consists of 774 men, 19 men were listed with unknown destinations. As such, a sample size of 755 is used for most calculations. Moreover, no exhaustive list is supplied here of all the small towns and villages visited, though a sampling can be found in Appendix D. See LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp.

<sup>9</sup> CWM, 58A 1 16.6, James Day to David, Fall 1916.

<sup>10</sup> Norman Shrive ed., *The Diary of a P.B.O: Poor Bloody Observer* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1981), 21.

an afternoon spent in Folkestone and Hythe with a “newly discovered third cousin.”<sup>11</sup> William Ogilvie, upon being granted leave, travelled to Chorleywood, Hertfordshire to visit with his aunt and cousin. Although not previously well acquainted, Ogilvie remarked how both women “gave me a warm welcome and made me feel at home right away.”<sup>12</sup> Such hospitality was extended even to men who did not have family to visit. Often soldiers would travel with companions who did have relatives, and these friends were nominally ‘adopted’ by the host family. John Harold Becker of West Lorne, Ontario, became fast friends with ‘Mac’ MacNaughton, a Scottish-born Canadian who had also enlisted in the 91<sup>st</sup> Battalion. As a result of this friendship, Becker spent much of his time with the MacNaughtons. “These wonderful people made my life in that country so much easier... I visited them on every leave I had, enjoyed their home as my own and was one of them from our first meeting,” wrote Becker in his memoir.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, not everyone with ties to Britain felt a unique connection to that land. While travelling aboard a train through Scotland, Hugh Monaghan wrote that, “I felt no special ties to the country even though my grandmother was a Baird....”<sup>14</sup> There were others, still, who did not have the option of travelling to old family haunts. Alberta’s Harold McGill noted that “I did not take official leave myself as I had no

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<sup>11</sup> CWM, 58A 1 57.5, W.D. Melvin to Mother, 30 April 1916.

<sup>12</sup> William G. Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umtly: The Story of a Canadian Signaller in the First World War* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills, 1982), 21.

<sup>13</sup> John Harold Becker, *Silhouette of the Great War* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2001), 34.

<sup>14</sup> Hugh Monaghan, *The Big Bombers of World War I* (Burlington, Ontario: Gentle Communications, 1976), 28.

friends or relatives in England.”<sup>15</sup> Instead, McGill, as with thousands of other CEF soldier-tourists, set out on his own to discover what else Britain had to offer.

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While Blighty captured the imagination of many Canadians in France, not all were eager to make a quick return to England. For soldiers who had been stationed for months in England there was a desire to see other parts of Europe, with Paris in particular appealing to those who were looking for a nice “change to London.”<sup>16</sup> It was also easier for soldiers serving on the Continent to gain leave to Paris and, for men emerging from the trenches, the promise of a quick escape to more idyllic surroundings held great appeal. As Sergeant Raymond Ives wrote to his family, “The ‘Leave list’ is made out now and some are going to ‘Blighty’ each week. - At the present rate though, I would go in about six months time. So I have found a loop-hole-! I can get leave more quickly by staying in country so I have applied for leave to Paris.”<sup>17</sup> Not all soldiers, however, wished to travel to either Paris or Britain. Searching for more unique destinations, Walter Flett, writing to his sister in 3 January 1917, boasted about “seeing the sights in Monte Carlo and Monaco etc.,” maintaining that “no more wonderful place could be imagined.”<sup>18</sup> Others, such as William McLellan, were “not crazy about seeing Paris,” hoping instead for a leave pass “for a city in Southern France.”<sup>19</sup> Soldiers could also take

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<sup>15</sup> Marjorie Brown Norris, ed., *Medicine and Duty: The World War I Memoir of Captain Harold W. McGill, Medical Officer 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion C.E.F.* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 64.

<sup>16</sup> CLIP, Wilbert H. Gilroy to Father, 23 October 1917. See James Curran, “‘Bonjoor Paree!’ The First AIF in Paris, 1916-1918,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 23: 60, (1999): 18-26.

<sup>17</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Family, 17 June 1917.

<sup>18</sup> CLIP, Walter Earnest Peter Flett to Sister, 3 January 1917.

<sup>19</sup> CLIP, John William McLellan to Parents, 11 September 1917.

leave to Italy, an option that appealed to at least a few Canadians. While not many Canadians were able to travel to Italy, at least one CEF visited the country. George Leslie Scherer spent the first part of his leave visiting southern France, before travelling on to Genoa and Rome.<sup>20</sup> The extended waiting period for a trip to Italy was a deterrent for some, such as Henry Harold Simpson, who wrote to his mother that it would take twelve months to get permission. As such, Simpson vetoed the idea, favouring either Paris or Britain.<sup>21</sup>

Yet despite the attractions of mainland Europe, Britain retained a strong appeal for the men of the CEF who were stationed in France and Belgium. When Simpson was first offered leave in the summer of 1917, he wrote to his mother that “as I have already seen a good share of England and Scotland while it is a chance of a lifetime to see Paris, I decided to take advantage of the opportunity and go to the fair capital of France.”<sup>22</sup> It seemed as though Simpson’s time training in England was long enough to allow him to see all the main attractions of Britain. By the time of his next leave, however, not being interested in revisiting the French capital and instead he eagerly planning a fourteen-day trip to Scotland, Ireland, and England.<sup>23</sup> For many, Britain served as the ultimate respite from combat. Soldiers sitting in their trenches daydreamed of the moment that they would earn a trip back to England. As one soldier complained, “It has been raining and blowing a gale nearly all day and my stove insists on smoking. Consequently my

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<sup>20</sup> CLIP, George Leslie Scherer to Cath, 22 October 1917 to 17 November 1917.

<sup>21</sup> CLIP, Henry Harold Simpson to Mother, 4 March 1918. For men travelling to Rome see CLIP Gordon J. Morrisette to Marjorie, 24 December 1917 and 28 December 1917, CLIP Cullen Hay Perry to Mother 23 October 1917, and CLIP George Leslie Scherer to Cath, 22 October 1917 and 17 November 1917,

<sup>22</sup> CLIP, Henry Harold Simpson to Mother, 19 July 1917.

<sup>23</sup> CLIP, Henry Harold Simpson to Mother, 4 March 1918.

imaginary picture of Blighty makes it appear more than usually inviting.”<sup>24</sup> In addition to soldiers who merely grumbled about the general discomfort of the front line, there were men who were desperate to get as far away from the front as possible. Having been wounded in the fall of 1916, George Hedley Kempling wrote in his diary, “God grant that I may get to England for a while as my nerve is gone for a while. Every time I think of the front line experience I had, I turn violently sick at the stomach.”<sup>25</sup> Such distance was also foremost in the mind of Archie MacKinnon who wrote to his sister that “a person couldn’t wish for a better Blighty...I don’t want to be called a brave soldier. No more of France Britain’s if I can get out of it.”<sup>26</sup> While the excitement of Paris,” the evident allure of Britain compelled soldiers to return time and time again. Wallace Aubrey Reid was quite happy when he discovered that his wound was serious enough to send him back to Britain. In a letter to his mother, Reid wrote: “I spent two very pleasant days in Boulogne and was rather sorry to leave. But France is not England, and the dream of every wounded soldier is to get to Blighty. There is something about this little old island that grips a man. The history and romance of it have grown into the very soil.”<sup>27</sup>

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Concerned with how the men would spend their time while on leave, various groups offered soldiers maps and travel itineraries to help facilitate safe travel. Maps, such as those provided by the Victoria League Overseas Club, the YMCA, and the Canadian War Contingent Association, suggested to the men what to see and where to stay while travelling. The *Map of London* issued by the YMCA and the CWCA

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<sup>24</sup> CLIP, Unknown author to Arthur Leighton, 26 March 1917.

<sup>25</sup> CLIP, George Hedley Kempling, 7 October 1916.

<sup>26</sup> CLIP, Archie MacKinnon to Jeanie Gregson, 27 September 1916.

<sup>27</sup> CLIP, Wallace Aubrey Reid to Mother, 1 October 1916.

highlighted key tourist sites such as Hampton Court, Kew Gardens, and Windsor Castle. The pamphlet also contained a brief essay entitled “What You Must Not Miss Seeing in London,” which detailed the history of some of London’s key landmarks, notably the Tower of London, Westminster Abbey, and the Houses of Parliament.<sup>28</sup> While the map of Glasgow printed by the Victoria League Club also highlighted Glasgow’s main attractions, the brochure also issued warnings to the men. Highlighted on the main cover, men were warned to “Beware of pickpockets and louts for disreputable places, especially near Railway Stations or people who accost you in the streets. When in doubt ask a policeman, patrol, canteen or Red Cross worker, postman, or any official person”<sup>29</sup> Such warnings were necessary as Canadian soldiers were not impervious to the wiles of pickpockets and thieves. Herbert Burrell had his swagger stick stolen for the second time while wandering the village near his camp.<sup>30</sup> Clifton Cate had his overcoat swiped during his first night in London, and William Ogilvie had his pocketbook lifted while he drank hot chocolate at the local YMCA.<sup>31</sup>

While many men opted to travel on their own, they also had the option of joining organized tour excursions. Daily, at 10 am, representatives from the travel agency of Thomas Cook & Sons arrived at the Maple Leaf Club, offering men tours of London’s historic sites.<sup>32</sup> Other groups, such as the Victoria League Club and the YMCA also arranged to take soldiers to the principle sites in the city. By 1918, the YMCA had

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<sup>28</sup> CWM, 58A 1 33.9, Map and Guide to Places of Interest in London, no date. The Victoria League Overseas Club was often shortened to the Victoria League Club.

<sup>29</sup> CWM, 58B 6 3.5, Map of Glasgow and Information for H.M. Overseas Forces, no date.

<sup>30</sup> CWM, 58A 1 8.12, Herbert Heckford Burrell Diary, 28 September 1916.

<sup>31</sup> Cate, 23 and Ogilvie, 18. In an effort to rectify the situation, Cate promptly stole the coat of another individual, thereby replacing his stolen jacket.

<sup>32</sup> Moore, 21.

organized more structured travel packages for the men. Headquartered in London, the YMCA Leave Department, described as a “Cook’s Agency for Canadian Soldiers,”<sup>33</sup> was initiated. For men wishing to spend their time in London, the Leave Department offered eight different outings “to the chief points of interest in and near the city; river jaunts to Richmond, Kew Gardens, and Hampton Court, every form of sport, hospitality in private homes, house parties, picnics, theatre and concert parties....”<sup>34</sup> While London remained the most popular destination, these tours aimed to get “the men out of London into the beauties of the old country, where they can see something of the wonders of the land from which their fathers came, and where, indeed, many of them were born.” As such, the YMCA organized thirteen tours set outside of the English capital.<sup>35</sup> For a fee, soldiers were provided with detailed itineraries, and tour guides were available in each of the towns visited. Billeting the men with local families whenever possible, the Leave Department maintained, allowed the soldiers to “[get] in touch with the home life of the country.”<sup>36</sup>

The Canadian Military Chaplains were also concerned about the soldiers’ well being while on leave. The chaplains centred on men running out of funds. As such, the Chaplain Social Welfare Department, London Area, pushed soldiers to adopt an

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<sup>33</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, D1 Vol. 4718, Folder 114, File 1 “YMCA England – Correspondence, Canadian YMCA Overseas, London, September 18 1919, The Old Country.” In reference to Thomas Cook, the famous travel agent of the late-1800s.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. These tours included “Four in Scotland, two in Wales, one each in Devon and Cornwall, which are bracketed, the Isle of Wight, the Lake District, the East Coast, Yorkshire Coast, Blackpool, Isle of Man, and the Shakespeare Country, in which Leamington and Oxford.”

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

economical itinerary. Soldiers visiting the Social Welfare Department were encouraged to follow weekly itineraries, such as the following:

|            |            |                                                                                                                                      |
|------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Monday:    | Morning:   | Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey or cinema                                                                                    |
|            | Afternoon: | Zoological Gardens of Hampton Court and Richmond.                                                                                    |
| Tuesday:   | Morning:   | Windsor Castle by special invitation, lunch in the Castle.<br>Eton College and on return tea in London.                              |
|            | Afternoon: | Theatre in the evening.                                                                                                              |
| Wednesday: | Morning:   | Tower of London and St. Paul's Cathedral                                                                                             |
|            | Afternoon: | Demonstration by London Fire Brigade (1 <sup>st</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> weeks)<br>by special arrangement with Superintendent       |
| Thursday:  | Morning:   | Cinema                                                                                                                               |
|            | Afternoon: | Crystal Palace Depot (special arrangement) every other<br>Thursday when possible, or Zoological Gardens.                             |
| Friday:    | Morning:   | Buckingham Palace, Royal Stables and changing of the<br>Guard.                                                                       |
|            | Afternoon: | Brake drive through London to Peak Frean's Biscuit<br>Factory (entertained to tea by Directors) By special<br>arrangement with firm. |
| Saturday:  | Morning:   | Investitures by King at Buckingham Palace and<br>(occasionally) visit to Houses of Parliament. <sup>37</sup>                         |

CEF soldier Raymond Ives, travelling to London in October 1916, wrote home about the services provided by the chaplains. "Before we left camp," he wrote, "we were approached by an English chaplain who said that those who wished to be 'shown the ropes' in the big city could hand their names in, and take part in a tour of the city etc. Well a number of us did. They expected 150 in the group but were thunder struck when 700 accepted the invitation."<sup>38</sup> Such an enthusiastic response by soldiers highlighted the

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<sup>37</sup> LAC, RG 9, III C15, Chaplain Service, Vol. 4672, File 1 "Shorncliffe 6," W. Beattie to Senior Chaplain, Shorncliffe, Bramshott, Witley, Seaford, Bexhill, n.d.

<sup>38</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Mother, 1 October, 1916. It is unclear whether Ives was referring to a chaplain with the CEF, or the British Expeditionary Force.

importance of such organized tours. While some men had travelled to these areas before, for many it was their first time visiting Britain's larger cities.

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London and Scotland remained the favoured tourist destinations for the men of the CEF throughout the war. Leave records of Bustard and Tidworth Camp, made during Christmas and New Year's 1914-1915, attest to their popularity. During this time 20 per cent of men travelled to London, with the second-most popular destination, Glasgow, Scotland, attracting a mere 6.2 per cent. Overall, 64.3 per cent of men chose to stay in England, while 22.3 per cent selected Scotland as their country of choice. Ireland was third, with 6.3 per cent of men visiting it (See Appendix D).<sup>39</sup>

Yet, while such major centres remained the most sought-after destinations, soldiers were also interested in exploring the areas around their camps. As extended passes to the major British centres were not often handed out, soldiers, from the start, contented themselves with local distractions. For the First Contingent arriving on Salisbury Plain in 1914, this certainly meant a visit to Stonehenge. Located near the camp, the mysterious ancient site, dating to approximately 3100 BC, had drawn visitors for centuries. Writing about the experiences of the First Contingent, one wartime publication remarked that "Our men were never tired of examining the ruins or speculating over the barrows and 'rings' and traces of earthworks left by ancient Britons and Romans."<sup>40</sup> Not all Canadian soldiers, however, were as enthralled with the site. For

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<sup>39</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp.

<sup>40</sup> Canadian Field Comforts Commission, 33-34; The Canadian Field Comforts Commission, begun in September 1914, was tasked with "collecting and distributing gifts

example, after marching past Stonehenge with his unit in December 1914, CEF soldier John Davey criticized the site: "Of course its nothing to see I can't see what [sic] people pay a shilling to go in and around there when they can see just as much outside."<sup>41</sup> A few days later after strolling past the site, Davey again wondered what all the fuss was about. "Its not much to see in it just a lot of big stones piled up on end and so on," he wrote home.<sup>42</sup> Fortunately for the thousands of new recruits arriving in England the CEF relocated to other, perhaps more interesting, areas of southern England.

Weekend trips to the country were common occurrences for men eager to see what lay beyond camp lines. After spending all week training and exercising, the men looked forward to a change of scenery that relieved them of the monotony of camp life. Arriving at Digbate camp in 1915, Captain Harold McGill commented that, "On the first Sunday afternoon after our establishment...the camp was nearly deserted because there were so many places of interest to visit."<sup>43</sup> While those men who had relatives in Britain often headed off to visit family, McGill, who had no connections to the country, stayed near camp as "there were many places close by like Folkestone, Hythe, and Sandgate, which were all worthy of a visit and full of interest to one in the country for the first time."<sup>44</sup> Of particular interest to many of the CEF men stationed in Kent was the rich history of the area. Writing in his memoir, Captain Herbert McBride, an American serving in the CEF, reminded readers that:

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and voluntary supplies from Canada to Canadian soldiers in the field." See *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Forces of Canada, 1918*, 509-511.

<sup>41</sup> CLIP, John Davey to Katie, 8 December 1914.

<sup>42</sup> CLIP, John Davey to Katie, 17 December 1914.

<sup>43</sup> Norris, ed., *Medicine and Duty*, 63.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

Much of the history of England is written there, from the time of the raids of the first sea rovers, on through the era of Roman domination and to the Conquest by the Normans. Nor does it end there, for all along the shore are the remains of the huge, stone towers, the Martello towers, erected as a defence against the threatening invasion of the French under Napoleon.<sup>45</sup>

Taking advantage of their close proximity to such sites, McBride, along with many of his fellow soldiers, headed out to explore what the local history had to offer.

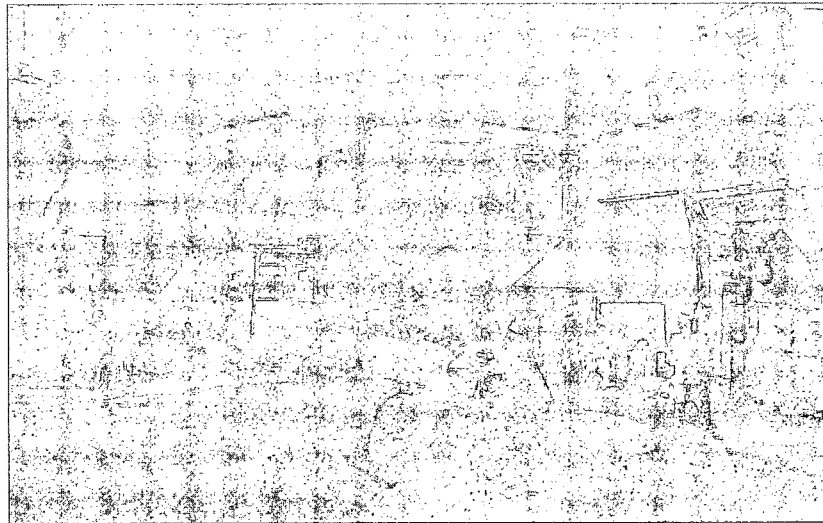


Figure 3.1: This photograph of Tontine and Guildhall Steets, Folkestone was taken by Major Alfred Parkes on a trip to the city. (CWM, 20030011-072)

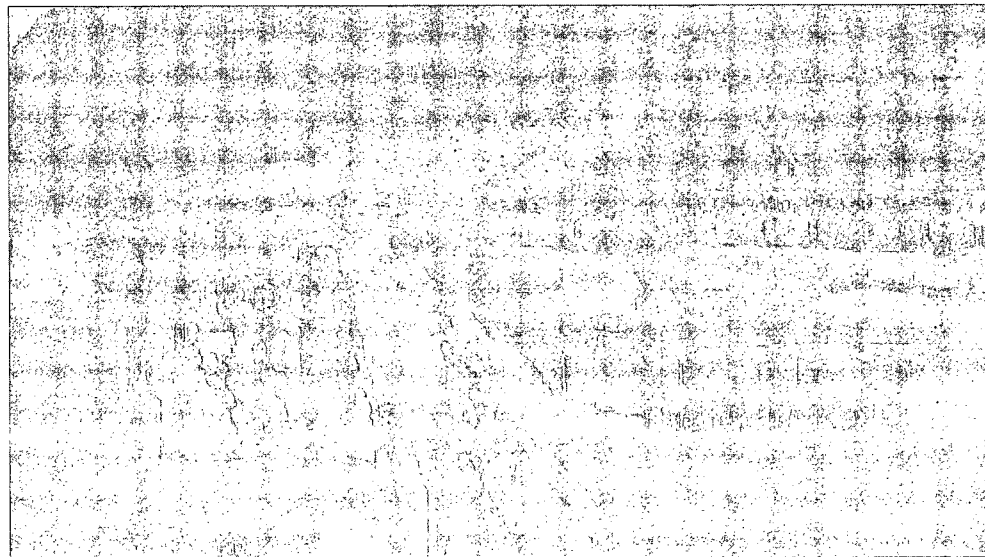


Figure 3.2: Postcard showing the main harbour of Folkestone was collected by private Léopold Ste-Marie (Courtesy of Serge Durflinger)

<sup>45</sup> Herbert W. McBride, *A Rifleman Went to War* (Plantersville, South Carolina: Small-Arms Technical Publishing Co., 1935), 32-33.

Writing home to Prince Edward Island from Shorncliffe, George C. Taylor informed his family of the long history of military activity in the area. “Nearby,” he wrote, “is Caesar’s Camp where the Roman camp was pitched when Caesar invaded Britain.”<sup>46</sup> Extending beyond the time of Caesar, McBride added that “there were ruins of old Roman works scattered all over that region.”<sup>47</sup> Included were Lympne Castle, a Roman stronghold, and Saltwood Castle, made famous for its connection to the murder of the English martyr, Thomas Becket in 1170. Harold McGill, visiting Saltwood Castle in 1915, was treated to a tour of the grounds. Willing to show the tourists around, the castle’s gardener provided the men with a brief history of the site, pointing out such features as “the window of the room occupied by the conspirators the night before they went to Canterbury to murder Thomas a Becket.”<sup>48</sup>

Local citizens, such as the gardener at Saltwood Castle, were often willing to show soldiers around the many historic sites of England. Like Harold McGill, Hugh Monaghan, too, was offered a tour of Saltwood Castle. After wandering the grounds, Monaghan was approached by another of the castle’s residents and presented with a detailed history of the building. On the following weekend, Monaghan and a friend travelled to Canterbury where, upon making the acquaintance of the vicar’s daughter, the two soldiers were guided through the cathedral. Following a visit to the location where Thomas Becket was murdered, the men were then shown the tombs of Edward the Black

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<sup>46</sup> As quoted in J. Clinton Morrison Jr., *Hell Upon Earth* (Summerside, PEI: J. Clinton Morrison Jr, 1995), 32.

<sup>47</sup> McBride, *A Rifleman Went to War*, 31.

<sup>48</sup> Norris, ed., 74-75.

Prince and Henry IV.<sup>49</sup> After being regaled with stories chronicling the history of the Cathedral, the men parted ways with their guide and headed back to camp.

Soldiers interested in medieval history found a number of sites to visit in the area. Located near Folkestone, the quaint town of Hythe, for example, attracted a number of men from the CEF. The predominant attraction of the town was the medieval church of St. Leonard's, built in 1080 AD, and its extensive crypts. The crypts, initially believed to hold the bones of foreign soldiers, possibly Saxons, amused Willard Melvin who visited in the spring of 1916. Melvin laughingly wrote to those back home that you could even "see the marks of battle axes on some of the skulls, isn't it cheerful. Ha, ha!"<sup>50</sup> American Herbert McBride, also quite interested in the site, found himself thinking of home. Although he was intrigued by the crypt, what caught his attention was a plaque on the wall dedicated to a British naval captain who perished at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813. Evoking memories of American commander Oliver Hazard Perry's victory at sea, standing before the tablet McBride was reminded of his time at Camp Perry, Ohio, and his home far across the ocean.<sup>51</sup>

Owing to its close proximity to many CEF camps, the town of Haslemere, located southwest of London, became another popular destination for many Canadian soldiers. Situated only a few kilometres from Bramshott camp, the town was also a convenient destination for men stationed at Camps Bordon, Witley, and Liphook. As such, Haslemere was often full of Canadian soldiers, prompting William Antliff, visiting the town one evening in March 1916, to comment that "there seemed to be ten soldiers to

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<sup>49</sup> Monaghan, *The Big Bombers of World War I*, 18.

<sup>50</sup> CWM, 58A 1 57.5, W.D. Melvin to unknown, 30 April 1916.

<sup>51</sup> McBride, *A Rifleman Went to War*, 33.

every civilian in the place.”<sup>52</sup> For Amos Mayse, the town’s main attraction lay in its literary and historical past. Home to Lord Tennyson, George Elliot, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Mayse was eager to retrace their steps.<sup>53</sup> A highlight of Mayse’s visit was the town’s natural history museum. Soldiers visiting the museum were treated to exhibits which included numerous specimens of local flora and fauna, as well as more exotic animals such as giraffes, rhinoceroses, snakes, and alligators. Completing the soldier’s museum visit was a stop at the Egyptian exhibit, featuring a mummy dating to 1400 BC.<sup>54</sup> “It was real good,” remarked Edmonton’s William McLellan.<sup>55</sup> Although Haslemere offered a number of historic sites to attract Canadian soldiers, not everyone was interested. Many soldiers chose instead to spend their time away from camp looking for more lively forms of entertainment.

For these men one of the first stops upon entering Haslemere was the bath house. Becoming known as the “soldier’s home,” the baths were a welcomed occasion to refresh oneself after weeks of training, and for some they were the first opportunity to shower since arriving in England.<sup>56</sup> Quite popular with the soldiers, the bath house, which provided the men with soap and towels for the nominal charge of threepence, was “from early afternoon until late at night...constantly full.”<sup>57</sup> The dining hall, which was located on the same premise, was also busy. With room for more than 100 people, the seats were

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<sup>52</sup> CWM, 58A 1 182.1, William Shaw Antliff to Mother, 19 March 1916; See also E. S. Russenholt, ed., *Six Thousand Canadian Men: Being the History of the 44th Battalion, Canadian Infantry, 1914-1919* (Winnipeg: Montfort Press, 1932), 17.

<sup>53</sup> CLIP, Amos William Mayse to Betty, 12 March 1917.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> CLIP, William John McLellan to Bill, 23 March 1917.

<sup>56</sup> CWM, 58A 1 182.1, William Shaw Antliff to Mother, 19 March 1916.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

often full, and quite a few customers were left waiting.<sup>58</sup> In the evenings, many soldiers frequented the local movie theatre where they could watch films featuring Hollywood stars such as Charlie Chaplin, while others, such as William McLellan, found amusement by attending local dances.<sup>59</sup> Similar attractions also drew thousands of soldiers.

Although slightly further afield for soldiers stationed at camps such as Bordon, Witley, and Crowborough, the coastal city of Brighton also drew soldiers looking for distractions. Travelling either by train or by bus, these soldiers had little difficulty making the round-trip in a day. Men stationed at Shoreham had a much shorter



Figure 3.3: Soldiers at unknown beach - England (CWM, 20030011-070)

commute, Brighton being a mere 10 kilometres away. Brighton had over the years become a fashionable sea-side resort town for those residing in London. Restaurants, hotels, and theatres dotted the beach-front, keeping soldiers entertained for the duration of their stay. With so much commotion and activity going on, CEF soldier Howard Throburn was content to simply sit on the promenade and watch people and vehicles go

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> CLIP, William John McLellan to Family, 30 August 1918.

by.<sup>60</sup> Others, such as Grenfell, Saskatchewan's Charles Richardson, preferred to wander on Brighton's famous piers, where he could take in a show, attend a concert, or find distraction in the many exhibitions put in place to "amuse curious people."<sup>61</sup> Originally stationed at Crowborough Camp, Harry Spencer and his friends spent numerous weekends in Brighton, and in the neighbouring hamlet of Portslade. Concerned primarily with attending the theatre, Spencer attended numerous shows at Brighton's Hippodrome and at the Theatre Royal. Shows such as *Young England*, *Rigoletto*, and *Three Cheers*, all received excellent reviews from the men.<sup>62</sup>

Although leave from camp was a necessary distraction from daily military life, some soldiers sought reminders of the war throughout their travels. Travelling to Dover in June 1916, Bernard Trotter and his travelling companions headed to the waterfront, hoping to get a closer look at the ships of the Royal Navy. The inquisitive group wandered the docks, eventually making the acquaintance of a ship's guard who offered to show the men around a British destroyer. Returning to the ship after dinner, Trotter wrote that:

We were shown all over the boat, investigated the guns and torpedo-tube, and best of all were invited down into the forward compartment where our friend & others have their abode. It is about eight feet wide at one end, narrowing towards the bows. Every inch is occupied with bunks and table and hammocks are hung over the latter...We saw also some of the new monitors with their great guns that have done such good work on the Belgian coast.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> CLIP, Howard Beverly Throburn to Nen, 15 September 1917.

<sup>61</sup> CLIP, Charles Douglas Richardson to Edna, 12 September 1916.

<sup>62</sup> CWM, 58A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary, 15 and 22 September and 13 October 1917.

<sup>63</sup> CLIP, Bernard Trotter to Family, 21 June 1916.

With the sun setting, it was time for Trotter and his friends to leave the ship, but not before token gifts of chocolate and “fine candles” were exchanged between the men.<sup>64</sup> “We left them regretfully,” wrote Trotter, “with wishes of ‘good luck.’”<sup>65</sup> Such exchanges helped build camaraderie, and also offered members of the infantry an opportunity to understand, in part, how members of the other services lived.

It was not always possible to obtain the extended passes necessary to travel to places such as London or Scotland. As such, short getaways to local towns provided the men of the CEF with opportunities to see new sights and to travel away from the confines of their camps. Harold McGill was excited to be camped in an area of such rich historical traditions, allowing him to explore “one of the oldest parts of England.”<sup>66</sup> Herbert McBride agreed, writing that “To me it was all very interesting.” However, he acknowledged that visiting historic sites was not for everyone, and wrote that “for those who did not care for ancient history there were Sunday trips to Ramsgate, Margate, Deal, and Dover.”<sup>67</sup> The towns of Godalming and Guildford in Surrey, situated near camps such as Witley, Aldershot, Bordon, and Liphook, also proved very popular.<sup>68</sup> Such towns provided weekend amusements for the men as they eagerly awaited leave to grander destinations such as London, Scotland, or Ireland.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Norris, ed., 74.

<sup>67</sup> McBride, *A Rifleman Went to War*, 34.

<sup>68</sup> See Hugh R. Kay, *Battery Action: The Story of the 43rd (Howitzer) Battery, Canadian Field Artillery, 1916-1919* (Toronto : Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1921) 22-28; J.M. Inglis Jr. ed., *O’Pip: 58<sup>th</sup> Battery C.F.A.*, 9; *The Story of the Sixty-Sixth C.F.A.* (Edinburgh : Turnbull & Spears, 1919), 18-35; T.V. Scudamore, *A Short-History of the 7th Battalion, C.E.F.* (Vancouver : Anderson & Odum, 1930), 45-59.

As the heart of the British Empire, London had always been a focal point for travellers. According to historian Cecilia Morgan, beginning in the 1870s and spanning well into the twentieth century, Canadian transatlantic tourists flocked to the British capital. While other areas of Britain were also visited, London “was at the core of their travels and integral to their having seen Britain.”<sup>69</sup> And so it was with soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. London was by far the Canadian soldiers’ ideal stopping point while stationed in England and their letters, diaries, and memoirs are rife with narratives detailing their experiences and adventures.<sup>70</sup> Typical of the soldier-tourist tradition, the men were eager to see as many sites as possible in the short amount of time that they were allotted. Finding himself with only six hours in London, Clifton Cate treated himself to a whirlwind tour of the city. Cate recalled that “[I] visited as many notable places as I could in that time, including Westminster Abbey, London Tower, St. Paul's Cathedral, etc. Made some purchases along the Strand....” before taking the bus to King’s Cross Station.<sup>71</sup> While most soldiers allowed themselves a day or more to tour the bustling city, most men shared Cate’s enthusiasm, packing in as much as they could into their time in London.

Many of London’s sites were well known to Canadian travellers prior to their arrival in England. The men, eager to seek out the places they had read about growing up, took to the streets to explore London’s main attractions. Westminster Abbey and St.

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<sup>69</sup> Morgan, 161-162.

<sup>70</sup> The soldiers of Bustard and Tidworth Camp made London their premier destination. Of the 498 men who travelled within Britain, 30.3 per cent went to London, compared to the next most popular choices: Liverpool, 4.8 per cent, and Manchester, 3.2 per cent. LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp. See Appendix D.

<sup>71</sup> Cate, 155.

Paul's Cathedral were among the most commonly visited sites. Westminster Abbey in particular was quite a popular attraction, with many Canadian soldiers noting their visits

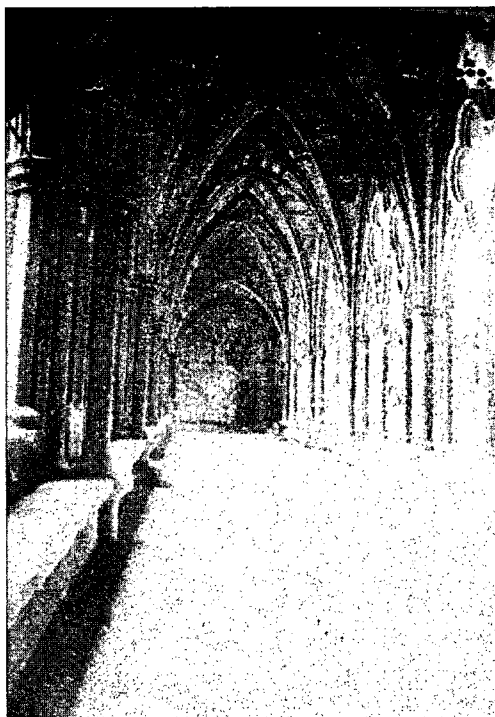


Figure 3.4: Westminster Abbey, Cloisters.  
Photograph taken by unknown CEF soldier.  
(CWM, 19760346-019)

to the famous site.<sup>72</sup> Open from 9 am to dusk, access to the Abbey was free, with daily services at 10 am and 3 pm.<sup>73</sup> Struck by its architectural beauty, Thomas Johnson was at a loss for words, unable to adequately describe the site before him.<sup>74</sup> Standing as a testament of religious and historical importance, for some, such as William Amos, Westminster Abbey also endured as a memorial to England's "mightiest and most

<sup>72</sup> In her study of Canadian transatlantic tourism, Cecilia Morgan made a similar observation, writing that "Westminster Abbey was mentioned in almost every Canadian's account of their time in London." Morgan, 165.

<sup>73</sup> CWM, 58B 6 3.5, Canadian War Contingent Association and YMCA, Map of London: How to See London and Where to Stay in London, date unknown.

<sup>74</sup> CLIP, Thomas Johnson to LuLu, 25 June 1917.

illustrious men and women.”<sup>75</sup> Serving as the burial place for the Kings and Queens of England, as well as notable statesmen and men of letters, such as Oliver Cromwell, Geoffrey Chaucer, and Charles Dickens, the Abbey provided visitors with much to see. Although drawn to the grandeur of royalty and ‘poet’s corner,’ a number of Canadian visitors also found particular interest in the tomb of General James Wolfe. Adorned with a sculpture commemorating Wolfe’s final moments at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and paintings detailing the British landing near Quebec City, Harold Simpson commented that the scene was “one of the most interesting” to him and his companions.<sup>76</sup> Visiting earlier in the year, in September 1916, Alice Leighton, a Canadian volunteer at St. Dunstan’s Hostel for Blind Soldiers and Sailors remarked that “Wolde’s[sic] monument is nearly covered with the flags of different Canadian regiments - I counted eleven of them...they were mostly eastern Canadian regiments.”<sup>77</sup>

Also attracting a large number of CEF tourists was St. Paul’s Cathedral. Open daily from 9 am to 5 pm, visitors were granted free access to the crypts. However, for those wishing to visit the Whispering Gallery, a charge of sixpence was levied.<sup>78</sup> As with Westminster Abbey, soldiers were struck by the cathedral’s grandeur. “I have exhausted all my adjectives so I cannot describe the dome and the mosaics and the Nave and the Chancel and the Transepts wrote Thomas Johnson. “We were all over it from top to basement,” exclaimed Arthur Lewis to his father. Eager to explore the cathedral’s

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<sup>75</sup> CLIP, William Amos to Betty, 7 December 1916.

<sup>76</sup> Anita Hagen ed., *World War I Letters From Harold Simpson to his Family in Prince Edward Island, March 1915-April 1919* (New Westminster, BC: Anita Hagen, 2003), 17.

<sup>77</sup> CLIP, Alice Leighton to Arfa, 26 September 1916. It is not recorded if the 22<sup>nd</sup> Battalion (French Canadian) was among them.

<sup>78</sup> CWM, 58B 6 3.5, Canadian War Contingent Association and YMCA, Map of London: How to See London and Where to Stay in London, date unknown.

famous interments, Lewis wrote home about visiting the resting places of Wellington, Nelson, and Florence Nightingale, among others.<sup>79</sup> A visit was not complete without attending service at the Cathedral. Harold Simpson was quite taken with the music, describing how the “peals of the organ mingled with the perfect voices in the choir reaching back with a heavenly cadence which could scarcely help softening the most hardened person.”<sup>80</sup> For Simpson it was an experience not to be missed. Johnson was equally impressed with the performance. “What an old world pageant it was!...I shall never forget Handel’s ‘Comfort ye’ from the choir,” he exclaimed in his letter home.<sup>81</sup>

While visiting the historic churches of London was essential to the grand tour of the city, many other historic and political attractions were on the itinerary of the soldier-tourist. Unfortunately, few men took the time to describe in detail the sites they visited. While many soldiers wrote about visiting Buckingham Palace and the Tower of London, few chose to elaborate on the experience. Harold Simpson was one of the few who did. Arriving at the Palace just in time to see the changing of the guard, Simpson was quite thrilled at the spectacle. He was less moved by the Palace itself, remarking that it “is not the most beautiful in the city.” Simpson did note, however, that “the surroundings are perfect. The park surrounding it...is a marvel. Words cannot describe the beauty of it.”<sup>82</sup>

Visitors to the Tower of London, known for its violent history and for being the repository of the British Crown Jewels, also left behind little commentary. While visiting the Tower, Gordon Morrisette of St. Joseph de Lepage, Quebec, only briefly informed his

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<sup>79</sup> CWM, 58A 1 188.19, Lewis Arthur to Father, 31 July 1916.

<sup>80</sup> Hagen ed., *World War I Letters From Harold Simpson to his Family in Prince Edward Island*, 18.

<sup>81</sup> CLIP, Thomas Johnson to LuLu, 25 June 1917.

<sup>82</sup> CLIP, Harold Henry Simpson to unknown, 12 January 1916.

friend Marjorie that “it was very interesting roaming through the armour rooms etc.”<sup>83</sup> Robert Brown, of Beamsville, Ontario, was more graphic in his description to his mother, informing her that he “saw the Bloody Tower and the room where the two Eng. Princes (Ed. V and his brother) were smothered to death by pillows,” as well as, “instruments of torture, the spot where Mary, Queen of Scots and many others (Henry’s wives etc.) were executed.”<sup>84</sup> The Tower, which provided free admission to soldiers, remained one of the most popular tourist destinations in London.<sup>85</sup>

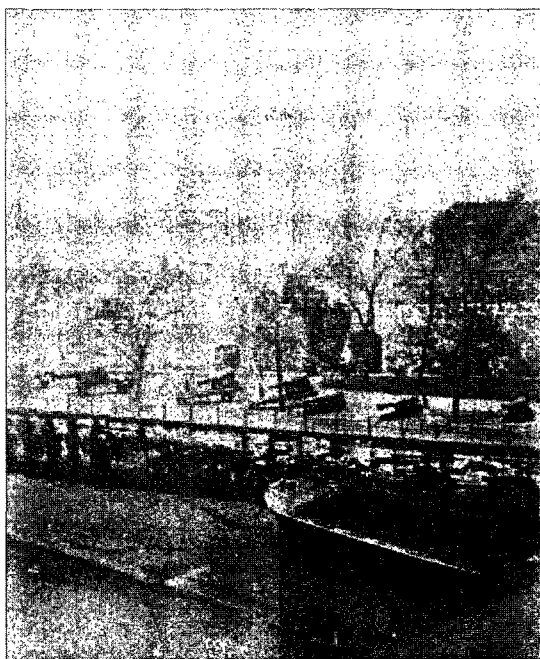


Figure 3.5: The Tower of London. Photograph taken by Major E.D. Dibblee.(CWM, 20050172-002)

More interested in political matters, Ralph Gibson took time out to visit the British Parliament and to attend a sitting of the House of Commons. “I prize my stay in London,” he wrote, “chiefly for the fact that I was fortunate enough to get a ticket into the House of Commons and hear Lloyd George’s famous speech on the restriction of

<sup>83</sup> CLIP, Gordon Morrisette to Marjorie, 5 November 1916.

<sup>84</sup> CLIP, Robert Gordon Brown to Mother, 9 October 1916.

<sup>85</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Mother, 1 October, 1916.

imports, food economy and encouragement of home production. Sir Robert Borden sat just a couple of seats in front of me.”<sup>86</sup>

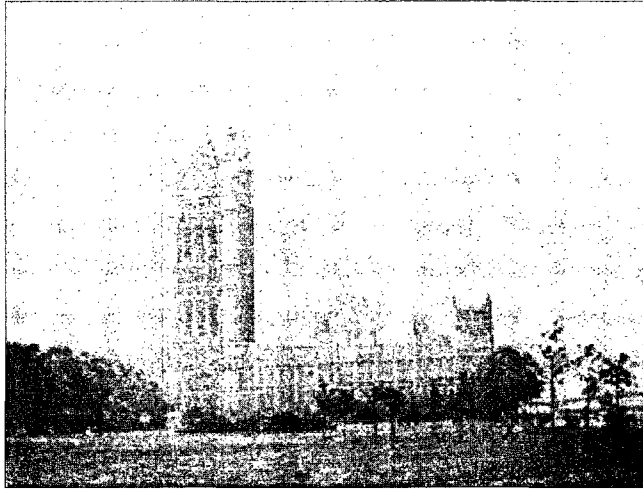


Figure 3.6: Houses of Parliament. Photograph taken by unknown CEF soldier. (CWM, 19760346-013)

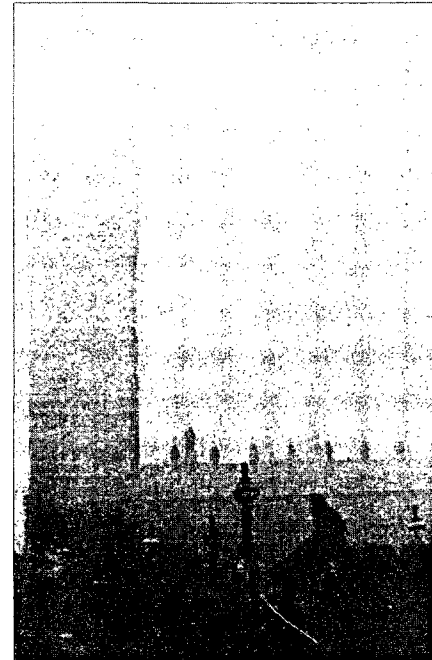


Figure 3.7: Big Ben and the House of Commons. Photograph taken by unknown CEF soldier. (CWM, 19760346-018)

While most sites remained open throughout the war years, the country’s national museums were forced to close as early as March 1916 owing to the threat of German air attacks.<sup>87</sup> As such, only a few were able to visit London’s best-known museums. Harold Simpson was fortunate to have visited the famous British Museum prior to its closure. Excited with his visit, he wrote that he had spent two hours viewing “exhibits from every country in the world. Many things which I have read about and never hoped to see were there just as described.”<sup>88</sup> Before visiting the British Museum, Charles Hamm wandered

<sup>86</sup> CWM, 58A 1 1.13, Ralph Adams Gibson to Mother (Clipping from unidentified newspaper), 1 March 1917.

<sup>87</sup> Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1994), 44.

<sup>88</sup> Hagen ed., 18.

through the United Services Museum, open from 10 am to 5 pm with free admission.<sup>89</sup> At his first stop in London, Hamm viewed an exhibit on the Battle of Waterloo, which included the uniform worn by Wellington, and artefacts from the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.<sup>90</sup> Leaving the museum satisfied, Hamm then continued on his travels through London.

Replete with historic, religious, and political sites, London also offered soldiers a host of other amusements with which to fill their time. Madame Tussauds Wax Museum was a favourite among the men. Established in London in 1835,<sup>91</sup> Tussauds exhibits consistently drew large crowds, and were a favourite among Canadian civilian tourists as well.<sup>92</sup> Canadian soldiers visiting during the war years were no exception. “It cost about 2s to see [the exhibits] but it was well worth it,” wrote Robert Brown to his mother. Continuing, he remarked: “I consider it about the most interesting place I have yet seen. Oh, it is wonderful.”<sup>93</sup> “There certainly are some marvellous pieces of art... It is wonderful how true to life they are,” wrote Harold Simpson to his friends and family.<sup>94</sup> Highlighting the world’s leading statesmen, criminals, and famous historic figures, the museum remained relevant to its visitors by featuring such recent figures as Edith Cavell, a British nurse executed by the Germans in 1915.<sup>95</sup> The museum’s Chamber of Horrors, a popular feature of the museum, had been a disturbing sight for some travellers in the pre-war years. Travelling in 1909, Canadian Mary Simmonds exclaimed that “It all

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<sup>89</sup> CWM, 58B 6 3.5, Canadian War Contingent Association and YMCA, Map of London: How to See London and Where to Stay in London, date unknown.

<sup>90</sup> CLIP, Charles Boyver Hamm to Mother, 29 August 1915.

<sup>91</sup> 1835 marks the date of the first permanent Madame Tussauds exhibit in London.

<sup>92</sup> Morgan, 170-171.

<sup>93</sup> CLIP, Robert Gordon Brown to Mother, 9 October 1916.

<sup>94</sup> Hagen ed., 17.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 17.

looked so real, I was glad to pass on.”<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, visiting in December 1916, Canadian soldier William Antliff, formerly of McGill University, was rather underwhelmed by the exhibit. “[The figures] were certainly very interesting and realistic,” he wrote, “although I was somewhat disappointed in the Chamber of Horrors which doesn't contain much to keep one awake at night.”<sup>97</sup> Although not for the faint of heart, it would take more than the Tussauds wax figures to shock CEF tourists.

For soldiers preferring to visit outdoor sites, the London Zoological Gardens, located in Regent's Park, was an ideal location. Open daily from 9 am to dusk, the park charged a daily rate of 6d, except on Sundays when admission was free.<sup>98</sup> Many soldiers were impressed by the collection of animals housed within the zoo. Bert Drader, stationed at Bramshott camp, wrote to his aunt that “they have about every bird and animal that lives on earth.”<sup>99</sup> Raymond Ives was also quite amazed. After spending the entire morning at the zoo, Ives wrote that “I saw many creatures that I have read about but now seen and some that I didn't know existed.” Perhaps the most impressed was Sergeant Willard Melvin. Having never been to a zoo, Melvin eagerly wrote to his mother about seeing “Every sort of creature from an elephant down to an ant, each in its own natural surroundings as far as possible...snakes twenty five feet long, birds of all shapes and colours, alligators, some of them over a hundred years old, polar bears, zebras and, last but not least, the monkeys both pretty and ugly, up to all kinds of tricks,

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<sup>96</sup> As quoted in Morgan, 170.

<sup>97</sup> CWM, 58A 1 182.1, William Shaw Antliff to Mother, 22 December 1916.

<sup>98</sup> CWM, 58B 6 3.5, Canadian War Contingent Association and YMCA, Map of London: How to See London and Where to Stay in London, date unknown.

<sup>99</sup> CLIP, Bert Drader to Aunt Becca, 12 July 1916.

etc....”<sup>100</sup> While some soldiers spent hours visiting the animals in the immense park, others, such as Charles Hamm, were not as fortunate, lamenting to his mother that “The time was so short that I could not see everything.”<sup>101</sup>

While soldiers kept themselves occupied during the day visiting London’s major landmarks, at night the men flocked to the theatre to see such hits as the *Chu Chin Chow* show, *Peg O’ My Heart*, and *Tails Up*. While in England on assignment for the *Quebec Daily Telegraph*, journalist Frank Carrel wrote:

Naturally, the theatres were crowded at night, this being one of the great distractions and entertainments provided for the soldiers. Even the professional artists and their following, seemed to think that their part in this was in the entertainment of the boys when they were home on furlough...plays, reviews, operas, dramas and spectacular productions, were of a very high standard and proved great attractions for the public.<sup>102</sup>

A trip to London was not complete without attending one of the numerous plays running during the war.

With the onset of war in 1914, the nature of London’s theatre productions underwent numerous changes. Works affiliated with German writers, producers, and composers were removed from the stage, and old stage pieces were quickly revived to fill the void.<sup>103</sup> The appearance of revues, satirical song and dance productions, in 1915, however, “reopened the floodgates of productivity,”<sup>104</sup> delivering such productions as

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<sup>100</sup> CWM, 58 A 1 57.5, W.D. Melvin to Mother, 26 March 1916.

<sup>101</sup> CLIP, Charles Bovyer Hamm to Mother, 29 August 1915.

<sup>102</sup> Hon. Frank Carrel, *Impressions of War* (Quebec: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1919), 18-19.

<sup>103</sup> Kurt Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre: Vol. 1, 1865-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1108.

<sup>104</sup> Kurt Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre: Vol. 2, 1915-1984* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 12.

*Bric à Brac*, *Push and Go*, and *Joyland*.<sup>105</sup> These sardonic pieces garnered much attention, and as many as seventy new revues were added to the theatre circuit in that year alone.<sup>106</sup> However, despite the popularity of the revue, light musical plays remained fashionable mainstays of the London theatre scene. In 1916 ten new musical pieces debuted, including two of the most popular musicals of all time: *Chu Chin Chow* and *The Maid of the Mountains*.<sup>107</sup> Debuting on 31 August 1916, *Chu Chin Chow*, a musical comedy loosely based on the story of *Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves*, ran for over 450 shows in its first twelve months, and continued on the London stage until its close in 1921.<sup>108</sup> Journalist Frank Carrel attested to the show's popularity. After attending a performance, he remarked that "The large theatre was packed to the doors, although this play had been running for nearly two years. It was a magnificent performance with extraordinary spectacular scenes and acts, gorgeous costumes, pretty girls and music."<sup>109</sup>

The successes of 1916 carried over into 1917 where productions such as *The Better 'Ole*, and *The Boy* drew large crowds of theatre-goers. By 1918 London's West End was "overflowing with hit musicals."<sup>110</sup> Shows such as *The Bing Boys on Broadway*, *Going Up*, and the wildly successful revues, *Tails up*, and *Plus Ça Change (As You Were)*, were playing to sold-out audiences.<sup>111</sup> Light-hearted shows continued to dominate the theatres. For example, *Going Up*, told the story of Robert Street, "author of

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<sup>105</sup> Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre: Vol. 2, 1915-1984*, 2.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 21. The highly successful *Bing Boys* revue also made its debut in 1916, opening at the Alhambra Theatre.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>109</sup> Carrel, *Impressions of War*, 41.

<sup>110</sup> Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre: Vol. 2, 1915-1984*, 89.

<sup>111</sup> See Monaghan, 16-17. CWM, 58A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary 12 February 1919, and Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre: Vol. 2, 1915-1984*, 89. *The Bing Boys on Broadway* was the follow up to 1916's widely popular revue, *The Bing Boys are Here*.

the flying memoir...who has never been near a 'plane but who is forced to fly a challenge race for the hand of the lovely Grace."<sup>112</sup> The musical comedy was such a hit with audiences that it ran for 15 months and 574 performances. CEF soldier Ralph Gibson chose instead to watch *Nothing but the Truth*, playing at the Savoy Theatre. The farcical play, which told the story of a man who wagered "\$1000 that he could tell the truth for 24 hrs," entertained audiences for an impressive 578 shows.<sup>113</sup>

With so many performances from which to choose, London theatres offered something for everyone. The focus remained on producing cheerful stories, geared at entertaining the troops. "Drivel," wrote *Maclean's* writer Margaret Bell, "being of all things, the most appreciated form of entertainment."<sup>114</sup> Theatre producers agreeing with this sentiment, structured their plays accordingly. With audiences composed primarily of soldiers, one producer was prompted to remark that, "it's all for the soldier lads, when they come back home...they must be amused; and can't be by morbid plays."<sup>115</sup> While entertained by the stories, the performers themselves played an important role in amusing audiences. "I simply love playing to soldiers," remarked actress Gladys Cooper in her dressing room after one of her shows.<sup>116</sup> Canadian soldier Hugh Monaghan, always made it a point to visit backstage, writing in his memoirs that "It was always good fun to scrounge a box of chocolates somewhere, take them back stage and listen to the chatter drifting over the pull curtains that served as dressing rooms."<sup>117</sup> While not all soldiers had

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<sup>112</sup> Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre: Vol 2, 1915-1984*, 93.

<sup>113</sup> CWM, 58A 1 1.13, Ralph Adams Gibson to Mother, 21 February 1918.

<sup>114</sup> Margaret Bell, "Amusing the Canadians: A Review of London's Gaiety in War Time," *Maclean's*, October 1916, 32.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>117</sup> Monaghan, 55.

the fortune of visiting backstage, others satisfied themselves by writing to the striking actresses. In her interview for *Maclean's*, Cooper remarked that she received “hundreds of letters from [the soldiers], after they go back to the trenches, a great many of them being from Canada.”<sup>118</sup> She was not alone in this regard. Actress Unity More recalled constantly receiving notes from soldiers complimenting her “about the infection of her stage smiles.”<sup>119</sup> The theatre provided soldiers the amusement and distractions they sought. Much like the highly popular soldier-based concert parties that toured the battlefronts, London theatre allowed soldiers “a brief moment away from the depressing realities of active service life.”<sup>120</sup> “Not even the Stygian streets [of London] can dampen the ardour of those seeking relaxation from the stern thoughts of war,”<sup>121</sup> wrote Bell after observing the effect that theatre had on Canadian soldiers.

While the quick pace of leave kept soldiers temporarily distracted from their military duties, sometimes the war's dangers pervaded even the relative safety of Britain. For the men on leave, the war was never far behind. Facing air raids and Zeppelin attacks, soldiers were continually reminded of the German threat. Recognizing these dangers, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, developed a home-defence plan that would protect British war industries from German attacks.<sup>122</sup> Announced on 5 September 1914, Churchill's plan included the implementation of blackouts which were

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<sup>118</sup> Bell, “Amusing the Canadians,” 32.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>120</sup> J.R. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies 1914-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 103. See also John Jason Collins Wilson, “Soldiers of Song: The Dumbells and Other Canadian Concert Parties of the First World War,” (MA thesis, University of Guelph, 2003).

<sup>121</sup> Bell, 87.

<sup>122</sup> Ian Castle and Christa Hook, *London 1914-1917* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2008), 10.

to commence on 1 October 1914. The provisions called for black paint to be applied to the tops of street lamps, while citizens were instructed to maintain well-fitted curtains so as to reduce the amount of light escaping from their homes.<sup>123</sup> Although soldiers recognized the need for such conditions, the darkness created by these blackouts detracted from the grandeur of English towns. Describing the scene, Clifton Cate wrote that “at sundown London rapidly became the shrouded city. The mists were then more in evidence, and the city's only lights came from weak blue lamps at the “Tube” entrances.”<sup>124</sup> After visiting the city in December 1916, William Antliff remarked that the darkness “seems strange after Montreal where everything was a blaze of light.”<sup>125</sup> David Currey, of the 55<sup>th</sup> Battalion, enjoyed his visit, but could not help writing home that “It is pretty dark after night...I would like to have been here before the war.”<sup>126</sup> The implementation of blackout conditions lent a sombre tone to the city, imposing a more subdued atmosphere than existed in the pre-war period. Despite such protective measures the threat of Zeppelin attacks persisted, reminding everyone in southern England of ever-present wartime conditions. Still, the scale of these attacks paled in comparison to the men’s experiences at the front.

Writing his memoir after the war, Clifton Cate remarked that despite blackout restrictions “...the Zep’s found London all too easily with their bombs,”<sup>127</sup> but the effectiveness of these new weapons was questionable. Plagued by mechanical problems and highly inaccurate, these machines did not pose a major threat to the island, and

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>124</sup> Cate, *Notes: A Soldier’s Memoir of World War I*, 23.

<sup>125</sup> CWM, 58A 1 182.1, William Shaw Antliff to Mother, 22 December 1916.

<sup>126</sup> As quoted in Morrison Jr., *Hell Upon Earth*, 34.

<sup>127</sup> Cate, 23.

instead became points of interest and spectacle for soldiers and citizens alike.<sup>128</sup> People rushed indoors when the air raids sounded, but once it was determined to be safe the excitement of the event lured people into the streets to watch the spectacle. Describing one such raid in October 1916, Raymond Ives wrote to his mother that after the Zeppelin had been hit “the search-lights began to ‘play’ once more and cheers came up from the street. I went down to the street where many had gathered in little groups and were busy giving their version of the sight. ....It was all over in 10 minutes from the time it was first sighted. Some women fainted from the excitement of it all....”<sup>129</sup> Such events created impromptu tourist sites. Heading off the next morning in search of the wreckage, Ives described himself as a “sight-seer...determined to see [the wreckage] if possible.”<sup>130</sup> He was not disappointed. Having been directed to the location by a police officer in London he “soon found himself before [an]...interesting junk heap,” and after he gathered some souvenirs from the wreckage and took some pictures he headed back to London where his next stop was Madam Tussauds wax works.<sup>131</sup> For Ives, and other soldiers such as James Whyte who travelled to Folkestone to visit an air raid site, such events were simply another tourist stop on their journeys through England.<sup>132</sup>

While air raids and blackouts were an unavoidable aspect of living in England, soldiers also actively sought out reminders of war. War trophies in particular attracted

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<sup>128</sup> Guillaume De Syon, *Zeppelin!* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 88.

<sup>129</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Mother, 7 October 1916. The novelty of Zeppelin raids appears to have abated quickly, as only a month later, in November 1916, Harry Coombs wrote that the “Zeps are getting past curiosity. They used to rush out to have a look at them. Now they don’t bother. The...frightfulness of Fritz is a myth.” CWM, 58A 1 197.3, Harry Coombs to Frank Coombs, 4 November 1916.

<sup>130</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Mother, 7 October 1916.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> CLIP, James Whyte Diary, 2 June 1917.

soldiers interested in viewing the latest in German technology. As Jonathan Vance contends, war trophies were symbolic indicators of a nation's success in battle, representing its triumph over the enemy.<sup>133</sup> As such, they were often put on display, attracting large crowds and commanding great attention. One such exhibit in London took advantage of the public's interest in Zeppelins, showcasing pieces of debris collected from crashes in Essex county on the southeastern coast of England. Raymond Ives, who had only recently visited the wreckage of a Zeppelin which had been shot down just north of London, made a point to see the exhibit.<sup>134</sup> Other forms of aircraft were also on display in London, including a German airplane which had been captured in France behind Allied lines.<sup>135</sup> Another popular war-trophy tourist attraction was the German minelayer submarine, UC-5. Captured in April 1916, the submarine was put on display for public viewing off Temple Pier on the Thames Embankment.<sup>136</sup> Local merchants and vendors seeing an opportunity to profit from the U-boat display, soon established souvenir booths after the submarine was docked. According to sixteen-year old Corporal Arthur Lewis, writing in July 1916, "every corner you pass they are selling souvenirs of her."<sup>137</sup> Lewis, like many other tourists, wished to commemorate his visit and obliged the vendors by purchasing a UC-5 souvenir, mailing it to his father in Ottawa as a token of his visit to London.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Jonathan F. Vance, "Tangible Demonstrations of a Great Victory: War Trophies in Canada," *Material History Review* 42 (Fall 1995): 48.

<sup>134</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Mother, 7 October 1916.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> "Tried to Destroy Mine-Laying U-Boat," *New York Times*, 18 August 1916.

<sup>137</sup> CWM, 58A 1 188.19, Arthur Lewis to Father, 31 July 1916.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

The soldiers' interest in the war carried over into the arts, where films such as *Battle of the Somme* and artistic exhibitions put on by the Canadian War Memorials Fund, brought the actions of the front line to those in Britain. Opening in August 1916, Geoffrey Malins's *Battle of the Somme* was an instant smash, with approximately twenty million people throughout Britain seeing the film in its first six weeks. Working for the British Topical Committee for Wartime Films, Malins wished to create a work that was "something more than snapshots of topical events."<sup>139</sup> His film, documenting the opening moments of the battle, was heavily publicized by the British government. The combination of staged scenes intermingled with real footage thrilled audiences who wished to see the 'authentic' action occurring on the Western Front. Such endorsements convinced Sergeant Raymond Ives to attend a showing of the film at London's the Scala Theatre. Not having yet seen action at the front, Ives was left impressed by the footage, writing back home to his mother that the scenes were "very life like and real."<sup>140</sup> The audience, which "frequently applauded," appears to have agreed with Ives's assessment.<sup>141</sup>

While film was becoming the dominant media of the time, the paintings of the Canadian War Memorials Fund artists remained important in documenting the lives of Canadian soldiers at the front. An initiative of Sir Max Aitken, the Canadian War Records Office (CWRO) was tasked with documenting and publicizing the exploits of the CEF. While the CWRO was also involved in photographing and filming the war, Aitken hoped to use works of art in order to convey "the emotions and passions and enthusiasms

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<sup>139</sup> As quoted in, Andrew Horrall, *Popular Culture in London c. 1890-1918* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 208.

<sup>140</sup> CLIP, Raymond Ellsworth Ives to Mother, 7 October 1916.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

[of war when they] are at their highest.”<sup>142</sup> Working with the Canadian War Memorials Fund (CWMF) the two bodies helped fund over 100 artists and were responsible for organizing exhibits of their work.<sup>143</sup> One such exhibition on display in London in early 1919 attracted a number of soldiers who were eagerly waiting for their turn to ship home. While some, such as Harry Spencer of Picton, Ontario simply noted the event in their diaries,<sup>144</sup> others such as John Law were quite excited by having seen “some fine paintings.”<sup>145</sup> Law, however, appreciated the paintings for more than just their aesthetic beauty. “Im [sic] sending you the programme,” he wrote to his mother in February 1919, “and when they come to Toronto I’ll take you and tell you all I know about the different places.”<sup>146</sup> Reflecting his wartime experiences, the paintings provided Spencer with a unique opportunity to explain the war to those back in Canada. While those back home would never fully understand his experiences, war art offered him a simple way of telling his story.

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Though leave helped revive soldiers, many finished their holiday exhausted from all they had done and seen. After spending an enjoyable time touring London and the cities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen in Scotland, David Roy Paterson was happily

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<sup>142</sup> As quoted in, Tim Cook, “Sir Max Aitken and the Canadian War Records Office,” 288.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 288. For more information on the CWMF and the work of war artists, see Maria Tippet, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), and Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial: The Forgotten History of Canada’s War Art* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006).

<sup>144</sup> CWM, 58A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary, 23 February 1919.

<sup>145</sup> CLIP, John William Law to Mother, 12 February 1919.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

exhausted, writing in his diary: “back to the simple life once more!”<sup>147</sup> While Paterson had yet to experience the war first-hand, even those who had spent time in the trenches in France shared his sentiments. Terence Sheard, back at the front in Belgium, wrote home about his experiences in London: “You certainly guessed it when you say that leave is no rest for the Canadian in London - Perhaps I didn't paint the whole town red but it was certainly looking pink when I left. This war seems a quiet sort of thing to come back to - quiet and peaceful.”<sup>148</sup> William Antliff, who had been in France as early as April 1916, shared Sheard's thoughts. Wishing to only write a “short description of [his] travels,”<sup>149</sup> Antliff soon discovered that he had enough material to write a ten-page letter to his mother. Having made the most of his six-day journey to the big city, he hoped that, in returning to military life, he would “get a rest after the bustle of London.”<sup>150</sup>

While the hectic pace of London appealed to some, not all were enamoured with the busy metropolis. Ontario native Ralph Adams, for one, was quite anxious to leave the city. Having obtained a nine-day pass, Adams first headed to London, but soon boarded the train for Glasgow, remarking that he was “glad to get away from the dirty noisy, foggy London.”<sup>151</sup> Other men found fault with the rising costs of goods and services in London. Although soldiers sometimes benefitted from reduced rates on theatre tickets and other goods, this was not always the case. Even before rationing was fully implemented in 1917, the price of goods in Britain had already begun to rise. The prices of liquor also drastically increased during the war. A result of rationing and the British

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<sup>147</sup> CWM, 58A 1 66.14, David Roy Paterson Diary, 22 June 1916.

<sup>148</sup> CLIP, Terence Sheard to Terry, 1 June 1916.

<sup>149</sup> CWM, 58A 1 182.1, William Shaw Antliff to Mother, 22 December 1916.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> CWM, 58A 1 1.13, “Letters From the Front: Ralph Adams Gibson to Mother, 23 December 1917,” *Picton Ontario Gazette*.

government's ongoing attempts to curb excessive drinking, the price of a pint of beer increased from 3d in 1914 to as high as 10d in 1918.<sup>152</sup> Although Canadian soldiers were paid more than their British counterparts, the higher prices were enough to make Private Robert Keenan, remark that "[England] is a fine Country to spend a few months in if a fellow had lots of money."<sup>153</sup> Soldiers were not the only ones who noticed the increase in the cost of living. *Quebec Daily Telegram* journalist Frank Carrel, noted that, "We were not long in London before we were afforded our first experience of the rationing system. The prices were probably the most unpleasant part of the meal, as they had gone up about fifty percent."<sup>154</sup>

Although the magnetism of London attracted thousands of soldiers, many Canadians wished to venture beyond the great metropolis. Scotland in particular proved to be popular with the men, with many making it a point to spend at least a few days touring the major cities and viewing the countryside.<sup>155</sup> Since the early nineteenth century Scotland had become a major tourist destination for both European and North American travellers. Whether attracted by the landscape, history, sport, or ancestral homes, Scotland's tourist economy appealed to a wide variety of interests, and many

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<sup>152</sup> Gerard J. DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (New York: Longman, 1998), 91 and 238.

<sup>153</sup> CWM, 58A 1 215.41, Robert Keenan to Bill, 5 September 1915. London was not the only city to suffer from rising prices. While travelling through Seaford on the southern coast of England, Kenneth Foster also remarked that the town would be a "nice place to live in," except for the outrageous prices for food, "where people charges [sic] us two shilling and sixpence for fish and chips, a price unheard of in pre-War days. They were real profiteers." CLIP, Kenneth Foster, *Memoires of the Great War 1915-1918*.

<sup>154</sup> Carrel, *Impressions of War*, 18 and 43.

<sup>155</sup> Canadians were not the only ones interested in travelling to Scotland. Clifton Cate wrote in his memoir about the difficulties of securing a room for the night owing to the influx of "Canadians, Australians, Anzacs, and Highland soldiers who had already filled up the hotels." Cate, 155.

communities had grown reliant on the yearly influx of visitors.<sup>156</sup> With the outbreak of the war the reduction of civilian travellers proved quite detrimental to the Scottish tourism industry. Hindered also by cutbacks in steamer and excursion boat services, as well as higher fares for train travel, many resorts and spas, especially those located in the Highlands, saw a drastic decrease in clientèle.<sup>157</sup> Nevertheless, the major tourist centres of Edinburgh and Glasgow continued to attract large crowds. Canadian soldiers perpetuated this trend, favouring large urban towns, to the tranquility of the countryside. Rather than using their time in Scotland to relax at one of the many recreational resorts, Canadian soldiers preferred keeping busy, staying predominantly within the confines of Scotland's major towns. Of 181 CEF soldiers from Bustard-Tidworth Camps travelling to Scotland during Christmas and New Year's 1914-1915, 25.9 percent travelled to Glasgow, 25.4 per cent to Edinburgh, and 6.0 per cent to Aberdeen.<sup>158</sup> Organized bus tours offering day trips into northern regions of Scotland did exist, however, perhaps in an attempt to help out that region's failing tourist economy. Only one Canadian soldier of those studied made note of such a trip. Harry Spencer wrote home about his "very fine trip," travelling through the Trossachs, north of Glasgow, and taking "snaps of Loch Katrine, Loch Vennechar, Ellen's Isle and the parting of the way."<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Alastair J. Durie and Gayle McPherson, "Tourism and the First World War: a Scottish Perspective," *The Local Historian* 29: 4, (1999), 240-241. See also Alastair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c. 1780-1939* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 2003).

<sup>157</sup> Durie and McPherson, "Tourism and the First World War: a Scottish Perspective," 247-249.

<sup>158</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp. See Appendix D.

<sup>159</sup> CWM, 58A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary, 19 June 1917.

While most soldiers greatly enjoyed their time in Scotland, few looked forward to the approximately ten-hour train journey to and from London.<sup>160</sup> In addition to the lengthy travel time, the trains travelling in from London were often packed with soldiers, often making for a rather uncomfortable journey. Taking the troop train to Edinburgh, Harry Coombs complained of having “had a rotten trip,” as the train “stopped every little way.”<sup>161</sup> Willard Melvin lamented that the overcrowding left him with little chance to catch up on his sleep.<sup>162</sup> Others were too excited to sleep. Prince Edward Island’s Harold Simpson rested until the train reached the Scottish-English border, but “after that we could not afford to sleep.” For the remainder of the trip, Simpson looked out his window and watched as the train “ran across the beautiful Scottish Lowlands.”<sup>163</sup> Those able to afford tickets on the civilian trains also found the train journey enjoyable. Hugh Monaghan travelling aboard the *Flying Scotsman* had a pleasant journey and was eager to write home about the “remarkable train” which “got up to speeds of 110 miles per hour,” a stark contrast to the slow CPR trains to which he had grown accustomed in Canada.<sup>164</sup>

Once the men arrived in Scotland, the conditions aboard the train were soon forgotten and the enjoyment of leave began. For many, the first stop would be the Scottish capital of Edinburgh. Arriving in the station, the men were immediately met by the city’s hospitality committee. Eager to welcome the troops to the city, the women’s

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<sup>160</sup> Bruce Cane, *It Made You Think of Home: The Haunting Journal of Deward Barnes, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1916-1919* (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2004), 41-42.

<sup>161</sup> CWM, 58A 1 197.1, Harry Coombs to Frank Coombs, 3 January 1915. The crowded conditions on the return journey bothered Harry, who complained that “the train was packed with soldiers and sailors, mostly drunk. They slept on the floor and everywhere they could.” CWM, 58A 1 197.1, Harry Coombs to Frank Coombs, 3 January 1915.

<sup>162</sup> CWM, 58A 1 57.5, Willard Douglas Melvin to Mother, 14 November 1915.

<sup>163</sup> Hagen, ed., 42.

<sup>164</sup> Monaghan, 15.

volunteer groups greeted the men, offering them scones and sandwiches, hot tea, coffee, and chocolate for desert.<sup>165</sup> Once the men were well nourished they were sent off to explore the city.

Keeping with well-established tourist traditions, soldiers were keen on visiting the city's most famous historic sites. Harold Simpson, much like his fellow travellers, packed most of Edinburgh's main sites into his one-day visit. Beginning with Holyrood Palace, which he found "especially interesting for the part it played in the life of Mary Queen of Scots," he then ventured to John Knox's house where Simpson's busy schedule allowed him only a few minutes to look around. He then raced to see the major monuments of the city, first climbing to the top of Nelson's Monument, then to the Sir Walter Scott Monument, followed by visits to the monuments honouring Robert Burns and the Duke of Wellington. Once satisfied, Simpson then quickly visited the art gallery and then travelled by taxi to the Firth of Forth Bridge, an engineering marvel located just outside the city. Before the evening was through, Simpson had purchased theatre tickets for the vaudeville production, "Push and Go," playing at the Empire theatre. Such a schedule was not atypical for Canadian soldiers travelling through a new city. Private Clifton Cate was happy with the location of his hotel, noting that it was "within a few minutes walk of St. Giles Cathedral, John Knox's house, Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood Palace, Princess Gardens, Sir Walter Scott's Monument, the National Galleries, and the point of interest of which some Scots are none to proud - King Arthur's Seat."<sup>166</sup> Excited about finally being away from his camp, Cate took advantage of his freedom, and over two days managed to see most of Edinburgh's main sites. Harry Coombs, who only

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<sup>165</sup> Carrel, 48

<sup>166</sup> Cate, 23.

spent two hours in the city, did his best to see as much as he could, visiting the Princess Gardens, Edinburgh Castle, and various other monuments throughout the town.<sup>167</sup> Others who were not interested in discovering the sites on their own could hire locals to guide

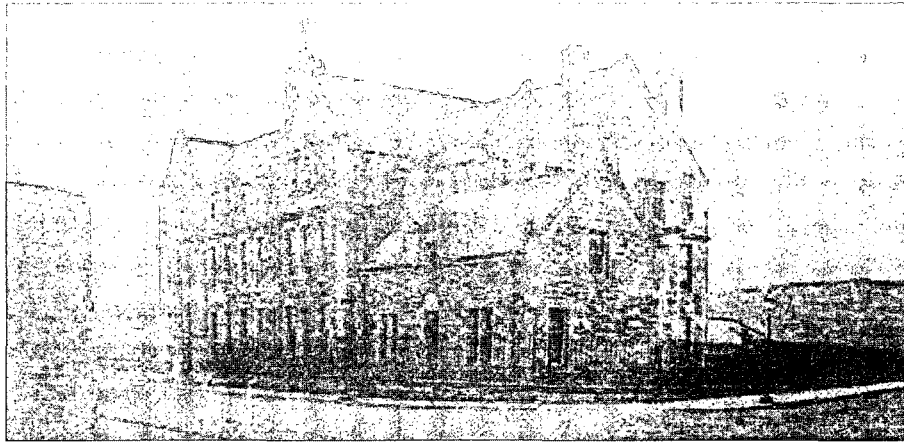


Figure 3.8: Flora Stevenson School, Edinburgh, named after the Scottish social and educational reformer. Postcard collected by private Léopold Ste-Marie (Courtesy of Serge Durlinger)

them around town. Harry Spencer and his friends, along with an Australian soldier they had befriended, took advantage of such an opportunity, hiring a “hack for four shillings an hour to take us to places of interest.”<sup>168</sup>

Though distractions abounded, the war was never far behind, and Edinburgh, much like London and Dover, offered soldiers the opportunity to seek out reminders of the war. While London offered Canadian soldiers the opportunity to view captured Germany military machines, Edinburgh, like Dover, allowed the CEF to inspect Allied equipment, especially the powerful vessels of the Royal Navy dockside in Scotland. Serving not only as a reminder of the naval war, such vessels also impressed upon the soldiers the strength of the Allied forces and the might of the British fleet. While war trophies symbolized victory over the enemy, it also might have been re-assuring to see

<sup>167</sup> CWM, 58A 1 197.1, Harry Coombs to Frank Coombs, 3 January 1915.

<sup>168</sup> CWM, 58A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary, 18 June 1917.

for oneself the power behind the Allied campaign. Harold Simpson, visiting Edinburgh in May 1916 went to see elements of the Royal Navy's Grand Fleet docked under the Firth of Forth Bridge, making note of seeing "a number of first class battle ships and a large flotilla of smaller craft. Among the battle ships we saw were the 'Lion,' Admiral Beattie's flag ship...the 'Princess Royal,' his new flagship; and the largest 'Princess Mary' and the fastest of all, the 'Tiger.'"<sup>169</sup> Content with knowing that he had seen the best of the Royal Navy, Simpson headed back to Edinburgh for dinner and theatre. Visiting the site a few days after the Armistice, William Calder of Ashcroft, British Columbia, described the scene for his parents; "it certainly was a wonderful sight - the whole fleet there at anchor as far as I could see there was nothing but battle ships - it is no wonder Fritz had no chance against our navy, you would think the same if you could only have seen them."<sup>170</sup>

While soldiers valued visiting Edinburgh's major cultural and political sites, they were sure to leave time for other amusements. While on his whirlwind tour of the city, Cate and his travelling companions visited the theatre during both nights of their stay. Although Cate remarked that the pantomime shows were only "fair," he was not too disappointed, perhaps owing to the "fairer companions," who accompanied him and his friends to the show.<sup>171</sup> The city of Edinburgh, steeped in history, provided the soldiers with enough amusement to keep them occupied both day and night. For Harry Coombs the city represented the ideal location, writing to his brother that "Edinburgh is my choice

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<sup>169</sup> Hagen, ed., 45. These vessels were, in fact, battle cruisers not battleships.

<sup>170</sup> CLIP, William George Calder to Parents, 20 November 1918.

<sup>171</sup> Cate, 24.

of all the places I have seen here.”<sup>172</sup> Still, for many soldiers a tour of Scotland was not complete unless they had travelled westward to Glasgow.

Although smaller than London, the size of the city still caught some Canadians by surprise. Shuffling out of the train station, Sergeant Willard Melvin was surprised by “how big a place and how busy it was, about twice the size of Edinburgh...it being my first experience in a bigger city than Halifax.”<sup>173</sup> After taking a moment to “[gape] at the street cars, buses, motor cars, crowds etc.,” Melvin adjusted to his surroundings and began touring around the city.<sup>174</sup> Forced indoors due to inclement weather, Melvin headed to the theatre, one of the city’s main attractions. Despite spending only a few days in town, Deward Barnes and his friends caught shows at Hengler’s Circus, Pavilion Theatre, and Empress Theatre.<sup>175</sup> Harold Simpson, on the other hand, went to the Royal where he saw a ‘western’ entitled *The Law of Promise* a Canadian production, which, according to Simpson, was a success “put on by a first-class company, and very true-to-life.”<sup>176</sup> For those not interested in theatre, Glasgow offered a number of other activities. Preferring to be outdoors, Deward Barnes toured the parks and rivers of the city, visiting West End Park, Clyde River and Park, as well as Kelvingrove Park and the adjoining University of Glasgow.<sup>177</sup> Soldiers interested in the city’s major industries, ventured to the city’s famous ship-building centre where ships for both commercial and military use were constructed. Sporting events, specifically soccer matches, offered soldiers another

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<sup>172</sup> CWM, 58A 1 197.1, Harry Coombs to Frank Coombs, 3 January 1915.

<sup>173</sup> CWM, 58A 1 57.5, W.D. Melvin to Ethel, 19 December 1915.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Cane, *It Made You Think of Home*, 42.

<sup>176</sup> Hagen, ed., 43.

<sup>177</sup> Cane, 42.

distraction while on leave.<sup>178</sup> Professional soccer in Scotland, which was not suspended during the war as it was in England, remained a popular pastime for both locals and travelling soldiers alike.<sup>179</sup>



Figure 3.9: Postcard of the municipal buildings in Glasgow. Collected by private Léopold Ste-Marie (Courtesy of Serge Durflinger)

Although soldiers found a number of activities to keep them occupied, the hospitality of the Scottish people left the greatest impression on the men. After touring London and Glasgow, Private Alexander Matheson remarked that “I had a great time in Glasgow. I liked it lots better than London. The people are different in Scotland.”<sup>180</sup> John Law, a Canadian serving with the Royal Flying Corps, agreed with Matheson’s conclusions. “I don’t like London nor the people in it although I don’t flatter myself that I

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> While the top Scottish clubs (Division One) continued playing throughout the war, play for Division Two teams was suspended in 1915. Professional soccer in England did persist for the first few months of the war, but, amid great debate, league play was finally suspended on 24 April 1915. See Colin Veitch, “‘Play up! Play up! And Win the War!’ Football, the Nation and the First World War 1914-1915,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 20: 3, (1985): 363-378.

<sup>180</sup> CLIP, Alexander Matheson to Sister, 15 June 1918.

met the best by any means,” he forthrightly declared to his mother after he returned from leave.<sup>181</sup> Accusing the English of price gouging, Law remarked that with “Canada badges on the tunic up goes the price. In Scotland the idea is more like your helping in the common cause and I want to help you in what way I can. The difference between the English and Scotch is to me very marked....”<sup>182</sup> Elaborating on this sentiment was American Edward Croken. Born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, a suburb of Boston, Croken had moved to Prince Edward Island, where he enlisted in 1915, eventually serving overseas with the 104<sup>th</sup> Battalion. Like many other members of the CEF, Croken was also struck by how well the Scottish people treated Canadians. Writing home regarding “the manner in which the people in general address the Canadian soldiers,”<sup>183</sup> Croken stated:

When a man wearing a uniform and Maple Leaf Badge enters a restaurant, street car or in fact any public place, he without any warning receives many a warm hand shake, and is recognized as “Oh Canada.” [T]hen the questions start coming and believe me you would need to be a professional gab slinger in order to answer them all...<sup>184</sup>

While observing the stark contrast between the English and Scots, CEF travellers were also aware of an affinity between the Scots and Canadians. In his diary, Harry Spencer observed that “The Scotch people are certainly great. They are more like the Canadians than the English and cannot do too much for us and the Australians.”<sup>185</sup> John McArthur supported such a view, maintaining that “The Scotch people are far nicer than the English in my estimation anyway they treat you a lot nicer and seem a whole lot like

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<sup>181</sup> CLIP, John William Law to Mother, 22 January 1918.

<sup>182</sup> CLIP, John William Law to Mother, 22 January 1918.

<sup>183</sup> Morrison Jr., 33.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> CWM, 58A 1 90.11, Harry Spencer Diary, 18 June 1917.

the Canadians.”<sup>186</sup> The Scottish reputation for friendly curiosity and hospitality was perhaps bolstered by a heightened sense of familiarity between the Canadian troops and the Scottish people. Historically, Scottish immigrants were disproportionally represented among British ethnic immigrants to Canada. As such, the CEF contained many men who maintained familial connections to Scotland.<sup>187</sup>

Soldiers hoping to find an escape from the drudgery of military life, found enjoyment in both the sights and in the people of Scotland. While visiting Edinburgh in late November 1918, William Calder took some time from sightseeing to write a reassuring note to his parents: “I am having a fine time have forgotten all about the past sixteen months....” he wrote home.<sup>188</sup> Having just left the Western Front where he had been involved in the heavy fighting at Canal du Nord, Calder was perhaps writing in part to ease his worried parents. But his trip to Scotland also provided him with a number of distractions which kept him occupied until his return to France on 25 November after the Armistice. The sights and sounds of Scotland’s big cities, along with the welcoming nature of the locals, provided Calder, and other soldier-tourists, with the escape they eagerly sought.

While England and Scotland remained the choice destination for the men of the CEF, some men chose to travel further afield, visiting the sights in Ireland. Travel to the island, however, was not a very popular option, and most men remained content staying

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<sup>186</sup> CLIP, John Alexander McArthur to Hazel, 5 February 1918.

<sup>187</sup> 47,432 men of Scottish descent enlisted with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Granatstein and Hitsman, 24. See also J.M. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982).

<sup>188</sup> CLIP, William George Calder to Parents, 20 November 1918.

within the boundaries of Scotland and England (See Appendix D).<sup>189</sup> The extra time required in travelling to Ireland was the principle deterrent.<sup>190</sup> For soldiers wanting to maximize their time visiting sights, the extra time lost in transit was an unwelcome distraction. Perhaps more important was the ongoing animosity between the Irish and the English. The tense relationship between these two groups, brought into stark relief during the 1916 Easter Rebellion, endured throughout the war years, and it was often unsafe for members of the British forces to travel through parts of Ireland. Some men remained undeterred. During Christmas and New Year's 1914-1915, 49 men from the Bustard and Tidworth Camp trekked to Ireland. By far the most-travelled locations were Dublin, with 24.4 per cent of men visiting, and Belfast, with 20.4 per cent.<sup>191</sup>

The few Canadian soldiers who were adventurous enough to travel to Ireland were quickly made aware of the problems facing the island. Hugh Monaghan, of Irish descent himself, decided to spend part of his leave in Ireland. However, owing to the heightened levels of violence in the Irish capital, rather than visit Dublin as he wished, he went to Belfast and the southern towns of Cork and Youghal.<sup>192</sup> Even while visiting acquaintances in the seaside resort town of Youghal, Monaghan was warned that it was not safe to go out after dark, especially while in uniform.<sup>193</sup> By the time RAF pilot

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<sup>189</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp.

<sup>190</sup> Although it was earlier stated that men were allotted extra leave days for travelling, it would appear as though this policy was discontinued. It is not clear, however, when or if the leave policy changed.

<sup>191</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp.

<sup>192</sup> Monaghan, 24

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

Robert Brown was planning his trip to Ireland in June 1918, Belfast had been placed out of bounds, and Brown was obliged to alter his travel plans accordingly.<sup>194</sup>

The few Canadians who ventured to Ireland spent only a little time in the capital. Fred Nickle, stopping in Dublin on his way to visit relatives took a tour of Sackville Street, a major scene of the 1916 riots. Although the uprisings happened two years before Nickle's visit, the "destroyed buildings" were still in place and attracted much attention.<sup>195</sup> Others preferred more traditional tourist sites. Robert Brown, also making a brief stop in July 1918, opted for a tour of the Guinness Brewery, and later in the evening caught a show at one of Dublin's theatres.<sup>196</sup>

The Irish countryside drew much more attention from the men. "One cannot imagine anything so wonderfully beautiful," wrote Robert Brown after taking a tour through the Gap of Dunloe, near Killarney in eastern Ireland.<sup>197</sup> The Gap was a popular tourist destination for soldiers and civilians alike. Travelling parties gathered at Kate Kearney's Cottage, where they rented either horse-drawn carts, known as Traps, or ponies for the journey. Riding through the hills, tourists passed a number of scenic lakes and rivers, and were often accosted by women wishing to sell small trinkets as souvenirs. Upon reaching the end of the trail, sightseers then boarded boats which took them through Upper, Middle, and Lower Lakes, and the Long Range River, finally ending at Ross Castle.<sup>198</sup> Others, such as John Newton chose instead to travel to the far north of Ireland, visiting the famous Giant's Causeway. After drinking from the "Giant's well,"

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<sup>194</sup> CLIP, Robert Gordon Brown to Mother, 27 June 1918. As of September 1917, Belfast was still accessible to Canadians. See CLIP, John Newton Diary, 12 September 1917.

<sup>195</sup> CLIP, Fred Nickle to Helen Davis, 12 July 1918.

<sup>196</sup> CLIP, Robert Gordon Brown Diary, 9 July 1918.

<sup>197</sup> CLIP, Robert Gordon Brown to Mother, 4 July 1918.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

and making a wish in the wishing chair, he returned to Portrush in time to play a few holes of golf at the Royal Portrush Golf Club.<sup>199</sup>

Regardless of the destination, CEF soldiers were sure to make the most of their leave time. While some used their time off as an opportunity to visit with family, others followed in the footsteps of civilian tourists, visiting some of Britain's best-known tourist sites. Regardless of whether the men preferred staying close to camp, or travelled as far as the northern coast of Ireland, they each took in a wide range of experiences. Choosing to mix historic sites, such as Edinburgh Castle, with more light-hearted venues, such as the London zoo, the men took advantage of what Britain had to offer. This change of scenery provided a break from the monotony of army life and, importantly, especially for those coming from the trenches, it offered the men a much-needed respite from the war. Soldiers eagerly awaited leave, though for most it was an experience which ended all too soon. The anticipation and excitement felt by the men before embarking on their adventure, was met only by the melancholy of the returning soldier. Reflecting on his journey back to France after having spent time in Blighty, H.W. Cooper spoke for many when he wrote:

Going back to the lines is much the same as coming out except that the pace is accelerated. The trains move with more speed because the returning Tommy has to report on time.

It is far different in the spirit shown: There is no particular enthusiasm on the trains. Men sit still with far-away looks, their thoughts obviously are back in England. I fancied even that the people who watched our train as it steamed through the towns regarded us differently. They had cheered us like mad on our way out, or so it had

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<sup>199</sup> CLIP, John Newton Diary, 14 September 1917.

seemed to us. Their cheers on the way back - they always cheer us - seemed less spontaneous, a little despondent: Perhaps it was just the way we felt.<sup>200</sup>

All good things had to come to an end.

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<sup>200</sup> Cooper, 100.

## Conclusion

### **‘I’ll Come Back to You When It’s All Over’<sup>1</sup>**

Soon after the Armistice of November 1918, Canadian soldiers in France began boarding ships to England on the first leg of their long journey back to Canada. While some men were fortunate enough to be sent home quickly, others remained for months in England. By the fall of 1919, however, most of the men of the CEF had crossed the Atlantic once more, coming home as veterans of the Great War. And yet, for many, a desire to show friends and family the scenes of their military service, or perhaps to pay homage to lost comrades-in-arms, compelled them to return to the Western Front.

It did not take long before a surprising number of these veterans returned to the battlefields that they had so recently left. While Canadian travellers continued to flock to Britain’s main tourist attractions, in the immediate postwar years ‘battlefield tourism’ quickly emerged as a new form of sightseeing adventure. For several years following the cessation of hostilities, the battlefields remained littered with the debris of war and often the grisly remains of the conflict’s human costs. With nearly 60,000 mainly British tourists visiting the battlefields in the summer of 1919 alone, a new industry suddenly emerged. Published even before the war was over, Michelin guidebooks helped ex-soldiers and civilians navigate their way through the towns and villages along the Western Front that were made famous during the war. The guidebooks provided readers with photographs and vivid descriptions of the fighting that had taken place. Between

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<sup>1</sup> Title of a 1917 song written by Lew Brown, music by Kerry Mills. Kerry Mills and Lew Brown, *I’ll Come Back To You When It’s All Over* (New York: Leo Feist, Inc., 1917).

1919 and 1921, at least thirty guidebooks to the battlefields were published in English.<sup>2</sup> Travel companies which previously had been denied access to these areas were also quick to organize tours to places which had become familiar and which had entered the lexicon of military history: among them were Ypres, the Somme, Vimy, and Amiens. Some veterans travelled back to Europe to take part in organized pilgrimages. The largest of these events for Canadians was the 1936 Vimy Pilgrimage where thousands of Canadians gathered together to witness the unveiling of Walter Allward's monument which stands atop the crest wrested from the Germans in April 1917. After the inauguration, many of the Canadian pilgrims returned to England where they marched through London's streets, taking part in commemorative ceremonies throughout the city.<sup>3</sup> According to historian David Lloyd, these tourists "were often drawn to places not because there was something in particular they wished to see, but because the names of the places resonated with meaning."<sup>4</sup> For the men of the CEF this return to Europe allowed them to rediscover familiar places and allowed them to become soldier-tourists once again.

Just as the previous soldier-tourists returned to Britain and Europe as pilgrims, so, too, did the experiences of Canadian volunteers overseas find a postwar echo in Canada. News of the influential work of London's Canadian social clubs, especially that of the Maple Leaf Club, reached the home front, where clubs for returned soldiers were also established. Specifically, the Soldiers' Khaki Club, located in Toronto, was directly

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<sup>2</sup> David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 30. One of the first publications was a 1917 tour of the famous 1914 French battlefields of the Marne.

<sup>3</sup> Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 201-202.

<sup>4</sup> Lloyd, 113.

influenced by Lady Drummond's good work overseas. Designed to be "in line with the Maple Leaf Club for Canadian soldiers in England," the Khaki Club offered soldiers who had returned to Canada a place to gather, providing them with a reading room, shower, swimming baths, billiard room, canteen, and concert hall.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, the precedent of the First World War carried over into the Second at which time soldiers' clubs were again established in Britain. With tens of thousands of Canadian soldiers stationed in England by 1940, volunteers began once more to organize hospitality centres for the men. The B.C. Services Club, offering meals and a recreation lounge, claimed to have been the first such organization. The Canadian government, acknowledging the importance of tending to the men's social and recreational needs, established the Canadian War Auxiliary Services. Consisting of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and the Canadian Legion, these institutions worked together with each undertaking specific social duties.<sup>6</sup> Recognizing early on the need to supply the men with social clubs, the Canadian War Auxiliary Services quickly organized their own canteen and club services. In February 1940, the YMCA opened the Beaver Club in London as a successor to its First World War Beaver Hut. From its first days, the Club proved extremely popular with the men. While it did not offer overnight accommodations, it did provide the soldiers with a number of services, including meals, reading and writing materials, games rooms, a travel information bureau, banking facilities, showers, and a barber shop. Each of the Auxiliary

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<sup>5</sup> LAC, RG 24, Vol. 4273, File 22-1-221 "Khaki Club for Returned Heroes," (Newspaper name and date unknown).

<sup>6</sup> Serge Durflinger, "A Touch of Home: The War Services of the Salvation Army," Canadian War Museum: *Dispatches* 1 (November 1998), 2.

Services later opened hostels, predominantly in London.<sup>7</sup> The Knights of Columbus, for example, ran at least four hostels for other ranks in London.<sup>8</sup> Acknowledging the important role that the First World War clubs had played in the leave-time experiences of the men, and perhaps learning from the volunteer efforts of individuals such as Lady Julia Drummond, the Canadian War Auxiliary Services in the Second World War reacted more rapidly to the social needs of Canadian soldiers than had been the case during the First World War.

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Leave-time was a luxury much sought after by the men of the CEF. Used as an escape from military life, Canadian soldiers in Britain used their time away to seek out relatives and to travel the country as tourists. Distractions were plentiful in Britain, and many men took advantage of their free time. “There is so much to be seen, so much to be done, so many friends to make, that it seems almost a waste of time to sleep,” wrote CEF soldier Clifton Cate of his time travelling to London and Edinburgh.<sup>9</sup> Hugh Monaghan, in his post-war memoirs, captured the importance of leave, writing: “I realized that during our trip we hadn’t given much thought to the war but that was the purpose of a leave - to get away, and by change, to refresh oneself.”<sup>10</sup> Leave provided men with a necessary distraction from the horrors of war and, although the conflict had devastating consequences, moments of amusement allowed the men to look back poignantly on their time overseas. Writing in his diary on the fourth anniversary of the start of the war, CEF soldier Frank Shrive reflected on his time overseas, writing that although “many homes

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<sup>7</sup> Stacey and Wilson, *The Half-Million*, 102 and 106.

<sup>8</sup> CWM, 58B 6 3.5, Knights of Columbus Canadian Army Huts, n.d.

<sup>9</sup> Cate, 23.

<sup>10</sup> Monaghan, 29.

have been saddened, some broken,” it was also true that “many young people like myself have seen places and met people they would never have done had it not been for the war, so it has some good points.”<sup>11</sup> As these men were unable to journey back to Canada during the war, Britain became their ‘home away from home.’ With both the Canadian government and military not actively involved in the men’s off-duty lives, it was left to Canadian volunteers, such as Lady Drummond, to provide comfort and ensure the well-being of the men. Working tirelessly, these volunteers established social clubs which catered to the troops’ leave-time needs. These privately funded clubs were founded upon middle-class moral standards, and promoted the ideals both of Canadian nationalism and British imperialism. Highlighting the overwhelming nature of public patriotism at the time, these social clubs serve to illustrate elements of early twentieth-century Canadian social and political culture.

While this thesis maintains a generally positive image of the CEF soldiers’ leave-time experiences in Britain, there did exist tension between soldiers and British citizens, with Canadian soldiers acting, at times, in an unruly manner. As Tim Cook points out in his article “Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers: Alcohol, Soldiers and Temperance Groups in the Great War,” prior to the establishment of wet canteens in Canadian camps, soldiers were recorded as being drunk, disorderly, and occasionally a terror to the local populations. Serious problems also existed in 1919 as Canadian troops anxiously awaited demobilization. Rising tensions resulted in riots and demonstrations which caused damage to buildings and the deaths of five CEF members. However as the experiences of the men were so varied, this thesis chose to focus on certain elements of their overseas

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<sup>11</sup> Shrive ed., *The Diary of a P.B.O.*, 34.

experience. Space did not permit for an elaboration on the less laudatory elements of the CEF, and any examination on such a topic would have resulted in an all-too brief study of these important aspects of CEF soldiers' wartime experience.

While a great deal of CEF soldiers' time overseas was spent training or in the trenches of the Western Front, describing the social and travel experiences of these men helps us to understand more completely their wartime service. While there is a growing historiographical trend in Canada focused on exploring the human dimension of war, much of this literature neglects the off-duty time of Canadian soldiers in Britain. As such, this thesis seeks to fill this void, and in doing so, endeavours to provide a more complete understanding of the CEF men's time overseas. Although more than 90 years have passed since the guns fell silent, there remains much to be written about Canada's First World War soldiers. It is hoped that this work will encourage future scholarship on the experiences of these soldiers, so that we may continue to develop a better understanding of the men who took up arms to fight for 'King and Country' against distant enemies in distant lands.

## Appendix A

### Total Number in Each Arm of the Service in Britain as at December 31, 1914-1918

| Year | Arm of the Service | England  |             |
|------|--------------------|----------|-------------|
|      |                    | Officers | Other Ranks |
| 1914 | Total              | 1,401    | 28,841      |
| 1915 | Infantry           | —        | 25,990      |
|      | Artillery          | —        | 3,520       |
|      | Cavalry            | —        | 1,751       |
|      | Engineers          | —        | 1,012       |
|      | CASC               | —        | 1,579       |
|      | CAMC               | —        | 2,652       |
|      | Railway            | —        | 44          |
|      | Forestry           | —        | —           |
|      | Other Arms         | —        | 785         |
|      | Total              | 2,275    | 37,333      |
| 1916 | Infantry           | 3,564    | 89,879      |
|      | Artillery          | 475      | 10,385      |
|      | Cavalry            | 124      | 2,040       |
|      | Engineers          | 223      | 3,380       |
|      | CASC               | 150      | 3,918       |
|      | CAMC               | 1,258    | 4,534       |
|      | Railway            | 54       | 111         |
|      | Forestry           | 93       | 4,646       |
|      | Other Arms         | 1,845    | 4,350       |
|      | Total              | 7,786    | 123,243     |
| 1917 | Infantry           | 3,360    | 59,069      |
|      | Artillery          | 326      | 6,335       |
|      | Cavalry            | 82       | 1,047       |
|      | Engineers          | 209      | 4,291       |
|      | CASC               | 193      | 4,455       |
|      | CAMC               | 1,576    | 7,198       |
|      | Railway            | 88       | 2,369       |
|      | Forestry           | 308      | 7,914       |
|      | Other Arms         | 746      | 10,651      |
|      | Total              | 6,888    | 103,329     |
| 1918 | Infantry           | 2,767    | 54,636      |
|      | Artillery          | 345      | 6,327       |
|      | Cavalry            | 61       | 1,565       |
|      | Engineers          | 468      | 6,986       |
|      | CASC               | 100      | 2,915       |
|      | CAMC               | 1,762    | 6,287       |
|      | Railway            | 88       | 1,474       |
|      | Forestry           | 314      | 9,689       |
|      | Other Arms         | 1,095    | 8,497       |
|      | Total              | 7,000    | 98,376      |

Source: *Report of the Ministry, Overseas Forces of Canada 1918*, 57.

## Appendix B

**List of Contributors to the Maple Leaf Club as Published in *The Globe*, 27  
December 1916**

| Amount (\$) | Donor Name                            |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 500         | City of Toronto                       |
|             | Canadian Bank of Commerce             |
|             | Bank of Toronto                       |
|             | Anonymous                             |
|             | Canada Life Insurance Co.             |
|             | Canadian Northern Railway             |
|             | Sir E.B. Osler                        |
|             | T. Eaton Co. Ltd.                     |
|             | Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation |
|             | Brazilian Traction Co.                |
| 250         | Amie Sinclair                         |
|             | Angus Sinclair                        |
|             | Christie Brown Co. Ltd                |
|             | Great North Western Telegraph Co.     |
|             | Toronto Railway Co.                   |
|             | Gordon Mackay and Co.                 |
|             | Central Canadian Loan and Savings Co. |
| 200         | Adams Bros.                           |
|             | Harris Abattoir Co.                   |
| 150         | William Davies Co. Ltd.               |
| 100         | Ryrie Bros.                           |
|             | Canadian General Electric             |
|             | Gutta Percha and Rubber Ltd.          |
|             | Beardmore and Co.                     |
|             | R. Laidlaw Lumber Co.                 |
|             | E.R. Wood                             |
|             | Firstbrook Bros                       |
|             | Lieutenant-Colonel J.F. Michie        |
|             | John B. Smith and Sons                |
|             | W.A. Kemp                             |
|             | Matthews-Blackwell Co.                |
|             | Alfred Rogers                         |
|             | Ontario Jockey Club                   |
|             | E.W. Gillett and Co.                  |
|             | P.W. Ellis and Co.                    |
|             | Dunlop Tire and Rubber Goods Co.      |
|             | Perkins, Inco and Co.                 |
|             | L.M. Wood                             |

|    |                          |
|----|--------------------------|
|    | Standard Chemical Co.    |
| 50 | Port Hope Sanitary Co.   |
|    | A.J. Young               |
|    | Warwick Bros. and Rutter |
|    | Holden, Morgan and Co.   |
|    | George R. Warwick        |
|    | Holt Renfrew and Co. Ltd |
|    | Brown Bros.              |
|    | Campbell Reaves          |
|    | John Inglis and Co.      |
|    | Goodyear Rubber Co.      |
|    | Canadian Fairbanks Morse |
| 35 | A.D. Langmuir            |
|    | Mrs S. M. Jarvis         |
|    | James B. O'Brian         |
|    | William Rennie and Co.   |
|    | Aemillius Jarvis         |
| 10 | R. Home Smith            |
|    | C.C. Daiton              |
|    | Clemes Bros.             |
|    | Angus MacMurchy          |

Source: "Maple Leaf Club Generously Helped," *The Globe*, 27 December 1916

## Appendix C

**List of Contributors to the Maple Leaf Club as Published in *The Globe*, 27  
December 1918**

| Amount (\$) | Donors                             |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 500         | Canadian Permanent Mortgage Co.    |
|             | Canadian Bank of Commerce          |
|             | Standard Bank                      |
|             | Bank of Toronto                    |
|             | Brazilian traction                 |
|             | Light and Power Co.                |
|             | Canada Life Insurance Co.          |
|             | Canadian Northern Railway System   |
|             | Angus Sinclair                     |
|             | Sir. E.R. Osler                    |
|             | Standard Chemical                  |
|             | Iron and Lumber Co. of Canada Ltd. |
|             | T. Eaton Co Ltd.                   |
|             | Scarboro Golf Club                 |
| 250         | Chester D. Massey                  |
|             | The National Trust Co.             |
|             | Central Canada Loan Co.            |
|             | Gordon Mackay and Co.              |
|             | Gutta Percha and Rubber Ltd.       |
|             | Christie Brown and Co.             |
|             | Port Hope Sanitary Co. Ltd.        |
|             | R. Laidlaw Lumber Co. Ltd          |
| 100         | Sir John Hendrie,                  |
|             | Firstbrook Bros.                   |
|             | Alfred Rogers                      |
|             | Beardmore and Co.                  |
|             | Perkins, Inco and Co.              |
|             | W.F. Kemp                          |
|             | E.R. Wood                          |
|             | E.W. Gillett Co. Ltd               |
|             | J.B. Smith and Sons                |
|             | Matthew Blackwell Ltd.             |
|             | Leaside Munitions Co.              |
|             | P. Burns and Co.                   |
|             | Mrs. Gilbert S. Stairs             |
| 50          | G.A. Warwick                       |
|             | J.F. Michie                        |
|             | Warwick Bros. and Rutter           |
|             | A.T. Reid and Co.                  |

|    |                                             |
|----|---------------------------------------------|
|    | A.J. Mitchell                               |
|    | Campbell Reaves                             |
|    | The John Inglis Co. Ltd.                    |
|    | The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.            |
|    | A.J. Young                                  |
|    | Brown Bros. Ltd.                            |
|    | Dunlop Tire and Rubber Goods Co.            |
|    | Employees, Dunlop Tire and Rubber Goods Co. |
|    | Mrs. Gilbert S. Stairs                      |
|    | G.A. Warwick                                |
| 25 | W.R. Brock and Co.                          |
|    | Major Ian Sinclair                          |
|    | Lieutenant Angus Sinclair                   |
|    | Miss Dorothy Sinclair                       |
|    | Wm. Retaule and Co.                         |
|    | Hold Renfrew and Co.                        |
| 15 | Jas R. O'Brian                              |
| 10 | R.P. Ormsby                                 |
|    | John Macdonald and Co. Ltd.                 |

Source: "The King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 27 December 1918.

## Appendix D

**Travel Destinations for the Men of Bustard and Tidworth Camp, Christmas and  
New Year's, 1914-1915<sup>1</sup>**

**Table 4.1  
Random Sampling of Small Towns<sup>2</sup>**

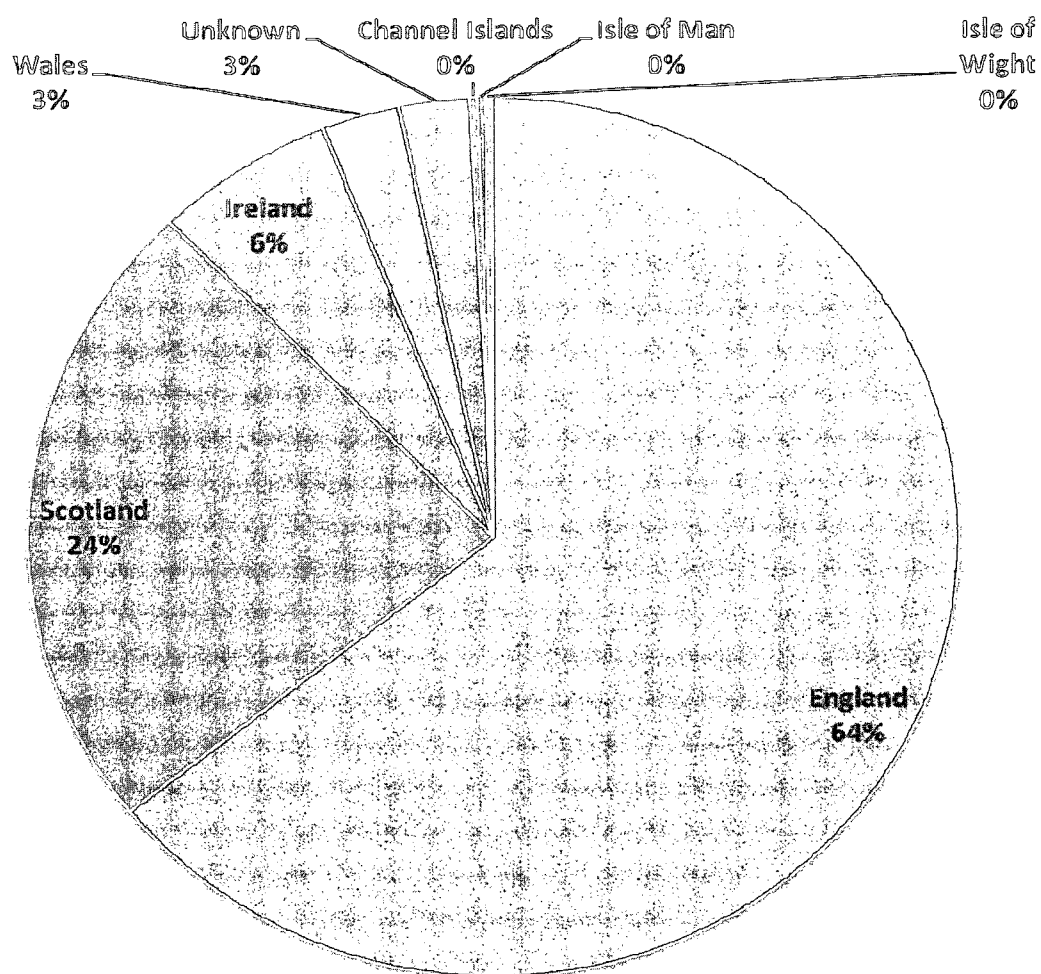
| <b>Destination</b>   | <b>Country</b> |
|----------------------|----------------|
| Aylestone            | England        |
| Hawes                | England        |
| Hawkhurst            | England        |
| Ilminster            | England        |
| Moreton in the Marsh | England        |
| Shipston on Stour    | England        |
| Ventor               | England        |
| Wigton               | England        |
| Kingscourt           | Ireland        |
| Letterkenny          | Ireland        |
| Saintfield           | Ireland        |
| Tandragee            | Ireland        |
| Brora                | Scotland       |
| Dunoon               | Scotland       |
| Keith                | Scotland       |
| Kelso                | Scotland       |
| Kirriemuir           | Scotland       |
| Blaenau Ffestiniog   | Wales          |
| Brynmawr             | Wales          |
| Ystradgynlais        | Wales          |

<sup>1</sup> LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol. 449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp. Statistics broken down and compiled by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Of the 284 cities visited by the men, a random selection of small towns were selected for the purposes of this chart.

## Appendix D (continued)

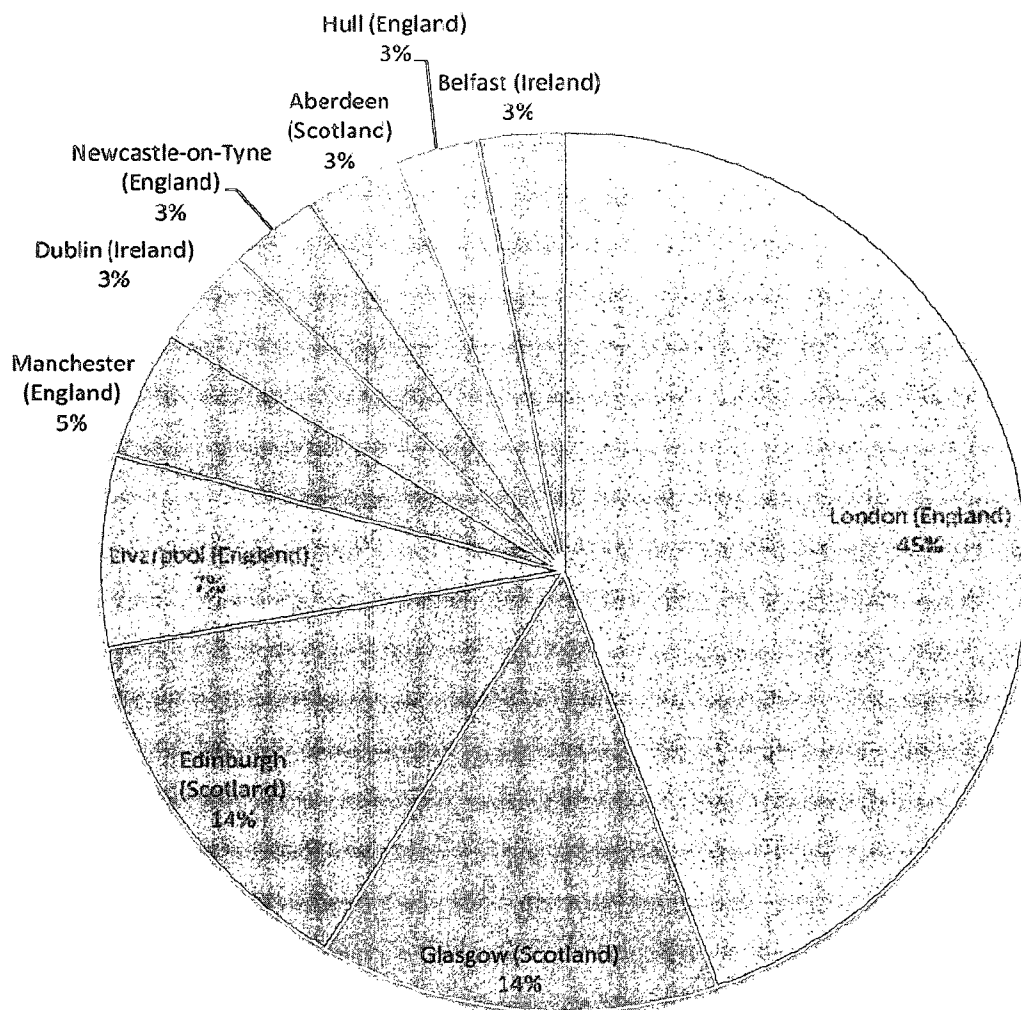
Chart 1  
Travel Destination by Country



| Destination       | Number of Men |
|-------------------|---------------|
| England           | 498           |
| Scotland          | 181           |
| Ireland           | 49            |
| Wales             | 21            |
| Unknown           | 19            |
| Channel Islands   | 2             |
| Isle of Man       | 2             |
| Isles of Wight    | 2             |
| Sample Size = 774 |               |

## Appendix D (continued)

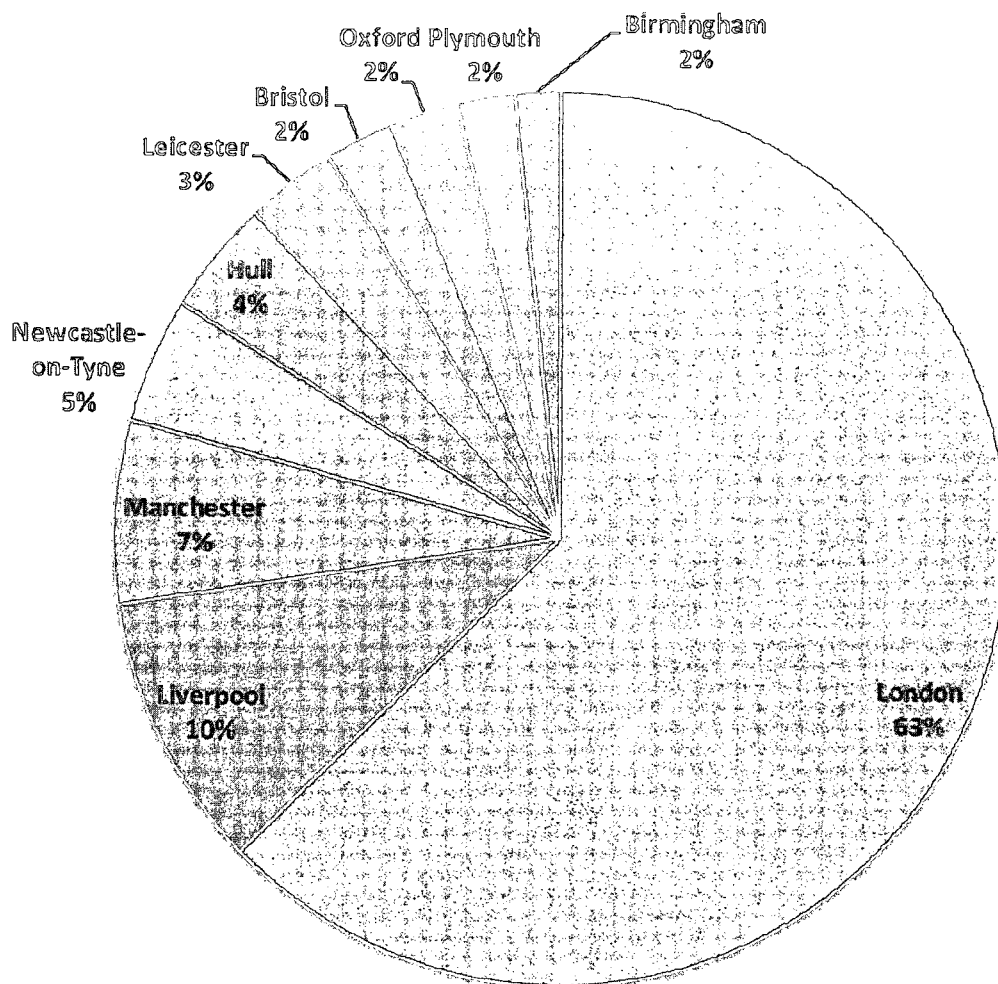
Chart 2  
Top 10 Destinations (By City)



| Destination       | Number of Men | Country  |
|-------------------|---------------|----------|
| London            | 151           | England  |
| Glasgow           | 47            | Scotland |
| Edinburgh         | 46            | Scotland |
| Liverpool         | 24            | England  |
| Manchester        | 16            | England  |
| Dublin            | 12            | Ireland  |
| Newcastle-on-Tyne | 11            | England  |
| Aberdeen          | 11            | Scotland |
| Hull              | 10            | England  |
| Belfast           | 10            | Ireland  |
| Sample size = 755 |               |          |

## Appendix D (continued)

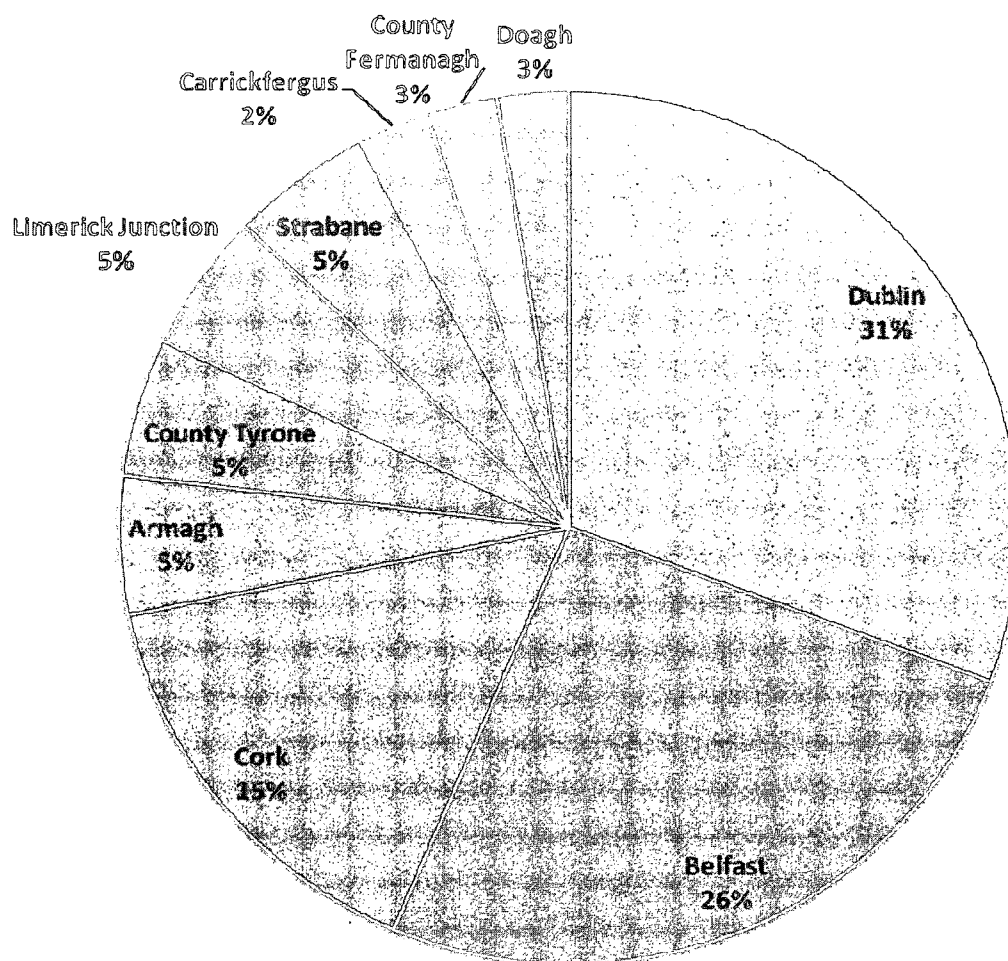
Chart 3  
Top 10 Destinations (England)



| Destination       | Number of Men |
|-------------------|---------------|
| London            | 151           |
| Liverpool         | 24            |
| Manchester        | 16            |
| Newcastle-on-Tyne | 11            |
| Hull              | 10            |
| Leicester         | 8             |
| Bristol           | 6             |
| Oxford            | 6             |
| Plymouth          | 5             |
| Birmingham        | 4             |
| Sample Size = 498 |               |

## Appendix D (continued)

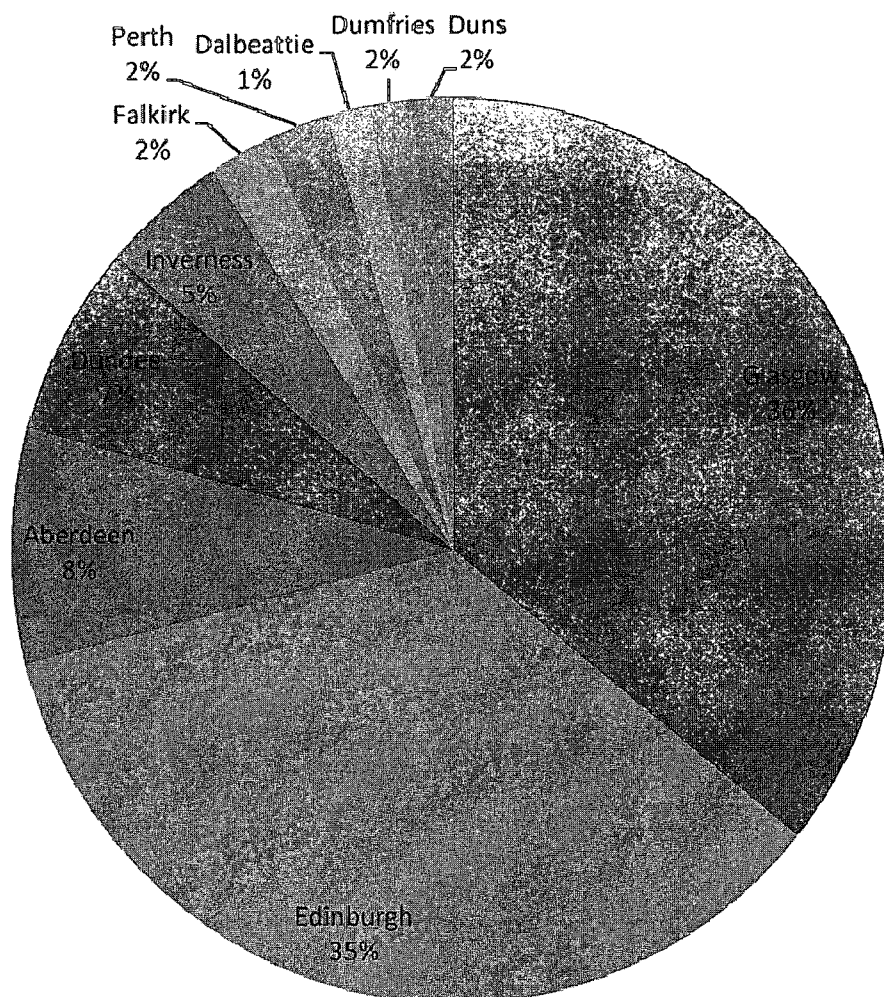
Chart 4  
Top 10 Destinations (Ireland)



| Destination       | Number of Men |
|-------------------|---------------|
| Dublin            | 12            |
| Belfast           | 10            |
| Cork              | 6             |
| Armagh            | 2             |
| County Tyrone     | 2             |
| Limerick Junction | 2             |
| Strabane          | 2             |
| Carrickfergus     | 1             |
| County Fermanagh  | 1             |
| Doagh             | 1             |
| Sample Size = 49  |               |

## Appendix D (continued)

Chart 5  
Top 10 Destinations (Scotland)



| Destination       | Number of Men |
|-------------------|---------------|
| Glasgow           | 47            |
| Edinburgh         | 46            |
| Aberdeen          | 11            |
| Dundee            | 9             |
| Inverness         | 6             |
| Falkirk           | 3             |
| Perth             | 3             |
| Dalbeattie        | 2             |
| Dumfries          | 2             |
| Duns              | 2             |
| Sample Size = 181 |               |

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 James Stanley Taylor Fond  
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